



PALGRAVE STUDIES IN EDUCATIONAL MEDIA

Multiple Alterities

Views of Others in Textbooks
of the Middle East

Edited by
Elie Podeh and Samira Alayan



Palgrave Studies in Educational Media

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There is no education without some form of media. Much contemporary writing on media and education examines best practices or individual learning processes, is fired by techno-optimism or techno-pessimism about young people's use of technology, or focuses exclusively on digital media. Relatively few studies attend – empirically or conceptually – to the embeddedness of educational media in contemporary cultural, social and political processes. The **Palgrave Studies in Educational Media** series aims to explore textbooks and other educational media as sites of cultural contestation and socio-political forces. Drawing on local and global perspectives, and attending to the digital, non-digital and post-digital, the series explores how these media are entangled with broader continuities and changes in today's society, with how media and media practices play a role in shaping identifications, subjectivations, inclusions and exclusions, economies and global political projects. Including single authored and edited volumes, it offers a dedicated space which brings together research from across the academic disciplines. The series provides a valuable and accessible resource for researchers, students, teachers, teacher trainers, textbook authors and educational media designers interested in critical and contextualising approaches to the media used in education.

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Elie Podeh • Samira Alayan
Editors

Multiple Alterities

Views of Others in Textbooks of the Middle East

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FOREWORD

There is no education without some form of media. The field of educational media is a growing area of interest in education, as educational policy papers on the “digital agenda”, the rapid expansion of media sections in national and international educational research associations and the range of academic books on media in education show. Educational media are crucial to producing knowledge and shaping educational practices. Conflicts over the contents of textbooks and curricula, widely discussed in the daily news, illustrate how many different stakeholders are invested in sharing their particular understandings of our (shared) past, the current society and potential imagined futures with the younger generation. Policymakers, politicians and activists regard educational media as important tools which not only foster young people’s media skills and world knowledge but which also shape which ways of living are considered desirable or even legible. Textbooks and other educational media are deeply embedded in the socio-political contexts in which they are developed and used. Given this context, alongside the emerging interest in digital technology in education, this book series takes stock of current research on educational media by focusing on three issues:

First, today’s vibrant and dynamic research and scholarship on technology stems from a broad range of disciplines, including sociology, history, cultural studies, media studies, and education and also information, computer and cognitive science. Traditionally, this research has drawn on textbooks and other educational media in order to engage with specific disciplinary questions, such as device-specific reading speed or social inclusion/exclusion. Studies on educational media are only beginning to be

consolidated into the kind of inter- or transdisciplinary field which can build and develop on insights generated and exchanged across disciplinary boundaries.

Second, the majority of work in this field is focused on best practices, individual learning processes or concerns over the risks involved when young people use technology. There are still relatively few studies which attend—empirically or conceptually—to the embeddedness of educational technology in contemporary cultural, social and political processes and to the historicity of the media used in education. If we see educational media as a highly contested and thus crucially important cultural site, then we need more studies which consider media in their contexts and which take a carefully critical or generative approach to societal concerns.

Third, current work emerging in this field focuses almost exclusively on computers and other digital technologies. Yet looking at today's educational practices, it is clear that (a) they are by no means predominantly digital, and simultaneously (b) "post-digital" practices abound in which the digital is no longer seen as new or innovative but is integrated with other materials in daily teaching and learning. The potentials and risks of digital education emit a fascination for politicians, journalists and others concerned with the future of education and are undoubtedly important to consider. Empirical observations of education around the globe, however, demonstrate the reach and visibility of other media (textbooks, blackboards, LEGO™, etc.), as well as the post-digital blending of digital and non-digital media in contemporary educational settings.

The series *Palgrave Studies in Educational Media* aims to address these three issues in an integrated manner. It offers a dedicated space which brings together research from across the academic disciplines, encouraging dialogue within the emerging space of educational media studies. It will showcase both empirical and theoretical work on educational media which understands these media as a site of cultural contestation and socio-political force. The focus lies primarily on schools across the school subjects. The series is interested in both local and global perspectives, in order to explore how educational media are entangled with broader debates about continuity and change in today's society, about classroom practices, inclusions and exclusions, identifications, subjectivations, economies and global political projects.

This second volume of the series is the result of a conference on *School Textbooks in the Greater Middle East: National Identity and Images of Self and Other*, organised by the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the

Advancement of Peace at the Hebrew University and the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Germany. With its focus on textbooks as contested educational media within given societies, it draws on the fact that, while textbooks have been widely interpreted as means of constructing national identities and legitimising an established political and social order, the role of Otherness is yet to be substantially researched. In conflict-ridden societies and regions, in particular, the depiction of the alleged Other is traced back into the past. It serves as legitimisation for superiority, exclusion and inclusion, victimhood and even hostility and often uses stereotypes and prejudices in defining the Other. The greater Middle East is such a region of constant conflict and contestation, especially in the wake of the Arab Spring and in the light of the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict.

This volume is the first attempt to analyse the image of the Other from a comparative perspective. Based on theoretical considerations presented by the editors in the introduction and Chap. 2, the book discusses the emergence and implementation of models via which collective identities in Europe and the Middle East emerge and are strategically fostered or indeed questioned. A great variety of case studies—textbooks from Turkey, Iran, Egypt, Cyprus, Lebanon, Iraq, Kurdistan, Jordan, Morocco, Tunisia, Israel and Palestine—demonstrate impressively how internal and external Others are depicted in textbooks, especially in the subjects of history and social studies. The volume convincingly argues the existence of multiple Others since, as the editors state in the introduction, “each state tends to form its own Others according to its history and culture.” It therefore enriches not only our existing knowledge about contesting interpretations of the images of the Self and Other in textbooks; this book equally encourages further research on educational media in the Middle East region.

Brunswick, Germany
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Eckhardt Fuchs
Felicita Macgilchrist

PREFACE

The progress of this book has been a long journey and now, having reached our destination, we take pleasure in expressing our gratitude to several institutions and colleagues who have played a crucial role in the publication process. First, we extend our thanks to the Harry S. Truman Institute for financing the original conference and to the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research (GEI) in Braunschweig, Germany, which has supported the project from the very beginning and contributed generous resources to the publication of this book. We are most grateful to Yael Teff-Seker, who has not only contributed a chapter to the collection but has also been instrumental in handling many of the administrative and professional tasks relating to the manuscript. We also thank Wendy Anne Kopisch and Lucy Taylor for their editorial work on the book, the anonymous peer reviewers who provided us with valuable and inspiring feedback and, of course, the editorial team at Palgrave Macmillan for their cooperation and expertise.

Understandably, during processes of nation-building, states and decision-makers alike often feel the need to construct a positive image of the Self by portraying a negative image of an Other or Others, whoever he, she or they may be. Yet it is our sincere hope as the editors of this book—an Israeli and a Palestinian—that governments and individuals in the Middle East will more positively incorporate Others into their educational media by eliminating biases and distortions, and by rectifying omissions.

Even if at times this hope may appear naïve, we insist on upholding it in spite of all odds and hope that this book may help to raise awareness of the power and potential of educational media to foster and maintain peace.

Jerusalem, Israel
January 2017

Elie Podeh
Samira Alayan

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Introduction: Views of Others in School Textbooks—A Theoretical Analysis

Samira Alayan and Elie Podeh

THE ROLE OF TEXTBOOKS

It is generally agreed that school textbooks play a prominent role in children's cultural upbringing. In their formative years, children's minds are particularly elastic and vulnerable. School textbooks have the capacity to influence their value system and this change may well remain with them for the rest of their lives. This renders the school system and textbooks in particular key tools with which states can inculcate its citizens with a shared collective identity. Each generation transmits to the next its traditions, norms and values (Berghahn and Schissler 1987: 1–2; Pingel 1999: 7). No other instruments of socialisation can be compared to textbooks “in their capacity to convey a uniform, approved, even official version of what youth should believe” (Mehlinger 1985: 287). Textbooks are thus often implemented in order to promote a certain belief system and legitimise an established political and social order. In other words, the curriculum is never simply a neutral assemblage of knowledge incidentally appearing in the texts and classrooms. Rather, the selection and organisation of knowledge for schools is an ideological process that serves the

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interests of particular classes and social groups (Apple 1993: 1–14, 44–63). In his analysis of the US education system, Michael Apple has concluded that what counts as legitimate and official knowledge “is the result of complex power relations and struggles among identifiable class, race, gender/sex, and religious groups” (Apple and Smith 1991: 2–3). Both curricula and textbooks provide “battlegrounds” on which questions of power and cultural authority are contested (Lassig 2009: 4). The result is a reflection of the discourse of the hegemonic group in a society (Nasser 2005: 47). An analysis of school textbooks can therefore provide a window, or rather a mirror, through which the researcher can gain valuable insights as to the social and political parameters of a given society, its anxieties and trepidations as well as processes of nation-building, identity construction and social change (Schissler and Soysal 2005: 7).

It is difficult to establish the exact role played nowadays by textbooks as compared to other instruments of socialisation. With the growing exposure of the younger generation to electronic and social media, the centrality of the textbook as an educational medium has probably diminished. There is a lack of empirical knowledge on the impact of textbooks on children (Fuchs 2011: 17–18). Indeed, some researchers openly question the influence of textbooks on children’s minds. In Gregory Starrett’s opinion, textbooks “are never the only articulation of ideas and are hardly more influential than the ideals expressed by relatives, magazines and television shows, folklore, children’s games, schoolyard gossip, military training, or other influences to which children and young adults are exposed” (Starrett 2007: 229). Yet most scholars in the field of education tend to agree that textbooks still play an important role in the inculcating process (e.g., Jacobmeyer 1990: 8; Altbach 1987: 159),¹ particularly in developing countries, where textbooks have remained the single most consistent vehicle for academic achievement. Not surprisingly, the Education for All (EFA) Initiative, formed at the World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal, in 2000, decided to focus on increasing the availability of textbooks in these countries in an attempt to facilitate quality education for all (Heyneman 1981: 556–557; Fiala 2006: 15–34). We can therefore assume that the role of textbooks in developing countries—and particularly those under authoritarian control and where the ministry of education promotes a unified official narrative—is all the more significant. Here, the textbook contents are not necessarily the product of ideological movements or interest groups—as is often the case in Western democratic states—but official policy statements (Starrett 2007: 229).

What renders the textbook such a powerful instrument? Evidently it carries a certain epistemological authority. Written texts, according to David Olson, “are devices which separate speech from speaker, and that separation in itself makes the words impersonal, objective and above criticism”. Further, he claims, textbooks resemble religious rituals since both “are devices for putting ideas and beliefs above criticism” (Olson 2010: 241; Nasser 2005: 46; Lassig 2009: 2). However, despite the authoritative nature of the text, we cannot assume that what is included in the textbook is actually taught, to say nothing of internalised. Audiences, according to Apple, “construct their own responses to texts. They do not passively receive texts, but actively read them based on their own class, race, gender and religious experiences” (Apple 1993: 61). In his opinion, students may accept the text at face value, challenge a certain claim or reject the whole narrative. In reality, however, it can be assumed that most students lack sufficient historical knowledge to contest the hegemonic official narrative. Generally speaking, students, especially in developing societies, would be unlikely to challenge the official narrative in a significant manner.

The role ascribed to the textbook of legitimising an established political and social order, as well as constructing a national identity, is particularly relevant to textbooks in the subjects of history, geography, social studies and civics. These books provide official and legitimate knowledge that inspires the students to get to “know” themselves as members of a collective. This sort of knowledge acquired from school textbooks, according to Nasser, “helps individuals delineate the symbolic and territorial boundaries of their identity and by that it contributes to the construction of the criteria by which inclusion and exclusion is made” (2005: 48). Textbooks thus play a significant role in the formation of national identities. Indeed, textbook research in recent years has accorded due recognition to this change (Fuchs 2011: 26, 2014: 63–79). Textbooks help construct a unified national identity by developing a society’s collective memory. Every group, according to Maurice Halbwachs, “develops a memory of its own past that highlights its unique identity vis-à-vis other groups. These reconstructed images provide the group with an account of its origin and development and thus allow it to recognise itself through time” (quoted in Zerubavel 1995: 4). The textual resources employed in the process of collective remembering therefore “bring with them a social position and perspective” (Wertsch 2002: 172). This collective memory includes a historical narrative which in many ways is inaccurate or even fabricated, including myths, symbols and other shared memories that provide “maps”

and “moralities” casting a divide between “us” and “them”. As we shall see below, this dichotomy of the “Self” and the “Other”, be the latter a minority, different gender or external enemy, is particularly prevalent in history, geography and civics textbooks. In this respect, the school system and its educational media become yet another arm of the state, as agents of memory with the aim of ensuring the transmission of certain “approved knowledge” to the younger generation. Textbooks thus function as a sort of “ultimate supreme historical court” whose task it is to decipher “from all the accumulated ‘pieces of the past’ the ‘true’ collective memories which are appropriate for inclusion in the canonical national historical narrative” (Kimmerling 1995: 57). The problem is that this inclusion goes hand in hand with forms of *exclusion*, which are often manifested in depictions of the Other.

TEXTBOOKS AND OTHERS

As indicated above, the construction of national identity entails separation of the Self and the Other. Nationalist doctrine, from which the notion of the Other often arises, is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, national identity is inward looking, involving a certain degree of commonality within the group; but on the other hand it implies difference, as its existence presupposes the existence of Others who do not belong to the in-group and from which it distinguishes itself. In other words, “national identity has no meaning *per se*. It becomes meaningful in contrast to other nations” (Triandafyllidou 1998: 599). Post-colonialist theories developed by Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault and Edward Said have emphasised the role of the West in acquiring knowledge of the inferior Other in order to achieve domination of it. This has resulted in increased scholarship on the encounter between imperialism, the West and Europe, on the one hand, and the Other East or Muslim on the other (see e.g., Daniel 2000; Strath 2000; Saikal 2003; Ayoub 2007; Yilmiz and Cagla 2012; Bashir 2013; MacDonald and DeCoste 2014; Chérif 2008). Yet this process stems not only from a narcissistic need of each culture to see itself as superior to another (Watson 1985: 301), but also from the need to define a collective identity. Edward Said asserted that the development and maintenance of any culture requires the existence of another different and competing alter ego:

The construction of identity—for identity, whether of Orient or Occident, France or Britain...- involves establishing opposites and ‘others’ whose actuality is always subject to the continuous interpretation and re-interpretation of their differences from ‘us’. Each age and society re-creates its ‘Others’. Far from a static thing then, identity of self or of ‘other’ is a much worked-over historical, social, intellectual, and political process that takes place as a contest involving individuals and institutions in all societies. (Said 1995: 332)

Indeed, it is a common truism that every state or culture exhibits a desire to distinguish itself from others and draw boundaries between “us” and “them”. For Jacques Derrida, the Other is indispensable to the construction of the Self (Chérif 2008: 87; see also Silberstein 1994: 5). Otherness, according to Ilan Peleg, “is a social condition in which certain individuals or groups are perceived, described, and treated as fundamentally and irrevocably different from the reference group (often the majority). Any and all negative qualities are projected onto the Other, often the very qualities that the perceiver fears or even recognizes in himself” (1994: 261). Based on the works of Derrida, Foucault and Said, Nasser has argued that identity is always “alterity identity”, that is, identity dependent upon the Other in order to define itself. In other words, the Self develops a kind of independent “essence” only in relation to the existence of the Other (Nasser 2005: 4–5). Occasionally, the process of identity formation entails marginalisation, exclusion and even the use of violence against the Other (Silberstein 1994: 6). By bringing together the contents of textbooks and the political context of countries from the Middle East, we can begin to understand the interests and reasons for presenting a certain narrative and omitting certain information from textbooks in the process of building a national identity (Alayan 2016).

The separation between Self and Other often entails the use of stereotypes and prejudice in describing the Other. Stereotypes are patterns and images that reduce the complexities of a phenomenon, portraying the reality in a narrow, incomplete and rudimentary manner. They protect the group’s members from “cognitive chaos”. Although such a depiction of reality is often false, stereotypes “fulfil an important function in that they make it possible for people to orient their actions and reach decisions, even when they do not have sufficient information at their disposal” (Schissler 1989–1990: 86; Berghahn and Schissler 1987: 14–15). Prejudice, by comparison, is the result of preconceived attitudes. Gordon Allport has

defined it as “thinking ill of others without sufficient warrant”. Highly emotional and resistant to change, prejudices “portray reality from a selective point of view, reflecting the interests of the person articulating the prejudice” (Allport 1954: 6). Stereotyping and prejudice may foster delegitimisation—the “categorization of groups into extreme negative social categories which are excluded from human groups that are considered as acting within the limits of acceptable norms and/or values”. Social psychologists have identified several rhetorical strategies of delegitimisation: dehumanisation, outcasting, trait characterisation, use of political labels and group comparison (Bar-Tal and Hammack 2012: 30). The phenomenon of demonising the Other is not specific to international relations but it is particularly prevalent in societies and states engaged in intractable conflicts (Befu 1999: 25–30; Podeh 2004), and here, textbook analysis can offer a unique prism through which to study the function of stereotypes and prejudice in such situations. Indeed, Apple has argued that most school textbooks present a biased view of conflicts: “our side is good; their side is bad. We are peace-loving and want an end to strife; they are warlike and aim to dominate” (Apple 1990: 85).

Historically, late nineteenth-century Europe already recognised that school textbooks contained stereotypes and prejudice towards neighbouring countries and towards states with whom it was in conflict. However, the academic study of textbooks commenced only after the First World War, with the realisation that chauvinistic textbooks contributed towards aggression and hostility between nations. The notion of international textbook revision, which consequently emerged, aimed at avoiding future wars. Initially, the process was concerned with “the decontamination of textbooks and with purging history textbooks of the ‘drum and trumpet’ school of history” (Schuddekopf 1967: 14). UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was founded with textbook revision as one of its primary tasks. The organisation’s charter stated that the members “are determined to develop and to increase the means of communication between their peoples and employ these means for the purpose of mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other’s lives”.² In 1994, in a joint declaration signed by many education ministers, the members decided “to pay special attention to improving curricula, the content of textbooks, and other educational materials including new technologies, with a view to educating caring and responsible citizens, open to other cultures, able to appreciate the value of freedom, respectful of human dignity and differences, and able to prevent

conflicts or resolve them by non-violent means”.³ Two years earlier, the organisation launched a project called “Toward a Culture of Peace”. In a report submitted to the United Nations General Assembly in September 1996, it was stated that peace-building is a matter for countries at all stages of development and not only post-conflict areas. The idea was to “to disarm people’s minds” by offering preventive action in situations with the potential for violent conflict. Intercultural understanding was to replace enemy images. Based on the UNESCO dictum that “since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed”, the “Learning to Live Together” programme was meant to transform the way people think and behave towards the Other.⁴

The academic literature to date lacks a systematic typology of Otherness; the social psychologist Herbert Mead, for example, used the term “generalized other” to describe the collection of roles and attitudes that people use as a point of reference regarding how to behave in a given situation (Mead 1934: 154–158). Another related term is “significant other”, which connotes in psychology any person who has great importance to an individual’s life or well-being. In sociology, it describes any person with a strong influence on an individual’s self-concept (Woelfel and Haller 1971). Triandafyllidou argues that the history of each nation is marked by the presence of significant others that have influenced the development of its identity by means of their “threatening” presence. In other words, it refers to another nation or ethnic/religious group that is territorially close to, or indeed within, the national community and seems to threaten the in-group’s identity, distinctiveness and/or independence. Significant others may be distinguished as either internal or external (Triandafyllidou 1998: 600; Amishai-Maisals 1999: 44). The former refers to religious, ethnic or gender minorities or immigrant communities located within the boundaries of the state. In his analysis of the Other within Israeli society, Dan Bar-On mentioned several internal Others: the Jew in the Diaspora, the ethnic (Mizrahi) Jew and the Arab (Bar-On 1999: 151). In contrast, the external Other refers to a close or remote neighbour located outside the boundaries of the state. Internal significant Others are perceived to erode the unity or authenticity of the nation from within, while external significant Others are seen as challenging the territorial and/or cultural integrity of the nation from without (Triandafyllidou 1998: 602–603). Many Arab Middle East countries use the “Zionist State” (Israel) to mean this external Other, challenging both the territorial and cultural integrity of Arab nations.

In spite of the declared importance of the role of the Other in the process of building a national identity, this has not been adequately reflected in the academic literature to date. This neglect is particularly evident in the study of school textbooks. In both authoritarian and democratic countries, school textbooks tend to trace specific self-images and images of alleged Others back into the past and to lend them specific validity, to the point of constructing and legitimising national superiority, collective victimhood or hostility (Lassig 2013: 1). It is perhaps not surprising that the view of the Other in the Arab-Israeli conflict has received some attention (Firer and Adwan 2004; Pingel 2003; Bar-Tal and Teichman 2004; Podeh 2002; Peled-Elhanan 2012), yet the study of the Other in Middle Eastern states and societies has been rather limited (Alayan et al. 2012; Doumato and Starrett 2007; Kabapinar 2007; Labib 2008). The aim of this collection is to fill this void by analysing the image of the Other in several states of the greater Middle East. While the first chapters address theoretical questions relating to the study of textbooks, subsequent case studies cover a broad spectrum of Middle Eastern states and societies: Turkey, Egypt, Cyprus, Lebanon, Iraq, Kurdistan, Jordan, Morocco, Tunisia, Israel and Palestine.

The major argument of this collection is that the Middle Eastern context exhibits a plethora of internal and external Others. In other words, in the Middle East there are multiple Others, as each state tends to form its own Others according to its history and culture. If it is possible to locate multiple modernities in sociology (Eisenstadt 2000a, b), multiple selves in psychology (Elster 1985) and multiple identities in the modern history of the Middle East (Lewis 1998), it is not unreasonable to discover multiple Others in the Middle East, as found in the case of the European Union (Simonsen 2004: 357–362; Strath 2000). It is possible to find in almost every state a significant Other(s), while other Others are relegated to a secondary role. Clearly, most states necessitate an Other in order to construct a separate national self; it can be defined as the “essential Other”.⁵ Thus, for example, Turkish textbooks relate to the Greek and Armenian otherness, Israel to the Arab/Palestinian, Egypt, Jordan and Palestine to the Jewish-Zionist and so on. Yet, this study shows that there are unique cases in which the Other does *not* play a meaningful role in the construction of the national identity, such are the cases of the Tunisian and Kurdish textbooks. In fact, Indonesian textbooks, according to another study, convey tolerance towards the religious Other (Urschel 2002). These case studies thus challenge the validity of the accepted premise that the con-

struction of an evil Other is an essential element in the process of building one's own national identity.

OUTLINE OF THE BOOK

This book is composed of 15 chapters, each of which addresses how the Other is viewed in school textbooks in a specific state of the Middle East. The first chapter by Falk Pingel introduces a comparative perspective and examines models of constructing collective identities in European education systems as compared to those of the Middle East. He looks at the effects of globalisation on citizenship education, as well as the relationship between Europe and the Middle East as it is portrayed in both curriculums. He discovers that in these curricula, the national dimension still prevails over broader regional bonds, despite the existence of globalisation elements. Pingel's chapter further suggests potential contributions of recent international textbook projects with a view to changing the ways in which collective identities are constructed in both regions.

Nathan Brown writes about the perceptions of citizenship found in Palestinian education and detects an "Unseen Conflict over the Hidden Curriculum". His chapter demonstrates that while there has been some effort to create a democratic ethos of progressive and modern Palestinian nationalism, the textbooks written in the 1990s and the early 2000s generally fail to uphold that vision. Brown examines Palestinian domestic policy since the completion of the new Palestinian curriculum, with a special focus on the struggle over progressive pedagogy and the political disagreement between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Samira Alayan focuses on the Palestinian history curricula for the preparatory and secondary levels. She examines how the Other is presented in these textbooks as well as how the Palestinian national identity is represented. The study has found that Palestinian history textbooks depict the Zionist movement as an oppressor and a remnant of Western colonialism, although they do differentiate between Zionism and Judaism. Alayan further notes that these textbooks depict Palestinian national identity as the opposite of Zionism, constructing the former as the adversary of the latter.

Yael Teff-Seker writes about the perception of the Arab and Palestinian Other in the Jewish-Israeli curriculum in her chapter on Israeli textbooks for the state and state-religious Jewish sector. Her study shows that while messages of peace and tolerance are abundant in Jewish-Israeli school

textbooks, these textbooks at the same time include a victim perception that frequently depicts Arabs and Palestinians as the instigators of violence and the Jewish side in a position of mere defence. Further, while there are instances where the Arab and specifically Palestinian narrative is presented, this is mostly limited to Israeli-Palestinian citizens; a non-Israeli-Palestinian narrative is barely visible. While some maps attribute a certain physical recognition to the Palestinians, these are not homogeneous; some include the Green Line or mark the borders according to the Oslo Accords, while others only feature so-called A-territories (under the Palestinian Authority's full control) or give the names only of Palestinian cities (e.g., Gaza).

Hana Shemesh (Rash) focuses on the political and social messages of Arab-Israeli education in her chapter on history textbooks for Arab schools in Israel as reflections of political and social development. Shemesh examines Arab-Israeli history textbooks, which are written and monitored by the Israeli Ministry of Education, specifically how they present and develop the narrative of Arab and Palestinian history between 1948 and 2008, focusing on the Balfour declaration in 1917 and the war of 1948.

Elie Podeh writes about the manner in which Jews and Israel are portrayed in Egyptian education. He analyses the images of Jews, Israel and the Arab-Israeli conflict as reflected in contemporary Egyptian textbooks in the subjects of social studies, history, geography and Islamic religion. He has found that unlike pre-1979 Egyptian textbooks, their more recent counterparts regard the existence of Israel as a fact and no longer contain the explicitly dehumanising elements of former editions. Nevertheless, Podeh discovers that Egyptian textbooks still feature omissions and distortions, while conveying delegitimising messages regarding Jews. Israel's legitimacy is denied, and it is depicted as an imperialist state that resides on what should be Palestinian land. Maps present Israel's territory as "occupied Palestine", and peace is depicted not as an important value but rather as a practical arrangement that is beneficial to Egypt.

Iris Fruchter-Ronen examines images of Self and Other in Jordanian textbooks between 1964 and 2010 and how these images reflect upon Jordan's national identity, focusing on the new textbooks written after the signing of the Peace Treaty with Israel in 1994. She explores how threats to the Jordanian state and national identity are reflected in Jordanian school textbooks and discovers that, while efforts to "Jordanise" the Palestinians were prominent in the 1960s, in the 1990s, after the disengagement from the West Bank, a contrasting narrative of separation became prominent. The Peace Agreement between Israel and Jordan is

not mentioned in the school textbooks except in one published in 2005, which questions whether the treaty with Israel is a “just peace”.

Jonathan Kriener examines school textbooks for religious education in Lebanon and asks whether it is a case of “Religious Pluralism or Multiplied Simple-Mindedness”, specifically analysing how religious pluralism is described in these books. He focuses on the individual as well as the collective aspects of religious pluralism and particularly on polity and on religious freedom. His analysis unveils a tight connection between religion and state in Lebanon. He also finds inaccuracies in the depiction of what constitutes a secular state and religious freedom, as well as ignorance of other denominations. He finds exceptions, however, in the Catholic textbooks, which include a more accurate perception of freedom of belief and of other denominations.

Arnon Groiss analyses Tunisian textbooks with a focus on aspects of self-identity and attitude to Others. He demonstrates that the Tunisian textbooks of the previous Ben-Ali regime present a unique attitude in this regard as compared to other Middle Eastern counterparts. Tunisian textbooks elevate Others to the rank of the Self and demonstrate a genuine openness in terms of co-existence. These textbooks accept globalisation on a larger scale and treat the historical role of France as the colonialist occupier of Tunisia in a manner that minimises animosity. The books also demonstrate a relatively tolerant attitude towards Israel and Jews as compared to textbooks in other Muslim countries in the Middle East.

Katherine Maye-Saidi examines the narratives and discourse on national identity and Others in contemporary Moroccan textbooks. She analyses the official discourse especially on Imazighen or Berbers and other groups in Morocco such as the Jewish population and how they are presented in educational media. She also questions whether the different practices are part of a post-colonial homogenising practice or “epistemic violence”, where a discourse is imposed upon a silenced group. While Moroccan national identity thus comprises elements from Morocco’s pre-Islamic past, it is nevertheless still deeply rooted in an Arab-Islamic narrative. Morocco does not subscribe to pan-Arabism, but the discourse places Morocco within the context of greater Maghreb and then the Arab world—although not in the context of Africa or the non-Arab Islamic world. Maye-Saidi further ascertains that the narrative does not construct national identity by delegitimising any Others such as Berbers, Christians or Europeans; rather, the textbook narrative seeks an objective portrayal.

Areti Demosthenous analyses in her chapter the influence of history and civics textbooks on the formation of a Turkish-Cypriot and a Greek-Cypriot identity and the perception of Otherness on both sides. Greek-Cypriot history textbooks present the Turkish Other as the one to have sacrificed the island's unity in order to unite Cyprus with Turkey. Turkish-Cypriot textbooks, on the other hand, show Greek Cypriots as different in culture to Greeks in Greece and present Turkish-Cypriot identity as independent. Demosthenous seeks to assess the perception of Others as well as self-perceptions in both historical narratives as a result of a systematic attempt to uphold the differences and distances with regard to the other community. The chapter concludes with the presentation of tensions existing in present-day education as compared to what might be more critical and rational intercultural content and constructivist epistemology based on progressive pedagogy.

Achim Rohde explores the treatment of Islam in Iraqi education in the 1990s and 2000s, specifically identity discourses in Iraqi textbooks before and after 2003. He demonstrates that in contrast to the Iraqi textbooks under Saddam Hussein which contained a Sunni bias, there were certain changes to the curriculum after the US invasion in 2003. His study discovers that, as part of its religious policies during the 1990s, the regime symbolically acknowledged a Shi'i perspective in textbook narratives. He also shows that although a Sunni bias still persisted in Iraqi textbooks even after 2003, the Iraqi government has gradually added more references to Shi'i Islam in its textbooks since 2004.

Sherko Kirmanj writes about Kurdish-Iraqi textbooks in his chapter on national identity and images of Self and Others in textbooks of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG). Kirmanj analyses specifically history and social studies textbooks in terms of their contribution to the construction of the Kurdistan national identity, of a Kurdish community and to portrayals of Others. He argues that the textbooks aim to strengthen the process of nation formation in the Kurdistan region and the creation of a nation-state (Kurdistan) within Iraq. Kirmanj concludes that while Mesopotamian Semitic groups and other Muslim groups are "Othered", they are presented in a respectful manner and are neither delegitimised nor stigmatised.

In the last chapter of this book, Medi Nahmiyaz examines the portrayal of national and ethnic Others in Turkish History textbooks (1930–2010), specifically images of Greeks and Armenians. The textbooks demonstrate a binary worldview comprising those shown as "friends" and others

presented as “enemies”, the latter posing a threat to the Turkish nation. These textbooks delegitimise and dehumanise certain Others and show an elevated self-image characterised by heroism, endurance, courage, morality and tolerance. Greeks and Armenians are depicted in Turkish textbooks in a manner that has changed through the years, most significantly when adding a discussion of the Armenian community to the textbooks in the early 1980s.

NOTES

1. The comprehensive work invested in the field, as reflected in the work and publications of the Georg Eckert Institute for Textbook Revision in Germany—which since 1975 has served as Europe’s leading centre for administrating, organising and sponsoring the study of international textbook revision—is perhaps an indication of the seriousness with which the textbook is still regarded (Podeh 2002: 5).
2. http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=15244&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html (Accessed January 2017).
3. “The Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy”, adopted in Geneva, October 1994: http://wpdi.org/sites/default/files/REV_74_E.PDF (Accessed January 2017).
4. Report of UNESCO to the UNGA with regard to the project “Towards a Culture of Peace”, submitted in September 1996: <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/docs/51/plenary/a51-395.htm> (Accessed January 2017).
5. In psychology, this term means “the psychological use of others for self-affirmation, the enhancement of personal integrity, the provision of solace during times of misfortune or adversity” (Galatzer-Levy and Cohler 1993: 360).

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When Europe Meets the Middle East: Constructing Collective Identities in Social Studies Textbooks for a Globalising World

Falk Pingel

It is a truism that social studies textbooks reflect concepts of collective identities. This chapter examines models of constructing collective identities, taking European examples as a point of departure before comparing findings with research on the Middle East. It also addresses changing patterns of textbook research and revision and draws upon the findings of John Meyer and others, whose comparative studies on structural developments of education conclude that globalisation leads to a “world model of education”. In their view, such a “world model” challenges the dominance of the nation-state paradigm and generates a human rights-based cosmopolitan concept of citizenship education. This proposition will be tested against results of international textbook research and revision.

The article focuses on the ways in which textbooks represent the relationship between Europe and the Middle East. In both regions, social studies textbooks employ multi-layered identity patterns. Also, besides a growing global awareness, the national dimension still prevails over broader regional bonds. However, a wide academic network of textbook

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research and revision has been developed in Europe with the aim to examine the role of social studies textbooks in conflict situations where collective identities are at stake. Similar cross-border, comparative textbook studies are still in their infancies in the Middle East. Nevertheless, also here a critical mass of scholars and institutions has been generated which could serve as a critical observer of the production of problematic identity concepts in textbooks. Yet, there is still a long way to go before Meyer's global paradigm will be implemented in the Middle East—if indeed Meyer is right at all.

FROM IMAGES OF A SMALL WORLD TO THE REPRESENTATION OF THE GRAND NATION

Comenius' *Orbis sensualium pictus* was an exemplary textbook of early modern Europe, and it became one of the most used teaching tools (besides the Bible) in schools for about 150 years. The first edition appeared in a bilingual Latin–German version in 1658 (Comenius 1985). Soon, it was translated into many other European and some extra-European languages.¹ The work is outstanding primarily because of his multi-dimensional pedagogical structure. First, it offers a kind of seventeenth-century encyclopaedia of the world as seen from a central European point of view. Secondly, restricting the range of school knowledge to the “visible world” rather than including abstract ideas or concepts, Comenius chose a didactical point of view appropriate for students' understanding. Just as all the other things that were explained in the book, even God became visualised and could be expressed in a picture. Thirdly, it was a language book enabling students to name things in the then “European” working language of Latin and the respective “national” languages. It represented “international” and, in the eyes of contemporaneous Europeans, even “world” (today we would say “global”) wisdom. It constituted a bourgeois, non-privileged approach to education which strove to make the whole world apprehensible to any child. Although the presentation was embedded in a Christian worldview, in its focus on the material world (or better: the world as visible matter) it was less ideologically loaded than the conventional books on history, Christian religion or classical philosophy of that time. For this reason, it could be used in different cultural and political contexts across Europe (Kotowski 1992; Michel 1973).

The nineteenth-century emergence of the nation-state as the dominant political model, the differentiation of the sciences and the scientification of history in particular, brought this general, encyclopaedic and supra-national approach to education to an end. On the one hand, specialised subject matters and their respective textbooks constituted a modern, formal curriculum which gained ground in almost all industrialised European countries. On the other hand, content issues in geography, history and civic education (later referred to as the social sciences) became “nationalised” and followed political goals. For history education, the ultimate aims were to inspire patriotism and ensure the nation’s survival and expansion. In the wake of European (and US) imperialism, this new curricular paradigm spread over the whole globe. This happened partly through the direct and powerful intervention visible in areas of colonial domination (Altbach and Kelly 1978; Szyliowicz 1973) and partly through indirect influence such as Japan and China’s decision to adopt European models to modernise their education systems (Platt 1999; Cleverley 1985; Thomas and Postlethwaite 1983; Livingston et al. 1973).

The concept of the nation-state became the most powerful means of establishing a feeling of collective belonging. It replaced, or amended, the dynastic model of legitimate political power, although spheres such as religion, language and cultural tradition were still important contributors to the definition of a collective self-image. The nation seemed to incorporate all these different layers of identification. Within culturally mixed societies, groups could gain “cultural autonomy” and achieve some kind of partial independence under the umbrella of the nation-state. Indeed, nation-states which shared politico-ideological or cultural characteristics with other countries could develop patterns of supra-national identification.

The nation-state is an ideal concept that has almost never been implemented in a pure form, where the main characteristics of the self-image would be shared by all members of the society. Defining one’s own group has never been a totally inclusive exercise in practice, as it also requires the exclusion or marginalisation of those to whom a minority—if not inferiority—status is attached. Defining a group identity necessarily creates an understanding of the “Other” who does not form part of one’s own group and must be different in order to be distinct. Distinctiveness without difference is inconceivable. As the nation state requires the creation of distinct political entities, each nation-state has to be different in regard to its “national” characteristics. In return, difference in whatever may be regarded as a “national” characteristic tends to arouse the claim of being

distinct and in need of national independence (Nasser 2005; Cerulo 1997; Jenkins 1996).

These mechanisms of political identification are still at work. The inextricable relationship between self-definition and definition of the Other has contributed to the establishment of new states after the dissolution of Soviet rule in Eastern Europe. Its power can also be seen in separation movements within Europe, for example, in Spain or Belgium. Striving for supra-nationality and national separation go hand in hand here as the Flemish people or the Catalans—beyond aiming for their own independence—want to become members of the EU.

In reality, nation-states are neither “given” nor exclusively defined by ethnic factors. Often they go back to older political units of times when the nation did not exist or had a different meaning. Their current borders result from history as well as modern power politics. The nation is historically constructed (and not “imagined”, in Anderson parlance). What is often imagined, however, is its claimed homogeneity and exclusiveness. With the idealised, glorified and racially essentialist concept of the nation as a biological entity on the one hand, and the increasingly multicultural and multiethnic make-up of modern societies on the other, the viability of national concepts for constituting political legitimacy has been cast into doubt (Alavi and Henke-Bockschatz 2004). History textbook authors, therefore, question the exclusive or leading role that national narratives take as the backbone of history teaching (Matthes and Heinze 2004; for a case study, see Chikovani 2008). Germany’s recent history, compared to its current status as a country of immigration and its leading role in fostering the supra-national process of European integration, may render these doubts stronger there than in other European countries. Germany is in search of appropriate identification patterns which are less historically loaded than those of “the nation”. The constructed collective identity should no longer be based upon a nation whose “Germanity” can anyway only vaguely be defined but rather in the collective loyalty to a constitution which guarantees democratic participation and basic human rights. This concept is called “Verfassungspatriotismus” (constitutional patriotism) (Sternberger 1990; Foley 2006–2007).

This approach has shifted attention from the nation to overarching values which are guaranteed to all human beings. This path of thought is connected to trends of globalisation which are also affecting school education. In the past, textbooks and teaching programmes reflected a country’s set of values, fixed corpus of knowledge and range of officially

recognised behavioural attitudes. The various national curriculums shared structural similarities concerning the set of disciplines taught, the average hours of lessons per week, main content areas and methodological issues. Recent research has revealed that the process of globalisation has intensified long-term trends of harmonising lesson plans, defining common basic knowledge, methodological requirements and conveying overall values. John Meyer and his team see the national education systems embedded in a world society that challenges narrow national concepts of what should be known and transmitted from one generation to the next (Benavot and Braslavsky 2006; Meyer and Ramirez 2000; Meyer et al. 1992). This global trend leads Meyer to conclude that there is a growing need to reorganise the concept of national societies and states around notions of being part of a global collective and to support expansive ideas about individual human development and human rights. Human rights are seen as the only possible basic values of a global society, based on the rational use of the sciences, peaceful interaction in all fields of commerce and communication and the acknowledgement of human rights to protect the individual vis-à-vis the abstract collective. Meyer adds to this (2006: 271): “In the emergent world curriculum older models of closed and conflicting national states, the primordial national identities and the subordination of individuals to these states are all greatly weakened...the individual human person...[has to be] seen as a member of human society as a whole rather than principally as the citizen of a nation-state.”

It is exactly because of this inherent trend of the globalisation of education, as Meyer has analysed it, that Meyer himself advocates this process and uses his research findings to even accelerate and expand this trend. If globalisation has an impact on the selection criteria for content and methodology in the social studies in the way Meyer suggests, social studies textbooks will be less nation-centred and should bear less conflict potential than in the past.

Can textbook authors thus return to the world opened by Comenius? Is the globalisation of education really associated with the recognition of general human values and content areas as well as of attitudes that support the implementation of these values in any given society? Some of Meyer's colleagues are sceptical of such achievements; Moritz Rosenmund contends that: “...changing the educational content ... does not necessarily imply the acceptance of a standardised dominant model of education” (2006: 188). He adds that his objection applies in particular to Islamic states. He points to other authors like William K. Cummings (2003) and

Schriewer (2000) who “emphasize the internal dynamics of educational institutions ... This view suggests that endogenous forces and interrelationship networks ... lead to a high degree of variety, instead of isomorphism” (Rosenmund 2006: 176). Classroom observation further suggests that national cultural contexts influence the transmittance of values as well as teaching and learning strategies so that, besides trends of Europeanisation and globalisation of educational objectives and methods, differences in contents persist (Osborn et al. 2003).

GLOBAL AND LOCAL CHALLENGES FOR TEXTBOOK REVISION

As far as the teaching of the social sciences in general and of history in particular is concerned, international textbook research and revision has for long served as a means to foster international understanding and to reduce national and cultural prejudices. Based on a consensus model, international textbook recommendations contributed to harmonising conflicting interpretations of contested and identity-sensitive issues in the teaching of the aforementioned disciplines (Pingel 2010b).

Exclusive, positive national self-images and the respective adversary negative images of the Other as displayed in school textbooks became an issue of international concern after the disastrous experience of the First World War. The League of Nations, in cooperation with other international organisations and national committees, supported mutual examination and screening of history and geography schoolbooks with the aim to reduce national and cultural stereotypes and foster awareness of peaceful conflict resolution amongst educational authorities and teachers’ associations. UNESCO as the successor of the League took up this work after the Second World War, which had proved the bare necessity of the task but also revealed its relative weakness in the political arena. Although international textbook revision was meant to combat overstated nationalism in the portrayal of Self and Other in schoolbooks, the League—and later on also UNESCO and their cooperation partners—did not and could not question the paradigm of national identification on which the historical narratives and the presentation of one’s own society were based. As institutions that represented nation-states, they conducted international textbook revision along the principle of national representation. Main agents of textbook consultations were international organisations, national governments (foreign offices, ministries of education) and national professional associations. This implicated that bilateral or multilateral

commissions for textbook revision focused on each other's external relations but were largely not able to deal with each other's domestic affairs. Also, issues that shaped world affairs but were not directly related to the national interests of the respective countries could hardly be treated. Thus, the multi-layered structure of identification patterns could often not be taken into account. Textbook analysis and recommendations addressed mainly international, political and only to a lesser extent also social and cultural dimensions. Amongst others, the German *International Textbook Institute* as an academic institution—although its activities were mainly funded by the state—did devote some multilateral conferences to broader themes such as religion, but such activities remained peripheral. They may have stimulated the academic debate but did not lead to concrete recommendations to be forwarded to educational authorities for possible implementation (Religion und Kirchen 1977).

The path to the one-world has generated structural changes in content and methodology of international comparative textbook projects. With the end of the divided world, the emergence of new states, the re-establishment of states that had been incorporated into the Soviet Union and the change of the internal make-up of societies, educators became more interested in the developmental processes of societies in transition. The connection between internal interests, conflict and international affairs—which had long been a research topic in academic history and political science—came into the focus of textbook analysis and revision. The conflict-focus itself shifted: understandably, the reduction of conflict potential between states had been in the foreground of textbook revision in the era after the World Wars. After 1990, UNESCO in particular raised awareness of the powerful influence that internal conflicts exert on education. Civil war proved to be one of the greatest obstacles to implementing UNESCO's education reform agenda such as quality education, alphabetisation and so on. Often, in cases of internal turmoil, governmental institutions are paralysed or at least take a one-sided stand because they are part of the conflict themselves. Civil society groups and non-governmental organisations, academic institutes, scholars' initiatives and professional associations of teachers have taken the initiative in dealing with current, open, sometimes even still violent conflicts and clashes between the narratives of different ethnic groups within a state or society. International organisations, local NGOs and national governments have tried to revise the way history and civics are taught in conflict regions such as South Africa, Rwanda, Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Palestine, Timor and

the Lebanon, amongst others.² The issue of “failed states”—individual states or entire regions that cannot be administered orderly and peacefully—came to the attention of politicians and political scientists after the breaking down of the bipolar system. As deeply divided societies often seek the roots of conflict in history, the teaching of history and civics can be crucial in dividing as well as reuniting the people (Weiland et al. 2011; Cahill 2010). In many of these cases, no viable solution could be found to answer the question of how to present past conflicts or continuing tensions in teaching material. The conflict potential that textbook authors have to deal with has shifted, but one cannot say that it has been reduced.

Furthermore, in former times, it was mainly political history and geography that were at stake in processes of textbook revision. Nowadays, the contents and role of religious education as well as cultural traditions feature prominently in the agenda of textbook projects. As cultural contexts and religious denominations often transgress boundaries, conflicts within and between wider regions comprising several states gain in importance, and bilateral textbook consultations are an insufficient model to handle multilateral textbook conflicts.

Globalisation has strengthened the formation and the influence of institutions which act on a global or regional-supra-national level (such as the EU or the Hague Court). Globalisation pushes nation-states to join forces. Therefore, globalisation and regionalisation go hand in hand. Although this process can be noticed foremost in Europe and partly in the Americas, also in the Middle East and Africa, awareness of regional cooperation is growing; the issue is hotly discussed in Asia (Weber 2011). Regional, supra-national organisations such as the EU, the League of the Arab States or the Organisation for African Unity feel obliged to seek for solutions not only of conflicts within their own region but also of conflicts with neighbouring regions. Thus, the Council of Europe, the League of Arab States, UNESCO’s Mediterranean Office and ISESCO have become involved in textbook analysis and revision between Europe and the Middle East (International Bureau of Education 2003; Parliamentary Assembly 2003).

As we have already seen due to migration flows, in many countries, the unity of state and nation has to be reconsidered. States have to be conceived today as mostly multicultural and multiethnic entities. However, most of the narratives in history textbooks and, although to a lesser extent, the presentation of one’s own society in civics textbooks still follow the model of a principally homogenous nation-state. Textbook authors need new models to successfully synthesise the national, regional and global dimensions in

the representation of multicultural societies. So far, they are faced with a global topic but still use nation-centred approaches when seeking for solutions. Hanna Schissler has examined the global challenges national education systems have to face. The factors she identifies hardly offer a prospect of a harmonious and egalitarian world society; rather, they represent competing features of worldwide developments to which individual countries and cultures will accommodate in quite different ways (Schissler 2009). The “one-world” will entail societies of “multiple modernities” (Eisenstadt 2002; Suarez-Orozco and Qin-Hilliard 2006). Schissler contends that conflicting interpretations will arise particularly on issues where the claim for equality within the one-world will clash with the reality of differences.

So-called universal values such as social justice are moulded according to particular regional, national and local conditions: how can the idea of the welfare state and of equal opportunities be implemented in a country like India with its tradition of a society divided into castes? Would this not presuppose a fully established secular society? How could such an issue be treated in cross-national or international textbook consultations? French-Moroccan or Algerian textbooks consultations about colonialism and the role of religion reveal fundamental differences in interpretative concepts so that joint recommendations can hardly be achieved.³

These examples put into question John Meyer’s suggestion of an ever-increasing human rights-based approach on which curricula are founded. His statement seems to address the need for such a development rather than a process already under way. At least in the many conflict areas, in contrast to curricula statements that pay lip service to human rights, content issues remain controversial when they convey biased views and justify one or the other side of the conflict. The presentation as well as the denial of conflicts in textbooks can trigger out new controversies so that history education itself becomes a controversial topic in conflict or post-conflict societies (Pingel 2008). In this regard, textbooks become part of the conflict (Stöber and Khan Banerjee 2010).

CONTEXTUALISING THE TEXTBOOK: REFINING METHODS OF ANALYSIS

Although, according to the traditional model, textbook consultations have been conducted within a political framework, scholarly analysis and a rational, methodologically controlled discussion which should lead to

joint recommendations have been crucial to giving recommendations legitimacy. The many textbook revision consultations which were held after 1945 aroused scholars' interests in textbooks as a particular medium of representation. Research on textbooks developed into a sub-discipline of pedagogical inquiry and discourse analysis independent from current projects of textbook revision and political objectives. An important step forward to extending the scholarly basis of textbook research and revision was the foundation of specialised institutions and publication organs that helped to develop textbook research as a stream of applied sciences.⁴ However, although methods of textbook analysis have been refined and structures of textbook consultations have become more sophisticated, the communication strategies applied in consultations are still under-researched (Pingel 2010a).

In the last few decades, specialised international textbook research with its focus on identity patterns, the creation of images of Self and Other and problems of inclusion and exclusion have been amended by general textbook research. It takes into account the various dimensions of the schoolbook as a transmitter of knowledge and skills in a particular pedagogical environment which is controlled or supervised by the state (Höhne 2003; Mikk 2000; Olechowski 1995). This growing interest in schoolbooks as a particular medium in a time where the textbook competes increasingly with electronic media has found its expression in the foundation of IARTEM (International Association for Research on Textbooks and Educational Media).⁵ "Text" comprises here the interplay of all the different components of a modern textbook such as the authors' text, sources, figures, illustrations, assignments and so on.

Furthermore, the textbook is no longer read just as a text which is symmetrically reproduced in the readers', that is, the students', minds. Rather, the learning and teaching context in which the book is embedded is taken into account as well, because to a great extent this context moulds the way that teachers teach the book and students conceive and remember what they have read and heard. Porat (2004) has shown that students tend to reduce tension between their "cultural milieu" and preconceived interpretations of a certain event on the one hand and the textbooks' narrative on the other hand. This is particularly relevant when crucial issues are at stake which are related to concepts of political or cultural identification, such as students' position in regard to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. Proske (2009) has observed that students charge descriptive rational school texts about national socialism with their own emotional judgements. Taylor and Young (2003: 12–13) state: "Frequently, students' own

histories relate stories that run counter to official or standard treatments of the past, and offer powerful and alternative insights into the social realities of people's lives. 'Unofficial' histories also may have the immediacy and power to exert a crucial influence on learners' perceptions of the past." A textbook presentation which does not fit into the students' "cultural milieu" is moulded in the students' reading from two poles: Firstly, the reading of a mere text can hardly change a perception that has been shaped through repeated social contacts over a longer time and already formed the student's cultural memory. Secondly, students tend to regard textbooks as authoritative narratives that tell the truth (Borries et al. 2005; Angvik and Borries 1997); they are hesitant to change what the textbook says; therefore, they read selectively and take from the textbook narrative what fits into their cultural milieu. This kind of research points to the limitations of pure text analysis as a research tool.

The variety of layers of identity and the need to contextualise schoolbook content has refined methods of textbook analysis. The political context is largely represented by the curricula so that textbook analysis and curricula studies are interrelated. It is more difficult to take into consideration broad cultural concepts as conveyed by the media and social groups. Interviews with teachers and students are a means to track down contradictions and differences in teachers', students' and textbook authors' concepts of identity-sensitive issues (Huess 2013; Morgan 2005; Alexander 2001).⁶ In particular, concepts of political identity and moral judgements are not fully developed in student' minds; their development is age dependent. Textbook analysis often uses categories that disregard the age-specific learning processes and applies categories of analysis that are taken over from the respective research discipline. This may lead to unfair evaluations.

Computerised textbook analysis allows for a more detailed content and linguistic examination and helps analyse a greater number of books in order to increase validity and make the sample more representative. For example, the concept of identity can be broken down into a number of sub-items, such as political ideologies, cultural characteristics and religious and ethnic affiliations. Codes can be developed indicating whether these items are addressed or left out, just mentioned or treated in detail (Schreiber 2009). The categories for coding can be derived from external sources—theoretical deliberations, for example—or from the text itself which should be analysed ("immanent interpretation"; Lamnek 2000). Software for text interpretation allows each text unit (be it a word, sentence, paragraph, illustration, assignment, etc.) to be attached to the

respective code.⁷ Linguistic analysis reveals whether text units are presented in descriptive form or loaded with evaluations and emotive signifiers. In case of multi-rater research projects, detailed code books have to be developed to define the items and standardise rating procedures.

DIFFERENT LAYERS OF COLLECTIVE IDENTITIES IN EUROPE

Some larger research projects and a greater number of smaller studies have investigated the various layers of collective identities as portrayed in European social studies textbooks.⁸ In this sub-chapter, their main results will be compared with findings of a project on self-image and image of the other the Georg Eckert Institute conducted in Arab countries of the Middle East.⁹

The importance of the European dimension (compared to the national and global one) has increased considerably in public awareness as well as in teaching material since the 1990s, not only but foremost in member and designated member states of the EU. Some Western European history textbooks allot almost the same space to the European and the national dimension. Nevertheless, it is still true that most history textbooks of European countries devote the largest space to their own national history. Although the nation, and in some countries—particularly in South Eastern as well as in Central and Eastern Europe—also ethnicity, shape the core political identity, national history is embedded in a European context. According to space analyses, national history makes up 40–70 per cent of history textbook content in volumes dealing with history from the early Middle Ages up to the present. In some countries, again mostly located in South Eastern, Central and Eastern Europe, such as Poland, Greece or Russia, national history makes up more than 50 per cent of the whole content; in most Western European countries, the figure dropped below this margin. Even if national history has still the lion's share, European together with extra-European, global or world history may amount to up to 60 per cent. What can be regarded as even more important in respect to students' understanding of the text is the fact that explicit positive and emotive evaluations of national belonging play a minor role in many Western European textbooks, whereas they are still often found in Eastern European books.

The identification patterns in geography textbooks have changed more radically than in history books. Whereas traditionally, geography textbooks were structured according to regional and country units, a thematic

approach is now prevailing in secondary teaching. Nevertheless, Europe or the European Union features as an important geographical unit (Stöber 2002; Haubrich 1994). “National geography” is mainly dealt with in lower classes. Also, geography as well as civics textbooks tend to pay more attention to the inner diversity of one’s own society than history textbooks do. Issues such as minorities and migration are often dealt with as thematic topics of global as well as of national relevance. Textbook experts underscore the need for integrating (which should not be equated with assimilating) the growing cultural, ethnic or religious minorities and plead for diversity to be accepted as an enrichment of social life (Senegačnik 2012; Faas 2011; Hintermann and Johansson 2010). The notion of a double or manifold political and cultural identity is widely accepted and developed in many textbooks. It is shown that citizens of the EU and the Council of Europe member states enjoy certain European rights and obligations. Whereas the present dimension of collective identity is mainly located in the political sphere (nation, state, European organisations), the historical roots of European commonalities are mainly seen in cultural features. Here, topics such as Christendom, rational thinking, fights for individual freedom and cultural achievements feature prominently.

The nation has lost its heroic image and has become void of mystification. Instead, it is becoming the result of long historical processes, internal as well external power politics, economic relations and the collective acceptance of values and attitudes that bind people together. This assessment applies more to Western European books than to Eastern ones. In particular, in South Eastern Europe (including Greece), Poland and Russia, ethnically loaded myths of origin or cultural missions can still be detected in textbooks (Zajda 2012; Zvereva 2009; Broeders 2008; Maier 2004, 2005; Xochellis and Toloudi 2001; Kaplan et al. 1999). In contrast, the turn to de-ideologise and secularise the nation has been striking in Italy and Spain. Italy’s textbook market was particularly notable, as it was divided into a catholic, communist/socialist and liberal track until well into the 1980s. These differences have almost faded away (Ascenzi 2009; Baldocchi and Marinella 2009; Squarcina 2009; Cajani 2006). The changes in Spain were even more remarkable (Valls Montés 2008; Bartilla 2001). The nationalistic, Catholic manuals of the centralised Franco system were replaced by Europe-oriented, multi-perspectival textbooks within a regionalised, competitive market structure. Whereas the old books celebrated the Spanish nation’s victory over Muslim Arabs during the period of “Reconquista” and eulogised the nation’s cultural mission

and superiority, current books offer Muslim as well Christian sources. This aims to help students comprehend the process of identification with the Spanish nation that former textbooks fostered and develop their skills for critical evaluation (Valls 2012). Today, the concept of the nation in Spain is multi-folded as the Basques and Catalans also conceive themselves as a nation and produce history textbooks in their own languages (Clemen 2011).

While Western European textbook authors have become hesitant to resort to emphatic language when dealing with feelings of national belonging, the emerging European identity is often presented as a development that deserves students' attention and offers a promising future perspective. Surveys show that the majority of young people within the EU have a positive view of the process of European integration even if their individual sense of political and cultural belonging comes from a national rather than European identity.¹⁰ Nevertheless, they set high, positive expectations in the process of European integration. Europe represents something like a link to universal values; young people associate it with the striving for peace, welfare and human rights. This aspect is highlighted in history and civics textbooks. Europe not only has a history and shapes present developments but is presented as a project with a promising future dimension. However, the current financial crisis may cast doubts on these expectations.

The reflection of globalisation is slowly gaining ground but hardly offers concrete identification patterns. Human rights issues and universal values are mostly treated in civics (and philosophy, if this is a separate subject). Furthermore, globalisation is also conceived as a threat which overruns regional or national characteristics and increases dependency on international developments. In spite of the growing attention that is paid to globalisation, the universal or global dimension in textbooks is the least developed. Since national and international history are taught in an integrated way, European school curricula, as a rule, do not prescribe special courses on the history of civilisation or on world history.

In the last two decades, the national paradigm has been further challenged by textbooks and educational material that have been written by multinational teams and are meant to overcome narrow national views. The development of multinational history books is strongly influenced by the breaking down of the bipolar world system; it forms part of the worldwide trend to establish regional units on a supra-national level. It is no wonder that these innovations take place foremost in Europe (Korostelina

and Lässig 2013) and East Asia (Han et al. 2012) because these regions were mainly affected by the great politico-economic changes of the last decades. Can these innovations be regarded as a—perhaps necessary—intermediary stage on the way to an even more courageous, universal approach to history?

Since the accelerated process of European integration, various initiatives have been under way to write a history textbook that could be used in all European countries alongside the national textbooks. So far, only one project could produce a successful result: *The European History Textbook* has been developed by a team of authors from a number of European countries. It meanwhile appeared in a second revised edition and has been translated in almost all national European languages (Delouche et al. 1993). Although the authors strive to give a comprehensive view of what binds Europe together in spite of the many inner violent clashes that mark European history from antiquity to present times, they concentrate their narrative on those countries which influenced all-over European developments more than other countries in a certain time period. One could say that the book displays a mixture of a systematic and an additive national approach to the history of Europe: Europe as seen through the lenses of its great contributors.

With the *Franco-German History Textbook* (Le Quintrec et al. 2006–2012), the first binational textbook is available that covers the upper secondary history school curricula of the two countries. It is written by a mixed team of German and French authors and published—albeit in the two different languages—in identical versions by a French and a German private educational publishing house. The development of this school-book series combines state-level guidance and expert management support with civil society initiative and private marketing. It goes back to an idea developed at a Franco-German youth meeting conducted within the framework of the publicly funded Franco-German Youth Office (“Deutsch-französisches Jugendwerk”). Delegates of this meeting forwarded the idea of producing a joint history textbook to the heads of their governments, who took the plan up and asked their administrations to seek for means of realisation. Supported by a binational advisory board, the two publishing houses realised the idea according to a proposal written by the board. The appearance of the first volume dealing with contemporary history made a lot of noise in the media and sold well. However, the reason for this success was not only that teachers were eager to teach it but that the issue of a binational curricular textbook attracted widespread general interest in

the public and the education professions. The book has set an example showing that the writing of school history is no longer confined to exclusive national concepts of history, at least in Western Europe. One can hardly say that the book reflects typical “German” or “French” academic streams; it rather shows that controversies where they arise are linked to different theoretical approaches which can be discussed and presented without being politicised or “nationalised” (Geiss 2010).

Obviously, such multinational initiatives made an impression foremost on the public (thanks to extensive media coverage), on professional associations of history teachers and on concerned educational authorities. Their immediate impact on classroom teaching is still weak. They may represent, in addition to the official and the real curriculum, a third, future curriculum. They work on a regional basis, bringing together authors and publishing houses from different countries but none of them have really gone beyond the national dimension as the basic structure of the narrative. They are meant to overcome misunderstandings generated through one-sided national views which are now replaced by a multi-perspectival and multinational narrative.

Despite these progressive developments, it must also be said that the definitions of European identification patterns, particularly as far as history and culture are concerned, often transmit implicitly or expressly an anti-Islamic message since Islam as a religion, cultural context and political power in history is regarded as an opponent of essential elements of the European consciousness.¹¹ Although a more open-minded view of Islam and the Muslim world gained ground in the last decades, which brings to the fore cultural achievements and knowledge transfer from the Muslim world to Christian Europe, modern terrorism, as far as it justifies its acts with reference to Islam, has revived stereotypical negative images not only in young people’s minds but also in educational material. The portrayal of the Islamic world in European textbooks depends on oscillating forces, which at times acknowledge the cultural diversity and cross-fertilisation that occurred, and at other times nurture the fear of anti-secular and anti-rational movements that are perceived as a threat to Europe. However, it must be added that the opposition of Self and Other serves here as an analytical category, not as a structural tool of forming the narrative. Rather, textbook authors strive to dissolve this opposition and underscore interrelatedness between different cultures, political systems and centres of economic activity. Nevertheless, the world appears to be divided into

different cultural, economic and political entities which are attributed with certain characteristics in the text; thus, the text transports certain images of these entities.

The Middle East, in general, features as a region of conflict and unrest, with the Israeli–Palestinian conflict in the centre. The centrality of Israeli–Palestinian relations in the perception of the region prevents textbook authors from describing in any detail living conditions and societal structures in Israel or Palestine. Whereas in Western European textbooks of the 1970s and 1980s, the Kibbutzim and the founding years of the Israeli society aroused some attention of textbook authors, the modernisation of Israel and the increasing importance of the international dimension in the depiction of the region has lessened the interest in Israel’s internal structure. In some Eastern European textbooks, Jewish community life—and partly also the persecution of Jews under Nazi occupation—is almost non-existent or only mentioned in passing (Goldstein 2002). Due to the significance of anti-Semitism in modern German history, German history and geography textbooks offer more information about issues such as immigration to Palestine and Israel and the forming of the state of Israel than most books of other countries. If even partly, German textbooks authors have implemented the recommendation of the German–Israeli textbook consultation to not depict Jews as only victims of history but also deal with Jewish community life and phases of living side by side with the Christian population. The respective textbook chapters, however, deal mainly with the Middle Ages or early modern times (Marienfeld 2010; Deutsch-israelische Schulbuchkommission 2015).¹²

CAN TEXTBOOK REVISION ITSELF BECOME A VICTIM OF THE CONFLICTING IDENTITY PATTERNS IT REVEALS?

The above overview demonstrates that textbook writing in European countries has been accompanied by growing activities of textbook research, textbook critique and textbook revision. However, Europe’s regions have been involved in these activities to quite a different extent. Textbook research and revision have been more developed in the Nordic countries, between Germany and France as well as Germany and Poland than in Eastern Europe. Since 1990, conflict-ridden regions such as the Balkans (Dimou 2009), Cyprus (Philippou 2012; Karahasan and Latif 2011) or Northern Ireland (Richardson 2011; Smith 2005; McCully 2003) have

become a focal point of research and partly also of intervention into textbook writing through the international community. The work of the Council of Europe on history education has considerably contributed to bringing together textbook authors and educational authorities from the up to then—with a few exceptions—divided circles of textbook experts from East and West in the last two decades (History Education in Europe 2006).

A similar net of cooperation in textbook issues has not yet been woven in the Middle East, although the first important steps have already been taken to increase internal cooperation and exchange with North America and Europe. One has to take into consideration, however, that comparative, multinational textbook research is still in its infancy in the MENA region. Since international organisations as well as national and regional institutions have emphasised the need for education reform in the MENA region (Georg Eckert Institute 2009), the few major studies that exist are mostly conducted, initiated or funded by institutions coming from outside the region (Doumato and Starrett 2007; Lähnemann et al. 2005–2012; Nasser 2011). Smaller curricula and textbook studies have been conducted (Faraq 2001) yet often in the framework of projects and international conferences without being published. Some recent studies link textbook researchers in Western Europe and North America with experts interested in textbook studies in the MENA region (Mazawi and Sultana 2010; Alayan et al. 2012). The close cultural relations between North African countries and France have brought about notable textbook studies earlier than in the Middle East (Hassani-Idrissi 1982, 1996; Laamirie and Ligue française 1993; Comment on enseigner l'histoire en Algérie 1995). Due to its close relation to (Western) European research developments, textbook research as well as international textbook revision played a role in Israel considerably earlier than in the Arab states. Israeli–German textbook recommendations were already published in 1985 (Deutsch-Israelische Schulbuchempfehlungen 1985) which could draw on textbook studies about each other's image already conducted since the 1960s (Robinsohn and Schatzker 1963; Schatzker 1979). Although Schatzker published particularly his textbook studies in German, his work at Haifa University stimulated further critical textbook analysis in Israel (Firer 1985, 1989).

Both the legacy of historical tradition and the conflict-ridden relationship between Jews and Arabs since the twentieth century contributed to the emergence of widely separated education systems which, for a long time, did not come into the focus of border-crossing research on either

side. The decline and final collapse of the Ottoman Empire led to a juxtaposition, mixture or competition of religious and secular streams of education. In the Mandate of Palestine, the political philosophy of the League of Nations granted, in principle, each of the different communities the right to maintain its own school system (Stüber 1994: 13). Therefore, a multi-layered structure developed: Arab state schools were mostly taken over from the Ottoman state system which had been modernised and secularised before the First World War; in addition, private Koranic schools, mostly on primary level, continued to exist. The conflicting perceptions of school education were still reflected in the controversial debate over the orientation of the first autonomous Palestinian curriculum in the 1990s. The result was a compromise: language and literature education show an imprint of Islamic influence, whereas the social sciences follow a more secular model (Brown 2003; Nordbruch 2003; see also Hovsepian 2008). The Jewish private sector showed this double structure too: on the one hand, the Zionist and labour organisations developed and “centralised” their own schools and put them under the control of their respective community organisations; on the other hand, a minority of religious (Mizrahi) schools existed which were only loosely connected to the Zionist-dominated community organisations and accepted control of their curricula through the Rabbinate (A Survey of Palestine 1991: Chap. XVI Sect. 2), pre-forming the divided school system of the later state of Israel. The politico-ideological divide including educational separation became so deep in the twentieth century that almost no cross-border research on each other’s textbooks had been conducted.

Only with the Madrid–Oslo process did the Israeli–Palestinian and Israeli–Arab relations come into the focus of textbook research, leading to first bilateral Israeli–Palestinian textbook projects (Firer and Adwan 2004; Podeh 2002, 2003; Abou Samra 1991; Bitan 1991). The work of the social psychologist Daniel Bar-Tal complemented text-related analysis with impact studies on the forming of prejudice in students’ minds (Bar-Tal 1999; Bar-Tal and Teichmann 2005). The development of new textbooks by the Palestinian National Authority aroused a fierce international textbook debate that stimulated textbook research and—often politically induced—textbook critique (Rotberg 2006).¹³ A NGO-based Israeli–Palestinian group of teachers and university scholars produced the first “dual narrative” of the Israeli–Palestinian relationship in the twentieth century, presenting a new paradigm for dealing with conflict relation which cannot yet be dealt with on bilateral governmental level (Adwan

et al. 2012; Rohde 2012). Unfortunately, neither government felt to be in a position to acknowledge the NGO's work and take advantage of it. On the contrary, schools are not allowed to use it.

The Council of Europe, UNESCO, ALECSO and ISESCO are engaged in a Euro–Arab cultural dialogue to ease cultural and religious tensions and combat the dissemination of prejudice or hate language in the media (including educational media). As national authorities and NGOs participate in these activities, the Euro–Arab cultural dialogue serves as an instructive example for textbook related cooperation on global, regional and national levels. Although so far it has created a lot of activities, eased communication between textbook experts and produced a number of textbook analyses, viable results of mutual textbook revision have not yet been achieved.¹⁴ The Euro–Arab cultural dialogue still tends to avoid or circumvent addressing basic differences in the construction of Self and Other in educational material of the Middle East and Europe, seemingly with the noble aim of not falling into the trap of cultural essentialism. However, misunderstandings and misperceptions cannot simply be “rectified” if they are rooted in overarching concepts of Self and Other. Drawing on the already impressive research which has been done, I would like to point to structural similarities and differences in the perception of Self and Other that could be taken as a point of departure for further inter-regional textbook comparison.

Interestingly, at first glance, the identity triad as found in European social studies textbooks (national – supra-national = European – global/universal level) corresponds to a triad in Arab textbooks of the Middle East which displays corresponding ranges of extension: here too, the national identity represents the inner circle, surrounded by the wider circle of the “Arab nation”, which comprises the Arab peoples who all form part of the Umma (the community of Islam). Like in the European case, political and cultural factors are mixed at supra-national level. However, in contrast to Europe, cultural characteristics, in particular language, play a decisive role here whereas common political organisations (Arab League) are of minor importance for the self-perception of the Arab nation. The Umma represents quasi-universal values shared by Muslim people. To what extent universal human values can be incorporated on this level to comprise both Muslims and “non-believers” is heavily contested (Dhouib 2012). As far as textbooks are concerned, universalism is not developed as an identificatory dimension in addition to the Umma. Moreover, in European social studies textbooks, universalism represents the least developed dimension.

The question of to what extent universal values are only an extension of European humanistic traditions and whether they allow for divergent cultural interpretations is contested too (Ignatieff 2003).

The different Arab layers of identity seem to be of equal value. However, by far, the greatest part of the text in history and civics schoolbooks is devoted to the national dimension. The Umma and the Arab nation enjoy a high reputation in theory but are treated in less detail. In addition, the texts reflect that the Arab and Islamic world are part of the globe but the global relationship is hardly developed into a discernible dimension of the collective identity. The core national identity is widely seen as homogeneous. Inner religious or social differentiation is hardly, and if, as a rule only in a cursory way, taken into account. The historical and territorial dimensions of nationality are underscored. As many of the Arab Middle Eastern states are young, cultural-religious (in contrast to political) features play an important role in shaping the historical identity. Egypt is a striking exception here as the ancient Egyptian state and civilisation and the modern Egyptian state and its people are closely tied together. The historical consciousness centres around the ancient civilisation which still lends legitimacy to current national feelings. Thus, national pride is oriented to a great past, whereas the image of the future is somewhat void of imagination and hope. In this regard, social science textbooks of Egypt and the United Arab Emirates may represent two poles of orientation in time: in contrast to the Egyptian example, the future is almost the present in the politico-social consciousness of the UAE where history teaching—in particular about the troubled Western, European contemporary history beyond the legacy of colonialism—plays only a minor role. Textbooks of states such as Jordan or the Emirates, which are based on monarchic rule with only limited democratic structures, expressly strive to foster loyalty to the ruler and the dynasty as part of the national identity.

The image and place of Europe—which is located outside of these three layers of Arab Middle Eastern identity patterns in spite of growing Muslim communities in Europe—is ambivalent or even contradictory. On the one hand, Europe serves as an example of modernity whose level of living standards and welfare are seen as stimuli for developing one's own country. This interpretation applies more to Egypt and Jordan, partly also to Lebanon and Northern African countries (Hassani-Idrissi 2010), and less to the richer and well-off Gulf states which have developed into worldwide operating, modern financial and resource centres on which Europe is dependent.

On the other hand, European expansionism, colonialism and striving for cultural dominance are core features of the narrative; through this narrative thread, a continuity of a European or Western search for hegemony is constructed, ranging from the Crusades to the foundation of Israel. Whereas the narrative in the first case is often merely descriptive and fact-oriented, the second case establishes a close connection between Israeli Zionism and European imperialistic colonialism, and through this, the textbooks construct an adversary Other. Europe's image as a modern society is further undermined by its continuing support for Israel. This is all the more so because the Holocaust, which has become a point of reference for critical European historical self-awareness in the last decades, is widely neglected in Arab textbooks. Arab textbook authors are not yet able to address a focal point of Jewish–Israeli identity and European historical consciousness (Litvak and Webman 2012; Achcar 2010).

Curricular changes in Israel have done away with the former clear separation between Jewish/Israeli and international or general history. Jewish/Israeli history is now integrated into general history so that even the Holocaust is taught as part of the Second World War. Nevertheless, it goes without saying that identification with Zionism, Israel and the Jewish people still rank highest in the education agenda of the humanities (Naveh 2011). Although textbook authors place the birth of Zionism into the context of (European) nineteenth-century nationalism, it should not be equated with imperialism or colonialism (Mathias 2003). More vexed has been the Israeli debate about a curriculum that emphasises universal values and attitudes such as democracy and anti-violence education. The current Likud-led government apparently plans to shift the weight again towards emphasis on Zionist values.¹⁵ As these topics are linked to the position of the Palestinian population in Israeli society, no viable curricular structure could be established so far despite a number of attempts to include the topic of Israeli–Palestinian/Arab coexistence into the regular curriculum (Mathias 2003; Wahrman 2004). Questioning the core Zionist narrative arouses political counter-reactions (Al-Haj 2005).

Israel forms part of the Middle East, geographically and politically. Nevertheless, European academic institutions and political or cultural organisations have established relations to Israel and the Arab states of the Middle East mostly on separate tracks. Although currently even research projects and scholarly publications with European, Arab Middle Eastern and (Jewish) Israeli participants are difficult to realise, a process of knowledge exchange regarding each other's presentation in educational material

is under way. In all likelihood, the current changes in Arab countries will alter the social studies textbooks. So far, these changes have not yet created a more conducive climate for trilateral (Arab–Israeli–European) textbook research, not to speak of revision. Yet, it can be expected that the work which has already been done has generated a critical mass of scholars who take notice of and disseminate textbook knowledge which has been developed outside of their own national or regional scientific community.

It is understandable when experts in textbook consultations do not address differing or opposing identity conceptions directly or from the very beginning. It is an acknowledged strategy to start with topics which do not touch the most sensitive issues. Yet, in the longer run, the treatment of highly controversial issues which have already been dealt with in research should also find their way into more politically driven textbook consultations.

NOTES

1. A Latin–English edition of 1777 is available on the Internet: http://books.google.de/books?vid=OCLC27390661&id=pxkaVd0-bpgC&pg=RA3-PA1&lpg=RA3-PA1&dq=inauthor:comenius&as_brr=1&chl=de&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false (retrieved 28 October 2012). See also Murphy (1995).
2. Examples offer Cole (2007), Tawil and Harley (2004); for East Asia, see Han et al. (2012), Müller (2011), for South Eastern Europe, see Dimou (2009).
3. A joint textbook project of the National UNESCO Commissions of France and Morocco has produced so far only the French analysis (Choppin and Costa-Lascoux 2011); the Moroccan part seems to be withheld because of political problems. Concerning the French debate on colonialism, see Michel (2010), Liauzu and Manceron (2006), Kohser-Spohn and Renken (2006).
4. The *Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research*, the successor of the *International Textbook Institute*, with its publication series has set standards in this regard. The *Studien zur internationalen Schulbuchforschung* (1979–2008) and its forerunner, *Schriftenreihe des Internationalen Schulbuchinstituts*, documented mainly results of international textbook consultations. Since 2008, the series appears under the title *Eckert. Die Schriftenreihe. Studien des Georg-Eckert-Instituts zur Internationalen Bildungsmedienforschung* and reflects the broader perspective of recent textbook research. The research-oriented *Journal of*

Educational Media, Memory, and Society has replaced *Internationale Schulbuchforschung/International Textbook Research*, which appeared from 1978 to 2008.

5. See IARTREM publications (<http://iartriblog.wordpress.com/publications/>) and the ejournal (<http://biriwa.com/iartem/ejournal/>).
6. Karge and Batarilo (2009) have chosen such a multi-layered approach in their study on textbook reform in Bosnian and Herzegovina; for another case study, see Gasanabo (2002); Barbara Christophe and her team at the Georg Eckert Institute have dealt with “History Teachers as Mediators Between Collective and Individual Memory in Georgia, Kyrgyzstan and Lithuania” (<http://www.gei.de/en/research/educational-media-and-globalisation/memory-cultures-and-education/patterns-of-cultural-interpretation-of-socialism.html>).
7. For example, ATLAS.TI (in English and German—www.atlasti.com or www.atlasti.de) and AQUAD (www.aquad.de/en/—available in German, English and Spanish).
8. For comprehensive projects, see Bombardelli (2012); Schissler and Soysal (2005); Accardo and Baldocchi (2004); Pingel (2000, 2003a.); Valls Montés (2002); Leeuw-Roord (2001); The Culture (1999); Baldocchi (1999); for individual case studies see, for example, Elmersjö (2011); Philippou et al. (2008).
9. Regarding the Arab Middle East, I am indebted to my colleagues with whom I cooperated in the Georg Eckert Institute’s project on “Textbook Revision in the Middle East,” Achim Rohde and Samira Alayan; the project’s results are published in Alayan et al. (2012); see also Georg Eckert Institute (2009).
10. *Standard Eurobarometer 2011, Public Opinion in the European Union*, online: ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb74/eb74_publ_en.pdf (retrieved 11 November 2012); see also Riketta and Wakenhut (2002).
11. A large number of studies on the presentation of Islam in textbooks of European countries appeared in the last decade, for example, Aslan (2011), Choppin and Costa-Lascoux (2011), Jonker and Thobani (2010), Thobani (2010), Baquès (2008/09), Cajani (2008), Nasr (2001, 2008), Der Islam in deutschen Schulbüchern (2004).
12. Currently, the German–Israeli Textbook Commission inquires into each other’s images in textbooks, <http://www.gei.de/en/research/europe-narratives-images-spaces/trans-europe-external-borders/sprache.html>
13. See also the textbook analyses of the NGO *Impact-SE, Institute for Monitoring Peace and Cultural Tolerance in School Education*, <http://www.impact-se.org>
14. Recently, the joint UNESCO–Arab League study “On a Common Path. New Approaches to Writing History Textbooks in Europe and the

- Arab–Islamic World” compiled by a high-level team of experts has been published; <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002270/227041e.pdf>
15. See an article by Or Kashti, “Israel’s plan for next year’s school curriculum: Reinforcing Jewish and Zionist values. Education Ministry’s plan for the coming school year does not include civics, democratic values or Jewish–Arab coexistence”, in *Ha’Aaretz*, 14 April 2011, <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/news/israel-s-plan-for-next-year-s-school-curriculum-reinforcing-jewish-and-zionist-values-1.355853>; see also the current debate on separate state-religious schools and the screening of textbooks, for example, Allison Kaplan Sommer, “Is Bnei Akiva on the road to ‘radical religious misogyny?’”, in *Ha’Aretz*, 6 November 2013 <http://www.haaretz.com/mobile/.premium-1.556588>; Lior Dattel and Yarden Skop, “We don’t need no sex education. Religious Israeli schools censoring human reproduction from textbooks”, in *Ha’Aretz*, 3 September 2013 <http://www.haaretz.com/news/national/.premium-1.545015>

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Palestine: The Unseen Conflict over the Hidden Curriculum

Nathan J. Brown

The Palestinian curriculum has been the subject of a tremendous international controversy, which centres on a political reading of (or failure to read) isolated passages in the textbooks used in Palestinian schools. In previous works, I have argued that the intensity of the international controversy has worked to mask a subtle domestic contest over the content of the curriculum and—even more subtly—over prevailing pedagogy. Specifically, a coalition emerged in the 1990s that sought to develop a new sense of citizenship, a democratic ethos in daily life and a nationalist identity that, while solidly grounded in Palestinian society, was also pluralistic and based on tolerance. The research showed that while the coalition did have some impact, in the final analysis, the curriculum developed in the latter part of that decade, the textbooks written in the early 2000s, and prevailing pedagogical practices generally failed to live up to that progressive vision (Brown 2003a, b, 2006a, b).

This chapter begins by presenting the history of the formation of the Palestinian curriculum and then summarises past findings concerning the latter. Following this, it turns to examine the domestic politics of the issue since the completion of the new curriculum, with a special focus on the

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quiet struggle over progressive pedagogy and the loud (but to date less consequential for the curriculum) political schism between the two halves of the Palestinian Authority. This chapter will refer to “battles” and use some martial metaphors (such as “textbook wars” and “low-intensity conflict”). In one vital respect, however, such images are misleading: military struggles are generally thought to be shaped by clear beginnings and ends, fields of battles and technologies, armies and command structures, while the hidden contest over the Palestinian curriculum is far murkier and more difficult to pin down.

WRITING A NATIONAL CURRICULUM FOR A NON-STATE?

Many writings on nationalism over the past generation have focused on the role of state institutions in inculcating, and even “inventing”, national identity (e.g. Mazawi 2011). The Palestinian case is unusual in that a very powerful sense of national identity has arisen without control over state institutions. Palestinians have declared a state twice (in 1948 and 1988) but on neither occasion to much institutional effect.

Institution building has taken place, but outside of the framework of a state. And rather than producing national consciousness, many of the institutions that govern Palestinians today in the West Bank and Gaza were built only after a strong national consciousness had already emerged. This is particularly the case with curriculum development, a field which Palestinian institutions addressed only toward the close of the twentieth century. The Oslo process that began in 1993 resulted in Palestinians assuming control over the educational apparatus in the West Bank and Gaza through the newly created “Palestinian Authority” (PA), and they immediately used the opportunity to construct a state-like structure (overseen by a “Ministry of Education”). Thus, it was not until the 1990s that much of a state-like institutional apparatus for Palestinian education was built (Brown 2003a).

In some ways, education is the biggest success story for the PA: it employs large numbers of people, oversees all Palestinian education in the West Bank and Gaza (the supposedly interim division of the West Bank into Areas A, B and C has no effect over curricular and educational matters and the division of the PA into two halves in 2007 has had surprisingly light educational effects) and even dominates the Palestinian educational sector in Israeli-annexed parts of Jerusalem. Yet, if Palestinian control over education came only with the founding of the PA, the contest over the

content of the Palestinian curriculum began long before. Indeed, in the Palestinian case, the absence of a state made curricular arguments at times more difficult rather than less since they took on an international dimension.

The controversy over the Palestinian curriculum began during the period of the Mandate, when the British authorities converted a public educational system based on local religious education and a small number of elite government schools into a national educational system for Palestinians. The Jewish population had separate systems. Palestinians clashed with the mandatory government in the educational arena in several ways. First, they claimed that the mandatory government underfunded education and complained that schooling expanded too slowly. Second, Palestinian leaders claimed that the most sensitive positions were always in British hands, giving Palestinians little control over what and how their children were taught. Third, the curriculum drew criticism on nationalist grounds. This was not because of any attempt to introduce a British curriculum; indeed, mandatory officials worked with the pre-existing Ottoman curriculum and turned generally to Egypt for modifications. Yet, the curriculum for some subjects (especially history and geography) seemed to some Palestinians to be inappropriately oriented toward Europe, and contemporary history was judged as too sensitive to broach in the classroom. In sum, Palestinians complained about the curriculum but made little progress in shaping what their children were taught.

After 1948, Palestinians found that they had lost not only a war but also any opportunity to raise their voices when it came to educational issues. Those in the West Bank were brought under the Jordanian educational system; those in Gaza were taught the Egyptian curriculum. Palestinians in Israel had their own separate schools overseen by the Israeli government. Those in other Arab countries tended to follow the local curriculum even when there were distinct Palestinian schools (and indeed, the mandate of the United Nations Relief Works Agency, UNRWA, required that that local curriculum be followed).

There is not much evidence of conflict over curricular issues until 1967, when the matter again became internationalised. Israel attempted to convert Palestinian schools in Jerusalem over to its curriculum but abandoned the effort after a few years (some Israeli political leaders have periodically suggested that the effort be renewed, including Ehud Olmert when he was mayor of Jerusalem in the 1990s; the issue was raised again by the

municipality over the past few years, with renewed efforts to remove some Palestinian nationalist symbols and trappings from Palestinian textbooks without fully converting to the Israeli curriculum).

But the conflict was not confined to Jerusalem. In 1967, when Israel gained control of the West Bank and Gaza, it complained that the books in use in Palestinian schools (still operating according to the Jordanian and Egyptian curriculum) contained passages that were not only hostile to Israel but deeply anti-Semitic as well. It moved to suppress such material as it was found. For those schools that were under Israeli military administration, the occupation authorities reviewed and censored books. For UNRWA schools, UNESCO agreed to mediate the conflict by reviewing the books, certifying those that it found unobjectionable. It also intervened with the countries publishing the books, sometimes persuading them to make some modifications. UNESCO review only applied to UNRWA schools, however, and did not supplant Israeli censorship even there.

For Palestinians, this was hardly a satisfactory solution from either a national or educational point of view. Not only were gaps left in the texts, but Palestinian educators claim that Israeli review was arbitrary, slow and excessive. The experience left Palestinian leaders even more determined to grasp control over their own curriculum, textbooks and schools. And indeed, some initial efforts were made by Palestinian intellectuals to develop supplementary materials for children, to hold pedagogical workshops and even to prepare a comprehensive Palestinian curriculum should statehood ever come.

While statehood has still not arrived, in 1994, the newly created PA assumed control over education in Gaza and the West Bank as described above. It took three immediate steps as regards the curriculum. First, it reached an agreement with the Egyptian and Jordanian governments to maintain use of their textbooks on an interim basis. In the process, the Israeli practice of censoring the books was ended, partly it seems at the insistence of the Jordanians and Egyptians who had complained about the Israeli practice when it began. Israel also acquiesced by allowing the now uncensored books into East Jerusalem. Second, the PA rushed out a supplementary series of books for a new subject, "National Education", for grades one through six that were to educate schoolchildren about national virtues and civic responsibilities. Oddly, Israel blocked these books to the extent that it could in East Jerusalem because, while they were absolutely unobjectionable in content, the PA books and their use, unlike the far

more troubling Jordanian books that Israel did allow, would have implicitly contested Israeli sovereignty. Third, it established an institutionally autonomous “Curriculum Development Center” (CDC) to design an entirely new curriculum. The CDC finished its work by presenting a report in 1996. The Ministry of Education used it as a partial basis for its own 1997 proposal which was then submitted to the Palestinian cabinet and the PA’s Legislative Council for approval. An entirely new CDC, now folded into the Ministry of Education, was then formed to write the new books. It began by producing first and sixth grade books in 2000, second and seventh grade books in 2001 and third and eighth grade books in 2002. The process continued until the entire Palestinian school system was converted to the new curriculum.

Between 1994 and 1998, the PA’s educational activities attracted very little international attention, though some international support was available for them. In particular, UNESCO and some European governments assisted financially. But most outside of Palestine did not even notice the Palestinian programme, much less comment on it. The international contention over the Palestinian curriculum seemed to have died. In a sense, there was ample evidence that the textbook wars of the Israeli occupation had been pointless. Between 1967 and 1994, every single page of every single book given to a Palestinian student in the West Bank and Gaza was carefully reviewed by Israeli authorities. And the generation raised by those textbooks launched two uprisings, introduced suicide bombings and grasped more tightly to an independent Palestinian national identity than any previous Palestinian generations. The idea that Israel could shape Palestinian identity and action through monitoring the curriculum should scarcely have been credible any longer.

But the issue sprang back to life in late 1998 when an Israeli organisation issued a blistering, if sharply misleading, report on Palestinian textbooks and pressed its findings hard in world capitals (chiefly Israel and the United States but also in European states). Political leaders read snippets of the report, while nobody seemed to read the books that it was supposedly based on nor did the well-documented Palestinian effort to write a new curriculum attract any notice. Indeed, not since Salman Rushdie’s *The Satanic Verses* had so many rushed to voice opinions on the contents of books they had not read. Suddenly high officials in various countries felt compelled to stake out positions on the books’ contents. Completely omitted from these discussions, however, was the fact that at the time, the Palestinians had authored few of the books in question, that the small

number of Palestinian-authored books were innocuous and that the PA was well under way on its effort to write its own new books.

And that set a pattern for later international debate: it either was generally divorced from the book's real contents or centred at most around a few decontextualised facts, such as that some maps did not indicate a border between "Palestine" and "Israel"—as if such a border existed or as if Israel would recognise it. The manner in which the books treated "Palestine" and "Israel" was complicated and awkward, but there was no room for nuance in the international debate. Matters reached the point of utter absurdity when Newt Gingrich cited an utterly fabricated passage from a Palestinian textbook in a 2011 presidential debate, claiming it said "if there are 13 Jews and nine Jews are killed, how many Jews are left?" Without any sense of irony, he then improbably asserted that he was being both politically brave and honest: "It's fundamentally time for somebody to have the guts to stand up and say, enough lying about the Middle East".

The books were a convenient if fairly helpless target for political leaders; the best evidence that their content was irrelevant to the politics was the way in which serious attempts to move beyond bluster and posturing by actually addressing the issue were quickly shunted aside. In 1998, when Binyamin Netanyahu raised the issue at a trilateral summit with Yasser Arafat and Bill Clinton, the United States managed to broker an agreement between the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) and Israel to establish an "incitement committee". The PLO and Israel promptly assigned blowhards to the committee who thundered through meetings but made no real headway. A year later, with a more promising political atmosphere, the committee was revived and made modest progress in discussing the issue rather than shouting about it, but the effort was forgotten when the peace talks collapsed.

Since that time, the issue has been revived periodically in an almost ritualistic fashion: Israeli politicians who are interested in demonstrating Palestinian bad faith raise the textbooks without having made an honest inquiry into their contents (which remain irrelevant to the debate); Palestinian leaders respond by offering to revive the "incitement committee" as a way of deflecting pressure on an issue that does not really interest them. Foreign politicians sometimes raise the issue in order to demonstrate support for Israel; foreign diplomats tend to ignore the actual content of the books or the past mechanisms agreed to address the issue (most notably the "incitement committee") but often tend to take official Israeli claims at face value.

THE PALESTINIAN DEBATE

The international debate over Palestinian textbooks masked a more profound internal Palestinian debate. That debate focused less on the content of the books themselves and more on what has been called in different contexts the “hidden curriculum”. The term was devised initially in the United States to refer to ways in which curricula and pedagogy subtly reproduce and reinforce relations on social and economic inequality. Very much aware of such analysis, some Palestinian educators began to develop a slightly different critique of their own educational system: that it implicitly but clearly reinforced authoritarianism and patriarchy and discouraged any sense of individualism, efficacy and critical thought. The problem was less what material textbooks covered (though this was still denounced as arid and overly abstract) than how they said it (by presenting themselves as unquestioned truths to be memorised) and how they were taught (in classrooms centred around the teacher’s authority rather than the student’s learning).

But this critique, while powerful, did not persuade large parts of the Palestinian educational establishment. For some officials, the approach was insufficiently constructive; it focused too much attention on finding flaws rather than working to meet the basic and pressing needs of a poor society. For others, it was overly idealistic; some Palestinian officials felt they were being asked to produce an educational system more appropriate for a wealthy post-industrial society and to do so with poorly trained teachers, overly taxed physical facilities and horrendous administrative burdens. Moreover, the questioning of authority that underlay the critique also made some Palestinians uncomfortable; they were being asked to educate students to question received truths just as Palestinians had finally gained the ability to decide what truth they wished to teach.

In these terms, the debate switched some of the focus from texts to pedagogy. The first CDC, working independently of the Education Ministry, endorsed the new critique with enthusiasm and at considerable, almost overwhelming, length. Its final report, issued in 1997, went so far as to call for the “abolition” of the current curriculum to allow the preparation of one that served the fuller needs of Palestinian individuals and the society as a whole (CDC 1996). The core of its vision was to recast the question around that which the educational system—especially pedagogy but also the curriculum—should be based. Rather than ask, “What body of knowledge should students be taught?” the CDC essentially posed the

question, “What kind of citizen do we want?” Two elements of this new approach appeared consistently throughout their report: first, education must be democratic (though the word “democracy” itself was not always used); second, it must foster independent, critical thought. The (largely unspoken) purpose of this revolution in pedagogy was to meet the needs of individual students but also to respond to the exigencies of a thoroughly democratic society.

The first innovation—a democratic classroom—did not mean that students were to elect their teachers or textbooks but that they were to learn in an atmosphere of freedom and mutual respect and with an acceptance of the relative nature of truth. Teachers were transforming themselves from classroom authorities to guides who helped students teach themselves and each other. The second pedagogical innovation—the emphasis on critical thought—grew similarly out of a harsh view of the current instructional approach in which “the teacher views the learning student as a ‘container to be filled’” (CDC 1996: 35). The existing curriculum placed the teacher at the centre of the educational process; its philosophy “relies on the storage of information”. This failed to lead to the development of “creative, critical thought”; indeed, the goal of the older curriculum was “not to change but to imitate” (CDC 1996: 53–54). In opposition to this “traditional” curriculum, the 1997 CDC report focused its proposed methods “on considering the student the centre of the instructional process and on creating students who are lifelong learners” (CDC 1996: 104). The new curriculum was to

make manifest *that truth is not absolute or final and that definitive canons do not exist*. Learning cannot take place by giving the students *information* as if it is a collection of *facts* that must be memorized. The curriculum must develop the critical, analytical sense among the students by concentrating on following the scientific method, which focuses fundamentally on *the importance of verification by the accuracy of information and the credibility of sources*. Free, open, unshackled inquiry must take the place of receipt of what the curriculum sets out and arranges. The curriculum must therefore encourage the process of understanding instead of *the development of the ability to memorize*...What is important is not obtaining information but how to use it. The curriculum must focus as well *on developing independence of thought among the students*. This is what makes the individual able to interact with his environment and surroundings. The individual is the basis of society, and the independence of the individual is the basis of the existence of a vital, active society. (CDC 1996: 455–456)¹

This was to be the essence of the new curriculum: the shift from teacher's authority to student's individuality, from absolute to relative truth, from receiving knowledge to discovering it, from uniformity to pluralism, from constituting a dutiful member of society to fostering an active and freethinking citizen.

This image of citizenship proved far too radical for the Ministry of Education. Its curriculum plan, issued the following year, abandoned much of the reforming language, eschewed the talk of "relative" over "absolute" truth and scaled back the commitment to individualism, creativity and critical thought. Its treatment of tradition and the family said:

The Palestinian cultural heritage has played a vital role in preserving the Palestinian identity. Bringing tradition into life does not mean using it as seclusion or a shelter; on the contrary, it means providing the young people with principles of understanding their own limits and to what extent they can participate in international culture. The role of the curriculum is deepened to include full and better understanding of tradition and produce a creative thinking ability to preserve and develop it, too. The Palestinian family is best known for its unity and perfect welfare of its members. It is very probable that family relationship is the strongest bond that marked the preservation of the unity of the Palestinian society despite the geographical dispersion the Palestinians are subject to. The Palestinian curriculum has taken into consideration the importance of keeping the solidarity and unity of the family and methods of developing the internal relationships that strengthen it. (CDC 1996: 8)

More directly, "Education is basically built on the principles of breeding the individual on the basis of serving the society as a whole. The ultimate goal of education is to enable the individual to perform his duties successfully" (CDC 1996: 9–10). Critical thought and individuality have their place, but the underlying purpose of the curriculum is to transmit and preserve values rather than evaluate or change them. And religion was to play a prominent role, not only in forming a mandatory subject in the curriculum but also in underlying other structures of authority.

The members of the first CDC were boldly entering a debate that was then gathering momentum among educators in the Arab world regarding the purposes of education. In 2002, the new approach advocated by reformers gained international attention when it was included in the United Nations Development Program's Arab Human Development Report. That report called for "a new education structure that puts

humanity at the centre of the cultural process”. It identified a series of principles that would have been familiar to any reader of the earlier Palestinian CDC report: “The individual should be central to the learning process”; “Without denigrating higher values and established creeds, intellectual and cultural heritage should not be immune to criticism and change in the face of scientific evidence. Dialogue should be valued as an indispensable process, one that is as likely to end in agreement as in creative disagreement. Creative human effort lies at the heart of progress. Arab education systems should be restructured to give precedence to creativity and the dignity of productive work”; “Education should help the young to cope with a future of uncertainty, acquire flexibility in the face of uncertainty and contribute to shaping the future” (United Nations Development Program 2002: 55). In 2003, the second Arab Human Development Report went into further detail:

Some researchers argue that the curricula taught in Arab countries seem to encourage submission, obedience, subordination and compliance, rather than free critical thinking. In many cases, the contents of these curricula do not stimulate students to criticise political or social axioms. Instead, they smother their independent tendencies and creativity. (United Nations Development Program 2003: 53)

Suddenly, the cause of critical thinking was an international concern. The first CDC had released its report before the topic had generated such global interest. More importantly, there were few specific models on which to draw. The emphasis on individuality and a critical approach to tradition proved too daring for many of those involved actually in writing the books. Thus, when some of the textbooks were finally issued, beginning in 2000, they reflected the older insistence on transmission of authority while acknowledging the newer stress on independent thinking. In general, most texts stressed authority while the pedagogy encouraged by the new books made notable forays in cultivating individualism and critical thought.

The approach of the first CDC was subordinated but not abandoned totally. With regard to content, the books reiterated the message of obedience to parents, connecting it to national and political loyalties. First-grade students were taught Islamic education:

I love my mother who bore me, and I obey her/I love my mother who nursed me, and I obey her/I love my mother who teaches me, and I obey her,

I love my father who provides for me, and I obey him,/I love my father who teaches me, and I obey him, I love my mother and my father, and I obey them. (*Islamic Education*, Grade 1, Part I: 39)

Even so, the texts often made concessions to a far more active pedagogy that moderated much of the stress on authority. Most often, the new attitude was expressed indirectly: the texts made a tremendous effort to engage the student actively and consider practical applications and further thought. The books peppered their lessons with outside activities, essays, questions for reflection and study and encouragement of critical thinking. Seventh-grade students, for instance, were asked to bring in a newspaper story that has a point of view different from their own; it is also suggested that they collect two articles on the same subject from different newspapers to compare them.² Seventh graders also studied civil society by examining local organisations; they began studying democracy in a family setting (in which women have a voice and differences are settled by dialogue). Students were even told of human rights organisations, albeit without mention of the PA's strained relations with them.³

Far more daringly, the books occasionally pushed students to engage in critical thought when dealing with difficult and sensitive topics. Sixth-grade students were asked to evaluate the policies used by Mu`awiyya (the fifth caliph and founder of the Umayyad dynasty) in solidifying his authority and building his state; they were then asked to consider the hereditary method for selecting rulers—an assignment that would be likely to lead some to the questioning of early Muslim and current Arab political practice in some countries.⁴ Sixth graders were also asked to confront the situation in which parents instruct their children to do something wrong. (The problem is addressed in a book by Salih, a righteous Muslim who instructs his family on religious matters each day after evening prayers. He explains that children are required to obey their parents except in such circumstances.) This lesson is followed by a discussion of the rights of children in Islam and an invitation for students to give their opinions on some difficult situations, in which a father forbids his son from continuing his studies or his daughter from playing sports because she is a girl (*Islamic Education*, Grade 6: 45–61).

The exceptions noted are especially remarkable because they involve religious topics. It might seem that religion would be the last place where progressive educators would dare to make their mark. If there were any subject where the curriculum might be designed to teach timeless truths, it would

likely be religion. By and large this is true, but there has been the beginning of debate even among Islamic (and Islamist) educators on precisely this question. Calls for teaching religion in a democratic manner, fostering independent and critical thought, delving into sensitive subjects (such as spousal relations and domestic violence) and even hidden discrimination based on gender have been heard in religious circles.⁵

POST-2000 DEBATES: LOW-INTENSITY CONFLICT AMONG CONTRASTING VISIONS

The new curriculum was phased into operation during the first half of the first decade of the twenty-first century. Despite the tumultuous political situation of that period (and the period since)—witnessing uprising, Israeli incursions, institutional decay, political success, Islamist electoral triumph, political division, entrenchment of authoritarianism—the curriculum designed in the 1990s and the textbooks written in subsequent years have remained fundamentally unchanged. There are year-to-year adjustments in the books; the new CDC also is currently evaluating the curriculum and preparing a more comprehensive review subject-by-subject.

Yet for all the appearance of continuity, a low-level and quiet struggle has taken place over the contrasting visions of the role of the educational system. The noisy international conflict that focuses (or pretends to focus) on the content on the books has obscured the ongoing contest within Palestinian society over authority and democracy; community and individual; and eternal and relative truth. With the rise of the Islamist movement and its increasing engagement with Palestinian society and politics (as opposed to greater isolation in previous decades), new voices have joined the debates.

Particularly noteworthy were the conflicts between religious and nationalist forces—already in the early 2000s, educators with Islamist inclinations were critical of the new curriculum, charging that it had submitted to foreign pressure and was designed to train students to accept defeat (e.g. Al-Awawida 2010). This section will explore three forums in which this ongoing contest has taken place: a 2003 discussion of a daring new civic education textbook for eighth-grade students, a 2009 controversy over a new book on Jerusalem and a set of ongoing struggles occasioned by the 2006 Hamas electoral victory and the 2007 split of the PA between Gaza and the West Bank.

Perhaps the most audacious book to date has been the eighth-grade civic education text issued in 2002. The books issued by the Ministry of Education beginning in 2000 were composed by discrete teams of experts. While the CDC did attempt to coordinate among the teams, the practice of farming out the books to different specialist committees tended to produce texts that reflected different flavours and orientations. Arabic language books tended to be highly nationalist; Islamic education books to be fairly conservative; and civic education books to be strikingly liberal.

The committee writing the book was dominated by intellectuals and activists sympathetic with the progressive educational vision; they therefore sought to engage students directly in thinking about gender roles, democracy, human rights and pluralism. This was done not simply through the textual material but also through what might be termed a progressive hidden curriculum—illustrations showed women (with bare-headed and covered women together) marching; homework exercises and classroom activities provoked students to think hard and debate prevailing social relations. Students were told to “choose a case of family violence from a story we heard, read about, or lived” and then “select a judge, a prosecuting attorney, a defence attorney, and a jury” in order to hold a fair trial. They were to consider whether a woman prevented from working outside the house by her husband is a victim of violence and instructed to draft three clauses they would want to see included in a Palestinian family law.

In May 2003, an Islamist research centre, the Al-Buraq Center,⁶ held a workshop on the new book, presenting its own critique and inviting some of those who had been involved in its composition (Al-Buraq Center 2003). The Centre’s director, Adib Ziadeh, began the discussion by claiming that the texts should draw from a single *marja`iyya* (reference point) so that students are not confused and filled with contradictions. Two Al-Buraq researchers criticised the book for its negative portrayal of men and eschewal of Islamic sources. Others found the balance between uncovered and veiled women tilting toward the former. Other Islamists criticised a preference for Western terminology (democracy) over Arab and Islamic (*shura*).

A member of the textbook team acknowledged that “the general philosophy of the curriculum tried to satisfy Islamists, liberals, donors, negotiators, and leftists. The general philosophy of the curriculum is a complete cocktail that has no connection with an intellectual base and unified theory that the entire curriculum is based on”. Much more pugnaciously, a member of the Teacher Creativity Center, a progressive educational NGO, asked “Do we want a civic education program or not? If we want one, we

have to realise that it is not simply an Islamic program; that is only one of its bases. Civic education in its essence contradicts religion, whether that religion is Islam, Christianity, or Judaism. For instance, there is no doubt that civic education opposes polygamy and wife beating, and Islam permits these things". This prompted the Al-Buraq director to retort that his progressive colleague saw the West "as the source of existence" (Al-Buraq Center 2003).

The workshop came to no conclusion; the Islamists held fast to their critique and the progressives insisted that civic education could not be taught appropriately in the way the Islamists wished. Eventually, the member of the textbook team attending the workshop offered both a compromise and an accurate description of the multiple approaches of the emerging Palestinian curriculum: "Civic education is not religious education. In religious education you will find all you want about divine laws, rights of women, polygamy, the family, and so on. The team composing was told that the policy of the CDC in civic education is related to international documents. Yes, there is a contradiction. For civic education, there is one law, and that is the one laid down by an elected parliament" (Al-Buraq Center 2003).

The truce over the eighth-grade civics curriculum did not end the contest, and Al-Buraq returned to the fray a few years later when the older brother of one of its researchers became minister of education and deputy prime minister (in the Hamas-led government) and when one of its own books was used as an interim measure in Palestinian schools. But before turning to effect of Hamas's 2006 victory, it is worth briefly examining another discrete conflict.

The second controversial discourse surrounding the conflict between religious and nationalist forces emerged following the publication of a special text used in Palestinian schools to mark Jerusalem's designation. UNESCO designated Jerusalem a "world cultural capital" for 2009. In honour of this event, and in order to affirm the Palestinian and Arab nature of Jerusalem, the new CDC, operating under the Ministry of Education, wrote a book to introduce to Palestinian schools (as well as schools of interested Arab states) for that year focusing on Jerusalem. The book was divided up into three sections, one for primary school classes, a second for intermediate schools and a third for secondary schools.

The book gave rise to criticism and debate. In March 2009, the Qattan Center, a Palestinian NGO and research centre with a strong interest in educational and curricular issues (and with a strong progressive bent),

brought together a group of intellectuals and educators to comment on the book.⁷ The resulting discussion, widely covered in the press, ranged from the mildly critical to the scathing. Those who had followed Palestinian educational debates since the 1990s would not have been surprised by the progressive critique of the Jerusalem book or by the official response. In its essence, the negative evaluation was based on both content and pedagogy: the critics saw the book as delivering an image of Jerusalem to Palestinian students that was arid, static and overly religious. The book presented a city full of places, monuments and religious sites that would impress the student with its historical and religious value but fail to engage the student.

It remained unclear which Jerusalem the progressives wished to see taught. One particularly biting critic phrased the issue in nationalistic and political terms, claiming that the text lived up to Shlomo Ben Ami's suggestion that "You have your Al-Quds and we have our Yerushalayim".⁸ Underlying this remark was despair that international constraints had changed not only the topography, politics, and demography of the city but also divided it, leaving Palestinians with a yearning only for a disfigured fragment.

The progressives asked where the markets and the people were in the Jerusalem of the book; they wished to pull students in to understand the complexity, vitality and cosmopolitan nature of the city, one that was not merely tied to the prophet of Islam but also one where a rich and diverse group of people live their daily lives. It was not to be a religious site and a nationalist symbol alone but also a living and breathing reality, one that students could appreciate, view from different perspectives and perhaps one day enjoy.

The CDC's reaction to the Qattan Center conference was bitter: invited to submit a response to the papers presented, the CDC representative decried having been forced to read about the discussions from newspaper accounts and evinced disgust at what he clearly viewed as political sloganeering and posturing. But underlying the resentment was a set of very practical considerations: rather than writing general denunciations, Palestine would be better served by constructive suggestions. The book did represent a genuine effort to introduce important elements of Jerusalem's nature to schools; it could not be comprehensive in that regard. The critics would be far more helpful if they focused less on general denunciations and more on practical advice.

The final conflict to be explored in this chapter was occasioned by the 2006 Hamas electoral victory and the 2007 split of the PA between Gaza and the West Bank. The struggles we have considered thus far occurred among Palestinians but only among specific sectors of Palestinian society: educators, intellectuals and bureaucrats. In the 1990s and early 2000s, it was here that most of the debate took place. There was some broader interest on the part of the public (newspapers generally covered discussions fairly faithfully) and a steadily growing army of NGOs with a strong interest in educational issues. However, in 2006, national politics intervened when, for one of the first times in the history of the Arab world, political power changed hands as the result of an election. The “Change and Reform” electoral list— assembled by Hamas (although it included some independents)—now had a controlling majority in the Palestinian parliament. Hamas control of the PA was not complete, however, with large pockets of the old regime still very much in control of spheres of Palestinian life. A year and a half after the election, a brief civil war resulted in total Hamas control of the Gaza half of the PA.

The political rise of Hamas and its control of parts of the PA’s educational system had astonishingly little effect on the nature and content of the Palestinian curriculum. Although there have been changes, what is most surprising is the extent to which curricular battles have continued to be low-intensity guerrilla conflicts on the margins of the structures and procedures established earlier rather than bitter and intense frontal battles.

When Hamas was forced to assemble a cabinet (after some attempts to evade the implications of the movement’s electoral victory), it gave the Education Ministry to Nasir Al-Din Al-Sha`ir, a Palestinian academic from Nablus. Al-Sha`ir denied membership of Hamas, claiming to be an independent Islamist. While some Palestinians doubted his denial, it was clear from his doctoral dissertation (a comparison of daily prayer rituals in Islam and Judaism, with a special emphasis on the role of women) that he was something of an independent thinker. Al-Sha`ir disavowed any interest in overhauling the curriculum, proclaiming himself satisfied with the past work of the CDC.⁹ However, he did make some minor changes in the textbooks and perhaps more significant personnel changes (the heads of the CDC were pressed into retirement). Nonetheless, the most important changes were very subtle: Al-Sha`ir increased the number of hours devoted to religion, a move that required the hiring of more teachers qualified to teach religion (a natural base for Hamas support). When the PA fiscal crisis

hit the school system (with Israel refusing to transfer the taxes it collected on the PA's behalf and the EU agreeing only to pay "social allowances" to PA employees hired before the Hamas electoral victory), some schools had trouble procuring textbooks. Al-Sha'ir allowed schools to use a substitute text developed by the Al-Buraq Center (where, as mentioned above, his brother worked) as a supposedly stopgap measure.

This phase came to an end with the Palestinian civil war of June 2007, where Hamas were ousted from the West Bank but deeply entrenched in Gaza. Yet for the Palestinian curriculum, this has had surprisingly little impact. There were preparations for more serious combat: the Fatah-dominated teachers' union called a strike in Gaza against the control of the Gaza-based Ministry of Education, and Hamas promptly responded by firing the striking teachers and hiring its own replacements. When the union called off the strike, the Gaza Ministry of Education was selective in whom it allowed back. It insisted that secondary-school graduation certificates from Gaza schools be signed by the official it regarded as the legitimate (and Gaza-based) Minister of Education.

However, rather than lead to a split between the two educational systems, the Palestinian curriculum proved to be one of the last links that held the two halves of the PA together. Hamas discovered to its disappointment that other Arab states would not recognise any certificates signed by its Minister of Education and had to swallow its pride if it wanted its graduates to be able to enter universities in Cairo or Amman. Indeed, the split, for all its bitter nature, was deeply unpopular in Palestinian society, leading both sides to hold back from making unilateral changes to the curriculum.

The two halves of the PA entered into quiet but definite cooperation on educational issues. The Education Ministries were virtually the only structures straddling the Gaza-West Bank split that were on speaking terms, and they were forced to cooperate on two issues. First, and most notably, they had to coordinate the annual *tawjibi* exam, taken by graduating secondary students and determining their success and placement at university. A divided *tawjibi* was politically unthinkable; neither side was willing to pay the enormous price to go its separate way with the exam. The effect was to create a need to coordinate the exam between the two halves of the ministry; this in turn required that the curriculum (on which students were to be examined) be kept in place.

This is not to say that Hamas's vision of Palestinian education is similar to that of the West Bank leadership's. Discussion of educational and

curricular issues in pro-Hamas newspapers¹⁰ and websites show a special interest in religious issues and a focus (that the progressives would likely find both old-fashioned and authoritarian) on fostering respect for religious and national values; there is much less of a stress in individuality, creativity and citizenship. Yet, the Hamas government's vision of education cannot be pursued systematically without dividing the two systems, so no real attempt has been made.

The second issue on which the two halves of the Ministry cooperated was on curricular evaluation. The Palestinian curriculum is now over a decade old, and educators feel a pressing need for review and revision. To date, very little revision has taken place, but the initial review has been proceeding. Very carefully (and out of sight of the public eye), education officials in the West Bank and Gaza cooperated in creating and deploying evaluation tools throughout the schools controlled by the PA. But the Gaza-based Ministry has made some small changes in the curriculum, suggesting that it might move toward more wholesale revisions if political circumstances allow. Still, besides ephemeral unity agreements, the *tawjihi* and school-leaving certificates have been virtually the only things holding the two halves of the PA together.

CONCLUSION

It was not until the 1990s that much of a state-like institutional apparatus for Palestinian education was built. Yet the contest over the Palestinian curriculum began long before the founding of the PA. Its origins can be traced to the period of the Mandate, when the British authorities converted a public educational system based on local religious education and a small number of elite government schools into a national educational system for Palestinians. After losing the war in 1948, Palestinians were brought into various other education systems belonging to Jordan, Egypt and Israel. Then in 1994, the newly created PA assumed control over education in Gaza and the West Bank and immediately took steps to reduce the influence of their neighbouring states. The establishment of the CDC, in order to design an entirely new curriculum, was probably the most significant step. Its enthusiasm for a pedagogical revolution in the 1997 report was tremendous but received little attention due to the international attention on the matters textbook content.

Controversies over the Palestinian curriculum since the 1990s have taken the form of (rather misinformed) international debates about textbook content and a far more significant but lesser known discussion of pedagogy or Palestine's "hidden curriculum". On the one hand, some educators criticised the Palestinian system for its implicit messages of dis-

couraging individualism and critical thought. However, this questioning of authority made other Palestinians uncomfortable at a time when they had finally gained the ability to decide what truth they wished to teach their population. Since the 1990s, these contrasting visions of the role of the educational system have continued to struggle for dominance. They have manifested themselves both in debates over new books and in the split of the PA between Gaza and the West Bank following the success of Hamas in 2006. Yet the hidden contest over the Palestinian curriculum is difficult to trace: it slides between contests over textbooks to arguments over classroom conduct; it emerged slowly over years and promises no final resolution. Ultimately, however, it is far more connected to realities in Palestinian society and schools than the international debate over incitement.

NOTES

1. Emphasis original.
2. See the unit on the media, in *Civic Education*, Grade 7.
3. *Civic Education*, Grade 7, 46 mentions al-Haqq and the Palestinian Independent Commission for Citizens' Rights.
4. *Arab and Islamic History*, Grade 6, unit on "The Umayyad Caliphate".
5. In two interviews with Zahra al-Shatir, the daughter of Khayrat al-Shatir, the deputy general guide of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood and herself a curricular specialist focusing on religious education, she turned parts of the conversation into ways in which American educational techniques fostering critical thinking could be introduced into religious education.
For a flavour of this kind of discussion, see `Abd al-Hamid al-Ansari, "Education [*ta`lim*], Democracy, and Secure Education [*tarbiyya*]," in *Al-Ta`lim al-Dini, 2-Al-Tablil*, Dubai: Al Mesbar Studies and Research Center, 2010.
6. The Al-Buraq Center was later closed by Israel and some of its personnel have been arrested by both the PA and Israel. Israel and the post-2007 PA have apparently concluded that Al-Buraq was affiliated with Hamas. I visited the Centre in 2006 and collected some of its material. My impression was that it was clearly Islamist in orientation but I did not see any evidence that it had any clear partisan affiliation. Since Hamas is not a legally recognised organisation, it is sometimes difficult to tell where it begins and ends, but I did not see any evidence that the connection between Al-Buraq and Hamas went beyond political sympathies and ideological inclinations. One of the most extravagant (and quite likely inaccurate) claims about an employee of Al-Buraq turns up in M. H. Yousef. 2010. *Son of Hamas*.

Carol Stream, Illinois: Tyndale House. Yousef, the son of Hamas leader Hasan Yousef and an Israeli collaborator, suggests that `Aziz Kayid, then a researcher working for Al-Buraq, was the clandestine leader of Hamas in the West Bank. Kayid himself forcefully denies the claim.

7. The various papers on the book were published by the Qattan Center's educational journal, *Ru'a Tarbawiyya* 29.
8. This phrase was widely reported in press accounts of the session.
9. Personal interview. March 2007. Ramallah. The CDC teams had actually drawn from some figures in the new leadership, most notably `Abd al-`Aziz al-Duwayk, the speaker of the parliament, who had contributed to the geography books.
10. *Filastin* and *al-Risala*.

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Zionism as the Other in Curricula and Textbooks of the Palestinian National Authority

Samira Alayan

This study analyses the Palestinian history textbooks that were developed by the Palestinian National Authority's (PNA) Ministry of Education and have been taught in schools since 2000. They are included in the curriculum for all Palestinian schools (governmental and private) in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, including schools in East Jerusalem, where, despite its special status, schools observe the curricula and textbooks prescribed by the Palestinian Ministry of Education (Alayan 2012).

Few studies have analysed Palestinian textbooks from a Palestinian perspective. Brown (2003) has examined Palestinian curricula and the way in which the subjects of history and identity are presented in them. He generated important results that contradict some flawed stereotypical claims about Palestinian curricula according to which these are curricula of war, filled with hatred, violence and racism. However, he concluded that the Palestinian curricula are not “curricula of peace” either. Firer and Adwan (2004) compared images of the Self and the Other in Palestinian and Israeli textbooks for several subjects—history, civic education, religion and

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Arabic language. However, all of the Palestinian textbooks analysed in this study were issued during a transitional phase of preparing the Palestinian Authority's textbooks in the 1990s. Adwan found that the textbooks prepared by the PNA presented Palestinians as victims of Zionism and Israeli occupation. Accordingly, the Israeli Other was presented in these books as a criminal and an aggressor who stole the land of Palestine.

It is interesting to compare the results of this study to those of Ruth Firer's studies (1985, 2004), which analyse the Arab-Israeli conflict as presented in Israeli history textbooks. Firer found that Israeli textbooks revolve around the idea of the Zionist movement and the Jews' right to a state. Jews are presented here as victims of a continuous series of massacres and forced migrations culminating in the Holocaust. The books deny the Arabs' right to Palestinian land and the legitimacy of their national movement, and refuse to recognise the Palestinians as a national entity. The majority of the other studies which have analysed history books (Mathias 2003; Bar-Tal 1996; Bar-Tal and Teichman 2005; Podeh 2002; Peled Elhanan 2009; Nasser and Nasser 2008; Kriener 2003; Alayan 2016; Alayan and Al-Khalidi 2010 and others) have examined the Arab-Israeli conflict and the image of the other only in Israeli books. An additional observation of these studies that looked into the relationship between the nation and the homeland as it is constructed in the Jewish-Israeli context, demonstrates how Israeli nationalism is construed in opposition to the Palestinian cause, ignoring Palestinian national collective identity as its own essence. (Nasser 2005, 2013).

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PALESTINIAN EDUCATION

The most important distinguishing feature of Palestinian education from 1948 until the establishment of the PNA in the 1990s is the lack of an education system designed specifically for Palestinians. After the first Arab-Israeli War of 1948, the Gaza Strip came under Egyptian administration, whilst Jordan governed the West Bank. The Egyptian education system and curricula were therefore introduced into Gaza, while the West Bank followed the Jordanian education system. This split education system continued until after the 1967 war, when both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip came under Israeli occupation. The Israeli military started to manage education, and it was later managed by the Israeli Civil Administration in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Palestinians residing within the State of Israel (recognised as Israeli citizens) were distributed into a separate sector of the Israeli education system that is not the focus of this study. Finally,

the United Nations Works and Relief Agency (UNWRA) has been providing education facilities for the Palestinian refugees of 1948 until this day. The agency was formed to provide for the refugees under a United Nations resolution from 8 December 1949, making the agency responsible for relief and works operations under cooperation with the regional governments under whose protection the refugees were living (Ministry of Education 2007; Alayan 2012).

Within the West Bank and Gaza Strip, after 1967, elements in textbooks relating to Palestinian national identity and the “Palestinian question” were mostly censored by their own financial donors, a situation which exerted a kind of indirect Israeli censorship as those carrying out the censure were under Israeli pressure. This has created a situation in which the history Palestinians wish to teach does not correspond with the history that Israel and the donors wish Palestinians to be teaching. This difference focuses usually on content related to Historical Palestine over the course of the last few generations. Perhaps the most important issue in donor influence is the issue of anonymous donors, representing a challenge for the Palestinian Authority (PA) when wishing to secure funding for the printing of these textbooks and to guarantee their continuity (Moughrabi 2001). However, one of the organisations or Western donors who hastily cut their funding for Palestinian textbook development did indeed bother to have the report’s claims checked against the actual texts (Moughrabi 2001).

In 1994, following the signing of the transfer agreement by the Palestinian Liberation Organisation and Israel, control of all the public education institutions was handed over to the Palestinian National Authority. The split system of education in the West Bank and Gaza Strip has since been gradually replaced by a Palestinian education system, producing the first Palestinian curriculum. Egyptian and Jordanian textbooks were used in Palestinian schools on a temporary basis until their gradual replacement with Palestinian textbooks. All the textbooks used in this period bore a stamp inside them, showing the agreement between the states of either Egypt or Jordan and the PNA. These books continued to be used until 1995 until the idea of developing an independent curriculum for Palestinian students came about (Mazawi 2011). In 1996, the Centre for the Development of Palestinian Curricula announced its comprehensive plan, which was characterised by its focus on the need to embed concepts of democracy, human rights and the implementation of social justice. The preparation of the curriculum coincided with a phase of transition and struggle for the liberation and construction of the Palestinian state (Al-Jarbawi 2003: 34).

The Palestinian curricula and textbooks were thus developed in successive phases from 1998 until they were completed in 2006. The PNA, together with all other Arab states, participated in the World Education Conference in Dakar, Senegal, in 2000. The forum established several objectives to do with improving education in early childhood, to which the member states committed and agreed to implement until 2015. The PNA, like the other states, committed to the objectives of the Senegal forum and established a long-term (2000–2015) plan to achieve them (Ministry of Education 2007: 23; Mazawi 2011).

TEXTBOOK ANALYSIS

The study described here strives to answer the following questions: did the Palestinian history textbooks succeed in presenting an image of the Self and the Other, who is the Other in Palestinian textbooks and how is this presented? The foundations and principles of the history curriculum for secondary education are based on a general philosophy of Palestinian society and is a product of “its religion, its heritage, its values, its customs, the Palestinian people’s ambitions to protect their land, their historic rights, and their national identity, the 1988 Declaration of Independence, and the Ministry’s policy of preparing upright Palestinian citizens” (Ministry of Education 1999: 3).

The history curriculum therefore has a number of facets: intellectual, national, social, knowledge-based and psychological. A closer look reveals that the content of textbooks places a particular focus on ethnic and religious issues. An example of how these ethnic-religious ties are presented can be found in this quote from an eighth grade textbook, *History of the Arab-Islamic civilisation*:

Factors that led to the formation of Arab Islamic civilization are the Islamic religion and the Arabic language, which is the language of the Koran. The Arab and Islamic nation grew from a civilization that can be described as an authentic civilization, rooted deeply in Arab history before Islam. The centers of this civilization were in Palmyra, Yemen, Petra and Palestine. This civilization grew and prospered with Islam, and even became one of the most important civilizations that have contributed to the progress of human civilization. (*History of Arab-Islamic Civilisation*, 8th grade, 2011, 6)

In the Palestinian curriculum, the intellectual and national foundations are comprised of four important points: the first point refers to strengthening faith in God, his power and his greatness in creating and facilitating

the universe, humankind and life, as well as to strengthening faith in Islam and its message, values and principles. The second point refers to faith that the Palestinian cause is a just cause, and that all Palestinians—wherever they may be—have a sense of belonging to the natural, historic Palestinian nation. The third point states that the Palestinian people are an inherent part of the Arab-Islamic community (*Umma*). The fourth point deals with the fact that education plays a central role in the development of upstanding Palestinians and focuses not on the Palestinian identity with its traditional, historical, political and social dimensions but also on the development of skills and capabilities based on academic and methodological foundations. The social foundations also regard the history of Palestine, its cultural heritage, and its importance and contain the religious, social and national values that are to be handed on to the next generation through education. While all of these four elements play a role in constructing the self-identity of the Palestinian students, an element important to focus on, and that is the main interest of this article, is the construction of Palestinian national identity as opposed to Jewish nationalism—Zionism.

The narrative portrayed in Palestinian textbooks for creating the framework around Zionism is one that begins with a critique of colonialism:

Colonialist policies share various elements: making the language of the colonising state the language of education in order to propagate Western culture, fighting against the Arabic language, following a policy of obscurantism, dissolving the Arab armies, fragmenting the Arab countries, establishing artificial borders between them, and encouraging partisan, sectarian, and territorial strife within them. (*Modern and Contemporary Arab History*, 9th Grade, 2010, 47)

This image of the coloniser demonstrates to students the negative aspects of colonialism for the entire Arab nation (placing the Palestinian within Arab nationhood) and its impact on current affairs in recent years in the Arab world and Palestine. The message implicitly conveyed through such texts to students is that many of the social and political problems haunting contemporary Arab countries are rooted in European colonialism. Different forms of colonialism are presented to the students here:

Colonialism took on several forms, although it did not differ in essence from one form to another, such as: military occupation [...], protection [...]. Mandate [...], Custody, “Guardianship” and settlement: whereby control of

the land and the expulsion of its owners, and settling colonial population rather than the native population by force is an example of Zionist settlement in Palestine. (*Modern and Contemporary World History*, 10th grade, 2011, 48)

The textbooks also criticise the European colonial powers for what is presented as treachery and a breaking of promises that they made to Arab nationalist leaders and states after World War I in order to gather their support. The books specifically discuss British colonialism in Palestine as a foundation for, and a prelude to, the establishment of the State of Israel. By implication, Zionism here is presented as part of the European colonial enterprise in the region. On this point, one of the books states:

The Zionist entry into Palestine was encouraged by the European states, and particularly by Britain, which started to encourage Jews to settle in Palestine and form the Jewish state under British protection, making use of Israel to look after its interests and its connections with the East. (*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine (Part I)*, 11th grade, 2011, 50–56)

Information in the history textbooks is presented in such a way that demonstrates that during the British Mandate over Palestine, Britain dealt deceitfully with the Palestinians as well as the Jews, making contradictory statements to both sides. Thus, the British Mandate authorities are blamed for being at the root of all the problems faced by Palestinians today.

Palestinian textbooks also present Zionism and its colonial aspirations predating the Ottoman period. A ninth grade book of modern and contemporary Arab history, states that:

Palestine enjoyed importance during the period of Sultan Abdul Hamid, due to the follow-up of colonialism and the Zionist schemes, he worked to prevent the implementation of all these schemes by all means, using different legislative, administrative, and political procedures [...]. Sultan Abdul Hamid worked hard to prevent the Zionist penetration and migration to Jerusalem, by issuing decisions that protected the city, such as: restricting the period of stay for Jewish visitors in the Holy Land to thirty-one days (31). He also appointed his own trusted staff to avoid falling prey to pressure from foreign consuls. This policy has been formed in opposition to Zionist immigration and was an obstacle to the Zionist endeavour until World War I. (*Modern and Contemporary Arab History*, 9th Grade, 2010, 25)

In this book, in the chapter dealing with the Palestinian cause, the text mentions the first Zionist conference:

The Zionist movement held its first conference in Basel, Switzerland, in 1897, under the leadership of its Jewish-Austrian founder of Theodor Herzl. There they decided on the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, and in order to achieve this goal, they decided to work to: encourage Jewish immigration to Palestine, organizing Jews and linking them to the Zionist movement, and obtaining the political support of major countries. (*Modern and Contemporary Arab History*, 9th Grade, 2010, 54)

Zionism is defined in the history textbooks as:

A racist, ideological, political movement that emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century. Its emergence coincided with that of the movement of modern European colonialism, itself being a colonialist, racist movement which is, in reality, an integral part of global colonialism. It aimed to create a state that embodied the phrase “a land without a people for a people without a land”, mixing religion and nationalism to formulate its principles and beliefs, basing itself on alleged religious and historical rights, expressed by Zionist books in terms of the implementation of two ideas: the return to the land of Zion, and the idea of salvation from the Diaspora that was imposed on the Jews and that obstructed their return to what they call “the Promised Land”. (*Modern and Contemporary Arab History*, 9th Grade, 2010, 54–55; *Modern and Contemporary World History*, 10th grade, 2011, 51)

It is apparent from this definition of the Zionist movement that in these textbooks it is seen as the main opponent to Palestinian national aspirations. Zionism is presented as being based on erroneous conceptions that deny the rights of the people that lived and continue to live in Palestine, that it is a component of global colonialism and that it mixes the Jewish religion with Jewish nationalism, something that the text refers to as a racist idea that denies non-Jewish Others equal rights.

The Balfour Declaration is one of the important issues dealt with in the Palestinian history textbooks as a turning point in the conflict and the Palestinian question:

This declaration is considered one of history’s strangest international documents: it granted land it did not own (Palestine) to a movement that did not deserve it (the Zionist movement), at the expense of the Arab Palestinian

people who both owned and deserved it. This led to the forced seizure of a nation and the displacement of an entire people in a way that is unprecedented in history. (*Modern and Contemporary Arab History*, 9th Grade, 2010, 9)

At the same time, the textbooks do make the separation between Jewish and Zionist presence, as they deal with the history of the Jews in the region and acknowledge that Jews lived in the land of Palestine for numerous time periods. The fact that they do not deny this shows that the history textbooks' treatment of the Jewish people as a religion and a sect is not hostile, but rather the books object to and oppose the idea of Zionism. The textbooks address the Jewish history in Palestine in the following way:

The ancient history of Palestine witnessed the entrance, in the twelfth century B.C., of the Israelites under the leadership of Joshua, the son of Nun, when they fought the Canaanites and the Philistines. [...] Saul, the son of Kish, took over leadership of the Israelites and fought the Philistines under the leadership of Goliath. [...] The prophet David, son of Jesse, took over leadership of the Israelites and continued to fight [...] and founded a kingdom in a part of the Palestinian lands under his leadership. [...] Next came the prophet Solomon [...] in whose reign the Jewish state reached its broadest state of expansion. After his death, the state broke up into two parts: the kingdom of Israel in the north (Samaria), and the kingdom of Judah in the south. (Jerusalem/Al-Quds) (Ministry of Education, 11th Grade Part I: 8–9)

The books also deal with the agreement between Napoleon and the Jews, and the promises that he made them:

Napoleon appealed to the Jews of Asia and Africa, urging them to rally around his flag so that he could return them to Jerusalem and rebuild their temple in return for them helping him to control Greater Syria. (*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine (Part I)*, 11th grade, 2011, 41)

These passages and numerous others from the textbooks show that the Palestinian textbooks do not deny historical facts pertaining to the Jews in various historical periods, facts which are referred to in the textbooks, allowing Palestinian students to learn about the history of the Jews in Palestine in numerous periods. Close examination of the place of Jewish religion in the textbooks researched finds that the books do not include

any information against Judaism as a religion or Jews as a religious community, and there are no stereotypical images of Jews in textbooks showing either positive or negative traits.

That this treatment of the Jews is found in the textbooks does not, of course, mean that they do not refer to the Muslims' historic entitlement to Palestine: the books also deal with the holy Islamic places from the time of the Prophet Muhammad, as mentioned in a Qur'anic verse:

He [Allah] took the Prophet (Peace be upon Him) on a night journey from Mecca to Jerusalem, and from there he ascended to the heavens above, as the Qur'an mentions. (*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine [Part II]*, 11th grade, 2013, 8)

They also deal with the Islamic conquests from the time of the first caliphs to the Umayyad and Abbasid periods, depicting what happened during these periods and the impact of these dynasties on Palestine. In addition to this, they deal with religious and secular law that proves the ownership of the religious places in Jerusalem. For example, one of the books refers to the conflict over the Western Wall, indicating that the Muslims' rights to the wall are not only religious but also legally granted by the League of Nations. The text states:

The League of Nations formed the International Al-Buraq Commission, according to the recommendations of the Shaw Commission, in order to examine the ownership of the Wailing Wall. It concluded the following: "Only the Muslims have rights to and ownership of the Wailing Wall, which forms a part of Al-Haram Al-Sharif. The area was an Islamic endowment, and the square next to the wall also belongs to the Muslims. However, Jews are free to visit the Wailing Wall to pray at any time." (*Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine [Part II]*, 11th grade, 2013, 8–9)

The text refers to the religious conflict between Islam and Judaism over the ownership of the Western Wall and the attempt to prove the legal, religious and historical rights to it.

An important aspect of Palestinian identity as presented in the textbooks is the fact that they are an oppressed people, deprived of their right to freedom and to living in their nation, and on their land. This portrayal requires a construction and portrayal of the Other that is the oppressor enforcing the reality of deprivation on Palestinians—the Zionist ideology and state. The construction of the Self and the Other can be seen not only

through ideological and national divides but also through the portrayal of physical borders. In textbooks, maps often play a role in not only visualising historical or present-day realities but also to frame the students discourse around certain issues (Peled Elhanan 2012).

Figure 4.1, “Map of Historical Palestine”, is a crucial illustration for the construction of a Palestinian identity based on the historical presence of Palestinians in the contested territories. Part II of the same textbook for 11th grade continues the narrative with another map, “Population movement between the years 1948 and 1951” (Fig. 4.2). Both maps indicate how present-day Palestinians living in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Jordan, Egypt, Syria and Lebanon, all came from and belong to Historical Palestine, while the Jewish population currently settling most of the land, came from outside of Historical Palestine. The map is featured on the first page of the chapter “Israeli policy after 1948”, which shows the placement of Jewish immigrants in Palestinian majority areas as a method of erasing Palestinian characteristics. With these two maps, the reader is presented with the story of the displacement of Palestinians from the majority of Historical Palestine, also showing the Palestinians as native to the area, as opposed to the immigrating Jews.

Another example of the use of maps to construct a narrative, Palestinian identity, and the Palestinians’ right to their lands and a nation state as opposed to (and as oppressed by) Zionism, can be found in the multilayered map in Fig. 4.3 with the caption “Land seized by Israeli forces from the territory of the proposed Arab state by resolution 181 as a result of the 1948 war.” The map is in the context of the chapter titled “The outcomes of the 1948 war”. The different layers in the map show Historical Palestine, in which Palestinians lived until 1948, and the partition plan presenting how the colonial powers suggested to divide a land that was not theirs, and give the majority of it to a people who, in the Palestinian narrative, had no right to it. The last layer adds another forcible land grab by Israel in the 1948 war. This serves as a visualisation of the role of Western colonialism as the oppressor and the Other of the Palestinians, and demonstrates how this role was handed over by the British to the Zionist movement who has continued this colonisation.

The maps in Figs. 4.4, 4.5 and 4.6 can be seen as a visualisation of the way in which the (perceived) colonialist project of land confiscation continues in the present day. The chapter in which Fig. 4.4, “Settlements in East Jerusalem since its annexation in 1967”, is featured mentions the building of the first settlement in the old city (the Mughrabi neighbourhood), the

Fig. 4.1 Map of Historical Palestine. Source: *Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine* (Part I), 11th grade, p. 4



Fig. 4.2 Population movement between the years 1948 and 1951. Source: *Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine* (Part II), 11th grade, p. 36



الحرب العربية الإسرائيلية عام ١٩٤٨م

تصاعدت وتيرة الأعمال العسكرية بين الفلسطينيين والقوات الصهيونية، إثر انتهاء الانتداب البريطاني على فلسطين، وإعلان اليهود قيام دولتهم بتاريخ ١٥ أيار عام ١٩٤٨م. وإزاء هذا الموقف قررت الحكومات العربية إرسال قواتها إلى فلسطين لمساندة الشعب الفلسطيني في الدفاع عن أرضه، ومنع إنشاء دولة يهودية فيها. وقد أوضح عبد الرحمن عزام الأمين العام لجامعة الدول العربية الأسباب التي حملت الحكومات العربية على التدخل العسكري في مذكرة بعث بها إلى الأمين العام للأمم المتحدة، جاء في الفقرة السادسة منها:

(نظراً لأن أمن فلسطين وديعة مقدسة في عتق الدول العربية، ورغبة في وضع حد لهذه الحالة، وفي منعها من أن تتفاقم وتتحول إلى فوضى لا يعلم مداها أحد، ورغبة في منع انتشار الاضطراب والفوضى في فلسطين إلى البلاد العربية المجاورة، وفي سد الفراغ الحادث في الجهاز الحكومي الفلسطيني؛ نتيجة لزوال الانتداب، وعدم قيام سلطة شرعية تخلفه، فقد رأت حكومات الدول العربية نفسها مضطرة إلى التدخل في فلسطين لمجرد مساعدة سكانها على إعادة السلم والأمن ...)

(الموسوعة الفلسطينية، الجزء الثاني، ص ١٥١)

الجيوش العربية في فلسطين:

دخلت الجيوش العربية فلسطين في ١٥/٥/١٩٤٨م بعد انتهاء الانتداب البريطاني، وكان قوامها حوالي (١٤) ألف مقاتل، من عدة دول عربية، منها: مصر، وسوريا، ولبنان، والأردن، والعراق، وانضمت قوات من السعودية، والسودان إلى جانب القوات المصرية فيما بعد. ولم يمض أسبوعان على دخولها إلى فلسطين حتى استطاعت مع المقاومة الفلسطينية السيطرة على معظم المناطق فيها؛ مما دفع اليهود إلى طلب مساعدة الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية وبريطانيا للتدخل فوراً ووقف القتال.

(خريطة الحرب العربية الإسرائيلية عام ١٩٤٨م)

Fig. 4.3 Land seized by Israeli forces from the territory of the proposed Arab state by resolution 181 as a result of the 1948 War. Source: *Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine* (Part II), 11th grade, p. 32



Fig. 4.4 Settlements built in East Jerusalem since its annexation in 1967. Source: *Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine* (Part II), 11th grade, p. 52

displacement of Palestinians from the land and the continuance of that process. Both maps in Fig. 4.4 are in the chapter titled “The Settlements”. Both these maps feature the imaginary line that shows the lands of Israel within the 1948 borders, and the borders of 1967, and clearly state Israel on the map (within the 1948 borders). Fig. 4.5, “The Alon Plan”, shows the plan presented by an Israeli general and later politician, clearly planning the colonisation of the West Bank with the intention of displacing and disempowering the Palestinian communities. There is a clear explanation of the plan in the chapter, stating that its intention was to place Jewish settlements within Palestinian populated areas in order to divide and control the Palestinians. This map, together with the “Sharon Plan” shown by the map



Fig. 4.5 Map of the Alon Plan. Source: *Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine* (Part II), 11th grade, p. 51

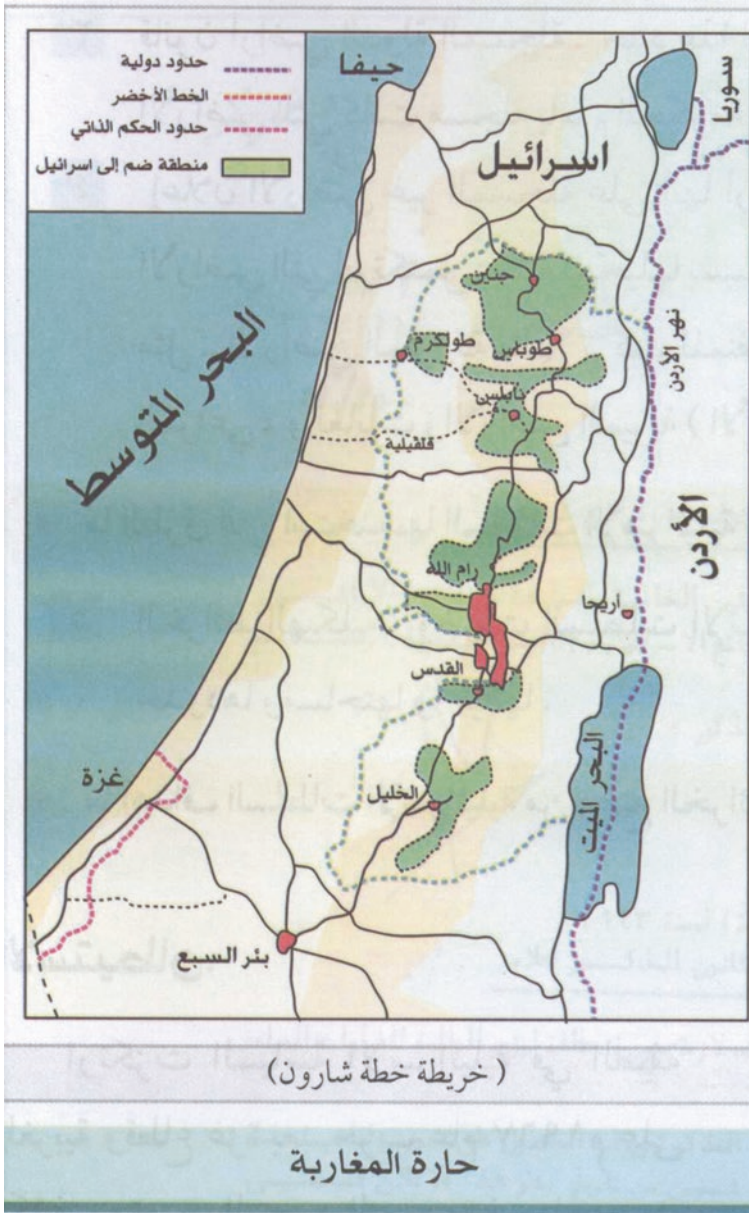


Fig. 4.6 Map of the Sharon Plan. Source: *Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine* (Part II), 11th grade, p. 51

in Fig. 4.6, also clearly features Israel within the 1948 boundaries and also the 1967 “Green Line” borders.

CONCLUSION

This study examines the ways in which Palestinian history curricula and textbooks construct the self-identity and the identity of the Other for Palestinian students. The Palestinian self-image is constructed through positive historical, cultural and religious aspects of Arab and Muslim cultures on the one hand and on the other hand by presenting the conflict over land between the Palestinians and the colonial powers at first, and the Zionist movement later. These show the intention of the Palestinian Ministry of Education to strengthen and empower the students’ Palestinian identity and national narrative, both independently (in their own right) and as a product of their opposition to the Zionist movement.

The discussion of events concerning the Palestinian question is not objective; rather, they are presented from a subjective Palestinian point of view. According to Lässig (2009), history and social sciences textbooks are not devoid of the beliefs of their writers about history, as it is the writers who decide what their books include and what they do not include, and it is them who decide which topics should be prominent and which should not. Thus, the writer has an important influence on the text, and textbooks are never free of their writers’ political and ideological views. According to Apple (1993), the curriculum is never simply a neutral assemblage of knowledge, somehow appearing in the texts and classrooms of a nation. Rather, it is always part of a selective tradition—someone’s selection, some group’s vision of what constitutes legitimate knowledge.

The construction of the Palestinian self-image as opposed to the colonial, or Zionist, Other takes place by including historical events such as the United Nations resolution pertaining to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, including the partition plan and recognition of the state of Israel (UN resolutions 181 and 194), on the one hand, and demanding the withdrawal of armed forces from the territories occupied in 1967 and the achievement of a just settlement to the problem of the refugees, on the other hand (UN resolutions 242 and 338). It also includes the wars fought between Arab countries and Israel and their effects on Palestinians; the Palestinian resistance, including the first and second Intifada; and the ongoing suffering of Palestinians under Israeli occupation presenting the different forms of oppression: settlement expansion, confiscation of lands,

poverty and unemployment due to Israeli control over the Palestinian economy and resources, and so on. The textbooks' coverage of history extends up to recent events such as the construction of the partition wall.

The density of information in Palestinian history textbooks indicates the comprehensive and deep understanding of the students' Palestinian identity as an ethnic group, and as a nation that holds a deep connection to the land of Palestine. Thus, we can conclude that the PNA has aimed at establishing a national, ethnic identity for Palestinian students through curricula and textbooks. The textbooks express opposition to Zionism, claiming that it does not recognise the rights of the Palestinian people to their land and their nation. They also reject the Zionists' entry into Palestinian territory and the influx of migrants that have led to the occupation of Palestinian land, the building of settlements and the establishment of a Jewish nation-state. In their treatment of the partition plan and the solutions offered by the United Nations, the textbooks point to the Zionist movement as having violated the agreements and as having obstructed the peace process.

Two important historical events are not mentioned in the Palestinian textbooks: the *Nakba* and the Holocaust. The Palestinian *Nakba* ("the disaster") is the term used to reference the tragic events of 1948 in which over 700,000 Palestinians were displaced and became refugees. The *Nakba* is an integral part of the Palestinian narrative regarding the consequences of the Zionist settler colonialist project and part of the personal history of many individuals and families. And yet, it is neither discussed nor even referred to in these textbooks. There are, at times, references to Palestinian refugees, who indeed were rendered thus as a consequence of this event, but not to the event itself or to the massacres and killings which were part of it, such as the massacre of Deir Yassin.

Equally, the Jewish Holocaust is omitted, as is any reference to the suffering of the Jews under the Nazi regime. The textbooks do refer to the racist ideology of the Nazis, the Second World War and the war crimes committed during the war; however, they refer to the mass killing of "civilians" and do not specify the Jewish people as the principal victims of these crimes. It seems from the textbook analysis, however, that these omissions are not an attempt to deny historical facts, but rather an attempt to skirt around the delicate political situation directly related to the aftermath of the Holocaust. The Palestinians see themselves in a continued state of occupation, the justification of which is often rhetorically reinforced by the memory of the suffering and massacre of Jews during the Holocaust.

Palestinian textbooks do succeed in differentiating between Zionist thought and Judaism as a religion or a community. They do so both by choosing to focus critique on colonialist powers and the Zionist movement as their continuation, thus separating between the mostly European Jewish national movement, Zionism, and the Jews who were living in Historical Palestine and who were not part of a settler colonial movement. The books also depict Jewish history and presence in Historical Palestine (before the nineteenth century), and refrain from creating a link between this part of Jewish history and present-day Zionism. Perhaps most interestingly, the textbooks do display a kind of de facto recognition of the state of Israel, as demonstrated by the maps in which Israel is featured.

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Textbooks for the State and State-Religious Jewish Sector in Israel

Yael Teff-Seker

Despite official Israeli government statements to the contrary, Israeli textbooks have repeatedly been accused of being prejudiced, stereotypical and racist towards Arabs, Muslims and, most of all, Palestinians. However, some significant improvements regarding peace and the Arab Other were noted in textbooks published in the later 1980s and in the 1990s by most scholars of Israeli curricula. One would perhaps assume that these positive trends would diminish with the deterioration of Arab–Israeli relations—and particularly Palestinian–Israeli relations—over the past few years (especially since the 2000 Al Aqsa Intifada). However, it is this chapter’s claim not only that these trends towards peace and tolerance have persevered but that they were even improved in the Israeli textbooks authorised by the Israeli Ministry of Education for the academic years 2009–2012. With this general trend in mind, the Israeli state-approved textbooks still foster something of a victim mentality in regard to the Arab–Israeli conflict, although more recent textbooks do include the Palestinian point of view regarding the events leading to the 1948 war, and even criticise or take responsibility for some of the harsh consequences for the Palestinian people.

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Israeli textbooks have been described by some scholars as a socialisation tool that promotes a victim or “siege” mentality (Bar-Tal 1998; Firer 1998) and a collective narrative that includes moral superiority and ethnocentricity, as well as animosity, stereotypes and prejudice towards current and historical rivals (*ibid*, as well as Podeh 2002). Such an approach, it has been argued, is harmful to the attitudes of pupils and generally detrimental to the opportunity of real peace between Israel and the Palestinians, as well as with other Arab and Muslim entities (Bar-Tal 1998, 2007). However, these same scholars have argued that Israeli textbooks have improved their attitudes towards Others, particularly Arabs, Palestinians and Muslims, over the past few decades, and see the 1980s and especially the 1990s as a turning point in this regard. They are in agreement that the Arab–Israeli or Israeli–Palestinian conflict is currently depicted in a more balanced and objective manner in these textbooks (especially in history and in civics books) than it was in the past, and that books tend to show more of the Other’s point of view than their predecessors. Although this is indeed an encouraging turn of events, these same scholars also note that there is still room for further improvement.

Bar-Tal (1998), in his analysis of textbooks recommended by the Israeli Ministry of Education in 1994, concluded that there was a change in the content of the textbooks used in the 1990s in comparison to those that were published until the 1970s. Although he found that some negative stereotyping of Arabs was still present in more recent books, he contended that only a small part of the textbooks focused on societal beliefs concerning security, positive self-image and the victimisation of Jews, and that the delegitimisation of Arabs all but disappeared. In addition, writes Bar-Tal, some textbooks even show new beliefs that promote peace and coexistence with the Arabs.

In her study of 1967 history and civics textbooks and five peace education manuals published in Israel from the 1950s onwards, Firer (1998) found that some books still convey cultural patronising and prejudice, and a depiction of Israel as a nation of people trapped by their own “siege mentality”. Firer and Aduan (2004) maintain that even in the 1990s most history books still imposed a “classic” Zionist view of history, based on the assumptions that Jews have been victims throughout history; that only the Jewish Zionist state can end the suffering of the Jews and revive the Jewish people; and that Zionism’s pioneers and warriors changed the course of Jewish history (for the better). However, Firer (1998) has also found that attitudes towards Arabs (and other Others) have greatly improved during

the second half of the twentieth century. In addition, Firer and Aduan (2004) also argue that Israeli textbooks progressively show less and less Arab stereotyping and more recognition of the Palestinian national identity.

Podeh (2000) distinguishes between three periods in the history of Israeli textbooks: the “childhood” period (1948–1967), the “adolescent” period (1967–1985) and the “adult” period (after 1985). During the latter time period he observes a major change in the presentation of the Arab–Israeli conflict in Israeli history and civics textbooks. Podeh argues that until 1967 books focused on instilling Zionist values and their narrative was simplistic, biased and stereotypical, with omissions and distorted representations concerning Arab history and culture. These books also omitted any criticism or indications that Israel could be at fault or suggestions that the Jews were not entitled to the Land of Israel. During the “adolescent period” of 1967–1985, the historical narrative became less biased, contained fewer stereotypes, and Arabs were no longer viewed as one large group, but rather as separate peoples, including the Palestinian people. These textbooks still featured prejudice, but in a more “sophisticated”, concealed manner, while Israel was still absolved of all culpability.

The most important change, argues Podeh, occurred during the “adult” (post-1984) period, when the historical narrative became more objective and balanced. He maintains that although textbooks from 1985 onwards are not perfect, Arabs are no longer stereotyped in them, they present a balanced picture of the Arab–Israeli conflict (although it is still viewed primarily from a Zionist perspective), and a visible attempt is made to understand the Arab point of view of the conflict. Podeh points out two possible factors that might explain this change: the appearance of a new historiography based on newly released archival material, more critical of Israel and the Zionist movement; and the changes in Israeli society with regard to the perception of the Other. A third and perhaps the most obvious formal change was the directive of 1 February 1984, sent out by the Director General of the Ministry of Education, detailing the basic guidelines of an education programme with the objective of “Jewish–Arab Coexistence”.

Manor (2008) explains that the new educational and pedagogical coexistence-oriented policy of 1984 was carried out by all the successive Israeli governments, in spite of changes in government and the deterioration of Israeli–Palestinian relations. This new policy was implemented via five main themes: “Considering the ‘other’ first as a human being”;

“Overcoming suspicion, hatred and prejudices”; “Knowing and respecting Islam and the Arabs”; “Admitting the legitimacy of the opposing national movement”; and “presenting the conflict in a more balanced way”. Manor has found that all five themes are prevalent in Israeli textbooks, and adds that turn-of-the-century Israeli textbooks do not seek to build the national identity of Israeli Jews upon the rejection of identity and national legitimacy of the Palestinians. In fact, he argues, young Israelis are taught to perceive Arabs and the Palestinians both as individual human beings, and as a people having a legitimate national movement, despite the illegitimate means to which it sometimes resorts (e.g., terrorism) to further its cause.

Finally, a recent three-year project commissioned by the “Council of Religious Institutions in the Holy Land” between the USA, Israel and Palestine has examined both Palestinian and Israeli textbooks. The report, based on a comprehensive quantitative analysis of themes found in 1974 Israeli and 1994 Palestinian textbooks regarding the Israeli or Palestinian Other, concluded that neither curriculum contained any outright dehumanisation or demonisation of the national Other; that the Israeli textbooks contained more positive descriptions of the Arab Other than the Palestinian textbooks did regarding the Jewish or Israeli Other; and that in comparison to Palestinian textbooks, Israeli (state-approved) textbooks contained more self-criticism in regard to events where Palestinians suffered due to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict (CRIHL 2013). However, it should be added that the study also contained two other main conclusions: the first, that the Haredi (Jewish Ultra-Orthodox) education, which does not require state authorisation but is partially funded by the state, showed less positive trends in regard to peace and tolerance towards the Palestinian Other, and was in fact statistically similar to the Palestinian curriculum’s attitudes towards the Israeli Other. The second finding was that both the Israeli and the Palestinian state curricula still blamed the other side for the conflict and its consequences, each depicting their side as the only (or at least main) victim.

In sum, recent studies of the Israeli curriculum have noted the positive change in the depiction of the Palestinian Other, and agree that overt racism and dehumanisation have generally disappeared from Israeli state-approved textbooks since the 1990s. Manor’s study and the Religious Council’s report show that these trends have continued and even improved in the 2000s, and that Israeli textbooks recognise Palestinian national identity, and to some extent the Palestinian point of view on the

Israeli–Palestinian conflict and their suffering as a result of that conflict. However, most studies do show that the Israeli curricula still include some elements of self-victimisation and foster a historic narrative in which the Jewish–Israeli side is the victim of the conflict and the Arab side is the aggressor. This is undoubtedly a perception that can be harmful to any current or future peace process.

This chapter describes the educational messages found in 116 textbooks recommended by the Israeli Ministry of Education for grades 7 through 12 of the Jewish state and state-religious sectors for the 2009–2012 academic years. Since the textbooks used by the Haredi (Ultra-Orthodox) schools in most cases are neither recent nor state approved, they were not included in this study. The textbooks were selected from the academic subjects of history, geography, civics, (Jewish) religious studies, and Hebrew language and literature. The study used thematic analysis in order to extract dominant themes and messages regarding Jewish identity and the Muslim, Arab and Palestinian Others, in order to understand the attitudes of the curricula on the subjects of peace and tolerance towards them. The analytical process included searching for themes and messages in verbal and graphic textual expressions based on the four following lines of inquiry: What messages are included in the text regarding war and peace with the Arab Other? How is the Palestinian point of view or suffering represented in the text? How are Islam and Muslim and Arab heritage portrayed in it? What are the attitudes towards Arab–Israeli (Palestinian) citizens and other ethnic minorities in Israel? These lines of inquiry address the most vital concerns regarding the Israeli curricula, helping to assess the level on which it promotes peace, coexistence, non-violence and understanding of the Palestinian, Arab or Muslim Others.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS PEACE AND WAR WITH THE ARAB/MUSLIM OTHER

The contents found in 2009–2012 state and state-religious textbooks approved by the Israeli Ministry of Education for grades 7–12 demonstrate that overall, peace is depicted in these books in a positive manner and many textbooks portray it as advantageous and achievable. Although past wars are often described as inevitable or a “necessary evil”, the vast majority of current-day Israeli textbooks include general messages of peace

or show support for peaceful conflict resolution with Palestinians and Arab/Muslim states (including non-neighbouring Arab countries), and peace is presented as mutually beneficial for both Jews and Arabs.

It is therefore not uncommon to find general messages promoting peace, such as the following quote from an Israeli Civics book asking students: “How, in your opinion, can we educate to reject violence and all its expressions and promote communication in peaceful ways?” (*Civil Studies*, 2006: 355). Other books refer to peace in the case of the Arab–Israeli conflict, although still in quite a wide and non-specific perspective, as expressed, for instance, in the following quote from an Israeli Grammar book: “When, in your opinion, will the long awaited peace with the Arab states be achieved?” (*Hebrew—Comprehension*, 2007: 159).

General or abstract messages promoting peace are most commonly found in Israeli literature books or anthologies, and include many poems that present peace as the ultimate goal. Some of these are quite abstract, and some are even idyllic or utopian. Although a wish for peace is generally seen as a positive trend that promotes non-violent conflict resolution, this type of representation, one could argue, leaves peace as an unrealistic and therefore unachievable objective. Additionally, many poems feature peace less as an actual agreement between two opposing sides and more as the cessation of war and especially the suffering and sacrifices made by the in-group, that is, to the Jewish-Israeli side. This also results, of course, from the multi-semantic nature of the Hebrew word for “peace” (*Shalom*) meaning “hello”, “goodbye”, “tranquility”, “safety”, “a state of no war” and “an agreement to end a war”. All of these meanings appear in Israeli textbooks, but it should be noted that for the Israeli reader, unless it is used as a salutation, “Shalom” will be associated with the notion of peace with the Arabs and often specifically with the Palestinians.

An example is found in a poem entitled “Shalom”, by Tamar Adar, featured in a literary anthology for the second grade:

‘Peace’ is a blessing,
 ‘Peace’ is a prayer,
 [...]

 But peace, real ‘peace’
 Is a wish, is a dream.
 Peace that we all want,
 Always peace, not battle, not fire
 Therefore we all aspire:

Let there be peace upon Israel!
(*Way of Words* 2, 2007: 155)

On the other hand, other textbooks, such as geography, civics and some history textbooks, show more realistic and pragmatic attitudes towards peace and the peace process. In these textbooks, students are also encouraged to express their opinion in regard to matters of peace and the peace process, and some textbooks even ask them to suggest solutions of their own, as is the case in an Israeli high school geography book, asking students to: “Devise a plan for full cooperation between Syria and Israel and mention its benefits for both partners (for instance “package tours”, industrial, agricultural, water and ecological cooperation, an inter-national bridge)” (*Geography of the Middle East*, 2008: 307).¹

Furthermore, compromise regarding territory in order to achieve peace is presented in these books as possible and reasonable, and past peace processes that included such compromise are portrayed without prejudice, and are demonstrated in pictures and maps as well as in written texts. For instance, a geography book writes: “When we try to create a balance of advantages vs. concerns, there is not a shadow of a doubt that the benefits of peace with Egypt outweigh the concerns, and it is very clear that Israel must continue and nurture good relations between the two countries” (ibid: 293).

More surprisingly, the Oslo Accords, although criticised by a large part of the Israeli public and parliament as a flawed process that had damaging repercussions to Israel, are presented in Israeli textbooks as a legitimate step towards peace between Israelis and Palestinians, as can be seen in the following quote from a high school Bible studies book: “The Oslo agreement reflected the aspiration to put an end to the violent conflict between the Palestinians and us and to open a new page of peace between the two peoples” (*Destruction, Exile and Salvation*, 2005: 21). Alternatively, other textbooks present both sides of the public Israeli debate, as portrayed in an Israeli high school history textbook:

The Oslo Accords were of great importance to both sides. Through them, the first compromise between Israel and the Palestinians was achieved, a compromise that tried to open a door to a wider reconciliation process, and improve the relationship between Israel and the Arab states. For the first time, the Oslo agreements gave the Palestinians the chance to establish their own state. [...] However the Accords also had a harsh opposition in the

Israeli public. The agreement was approved with only a small majority by parliament [...]. Most of the left wing supported the agreement and hoped it would bring an end to violence, while in the right there was harsh criticism of Yitzhak Rabin [...]. Additionally, Yitzhak Rabin was accused of endangering the safety of the citizens of Israel, as well as agreeing to relinquish vast territories of the Jewish people's homeland (*Time Travel*, 2009: 206).

This type of quote, presenting different attitudes—left and right—of a debate concerning the Arab–Israeli conflict and especially the subject of territorial concessions as part of a future peace agreement, is quite prevalent in history, civics and geography textbooks. On occasion, Israeli textbooks even include direct quotes from different leaders and other public figures and then ask students to make up their own minds regarding complex and even highly political historic and current events. In these situations, the authors refrain from taking sides and let the original texts speak for themselves.

Although the Arab–Israeli conflict is a very sensitive and political subject, Israeli textbooks give a more balanced account of historical events by mentioning the casualties and other harmful repercussions of war concerning both Jews and Arabs. A clear example of this can be found in the depiction of the casualties of the Six-Day War (1967) in a high school History book:

After six days of fighting [in June 1967] the IDF had 777 dead and 2811 wounded. Egypt lost about 12,000 soldiers, Syria about a 1000 and Jordan announced it had 6000 dead, although this number seems highly exaggerated. 15 IDF soldiers were left as prisoners in the hands of the Arabs, and Israel held approximately 6500 prisoners, mostly Egyptian (*The World and the Jews*, 1999: 294).

One might argue that mentioning the number of casualties on both sides could cause students to compare them and/or deduce that the Israeli side was “the winner” or even that as long as there were more Arab than Jewish casualties then the war was “worth it”. However, one should note that this trend of mentioning both sides' casualties is a more recent one, and that earlier Israeli textbooks (published in the 1980s and 1990s)—which were generally speaking more ethnocentric—included only descriptions of Israeli casualties. The presentation of historic and current Palestinian or other Arab suffering, alongside the motivations and the views of both Jews and Arabs regarding the conflict, will be further elaborated later on.

Despite the fact that war in general is portrayed as negative, actual Arab–Israeli wars are mostly shown as a factual event and sometimes as a justified means for survival (“a necessary evil”) for the Jewish side. This is related to the fact that Israeli textbooks portray the Arab states and/or the Palestinians as the instigators of conflict or violence when describing past and present events, and in both small- and large-scale incidents. For example, an Israeli high school geography textbook portrays the Syrians as the sole instigators and the sole contributors to the Israeli–Syrian conflict:

Since the establishment of the state of Israel, Syria has shown it extremely harsh expressions of hostility [...] Since 1982, and until the time when these words are written in 2007, Syria is stirring in Lebanon and is aiding the Shiite organization Hezbollah to attack Israel, hoping that in order to quieten its border with Lebanon Israel will agree to withdraw from the Golan Heights. This policy creates a lot of tension in Syria-Israel relations and a constant fear of deterioration to a state of war (*Geography of the Middle East*, 2008: 353–354).

In general, unlike Egypt or Jordan, for instance, Syria, both in the past and in the present, is portrayed in Israeli textbooks as a warmongering, terror-supporting, immoral state, that does not abide by international law or cease-fire agreements. This type of description would lead students to believe that Syria, at least in its current state, is not a very promising peace partner.

Textbooks also portray Arabs as the sole instigators of irrational and immoral violence in the events of 1928–1929, as well as the Palestinian attacks on Jewish settlements in Israel in the 1930s. A somewhat uncharacteristic and extreme quote even depicts the Palestinians of 1933–1939 as bloodthirsty irrational terrorists:

The Arabs’ violent acts [that took place in Israel in 1933–1939] focused on burning fields, setting fire to woods, destroying quarries, attacking Jewish roads [...]. However, harming property was not enough. Most of the terrorist acts were focused on taking lives, attacking Jewish neighborhoods and settlements. Their wrath was also turned on the British administration, and attacks were made on railroads, as well as army and police camps (*Revolution and Change*, 2005: 73).

This presentation of the Arab–Israeli conflict also aligns with the general tendency to show Jews as the perpetual victims of all their enemies or

subjugators, current or historic. The Holocaust is of course a substantial part of not only Israeli historic memory and narrative, but also of the Israeli history curricula. However, unlike Israeli politicians, media and literature, Israeli textbooks do not make an actual explicit connection between the victimisation of Jews by the Nazis and the victimisation of Jews by Arabs.

Furthermore, this notion of the perpetual (Jewish/Israeli) victim began to change over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and is now somewhat ambivalent or at least more complex. As noted by other scholars examining textbooks and other forms of Israeli cultural texts (e.g., Bar-Tal 2007; Gavriely-Nuri 2007), despite this victim mentality, Israeli textbooks also portray Israeli fighters as the ideal soldiers: brave, loyal, resourceful, and strategically and morally superior. The same books also show war as an expression of or as an opportunity for Jewish–Israeli victory and greatness. These notions are all expressed to some degree in the following quote from a high school grammar textbook:

In the era of cynicism and depression that have taken over our lives, a visit to the Palmach Museum [...] can contribute to raising the national morale. The journey to the past revives the History of bravery, of few verses many, of motivated young people who had a fighting spirit, wishing to establish a Jewish state for the Jewish people in the Land of Israel. [...] The experience at the museum could encourage us specifically in these difficult times of [Palestinian] terrorist attacks and strengthen our faith in our ability to overcome all the assaults and the threats we experience today (*Language Stepping Stones*, 2010: 98).

PRESENTING THE PALESTINIAN POINT OF VIEW AND SUFFERING

Some Israeli textbooks, and most of the newer history textbooks, present students with some type of Palestinian point of view regarding the Israeli–Palestinian conflict and the subsequent Palestinian suffering, though mostly that which is pre- or circa 1948. However, individual (personal experience) accounts given as direct quotes are rare, especially in regard to more recent or current-day (non-Israeli) Palestinians. If given, the current Palestinian point of view is presented indirectly (not as a direct quote), or is that of a Palestinian Israeli citizen (or “Arab Israelis”). One should point out that Israeli history books tend to linger over the events that took place

until and including the 1948 war, and include shorter descriptions of events that took place after 1948 (and even more so after 1967). What several textbooks do, on the other hand, is ask the students to *imagine* what the Palestinian point of view may have been during events such as the 1948 war or the period leading to it: “describe the development of the new settlement in the Land of Israel from the point of view of a Jew from the ‘Old Settlement [*Hayeshuv Hayashan*]’ and from the point of view of an Arab villager” (*Nationality*, 2008: 165). Another textbook asks the students to “divide into groups representing journalists from the Jewish settlers [*Yishuv*] and Palestinian journalists sent to cover the debate in the UN towards the decision to divide Israel. [...] Discuss the differences between the pieces written by the Yishuv journalists and the Palestinian reporters” (*Journey to the Past*, 1999: 294).

When it comes to recognising Palestinian nationhood and identity, the latest Israeli textbooks recognise the Palestinian movement as a legitimate national movement and events regarding the Palestinian–Israeli conflict are given in a more balanced and impartial manner than in textbooks published in previous years. The latter hardly referred to this type of nationhood or national identity and used the terms “The Arabs of the Land of Israel” or “The Arabs of Israel”. However, even when the term “The Arabs of Israel” is used, it is still synonymous with the term “Palestinians” when it describes the pre-1948 development of the Palestinian national movement, as in the case of the following excerpt from an Israeli history textbook: “During the 1930s, national Arab movements emerged across the Middle East. Many of the Arabs of Israel also began to develop national awareness, namely, that they were not only part of the great Arab nation but that they were also Palestinians, dwellers of Palestine” (*History of Today*, 1999: 85).

Books occasionally portray terrorist actions performed by Palestinians and justify fighting their perpetrators, but they also often give non-judgemental reasoning or rationale for these and other hostile Palestinian actions (e.g., their national aspirations or suffering in the refugee camps). For instance, one history textbook claims that:

The conditions in the [Palestinian refugee] camps were difficult and the population living in them suffered from poverty and neglect, despite the aid they received from international organisations. The underprivileged population of the Palestinian camps was the main source of “intruders” into Israeli territory, and later on—became the core of terrorist organisations that acted against Israel (*The Main Mountain*, 2002: 346).

When discussing the events of 1948 or earlier, Palestinians are portrayed as initiators of violent acts and of the Arab–Israeli conflict as a whole, while the Jewish settlement is shown to merely protect itself. In some of these cases, Palestinian leaders are described as distributing lies in order to incite their public against the Jews, thus blaming the leaders—not the Palestinian people—for violent events. This last view can be seen in the following quote:

The Mufti Haj Amin Al Husseini enflamed the religious conflict and spread word as if the Temple Mount and within it the Dome of the Rock and the El-Aksa mosque were under danger of being overtaken by the Zionists. Every Friday the mosques sounded sermons inciting them against the Jews [...]. These sermons achieved their goal and enflamed spirits among the Muslim believers (*The Era*, 2001: 163).

Most books concede that some Palestinians were chased or banished from their homes by Jewish forces in the 1948 war, and that not all of them fled willingly, though some remain ambiguous as to the reasons for this population shift, and some clearly state that the Jews banished the Palestinians from their homes:

During the fighting many of the Arabs of Israel were banished. Some of them fled even before the Jews reached a village or an Arab neighbourhood in one of the cities, and some were forcefully banished by the conquering force (*History of Today*, 1999: 143).

Additionally, it should be noted that some violent actions against the Palestinian population are also presented without any justification as in the following example:

In the midst of “Operation Nahshon” [April 1948] an event took place, which later on received much significance. Dir Yassin, an Arab village in the west of Jerusalem, was attacked by Etzel and Lehi members. During the taking over of houses in the village most of the villagers were killed. The number of dead is unclear and shifts between 100 and 254 people (*A Journey to the Past*, 2007: 174).

Israeli textbooks also acknowledge a significant Palestinian presence in Israel and in Israeli (Jewish and/or Muslim) holy places before 1948, and the Arab population is even shown as larger than that of the Jewish population at

that time (as is historically accurate): “On the eve of the arrival of Zionist immigrants to Israel, it was not completely unoccupied. About 400 thousand Arabs lived in it, as well as about 25 thousand Jews” (*The Era*, 2001: 40).

Despite the fact that the Israeli–Palestinian conflict is recognised as such, Israeli textbooks describe the nature of the Israeli–Palestinian relationship as ongoing peace negotiations, in which peace has merely “not yet” been reached but is always the ultimate objective. As previously mentioned, the achievement of a peace agreement with the Palestinians is portrayed in these books as a positive and attainable final goal. In fact, geography textbooks often elaborate on the necessary steps to achieve peace, alongside the practical options and the mutual advantages of a potential peace agreement, as in the following example:

When the permanent arrangements between Israel and the Palestinians will be discussed, there will be a need to discuss and decide about the matter of the use of the Jordan river’s water by the Palestinians, the water supply to Jewish settlements in Judea and Samaria, as well as the division of water between the two sides. At any rate, it is clear that the water in the Judea and Samaria mountains will always be shared by Israel and the Palestinians (*Geography of the Middle East*, 2008: 183).

Furthermore, the past Palestinian–Israeli peace negotiations and agreements (Oslo included) are portrayed as positive, and textbooks feature maps that describe Palestinian territories (A–C) according to the Oslo agreements:

The purpose of the second Oslo Agreement was to enlarge the Palestinian independent administration in the West Bank by means of an elected ruling authority – ‘The Palestinian Council’, and to encourage cooperation and peaceful coexistence, based on shared interests and mutual respect, while safeguarding the vital interests of the State of Israel. This agreement prescribed a timetable for the redeployment of the Israel Defence Forces and the division of the area of Judea, Samaria and Gaza into the different kinds of areas: Area A [...] Area B [...] Area C [...] (*This is the Land*, 1999: 21–22).

Textbooks encourage students to form their own opinion in regard to the Palestinian–Israeli situation, and different opinions in (Jewish) Israeli society, relating to the surrender of territories as part of a peace agreement with the Palestinians, are also given. The existence of settlements beyond

the “Green Line” or occupation of these territories is described impartially, without support or judgement of either side. Moreover, Palestinian territories are occasionally referred to as such, but in some cases they are only given the names of their regions (Judea and Samaria, Gaza strip, etc.), without stating that they belong to one state or another. Books describe past and present difficulties and hardships of the Palestinians (e.g., their banishment in 1948, refugee camps, the events of Kfar Qassem, the Sabra and Shatila massacre, and Black September), and acknowledge some Israeli culpability (or at least accountability) in a few of these cases. Although often claimed otherwise, Israeli textbooks also explain the term “Nakba” (“Catastrophe”) as the name given by some Palestinians to the 1948 war (or “War of Independence”), as in this quote from an Israeli history textbook:

The War of Independence is called different names that express different points of view on the war: The War of Independence, The 5708 [Tasha”h] War, The War of Liberation, [...] and Al Nakba.

- a. Explain the significance of the names. You can use other information sources.
- b. Explain the different points of view that lead to the giving of these names.
- c. Make a poster to illustrate one of the names of the war.
(*A Journey to the Past*, 2007: 184)

ATTITUDES TOWARDS ISLAM AND MUSLIM AND ARAB HERITAGE

The Israeli textbooks examined in the current project have been found to show an extensive and respectful approach to the origins and religious precepts of Islam, as well as to Muslim history regarding the inception and proliferation of Islam. The following quote is quite typical in its level of objectivity and respect:

The Shi’ite [Muslims] count 12 Imams, their successors of the Prophet Muhammad and ‘Ali. According to their worldview, the 11th Imam died in the year 873 ad, and the 12th Imam, Mohamed Al-Muntazar “vanished” and became “The Hidden Imam”, who is destined to be revealed at the end of days, become a “Mehdi” (Messiah) and rule with infinite benevolence (*Travel through Time*, 2008: 68).

Textbooks also give quotes and paraphrasing of Koran and other religious Muslim texts, and present a historic and ideological connection between Islam and Judaism. Additionally, legitimacy is given to the holy Muslim places in Israel, noting the sanctity of Jerusalem for Muslims (as well as Christians) in particular, for instance: “The Land of Israel in general, and Jerusalem in particular, became more and more sacred in Islamic thought [...]” (*This is the Land*, 1999: 161).

Israeli textbooks were found to give a balanced portrayal of the interaction between Muslim Arabs and Jews in Arab countries, and most accounts show a positive relationship between the two peoples, alongside some hardships caused by the Muslims to the Jews living among them. (The positive descriptions of Muslim relative tolerance are in clear contradiction of the descriptions of blatant and harsh anti-Semitism in historic European states since the Middle Ages and until 1945.) Furthermore, a broad and balanced depiction of the current and historical situation in Arab countries is given impartially, respectfully and occasionally in a glorifying manner, as in the following example:

In the Muslim empire culture and science thrived. Arab doctors performed complex surgery, recognised diseases and erected hospitals; Arab astronomers built an observatory, algebra was developed; the Arabs disseminated Indian numerals we use today and began using the digit zero; books were translated from Greek and philosophy books were written. In Geography, in the arts and in architecture the Arabs donated considerably (*Travel to the Past*, 1997: 14).

Israeli textbooks also encourage students to know and find out more about historic and current-day Arab and Muslim countries, including states such as Iraq, Iran, Lebanon and Syria, and not only in relation to the state of Israel or to the Jews who lived or are still living there. Additionally, photographs, stories and poems of Arab and Muslim artists about Islam and Arab society and heritage are introduced to the students—especially in literature, civics and geography textbooks.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS ARAB-ISRAELI CITIZENS AND OTHER ETHNIC MINORITIES

Israeli textbooks see the Arab-speaking minorities of Israel as heterogeneous, and differentiate between Israeli-Palestinians and other Arab-speaking or Muslim Israeli groups (Druze, Bedouin, Circassians, etc.),

and occasionally also between Christian and Muslim Israeli Arabs, as in the following quote: “The state of Israel has 13 known religious groups [...], and the largest ones are the Jews, the Muslims and the Druze. [...] The Christians also have religious law courts and they abide by Canonic Law, which is the Christian religious law” (*Religion, Society and State*, 2006: 160).

Israeli textbooks were found to describe Arab settlements and communities in a respectful, detailed and impartial way, and to encourage students to learn more about the neighbouring Arab communities. The latter are also shown as undergoing a (positive) process of modernisation:

The changes taking place in the Arab families of Israel are a result of various social and economic processes, among them a rise in the level of education, a rise in the participation of women in the work market, a shift in women’s status and a rise in the standard of living. The differences between Arab and Jewish families are influenced by cultural differences that cause different customs and lifestyles of these populations (*Israel*, 2007: 30).

Arabic textbooks for Hebrew speakers often describe the everyday and personal lives of Arab citizens and include friendly dialogues between Israeli Jews and Arabs. Arab-Israeli citizens are even shown to have a natural bond with non-Israeli Palestinians and other Arabs worldwide. However, in literature, geography and civics textbooks, Arab Israelis are also shown as individuals and their point of view is represented, occasionally even as a direct quote or a personal story or artistic (literary) work, as in the following poem, “Father and Mother” by Arab-Israeli poet Naim Araidi:

This woman in the blue dress and the white head scarf
Is my mother, an Arab-Hebrew-Hebrew-
Arab back and forth.
[...]
This man in the gray Abaya in the snow-white Kaffiya,
Is my father.
He wanted me to study Medicine, and Law would suffice.
Speaks a little Hebrew. Funny accent.
You can understand.
(*Simply Literature*, 2002: 46)

Civics textbooks emphasise the rights of minorities in general and of Arab-Israelis in particular, especially in regard to rights promised in the

Israeli declaration of independence. In fact, civics and geography textbooks describe and criticise the political discrimination, and encourage students to decide for themselves what they think of controversial situations, hinting that democratic values should outweigh national/religious Jewish values. Additionally, hostility and tensions between the two sides—Israeli Jews and Arabs—are described in an even-handed and objective manner, and acts perpetrated by Jews against Arab-Israeli citizens (e.g., social and governmental discrimination) are described in detail and heavily criticised, as in the following question posed in a civics textbook:

When the state was established about 15% of its residents were Arabs [...]. In theory they were Israeli citizens, but the state treated them with suspicion, forced a martial law on them [...] and actually discriminated against them in different ways. [...] Why do you think Israel's Arab citizens were discriminated against as opposed to its Jewish citizens? [...] Does this type of discrimination exist today in your opinion? Explain your answer (*The 20th Century*, 1999: 160–161).

Textbooks portray Arab–Israeli coexistence in “mixed” cities (especially Jerusalem) as positive though complex, and civics books emphasise the contradiction that sometimes occurs due to Israel’s dual nature as Jewish and democratic. Additionally, the majority of maps featured in these textbooks include Arab (Palestinian) Israeli or other minority settlements, though some of them do not—especially if the particular discussion only involves the Jewish population of Israel (for instance, in the case of historic settling patterns of Jewish immigrants). As previously mentioned, Israeli textbooks often describe laws pertaining to rights of minorities (Palestinian-Arabs, Druze, Circassians and Bedouins in particular) in Israel, especially based on the Israeli Declaration of Independence, as in the next example:

[Article 13 of the Israeli Declaration of Independence:] The State of Israel [...] will give complete social and political equality to all its citizens regardless of religion, race and sex, will ensure freedom of religion, conscious, language, education and culture, and will guard the holy places of all religions [...]

1. Mark the expressions indicating that Arab citizens are also entitled to equal rights.
2. What rights are given to a national minority in Israel?

3. Give examples that express the fulfilment of the rights of the Arab minority in everyday life (including political rights).
(*A Journey to Israeli Democracy*, 1994: 89)

In general, the population of Israel is described as varied and multicultural (as a positive phenomenon). The personal narrative of ethnic minorities—especially Druze and Bedouin—is presented in textbooks, either directly (as a quote or a personal story) or indirectly (as a general description) and in an impartial and unprejudiced manner. The Druze and Bedouin communities, their traditions, beliefs and current situation are described respectfully and in detail in geography and civics textbooks. Other, smaller, minorities (e.g., non-Arab Christians, Baha'is and Samaritans) are occasionally referred to briefly but otherwise in a similar manner to larger minorities).

Minority communities are often described as undergoing a positive though challenging process of modernisation, despite the fact that in pictures they are frequently shown in traditional (non-modern) attire (which could perhaps be perceived as stereotypic or condescending). A typical quote reads as following: “Today’s Bedouin society is in crisis, since it is in-between—between a magnificent and long tradition that is slowly dying and modernization, with its advantages and disadvantages, which is slowly taking its place [...]” (*Geography of the Middle East*, 2008: 89). However, when it comes to its minority groups, Israeli textbooks not only give external scholarly explanations, but also include personal narratives, such as an interview with a Bedouin nurse working in an Israeli hospital and her day to day life and personal experiences (*To the Negev*, 2000: 140), a poem from the point of view of a modern Bedouin man struggling with his identity and with the fate of today’s Bedouin community (*The Negev*, 2004: 235), as well as the story of a Druze family helping each other during the harvest (*Step 1: Hebrew*, 2006: 100), a Christian Arab-Israeli boy describing his family life (*A Good Word*, 2008: 119), or a Palestinian-Israeli youth explaining why Israeli Palestinians feel compassion towards their non-Israeli brethren, as well as several poems and stories by Arab-Israeli authors that appear mostly in Israeli literature textbooks. However, it should be stated that this is still a small-scale phenomenon, with two to three such quotes per civics, geography or literature textbook. In Arabic textbooks for Jewish-Israeli students, however, most dialogues include at least one native Arab speaker, mostly Muslim and Christian Arab-Israelis.

FINDINGS ACCORDING TO ACADEMIC SUBJECT

History

Findings show that Israeli history textbooks attempt to present a balanced and objective picture of the Arab–Israeli conflict and peace process, while presenting not only the Jewish point of view but also Arab opinions, narrative and rationale, often as a national group or subgroup but occasionally also as individuals (as is the case with the Palestinian, Druze and Bedouin citizens in Israel). However, quite often, the Arab or Muslim side is shown as the aggressor, while the Israeli or Jewish side is portrayed as defending itself from such an attack; though the Arab (and especially Palestinian) rationale for these acts is also presented, whether as a response to a perceived Israeli/Jewish threat, or whether as protest or revenge for an Israeli/Jewish action seen as hostile or damaging.

As a rule, history textbooks also recognise the historical existence of a Palestinian national movement—already shown as substantial in the first decades of the twentieth century—and Palestinians (or “the Arabs of the Land of Israel”, as many books call pre-1948 Palestinians) are described as the majority residents of Israel before the vast post-Second World War Jewish immigration began. Additionally, textbooks present conflicts and peace agreements (including the Oslo agreement) in a factual manner, and provide a plethora of opinions from different political, cultural or other public figures, from left and right, occasionally including Arab leaders, politicians and artists on the matter. Textbooks then ask the students what their opinion is in regard to difficult and substantial issues that regard the Arab-Israeli conflict and peace negotiations, so that the students can formulate their own (independent) opinion in these matters.

Civics

Civics books describe the complex identity of the Palestinian Israeli citizens, and the democratic rights of Arab or Muslim minorities objectively and in detail, supporting equality and peaceful coexistence for all Israeli citizens. Textbooks also show the complex and sometimes problematic nature of the Israeli state as being both Jewish and democratic.

The Arab–Israeli conflict and the different opinions surrounding it are described factually and impartially, showing the different political (Jewish and non-Jewish) views and beliefs in Israeli society, including views for and against territorial concessions in negotiations with the Palestinians.

Moreover, civics textbooks criticise Israeli society and government for non-democratic or discriminative behaviour towards non-Jewish (mostly Arab) minorities.

Geography

Geography textbooks include maps that also feature the Palestinian Authority according to the Oslo agreement or show the “Green Line”. Other maps do not show a clear border between Israel and the PA, especially when this is not the subject at hand, but they often mark main Palestinian cities and settlements. Additionally, geography textbooks also deal with the subjects of the Arab–Israeli conflict, giving historic and current facts, and address the Palestinian lives, point of view and suffering today and in the past. These books also invite students to assess the situation themselves and form their own opinion regarding the Arab–Israeli conflict and peace process.

Geography books also deal extensively with current relationships with neighbouring Arab countries (including the PA), and see prospective peace agreements as mutually beneficial, possible, necessary and quite immanent.

Literature and Hebrew Language

Literature anthologies and Hebrew grammar and language textbooks include poems, stories, reading passages and famous quotes addressing the Arab–Israeli relationship. While on the one hand there are texts that emphasise the pain and anguish caused by the Arabs at times of war and glorify the Israeli soldiers or Jewish combatants that fought bravely for Israel and for the Jewish people, on the other hand many poems glorify peace as the best solution for all, and convey the ideal of Palestinian–Israeli coexistence (especially with Israeli Palestinian citizens).

Prime Ministers Yitzhak Rabin and Ben-Gurion are often quoted in these books. Interestingly, they are both quoted to represent the two sides of the Israeli political debate: both as people who fought the Arabs and Palestinians for Israel and the Jewish people, but also both as men of peace. Rabin is quoted both after the Israeli victory in 1967, and during the signing of the Oslo agreement; Ben-Gurion is quoted both as the man who (before and during the 1948 war) decided that the Jewish settlement must abandon the path of peaceful resolution with the Arabs in regard to

the Land of Israel, and also as the man who made the declaration of independence, in which he and the Israeli leadership offered to extend their hand in peace to all of Israel's Arab neighbours and to give equal rights to the Arab residents of the new state of Israel.

Bible and Judaism Studies

These textbooks attempt to interpret and explain the Bible and other Jewish scriptures and traditions to today's students. Part of this is done by referencing current events and comparing them to biblical ones or analysing them according to Jewish historic or traditional laws and perceptions. Occasionally, the Arab–Israeli conflict or peace process becomes the centre of that illustration, in which case the texts almost always promote peaceful conflict resolutions and reject violence. However, no references were made to the suffering or to the point of view of Arabs or Palestinians, perhaps due to the small amount of current references found in these books to begin with.

Arab Language

Textbooks used to teach Arabic to the Jewish sector contain many stories and dialogues that include or revolve around all Israeli Arab speakers: Palestinians, Bedouins and Druze (as well as Arab-speaking Jews), and present their point of view and everyday life to the students. These books also teach students about Islam: its laws, precepts and history, as well as direct quotes from the Koran. All of these are presented respectfully, objectively and without prejudice or judgement. Peace agreements with Arab states are mentioned favourably, though peace negotiations and events that have to do with the Palestinian Authority are described briefly and factually, and textbooks refrain from expressing any opinion other than a general support for peace in the Middle East.

CONCLUSION

This study of 114 state and state-religious Israeli textbooks for grades 7–12 for the academic years 2009–2012 found that present day Israeli education does seek to instil values of peace and tolerance towards others, while some books are still prone to Jewish ethnocentrism and victim mentality. Some messages found in these textbooks imply that Jewish Israeli

identity is partially based on attitudes towards the Other. The Jewish people are frequently presented as a victim of other peoples and most textbooks omit or only briefly describe the suffering of more current rivals (e.g., Palestinians). While, to a certain extent, this is perhaps to be expected in an ongoing conflict, at the same time Israeli textbooks clearly attempt to promote peaceful conflict resolution, as well as deeper understanding, empathy and respect towards national and religious Others, including Muslims, Arabs and Palestinians.

The study examined trends promoted by the Israeli education system following the events of the Second Intifada (2000–2005) regarding the portrayal of Arab and Muslim history, representation of Others, the depiction of the Arab–Israeli conflict and its potential resolution, and cultural tolerance and civil rights for Arabs and other minorities. Findings show that Israeli textbooks do refer to the difficult refugee status of many Palestinians following the 1948 war, and that they accept some Israeli accountability for tragic events that caused Palestinian suffering.

The textbooks, especially those written before 2007, are prone to mixed messages. The viewpoints of Palestinian or Arab states are given in most texts (especially in history textbooks), which serve to present those Others not as blood-thirsty or hateful warmongers, but rather as opposing political movements with rational arguments. This is in conflict with the perception of the national collective Jewish Self as a just, tolerant and peace-seeking perpetual victim found elsewhere in the textbooks, which also presents post-1967 Palestinian suffering in a rather superficial manner.

The depiction of Jews and Israelis as the main victims (and almost never the aggressors) influences the manner in which Arabs and Palestinians are portrayed because they are the other side of this equation. This would suggest that if Jews are always the victim and always peace seeking, then Arabs are always the aggressors, and it is their fault that peace has not yet been achieved. This hinders the ability of students to believe that peace with the Palestinians and Other Arab or Muslim people could be possible in the near future.

Therefore, despite other clear efforts to the contrary, students still receive a somewhat skewed description of Arab–Israeli and specifically Israeli–Palestinian relations, promoting notions that might hinder the actual possibility of fostering peace-oriented and peace-building perceptions. While some Israeli textbooks do seek to improve this perception, by presenting Arab (especially Palestinian) viewpoints and suffering for example, or by showing Arab efforts towards peace, these need to be

intensified in order to achieve an actual change in the messages received by the Israeli student.

NOTES

1. Parentheses original.

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History Textbooks for Arab Schools in Israel as a Reflection of Political and Social Development in Israel and the Middle East: The Balfour Declaration and the 1948 War

Hana Shemesh (Rash)

This study examines history textbooks for elementary schools, junior high schools and senior high schools in Israel's Arab sector from 1948 to 2008. A common argument is that the Jewish majority in the State of Israel constructed the study of history for the Arab minority, by means of the history textbooks under the supervision of the Ministry of Education. The following research attempts to investigate first whether the Jewish education system, which was responsible for the education of the Arab minority during the period in question, actually imposed the Jewish-Zionist narrative in the textbooks for the purpose of domination over the Arab minority. Further, it examines whether this domination was complete or whether trends have been evident of incorporating Muslim Arab history into textbooks, thus providing Arab students with sources of identification.

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TEXTBOOKS FOR ARAB STUDENTS IN ISRAEL

The group of history textbooks for Arab Schools in Israel is unique in that it was intended for use by a dominant minority (about 20 % of the total population). This minority, however, which is predominantly Muslim with a minority of Christians, belongs to the Jewish education system. Due to the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict, many in the Arab sector in Israel see themselves as part of the Palestinian people living in the West Bank and Gaza Strip whose struggle for land boundaries has yet to be decided. Since the establishment of the State, identification of Israeli Arabs first with their brethren in Arab countries and currently with the Palestinian people exposes the duality that characterises the texture of their lives in the country: the Arab as a citizen of the State of Israel, which defines itself as Jewish-Zionist, and the Arab as a member of the Arab-Palestinian nation (Rouhana 1997). There is no doubt that the fear of the Arab minority within Israel potentially constituting a hostile element and collaborating with the Arab states has permeated the discourse in the textbooks and has denied their recognition as a group with their own narrative (Rabinowitz and Abu Baker 2002; Benziman and Mansour 1992).

Textbooks of the Israeli education system, therefore, must constantly negotiate the question of the State's relationship to the Arab minority and more generally to the Arab world. These textbooks reflect their editors' and writers' perspectives and understanding of this conflict normally marked by egocentrism. A distinction is drawn between "us" and "them", which enables both sides to present their historical version of the events as "true" and "objective", and the version of the Other side as "incorrect" or "erroneous". The books tend to describe the Other by way of negative concepts and use prejudices and stereotypes in order to de-legitimise the enemy (Bar-Tal 2007; Podeh 2002). However, as will be presented in this article, this has changed throughout the years.

One of the controversial characteristics of textbooks for Arab students in Israel is the fact that these books are written under the full supervision of the Ministry of Education, which is directed by Jewish-Israelis. After the establishment of the State of Israel, the ministry set up a special unit—the Department for Arab Education—which was charged with supplying all the services required by Arab schools and to supervising their curriculum. The department had to deal with a new reality: the Arabs who remained in the newly established Jewish State (some 120,000 residents) became a minority. As for Arab schools, after the 1948 War, the old

education system virtually disappeared: there were no teachers and no books. The system had to be rebuilt and new textbooks had to be written (Al-Haj 1996; Winter 1979). The first official Arab history textbooks were published only in the late 1960s, and some were translated from Hebrew. The frequency at which they are published remains unsatisfactory to this day, although it has increased over recent years. Moreover, in terms of national allegiance, Arabs were portrayed in the textbooks as belonging to the Other side and as a dangerous enemy, a “fifth column” threatening the future of the young state.

FOUR GENERATIONS OF TEXTBOOKS

My examination of the history textbooks for use in Arab schools from the establishment of the State of Israel to the early 2000s points to four important stages. In every stage, there is significant progress in the inclusion of specific material relevant to the Arab population in Israel, among which greater space is allocated to the instruction of Arab and Islamic history, and the history of the Middle East in modern times in relation to events in Palestine and in the Land of Israel.

Textbooks of the first generation—the Zionist generation (1949–1970)—were characterised by an emphasis on Jewish and Zionist history. The history textbooks in Arabic were a mirror image of the Hebrew textbooks. The books were predominantly concerned with the history of the Jewish people and their rebirth as a nation in the twentieth century. The chapters on Arabic history and Islam were limited to the ancient period and the Middle Ages, on the assumption that they were innocent of contemporary political influence. The Arab nationalism movement in the Middle East and coping with the Israeli-Arab conflict were virtually absent from the books.

During those years, the predominant perspective of the Ministry of Education was to emphasise the teaching of the national history of Israel with a rather marginal examination of other cultures. This pedagogical perspective called for the transmission of a single unified narrative shared by all Israeli groups as a Jewish nation which, despite periods of depression, oppression and dangers, was re-established as the history of the Jewish people in its homeland. Writing the history of the Jews as a continuous history of a nation with an unwavering and unquestioned attachment to the Land of Israel was intended to produce a unified Zionist collective memory among the new generation who were seen as continuing

this glorious tradition in the Land of Israel. This monolithic perspective was also carried over into the history textbooks in Arabic (Abu-Asbah 2007: 69–70; Bóuml 2007).

The second generation of textbooks—The ambivalent generation (1970–1990)—heralded the preparation of a new programme whose purpose was to expand the study of Arab history for Arab students. The Israeli system recognised the importance of teaching Arab history and Middle Eastern studies to Arab students for the purpose of instilling in them a sense of their heritage but also in order to inculcate in them universal and democratic values, highlight similarities between Islamic and Jewish cultures and assimilate them as citizens in Israeli society.

Arab educators welcomed this trend, but their criticism of this programme focused on the fact that Arab national history and the history of the Israeli-Arab conflict was still marginalised in the new books (Al-Haj 1996). The fact that the Ministry of Education recognised the Israeli Arabs as a unique group deserving of an appropriate place in history was certainly an important turning point. But the ministry did not function in a vacuum, and the continuing conflict with the Arab countries hindered the development of chapters on Arab history out of fear of arousing local Arabic nationalistic sentiments against the State. On the other hand, contemporary social and political transformations made it possible to ignore the uniqueness of the Arab minority.

The new reforms (1995) adopted by the Ministry of Education recommended a mixture of general history and Jewish history and aimed at promoting universal human values and neutralising the feelings of hatred and prejudice that were characteristic of a simplistic historical approach. Instead of political history, which had been the heart of the older textbooks, it was recommended to place emphasis on social and cultural history (Mathias 2003). These ideas for reform paved the way for textbooks that made room for the writing of the history of the Middle East and the Arabs.

The third generation of textbooks—the challenging generation (1990–2003)—was characterised by a clear move away from the writing of Arab history towards an emphasis on the writing of history of the Arab countries in the Middle East and Palestine. In 1999, a new programme was devised for the instruction of history in the Arab high schools. This programme presented a significant challenge and strove to give a place in textbooks to subjects such as the Arab national movement, the Israeli-Arab conflict, the Palestinian nation and the Arabs in Israel. The curriculum of 1999 gave explicit instructions to teach the history of the society of

Palestinian Arabs “as a required subject, including the 1948 War and the refugee problem”. However, there is a large gap between the declaration of the curriculum, which promoted the teaching of the unique history of the Arabs and Palestinians, and the presentation of these subjects in the textbooks. Ultimately, hardly any textbooks appropriate to the new curriculum were written and teachers, few of whom succeeded in learning new material on their own, continued to teach according to the old textbooks of the previous generations.

Nevertheless, it can be said that the new committee for a history curriculum for Arab schools that completed its work in 1999 worked in an atmosphere that was more open to the needs of Arab education. Israeli society of the 1990s and the early 2000s was no longer characterised by a single social and political vision. Social and political rifts contributed to a multicultural society in which many different groups struggled for a place in the national dialogue through the inclusion of their narrative in the modern history of the renewal of Jewish settlement of the land and the establishment of the State of Israel. Within this dialogue, the voice of the Arab minority was not absent as voiced by Arab leaders as well as by certain circles in Jewish society. The Oslo Agreements (1993) brought an atmosphere of reconciliation and hope for peace with the Palestinians, which opened the way for modern history concerned with the Palestinian problem and Israeli Arabs. For the first time, it was determined that the Palestinian narrative and the Zionist narrative would be studied side by side as different perspectives on the same events.

Arabs underwent a double process of identity formation: on the one hand, many expressed deep frustration with the failure of their civil struggle for equal rights in the State of Israel and, on the other hand, the fruition of a national Palestinian movement in the territories and around the world aroused in them feelings of identification and belonging to the Palestinian nation. The events of October 2000 served as turning point that generated an element of new identity for the young generation as Palestinian (rather than Arabs) as citizens of the State of Israel. All of the above led to a new and growing demand for recognition of the Palestinian narrative and the Nakba as a crucial event of the Palestinians within the borders of the State.

Alongside all this, the Palestinian Arab public in the country began to form non-governmental organisations and institutions to provide alternative services for improving the quality of life of residents in the face of government failure or neglect. In the field of education, the Follow-up

Committee on Arab Education was established to rectify the situation and improve the quality of education for Arabs in Israel. The committee saw it as one of their most important goals to write a history curriculum and textbooks reflecting the Palestinian story.

Another move that helped shape the content of history textbooks in the late 1990s was the debate that raged within the Ministry of Education over whether to present Arab history in Hebrew textbooks. Following new research by historians that described reality as never one-sided or unambiguous in relation to current events in the Middle East, there were greater demands to include the Palestinian narrative in history textbooks. The “textbook scandal”, as it was called in the public debate, began after the publication of a few textbooks in Hebrew that presented some events of 1948 in ways that challenged the simplistic Zionist narrative. Although one textbook was banned for instructional purposes in the education system, discussion in academia of greater inclusiveness in the national narrative gained public attention reaching the pages of newspapers and ending up in the Committee on Education of the Knesset (Hazoni 2001).

The very existence of such a debate was indicative of the openness in Israeli society to textbooks providing different viewpoints on historical events heretofore represented in a one-dimensional, stereotypical or even mythical ways. The demand from Arab educators in the country to give appropriate expression to Palestinian history in the curriculum for Arabs was understood in many circles in light of the debate within the Jewish system.

These developments paved the way to the fourth generation of textbooks: the generation of questioning (2003–2008). In 2007, revisions were instituted in the history curriculum for Arab schools. Despite references to far-reaching goals for Arab history, and mainly for modern Arab history, Arabic textbooks dealing with subjects such as the events of 1948 and political changes among Israeli Arabs still did not relate an independent narrative. And yet, there was greater clarification of the Arab position, especially in relation to Jewish-Arab relations in Israel in the modern era. Although a concept like the Nakba was not mentioned in the textbooks, the activities and positions of the Arab public in Israel and the Arab world were prominently represented. In the teachers’ guide to one of the books, there is an explicit instruction to discuss the concept of the Nakba as a Palestinian alternative to the Jewish one—the Independence War. These trends emphasising the Arab aspects of history serve as a challenge to the previous situation in which clear precedence was given to the

Jewish-Zionist narrative. The treatment of two main topics in the books changed over four generations of textbooks: the Balfour Declaration and the events of 1948.

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

The Balfour Declaration (dated 2 November 1917) is the famous letter sent from Lord Balfour, the British Foreign Minister, to the Jewish leader Baron Rothschild in which “his Majesty’s government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people...” This declaration is considered by many as the first official international acknowledgement of the Jewish people’s right to a national entity in the land of Palestine. On the other hand, The Arabs viewed this document as a sign of the British government’s withdrawal from its promises for Arab independence in the Husayn-McMahon Correspondence (14 July 1915 to 30 January 1916). These letters, exchanged between the Sharif of Mecca, Husayn bin Ali, and Sir Henry McMahon, British High Commissioner in Egypt, declared that the Arabs would revolt in alliance with the United Kingdom against the Ottoman Empire and in return the UK would recognise Arab independence in these territories. However, the 1917 Sykes-Picot Agreement between France and UK, where the two countries were planning to split and occupy parts of the promised Arab country, was exposed. Describing Britain’s treason of the Arabs, the Palestinian-American historian Rashid Khalidi stated:

What was fully clear throughout, however, was that successive British governments simply were not prepared to countenance any progress toward Palestinian self-determination, or toward the linked principle of representative government, that would enable the country’s overwhelming Arab majority to place meaningful obstacles in the way of the Zionist project. (Khalidi 2006: 36)

Until the 1980s (the first and second generations), the Balfour Declaration was presented as a Jewish achievement and as a step towards the establishment of a Jewish State. In their books, Dalla and Falāḥ describe the Balfour Declaration as a personal achievement of Haim Weitzman, the Jewish leader who contributed his scientific invention of using acetone for explosives to the British Army at war in exchange for the declaration. Furthermore, the books explained that Britain, by bestowing the

declaration, had hoped for political and economic support from Jews from all over the world. (Dalla 1968: 37–38; Falāḥ 1975a, b: 204). Salāma even indicated in his book that “the Balfour Declaration is the most important event in the history of the Jewish people since the establishment of the Jewish Agency” (Salāma 1992: 92).¹

Hence, Dalla and Falāḥ’s approach, following the Hebrew textbooks of those years,² almost completely neutralises the Arabic side, concentrating on the Balfour Declaration and its influence on the future of Palestine. Later, in the textbooks of the 1990s (the third generation), the Balfour Declaration was no longer treated as a solely Jewish issue, but one of two parallel promises made by Great Britain concerning the future political status of the lands under the Ottoman Empire after World War I. The Hussein-McMahon Correspondence, for instance, which included promises of Arab control of territories liberated of the Turks, is treated as no less important than the Balfour Declaration, even if it contradicts it.

The new textbooks proclaimed that the Balfour Declaration defined the Arabs not as a “people” but rather as “non-Jewish communities” alongside “the national home for the Jewish people”. Britain, committing itself to the Balfour Declaration, ignored the Arabs’ national rights for independence although they constituted a large majority of 92% of the inhabitants of Palestine. Furthermore, the one-sided support of the Jews contradicted the policy of President Wilson’s Fourteen Points after World War I which demanded self-determination for the peoples of the Ottoman Empire. (Bargūṭī 1998: 276–279). This textbook also argues that the declaration deprived the Arabs in Palestine of their claim to a national identity:

The Arabs believed that the Balfour Declaration deprived them from their right for self-determination and they feared that the establishment of a national home for the Jews meant increasing of the Jewish migration to Palestine which will lead to political and economic exploitation of the Arabs. (ibid.: 279–280)

The textbooks of the 2000s (the fourth generation), go as far as to describe the Balfour Declaration as the beginning of a national conflict between Jews and Arabs struggling for the same territory. Abu ‘Aqṣa described the Arab objection to the Balfour Declaration:

When the Russian Communist regime revealed the Sykes–Picot Agreement Sherif Hussein and Arab nationalists protested in the end of 1917 against the obvious contradiction in the declaration between Britain promises and

the Sykes–Picot Agreement...after the war, when the British Mandate was implemented in Palestine, east Jordan and Iraq, they resented Britain even more...the greatest resentment was expressed when Britain published the Balfour Declaration which encouraged the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine. (Abu ‘Aqša 2005: 118)

In 2008, a new history textbook was published according to the reformed curriculum of 2007. The author, George Salāma, presented the meaning of the Balfour Declaration for both sides as it appeared in the heading: “The Balfour Declaration and the beginning of the British Mandate in Palestine (circumstances, contents and the influence of the Declaration on Jews and Arabs)” (Salāma 2008a: 73). Salāma, analyzes in his books from 2008 the Balfour Declaration pointing at the advantages and the disadvantages for each side: Britain, Jews and Arabs (Salāma 2008a: 73–77, 2008b: 84–87). Moreover, in his Teacher’s Guide he asks the teacher to discuss the question of Britain’s commitments to the Arabs, France and the Zionist Movement (Salāma 2008c: 25–26). Salāma emphasises that the publication of the Balfour Declaration was a key event that led the Arabs to struggle for Palestine against the alliance of Britain and the Zionists: “And thus”, he says, “the ‘Palestinian Question’ became the heart of the conflict between Arabs and Jews and then of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict that goes on until today” (Salāma 2008a: 77–78).

It is clear from this statement that the Arabs understood 17 November 1917 as the beginning of a struggle to regain their rights to their lands in Palestine, a struggle that has not come yet to an end. The Balfour Declaration is considered to be a crucial achievement for Zionism that paved the way to the establishment of the State of Israel, but at the same time it was seen to have been unjust towards the Arabs.

REPRESENTATION OF THE 1948 WAR

We can recognise the changes in the approach to events of 1948 even from the names of the war through the generations: until the end of the 1980s (the first and second generations), the war was referred to as “The War of Independence”, which is the common term in Israeli historiography, and the description of its events focused on the Jewish-Zionist narrative and the establishment of the State of Israel. It completely omits the discussion of the promises given to the Arabs. As we precede to the 1990s (the third generation), the textbooks use the neutral term “The War of 1948”, which had been used by the New Historians and which also sheds light on the

Arab approach to the war. As for the fourth generation, one could recognise an attempt to give to the Arab-Palestinian side of the conflict.

The Jewish-Zionist approach was already made clear in the title of the first high school textbook in 1968: “The History of the Zionist Movement and the Land of Israel through the Establishment of the State, (Part II)”. And indeed, the title is indicative of the perspective through which the book’s chapters are written: the history of the Jews and Zionism and their path to the establishment of the State of Israel. This establishment of new state is presented to Arab students as “the establishment of the State”, that is, The State—which in its character and essence is a Jewish one. Even the country is termed in the book “Eretz Israel” rather than Palestine. On the other hand, the first part of the book, which is dedicated to the Ottoman falls under the title “The History of Palestine and the Ottoman Turks”.

Butrus Dalla authored the two-page-long chapter “The Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel” and referred only to the distress of the Jewish Yishuv after the Second World War due to the Arab attacks and Britain’s subterfuge of illegal immigration to Palestine:

The problems faced by the Jewish settlers in Palestine prior to the establishment of the state were manifold and unique, because the world had just been extricated from World War II, which left its mark on every region. Likewise, the danger loomed of the anticipated Arab-Jewish struggle. (Dalla 1968: 50)

The war in all its aspects is not included in the book; the bloodshed between Jews and Arabs under the Mandate is reduced to a single sentence, while several are dedicated to the Arab attack after the declaration of the State. The writer, a history teacher from Kfar Yasif, and a member of the Ministry of Education’s History Syllabus Committee, presents a typical Israeli discourse in the chapter, which almost entirely ignores the Arab side in the conflict. One can surmise that the textbook, which was issued in the mid-1960s under the auspices of the Israeli Ministry of Education, was written according to the official political convention at the time (June 1967). The contemporary political discourse did not recognise an independent Palestinian entity, and Israeli historiography even largely overlooked the Nakba narrative, giving rise to a somewhat biased Israeli-Zionist presentation of the 1948 narrative.

The adoption of Zionist discourse is even more pronounced in Salman Falāh’s textbook designed for eighth grade students published in 1975.

The chapter is entitled “The War of Independence”, and most of its content is aimed at the establishment of the State of Israel and a discussion of the Declaration of Independence. The Arabs of Palestine are not mentioned explicitly, the author noting only that “as for the Arab leaders, they opposed the UN Partition Plan for Palestine and sought to oppose by violence the establishment of a Jewish state” (Falāh, *al-T’arīkh*, 8th Grade 1975a, b: 221).

The third generation of textbooks broadened the discussion about the war between Arabs and Jews, and students could read about the course of the events of both sides of the opponents. The book provides an account of the course of the war: the impact of the Partition Plan, the violent conflict between Jews and Arabs over the establishment of the State of Israel, the invasion of the Arab armies, the IDF’s various military operations, the achievements of the Arab armies and the signing of the armistice agreements. Yet it contains not a single word about the Palestinian tragedy or the refugee problem—the war is termed “the War of Independence”, while no reference whatsoever is made to the “Nakba”. The Palestinians are mentioned only as a marginal factor, which the Arab armies did not include in the war due to their special interests and the weakness of the Palestinian leadership on the eve of the invasion. From the outset of the discussion of the war, the Arab countries—rulers, armies, Arab forces, volunteers outside Palestine and the Arab League—are treated as the opposing side.

It is important to note that although this book is from 1992, its first edition was printed as early as 1978, and was reissued in new editions every few years without substantial revisions. In other words, over the course of nearly 30 years, Salama’s textbook served as virtually the only text for teaching the aforementioned subject. However, regarding the conclusion of the war—here he reiterates the Jewish-Israeli position:

The war continued for 20 months. The number of Israeli casualties reached 6000, of which 4000 were military personnel. And thus the State of Israel was established within the accepted armistice lines from 1949 to 1967. (Salāma 1992: 176)

The fate of the Arabs in former Mandatory Palestine is not indicated nor is the refugee problem. Emphasis is placed on the Israeli side alone while entirely ignoring the other side in the conflict, even if vanquished. Apart from the Israeli casualties, the establishment of the State of Israel is

highlighted as the most significant outcome of the war. At the time the book was written (the late 1970s), public discourse in the country did not recognise a Palestinian narrative regarding the events of 1948; Israel did yet not acknowledge the possibility of a Palestinian entity nor had it even reached peace agreements with Egypt and Jordan. One can only assume that textbook authors were instructed by the Israeli Ministry of Culture not to refer to Arabs living in the country as a reference group on any level. Even in the 1990s edition, there is virtually no revision in the manner the events are portrayed.

And yet, a perhaps veiled attempt to raise the issue of the fate of the Palestinians is found in the questions section. Question 6 refers students to Arab sources in order to relate one of the battles described in the textbook itself. These books were written by Arab authors a short time after the events occurred and present the Palestinian-Arab narrative of the war. The question is phrased as follows: “Write at length on one of the battles of the ‘War of Independence’” according to an Arabic source such as ‘Arif al-‘Arif’s *al-Nakba* or al-Hawārī’s *Sirr al-Nakba* or “*Muzakkirāt ‘Abdallah al-Tal’*” (ibid.: 178).

A partial answer to presenting the Arab side in the war is reflected in a textbook from the late 1990s, which devotes a chapter to the Palestine problem in the framework of a discussion of the Middle East in the modern era. Unlike George Salama’s book, which focuses on the history of Palestine/Israel, this book attempts to teach the modern history of the country from a general regional perspective as part of a history of the Arab people in the Middle East. For the first time, the war is referred to using a neutral term—the 1948 War—with an attempt being made to present the positions of the three major parties to the conflict—the Arabs, the Jews and the British—both regarding the Partition Plan of 1947 and the clashes between Jews and Arabs and the course of the war. Here, the 1948 War summary is different:

Thus, the war ended and UN forces [were appointed] to oversee security along the common borders between Israel and its neighbouring countries. Israel’s territory included 80% of the territory of Mandatory Palestine, while the majority of the Arab inhabitants of this territory were forced to leave (*tark*) their homes and villages and became refugees in camps established for them by neighbouring Arab countries. Within the borders of Israel there remained approximately 150,000 Arabs who received Israeli citizenship, but 20% of them were considered refugees because they deserted (abandoned) their villages and settled in nearby towns and villages. (Bargūtī 1998: 316)

If we compare this conclusion to that which appears in Salama's aforementioned textbook, it seems that the centre of discussion of the outcomes of the war has shifted to the Arabs that lived in Mandatory Palestine. Palestinian suffering is noted as a list of facts (as are the Israeli conquests), yet the few sentences hint at a deeper problem demanding a class discussion: a phrase such as "Israel's territory included 80% of Mandatory Palestine", for example, is a stated fact, but it implies the tremendous loss that the local Palestinian population suffered, while alluding to the refugees' "right of return" and the possibility of its realisation. The book's authors choose to use a neutral expression in reference to the creation of the refugee problem—"departure" (but qualifying with the words: "forced to depart")—rather than risking the use of loaded expressions such as "cleansing", "expulsion", "flight" or "abandonment". Even regarding the Palestinians that remained in Israel after the war, whose children and grandchildren are the target population of these textbooks, their refugee status is clarified by the verb "nazah", implying an internal refugee in his own country. Settling for mere hints at the Palestinian narrative shows that the Arab authors of the new textbooks are still aware that the Israeli Ministry of Education will not authorise textbooks that include an expansion of the Palestinian narrative, yet do not relent entirely, and allude to it at least subtly or indirectly. One can only assume that the Israeli establishment views this approach (as we have seen above in reference to the questions section) as a challenge mounted by Arab authors against the accepted official narrative.

The chapter heading of the book published in 2008, (the fourth generation), "The War of 1948 or the War of Independence" (according to Israeli terminology), reflects the debate in Israeli society over the concept of the Nakba. Although this concept is hinted at but not mentioned explicitly, in the Arab textbooks there were discussions of the Arab-Palestinian narrative of the war. (Salāma 2008b: 179). The teachers' guide to this textbook does mention the concept of the Nakba and suggests that teachers discuss in the class the following question: "The Jews call the 1948 war in Palestine the War of Independence and Arabs call it The Palestinian *Nakba*. Express your opinion about these names". In the teachers' guide, Salama offers an explanation of the term *Nakba*:

A conspiracy was spun between Great Britain and the Zionist Movement (and other countries) to help Jews take over the majority of Palestine by means of an unreasonable war that led to the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs, the legal owners of the land, and employed all means to

cause them to flee and turn them into refugees, to destroy their villages and prevent their return to their homeland. And these things are, in their view, a disaster (nakba) for Palestine and its people. (Salāma, *Dalīl al-Mu‘alīm fi Kiāb Fuṣūl min T’arīkh al- Sharq al-Awsat al-Hadīth*, 2008c: 45)

Undoubtedly here, then, there is a presentation of things that does not appear in the earlier book. The writer directs the teacher to confront the issue of the Nakba in its various aspects with students without the things needing to appear overtly in the text itself. However, Salama notes, nevertheless, in his teachers’ guide that the term “the 1948 War between Arabs and Jews in Palestine” is a neutral one “devoid of positions, emotions or interpretations of the war. It indicates when and where the war took place and who the combatants were in it”. He also instructs teachers to explain the term “War of Independence” as expressive of the notion of Palestine as the ancient homeland of the Jews only recently liberated from British colonialism. In parenthesis Salama comments: “Perhaps they also meant their liberation from Arab conquest” (ibid.: 45).

Although one could say that the 2008 textbooks better represent the Arab position, regarding both the Partition Plan and the outcomes of the 1948 War, the phraseology concerning those events remains hesitant and inflexible. Terms such as disaster, tragedy, refugees and ongoing conflict, which are part and parcel of Arab discourse in Israel and Arab countries, and even in Israeli academic discourse, are almost entirely absent from the textbooks. The term Nakba remains omitted, although it is noted in some Hebrew textbooks of the 2000s. However, this generation of textbooks in Arabic do provide more resting points for classroom discussion of the Arab narrative, should the teacher choose to stimulate such engagement. Undoubtedly, since the 1990s, the Israeli narrative no longer exclusively dominates the text. The new text invites quite a few details regarding Arabs’ positions and responses to events, even if it does not explain the Arab position exhaustively. The new textbooks of the 2000s represent a trend among many Arab educators to acknowledge first and foremost the existence of the alternative narrative, while only afterwards an attempt is made to deal with the two competing narratives—Jewish-Israeli and Palestinian-Arab—in some sort of way. The desire to present the Arab side raises another difficulty as well—explaining the origins of the crashing failure of the Arabs in the war requires a certain degree of self-criticism with contemporary political ramifications.

CONCLUSION

The case of history textbooks for Arab students in Israel is extremely important, since history textbooks have contributed significantly to shaping Arab students' identity, their knowledge and appreciation of their heritage, and their links to their society and country. In the future, the State of Israel and its citizens will not be able to ignore such a prominent minority with special needs inseparable from its national and cultural Palestinian identity. Israel will have to find ways to allow the Arab education system to find its way independently, to grow and to develop into an education system that is significant to its community. Appropriate curricula and new textbooks can serve as an important means for promoting the system and the process of empowerment of the Arab Palestinians as citizens of Israel. At the same time, the Hebrew education system will also have to step up to the challenge of including a wider range of materials in their programmes on the history of the Arabs and Islam, and particularly as concerns the modern history of the State of Israel and the Middle East, in order to create a system of equality and dialogue between Jews and Arabs in the country.

According to our research, this vacuum concerning the place of the Arab minority in the country began to be filled in the third generation of textbooks and, more fully, in the fourth generation. Against this background, if the main demand of the leading Israeli-Arab educators is for total autonomy over the designation of subject matter for the Arabs in the State of Israel and for the exclusive teaching of the Palestinian narrative, then this can be seen as a call for extremism and separation, not co-existence. On the other hand, the Jewish side have also recently heard calls for the one-sided teaching of a single imposed narrative. In the months of May-June 2009, the Israel Beitenu (Israel Our Home party) promoted the "Law of Teaching the Land of Israel and Zionism", which calls for the obligatory teaching of three weekly hours of the subject in all nonreligious schools in the country, including Arab schools. The people behind the law saw it as a way to strengthen the position and character of Israel as a Jewish national state. Some people objected and warned that the idea of a democratic state, held dear by Israel until now, could be uprooted and what remained of feelings of cooperation with the Jews be regarded as damaged by the Arab public.

Noteworthy in this regard is a special report written by Gabbie Salomon, 2001 Israeli Prize winner from Haifa University, and Mohammad Essawi,

the president of al-Qasemi College in Baqa al-Gharbia (January 2009), which called for “recognition of the fundamental democratic values of equality and social justice, and especially in reference to minorities in society, to impart skills and tendencies of critical thinking, openness and tolerance”. Likewise, one must “develop a dialogical capacity between the parties and minimise negative stereotypes and prejudices”.

According to Salomon, “the Ministry of Education has a commitment to educate for Jewish-Arab partnership. The goal is to recognize one another’s culture, one’s narrative, and their legitimacy—without necessarily agreeing with one another. Education for Jewish-Arab partnership is necessary, and without it will be a divided society” (Haaretz 10.2.2009). The report was submitted to Minister of Education Yuli Tamir close to the end of her term of office. Her successor, Gideon Saar, of the Likud party, did not implement the report. Under these extreme circumstances on both sides, Israel as a modern democratic society that includes and respects all of its citizens is in danger. The denial of Arab independent expression can elicit feelings of alienation and protest by the Arab public, which will in no way contribute to the solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict.

The Arab minority in Israel is an integral part of the mosaic of its citizenry, and even if it is associated with the political territorial conflict, it is appropriate to include it in the Israeli life system. Israeli Arabs speak the Hebrew language, occupy places in Israeli academic institutions, and some have found jobs in state institutions and free professions. Although their national narrative is different from that of the majority and has aroused opposition, the Arab population remains basically loyal to the State of Israel. The question of the education system, and especially the curriculum, which is reflected in the textbooks examined in this present research, is an important key in the development of a normal and just society. An appropriate solution for writing history textbooks for Arab students can contribute to building such a society in Israel. This study shows that the hegemony of the Jewish-Zionist narrative is crumbling in both the Jewish and the Arab textbooks. The Israeli research literature on the history of Zionism has already suggested different versions and interpretations for various events in its history. It is not possible, therefore, to revert to the unified historical version. We are living in an age in which information is communicated through diverse channels. The student population and, certainly, the teacher population are increasingly exposed to a broader range of information. Textbooks must reflect this information rather than being an island of one narrative that does not heed academic research or

public opinion. Access to information is the essence of a modern democratic society, and this information should be a means and an impetus for discussion and dialogue. Israeli society of the 2000s no longer sees the contribution of the individual to the collective as sufficient. Israel has established institutions and a system of laws that respect the needs of the individual and the rights of the citizen. The Israeli education system need not abandon the Zionist narrative that faithfully represents the establishment of the State. However, it should also make room for the discussion of the narrative that represents a prominent minority in the State of Israel.

NOTES

1. This textbook has been published since the early 1970s with no significant changes.
2. For example, Ziv, al- T'arīkh lil-Şaff al-Thānī 'Aşar fi al-Madāris al-Thānawiyya –al-'Aşr al-Hadīth, 1967, 229. (Translated from Hebrew)

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A Distorted Other: Jews, Israel and the Arab–Israeli Conflict in Egyptian School Textbooks

Elie Podeh

INTRODUCTION

Forging a nation’s collective memory is an integral part of the process of nation building. With its responsibility for imparting knowledge to and instilling values in the younger generations, the education system plays a significant role in this process. By helping to transform young people into loyal citizens who conform to the desired ethos of the state, school textbooks—particularly in the fields of history, geography, civics and religion—inculcate a shared national identity. Since the state controls the education system in many democracies, and certainly in non-democratic societies, it can shape a nation’s collective memory by determining what is to be included and excluded from the curricula and from textbooks. Such decisions open the way for manipulations of the past in order to shape the present and the future (Kammen 1991: 3; Anderson 1991: 201; Funkenstein 1989: 8; Podeh 2003: 371). In this respect, the school system and textbooks become yet another arm of the state, agents of memory whose aim is to transmit certain “approved knowledge” to the younger generation. In

I would like to thank my PhD student, Elad Giladi, for helping me with the collection and translation of materials from Egyptian textbooks.

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constructing a nation's collective memory, textbooks play a dual role: on the one hand, they provide a sense of continuity between the past and the present, transmitting accepted historical narratives; on the other, they alter—or re-write—the past to suit contemporary needs (Ben-Yehuda 1995: 273–274). Textbooks thus function as a sort of “ultimate supreme historical court” whose task is to decipher “from all the accumulated ‘pieces of the past’ the ‘true’ collective memories which are appropriate for inclusion in the canonical national historical narrative” (Kimmerling 1995: 57).

The manipulation of the past in order to construct a certain collective memory often entails the use of stereotypes and negative images of the Other in the textbooks—a process that fosters delegitimisation. Social psychologists Bar-Tal and Hammack have identified the following rhetorical strategies to this end:

1. *Dehumanisation*, which involves categorising a group as nonhuman through the use of subhuman epitaphs (such as “savages”, “primitives”), biological or zoological labels (such as “monkeys”, “snakes”, “cancer”), demonising terms (such as “devil”, “monster”) and mechanistic terms (such as “emotionless”);
2. *Outcasting*, which involves rhetorical categorisation into groups that are considered violators of pivotal social norms (such as “murderers”, “thieves”, “terrorists”);
3. *Trait characterisation*, which involves the attribution of traits considered extremely negative and unacceptable in a given society (such as “aggression”, “brutality”);
4. Use of *political labels*, which denotes political groups that are absolutely rejected by the values of the delegitimising group (such as “Nazis”, “Fascists”, “Imperialists”, “Colonialists”, “Zionist”, etc.);
5. *Group comparison*, which involves the use of terms that serve as an example of negativity (such as “Vandals” or “Huns”) (Bar-Tal and Hammack 2012: 30).

Based on the typology suggested above, this article analyses the image of Jews, Israel and the Arab–Israeli conflict that is reflected in contemporary Egyptian textbooks in the subjects of social studies, history, geography and Islamic religion. Despite the fact that Egypt is an important Arab country that serves as a cultural and educational hub of the Arab world, research of its textbooks is surprisingly scant. Existing studies show that before the signing of the peace treaty with Israel in 1979, Egyptian textbooks included

features of delegitimisation with regard to the depiction of the Jews, Israel (which was not mentioned by name) and the Arab–Israeli conflict (Lazarus-Yaffe 1972; Giladi 1978). Important changes, however, were introduced in the historical narrative in the post-1979 period: Israel became a recognised entity, but while explicit dehumanisation elements were removed, Israel’s legitimacy was denied, and it was depicted as a state that had usurped Palestine from its real owners—the Palestinians—with the help of Western imperialism: the maps show Israel’s territory as “occupied Palestine” (*Filastin al-muhtalla*). Moreover, Israel is portrayed as a power bent on expanding its territory from the Nile to the Euphrates. The narrative also includes many historical omissions, distortions and biases. In addition, the Egyptian perception of peace does not appear to stem from an appreciation of the inherent value of peace, but rather was lauded because it was consistent with Egyptian interests (Podeh 2003: 392–393). In contrast to the evolution of the historical narrative of the Arab–Israeli conflict in the modern period, textbooks in Islamic education and Arabic language continue to attach delegitimising attributes to the Jews (Groiss 2004: 59–77).

SAMPLE AND METHOD

The article analyses 16 textbooks in the fields of social studies (*dirasat ijtimaiyya*), geography, history and religious education (*al-tarbiyya al-diniyya al-Islamiyya*) at all levels—primary, preparatory and secondary—currently taught in the public education system.¹ The main aim of this analysis is to highlight the messages conveyed by the texts, as well as their underlying assumptions, which cannot be measured (Pingel 1999: 45–46). Therefore, the main method of this study is qualitative, although several elements of the quantitative method are used as well. The analysis is guided by the following eight criteria (Podeh 2002: 11–12):

1. *Categories of analysis*: How are Others described? Are they described in terms of religion or ethnicity?
2. *Stereotypical content*: Is the Other presented in positive, neutral or negative terms? Is there use of delegitimising and/or dehumanising terms?
3. *Role performance*: Is the Other presented in conflictual or peaceful contexts?
4. *Intentions and blame*: How are the aims or intentions of the Other described? Who is blamed for the conflict?

5. *Data accuracy*: To what extent is the material presented in the textbooks historically accurate?²
6. *Linguistic usage and tone*: To what extent is a factual or emotional tone used?
7. *Bias by omission and self-censorship*: Have important details been omitted or censored from the text? Which information is not disclosed? Is the omission or censorship performed in a blatant or sophisticated manner?
8. *Bias by proportion or disproportion*: Are certain topics presented in a disproportionate manner?

THE EGYPTIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

Public education in Egypt consists of four levels: pre-primary (kindergarten, age 4–6), primary (grades 1–6, age 6–12, *ibtida'i* in Arabic), preparatory (grades 7–9, age 12–14, *i'dadi* in Arabic) and secondary or high school (grades 10–12, age 15–17, *thanawi* in Arabic), the latter divided into general and vocational/technical schools. In 1981, a law established 9 years of compulsory education (instead of the previous 6 years) between the ages of 6 and 14, defining the primary and preparatory stages as “basic education” (*ta'lim asasi* in Arabic) (Cochran 2008: 96–97). All public education in Egypt is free.³ About 92 per cent of the country's students (18.5 million in 2013–2014⁴) attend public or government schools, which are entirely funded and supervised by the Ministry of Education. In addition, there are three types of private schools: (a) ordinary schools whose curriculum is similar to that of the public system, with modern facilities and greater attention to students' personal needs; (b) language schools, which teach most of the government curriculum in English and also offer foreign language instruction; and (c) the religious al-Azhar system,⁵ which is officially supervised by the Ministry of al-Azhar, under the prime minister's supervision. In general, the religious system follows the public education's curriculum, with greater emphasis on Islamic education (Nucho 1993: 149).⁶ Linda Herrera concluded that “there is little room for schools [in the religious system] to divert from the tight Ministry of Education controlled curriculum since all schools are required to use government textbooks and are subject to Ministry supervised examinations and inspections” (1998: 108).

In grades 4–9, the study of history, geography and civics (known as national education, *al-tarbiyya al-wataniyya*) is included in one subject

called “social studies” (*al-dirasat al-ijtima'iyya*). In higher grades (10–12), history, geography and civics are studied separately, and each subject has its own textbook (Ammar 1996: 45–46). On average in all grade levels, 2–3 hours per week are dedicated to the study of social studies, history and geography, while only 1 hour a week is devoted to the study of civics (Nucho 1993: 150–154). Islamic education is taught at all levels of education; the average study of this subject is 3 hours per week at the primary level and 2 hours at the preparatory and secondary levels (Nucho 1993: 150–154; Cook 2000: 481). The Ministry of Education publishes a single textbook in each subject. As a result, the students’ “mental space” is controlled by the state and is rather limited, since the teacher or the school is not free to choose among different textbooks or narratives. The fact that the different age groups in all schools (public, al-Azhar or private) are taught a similar narrative (pedagogically adapted to each age group) limits this space even more. It is almost inconceivable for students in such a system or educational climate to contest or challenge the imposed narrative, and students probably accept the messages in the textbooks at face value (Apple 1993: 61). Several studies have pointed out that teachers are inclined to adhere to the written text, and that teaching techniques are based on a traditional reliance on the text and dictation to students (Massialas and Jarrar 1991: 34, 79). Egyptian educators attach great importance to what is called “the triangle of national identity”—that is, textbooks teaching Arabic, history and Islam—the three components of national collective identity (Sayed 2010: 81). Therefore, these textbooks are expected to contain references or allusions to the Other.

A comparison between old and current textbooks reveals some progress at the production level. First, an electronic and printed version of all textbooks appears on the ministry’s website; second, the quality of the layout of the textbooks, particularly in social studies, geography and history (but not Islamic education), has improved. In contrast to previous textbooks, which included long passages of text, the current editions contain less text and have added various typographical tools (called proto-text) such as maps, pictures and diagrams.

OTHERS, OTHERING AND OTHERNESS

Othering is not prevalent in Egyptian textbooks. Islamic education textbooks at all grade levels refer to Jewish people (often in a derogatory manner) in various places throughout the textbook, in the context of specific

suras in the Qur'an that mention Jewish people, and there is no systematic treatment of the Jewish religion or culture. The attitude towards the Other can be measured more accurately in social studies and history textbooks. A textbook for ninth grade (see reference *Al-Dirasat al-Ijtima'iyya: Jughrafiyat al-'Alam wa-Ta'rikh Misr al-Hadith*, Ninth Grade, 2013–2014) devotes (in the 248 pages of both parts of the textbook) only 22 pages to Israel and the Arab–Israeli conflict; in a high school textbook, which contains 252 pages in two parts (see reference *Al-Hadara al-Islamiyya wa-Ta'rikh al-'Arab al-Hadith*, High School, 2011–2012), only 30 pages refer to these topics. In other words, approximately 10 per cent of these textbooks is dedicated to these topics. As a result of the limitations of the statistical tool we used, what follows is a qualitative analysis of the various references to the Other in Egyptian textbooks.

Image of the Jews

The image of the Jews is relayed to students mainly through textbooks used to teach Islamic education at various stages of the education ladder. In some cases, references to the Jews are also found in social studies textbooks. In most cases, as we show below, these portrayals include the use of negative stereotyping and expressions of prejudice.

The Image of Moses

In general, the only neutral or positive image of a Jew in Egyptians textbooks is of the Prophet Moses (*Musa*). In fact, young students first encounter the image of Jews in grade two, where in the context of God's revelation to Muhammad, it is stated in a factual manner that Allah sent the Bible through Moses, the New Testament through Jesus and the Qur'an through Muhammad, who is the last Messenger (*Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Second Grade, Part II, 2014–2015, 7). The same image of Moses is portrayed in a fourth grade textbook, where students are told the story of Moses in Egypt and his relocation to the territory of Midyan, which is described as southern Palestine. The stories of Moses, as well as the students' assignments listed at the end of the chapter, are described in a rather factual and positive manner (*Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Fourth Grade, Part II, 2014–2015, 22–25). Moses also appears in an 11th grade textbook, within the commentary on Surat al-Isra' (19), which concerns the Prophet Muhammad's night journey to the Seventh Heaven; according to this textbook, the Creator often compares

between Muhammad's and Moses' prophecies because their two books [the Qur'an and Torah] are the best books, their laws are the most comprehensive, their prophecies are the most exalted and those who followed them are the greater believers (*Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Eleventh Grade, Part I, 2014–2015, 36). These texts convey a neutral or positive image of Moses, and indirectly of the Jews.

The Image of the Jewish Tribes in the Arabian Peninsula

The most comprehensively treated topic related to the Jews in Islamic education textbooks is Muhammad's relations and battles with the various Jewish tribes in the Arabian Peninsula during the rise of Islam in the seventh century. At the various school grades, these stories portray a negative image of the Jews. The student's first encounter with this topic is in grade three, through the story of the Charter of Medina (*'abd al-medina*).⁷ The aim of the Charter, according to the textbook, was to bring peace and tranquillity to society, which comprised Islamic and non-Islamic elements. It is stated that the Prophet did not initiate any war or quarrel with the Jews but wished all of society to live in peace, serenity and stability: the Charter, which granted protection and freedom of worship to all, proves that Islam is a religion of liberty, fraternity and equality.⁸ Nonetheless, the Jews violated the treaty, and the Prophet consequently expelled them from Medina (*Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Third Grade, Part II, 2014–2015, 21–22). At the end of the chapter, the student is asked to answer the question "What can we learn about the Jews from their position toward the Charter?" (*Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Third Grade, Part II, 2014–2015, 22).

In fourth grade, when studying the importance of the holy month of Ramadan, the student is told that it was during the month of Ramadan that the Muslims defeated the polytheists at the Battle of Badr⁹ and Egypt defeated Israel in the October 1973 war (*Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Fourth Grade, Part II, 2014–2015, 4). The link between the Islamic battles—Muhammad's battle against the Jewish tribe of Banu Nadir in Medina and the 1973 war—is also made in grade five, in a lesson on "Allah's army", when students read about a family that spends a vacation in Sinai and drives through a tunnel named for the martyr Ahmed Hamdi. During their visit, the children in the family learn about Hamdi's role in the October war and about the Bar-Lev Line fortifications. The father tells his children that "Allah gave us victory over the Jews, as he gave victory to Muhammad over them in al-Medina, and their fortifications were

demolished on their heads”. When the son asks his father for more details, he is told that a group of Jews in Medina called Banu Nadir violated an agreement they signed and tried to kill the Prophet when he sat with them in their home. As a result, Allah informed Muhammad of their betrayal and ordered their killing. The Prophet besieged them for several days, and the Jews entrenched themselves in their castles. But Allah cast fear in their hearts, and they asked the Prophet to let them leave Medina on the condition that they take with them only a camel load and leave their weapons behind. All the Banu Nadir destroyed their homes before leaving “and that is what the Jews did when they left the land of beloved Sinai after its liberation”.¹⁰ When the son asks what we can learn from this story, the father says, “We learn that the Jews do not honour their treaties. They betrayed Allah and His Prophet in the past and [as a result] Allah took revenge of them. They are always like this”. At the conclusion of the story, the daughter says that it is important to study this chapter in the Qur’an (*surat al-bashr*), so as to draw these important conclusions (*Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Fifth Grade, Part II, 2014–2015, 10–11). Later in their journey, the family visits the demolished Jewish city of Yamit. When the son asks why the enemies destroyed the place before leaving, the father says, “This is what the Jews do in whatever place they leave, so that the [new] residents would not enjoy it. This is exactly what Banu Nadir did in al-Medina”. According to the textbook, Yamit’s remnants illustrate the bravery of Egyptian soldiers and the Jews’ despicability (*Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Fifth Grade, Part II, 2014–2015, 16). Continuing their journey, the family listens to the chapter in the Qur’an on the story of Muhammad’s fight against Banu Nadir (*Surat al-Hashd*). When his father asks him what he learned from this chapter, the son hails Allah and his Prophet, adding that the Jews are people of betrayal and treachery for which they were punished by Allah, while the hypocrites¹¹ who helped the Jews and the polytheists are more dangerous, as they pretend to be believers (*Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Fifth Grade, Part II, 2014–2015, 12). In the subsequent pages, the student is asked to answer questions and write short papers. Among the assignments, the student is asked to select a typical Jewish attribute from the following list: telling the truth, treachery and loyalty. Other questions reinforce the taught perception that the Jews repeatedly tend to violate treaties. Students are asked to record in the computer all the sentences in the Qur’an that concern the Jews’ treachery (*Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Fifth Grade, Part II, 2014–2015, 12–14, 19) and to prepare a speech for the school’s radio channel on the

topic “The Jews of yesterday are the Jews of today” (*Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Fifth Grade, Part II, 2014–2015, 16). Finally, to emphasise the connection between past and present, students are asked to delve more deeply into several topics, such as “Palestine is an Arab country that was usurped by the Jews” (see also below); “The October War recovered Arab pride”; “The crossing of the Suez Canal is a military miracle” and “Ahmed Hamdi is an Egyptian hero” (*Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Fifth Grade, Part II, 2014–2015, 12).

In seventh grade, students study *surat al-Ahzab* (33), which deals also with Muhammad’s treatment of the Jewish tribe called Banu Kurayza in Medina. The *sura* itself depicts in detail Muhammad’s Battle of the Trench (*ghazwat al-khandaq*) and the battle against the Kurayza tribe. The textbook describes the non-Muslims as the “forces of evil” that colluded against the Muslims. The text emphasises that the Jews violated their agreement with the Prophet Muhammad (*Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Seventh Grade, Part II, 2014–2015, 6). Elsewhere in the same textbook, in a section on the duty of alms-giving, Jewish rabbis and Christian monks are criticised for their greed and love of money, which come on the expense of the poor and the needy, based on quotations from *surat al-Tawbah* (*Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Fifth Grade, Part II, 2014–2015) in the Qur’an (*Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Seventh Grade, Part II, 2014–2015, 45). The same textbook also deals with the battle of Islam against the Jews in Khaybar (who mostly belonged to the Banu Nadir tribe), which was triggered by the Jews’ alliance with the Bedouins against the Muslims. The Muslims, headed by ‘Ali bin Abu Taleb, defeated the Jews, who asked for *sullh*. The Prophet allowed them to remain on their lands for the price of half of their yields, shattering the power of the enemies of Islam (*Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Seventh Grade, Part II, 2014–2015, 47–50). The Battle of Khaybar is also discussed in a seventh grade social studies textbook that states that Khaybar was “a Jewish centre of conspiracies and plots, nest of double-dealing, betrayal and stirring riots”. According to this textbook, Muhammad decided to put an end to the danger they posed and laid siege to them. After the Jews were defeated, some were permitted to remain and work their lands in return for paying [as a tribute] half of their yields to the Muslims. They remained on their lands until the Caliph ‘Umar put an end to the Jewish presence in the Arabian Peninsula (*Al-Dirasat al-Ijtima’iyya: Watanna al-‘Arabi, Dhawafir Jughraphia wa-Hadara Islamiyya*, Seventh Grade, Part I, 2013–2014, 64).

The most comprehensive description of Muhammad's attitude towards the Jews appears in 12th grade textbooks (*Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Twelfth Grade, 2014–2015, 72–75), which contains no less than 30 derogatory references to the Jews. The Prophet is described in a positive light, as is his attitude towards the Jews, who were engaged in exploitation, usury, selling arms and provoking strife and violence among the various Arab tribes. Muhammad always attempted to reach peaceful reconciliation with the Jews through agreements and used violence only when the Jews refused to surrender or pay the required taxes. Words used to characterise the Jews include greed, hatred and abhorrence. This account is followed by a discussion of Muhammad's relations with each of the Jewish tribes, such as the Qaynuqa Tribe, which was the first to breach the treaty between Muhammad, and the Jews in al-Madina, who initiated civil strife (*fitna*).¹² As the Jews failed to heed the Prophet's warnings, he laid siege to them and forced them leave to the Sham (Levant) area, thereby purifying al-Madina of Jews because they breached the treaty, scorned alliances and had no respect for their neighbours and members of other religions. The Jewish tribe of Banu Nadir is blamed for betraying and tricking the Prophet and attempting to assassinate him. The same negative descriptions are applied to other Jewish tribes such as Banu Kurayza, Khaibar, Wadi al-Qura and Tima'. At the conclusion of this chapter, students are given six lessons to be learned from the Prophet's conduct towards the Jews. A quote of the complete passage is illuminating:

1. The Prophet treated the Jews amicably and gently and opened to them the gates of cooperation, camaraderie and secure living with the Muslims. But he found [among them] only treachery and determination to oppose him, which necessitated that they be treated according to their attitude toward him.
2. Religious racism (*'unsuriyya*) dominates them. They are hostile to the Islamic religion and take a hostile position against any religion that is not theirs.
3. Ethnic racism is firmly established in their souls. They hate other ethnic groups and peoples.
4. They do not owe allegiance to the homeland where they live, nor [do they] honor their commitments. Instead, their life is based on treachery (*ghadr*) and betrayal (*kbiyana*).
5. The Jews of the past are [the same as the] Jews of today and of the future. [They are] all the same. It is necessary to study them, study their ambitious desires, and arm oneself against them with every [possible] weapon.

6. In the war of Ramadan [1973], in its antecedents and outcomes, [one may find] a clear incarnation of the Jews' arrogance, deception and contempt for all values (*Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Twelfth Grade, 2014–2015, 75).

Other Issues Relating to Jews

Other explicit or implicit references to Jews in other Islamic education textbooks are scattered. Thus, for example, one eighth grade textbook deals with the meaning of religion (*mafhum al-din*). In a discussion between a teacher and her female students, based upon various quotations from the Qur'an (*Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Eighth Grade, Part I, 2014–2015, 21–23), the teacher emphasises that the sole religion of Allah is Islam, which calls for complete devotion to his worship and full submission to his rules. According to the teacher, Allah would never accept his creatures in a religion other than Islam. One of the students asks the teacher whether this means that the religion that Allah transmitted to Noah, Abraham, Moses and Jesus is, in fact, the Islamic religion, to which the teacher answers,

Each time, Allah delivered part of the religion to one messenger so that he would correct the ways of his people. The divine missions before the final one [of the Prophet Muhammad] were specific missions involving specific people, but when humanity reached maturity...Allah sent his Messenger Muhammad with the last and final mission (*Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Eighth Grade, Part I, 2014–2015, 23).

In this illuminating passage, the textbook sends a clear negative message to the students by disparaging the other monotheistic religions, while elevating Islam to the position of God's sole religion.¹³

Another example of negative descriptions appears in a tenth grade textbook, in a chapter dealing with the topic "Cleanliness as Part of the Faith". The passage contains the text of a Hadith, which states that since Allah is clean and loves cleanliness, is generous and loves generosity, his believers should "clean their yards and not resemble the Jews" (*Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Tenth Grade, Part I, 2014–2015, 17–18). Elsewhere in a passage on *surat al-mujadalah* (58), the text elaborates the special connection between the Jews and the Hypocrites (*munafiqun*),¹⁴ as the latter befriended and loved the Jews, became their allies and transmitted to them the secrets of the believers. According to the *sura* and textbook,

one of the characteristics of the Jews and the Hypocrites is their tendency to exchange whispered secrets aimed at harming the believers. The text recounts the story of Jews who used to sit in the company of the Prophet and bless him in an incoherent manner, using words that sound like the Islamic blessing but in fact were the curse “death upon you, O Muhammad” (*Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Tenth Grade, Part I, 2014–2015, 48). The lessons of this chapter are that the exchange of whispered secrets is one of the moral features of the Jews and that it is forbidden to ally or befriend Allah’s enemies among the infidels (*Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Tenth Grade, Part I, 2014–2015, 47–48). From the questions appended to the text, it is clear that while the exchange of whispered secrets among the Muslims is used for good deeds and Allah worship, the Jews are engaged in this kind of activity only for evil deeds (*Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Tenth Grade, Part I, 2014–2015, 52). Another chapter in this textbook deals with the Prophet as a companion. One of the Prophet’s 11 wives was Safiyah, the daughter of Hay Ben al-Akhtab, the head of the Jewish Kurayza tribe. According to the textbook passage, “the Prophet married her out of a desire to reduce the Jews’ hostility toward the Muslims and their conspiracies and to compel them to convert to Islam” (*Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Tenth Grade, Part I, 2014–2015, 36).

Image of Israel (Palestine) and the Arab–Israeli Conflict

History and social studies textbooks relate the story of the Arab–Israeli conflict in the modern era since the nineteenth century. Palestine is not regarded as a land desired by two national movements that have equal validity or legitimacy: it is argued that Palestine is an Arab land as a matter of historical fact that Zionism and the superpowers have attempted to dismiss. The main argument underlying Palestinian demands is their right to establish a homeland on the land their forefathers lived on for thousands of years, in contrast to the Jews who immigrated to Palestine from Europe, Asia and Africa, thus implying that the Jews are foreigners. At the same time, in contradiction to this argument, the narrative states that the Jews, who were spread among the nations, had yearned to return to Palestine since the Babylonian exile on the basis of Palestine’s status as the Promised Land (*ard al-mi’ad*), the land that God had promised to the chosen people (*Al-Hadara al-Islamiyya wa-Ta’rikh al-‘Arab al-Hadith*, High School, 2011–2012, 221). The text and content of the Balfour

Declaration is described at length in a manner that completely undermines its validity: Britain, a power bent on establishing a Jewish home in Palestine for its own imperialist ends, is accused of giving a promise by someone who “did not own the land to someone who did not deserve the land” without consulting the local population; Britain also treated the majority (644,000 Arabs vis-à-vis 56,000 Jews in 1918) as a religious minority group (*ta’ifa*) (*Al-Dirasat al-Ijtima’iyya: Jughraphiat al-‘Alam wa-Ta’rikh Misr al-Hadith*, Ninth Grade, 2013–2014, 89; *Al-Hadara al-Islamiyya wa-Ta’rikh al-‘Arab al-Hadith*, High School, 2011–2012, 222–223). By establishing the British mandate over Palestine, France and Britain “went along the path of annihilating the Arabs of Palestine and of Judaizing it” (*tariq ibadat Arab Filastin wa-tahawidha*) (*Al-Hadara al-Islamiyya wa-Ta’rikh al-‘Arab al-Hadith*, High School, 2011–2012, 223). The British Mandate was of “Zionist character” (*tabi’ sahyuni*), as the enacted laws were pro-Jewish in terms of immigration and land purchasing (*Al-Dirasat al-Ijtima’iyya: Jughraphiat al-‘Alam wa-Ta’rikh Misr al-Hadith*, Ninth Grade, 2013–2014, 89; *Al-Hadara al-Islamiyya wa-Ta’rikh al-‘Arab al-Hadith*, High School, 2011–2012, 223). The clashes between Jews and Arabs in 1929 were caused by the Jewish attack on the Arab right to pray at *al-Buraq*, which includes the Wailing Wall, one of the holiest places to the Jews, adjacent to the al-Aqsa Mosque (*Al-Hadara al-Islamiyya wa-Ta’rikh al-‘Arab al-Hadith*, High School, 2011–2012, 224). The social studies textbook for preparatory schools focuses on the development of Palestinian national identity through the uprising of 1929, Izz al-Din al-Qassam activities in 1935 and the Arab Revolt (1936–1939) under Hajj Amin al-Husayni. At the conclusion of the chapter in this textbook, students are asked to discuss and write an essay on what they would have done to stop the implementation of the Balfour Declaration and in what way they would have expressed their objections to the decision to impose a British mandate over Palestine (*Al-Dirasat al-Ijtima’iyya: Jughraphiat al-‘Alam wa-Ta’rikh Misr al-Hadith*, Ninth Grade, 2013–2014, 89–90). In the high school textbook, students are asked to write a letter to Lord Balfour explaining their views on the declaration (*Al-Hadara al-Islamiyya wa-Ta’rikh al-‘Arab al-Hadith*, High School, 2011–2012, 250).

Following the 1947 UN partition plan (see below), which the Arab states rejected, “the Jewish gangs” (*al-‘isabat al-yahudiyya*) expelled the Arabs and committed the most horrific massacres, such as the massacre in Deir Yassin, in which women and children were killed. The Jews’ success

in establishing a state is attributed to the assistance of Britain and the USA, their financial resources, their better trained military forces and the terror activities they performed (*Al-Dirasat al-Ijtima'iyya: Jughraphiat al-'Alam wa-Ta'rikh Misr al-Hadith*, Ninth Grade, 2013–2014, 90; *Al-Hadara al-Islamiyya wa-Ta'rikh al-'Arab al-Hadith*, High School, 2011–2012, 225–227). The aim of the 1948 war (the term *Nakba* does not appear in Egyptian textbooks) was to save the Arab Palestinians from the ruthless actions of the Jews (*batsh al-yahud*). While one textbook attributes the defeat (*hazima*) in the war to Arab divisiveness and lack of coordination and preparedness (*Al-Hadara al-Islamiyya wa-Ta'rikh al-'Arab al-Hadith*, High School, 2011–2012, 230), a second textbook claims that the Arab armies achieved a victory over Israel but that the USA persuaded the UN to declare a ceasefire, which Israel violated by mobilising troops and arms, allowing it to gain a better position for its forces and defeat the Arab armies (*Al-Dirasat al-Ijtima'iyya: Jughraphiat al-'Alam wa-Ta'rikh Misr al-Hadith*, Ninth Grade, 2013–2014, 91). There is similar inconsistent treatment of the Palestinian refugee problem: While one textbook vaguely mentions expulsions (*Al-Dirasat al-Ijtima'iyya: Jughraphiat al-'Alam wa-Ta'rikh Misr al-Hadith*, Ninth Grade, 2013–2014, 90), another claims that one million Palestine residents fled or escaped (*farra*) (*Al-Hadara al-Islamiyya wa-Ta'rikh al-'Arab al-Hadith*, High School, 2011–2012, 230). In the exercises at the end of the high school textbook, students are asked to elaborate on the role of Britain and the USA in establishing the Jewish state (*Al-Hadara al-Islamiyya wa-Ta'rikh al-'Arab al-Hadith*, High School, 2011–2012, 250).

Hitler and the Holocaust are mentioned indirectly in two separate contexts: in the first, it is stated that the immigration of Jews to Palestine during the 1930s was caused by the repressive measures of Hitler's Fascist regime (*Al-Hadara al-Islamiyya wa-Ta'rikh al-'Arab al-Hadith*, High School, 2011–2012, 224). In the second, it is stated that following World War II, the Jewish Agency initiated a propaganda campaign concerning the despicable crimes of the Nazis, claiming that six million Jews were killed or gassed. As a result of these efforts, the Agency was able to bring tens of thousands of Jews from Germany to Palestine, but the only way of absorbing them was at the expense of the local Arabs. "If they [the Jews] wanted to establish a national home in such a way", it was concluded, "then this could happen only through the annihilation of the Arab Palestinians" (*Al-Hadara al-Islamiyya wa-Ta'rikh al-'Arab al-Hadith*, High School, 2011–2012, 227).

The 1956 War, which is termed the “tripartite aggression” (*al-‘udwan al-thulathi*), is described as the convergence of Western and Israeli interests following the nationalisation of the Suez Canal by President Nasser in July 1956. As Israel considered the Nasserist regime an obstacle to its expansionist ambitions, it exploited the opportunity for collusion (*mu’amara*) with Britain and France, which were interested in reversing Nasser’s decision. In addition to the heroic struggle of the people of Port Said against the invaders, one of the major results of the war was that the Arab states realised the magnitude of the Israeli threat and its covetousness (*atma’*) to control the Arab world—a realisation that triggered the union between Egypt and Syria in 1958 (*Al-Dirasat al-Ijtima’iyya: Jughraphiat al-‘Alam wa-Ta’rikh Misr al-Hadith*, Ninth Grade, 2013–2014, 91; *Al-Hadara al-Islamiyya wa-Ta’rikh al-‘Arab al-Hadith*, High School, 2011–2012, 232).

The 1967 War, termed the Israeli Aggression of 5 June 1967, is viewed as the third time that the interests of Israel and Western imperialism coincided. While Israeli interest was to expand from the Nile to the Euphrates on the basis of a detailed and organised plan, the imperialist nations sought to contain the Communist threat by encircling the Soviet Union from the south and taking control of the Arab oil fields, which were considered vital to world economy. Israel prepared for this war since its defeat in the tripartite aggression, and it seized the opportunity to lure the Arab states into a war they were not prepared for. In view of Israel’s threats against Syria, Egypt mobilised its forces, expelled the UN forces from its territory and closed the Aqaba Straits. Though Egypt declared it would not start a war, and despite a similar promise by Israel, the latter surprised Egypt by attacking from the air on 5 June. Israel won the war with the help of the USA and several European countries (*Al-Dirasat al-Ijtima’iyya: Jughraphiat al-‘Alam wa-Ta’rikh Misr al-Hadith*, Ninth Grade, 2013–2014, 92–94; *Al-Hadara al-Islamiyya wa-Ta’rikh al-‘Arab al-Hadith*, High School, 2011–2012, 233). Interestingly, one of the results of the war mentioned in this textbook is UN Resolution 242, which calls for withdrawal from “the occupied territories”, according to the Arab interpretation, but from “occupied territories”, according to the Israeli interpretation. In any case, Israel did everything in its power to avoid withdrawal by constructing settlements in the occupied territories (*Al-Hadara al-Islamiyya wa-Ta’rikh al-‘Arab al-Hadith*, High School, 2011–2012, 235). At the conclusion of the chapter in the social studies textbook for preparatory schools, students are asked several questions, all of which describe Israel as

using negative terms such as “aggression”, “expansion” and “taking control” (*Al-Dirasat al-Ijtima'iyya: Jughraphiat al-‘Alam wa-Ta’rikh Misr al-Hadith*, Ninth Grade, 2013–2014, 95). Assignments in the high school textbook are based on the statement that Zionist interests coincided with imperialism’s and that Israel exploited the opportunity to lure the Arab states into a war for which they were unprepared (*Al-Hadara al-Islamiyya wa-Ta’rikh al-‘Arab al-Hadith*, High School, 2011–2012, 249).

The significance of the October 1973 War as the single most important topic in the Egyptian narrative of the Arab–Israeli conflict is reflected in the length of the text (*Al-Dirasat al-Ijtima'iyya: Jughraphiat al-‘Alam wa-Ta’rikh Misr al-Hadith*, Ninth Grade, 2013–2014, 98–101; *Al-Hadara al-Islamiyya wa-Ta’rikh al-‘Arab al-Hadith*, High School, 2011–2012, 226–244). The narrative is rather factual, sometimes even technical, in its descriptions of the various phases of the war. It glorifies the heroic fighting of the Egyptian army and people, while also emphasising the extent of Israeli failures. For example, the caption of a picture of a soldier hoisting a flag over the captured Bar-Lev line states that what had previously been considered to be destructible only by nuclear bomb was demolished within 6 hours by Egyptian soldiers’ eagerness and determination. According to the textbook, the war also helped to debunk the myth of the invincible Israeli army, and the Egyptian and Syrian soldiers regained their confidence (*Al-Dirasat al-Ijtima'iyya: Jughraphiat al-‘Alam wa-Ta’rikh Misr al-Hadith*, Ninth Grade, 2013–2014, 99–100).

Israel’s image is also conveyed through maps. The images used in the various textbooks are not identical: the maps of the 1937 Peel Committee and the 1947 UN partition plans in the high school history textbook show Arab, Jewish and other (British or international) territories (*Al-Hadara al-Islamiyya wa-Ta’rikh al-‘Arab al-Hadith*, High School, 2011–2012, 226, 229). The map of Palestine after the 1948 War in history and social studies textbooks labels Israel as “Occupied Palestine” (*Al-Dirasat al-Ijtima'iyya: Jughraphiat al-‘Alam wa-Ta’rikh Misr al-Hadith*, Ninth Grade, 2013–2014, 88; *Al-Hadara al-Islamiyya wa-Ta’rikh al-‘Arab al-Hadith*, High School, 2011–2012, 231), while maps of the post-1967 war show the territory of the Jewish state and the occupied territories (*Al-Dirasat al-Ijtima'iyya: Jughraphiat al-‘Alam wa-Ta’rikh Misr al-Hadith*, Ninth Grade, 2013–2014, 92; *Al-Hadara al-Islamiyya wa-Ta’rikh al-‘Arab al-Hadith*, High School, 2011–2012, 234). A map of the post-1973 war shows the territory of the Jewish state, including liberated territories and territories that remained under

occupation (*Al-Hadara al-Islamiyya wa-Ta'rikh al-ʿArab al-Hadith*, High School, 2011–2012, 242). All other geography and social studies textbooks that contain maps of Egypt, the Arab world or the Middle East show Israel as Palestine or Occupied Palestine (see, e.g., *Al-Dirasat al-Ijtimaʿiyya: Watanna al-ʿArabi, Dhawafir Jughraphia wa-Hadara Islamiyya*, Eighth Grade, Part I, 2013–2014, 6; *Al-Dirasat al-Ijtimaʿiyya: Baladi Misr*, Fourth Grade, Part I, 2013–2014, 17–18; *Jughrafiat Misr*, Tenth Grade, 2013–2014, 27, 44, 51, 59–60, 70). One textbook that contains pictures of holy places (the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, the Church of Nativity in Bethlehem) lists them under Palestine (*Al-Dirasat al-Ijtimaʿiyya: Watanna al-ʿArabi, Dhawafir Jughraphia wa-Hadara Islamiyya*, Eighth Grade, Part I, 2013–2014, 3). In this textbook, a caption of a map of the Arab world, which includes Palestine, explains that European imperialism divided the region into different states and the Palestine problem was created when an imperialist power (Britain) created a colonial entity (*kiyan istitani*) on its land in order to undermine Arab unity (*Al-Dirasat al-Ijtimaʿiyya: Watanna al-ʿArabi, Dhawafir Jughraphia wa-Hadara Islamiyya*, Eighth Grade, Part I, 2013–2014, 6).

Image of Peace

Islamic education textbooks typically portray Islam as a religion of peace and describe Muhammad's prophetic mission to bring peace, tranquillity and stability to mankind (e.g., *Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Third Grade, Part II, 2014–2015, 21–22). Moreover, Muhammad's encounters with the Jewish tribes in the Arabian Peninsula during the early phase of Islam are associated with his benevolent attempts at reconciliation (*sulh*) or a truce (*hudna*). These initiatives were consistently violated by the disloyal Jews, and their treachery cost them their lives or led to their expulsion (e.g., *Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Third Grade, Part II, 20–21; *Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Fifth Grade, Part II, 2014–2015, 10–11; *Al-Tarbiyya al-Diniyya al-Islamiyya*, Seventh Grade, Part II, 2014–2015, 6, 47–50). Thus, according to the Islamic education narrative, the Jews brought their calamity upon themselves as a result of their rejection of Muhammad's peaceful overtures.

In the Egyptian textbooks, peace is mentioned primarily in association with the country's peace treaty with Israel. In the past, post-1979 social studies textbooks for preparatory and high schools described the peace treaty in some detail: the historical narrative focused on Sadat's unilateral

initiative, as well as the benefits that accrue to Egypt, the Palestinians and the Arab world as a result of the treaty. Nonetheless, while enumerating the advantages derived from the peace treaty, the narrative did not recognise the inherent importance and value of peace (Podeh, 2003: 390–391). In contrast, the historical narrative in current textbooks conveys a more nuanced—and positive—message regarding peace. For example, the October 1973 War is described as a turning point in the Arab–Israeli conflict, which proved that “the logic of power would not bring peace” (*mantaq al-quwwa la yamnihu salaman*) (*Al-Dirasat al-Ijtima‘iyya: Jughraphiat al-‘Alam wa-Ta’rikh Misr al-Hadith*, Ninth Grade, 2013–2014, 100). A more explicit description of peace is given in the section on Egypt and the Arab–Israeli conflict in the social studies textbook for preparatory schools, which focuses on the Israeli–Egyptian peace treaty but places it within the context of the peace process, the Madrid Conference and the Oslo Accords (*mantaq al-quwwa la yamnihu salaman*) (*Al-Dirasat al-Ijtima‘iyya: Jughraphiat al-‘Alam wa-Ta’rikh Misr al-Hadith*, Ninth Grade, 2013–2014, 103–107). One of the aims of this chapter, stated at its outset, is “to list the advantages of peace to Egypt and the Arab world” (*mantaq al-quwwa la yamnihu salaman*) (*Al-Dirasat al-Ijtima‘iyya: Jughraphiat al-‘Alam wa-Ta’rikh Misr al-Hadith*, Ninth Grade, 2013–2014, 103). According to the text, the treaty—an outcome of Sadat’s initiative to visit Jerusalem—led to the signing of a peace agreement and “normal, friendly relations” (*‘alaqat wadiyya tabi‘iyya*) in the political, economic and cultural spheres. A picture of the three leaders—US President Carter, Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin—appears, while the text emphasises that both Sadat and Begin were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts (*mantaq al-quwwa la yamnihu salaman*) (*Al-Dirasat al-Ijtima‘iyya: Jughraphiat al-‘Alam wa-Ta’rikh Misr al-Hadith*, Ninth Grade, 2013–2014, 105). In an attempt to illustrate the immediate results of the treaty, the Israeli withdrawal from Sinai is emphasised, with a picture of a soldier hoisting an Egyptian flag over Taba (which was returned to Egypt after international arbitration with Israel). At the conclusion of the chapter, the narrative enumerates the long-term advantages of peace and conflict resolution for Egypt and the Arab world: war drains economic and human resources, while peace brings domestic stability, economic and social development; peace builds the state’s infrastructure; peace increases Arab and foreign capital investments and tourism and therefore increases the national income and foreign currency needed to import basic commodities and finance development (*mantaq al-quwwa la*

yamnihu salaman) (*Al-Dirasat al-Ijtima'iyya: Jughraphiat al-‘Alam wa-Ta’rikh Misr al-Hadith*, Ninth Grade, 2013–2014, 106–107). The history textbook for high school, which is generally more elaborate and detailed than the social studies textbook for preparatory schools, gives a brief summary of the above-mentioned narrative and concludes that “the road is still long for reaching final and permanent peace agreements in the Middle East” (*Al-Hadara al-Islamiyya wa-Ta’rikh al-‘Arab al-Hadith*, High School, 2011–2012, 246).

CONCLUSIONS

An analysis of Egyptian school textbooks in social studies, history, geography and Islamic education shows evidence of delegitimising elements with regard to depictions of the Jews and Israel. Using the five categories of the rhetoric of delegitimation defined by Bar-Tal and Hammack, this analysis identified outcasting (e.g., the depiction of Jews as terrorists), trait characterisation (e.g., the depiction of the Jews as aggressive, brutal, treacherous, untrustworthy and greedy) and political labelling (the description of the Jews and Israel as imperialist and colonialist) in the textbooks. There are no indications of dehumanisation of the Jews and Israel in the textbooks. The historical context in which Jews and Israel are mentioned is usually conflict-related, whether in the stories of the Prophet Muhammad’s quarrels with the Jewish tribes in Arabia or Israel’s wars against the Arab states in the twentieth century. The only peaceful context in which Jews and Israel are mentioned is the peace treaty with Egypt, but this event is described as an Egyptian initiative that was accepted by Israel after the defeat in the 1973 Yom Kippur War. Israel is generally described as the aggressor in the conflict, motivated by its goal or ideology to create an empire extending from the Nile to the Euphrates; Israel is also blamed for the initiation of wars against the Arabs and the expulsion of the Palestinians during the 1948 War. In general, no positive images are associated with the Jews with the exception of Moses, who is also recognised by Islam as one of Allah’s Messengers.

The negative references are articulated directly and explicitly. In the historical narrative, Israel is recognised as a state, but its existence is not legitimised by any account of the religious, historical and political justification for its establishment. According to the narrative in Egyptian textbooks, Israel was established at the expense of the Palestinian people—the local owners of the land—with the help of the imperialist powers that

supported Israel in the 1948, 1956 and 1967 wars. Furthermore, Israel's name does not appear on the maps in the textbooks. Most of the maps in history, geography and social studies textbooks use the term Palestine or Occupied Palestine to label Israel's territory, and occasionally also the term "Jewish State", although the use of the terms does not appear to be consistent. As a rule, Israel does not appear in the proto-text although it explicitly appears in the written text. Interestingly, in 2008 Minister of Culture and Education Yusri al-Gamal stated that Egypt would never replace the term Palestine with Israel on the maps of the textbooks with regard to the West Bank and Gaza.¹⁵ The problem, however, is that not only are the controversial occupied territories not labelled "Israel", even Israel within the 1967 boundaries is not indicated on these maps.

The historical narrative is usually conveyed in factual rather than emotional tone, with the exception of certain descriptions of the heroic actions of the Egyptian army (mainly in connection with the 1973 War). Though history is in the eye of the beholder, there is no attempt to address existing historiography. As a result, the narrative is often biased and distorted (this is particularly true of the account of the 1948 and 1967 wars), and the historical story typically presents the Egyptian or Arab view of the conflict without any attempt to convey the other party's narrative (one noteworthy exception is the Arab and Israeli interpretations of UN Resolution 242, see above). These omissions may reflect deliberate official policy or may simply be the result of a process of self-censorship imposed by the textbook authors. Since all textbooks in the system are written and approved by the Ministry of Culture and Education, the appearance of these negative descriptions is not incidental.

The textbooks do not convey a uniform picture of delegitimising rhetoric; clearly, Islamic education conveys a more biased and negative image of the Jews than the history, geography and social studies textbooks. While glorification of Islamic religion in these textbooks is expected, the presentation of Islam as the sole religion acceptable to Allah encourages prejudice. In addition, the repeated pejorative language—treachery, betrayal, espionage, conspiracy and similar negative terms—used in reference to the Jews contributes to the development of a highly negative stereotype. Moreover, the text creates an imagined link between negative behaviour of Jews in early Islam with the contemporary actions of modern-day Israel, thus emphasising the immutable nature of negative Jewish traits. The call to self-arm against the Jews and their imperialist aspirations also conveys a message detrimental to peace efforts regarding the inevitability of the conflict.

It should be emphasised that these messages stand in sharp contrast to the official guidelines of the Egyptian Ministry of Education. A 1996 Ministry publication stated that “religious education should incorporate such values as tolerance, solidarity, mercy, love for the others and desire for peace in society”. Elsewhere, it is stated that “the very essence of true religion” can be taught to children through an educational process that emphasises “tolerance, solidarity...and the acceptance of other views” (quoted in Cook 2000: 482). The textual analysis shows that these lofty aims are not being put into practice.

Indeed, a comparative study of the image of “the Other” in history textbooks in Mediterranean countries, following a conference conducted under the auspices of UNESCO in 1995, found “a mixture of false judgments, unverified or erroneous information, stereotypical portraits, distorted caricatures, as well as several illustrations, some of them very old, badly chosen and non-representative of either present-day realities or historical facts” (Ashmawi 2007: 120). This study concluded that the textbooks, in general, do not sow seeds of tolerance in the minds and hearts of young students (*ibid.*: 124). The organisers of this conference expressed their hope that “the day will yet come when a ‘true history’ can be created and written objectively without seeking to glorify one’s own nation and distorting the image of the ‘other’” (*ibid.*: 129). Twenty years later, this hope is still valid. Relations between Israel and Egypt since the signing of the peace treaty in 1979 fluctuated as a result of many factors (Podeh 2007). In recent years, since the coming to power of ‘Abd al-Fattah al-Sisi in 2003, Israeli–Egyptian relations have warmed up in the spheres of political, military and intelligence cooperation. Yet, the existence of negative stereotypes in the school textbooks undoubtedly hinders the building of a climate of tolerance and acceptance of the other.

NOTES

1. Reportedly, there were intentions to make some changes in the textbooks in the year (2014–2015), but these changes are not related to the subject of the Arab–Israeli conflict, see *al-Quds al-Arabi*, 6 August 2014.
2. This is of course a complex issue as any historical narrative, including the selection of facts, is subjective. Still, it is possible to refer and compare to accepted mainstream historiography.
3. <http://www.egyptindependent.com//news/egypt-s-school-system-taking-look-schools-their-curricula-and-accreditation>, 5 October 2012. Accessed 5 September 2016.

4. الملخص الاحصائي للتعليم ما قبل الجامعي للعام الدراسي ٢٠١٣ / ٢٠١٤ . <http://services.moe.gov.eg/matwaya/2014/matwaya2014.html>
5. According to the official al-Azhar site, more than 2 million students study in this system. See <http://www.alazhar-alsharif.gov.eg/Statistics/Moasherat>. Accessed 10 October 2014.
6. See also <http://www.goethe.de/ins/eg/kai/kul/mag/bil/bpe/ar11554519.htm>. Accessed 5 September 2016.
7. It constituted a formal agreement between the Prophet Muhammad and the significant tribes and families in Medina in the Arabian Peninsula, including Muslims, Jews, Christians and pagans, some of whom converted to Islam. The document, probably signed in the year 622, was designed to end the bitter inter-tribal fighting in the city. To this effect it instituted a number of rights and responsibilities for the Muslim, Jewish, Christian and pagan communities of Medina, bringing them within the fold of one community—the Ummah.
8. This description, of course, follows the slogan of the French revolution.
9. The Battle of Badr occurred in the year 624 in the Hijaz region of western Arabia. This key battle in the early days of Islam is also mentioned in the Qur'an and signalled the beginning of the spread of Islam.
10. The story quotes from the Qur'an's *Surat al-Habsr* (59), which recounts the story of Muhammad's fight against Banu Nadir.
11. The term in Arabic is *munafiqun*, relating to some tribes in Medina that converted to Islam but in fact remained idolaters.
12. In the history of Islam, the term *fitna* is loaded: it refers to civil war that divides a nation and seriously endangers believers' purity of faith. The first major *fitna* in the Islamic Caliphate lasted from 656 to 661.
13. This passage is quoted also by Cook (2000: 484). The author cites Dr. Kamal Mogheis of the National Center for Educational Research and Development at the US Department of Education, who argued that such dogmatic assertions "might undermine the feelings and faith of non-Muslim students". In Mogheis' opinion, "what is taught is simple prejudice against others and extremism and the beginning of terrorism" (ibid.).
14. Those who claim to be Muslims.
15. J. Shahin, 2008, "Al-Gamal: Lan Na'tarif bi-Israel mahal Filastin fi al-manahig", *al-Masri al-Yawm*, 13 January, p. 1.

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Self and Others in Jordanian Textbooks 1964–2010: A Reflection of Jordan’s National Identity Challenge

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The Hashemite regime in Jordan faced a series of domestic and foreign threats in the final third of the twentieth century, all of which were linked in some way to the existence of the Israeli state and the concept of Zionism, as well as to the conception of the Palestinian issue as an internal and external Jordanian problem. These threats continue to challenge the current regime on political, demographic, ideological, social and cultural levels. This chapter explores the Jordanian state’s response to these threats in the context of its actions to reinforce its own national identity through various means, including its educational system, and, particularly, its textbooks. It will argue that transforming identities is a salient process in Jordanian nation-building that generates a dialectical synchronisation of the multiple identities endemic throughout the entire Arab world. The Jordanian case illustrates how identities shifted from transnational (Arab nationalism) to territorial (Jordanian) and to parochial (tribe) loyalties under different conditions.

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This chapter discusses history and civics textbooks used in the elementary and secondary schools of Jordan between 1964 and 2010. It demonstrates that no substantial changes were introduced into the textbooks after 1994, and although some political and ideological obstacles to the legitimacy of the Hashemite regime were removed, particularly concerning Palestinian and Israeli-Palestinian issues, the essence of the Jordanian narrative was preserved. The reason for the lack of change can be attributed to Jordan's demographic concerns, and the persistent threat that the Palestinian majority in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan poses for the country's unity, which feeds the regime's efforts to consolidating a separate and unique Jordanian identity. In the past decade, this identity has been based on King Abdallah's new slogan "Jordan First", implying that the local, particularistic Jordanian identity is stronger than any other (Arab, Palestinian, tribal or Muslim) identity that Jordanian citizens may have (Eldeen 2011). Sociologist David Brown has observed that history is replete with examples of groups that found themselves in conflict with or threatened by a "dominant other" and "reacted defensively by rallying around a new form of communal identity" (Brown 2000: 336). This study shows how Jordanian textbooks reflected continued Jordan efforts to develop its national identity dialectically through a process of exclusion and rejections of Others, which leads to increasing conflict.

THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN JORDAN

In creating the Emirate of Transjordan in 1921 and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in 1946 under British tutelage, Jordanian monarchs set out to build a modern state and nation. In addition to stabilising their power base through alliances with powerful tribes, they created a state bureaucracy and invested in the country's material infrastructure. From the outset, the emphasis was on developing the educational system, which included the dissemination of a national narrative for the new country through the school curriculum and textbooks. The emerging narrative created a nationalist history by constructing a linear progression from the primordial origin of the Arabs to the present day configuration of the Jordanian state (Anderson 2001).

When the Emirate of Transjordan was created in 1921, educational facilities consisted of 25 religious schools that provided a rather limited education. By 1987, there were 3366 schools, with more than 39,600 teachers and an enrolment of 919,645 students. At present, there are

1493 privately owned schools and 2787 government-owned schools with more than 1,100,000 students. As a result of consistent development efforts and a series of educational reforms initiated by the Hashemite monarchy since the late 1930s, and the support of international donor institutions particularly since the 1990s, Jordan's current education system is considered one of the most developed and efficient of its kind in the region, and the country has the third lowest illiteracy rate in the Arab world.¹ Primary gross enrolment ratio has increased from 71 per cent in 1994 to 98.2 per cent in 2006 (Georg Eckert Institute 2009: 13–14).

The Ministry of Education is responsible for the pre-primary, primary and secondary levels of education, while post-secondary education is the responsibility of the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research. While Jordan has public and private schools, a third education sector is run by UNRWA, which provides services to the Palestinian refugee populations in Lebanon, the West Bank, Gaza and Jordan. There are important differences in the budgets, equipment, class sizes and other features of these three sectors (Abbas 2012).

The private education sector accommodates at least 31 per cent of the total school population in the capital city Amman, although few private schools exist elsewhere in the country (Abbas 2009). UNRWA schools account for 3 per cent of the Jordanian school system and have been providing free basic and preparatory education to Palestinian refugees for nearly five decades, but not all Palestinian refugee children in Jordan attend UNRWA schools. As a result of Palestinian integration into Jordanian society, most refugee children now have access to government schools. Unfortunately, the Jordanian state does not provide precise data on refugee populations, due to the issue's political sensitivity.

The educational system consists of a 2-year cycle of pre-school education, followed by 10 years of compulsory basic education. Public schools are free, and schooling is compulsory until the age of 15. At the basic (compulsory) education level, standardised textbooks are issued and distributed by the Ministry of Education. The secondary education level consists of 2 years of study for students aged 16 to 18 who have completed the basic cycle (10 years) and offers a general (academic) track and a vocational track. After these 12 years of schooling, students must pass a standardised nationwide exam (*Tawjihi* General Certificate of Secondary Education Exam) to continue to higher education.

The Jordanian education system developed in several stages. The judicial and material groundwork was laid between 1921 and 1950, and a law

introduced in 1952 decreed that education is a right of all citizens. Despite the education system's stated aim to contribute to the formative development of educated and loyal citizens, instilled with religious and national values as well as openness towards the world, there was no evidence of what could be called a Jordanian philosophy of education in this first stage of formal education in Jordan, nor even in the 1960s. This situation may be indicative of the complexity of the Jordanian state and its nation-building efforts and the initial weakness of monarchy-promoted Jordanian nationalism, which could have been expected to serve as a basis for an elaborate philosophy of education. Jordan's persistent dependency on British colonialists further impeded the formulation of any such philosophy (Abbas 2012: 61–63).

An elaborate national educational philosophy was first defined during the second development stage of the education system (1951–1977), which focused on the physical expansion of the school system at the primary and secondary levels, teacher-training, and curriculum and textbook development for all levels with a particular focus on the sciences (Abbas 2012: 62–64). The third stage (1978–1986) was characterised by a dramatic material expansion, but educational standards remained mediocre. In the fourth stage (1987–2003), reforms were implemented in educational policy, education system structure, curricula and textbooks, didactics and many other areas. This process was accelerated under King Abdallah II, who aims to turn Jordan into a regional technology centre and an active player in the global economy. The current fifth stage emphasises the need to integrate the various levels and sectors of the education system into a coherent system and use education as a means to transform Jordan into a knowledge economy. Documents published by the Ministry of Education on these issues include “Jordan Vision 2020” and the “2002 Vision Forum for the Future of Education” (World Bank 2009).

In contrast to the absence of a clearly defined educational philosophy in the past, and ideologically laden and teacher-oriented textbooks, today's educational reforms aim at developing curricula and textbooks that foster active learning and critical thinking skills. Defining a curricular framework that includes the general objectives of education and specific objectives for each grade and discipline was the first step in the process of curriculum revision (Abbas 2012). The curricula and textbooks also aim at introducing new roles for students, teachers and supervisors and set new standards for students' achievements. Schools typically use the curriculum as the foundation for specific teaching and learning programmes to meet the needs of their students.

JORDANIAN TEXTBOOKS

Since the establishment of the Hashemite kingdom, textbooks have been written by teachers or government officials, published by the Ministry of Education and printed by the government. Dhuqan Al-Hindawi, the author of many Jordanian textbooks published in the 1960s and 1970s, served as Minister of Propaganda, Minister of Education and Minister of Labour in the succession of Jordanian governments from this time.

All the authors of textbooks in Jordan in the period under discussion were Transjordanians without exception; Palestinians were completely absent from the process. This state of affairs in itself is of utmost importance: the Hashemite regime wanted to ensure that those responsible for the dissemination of the official ideology and the “preservation” of the collective memory would identify with the native local establishment, rather than individuals whose divergent Palestinian identity might undermine the official narrative.

In the past 15 years, a new curriculum and a new series of textbooks have been under development. The new curriculum is being written by teams of educators from across the country, instead of individual authors affiliated with or commissioned by the Ministry of Education. These teams include teachers and supervisors from school districts who are familiar with classroom realities. At the same time, the entire process of curriculum and textbook development remains under firm control of the Ministry of Education, which is responsible for producing all curricula and textbooks for all the subjects (Jaradat 1996). The approval and authorisation of textbook guides is the responsibility of the Board of Education within the Ministry of Education. Members of this board include members of parliament, former ministers, senior experts from the private school sector and decision makers from different education sectors.

Jordanian school textbooks generally illustrate the theoretical concept of “invented traditions”, formulated by Anderson (2001: 6–7) and Hobsbawm (1990: 90–91). The Hashemite leaders created a reality that they wanted Jordanian citizens to accept: the legitimacy of the Hashemite regime and the borders of the state as defined by British colonialism. Their goal was to create an “imagined” Jordanian community deriving from and dependent on the Hashemite kings. Thus, the historical narrative of Jordan reflected in these textbooks includes a selection of events awarded the status of important myths of origin, such as the Great Arab Revolt of the Hashemite family against the Ottomans in 1916, or the Jordanian

military victory in the Battle of Karameh in 1968. Meanwhile, events such as “Black September” in 1970 or the 1994 peace treaty with Israel were erased and forgotten.² The events of September 1970 were not mentioned in textbooks published in the 1970s and 1980s, and it was not until the 1990s that descriptions and interpretations of these events first appeared in the textbooks. Even then, they were reported in a laconic manner as events “that terminated a difficult period of three years and restored security and stability to the state”.³

The Jordanian national narrative presented in the country’s school textbooks promoted multiple identifications of its citizens. On the one hand, Jordan is presented as an integral part of the Arab and Islamic nation, but on the other hand, Jordan’s legitimacy as a separate Hashemite state is emphasised by exclusively focusing on the local identity of Jordanians and their distinctiveness compared to other Arabs (Nasser 2005: 68–72). The land and local sheikh acted as a source of identity for the tribal society that settled in the territory later known as the Jordanian state (Shryock 1997: 321). This was vastly different in the Hashemite era once a state had been established: the source of the state’s legitimacy came from the Hashemite rulers with support from their dynastic ideology, Arab nationalism and religious literature, all of which dominated popular media and government schools. The tribes agreed to extend their loyalty to the new rulers and became the mainstay of the Hashemite regime (ibid. 1997: 321). For this reason the Hashemite rulers, like the tribal sheikhs, are presented in the Jordanian school textbooks as the fathers of the nation. Their legitimacy derives from their descent from Muhammad the Prophet and the leaders of the Great Arab Revolt.

In summary, Jordanian history textbooks present an inward-looking narrative that emphasises the different layers of identity forming the legitimate basis of the Hashemite kingdom. The self-image constructed here is centred on Jordan’s Arab and Islamic identity, and at the same time emphasises local patriotism as defined by the Hashemites.

THREATS AND CHALLENGES: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Kingdom of Jordan, created as a part of post-war settlement in 1921, is considered the most “artificial” of all the states in the Middle East that have been successfully consolidated. Since Jordan was not the ancestral land of Hashemite family, the establishment of the Kingdom of Jordan placed the country at the centre of a debate on identity and nation-building.

For most part, the political history of the separate entity of Jordan has coincided with the Palestinian national movement. The Palestinian issue has become central to Jordan's politics of identity particularly after Jordan's annexation of the West Bank in 1950 and the incorporation of the Palestinians into Jordanian society. The huge influx of Palestinians led to the emergence of an "ethnic division" between the East Bankers (native Jordanians or Transjordanians) and the West Bankers (Palestinian-origin Jordanians). Since the annexation of the West Bank territories, the kingdom opted to construct a hybrid Jordanian identity to integrate Palestinian descents into Jordan (Brand 1995: 47).

In response to the foundation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1964, the idea of a "Palestinian entity" and the Palestinian demographic majority in Jordan, from the early 1960s to the late 1980s, the Jordanian regime consistently adhered to an ideological narrative emphasising the unity of the two banks of "the great Jordanian family" and the idea that "Jordan is Palestine and Palestine is Jordan" (Chatelard 2010). In other words, Jordan continued the "Jordanisation" of the West Bank and of the Palestinian inhabitants of the East Bank, thereby eroding a separate Palestinian identity. Behind these efforts was the desire to demonstrate the identical interests of the two banks and of Jordan and Palestine, and prevent separation or disengagement of the West Bank from the East Bank (Shemesh 1996: 127).

The 1967 war was a turning point in Jordan's history. The loss of the West Bank, which was inhabited by one-half of the Jordanian population, had damaging strategic, economic, religious and psychological effects. Despite this loss, Jordan continued to regard the West Bank and its inhabitants as part of the Hashemite kingdom and claimed sovereignty over it. However, the 1967 war also encouraged the concept of "*wataniyya*" (territorial identity) in Jordan, as it did in other Arab states. This trend did not only emerge in response to the Arab armies' defeat in the 1967 war but also to the escalating Palestinian threats to the integrity of the Hashemite kingdom. The activities of the Palestinian resistance forces (Fedayeen), established in Jordan after the war, challenged Jordan's authority and constituted a military and even an existential threat to the legitimacy and continuation of the Hashemite regime in Jordan. In the course of the bloody events of "Black September", the inevitable confrontation eradicated the military and political presence of the Palestinian resistance organisations in Jordan (Nevo 2008: 217–219), a fact that affected the regime's ideological approach to the Palestinian problem and proved to be

a critical turning point in the formation of a separate particularistic Jordanian identity. The civil conflict set into motion a “cleansing” of Palestinian Jordanians from the public sphere. They were removed from their jobs in universities and the civil service, where they had previously served in large numbers (Massad 2001: 258; Abu Odeh 1999: 214–216).

In this period, the Hashemite regime attempted to address the challenge of the PLO, which was recognised by the Arab states as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian nation at the Arab Summit in Rabat in 1974. However, they were also faced with the notion of the “*al-watan al-badiʿ*” (alternative homeland) espoused by the rightist Israeli government after 1977. According to this notion, the Hashemite kingdom should be regarded as the true Palestinian homeland because of the Palestinian majority in Jordan. This would suggest that the Palestinian problem might be resolved by a “transfer” of the Palestinians to the East Bank, that is, to the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan. Such an argument realised concerns about the impact of Palestinians on Jordan’s demographic profile.

To deal with this ideological challenge, the regime chose to focus on the separate Jordanian identity and emphasise its uniqueness and difference from the Palestinians. In the following decades, Palestine and Palestinians, once a crucial component of Hashemite “Jordanian-ness”, were excluded from Jordanian national identity. In the 1980s, Jordan showed a marked increase in its celebration of historic sites on the East Bank, further stressing its territorial and national distinction from Palestine and Palestinians (Baram 1990: 425–448). Petra, Jarash, the Desert Castles and other archaeological sites became focal national symbols, as the reality that Jordan had lost the holy places and cities of the West Bank became undeniable (Katz: 146).

Jordan’s disengagement from the West Bank in July 1988 marks the culmination of this separation process. Through this act, Jordan formally renounced its efforts to regain the West Bank or speak on behalf of the Palestinian cause. Whereas the “unification” of Jordan and central Palestine in 1949 and 1950 was legitimated politically by appeals to Hashemite Arab nationalism and was effected through juridical measures much like the establishment of Transjordan in 1921, the “separation” of the West Bank from the East Bank in 1988 was based on appeals to regionally based Palestinian and Jordanian nationalisms and the repudiation of Hashemite Arab nationalism (Massad 2001: 261). Although King Hussein would continue to make references to the Hashemite legacy, the conceptualisation of its internal composition had changed.

This step was widely considered a fundamental change in Jordan's traditional policy (Susser 1994: 188–194). More than any other event in Jordan's modern history, the disengagement from the West Bank and its successive events contributed to the formation of a separate Jordanian national identity. Officially, Jordan changed its traditional rhetoric of "Jordan is Palestine and Palestine is Jordan". Instead, the expression coined by King Hussein in his disengagement speech—"Jordan is Jordan and Palestine is Palestine"—became prevalent in the speeches of the king and the government leaders and also manifest in the school textbooks written after the disengagement.⁴ Although King Hussein unequivocally affirmed the citizenship of Palestinian Jordanians in Jordan in his disengagement speech, he no longer controlled the public sphere. For Transjordanian nationalists, Jordan is the state of "true" Jordanians, those who lived in the East Bank prior to 1948, and although Jordanian Palestinians have had Jordanian citizenship for over 50 years, some Transjordanian nationalists pointedly use the term "Palestinians in Jordan" to suggest that Palestinian Jordanians have no legitimate claim to Jordanian citizenship (Nanes 2010: 170).⁵

Despite its policy tilt towards Transjordanians, the state retains a form of Hashemitism as its official state discourse.⁶ King Abdallah II credited the "trust of the people in the Hashemite House and the Hashemite message" for Jordan's fortunate political history (King Abdallah II 2000: 73). Regime spokespersons and officials, up to and including the king, continue to refer to "Jordanians from all origins and birthplaces". More often, they simply invoke the defence of national unity as a "holy" mission. Despite its unofficial discrimination, the state is compelled to maintain this discourse to preserve social peace. Given the demographic balance within the country, where estimates of the Palestinian Jordanian population vary from 50 to 70 per cent, the regime simply cannot afford to officially exclude so many of its citizens. This creates some limit to what can be expressed in the public sphere (Nanes 2010: 171).

THE EXTERNAL OTHER IN JORDANIAN TEXTBOOKS

The official narrative defines who is considered a Jordanian, and this is clear in Jordanian textbooks. A fourth grade textbook states, "I am an Arab, proud of my beliefs and country. My country is the country of the Arabs" (1: 3). On the following page, this text continues: "...My little motherland is an integral part of the larger Arab motherland, and it is also

an integral part of the glorious Islamic nation” (1: 4). This is where Jordan positions itself as a nation, part of the Arabs and Muslims. In this case, the distinctiveness of Jordan becomes possible through the development of external Others, who are mentioned in the same textbook: “We are united, Jordanians, Arabs, and Muslims, to recover the occupied parts of our motherland [Palestine], and to liberate those colonised parts of the larger Arab motherland” (1: 5).

Indeed, in the Jordanian school textbooks, Zionists and colonial Western states are usually described as aggressors towards Jordanians, Palestinians and Arabs in general. They are portrayed as the cause of supposed Arab fragmentation and debilitation since they forcefully divided Arab lands into weak nation-states. The textbooks depict them as colonialists who “occupied the beautiful parts of the motherland, Palestine” (2: 3–4). Somewhat problematically, Palestine is described as part of the Jordanian motherland, leaving the question of the home of the Palestinians unanswered.

The textbooks mention the colonisation of Jordan until its independence. Notably, there is no reference to external Others as enemies in the textbooks dealing with the contemporary world. Instead, these textbooks seem to make a conscious effort to use a language of peace and mutual respect. For example, the USA is included by references to its revolution and declaration of independence from Britain. But these accounts are brief: they contain only general information and fail to discuss other aspects of US history and its contemporary role in the world. References to European or American Others serve mainly to construct a certain Jordanian or Arab-Islamic self-image: the textbooks contain images of an Islamic civilisation that is marked by its openness to a plurality of interacting civilisations (3: 102). Little or no information is available in the textbooks on countries such as the USA, China or Russia. European history is mentioned only insofar as it relates to the Crusaders, the American and French revolutions, the industrial revolution and Napoleon. The textbooks highlight the colonial legacy and the Arab struggle for independence (4: 120). Jordan is presented as part of a wider Arab homeland, but the focus is clearly on Jordanian patriotism. Internal Others such as Palestinian refugees or the great number of Iraqi refugees who immigrated to Jordan after 2003 are not accounted for in the textbooks. However, these accounts emphasise the heroic Arab armies, and the Jordanian army in particular, and their role in these events. The textbooks notably refrain from open incitement and are written in a factual style (Georg Eckert Institute 2009: 22–26).

Most of the textbooks written prior to 1994 do not distinguish between Jews as the members of a religious group and Jews as members of a political movement. In some textbooks, the Jews are described as a political group that is hostile to both Christianity and Islam, and in others, Jews are portrayed as a national race (Bashur 1978: 20–22). Books written after 1994 state that the Jews did not assimilate into the population of Eastern Europe and believed that their religion sufficed to turn them into a nation (5: 28). In both cases, Jews are portrayed as the negative Other.

A notable gap in Jordanian textbooks is any mention of Israel, despite being the most relevant external Other in the Arab Middle East. The history textbooks make no mention whatsoever of the background to Jordan's current relationship with Israel. Accounts of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in the Jordanian textbooks are limited to highlighting Jordanian efforts to protect Jerusalem and the Palestinian lands. Israel is presented in the textbooks as an occupier and an aggressor, but very limited information is given regarding the conflict. These include brief accounts of the Zionist movement in Palestine, and the various Arab-Israeli wars are written from an Arab nationalist perspective (Georg Eckert Institute 2009: 25–26).

Thus, the Palestinians and the Zionists have been made invisible in Jordanian textbooks, in the attempt to create the Jordanian nation. For example, the invisibility of both Zionists and Palestinians is evident in the descriptions of the state's boundaries. While the other Arab countries are mentioned as bordering on Jordan (Syria, Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Palestine), Israel is invisible. The text mentions no other entity between Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea. By making the Mediterranean the western border of Jordan, the text makes both Israel and Palestine's existence invisible and consequently illegitimate.

Some textbooks do, however, acknowledge both the Palestinians and the Jewish city of Tel Aviv. The Jewish city is referred to as an expansion of the colonial threat that brought about the destruction of Palestine. A book titled "My Little Motherland" reads:

Tel Aviv was a suburb of the Arab Jaffa. A tiny group of the Jewish minority in Palestine lived there. Nowadays it has become a large city. It is certain that a day will come and we will return the city of Jaffa and its suburbs to the Arabs. Thus, we will clean it [Jaffa] and other [cities] of Jews. (6: 4–5)

This produces a binary opposition between Them (Israelis) and Us (Arabs, Jordanians, Palestinians): one group is temporary, unnatural and illegitimate, and the other is natural, legitimate and historically just. What is being asserted in many textbooks is that the Zionists are colonialists and abusers compared to Us, the genuine people of the land and victims of their schemes (7: 177). In the 12th grade history textbook titled “Modern Arab History”, the Zionists and the colonial countries are described as having plotted against Arabs and Palestinians for centuries and planned specifically to colonise Palestine since the early nineteenth century. Moreover, while the textbook implicitly acknowledges the Jews’ religious affiliations to Palestine, it rejects their political claims to Palestine (8: 112). The Jordanian school textbooks suggest that the Jewish leaders had accepted and were more than willing to play the role assigned to them by colonialism. Thus, the goals of British colonialism and the Jewish communities coincided, which made the Palestinians the victims of both. What is interesting here is how the textbook describes the relations between the colonised and the coloniser. Encountering a forceful coloniser, “We” are presented as a resisting but not enfeebled group. Thus, the nation’s weakness is transcended into a glorified act of sacrifice. For example, the Palestinians are described as having sacrificed what they held most dear in order to save their homeland. Sacrifice was not limited to the Palestinians: other Arabs volunteered to help the Palestinians in their tragedy. However, the textbook reminds the readers that Arab heroism in support of the Palestinian cause was suspended by the intervention of the superpowers, which sided with the Zionists and prevented the Arabs from liberating Palestine. For that reason, “We”, however powerful, were unable to overcome such powerful enemies, especially when facing the Zionists who were well equipped with what the British left for them (9: 114). In other words, the textbook attempts to efface the weakness of the Arab nation by arguing that there were many enemies who were well equipped. Finally, the textbook concludes by saying that the Zionists were brutal, savage colonialists, terrorists and conspirators, who used deception, and were supported by the European countries (10: 60). The Sharif and his sons Abdallah and Faisal are described as saviours and heroes of the Arab nation, and as wise men who were eager to recover the Arab-Muslim nation’s glory (11: 17). With a stroke of the pen, the previously described colonial forces transformed into allies and friends, despite the fact that Britain occupied many regions of the Arab countries at the time.

INTERNAL OTHERS

The Jordanian school textbooks make use of three main techniques to address the Palestinians: first, almost complete disregard of their existence; second, Jordanisation, or assimilating them in the Jordanian state; and third, exclusion, or perceiving them as an external factor. In the first two cases, the Palestinians are not recognised as a human group with unique attributes, and neither is Palestine nor the Palestinian problem. In the third case, Jordan regards the Palestinians or Palestine as a factor external to the state but nevertheless recognises their existence (Nasser 2005: 67–71).

Several textbooks describe the Palestinian catastrophe and how the Palestinians were forced into exile by the Zionist terrorists and the British colonialists. The textbooks also describe the Palestinians as refugees in all the Arab countries. For example, one modern history textbook writes, “The Palestinians had lost the best part of their country. About a million people were expelled from their homes and they left behind all they had possessed.... They became refugees in all the neighbouring Arab countries. The UN initiated aid for them and encouraged them to settle where they are now” (8: 122). As refugees in all the Arab countries, the Palestinians’ national identity was threatened. To address the situation of Palestinians who remained in the West Bank and did not become refugees, a fourth grade textbook offers the following description: “The Jordanian Hashemite kingdom is an Arab state that includes Jordan and Palestine. After the 1948 Palestinian war, both Banks were united. The union was agreed upon in the Jericho public convention of 1949... This unification was considered by all as the first step toward a comprehensive unification of the Arab motherland”. In the textbooks, the agreement is described as a unanimous popular decision, the result of a popular desire to unify the two Banks of the Jordan, rather than being in reality a decision imposed by the Jordanian government. The textbooks advocate pan-Arabism and Islam as a way to legitimise Jordan as a separate state and thus the Palestinian exclusion within Jordan. Claiming that Jordan is part of the Arab nation is a way of advocating for a state beyond the particular, which seems unimportant by comparison. Universalism, conceived as a contrast to any form of factionalism within the state, enables the national discourse to marginalise the particular as irrelevant or illegitimate, thus making particular national aspirations become invisible when advocating a supreme and noble goal such as Arab unity. In the entire historical narrative, the textbooks generally make no reference to Christians or women as part of the

nation (Kassem 2007). Often, the textbooks speak in masculine language, and define the nation as part of the Arab and Muslim nations.

To conclude, the national Jordanian narrative conceives of “the nation” as similar to and distinct from Arabs and Muslims. It is by exclusion and Othering that the Jordanian nation comes into being. However, it is important to note that explicit references to Others account for less than 1 per cent of the texts in these textbooks. The Others are made absent against the presence of the nation. In the Jordanian national narrative, there are Others within the nation who turn out to be invisible, such as the Palestinians who were forced into assimilation. In this case, assimilation is a form of Othering, where the identity of collective group and their aspirations are denied and effaced. Erasing Others is designed to valorise the presence of the collective. Similarly, references to Others as outsiders are made in a derogatory manner. It is rare to find positive references to Others, and difference is established by binary oppositions.

The history of Jordanian-Palestinian relations over the years and the fact that a large part of Jordanian citizens are of Palestinian origin have turned Palestinians into a kind of internal Other, while Jordan’s recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of Palestinian national aspirations in 1988 concurrently transformed them into external Others. Arguably, Palestinians make up a third class of Others, who remain neither completely internal nor external, thus threatening the very stability of the concept of nationhood as promoted by the Hashemite monarchy.

SELF AND OTHER IN THE POST-1994 TEXTBOOKS

The textbooks written after 1994 acknowledge the existence of the Israeli state for the first time. However, they regard Israel as a military, economic and political provocation to the Arab world (12: 67) and attribute the conflict and tension in the Arab region to Israel’s establishment. Despite acknowledging Israel, the maps that appear in the textbooks use the label of Palestine, not Israel.

Whereas the textbooks for elementary school written before 1994 regard Arab nationalism as instrumental in the struggle against imperialism and Zionism, and claim that “the struggle of all the Arabs is directed to the annihilation of Israel that was established in the heart of the Arab homeland” (8: 131), the textbooks written after 1994 describe the different Arab responses to the Israeli threat: some preferred the military solution, while others prefer competition through peaceful means in the fields of science, education, technology and economic coordination (12: 80).

Whereas the old textbooks ignored the situation of Palestinians living in Jordan, as part of the official attempt to “Jordanise” the Palestinians and blur their separate identity inside Jordan, the textbooks written after 1988 (after Jordan’s disengagement from the West Bank) reflect a contrasting narrative: the Palestinians are specifically recognised as a group in Jordan. For example, a textbook published in 1990 states that Jordan regards the Palestinian situation as a priority, because of “the composition of its population” (13: 7). This change in approach coincides with the disengagement: Jordan no longer considers itself responsible for the West Bank or the representative of the Palestinian nation in the East and West Banks. Nevertheless, Jordan does not recognise the right to self-determination of Palestinians in the two banks on equal terms. Jordan relinquished its right to represent the Palestinians in the West Bank, but it insists upon the integration of the Palestinians in the East Bank into the Jordanian state (“the Jordanian family”). In fact, the Jordanian narrative in the post-disengagement era strives to apply “modern Jordanisation”, that is, seeking only to Jordanise the Palestinian residents of the East Bank. Therefore, the textbook narratives only mention East Bank Palestinians as a distinct group briefly, and only when absolutely necessary.

CONCLUSION

Despite the two decades that have elapsed since the signing of the Jordan-Israel peace treaty, Jordanian textbooks reflect little evidence of a shift from conflict to peace. During the years of conflict, the Jordanian educational system followed and spouted the dominant Arab nationalist line, and the few changes made after signing the peace treaty were limited both in quantity and quality. The textbooks reflect the wide gap that remains between the formal changes and systematic efforts to foster a culture of peace, including empathy for Jews, acceptance of Israel and recasting of historical narratives to portray the past and present relations between the two sides in a new light.

The maps in the Jordanian textbooks underwent a gradual transformation over the years, reflecting the changes in the kingdom’s actual borders as well as the symbolic borders that reflect the affinity that the regime sought to reinforce between Jordanian identity and Palestinian identity. In the maps published in the 1950s and 1960s, the entire territory of Mandatory Palestine was labelled Jordan. These maps reflect the belief that all the territory to the Mediterranean coastline belonged to Jordan

and, specifically, non-recognition of Israeli sovereignty over the land and denial of competing Palestinian and Egyptian claims to sovereignty over all or part of the land (Nasser 2005: 74–75; Anderson 2001: 9, 13). After the Six Day War, the map of Jordan in school textbooks contracted to the 1949 ceasefire lines, including the West Bank and Jerusalem. The remaining territory was labelled “Occupied Palestine” (14: 8). The portrayal of the kingdom within the borders known to us now began to appear in textbooks only after the decision to disengage from the West Bank in July 1988. The state of Israel continued to be absent from the maps, and its territory was labelled “Palestine” (Jordanian Ministry of Education Our Arab Language, 15: 17; Nasser 2011: 143). The Jordanian Education Law, passed in April 1994, several months before the signing of the Jordan-Israel peace treaty, emphasised Jordan’s loyalty to the regime’s traditional position, specifically that “the Palestinian problem is a fateful problem for the Jordanian people, and the Zionist aggression against Palestine is a political, military, and cultural challenge for the Arab and Islamic nation in general, and in particular for Jordan” (16: 60).

In the spirit of this law, which reflected Jordan’s desire to prove that its pursuit of peace did not constitute a deviation from its commitment to the Palestinian cause, the textbooks in the 1990s and 2000s continued to portray Israel as an occupying and aggressive country seeking to annihilate the original inhabitants of the land. In these textbooks, Zionism is described as a racist ideology designed to subjugate all other peoples and steal their property, and negative character traits are indiscriminately attributed to Jewish people (Georg Eckert Institute 2009: 25–26). The maps in these textbooks continue to display “Palestine” as a country on the kingdom’s western border and refrain from explicit recognition of Israeli sovereignty.

Between May and September 2014, the Jordanian Ministry of Education launched a number of measures that it had avoided during the two decades of peace, possibly signalling the beginning of a positive change in the status of Israel in the Jordanian textbooks. As part of the curricular changes, the Ministry removed lessons that promoted an ethos of conflict with Israel. In an unprecedented move, it distributed a study guide for teachers and educational booklets that included a map in which Israel was explicitly labelled, and banned the inclusion in school libraries of a book denouncing peace with the Jews. While these measures did not amount to a comprehensive reform in the attitude towards Israel in Jordanian textbooks, they did represent some improvement in Israel’s

status at a time when Operation Protective Edge was underway and the royal palace's public rhetoric was highly critical of Israel (Winter 2015: 55–67).

The change in Israel's status in the Jordanian textbooks was not unrelated to the growth of radical Islam in the region and the threats facing Jordan. In 2014, military confrontations in Iraq and Syria neared the kingdom's borders, and the increasingly brazen Islamic State soldiers extended their range of targets to Kurdistan and Lebanon. In addition to these external threats, the Jordanian regime faced an equally disconcerting domestic threat from the followers of Salafi-jihadi ideology, mainly in the cities of Ma'an and al-Zarqa. A considerable number of young Jordanians have drawn encouragement and inspiration from the successes of the Islamic State organisation and Jabhat al-Nusra in Iraq and Syria, and several thousand have joined their ranks. Economic and social distress in Jordan, reflected in high rates of poverty, unemployment and inflation, has also contributed to the growing religious extremism in the country.

NOTES

1. UNICEF, Division of Policy and Practice, Statistics and Monitoring Service (www.childinfo.org).
2. About the historical narrative of Jordan see also: Elie Podeh, *The Politics of National Celebrations in the Arab Middle East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 168–206.
3. See, for example, Hasan Riyan and Mahmud Tuwalba (eds), *Ta'rikh Al-Arab Al-Hadith* (Amman: Wizarat Al-Tarbiyyawa-al-Ta'alim, 1991), p. 87.
4. See, for example, Hassan Riyan and Mahmud Tualbah (eds), *Mudhakarabah Fi Ta'arikh Al-Arab Al-Hadith* (Amman: Wizarat Al-Tarbiyyawa-al-Ta'alim, 1991), p. 67.
5. On Transjordanian nationalism, see Andrew Shryock, *Nationalism and the Genealogical imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Schirin Fathi, *Jordan: An Invented Nation?* and Massad, *Colonial Effects*.
6. One recent manifestation of this discourse is the new national slogan, *Kulluna al-Urdunn* (We are all Jordan), which replaced *al-Urdunn Awwalan* (Jordan First), a slogan that emerged in response to domestic unrest in Jordan after the outbreak of the al-Aqsa intifada in autumn 2000. *Al-Urdunn Awwalan* was widely perceived by Palestinian Jordanians as a direct attack on their allegiance to Jordan. *Kulluna al-Urdunn* is both more inclusive and more conciliatory.

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Religious Pluralism or Multiplied Simple-Mindedness? School Textbooks for Religious Education in Lebanon

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This work intends to show how religious pluralism is described and valued in school textbooks for religious instruction at various school types in the Lebanese Republic, based on the premise that curricula and textbooks for the humanities reflect a society's ideological climate. To that end, this chapter will analyse the contents and values of three series of school textbooks that are particularly widespread among Lebanese schools and are used for religious instruction for grades six to nine.

Religious pluralism has two aspects: the coexistence between groups of different religion and denomination in one society, on the one hand, and the coexistence of different individual ways of understanding and practicing the same denomination within one group, on the other. The way by which religious pluralism is organised, fostered or hampered depends to a large extent on the political system of a given state and society. Freedom of belief, the very principle by which religious pluralism is organised in many states of our time, is prominent in the Lebanese constitution and in the textbooks used in this study. Therefore, this chapter will begin by analysing how the Lebanese Republic itself is perceived in the textbooks,

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followed by examining how the textbooks address freedom of belief. Since these two factors constitute the framework of dealing with religious pluralism, it is from these sections that the chapter will proceed to examine religious pluralism itself.

The question of how religious pluralism is appreciated seems vital in a society made up of 19 religious groups in a system that was designed to balance their interests against each other. This system is the legal and representative order of Lebanon's society and state and is often termed "the confessional system" (*an-nidham at-ta'ifi*), but also "consociationalism" or "system of concordance". Its foundations were laid in the political order of Mount Lebanon of the late nineteenth century, called *mutasar-rifiyya*, as an attempt to settle preceding conflicts mainly between Maronites and Druze. It was modified in the constitutions of the first Lebanese Republic under French mandate in 1926, the first independent Lebanese Republic in 1943 and after Lebanon's civil war in 1989. It allows confessional and ethnic groups in Lebanon to practise their particular laws in affairs that are considered cultural, that is, marriage and divorce, children's custody, inheritance and education. It also prescribes proportional representation of all 19 sects in the state's institutions, namely, the government, parliament, the administration, the army and the security services. While its underlying idea was to grant the freedom of belief and ritual collectively to the then 17 denominations of Lebanon, it considerably restricts the individual religious freedom of the citizens: no Lebanese citizenship is available without formally belonging to one of the acknowledged denominational groups. Lebanese citizens can organise their marriage and family affairs under the legislation and jurisdiction of only one of these groups.¹ Custody, for example, is not necessarily assigned with regard to the needs and the well-being of the child, but according to religious dogma. Inheritance is not always bequeathed equally between female and male relatives. Political office is distributed first according to the confessional belonging, and only in the second or third place according to the political programmatic and the individual skills and merits of the candidate.²

As will be shown below, the structure of the Lebanese school system is a function of this collective religious pluralism. Some have argued that the textbooks address the individual aspect of freedom of belief far less than its collective aspect, even though freedom of belief is marked as an "absolute" right in the Lebanese Constitution (Art. 9). This chapter aims to challenge such an argument, by pointing to the difference in Sunni, Shii and Catholic textbooks' emphasis on individual freedom.

STATE OF RESEARCH

Only two researchers have published on religious school textbooks from Lebanon. In 2001, Talal Atrissi read the same three series of textbooks for religious instruction at the intermediate stage that are analysed here, although in other editions. He focussed on their perception of the Self and the Other, categorised as Jews, Christians and Muslims, and concluded that Other denominations were depicted only in terms and concepts provided by the Self's own dogma.

Since then, I have included Lebanese religious school textbooks in two broader studies about humanities teaching at Lebanese schools, with a focus on its depiction of Christianity (Kriener 2012), and on the Lebanese political system and prevalent collective identity constructions (Kriener 2011). This chapter relies on earlier field work, but is the first to look at how religious school textbooks perceive religious pluralism itself, rather than the perceptions of particular religious, ethnic or national groups.

STRUCTURE OF THE LEBANESE SCHOOL SYSTEM

After Lebanon's independence in 1943, mass schooling soon spread to all parts of the country. Enrolment rates increased steadily to almost 100 per cent already in the 1970s (Al-Amine 1994: 165–192). Nowadays besides the Ministry of Education it is private associations, most of them of religious character, who administer around 60 per cent of these schools (see table below). Some of them, but not all, include extensive ritual practice for their students. Muslim schools are hardly frequented by Christian students, whereas a large number of Muslim students are enrolled at Christian schools. Depending somewhat on the location of a given Christian school, Muslim students can represent anything from a minority to a majority of its students. Before the war, religious education and ritual at these schools had been mandatory for all students, but in many of these schools today it is only Christian students who are obliged to participate. Some Christian schools with a majority of Muslim students have abandoned religious education altogether, or else employ Muslim teachers to provide Islamic religious instruction.

Browsing the homepages and PR brochures of these schools, it is clear that most of the Muslim schools have a male leading figure who also holds influence in a wider political and social context. For example, The Mabarrat Society (Shia) refers to the late Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah, the *Irfan*

(Druze) to Walid Jumblatt, leader of the Progressive Socialist Party, and the *Hariri* (Sunni liberal) association to the late Rafiq Hariri as their patrons. On the Mahdi Schools website, frequent reference is made to Hezbollah and Ayatollah Khomeini (www.almahdischools.org, retrieved on 8 September 2016). The three large Christian associations, on the other hand, each adhere to one of the large churches. Beyond this, however, their self-portrayals do not contain explicitly partisan content. The *Secrétariat Général des Ecoles Catholiques au Liban* (Catholic school association) is by far the largest among the private school associations, which alone caters for about a fifth of Lebanon's school students. It comprises numerous smaller associations and individual schools of local and foreign providers, many of them belonging to the Maronite Church, the largest Christian community in Lebanon³ (Figs. 9.1 and 9.2)

Schools keep more or less in line with a curriculum generated by the state, which roughly prescribes the contents for the subjects of history and social studies. They are reflected in the textbooks of all publishers for these subjects. While most Muslim school associations oblige their member schools to the use of a certain publication in these subjects, the three Christian associations do basically not pursue uniform and binding textbook policies. The secular private institutions, as well as the *Hariri Foundation*, follow a similarly liberal curricular policy. The Catholic schools, however, do all adhere to one textbook series for religious education that will be analysed in the following section, together with the representative samples of Sunni and Shii religious school textbooks.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION AT SCHOOLS AND TEXTBOOK SAMPLE

For religious education, the state neither sets any curricular standards, nor does it interfere with the educational policies of the different sects. The teachers for religious instruction are trained and appointed by confessional institutions. Uninhibited by the Ministry of Education, the Lebanese religious communities have full autonomy to design the lessons. In 1997, the Center for Pedagogical Research and Development (CRDP), the department of the Ministry responsible for issuing the public curriculum and textbooks, attempted to issue a unified textbook series for schools giving non-confessional instruction. This was met with strong resistance by all religious authorities except for the Druze. Its implementation violated the

Table: School Types in Lebanon – continues over the page

Type of school	First school opened in	Secondary degree ¹	Number of schools	Number of Students (source)	% of all students in Lebanon	Institution's denomination	Number of schools	Number of students	% of all students in Lebanon
Public schools ²	1926	L	1405	337,436	36.8	Public	1405	337,436	36.8
Private schools other than in curriculum commission ³			855	244,562	26.7	Non confessional or Muslim	855	244,562	26.7
Catholic	1655	L, F, U, S, IB	361	190,000 ⁴	20.1	Catholic	361	190,000	20.7
Protestant	1860	L, U, S, IB	40	20,000 (i)	2.2	Protestant	40	20,000	2.2
Christian Orthodox	1833	L, F	27	24,000 (i)	2.6	Orthodox	27	24,000	2.6

Fig. 9.1 Table of school types in Lebanon

Type of school	First school opened in	Secondary degree	Number of schools	Number of students (source)	% of all students in Lebanon	Institution's denomination	Number of schools	Number of students	% of all students in Lebanon
International College	1936	L, F, IB	1	3,400	0.4	None	15	19,838	2.2
American Community School	1905	L, US, IB	1	1,000	0.1				
Collège Louise Wegman	1965	L, F	3	1,838	0.2				
Rawda High School	1961	L	1	1,600	0.2				
Lycée National	No record								
Mission Laique Francaise	1909	L, F	9	12,000 ⁵	1.3				
Hariri Foundation	1982	L (F ⁶)	4 (5)	3,800 ⁸ (b)	0.4	Sunna	49	18,800	2
Makassed	1878	L	45	15,000 ⁸ (b)	1.6	Druze	5	4,500	0.5
Irfan	1971	L	5	4,500 (i)	0.5				
Amiliyya	1923	L	3	2,310 (i)	0.25	Shia	43 (48)	57,810	6.3
Amal	1986	L	7 (12)	11,000 (i)	1.2				
Mabarrat	1978	L	14	19,000 (b)	2.1				
Mahdi	1993	L	13	17,500 (i)	1.9				
Mustafa	1989	L	6	8,000 (i)	0.9				
Total			2,799	916,946	100		2,799	916,946	100
			9						

Fig. 9.1 (continued)

¹ L = Lebanese, F = French, US = American, IB = International Baccalaureat, not necessarily at all member schools.

² Figures in this line according to CRDP statistics 2005. According to CRDP statistics 2012, the proportion of students in the public system has decreased to 29.2%. This is partly due to the inclusion of UNWRA schools, which provide education for Palestinian refugees, were not included in 2005, and make for 3.4% of school students in Lebanon. The number of students enrolled in public schools has decreased to 275,655, i. e. by more than 80,000. The number of students at private schools has increased by a nearly equal rate, as the subtotal has remained about the same.

³ This number is what remains after subtracting all other numbers in this column from the total as given in CRDP statistics 2005.

⁴ Saliba 2006. <http://www.opuslibani.org.lb/liban/Dos004.htm>, retrieved 2012-12-14, reports 220,000 students.

⁵ The *Lycée Abdel Kader* does still belong to the MLF, although in 1985 the *Hariri Foundation* bought it and thereby saved it from bankruptcy. Its 1,200 students are ascribed to the MLF in this table. There are further 2,000 students enrolled in a *Makassed* school that belongs to the HF for similar reasons. They are listed with the 15,000 *Makassed* students. These two schools including, the HF actually enrolls 7,000, which makes for 0.75% of all students enrolled at Lebanese schools.

⁶ At *Lycée Abdel Kader*.

Fig. 9.1 (continued)

constitutionally guaranteed autonomy of the sects in educational matters (Art. 10), so the confessional associations continued to autonomously publish their own textbooks for religious instruction (Frayha 2003: 233–250).

The following three textbook series were chosen as the sample for this study because they are prevalent among the schools of their respective

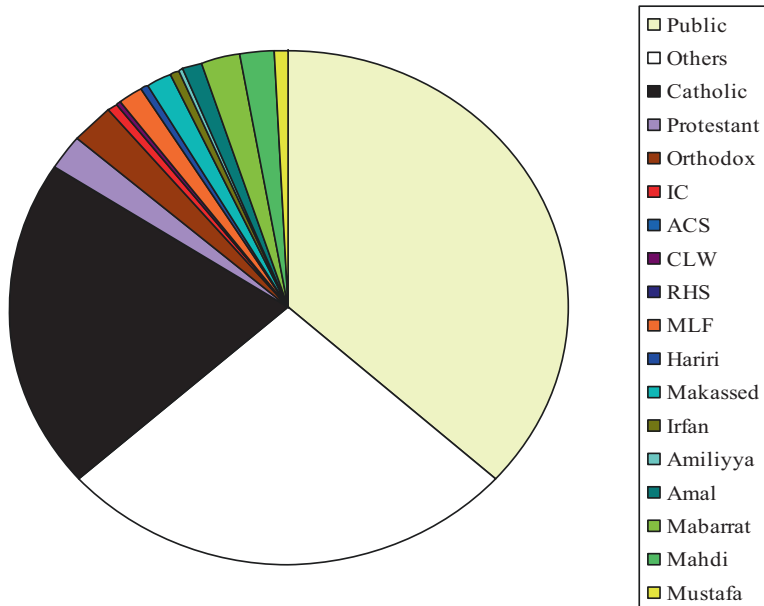


Fig. 9.2 Pie chart of school types in Lebanon

denomination: *Al-Islam Risalatuna* (Islam is Our Message, further codified as RSh6 to RSh9) at *Mahdi* and *Mustafa* schools, *Ath-Thaqafa al-Islamiyya* (Islamic Culture, RSu6 to RSu9) at *Makassed* schools, *Yasu' Tariquna* (Jesus is Our Way, RC6 to RC9) at Catholic schools. These books are also taught to religious classes at public schools and at private schools that do not issue their own books. The *Secrétariat Général pour l'Enseignement Catholique au Liban* prescribes *Yasu' Tariquna* for all its member schools, just as most Muslim associations do with the respective textbooks for their schools. There are of course other, less commonly used textbooks. After the failed attempt at issuing a national curriculum on religion, the Churches cooperated to issue a textbook at least for common Christian education. Although it was published, it did not become widespread. A similar experiment was made among the Islamic communities, likewise with little resonance.

The first edition of RSu was published in 1967 already and has obviously not undergone meaningful innovation since then. It was apparently

designed to be taught to Muslim students of both denominations. Before the first Shii Higher Islamic Council of Lebanon was founded in 1969 by Musa Sadr, the Shia in Lebanon was much less organised than nowadays, and the difference between the two denominations was much less present in public discourse (Arzuni, 165–175). This can be sensed in the contents of RSu, and conversely in that of RSh, as will be shown below.

DESIGN AND STRUCTURE

Both series for Islamic education do without pictures, except for 20 black and white photographs in RSh6 showing a boy and a girl in the consecutive positions of the ritual prayer. In RSh, lessons do not build up on one another thematically. Thus, teachers can pick out from them or change their order during instruction as they see fit. Still, two lessons in a row sometimes deal with related topics, for example, jihad of the soul, followed by military jihad (RSh9, lessons 12 and 13), or consecutive stages of history, for example, Muhammad's jihad in Mecca, then in Medina (RSh8, lessons 3 and 4). Each lesson opens with a passage from the Qur'an. The longest part of each lesson is the authors' interpretation structured by section headlines. The core messages of the lesson are then summed up in a number of short sentences for memorisation followed by a varying number of questions. At the end of each lesson in RSh, there is a green box containing a text to be learnt by heart and, in some lessons, a song (*Min al-Anashid al-Islamiyya*) or another short text for reading, often another piece from the Qur'an. In the older books, RSu, the lessons in themselves are structured in a similar way as in RSh. Here, however, each volume follows a superstructure of units that bundle the lessons under thematic aspects. These are dogmas (*'Aqa'id*), ritual practice (*'Ibadat*), Islamic virtues, outstanding Muslim personalities, verses from the Qur'an and legends (*Ahadith*) about the Prophet.

The Catholic textbooks, RC, are designed as four files containing two or three booklets each. They are designed as workbooks: most of the space is dedicated to students' work, consisting of individual, pair or group assignments, the smaller part to actual narrative or catechetical text. One such file contains between 17 and 24 lessons. A booklet ends with a one-page summary followed by an appendix that contains additional source material. They are richly illustrated with an average of 1.3 mostly coloured illustrations per page, which range from being photographs or reprints

from the Christian arts to drawings and cartoons (see, for instance, RC8: 41–42). Photographs show scenes of social life in the family, at school, and in other settings, or motifs for contemplation as they occur in Christian edification literature.

Besides the Bible and the Qur'an respectively, the textbooks rely exclusively on canonical texts from their religious tradition and dogmatic writings. The texts most commonly used are: the *Nahj al-Balagha*, a compilation of traditions attributed to Imam Ali, in RSh, texts by and about the Prophet Muhammad and his companions (ahadith) and modern interpreters of Islam such as Rashid Rida in RSu, and the issuances of the Vatican councils, foremost *Lumen Gentium* and *Dignitatis Humanae* in RC. The two Islamic series mainly contain text for reading, and the assignments only ask students to repeat its contents.

CONCEPTS OF POLITY

The religious textbooks examined here abstain from any explicit reference to Lebanon's political system. The textbooks for Islamic education do, however, convey certain conceptions of the state and law. Above all, both explicitly call the Qur'an a "constitution" which rules in matters of the society as a whole, and which a Muslim has to obey. In a unit about the ritual prayers, the text for Sunni religious instruction explains:

One of the signs of nations' (*umam*) advancement and flourishing, their awakening and progress is that they respect their constitutions [footnote 1: their general national laws that they follow], and that they take a stand of salute and reverence towards what is connected to their patriotic (*watani*) pride, and their national (*qawmi*) sovereignty. And the constitution of the Islamic nation (*umma* = sg. of *umam*) is its Qur'an, in which its dignity, pride, and sovereignty is represented, and therefore its recitation must be accompanied by culture, esteem, and respect. And God's wisdom wanted it that in the Holy Qur'an be ... special ranks stirring zeal and fervour within the Muslim, motivation to obey God and submission to his orders, without restriction and without condition ... (*bi-la qayd wa-la shart* ...). (RSu8: 47)

Nothing in the books explains the relationship between the "nations" and the Islamic *umma* with their respective "constitutions". Hence, there are no considerations as to how a Lebanese Muslim should harmonise or

prioritise the two constitutions, since the Lebanese constitution is not the Qur'an. The authors, however, are definitely aware of the reality of two-fold identity, religious and national, but do not explicitly address it:

The Muslim who deserves this title (*laqab*) is someone from whose evil Muslims and non-Muslims, compatriots or foreigners, those enjoying protection or those holding a contract (*mimman labum dhimma aw 'abd*) are safe, they and we have the same rights and obligations (*labum ma lana, wa-'alayhim ma 'alayna*) ... But concerning those waging war against us and attacking our religion and our country, or our pride or dignity, we all cooperate with the army of the country in order to repel them and resist their aggression ... (RSu9: 172–173)

In this way, the textbooks express commitment to cooperating with a national institution, the army, but do not support a state's monopoly of power. In another lesson, the Islamic *umma* itself is compared to a modern state with a ministry of defence and is said to need an army for self-defence (RSu9: 43–47). This sounds like a call for a military structure paralleling the nation's own. There is no further reference to the relationship between state and religion in the RSu volumes for the intermediate stage. Thus, overall the RSu asks its students to obey God's command unconditionally. However, the command is depicted as valid collective, quasi national legislation on the one hand, while ambivalent and inconsistent with regard to the national Lebanese legislation and institutions on the other.

By contrast, ambivalence is not a trait of the Shii textbooks. According to RSh the Qur'an is "... a constitutional book treating all religious, economic, political, and social affairs that provides a comprehensive order for every time and place, since it does not leave out anything (*amr*) without issuing its judgement about it ..." (RSh8: 57). This does not leave any scope for a dialectic relationship between religious and national identity. In RSh9, unit 4, titled "The Holy Qur'an, the Book of Life", the authors elaborate that the Qur'an is designed to build "the divine, just society", "the new man" (40), and that it "... drew the foundations of public order on the different political, social, economic, and security fields ...". They write:

In order to build the Muslim man (*insan*) and the Muslim society we have to read the Qur'an consciously ... so we will build our public order according to God's command, and thereby we will live spiritual stability, social balance, where there is no oppression, fraud, corruption, and imperialism (45)

The relationship between the modern state and Islam implies clear preference for the latter in terms of political order:

Every state seeking order and security needs two basic things:—A constitution that organises the peoples' life—A responsible leadership who supervises the constitution's implementation. And if the modern state feels the need for a constitution and a government, so Islam with its *sharia* and order needs a conscious leadership that explains Islam, spreads it, implements it, and guards it from distortion and danger ... And Islam is a worldwide religion that did not come to the Arabs of the times of ignorance (*jabiliyya*, i.e. pre-Islamic times—JK) only, but to the whole world, present and future. (RSh8: 62)

The political order propagated here is detailed in no uncertain terms. The lesson goes on to explain that the Prophet functioned as all three: the administrative ruler, the military leader and the legislator. Since his death, the lesson reads, these tasks have had to be fulfilled by someone who is impeccable and knows more about the *sharia* and governmental affairs than anyone else and who demonstrates utmost integrity, morality and good conduct.⁴ When the question of who should choose this perfect ruler arises, the text denounces democracy, pointing out its flaws: "... forgery that occurs in the elections of the parliaments ... and who owns more property, or who flatters people more ... can win and obtain government and leadership, no matter what his scientific and moral qualifications or his historical backgrounds are ..." (RSh8: 64). Following this, the lesson produces the concept of the Imamate, since the infallible Prophet had himself educated and chosen Ali as his successor (64–67). The lesson ends with a song titled "The Anthem of Islam" (*Nashid al-Islam*), which confirms that the proposed political order is the one to rule the world, not only a particular country, nation or community:

China is ours (*Sin lana*), India is ours, the Arabs are ours, and everything is ours. Islam brought us a religion, and everything that exists is a homeland for us (*jami' al-kawn lana watana*) ... and the Muslim's call for prayer has echoed our zeal in the West (*wa-adhan al-Muslim kan labu fi al-gharb sadan min himmatina*) ... Oh shade of the gardens of Andalusia hast thou forgotten the songs of our community, on thy branches are the hangars that the vanguard of our youth has built (71)

Predictably, the Shii text misperceives secularism as irreconcilable with religious belief: “The secularists say: Religion opposes science and prevents its departure (*intilaqahu*) to the horizons of knowledge ... religion is transcendental illusions (*awham ghaybiyya*), and science is solid facts”, while “The believers say: Religion associates with science, raises its stand (*yarfa’ maqamah*), encourages its pursue, and considers it a way to awareness and belief, a tool for progress, development, and the service of man” (RSh8: 101). The Qur’an is viewed as perfectly in accordance with science. With reference to the nuclear bombardment of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, a morally guided utilisation of science without religion is considered impossible: “Science needs the values of religion that direct it towards the welfare and happiness of mankind” (109).

The Catholic curriculum entirely abstains from drawing up political concepts. At times, terms that could be interpreted politically occur, but not in an explicitly political context: in the context of marriage and family, RC8 quotes the Dogmatic Constitution of the Church (*Dustur ‘Aqa’idi fi al-Kanisa*: 209–211) with regard to Catholic norms. In one of the quotes this document calls Christendom “the people of God” (*sha’b Allah*: 209). These are, of course, terms from the political vocabulary. The quoted document, “Lumen Gentium” (Light of the Peoples), was among the outcomes of the Second Vatican Council in 1964, in which the Catholic Church formally relinquished political authority and came to terms with the secular state and freedom of belief. One can sense that the textbook authors presuppose a separation between religious and worldly legislation, although they do not explain to the students any of its essential features or any of its benefits or costs.⁵

FREEDOM OF BELIEF

While RSu does not contain any freedom discourse, RSh quotes the Qur’an 2: 256–257 in support for the freedom of belief (*hurriyyat al-aqida*, RSh7: 24). This freedom is, however, depicted only as the choice between right (*haqq*) and error (*dhalal*), belief (*iman*) and unbelief and decay (*kufur wa-fasad*), not a choice between different ways to truth, happiness or fulfilment. Undesired conduct, and particularly not believing in one God, is denounced as deviant (e.g. RSh7: 11–12, RSh8: 87, 92, 99, 114, 138, RSh9: 143). The servants of God, the text states, have not simply inherited beliefs from their ancestors but made a rational choice in

favour of it (RSh9: 25). In this way the authors are aware of the difference between sectarian belonging and personal belief, but label any intellectual or spiritual choice alternative to their own as “unbelief” and “deviation” (RSh7: 25; RSh9: 25, 124).

Both RSh and RSu resemble a collection of sermons. According to them, Islam promotes the values of certainty, patience, equality by nature (*fi al-fitra*), eminence through fear of God (*tagwa*), knowledge and good deeds (RSu6: 125, RSu7: 176, RSh9: 43), charity (RSu6: 130–135, 207–209), modesty (RSu6: 136–140), honouring the parents (RSu6: 217–218, RSh, lesson 3), honesty and justice (RSu6: 221–222, RSu7: 142–147, 161–168), unity amongst the *umma* (RSu6, pp. 223–224) and “democracy” and brotherly love (RSu9, p. 178, RSh6, p. 151–159).⁶ The reader is offered a dualist value system where everything is either good or bad, and right or wrong. Divine requital (*jaza'*), reward (*thawab*), punishment (*'aqab*) and fear (*kha'wf*) of God are constantly recurring categories.⁷ There seem to be no moral dilemmas in the Muslim's life, because the Holy Scriptures provide a solution to every one of life's problems in the example of the Prophet and the Venerable Forefathers (*as-salaf as-salih*). Moreover, information that modern science is usually credited for is instead attributed to the Qur'an.⁸ Missionary zeal appears as a virtue, for example, in the legend about Abdallah b. Mas'ud, one of the Prophet's companions in Mecca, who intentionally read out the Qur'an loudly next to a group of Qurayshite Polytheists, thereby stirring their aggression (RSu9: 105–106), or when students are advised that “... a good word coming from a good heart will surely have a good influence on the misguided and deviating souls...” (RSh9: 20).⁹ Not only is death through jihad glorified as a way to God, but sacrificing one's own children to that end is explicitly encouraged.¹⁰

The concept of freedom as the capacity to make individual choices is strongly emphasised in the Catholic books. The Christian religion is viewed as a way to freedom from inner and outer compulsion. In various contexts the concept is connected to selflessness, selfless love and self-sacrifice and described as an ongoing process (RC9: 4–10, 43, lesson 5). Such attitudes supposedly result in joy and self-fulfilment (RC9, lessons 3 and 4, pages 37 and 113), and indirect references to civil liberties as formulated in the Human Rights Declaration are enumerated, including the freedom of belief, publication and assembly (RC9: 28). The freedom discourse is thus interpreted in a more individualistic way in the Catholic books than in either its Sunni or Shii counterparts.

Religious Pluralism

The Islamic textbooks address so perceived commonalities and differences between Islam and other religions solely in order to give proof of Islam's superiority. The dogmatic views of other religious communities are not regarded at all. Prophets who are acknowledged as such by both Islam and other religions appear in the frame of the Islamic narrative only, in which Muhammad is the seal of the Prophets (e.g. RSh6, lessons 4 and 5; RSh7, lesson 4; similar RSu6: 12–24). Explicit references to religions or philosophies other than Islam always keep to the frame of interpretation, in which Islam is truth and the others are error. For example, RSu draws a sharp line between Islamic and Christian doctrine concerning the person of Christ, although without mentioning Christ or Christianity. It solely employs the Qur'anic view, Sura 18: 1–8: "... that He may warn those who say, 'God has begotten a son': No knowledge have they of such a thing, nor had their fathers. It is a grievous thing that issues from their mouths as a saying. What they say is nothing but falsehood!" (RSu9: 6). The Shii text intends for students to understand:

The modern human being still believes in his Lord, serves Him and prays to Him. The best proof therefore: If you visit any village or city on the world you will find a temple, a church or a mosque ... It is true that there are different religions, they all, however, in their prayers turn to the one Creator, who organises the creation ... Few people, however, do not believe in their Lord, thus belong to the ones going astray, who do not use their senses and ratio in order to watch and think...⁴¹

This sounds like a rational—although contestable—argument against atheism and in favour of any religious belief. Later on, however, the text affirms the variety of religions to be actually outdated:

In antiquity people did not have one belief, but amongst them there was the Mazdaist, the Jew, the Christian, and the Polytheist ... and they had different opinions about the nature of the Creator and about existence. In 610 A. D. Islam came to discuss these visions with the logic of ratio and emotion, and it set forth a scientific method, put an end to the dissent, and guided to the truth... (RSh9: 9).

The Shii text particularly incites against the Jews when justifying the early Muslim's military campaigns against them: "Since the dawn of

history and until our present time the Jews are famous for their hatred, repugnance, and enmity towards everyone, especially the Prophets and believers, and it suffices to mention their black history with the Prophets and Apostles ... Moses ... Jesus ... and Muhammad...” (RSh6: 71). As Judaism is still one of the formally recognised denominations of Lebanon, although their institutions disappeared in the 1970s, such incitement constitutes a violation of the Lebanese constitution.¹²

There are two exceptions in RSh, where—paradoxically—sources other than the Islamic canonical ones are quoted in order to support uniformity within Islam: the Ramadan fast and the command for women to wear the *hijab*. On these issues, RSh invokes Christian, Jewish and even Pagan customs (RSh7: 145; RSh8: 136). In order to support the *hijab*, RSh even quotes from the Bible (the distorted word of God according to the Islamic reading): Gen. 24: 65.

The special treatment of the *hijab* is no incident. The role and conduct assigned to girls and women receive extensive treatment in RSh. In the unit on “Rights and Duties of the Muslim Young Woman” (RSh8: 135–140), women who do not wear a *hijab* are, in fact, held responsible for causing decadence, deviation of both sexes, inequality between women, attention to physical attraction on the costs of intellectual and moral virtues, the spread of diseases like AIDS, crimes of adultery, prostitution, anonymous childbirth, abortion, murder and—most of all—the dissolution of the family (138–139). This claim is supported with reference to more liberal societies: “Who follows the news of adultery and prostitution, the cases of rape, anonymous childbirth, abortion, and crimes of murder ... will conclude to what extent the woman’s unveiling encourages this reality” (RSh8: 138).¹³

Housework and upbringing the children are tasks that RSh9 assigns to the woman without further explanation except for a reference to Germany: on the last page of the lesson about the position of woman in society, the results of a survey in Germany as reported by the Egyptian newspaper *Al-Abram* of 21 December 1960 are summarised, to the effect that a significant proportion of German women in high work positions give priority to marriage and success in marital life over their success and career at work. The textbook authors constructed a misrepresentative headline for this article, claiming that “The Western Woman Prefers the Return to the House” (156). It is not the message of the quoted report at all, which depicts women valuing marriage highly while at the same time being successful in high work positions.

Simultaneously, the restricted space assigned to the female part of society is presented as a privilege brought about by Islam: in the lesson about the position of women in society, RSh9 confirms that Islam "... gave her back her dignity and humanity ...", after she had been deprived of her "human rights" before (147–148). The text brings to comparison with that a selection of extremely misogynist traditions from China, India, Greece and pre-Islamic Arabia.

RSu pursues a similar discourse of selectively contrasting the suggested Islamic ideal of gender relations with certain outstandingly abhorrent practices picked from other cultures. "Astonishingly", RSu8 (93) maintains, "spreaders of rumour and fanatics claim that Islam oppresses the woman ...". In fact, it continues, the Qur'an, the Prophetic tradition and the biographies of the Orthodox Caliphs and of the venerable forefathers (*as-salaf as-salih*), "recognised without hesitation that Islam treated the woman with fairness ... and granted her full rights ... made woman equal to man ... in financial dealings, in the pursue of education ...", and that any social reform must include "... the enhancement of the woman's issue, and her preparation to become a dignified lady, a wise educator, and a good mother" (96). The authors contrast that with examples from the antique Roman law, according to which the woman was treated like a child her whole life, and had to "... delegate her command to the paterfamilias", and from French law, in which "... the woman is not qualified to conclude contracts without the consent and permission of her husband" (96). The point is supported by sketches from the lives of Aisha bint Abi Bakr, Fatima the daughter of the Prophet and Zubayda the wife of Harun ar-Rashid, all of whom actively and autonomously excelled in the service of Islamic society. One of the questions for "Discussion" at the end of the lesson asks the students to "compare between positive laws (*qawanin wadh'iyya*) and celestial laws on the issue of the woman". This touches upon a problem that pervades all the religious textbooks under scrutiny in this chapter: nowhere do they make it clear whether the rights and duties they deal with are, in fact, actual law in Lebanon or not. One gets the impression that either the authors are not aware that religious personal status legislation functions as positive law in Lebanon, or they do not intend to inform their students all too exactly about these issues.

Nowhere in the Islamic texts examined here are the differences between Shia and Sunna explicitly addressed. Both texts are obviously written on the assumption that they represent Islamic doctrine in general, or, as RSh puts it, "the original Islam" (*al-Islam al-asil*, e.g. RSh8: 84, RSh9: 143).

The older books (RSu) mention the existence of four different Sunni schools of law (*madhāhib*). However, they do not explain their peculiarities in dogma, at all, but give short and, of course, entirely advantageous character profiles of their founders only, as if they were just different representatives of the same, uniform confession (RSu6: 110; RSu9: 126–133).

Like the advent of Islam in the Islamic textbooks, Jesus constitutes the climax of history in the Catholic ones: “Jesus Christ is the core of human history. The Old Testament blazed the trail for his advent”. RC6 (lesson 10), for example, guides the students to memorise some differences between the groups of people that Jesus had contact with. In a multiple choice questionnaire, the students are asked to connect different features of doctrine, conduct and position in society to Levites, Scribes, Pharisees, Publicans and Sadducees. The sources for the information are passages from the Gospels of Luke, Matthew and John, listed on the lesson’s first page. Some of the features asked for in the questionnaire cannot be deduced from these texts, for example, if a group had part in Jesus’ persecution. Seemingly either the teacher is expected to provide this information or it is assumed to be commonly known among the students. One picture in the lesson shows contemporary orthodox Jews praying at the western temple wall in Jerusalem. Here the frame of interpretation is inclusive: the Jews are regarded through the lens of the Gospel, subject either to Jesus’ opposition or to his compassion. Whereas the textbook usually only refers to Bible chapters, here an exception is made and a section from John 8: 31–59 is reprinted in full. In this section, Jesus faces the Jews who did not believe in his claim to be the son of God, where Jesus argues heatedly and implies that they have not grasped his message of freedom (8: 43–45). The following lesson shows further features of Jewish life in Jesus’ times: the history, function and shape of the Jewish temple, and typical features of Jewish ritual practice. Jesus appears as part of this environment, participating in Jewish ritual and rooted in Jewish doctrine. RC does offer the viewpoints and customs of other religions and denominations, namely, Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, Protestantism and the Orthodox Church on some topics (RC6: 47–50, 54, 56, 59–62; RC9: 123, 123, 137, 170), and encourages the students to get into contact with believers of other creeds (17, 45).

Concerning the question of marriage RC provides particularly extensive information about other religious communities. In the appendix of RC9, an interview with Father Hani ar-Rayyis, the supervisor of the authoring team of RC, is printed. When asked whether marriage between

a Catholic and a non-Christian is possible in the Church, he replies that the Church accepts this under certain circumstances and, then, goes on to elaborate these. The Orthodox Church, Rayyis continues after that, never concludes a marriage in church if one of the spouses is non-Christian. He further remarks:

The Protestant Churches do generally not acknowledge the sacraments except for baptism and the Lord's supper. Consequently they accept the civil marriage and consider it valid. Therefore, if a Catholic wants to marry in a Protestant church, the Catholic Church demands that this covenant be concluded before a Priest or in the presence of two witnesses in order to be recognised as a correct marriage. If the other side is Orthodox, the Catholic Church accepts that the marriage be concluded in one of the churches of the partners (because the Orthodox Church considers marriage one of the clerical sacraments). (RC9: 95–96)

Rayyis goes on referring to Islam and Judaism:

The Muslim man can marry a non-Muslima, but the Muslima cannot marry a non-Muslim, because in Islam the man is the one with authority over the woman and over the family, therefore the children that are born from this marriage are automatically considered Muslims. And in the eyes of the Islamic religion it is not allowed that the Muslima be under the authority of a non-Muslim. ... The Jewish religion does not acknowledge mixed marriage, unless the other adopts the Jewish religion, and the dealings in order to give the marriage a religious character are many and long. Some Rabbis accept that a Catholic Priest attend the wedding ceremony, especially in the United States, where the strict tendency has less control over the minds (*hayth an-naz'a al-mutashaddida aqall saytaratan 'ala al-adbban*). (p. 96)

Later, in the context of a unit about Christ's mother Mary, in which the term and status of engagement is explained, the text again refers to marriage in Islam: "In those (Mary's—JK) days—and even in some contemporary societies (with the Muslims for example)—marriage was concluded differently" and goes on explaining that a couple's marriage could be organised while they were children by the couple's respective families, and that the marriage would come into effect once "... the young man (*shabb*) became able to earn his living and the living of his wife, and when the girl (*bint*) became able to carry the burdens of the family and to beget children".

As in the Islamic texts, a misperception of secularism as anti-religious is conveyed to the students. When asked why the Church refuses civil marriage, Father Rayyis replies: "... the Church sees it as fundamental to avoid leaving Christ outside a marriage by choosing civil marriage". By already putting the question wrong, the text withholds from the students the important information that in many countries where civil marriage is obligatory, the Catholic Church has easily come to terms with it. There are more issues outlined in which marriage is made subject to uniform conditions, above all the wish to have children. However, as with other aspects of life in RC, marriage is depicted as largely subject to individual decisions and, as such, an issue of understanding and agreement among the partners (RC9, units 10 and 11).

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis shows that the hypothesis stated in the introduction to this chapter is nearly entirely consistent with the contents and the didactics of the Islamic textbooks under study. The didactic and the content of Catholic textbooks, on the other hand, mark a focus on religion as an individual issue and place great value on individual freedom of belief.

Naturally, all three textbook series are focussed on conveying their own doctrine upon their students throughout. None of the textbooks inform their students about the numerous implications of their doctrine for civic life in Lebanon. Clearly, the authors did not think that the role of school religious instruction included a clarification of their communities' relationship with the state they live in. As these relationships are not addressed in other subject matters either, such as history or civic education (Kriener 2011), the political organisation of religious pluralism, a topic particularly relevant in Lebanon, remains largely unaddressed throughout primary and secondary education textbooks. Since the two textbook series for Islamic education propagate Islam as a political concept, one is apt to assume that they consider the Islamic way of organising religious pluralism, that is, Islam as the ruling religion and few others as *dhimma*, the best one. However, the question of the relationship between the envisaged Islamic polity and its non-Muslim subjects does not get any further explicit or detailed attention.

Both RSu and RSh do not provide any information on the dogmatic differences amongst the Islamic denominations, either. They present themselves as conveying Islamic doctrine par excellence. Denominations

other than Islam, on the other hand, are depreciated as deviant, erroneous or outdated. So, a dualism between true and false is presented instead of an inter-religious pluralism of equally respectable denominations. In great contrast, RC presents the Catholic creed as one among different Christian denominations in a world of many religions, none of which is explicitly labelled with derogatory terms. This is particularly the case in the chapters and sections about marriage. Since personal status legislation is in the responsibility of the religious communities in Lebanon, this topic is highly relevant especially for young people. Even Judaism, which is openly incited against in RSh, is regarded with objectivity in RC in the context of marriage legislation and religious dogma at large, although with condescendence derived from the New Testament in the context of the life and teachings of Jesus.

Religious pluralism as a way of dealing with inner-denominational differences, the individual aspect of it, does not occur in the two Islamic textbooks. This is particularly visible in the sections about the *hijab*, the position of women in society, and the political role of Islam and the Qur'an. Both texts leave no space to question certain conceptions of Islam or discuss individual ways of interpretation or of religious practice, whereas RC fundamentally aims at guiding students to develop their individual understanding and application of the Catholic creed. These differences between Islamic and Catholic textbooks is manifest not only in the textual narrative, but also in the didactic approach: while the Islamic textbooks provide assignments for rote learning only, the majority of assignments in RC ask the students to relate the presented concepts and stories to their own experience and that of family and peers. Thus the Islamic textbooks aim at generating uniform collective knowledge, whereas the Catholic ones pursue their students' individual, personal development as Catholic Christians.

The misperception of secularism as anti-religious in all three textbook series, and the misguidedness of the students in this regard illustrates to a certain extent why the abolition of the confessional system of Lebanon, although given high priority in its constitution (preamble, sect. 8), has not yet been achieved. The open proclamation of the Imamate as the best political order in RSh, in clear adherence to the Iranian theocracy, is worrisome and discourages hopes that confessionalism ever will be abolished. This renders the future of personal freedom of belief in Lebanon to appear somewhat bleak. While everybody can believe what pleases them, there still seems to be a long way to go before a Lebanese citizen can register as such without adhering to any of the registered denominations.

NOTES

1. Lebanese couples who wish to live in civil marriage usually marry abroad, mostly in Cyprus. These marriages are acknowledged by the Lebanese authorities. Their implications, however, such as inheritance, custody and alimony have no legal basis in Lebanon. In November 2012, a civil marriage was concluded by a Lebanese authority for the first time in history, based on a Decree of 1936. However, its validity is still contested (see “Charbel says still to examine civil marriage request”, *Daily Star online*, 12 February 2013, retrieved 8 September 2016 from <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Politics/2013/Feb-12/206091-charbel-says-still-to-examine-civil-marriage-request.ashx>).
2. See e.g. Arzuni 1997. This concept is not specific to Lebanon. Other states in the region likewise allow their religious and ethnic minorities to deal with family issues autonomously and/or reserve them seats in parliament, for example, Egypt, Iran, Israel and Jordan, while citizenship without being Muslim, Christian or Jew is impossible. The concept stems from the *millet* system of the Ottoman Empire, which, in turn, emerged from the Islamic principle of *dhimma*. But while in all the mentioned countries one denomination, Sunna, Shia or Jews, constitutes a clear majority, in Lebanon there is no one “religion of the state”, that is, no denomination that outnumbers all others.
3. Data in this table stem from the institutions’ brochures, websites and/or interviews, which I collected with their representatives in May 2006. Data from websites were taken in 2008. Schools at which both Muslim and Christian students are enrolled are lined grey.
4. Or the most perfect human being: *akmal an-nas*.
5. For example, RC6, p. 77: *tashri’ dini—tashri’ zamani*.
6. RSu6: 219–220; RSh7, units 17 and 18, even when it harms a good friend: 157; the lesson “The Democracy of Islam” (RSu7: 114–120) employs the term democracy to describe what is, in fact, wise dictatorship: it reports that Muhammad viewed himself as equal to his companions, that he did not regard the race of men and that he and the Orthodox Caliphs resorted to consultation with their companions when making important decisions.
7. For instance, RSh7, lesson 11 and p. 157; RSh8: 79, 126, 187; RSh9, lesson 8; RSu7: 28–37, 54, 90, and lesson 11; RSu8: 179–180; RSu9: 26–28, 45 and 170.
8. For instance, RSh7, lesson 1; RSh8: 55–56, lessons 10 and 128; RSh9: 9–17, 29–38; RSu7: 123–124; RSu8: 26. According to Riesebrodt et al. (2004), idealising the formative period of one’s own religion and attributing findings of modern science to its holy scriptures are typical methods of fundamentalist self-assertion.

9. Interference with the behaviour of others is encouraged with reference to the Qur'anic command to command what is acceptable, and prohibit the reprehensible (*al-amr bi-l-ma'ruf wa-n-nahy 'an al-munkar*) as leading to reward in the hereafter, see RSh7: 179; RSh8, lesson 4 and p. 81; RSh9: 91; RSu6: 210; RSu8: 126.
10. RSh7: 169; RSh9: 51, lesson 13, where rich Muslims are encouraged "... to contribute to the provision of equipment and weapons for the Islamic armies, and (Islam) promised them the acquisition of the warriors' wage..." (129, 143); in RSu8: 110–113 we read the heroic legend of Asma bt. Abi Bakr, who encouraged her own son to go to battle when both knew that he could not win and would die for certain.
11. RSh7: 11, similar RSh8, lesson 1.
12. Art. 10: "Education shall be free insofar as it is not contrary to public order and morals and does not interfere with the dignity of any of the religions or creeds". The State of Israel is not addressed in the religious textbooks, but in history and civic education textbooks.
13. In fact, no evidence for a correlation between women being unveiled in public and all these phenomena exists. Iran and Saudi Arabia, for instance, where the law forces women and girls to veil, have large industries of human trafficking and prostitution. A survey by the Egyptian Center for Women's Rights showed that, in Egypt, wearing a *hijab* does not reduce a woman's risk of being sexually harassed (Washington Post online, retrieved 17 August 2008).

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Self-Identity and Others in Tunisian Textbooks

Arnon Groiss

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the attitude to the Self and the Other, and the interaction between them within the overall Tunisian national identity as reflected in Tunisian textbooks. The basis for this study has been provided by 64 textbooks of various subjects for grades 1–13, nearly all published in 2007, that is, more than 3 years before the popular uprising and change in Tunisia’s regime in late 2010. The books were examined within a larger research operation done mostly by the author during the years 2000–2010, analysing the attitude to the Other and to peace in nearly 1500 textbooks of Israel, the Palestinian Authority, Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Iran, besides Tunisia itself, which provided a broad basis for comparison between the various curricula in this respect.¹ The main thesis of this chapter is that the pre-revolutionary Tunisian textbooks (as well as their post-revolutionary counterparts up to the 2013/2014 school year) have adopted a special attitude to the Other not encountered in other Middle Eastern textbooks, including those of Israel. In order to substantiate this thesis, limited references to non-Tunisian textbooks will be made here by way of comparison only, as the present chapter does not claim to discuss other curricula specifically.

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The overall 2000–2010 research was based on page-by-page scrutiny of the books under study, singling out each reference to the Other and to peace, be it in a form of text, photograph, illustration, map, chart or graph. Special attention was given to cases of non-reference, which are no less important in textbook research. The evaluation of the specific message or messages of each reference (or non-reference) was made according to UNESCO recommendations and principles.² This way, a clear picture had been drawn of the general attitude to the Other and to peace in this region. This chapter draws on the findings of the Tunisian textbook research conducted in 2009 and attempts to trace their origins to Tunisia's specific circumstances.

TUNISIA'S SCHOOL SYSTEM

The Tunisian school system³ is divided into two main parts, of which the first is the same for all students and the second is divided into four tracks (humanities, sciences, information technology, economy and services). Compulsory and free of charge Basic Education includes 6 years of Elementary Education and 3 years of Preparatory Education (grades 1–9). Secondary Education includes 4 years (grades 10–13), of which the sciences track is further divided in the third and fourth years into three streams: mathematics, empirical sciences and technology. Other educational branches include grades 8 and 9 of Vocational Preparatory Education, as well as the pre-school Preparatory Year, which is not universally attended. Tunisia is one of the relatively few countries with 13-year schooling instead of the usual 12.

Tunisia is a fairly advanced country within the Arab world, which is reflected in the relatively high percentage of enrolment among both sexes. According to official Tunisian figures, for the years 2008/2009 to 2012/2013, the lowest net enrolment in grades 1–6 was among boys in 2008/2009 and still reached 97.4 per cent (the highest rate was in 2012/2013 among girls—99.2 per cent). In grades 7–9, there was constant rise in enrolment among both sexes: in 2008/2009, boys reached 90.4 per cent and girls reached 92.4 per cent, but by 2012/2013, this had grown to 92.2 per cent among boys and 94.3 per cent among girls. Female students constitute 48 per cent in grades 1–6 and between 53 and 54 per cent in grades 7–13.

Enrolment at the non-compulsory grades (10–13) has been lower, particularly after the 2010–2011 revolution, and the subsequent turmoil that

brought about a continuous decline in enrolment. A September 2013 report cited a senior Tunisian official at the Ministry of Education saying that in the years following the revolution, about 100,000 students left school (bin Rajab 2013). Indeed, the 2008/2009 to 2012/2013 figures for the Preparatory and Secondary grades show a continuous decline of enrolment totalling at 97,543 students, all probably accounting for the non-compulsory 10th–13th grades.

Apart from this major setback, the revolution has not changed so far the internal structure of the school system or the bulk of the Tunisian curriculum. Sporadic review of the local media reveals that changes in the curriculum were expected during the first year or so after the revolution. Indeed, the Tunisian Ministry of Education announced in November 2011 that the Ministry's Centre for the Development of Curricula and Instructional Materials had prepared a framework for changes in the various curricula to be introduced during the school year of 2012/2013 or 2013/2014.⁴ Yet, it seems that the Tunisian Ministry of Education still focuses on professional changes intended to improve the existing didactic methods rather than on changing the curriculum itself (Al-Sueidani 2012). Belqassem Aswad, Head of the Tunisian National Pedagogical Center, stated on 22 May 2013 that no major changes took place in the curriculum for the 2013/2014 school year, except for the introduction of three textbooks for grade 11 (Arabic, mathematics and biology) and the revision of two books for grade 12 (electronic engineering and applied studies and practices).⁵ Former changes involved the revision of a social sciences textbook for grade 5 and of three textbooks of mathematics.⁶

In other words, the bulk of the Tunisian textbook material on which the above-mentioned study was based has not changed, and so is still valid for the present chapter. The guidelines set by the former regime regarding the attitude to the Other in the overall framework of the treatment of Tunisian self-identity are still in force to this very day.

TUNISIAN EDUCATIONAL GUIDELINES REGARDING SELF AND OTHER

Mohamed Charfi, Tunisian Minister of Education between the years 1989 and 1994, said that the Education Statute of 28 July 1991 intended to wrest control of the educational system, including the fields of religious education, civics, history, geography and philosophy, from the religious

authorities and religious teachers who had become influential in these fields (Charfi 2005: 164). Under their guidance, non-Muslim thinkers and concepts, including democracy and human rights, had been treated superficially, while the ideals of militant Jihad and the Caliphate were advocated and Muslim history was idealised. Religious texts were also used for grammar and reading exercises (ibid.: 148). The Education Statute of 1991 and the reform that followed thus meant to purge Tunisian textbooks of all manifestations of such religious influence. Yet Charfi had somewhat exaggerated the level of religious influence over Tunisian education that preceded his coming to office. After all, Tunisia's educational system was given a notably secularist colour under President Al-Habib Bourguiba during the first three decades of Tunisian independence, and the religious establishment could not have overrun the system during the short period of the cautious cooperation with the Ben Ali regime following Bourguiba's downfall in 1987. Charfi's description therefore might not reflect the Tunisian situation so much as his own anti-Islamist views (Allani 2009: 265). At any rate, the 1991 Education Statute was an important first step by the Ben Ali regime to have its own imprint on education. According to Charfi, the reform tried to shape the students' attitudes to various issues such as self-identity, the Other, religion, science, democracy and human rights (ibid.: 153–164).

Within the field of Self and Other, the reforms presented Tunisian national identity as a deep-rooted local phenomenon beginning long before the seventh-century Arab conquest whilst also trying to maintain a sense of belonging to larger Arab and Muslim entities. Yet, alongside the development of self-identity came an equal emphasis on being open to the wider world. Self-knowledge and knowledge of Others were both encouraged, and students were to study foreign languages as a means to opening their minds up to other cultures and civilisations. Moreover, widely acknowledged values such as freedom of thought, human rights and equality among human beings—especially between the sexes, universal suffrage, democratic procedures and so on—were to be an integral part of the curriculum and also reflected in school daily life, including co-education (ibid.). This approach was stressed further by the Tunisian Child Protection Code (November 1995) which stated that one of its goals was “upbringing the child upon being proud of his national identity, loyal to Tunisia ... and [at the same time] immersed in the culture of human brotherhood and openness to the other” (*Social Sciences* Grade 9:

195). Learning foreign languages also aimed at the enrichment of the local culture. According to the Education Statute of 1991, they aimed at:

... Making the students proficient in at least one foreign language to an extent that will enable them to become directly acquainted with the products of world thought—scientific technologies and theories, as well as civilisation values—and will prepare them for following its development and contributing to it in a manner that will guarantee the enrichment of the local culture and its interaction with the global human culture ... (ibid.: 98)

In this way, the local and the foreign were not presented as opposing or competitive identities in the educational reforms.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SELF AND OTHER IN TUNISIAN TEXTBOOKS

When Tunisian textbooks speak of a Self, they refer strictly to the population that lives in the Republic of Tunisia. As already mentioned, they share important components of their identity with other Arabs and Muslims and, accordingly, share—to a certain extent—the latter's basic positions with regard to established Others such as the West and Israel. Yet, Tunisia's particular identity is stressed above the Arab and Muslim bonds, and it is not made subordinate to them. Consequently, Tunisia does not claim any leadership role within any of these two realms in the traditional sense, unlike Syria and Saudi Arabia. If there is a leadership role for Tunisia to play within the Arab and Muslim world, it is restricted to issues of modernity and the attitude to the non-Arab and non-Muslim world. Even in this case, there are no open statements to that effect. Rather, such a state of mind among Tunisian educators can be inferred from their sporadic criticism of Arab and Muslim stands on these issues, which will be explored later in the chapter. In other words, if Tunisia has ever aspired to a leadership role in its Arab-Muslim environment, it has been in the cultural sphere rather than the political one.

From a Tunisian point of view, the Significant Other constitutes the West, comprising both Europe and the United States and, by extension, the contemporary modern world as a whole. These play a more significant role in the discourse of Tunisian educators than Israel, Jewish people and other sporadically mentioned nations do. While Israel is referred to in the context of the Middle East conflict alone, references to the West are far

more frequent and varied. They range from discussions of the beginning in Western civilisation, through to historical encounters with the West and Western imperialism and the current Western world's political, economic and cultural hegemony. Relations with this particular Other have become the core of the Tunisian process of identification as reflected in the textbooks. Tunisia's former colonial ruler and today's main economic and cultural partner, France, plays a significant part within this picture and will be specifically discussed in this chapter.

In both perceptions of Self and Other, Tunisia's textbooks have been found to be unique among their Arab, Iranian and Israeli counterparts in three ways: the relationship between the Other and the Self; the attitude to the practical question of interaction with the external world and the attitude to Tunisian historical identities.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SELF AND OTHER IN TUNISIAN TEXTBOOKS

In sharp contrast to textbooks of other Middle Eastern states, including Israel, which draw a clear boundary line between an embraced Self and a distinctly remote Other, the Tunisian ones elevate the Other to a rank equal to that of the Self and make it an integral part of their identity. Interaction between these two entities is considered indispensable for the Self. The following statement is a clear example of this view:

It is impossible today to imagine our existence outside dialogue relations with the other. This is so because the self and the other are not separable from each other. They both belong to the same world and each of them can see its own personality by looking at the other. Moreover, the other is essential and dialogue with him—in whatever form—is necessary ... (*Literary Texts* Grade 13: 154)

Openness to the Other is considered fundamental in Tunisian education: "Opening up to [other] cultures and cross-fertilisation with them are historical necessities so that we enrich our own heritage and diffuse [it] through our contributions in the framework of ... equal interaction between the [world's] nations" (ibid.: 158). This is also the case when discussing co-existence with the Other, as stated in a social sciences textbook for grade 7:

Coexistence: Accepting the existence of the Other and living with it side-by-side with no attempt to abolish it or hurt it, whether this Other is an individual, or a political party, or a religious community, or anything else.

... Coexistence is necessary for the spreading of peace, progress, justice and democracy, whether within one country or among [various] nations. (*Social Sciences*, Grade 7: 272–273)

Dialogue among the various civilisations is therefore described as an utmost necessity, and human interaction is seen as the responsibility of states, institutions and individuals.

To have a good relationship with the Other and before beginning a dialogue, knowledge of Self and Other is required. To this end, the reforms needed to provide an open-minded education which would nurture the student's pride and loyalty to the local heritage alongside a desire to become connected to global values. The textbooks criticise the superficial interest given to Arabs and Muslims (referred to as "us") compared to the interest given to the Other. A literature textbook for grade 11 demonstrates this approach:

We do not pay the global foreign languages the attention they deserve and thus we deprive ourselves of the acquaintance with the civilisations, literatures and values of the other, not to mention keeping up with the products of modern human thought ...

We translate yearly not more than a fifth of what is translated by Greece alone ... What we have translated since the Abbasid period [ended in 1258] up to this day barely exceeds what is translated by Spain alone in one year ...

We are the least eager people to know about other religions, even the monotheistic ones. This is so because we still confuse commitment to [our own] belief with a scientific approach ...

Our ignorance of the other is sometimes deeper than the other's ignorance of us ... (*Literature* Grade 11: 261–262)

Indeed, the Tunisian textbooks do not feel that merely knowledge of the Other is enough to precede dialogue. They ask the students to go even further, and present the Other using a lens of equality and partnership rather than rivalry and exclusion. The literature textbook urges students of:

... The need to recognise the other, his identity, his belief and his civilisation, to replace fanatic inclinations with the principle of tolerance, to

repudiate the notion of rivalry for precedence among cultures and replace it with the idea of integration between cultures (*Literary Texts*, Grade 13: 201)

This unique concept of recognising of the Other as an integral part of wider society is not imposed on the students. Rather, they are encouraged to think about it independently, as the following assignment demonstrates: "It is said: 'The assertion of my identity is dependent on my recognition of the Other.' What is your opinion?". This ideological approach of accepting the Other and making it an integral part of the Self helps to promote a policy of interaction with the wider world. Yet Tunisia's particular position with regard to its Arab and European neighbours can explain the force behind this ideology in the first place. The conditions of Tunisia that help to shape this approach to the Self and Other will therefore be explored in more detail.

INTERACTION WITH THE OTHER IN PRACTICE

Tunisian textbooks demonstrate a desire to become part of the wider world to a degree hardly encountered in other Middle Eastern curricula, including Israel's. Unlike some Middle Eastern curricula that use Islam as a tool of alienation with regard to foreigners, Tunisian school textbooks employ it to fostering rapprochement with non-Muslims, as this textbook for grade 9, *Literary Texts* demonstrates:

The Islamic religion aims at rapprochement between nations ... That is why it recognises the Christian and Jewish religions. Is it possible, then, to consider the followers of these two religions unbelievers and heretics? Are the curses directed by Muslim men on the street towards followers of other religions a natural outcome of the Qur'an and of the exalted principles which have appeared in the Messenger's Sayings?

The acceptance of such a theory, even for a moment, is considered completely contradictory to the goal defined for Muslims by the Qur'an ... (158)

This message is delivered again here, in a more general manner, in a grade 13 philosophy textbook:

A religious person often excessively admires the rites of the religion he follows and, in most cases that leads him to feel that he is superior to followers

of other religions. Consequently, that creates within him a desire to exclude them and treat them like enemies, which puts him in contradiction even to the spirit of the religion he follows.⁷

Islamic Education classes in Tunisian schools are geared to fostering inter-religious tolerance and fellowship. Titles of lessons dedicated to these issues include: “Human Brotherhood is Inherent in the Divine [Monotheistic] Religions”, “The Pillars of Human Brotherhood” and “Islam’s Regard for Human Brotherhood”.⁸

Yet, even after establishing that Islam could theoretically be a means of rapprochement with non-Muslims, the textbooks still have to deal with the cultural gap that rests between Islam and the Western-based values of modern global civilisation. In order to address this, Tunisian textbook authors have endorsed the argument that contemporary world civilisation is a product of the combined contributions of older civilisations, including the Medieval Muslim one. This argument appears in other Arab textbooks as well, but there it serves as a means of point-scoring in inter-civilisation rivalry. In the Tunisian case, it is used instead to encourage the acceptance of Western-inspired global values:

The values of liberty, justice, tolerance and democracy on which our contemporary civilisation is based derive their intellectual, social and political authority from the rich human capital of the Enlightenment era and the modern European Renaissance, that Renaissance which, in its turn, had sought from the old civilisations the inspiration of the meanings of humanity and the prevalence of reason, wisdom and the law (*History* Grade 11, sciences: 7)

Human civilisation is a joint product to which various nations made contributions and the Arab-Muslim tributary was one of its most important and most fertile ones. (*History* Grade 11, humanities: 266)

This view culminates in another passage that declares modern (European-based) civilisation to be everyone’s property:

Human civilisation is like a snowball which picks up during its movement what it finds in its course and easily swallows it. Therefore, no one can define a Western part separate from Eastern ones. Civilisation is for all. It is neither Western, nor Arab, nor Chinese and nor Russian, It is the [fruit of] interaction between cultures over the ages. (*Literary Texts* Grade 13: 150)

Part and parcel of this policy is the attitude to globalisation. Among all Middle Eastern textbooks studied within the research operation mentioned above, the Tunisian books are the only ones that consider globalisation a great opportunity, as far as developing countries are concerned, as well as a potential threat (ibid.: 164). An effort is therefore made to reduce possible alienation towards globalisation among the students. In the Tunisian textbook *Islamic Thinking*, one can even find mocking criticism of other Arabs who do not share the Tunisian view of globalisation:

Globalisation seems to be a fast train about to depart from the station ... It is now hissing pressingly to anyone who wants to come aboard ... Most Arab states have resigned to 'their fate' on the platform, turning their eyes right and left, among their packed belongings and great number of children in their worn clothes and wretched and hopeless gaze, as they cannot embark this train. (*Islamic Thinking* Grade 13: 80)

The Attitude to Tunisia's Historical Others

Tunisia's distinct vision of the relationship between the Self and the Other is also expressed in the official attitude to the country's historical identities. This attitude has two main aspects: firstly, all former civilisations are embraced without exception. This is also partly done in other Arab curricula, of which the prominent example is the Egyptian one (at the time of the said 2000–2010 study) whose textbooks take pride in the Pharaonic past. They even embrace Egypt's Coptic era and stress its important contributions to world Christianity (*National Education*: 44). However, these very books reject the Romans and the Hyksos before them as non-Egyptian. The Tunisian books meanwhile "Tunisise" all former nations, beginning with the indigenous Numidians, through the immigrating Phoenicians, occupying Romans and invading Vandals and ending with the Berber tribes under Dahiya the Priestess who fought the incoming Muslim Arabs (*Social Sciences*, Grade 5: 30–32, 38–48, 65). Secondly, none of Tunisia's former residents is Arabised, in sharp contrast to cases of such Arabisation in other Arab curricula. As found in the above-mentioned study, Syrian textbooks Arabise all ancient peoples of the Fertile Crescent and North Africa, except for Jewish people. Similarly, Palestinian textbooks Arabise the ancient Canaanites in order to establish historical precedence over the Jews in the country that both groups now share. The Tunisian educators, on the other hand, have never claimed that the "Arabs of Carthage" under Hannibal almost conquered Rome.

These two features of the Tunisian textbooks' attitude to the country's pre-Islamic cultures are commensurate with the books' general openness to the Other combined with their emphasis on local identity rather than on those ones shared with Tunisia's neighbours. The Arab conquest in the seventh century and the process of Islamisation that ensued have given so much to Tunisia's identity, such that all later settlers in the country have been deemed foreign occupiers. This is the case with the Spaniards of the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Turks between the sixteenth and nineteenth century and the French in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Yet no difference exists in the attitude shown by the Tunisian textbooks to the Christian Spaniards and the Muslim Ottomans. They both are equally treated as foreign occupiers. Tunisia's Arab and Muslim identity not only provided a clear stance in the local liberation struggles against French occupation, but it also shaped Tunisia's position on the topic of Palestine. It would be therefore useful to examine the two cases of France and Palestine/Israel in light of the above-mentioned parameters of Tunisia's attitudes both to the Other and to the interaction with the wider world.

Case Study 1: France

It is a well-established notion for Tunisia today that France is its closest non-Arab partner, both economically and culturally. This is made clear in a passage of a sixth-grade textbook that discusses tourism in Tunisia. According to the data given there for 2003, the number of French tourists exceeded 1 million that year and was twice the number of the second group—Germans. One of the lines following that passage reads: "I will mention some of my duties toward the foreign tourist" (*Social Sciences, Grade 6: 181*).

However, a persistent theme in Tunisia's identity-building had been that of a power struggle with Europe, namely with France. The textbooks had to resolve the tension between the need to stress the past Tunisian struggles against France—with the accompanying features of "good versus evil"—with an emphasis on the friendly relations with present-day France as an important component of Tunisia's overall openness to the world. The reformers adopted a number of different strategies in order to address this. Firstly, they deferred the discussion of French occupation and the struggle against it to relatively higher grades. Discussion begins in grade 6, with the detailed material being given mostly in high school (grades

10–13). There is a case where ninth graders are exposed to an abridged source material on a certain incident (the Guelma massacre in Algeria by French forces and settlers in 1945), while the more detailed version—including some demonising items—is left for students in grade 13.⁹ Items that discuss friendship with France and with French children, on the other hand, are found in books for the lower grades.¹⁰ This way the anti-French material necessary for building the student’s national spirit is given after the infrastructure for friendship with France had already been laid down and, thus, remains an issue of the past with no immediate impact on the student’s present and future impression of France.

Secondly, most of the discussion in this context is conducted in factual language through the presentation of contemporary source material, both Tunisian and French. Demonising descriptions are relatively few compared to similar descriptions of foreign occupiers in Egyptian, Palestinian or Syrian textbooks. One such case is the following:

French terrorisation and revenge policy after Tunisia’s liberation in May 1943 from Axis armies

The French ... arrested people, searched their houses, burned their backs with whips and often put their fingers in iron pliers—all that in order to force them to confess that they or others had served the Germans. They shot groups of people in prison courtyards and under the cities’ walls and killed them on the basis of suspicion [only], without [any] investigation that would prove their crime, or a legal sentence, not to mention [cases of] rape and plunder of property and filling up the prisons with the people’s elite who experienced there maltreatment and torture every day. (*History*, Grade 12, sciences: 215)

Thirdly, an element used to diminish possible hard feelings against the French on the backdrop of their actions in North Africa is the insertion of source material authored by French intellectuals who raised their voice against such actions in the name of “Genuine France”. One such example is a letter published in the French daily “Le Monde” on 5 April 1956 in which a French citizen says: “To us, Frenchmen, France is not France if she betrays the ideal image she has committed herself to personify ... France’s grandeur is in danger” (*History*, Grade 13, humanities: 328). Such material helps to detach France as a country from its past evil record on the ground as colonial occupier.

Specific Cases II: Israel

Tunisia, as an Arab and Muslim country, is committed to the cause of the Arab and Muslim Palestinians. One can find in Tunisian school textbooks the three fundamentals existing in other Arab and Iranian books, namely, de-legitimisation and demonisation of Israel and emphasis on a violent struggle against Israel rather than advocacy of peace with it. But the Tunisian textbooks are somewhat less adamant in their anti-Israeli stand in comparison with other Middle Eastern books, due, perhaps, to their relatively positive attitude to the Other in general. Thus, maps included in the textbooks show contradictory attitudes to recognising Israel and Palestine. Figure 10.1, for example, titled “Map of Palestine after the ‘48 War”, shows “the State of Israel” in yellow. The area in green (the West Bank and the Gaza Strip) is designated “What was left under Arab control after the war”.¹¹ Yet Fig. 10.2 depicts the whole country under the name “Palestine”.¹²

One can even find the two contradictory terms “the State of Israel” and “the Zionist Entity” on the same page, or on two consecutive pages.¹³ In another textbook the term “the Zionist Entity” is used to denote Israel before the beginning of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, to be replaced by “the State of Israel” afterwards.¹⁴ In addition, there is a clear-cut admission that Israel was established with the approval of the international community and thus has international legitimacy (ibid.: 269). Such a notion is absent from other Middle Eastern textbooks.

The Tunisian textbooks’ ambiguity is also evident regarding the issue of peace with Israel. On the one hand, they reiterate the general Arab line of liberating the whole of Palestine by way of armed struggle. On the other hand, war is not presented as the only option, as shown in the following assignment: “A struggle may be [carried out] by words, by weapons and by negotiations and a call for peace. What is the most effective way in your opinion? Why?” (*Literary Horizons*: 214). A pro-peace declaration by the late Palestinian President Yasser Arafat also appears in a Tunisian history textbook for grade 12.¹⁵

Although the attitude towards Israel is contradictory, the Tunisian textbooks contain hardly any anti-Semitic expressions, unlike their Arab and Iranian counterparts. In fact, one may find cases of favourable description of Jewish individuals, such as the philosopher Claude Lévi-Strauss. Furthermore, there is a favourable description of an Israeli individual, which is not to be encountered in any Arab or Iranian textbook. A Tunisian



Fig. 10.1 Map of Palestine after the 1948 War. From Tunisian textbook: *Social Sciences: History, Geography, Civics for Ninth Grade*, p. 89 (published by the Tunisian Ministry of Education, no year of publication given)



Fig. 10.2 “Palestine”. From Tunisian textbook: *[Literary] Texts for Seventh Grade*, p. 158 (published by the Tunisian Ministry of Education, no year of publication given)

literature textbook features two poems by the late Palestinian national poet Mahmud Darwish, in which he describes his love to Rita, his Israeli-Jewish girlfriend, and the authors of the textbook do not hesitate to comment on the dilemma of having romantic relations with an individual of the “enemy” nation (*Literary Texts*, Grade 12: 93–94). The implicit message is that even a Jewish-Israeli individual can become a lovable person; unfortunately, in today’s Arab curricula, this is a revolutionary idea.

CONCLUSION

The above-given examples clearly demonstrate the unique approach to the Other featured by Tunisia’s textbooks of the old regime, in comparison with other Middle Eastern countries. It is a recognised Other, posed as equal to the Self, whose very existence is, in fact, essential to the latter’s self-assertion. This unusual perception of the Other is reflected in receptive attitudes towards particular Others and the outer world in general. Even in the case of a declared enemy, that is, Israel, the Tunisian textbooks show a slightly more moderate attitude.

This unique approach did not arise out of nowhere. Tunisia is relatively free of some serious constraints that have influenced the construction process of self-identity elsewhere in the Middle East and North Africa. Unlike the case of some other Arab nation states created in the twentieth century, Tunisia has been a distinct political entity for generations, which enabled it to develop a clear local identity that could successfully compete with the Arab and Muslim identities. Indeed, it is a relatively religiously and ethnically homogenous country compared to many other states in the region where large religious and ethnic minorities make national identity formation rather problematic. This has enabled them to develop a historically rooted sense of a national Self.

As for their attitude to the external Other, unlike many other countries in this region, Tunisia is not directly involved in any major political conflict that would distort the relationship between Self and Other to the point of posing the latter as antithesis to the former. Tunisia’s geopolitical position has been very significant. As a relatively small country with no significant resources to rely on, and positioned between its bigger Arab neighbours and Europe, the country adopted a practical approach to dealing with the Other. Moreover, the pragmatist and secularist worldview of Al-Habib Bourguiba, the founding father of modern Tunisia and its first president, should not be overlooked, particularly with regard to his views

on Tunisian education. All these factors have brought about the creation of a distinct kind of self-identity, compared to most other countries in the region: more confident, more open to the world, less artificially dependent on past grandeur and devoid of “imperialistic” aspirations of regional leadership. It is this confident self-identity that has given rise to the affirmative perception of the relations with the Other featured in the Tunisian textbooks.

NOTES

1. This research was conducted at the Institute for Monitoring Peace and Cultural Tolerance in School Education (IMPACT-SE, formerly known as the Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace—CMIP).
2. For example, *UNESCO Recommendations concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace, and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*, adopted by the General Conference at its eighteenth session, Paris, November 19, 1974, Articles IV 7, V 14; *Declaration of Principles on Tolerance*, proclaimed and signed by Member States of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, Articles 4, 5; *Declaration of the Forty-Fourth Session of the International Conference on Education*, Geneva, October 1994, endorsed by the General Conference of UNESCO at its twenty-eighth session, Paris, November 1995; *Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy*, approved by the General Conference of UNESCO at its twenty-eighth session, Paris, November 1995, Articles 6, 9, 16, 17, 18.
3. The statistics in this chapter, except when otherwise stated, have been taken from “School Statistics for the 2012/2013 School Year” by the Tunisian Ministry of Education http://www.education.gov.tn/article_education/statistiques/stat_education2013_ar.pdf (Arabic).
4. Press report on November 9, 2011, <http://arabnet5.com/news.asp?c=2&id=117981>. (Arabic).
5. <http://www.radiotunisienne.tn/kef/index.php/2010-02-03-11-22-16/3745-2013-09-04-08-53-19> (Arabic).
6. <http://www.tunisia-sat.com/vb/showthread.php?t=2367893> (Arabic).
7. *Philosophy*, Grade 13 [Humanities] Part 1: 192 (undated). Compare this approach to the one found in Saudi Arabian textbooks that persuade students not to have friendly relations with non-Muslims (*Monothéisme, Hadith, [Islamic] Jurisprudence and [Koran] Recitation* Grade 5, Part, 2001: 14) and not even visit foreign countries, so that their Islamic belief would not be corrupted (*National Education* Grade 9, 2000: 43–44).

8. The lessons are found in *Islamic Education* Grade 9, 2007: 16–32; and see another example in *Islamic Thinking* Grade 13 [Humanities], 2007: 68.
9. Compare *Social Sciences: History, Geography, Civics* Grade 9: 84 (undated); *History* Grade 13 [Humanities], 2007: 326.
10. See the story “My Friend Marcel” in *Reader* Grade 2, 2007: 27–28 and the exercise on p. 35, and similar cases in *Writing [Exercises]* Grade 5, 2007: 173; *Social Sciences: History, Geography, Civics* Grade 5, 2007: 159; *Social Sciences: History, Geography, Civics* Grade 6, 2007: 175.
11. *Social Sciences: History, Geography, Civics* Grade 9: 89. Other such maps can be found in *History* Grade 13 [Humanities], 2007: 341, 349.
12. [*Literary*] *Texts* Grade 7: 158 (undated).
13. *Social Sciences: History, Geography, Civics* Grade 9: 90; *History*, Grade 13 [Humanities], 2007: 355, 354, respectively.
14. “The Zionist Entity”, *History* Grade 12 [Sciences], 2007: 270–273, “the State of Israel”, *ibid*: 274.
15. Document No. 20, *History* Grade 12 [Sciences], 2007: 207. This statement is not included in any Palestinian Authority textbook.

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- , ——— Grade 6. 2007.
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- [*Literary*] *Texts*. Grade 9. 2007.
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Narratives and Discourse on National Identity in Moroccan Textbooks

Katherine Maye-Saidi

INTRODUCTION

The concept of national identity is typically reinforced through the referencing of an Other, and “our” difference from “them”. Ashcroft et al. (1998: 169) write that, “The existence of others is crucial in defining what is ‘normal’ and in locating one’s own place in the world”, and Michel Foucault (1990) argued that Othering often underlies power in order to achieve a certain agenda through knowledge and discourse. In other words, by Othering another group’s perceived weaknesses we, in turn, make ourselves look stronger or better.

While colonialism is one such example of the power of Othering, post-colonial processes such as nationalist discourse often avoid emphasising internal plurality. This is especially the case where the post-colonial state has an interest in building or reuniting one nation, often under one ruling power and, to use the words of Ashcroft et al. (ibid), aiming to “eradicate historical difference”. Anderson (2006: 5), for example, speaks of the “formal universality of nationality as a socio-cultural concept”, underlin-

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ing that nationalism is inclusive and unifying. This means that internally there can be, what Verdery calls a “totalizing process ... that entails a relentless press toward homogeneity” that at the same time requires an Other for the definition of the Self (1996: 231).

This chapter will examine narratives and discourse on national identity in current Moroccan textbooks while also taking the concept of Othering into account. In the process, it will look at official discourse especially on the indigenous population of Morocco, i.e. the *Imazighen* (plural form of Tamazight *Amazigh* “free man”, referred to henceforth as *Amazighs* or *Berber*), or Berbers and other groups in Morocco such as the Jewish population. This study will query whether these groups are depicted as subaltern in official discourse. It will also examine whether the different practices in Morocco are part of a post-colonial homogenising process of “epistemic violence” (Spivak 1988: 292), that is, the violence of knowledge or of discourse when it is imposed upon a silenced group.

METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS

The present work will examine the discourse on national identity and the Other in Moroccan textbooks from primary, middle and high school. Textbooks are widespread media of national and official discourse and those used in Moroccan public schools are written and published by the Moroccan Ministry of Education. At the same time, other sources of national discourse will also be taken into account to determine whether the findings from the textbooks align with narratives elsewhere in the official domain.

As mentioned, only state-written textbooks are currently used in Moroccan public schools. As White (1973: 91) wrote, “... history has to do with the carrying out of projects and aims by specific individuals and groups ...” and these state-written texts present an ideal media to analyse the narratives on national identity in Morocco while addressing the aims of the history writers, that is, the government. In this chapter, contemporary Moroccan identity in texts relating to national and non-national history will be analysed. Furthermore, given that Morocco is an ex-colonial Arab-Islamic state and a monarchy in North Africa, questions pertaining to (pan-)Islam(ism), pan-Arabism and Europe will also be investigated. A discussion will then proceed on themes relevant to North African and Middle Eastern identity, such as colonialism, and the topic of Israel-Palestine.

Morocco’s location on the continent of Africa will also be considered in the present discussion on national identity in order to consider whether an

“African” identity features in the national narrative. As a further consideration, the last line of the Moroccan national anthem, which comprises the words, “Allah, al-Watan, al-Malik” [God, the nation, the King], will present another framework for this enquiry on Moroccan national identity in official sources. It will question whether the identities of Muslim, Moroccan and subject represent elements of national identity as presented in the discourse in the textbooks and elsewhere. It should also be noted from the outset that this chapter is not a study on the factual accuracy of the content unless of course it is relevant to the discussion on national identity; the main objective is to deconstruct the texts while examining the content with regard to above-mentioned themes.

The main questions on national identity of the present enquiry can be summed up as follows: What is comprised in Moroccan national identity as presented in state-written textbooks? Does the discourse on national identity include elements from the pre-Islamic past or does the collective memory start in post-Islamic period? Many have argued that Berbers have been marginalised and their history ignored in the educational system, especially in the textbook curriculum of post-colonial Morocco (e.g. Errihani 2013: 61). Therefore, it is important to question whether the discourse and narratives in the books include or exclude the non-Arab indigenous population. As to the claim that Moroccan nationalist discourse places more emphasis on Arab-Islamic civilisation, the question of whether pan-Arabism belongs to the discourse on national identity in the textbooks must also be addressed. Can the discursive construction of national identity, which is individualising and, which, in its very nature, is exclusive of those outside “us”, include a pan-Arab ideology that is in its essence a transnational concept? Are there sentiments of solidarity towards other Arab nations in the discourse in the books? As Morocco is part of the Maghrib, is there a pan-Maghribi element to Moroccan national identity? Furthermore, given that Morocco is an Islamic state with a king who also carries the title of *Commander of the Faithful*, is there a pan-Islamic discourse, for example, in the form of sentiments of unity and solidarity with non-Moroccan Muslims? This will all be examined in the following.

MOROCCO

Morocco is officially a constitutional monarchy whose sovereign is descended from the de facto longest-ruling dynasty in the Arab-Islamic world—the Alawis.¹ The official title of Muhammad VI, present king of

Morocco, is “His Majesty the King Muhammed the Sixth, **Commander of the Faithful**, may God grant him victory” (*Ṣāhib al-Jalālah al-Malik Muḥammad al-Sādis, ‘Amīr al-Mu’minīn, Naṣṣarahu-illāh*). The title of *mālik* or “king” came into use in official discourse after Muhammad V returned from two years of exile; prior to this, the term sultan had been used to designate the head of state in Morocco. Historically the Alawi dynasty has always had strong ties to the West. Morocco has a longstanding friendship treaty with America and has strong economic ties with the EU. Unlike some other Arab states, Morocco has never subscribed to socialism—which is unsurprising given that it is a monarchical state.

The present king, King Muhammad VI, has opened up even more national and international dialogue by taking measures to officially further Berber issues and maintaining diplomatic ties to the West. His many reforms include the 2004 Family Code (*Mudawana*) to regulate marriage, polygamy, inheritance and child custody. His 2011 reforms concerning the extent of his power, corruption, freedom of expression and gender issues were described by the European Union as signalling “a clear commitment to democracy” (EU press release 2011).

Morocco officially gained independence from France in 1956 after 44 years of a Protectorate. France, however, was not the first European or non-European power to occupy or invade Morocco over the course of its history. The Phoenicians, Romans, Vandals, Byzantines, Arabs, Spanish, the Portuguese, amongst others, also attacked or conquered the territory now known as Morocco at one time or another. There are still two exclaves in north Morocco under Spanish rule, that is, Melilla and Sibta, and Western Sahara is an autonomous region in the south. The location of Morocco on the periphery of the Arab-speaking world in North Africa, also known in Arabic as Maghrib al-Aqsa (the farthest west), with only a narrow strait separating it from the south of Europe means that it has a particularly complex identity.

THE MOROCCAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

The Moroccan Ministry of National Education was established in 1959. Initial objectives were to train native teachers in order to replace foreign teachers, build new schools and implement governmental education reforms. At the moment of Moroccan independence, enrolment of school-aged children was only at 17 per cent. In the early 1960s basic education became compulsory, thereby raising enrolment levels to 85 per cent by

1985. Despite schooling being compulsory and free (at state schools) many children, particularly those in rural areas, still do not attend school (<https://wenr.wes.org/2006/04/wenr-apr-2006-education-in-morocco>). From 2008–2012, the literacy rate of those between 15 and 24 years of age was 88.8 per cent for male youths and 74 per cent for female youths.²

Basic education (primary and middle school) lasts nine years and is followed by three years of secondary education. Standard Arabic is the main language of instruction, but French is still used in technical disciplines at some secondary schools and university faculties. French is introduced into the curriculum in the third grade. Spanish is spoken by many Moroccans in the north of the country, while English is increasingly becoming the foreign language of choice for youth attending private schools. A second foreign language is introduced into the state curriculum in grade 10, that is, the first year of secondary school. Since 2003, the Tamazight language has been an obligatory subject for all Moroccan school-aged children regardless of their ethnic or linguistic heritage.

THE TEXTBOOKS

The textbooks examined in the present analysis were published between 2004 and 2007 and are four textbooks for civics for the last year of elementary school and the three years of middle school and two history textbooks for the first and second years of high school.³ These books are the result of an overhaul of Morocco textbooks after the NGO HREA (Human Rights Education Associates) reviewed Moroccan textbooks for gender bias in 2004/2005 in cooperation with the Moroccan Ministry of Education. Following the study, there was also talk of non-government written textbooks being introduced into the curriculum of Moroccan public schools, which, however, has not yet been implemented at the time of writing. Although history textbooks were not included in the review, they were also rewritten following the study.

History is a mandatory subject for the Moroccan *baccalauréat*. The curriculum of the textbooks, mostly presented chronologically, commences in the prehistoric period and concludes in 2006. The main territories covered are: North Africa, the Middle East, Europe, Asia and the USA. The history can be broken down as follows: approximately 50 per cent of the history covered pertains to the history of the West (mainly European); around 25 per cent is Moroccan history, and around 25 per cent covers the rest of the Arab world.

The history textbooks take the form of compilations of texts, timelines, images, illustrations, graphs, tables etc. taken, for the most part, from other sources which are cited either underneath the texts and images or at the end of each chapter. Only maps seem to be illustrated specifically for the textbooks, but these are few as most maps are taken from elsewhere (e.g. Encarta). There are no texts written by the “compilers” of the books, apart from introductions to each chapter and the tasks and exercises. This means that interpretation of these sources is left to the instructors and students, but the way that the sources that have been selected is significant and therefore worth briefly considering.

The sources cited in the textbooks range from French secondary school textbooks to Arab and non-Arab authors, encyclopaedias and government and non-government (Moroccan and other) websites. The chapters on European history mainly cite European sources, and the chapters on Islamic history also cite some non-Arab sources. The chapters on Palestine and Israel cite both Muslim and Christian Arab (e.g. Emile Toma) authors (*Modern History*. Year 2, High School. 2007/08 110; 205).⁴

French textbooks are heavily relied upon in some chapters, which, in the post-colonial context, support the theory of Ashcroft et al. that there are often “ongoing continuities and the elements of colonial influence that continue to mark post-colonial politics and the post-colonial state, even after it achieves political independence” (1998: 129). If current Moroccan textbooks are presenting texts, maps and images from French textbooks, the prior objectification (to use the words of Foucault) of the ex-colonial power over its ex-colony seems to have continued post-independence (2000: 327). One explanation might be the theory that power struggles revolve around the question of who we are (ibid: 331). If this is the case, then Morocco still depends somewhat on the ex-colonial power without directly collaborating with them, ergo France’s “legitimate knowledge” (Apple 1995) remains a source for Moroccan “legitimate knowledge”.

Islamic and non-Islamic history is addressed in the same textbooks. This is unsurprising given the chronological order of the books, and the fact that the Islamic world and the West have often crossed paths. This could be interpreted to mean that there is neither an Islamic framework nor a European framework to the books. However, it could be argued that the *Bismillah* at the beginning of each book appears as a kind of exergue to the books. Derrida (1995: 11) wrote that, “to cite before beginning is to give the key through the resonance of a few words ... the exergue has at once an institutive and

a conservative function; the violence of a power (*Gewalt*) which at once posits and conserves the law". On the other hand, the *Bismillah* is traditionally quoted at the beginning of all religious and secular writings by Muslims and therefore might simply be acting in its conventional role as the introductory part of a discourse or treatise.⁵ It might not specifically, to paraphrase Derrida (*ibid*), aim at a prearchiving the lexicon.

THE BERBERS OF MOROCCO

As this chapter will discuss the discourse and narratives on Berbers in the textbooks as well as in official discourse, some information on who they are and developments in the education system, language policy and official discourse since 1994 will be presented here. Although the Arabs invaded Morocco in the seventh century bringing with them their language and religion, Berbers in Morocco still make up somewhere between 28.4 and 50 per cent of the population.⁶ There are three main varieties of Berber spoken in Morocco today: Tashelhit in the south, Tamazight in middle Morocco and Tarifit in the north. The language has its own alphabet, Tifinagh.

Definitions of the Amazighs have changed over time. Gellner wrote of Berbers and Arabs in the Maghrib that "there are only two linguistic categories [in the Maghreb]—Arabic and Berber ... Neither has ever acted or felt as one unit" (Gellner and Micaud 1973). Defined as the "original population of North Africa", he argued that "The Berber sees himself as a member of this or that tribe, within an Islamically-conceived and permeated world—and *not* as a member of a linguistically defined ethnic group [...]" (Gellner 1964: 13). More recent literature (Gilson Miller and Hoffmann 2010; Maddy-Weitzman 2011) approach a definition of who Berbers are and what they perceive themselves to be. Gilson Miller and Hoffmann (2010: 4) see Berber culture as "a constantly changing orientation, shaped and reshaped by forces within and outside the group ... the terms "Berber" and "Amazigh" have had histories that have been made and remade over time". Maddy-Weitmann meanwhile describes contemporary Berbers as speakers of Tamazight whose varieties of language were transmitted almost exclusively orally until recently and whose history "was traditionally written from the perspective of others who presented them as semisavages" (2011: 2). Although Berbers appear in Greek and Roman annals under different descriptions such as "Africans" and "Moors", they

appear first as a “Berber” collective in the chronicles of the Arab Muslim armies (Ibid: 2). In sum, the main component of Berber identity agreed on by scholars seems to be that of language.

According to Gilson Miller, recognition of the state now allows Tamazight to be present in the public sphere (2010: 6). This process began in Morocco in 1994 with the introduction of short televised news summaries. The establishment of l’Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe (IRCAM) in the early 2000s aimed to further the development of Berber language and culture, especially within the educational system.⁷ Errihani, however, argued that these were “clearly political decision in response to several events that might have led to a worse outcome had the state not concocted such a well-timed decision” (2013: 61).

Nevertheless, since 2003, the Tamazight language has been an obligatory subject for all Moroccan school-aged children regardless of their ethnic or linguistic heritage.⁸ Berber textbooks were made available in 2004. The standardisation of the three main dialects into one language, Tamazight, to make the language more accessible to the entire Berber population is a long-term goal of IRCAM (Errihani 2013: 61). The success of such steps has been discussed and excellently summarised by Errihani (2013: 64) who writes that:

despite the multifaceted difficulties standing in the way of implementing the policy of teaching Tamazight to all Moroccans [...] the linguistic landscape in Morocco has started to change. With the inclusion of Tamazight in the educational system as well as in the public sphere, speaking in, and of Tamazight is now being viewed less and less suspiciously or as backward. This was certainly not the case 10 years ago [...] it is very difficult for any specialist to foresee the long term fate of this language policy, but one cannot deny that in the short term, at least, the teaching of Tamazight continues to make great strides despite many challenges.

In 2011, Tamazight became an official language of Morocco. The preamble of the 2011 Moroccan constitution states that Moroccan “national identity” is indivisible and that “Its unity, is forged by the convergence of its Arab-Islamist, Berber and Saharan-Hassanic components, nourished and enriched by its African, Andalusian, Hebrew and Mediterranean influences”. The Berber component of Moroccan national identity, amongst others, is now officially incorporated into official discourse as per the constitution.⁹

Podeh (2011: 3) says that national holidays reveal “the very inner mechanics of nation building and state formation.” Berber history has not

as yet been incorporated into the Moroccan national calendar; however, the Arab element of Moroccan identity is not celebrated either. National holidays celebrated in Morocco include New Year's Day (CE), Labour Day, the Birthday of the Prophet, Independence Day, Green March Day and Throne Day, thereby incorporating secular, religious, historical and royal elements but not ethnic ones.¹⁰

Moroccan Jews

Morocco also has a small percentage of Jewish citizens whose numbers were estimated at approximately 250,000–270,000 prior to their mass emigration from Morocco after World War II: it is estimated that fewer than 5000 Jews remain in Morocco today (Schroeter 2008). The Jewish population of Morocco precedes the Arab invasion of Morocco; however, the majority of the descendants came to Morocco after 1492 and the Reconquista (ibid).¹¹ Today Morocco's Jewish population is very small, yet still visible. Jewish holidays are celebrated by the community and there are interreligious schools. At the Alliance schools in Casablanca, 50 per cent of the students are Jewish and 50 per cent are Muslim, and all students learn Arabic, Hebrew, English and French. Indeed, while Moroccan Jews are a separate and minority group, they share similar customs and culture to Muslim Moroccans. Moroccan Jews are, as Schroeter states and the 2011 constitution would also confirm, ascribed Moroccan identity in official discourse; anthropologists such as Patai describe their roots as "sunk deeply into Maghrib soil" (Schroeter 2008: 147; Patai 1971: 206–207). For this reason, a sub-topic of the present work will be the position of Moroccan Jews in the discourse and narratives on national identity in Moroccan textbooks as well as other official domains. In the following section, the textbooks will be examined with regard to their narratives and discourses on national identity.

FINDINGS

Pre-Islamic History and Berbers

The textbooks depict much pre-Islamic and non-Moroccan history, such as the civilisations of the Egyptians and Greeks. Indeed, the textbook points out that the khamisa (also known as the Hand of Fatima), henna, cous cous and the burnus (traditional long cloak), central elements of contemporary

Moroccan culture, were brought to Morocco by the Carthaginians (*Civics*, Grade 6, 2005: 26; *Civics*, Year 1, Middle School, 2007: 29). This incorporates the Carthaginians into the national historical discourse and places the beginnings of the Moroccan cultural identity in the pre-Islamic epoch.

The textbooks first reference the Berber kingdoms as defenders of Morocco during the Roman invasion, in one chapter entitled “The Arrival of the Romans and Berber Resistance—Roman Monuments in Morocco” (*Civics*, Grade 6, 2005: 27–30), and another chapter entitled “Ancient Morocco: Berber Kingdoms and Resistance to Rome” (*Civics*, Year 1, Middle School, 2007: 30–34). The genealogies of two Berber kingdoms are illustrated, and timelines of their reigns are included in latter chapter (*ibid*: 30). In this way, Berbers are incorporated into the national narrative while recognising their pre-Islamic identity and assigning them an important role in Moroccan history. This is the first depiction of a large European invasion in the textbooks and, since the Berbers are portrayed as Morocco’s defenders, the Romans are thus perceived as the enemy. Yet it seems to be a safe choice of Other: portraying an empire that no longer exists as an enemy entails little risk of antagonising or alienating people today.

The Post-Islamisation Period of Moroccan History and the Berbers

The first mention of an independent Moroccan Islamic state occurs in the context of the establishment of the Idrisid Dynasty 789–985 (*Civics*, Grade 6, 2005: 46–49 and *Civics*, Year 2, Middle School, 2004: 8–11). References are made to Berbers in their role of helping Moulay Idris establish the first independent Moroccan Islamic state; this once again depicts the Berbers as having an important function in national history, thereby cementing their place in the national discourse.¹² The source texts are largely taken from Moroccan history books. The establishment of the first Islamic state marks the beginning of the Islamic Moroccan collective memory and a Moroccan state in the nationalist discourse while reiterating the place of the Berbers in the national narrative. Berber history is also presented in a chapter on “Maps of the commercial routes of Almohads” (*Civics*, Grade 6, 2005: 41–44) on the Almohads and the Almoravids describing their respective reigns as the “heydays” of the Moroccan State (*Civics*, Year 2, Middle School, 2004: 12–16).¹³ In the following chapter, entitled “The Decline of Jihad and the Beginning of the Battle of Retreat”, the fall of the Almoravids is presented (*Civics*, Year 2, Middle School, 2004: 17–21) followed by a chapter on Iberian raids on Morocco (*Civics*, Year 2, Middle School, 2004: 22–26).

Moroccan Independence and the Berbers

The textbooks locate the beginnings of the Independence process in the 1930s after the passing of the Berber Decree (*Modern History*, Year 2, 2007/8: 168–179). It is portrayed as a nationalist movement for reform, incorporating much of Moroccan society and culture and transitioning from calls for greater autonomy into a movement for full independence. The textbook includes, for example, an excerpt from a newspaper describing how the French separated the Berber from Sharia and took power from the government. Another excerpt describes the passing of the Berber Decree as the ignition for the nationalist movement. Once again, the Berbers are incorporated into the Moroccan identity in discourses of national identity and independence.

Thus, the history of the Berbers, both pre-Islamic and post-Islamic, is firmly embedded in the textbooks' national narrative. It is often presented in the context of European hostility towards Morocco, where Berbers are depicted as the nation's defenders and helpers. This may serve to promote the unifying of the different ethnic populations of Morocco in the discourse improving the stability of the state since the Berber population represents a large minority or almost half of the Moroccan population.¹⁴

The History of the Arab-Islamic World

The history of the Arab-Islamic world is presented in the within the context of Moroccan history, Maghribi history and then the history of the rest of the Arab world, usually in less detail than the Moroccan and Maghribi history. Interestingly, a chapter entitled "A Modern State in Greater Maghrib and the Arab Orient. The Model of Morocco" contains a map depicting northern Africa, including Mauritania, Ethiopia, Somalia, Egypt and the Middle Eastern Arab states (*Modern History*, Year 2, High School, 2007: 206). The only state named is Morocco; only the capital cities of the other states (except for smaller states) are marked on the map. However, everywhere else on the map—and there is a large part of Africa illustrated—is left blank with no borders and no names. The illustration is accompanied with the caption "Morocco within the Arab World". Given this caption, the omission of the names of sub-Saharan African states is not remarkable, but fact that no borders are shown suggests that African identity does not feature in the discourse on national identity at all in the textbooks. Furthermore, there is hardly any history of sub-Saharan Africa in the textbooks except in the context of imperialism in one chapter (*History*, Year

1, High School, 2006: 80) and the context of the emergence of the Third World after the dissolution of colonialism (*Modern History*, Year 2, High School, 2007: 133), and both are quite general. There is no sub-Saharan history depicted in the textbooks for before or after these periods.

Middle Eastern history in the textbooks alludes to the history of Israel and Palestine. All three chapters on this (one in *Civics*, Year 3; one in Middle School, Year 3, 2005; and one in *Modern History*, Year 2, High School, 2007) are entitled “The Palestinian Issue/Cause” (the Moroccan government website refers to it as both a cause and an issue, see <http://www.maroc.ma/en/news/palestinian-fm-praises-hm-kings-pioneering-role-palestinian-cause>), with the first and third having the subheading, “The Arab Israeli Struggle”. The chapters comprise little or no text written by the authors of the textbooks, consisting instead of pages of text excerpts, images, timelines etc. (*Civics*, Year 3, Middle School, 2005: 55–59; *History*, Year 2, 2007: 102–110; *History*, Year 2, 2007: 197–205). In the list of works cited as sources at the end of one chapter called “The Palestinian Issue”, there are books written by Arab authors published in various countries such as Lebanon and Israel, as well as French authors (ibid: 110). The third chapter on this theme entitled “The Palestinian Issue: The Arab-Israel Struggle” lists Arabic works published Cairo, Tunis and Beirut and two Palestinian websites as sources. Most of the maps are from 1947, 1948 and 1967 in these chapters and show, for example, lands described as “seized/occupied/annexed” (Arabic *istawala*) by the state of Israel. There is one map showing the territory in 1948 and 1982 and although areas are marked with different colours, and the colours are given as keys beside the map, the text for these keys has been not been printed; however, this appears to be an error on the part of the editor (*History*, Year 2, 2007: 204).

Much of the information is presented in timelines, documents and photos and students are instructed to complete tasks such as, “observe the stages of the Arab-Israeli struggle and figure out the present scope of the Palestinian issue ...” (*Civics*, Year 3, Middle School, 2005: 55). The images include a photo of Faris Odeh, an image that has assumed an iconic status within the Palestinian territories as a symbol of opposition to the area’s occupation by Israel, with the caption: “Intifada Children [sic!] with Stones” (*History*, Year 2, 2007: 197), photos of tents in a refugee camp (*Civics*, Year 3, Middle School, 2005: 58 taken from *Encarta*) and a photo of Palestinians on a hill aiming guns at what could be a settlement with the caption “Palestinian Resistance to Israel’s Occupation 1948” (*History*, Year 2, 2007: 199). Later a similar image of stone throwing youths is used underlining a narrative of oppression in the discourse

(*History*, Year 2, 2007: 203). However, as an image of Palestinians on a hill aiming guns at what could be a settlement is also presented, it can be argued that the depiction of the issue is not overtly tendentious.

Morocco is incorporated into the textbooks' discourse on Israel-Palestine through an image depicting participants of the Twelfth Arab League Summit in Fez in 1982 (*History*, Year 2, 2007: 202) on the same page as an image of President Bill Clinton standing behind Yasser Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin during negotiations at Camp David. The result of the summit was a statement calling for the creation of an independent Palestinian state and recognition of the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The statement also affirmed the right of all the states of the region to live in peace. Once again there is no accompanying text so this is therefore open to the interpretation of the instructors and students. It can, however, be argued that Morocco's role in this process is depicted as notable. The fact that there are three chapters on this topic and that Fez is highlighted as the setting for negotiation means that it has a position of relevance in the national narrative; no other contemporary Middle Eastern territory or history is presented in as much detail.

The Depiction of (Moroccan) Jews

Although there is a chapter on religions entitled "Religions in Ancient Civilisations between Polytheism and Monotheism" with a description of all three monotheistic religions (*Civics*, Grade 6, 2005: 35–39), the only other mention of Jews as a homogenised group, Moroccan or otherwise, occurs in the above-mentioned chapters on Israel and Palestine. Even then, there is no use of the term "the Jews", but rather the "Jewish state" or Israel. The history of Moroccan Jews is not mentioned in the textbooks, thereby excluding them from the discourse on national identity in this media. It must, however, be noted that Moroccan Jews are not excluded from official discourse elsewhere. In January 2014, for example, King Muhammad VI appealed to both Moroccan Jews and Muslims to pray for rain (<http://www.timesofisrael.com/morocco-king-asks-jews-to-pray-for-rain/>). The preamble of the 2011 constitution mentions an enriching Hebrew influence on Moroccan identity. During World War II, Sultan Muhammad V defied Vichy by not sending Moroccan Jews to France on the grounds of their being Moroccan citizens. Indeed he invited Moroccan Rabbis to Throne Day celebrations, cultivating a rhetoric of Moroccan Jews being no different to other Moroccans. Yet, the omission of the Holocaust in the chapters on World War II in *Civics* (2005) and *Modern History*

(2007/08) leaves much open to discussion. This could, on the one hand, be interpreted as a sort of denial—as it has been (<http://www.un.org/en/holocaustremembrance/docs/paper27.shtml>). However, on the other hand, the fact that a speech was read out on behalf of King Muhammad VI at a ceremony launching the “Aladdin Project” (an initiative of the Paris-based Foundation for the Memory of the Holocaust whose objective is to raise awareness of the genocide among Muslims) would refute this claim.

Interestingly, some of the sources of information and literature used in the textbooks come from Jewish individuals. Moroccan Jewish authors are included such as Germain Ayache and Albert Ayache, a historian who was also at one stage arrested by colonial powers (e.g. *History*, Year 2, 2007/08: 88). In this sense, the textbooks do incorporate the Jewish element of Moroccan identity indirectly into the discourse.¹⁵ With regard to official discourse elsewhere, it has been argued (Schroeter 2008) that a Moroccan Jewish component of national identity is incorporated into official discussion. The preamble of the 2011 constitution as well as actions of Kings Muhammad VI and Muhammad V in the past would also confirm this.

The History of the West

The history of the West presented in the textbooks is mainly European, which is not surprising considering Morocco’s past: Moroccan dynasties ruled parts of the historical al-Andalus; it was a Protectorate for 44 years and was involved in World War II. This involvement is described as their “contribution” in the textbooks. Events in Europe had been having massive repercussions for Morocco and the rest of Maghrib and Middle East for centuries. For example, after the Reconquista in the Middle Ages, Muslims and Jews fled to Morocco and other Muslim states. The sheer volume of the European history depicted in the textbooks (almost half of all the history presented) means that only a selection will be discussed here.

The chapter on colonial “exploitation” provides some useful insight into Morocco’s discourse on Europe. While the chapter entitled “Morocco: Colonial Exploitation in the Era of the Protectorate” portrays the modernisation of Morocco through images of buildings, trains, airports, harbours, dams, mining, mass agriculture and children being educated, other graphs depict the profits that the colonial power made from such areas as agriculture and mining (*History*, Year 2, High School, 2007: 82–93). This chapter therefore highlights both exploitation and a progression towards becoming a modern industrial state. This portrayal of modernity as somewhat ambivalent is a key concept in the discourse on contemporary

Morocco: even more modern but similarly ambivalent images are presented in chapters on the Alawi dynasty.

There is further ambivalence in the depiction of historical confrontations between the Islamic world and the West, for example, during the Crusades. This information is presented in a chapter comprising four pages, consisting largely of maps, excerpts and tables (*Civics*, Year 1, Middle School, 2007: 70–75). The title of the chapter, “The Crusades: Confrontations and Contact between the Civilisations”, is intriguing in its juxtaposition of the neutral word “contact” with the more controversial term “confrontations”. The non-violent elements of this period are highlighted: one table in the chapter presents words that were imported into European languages as a result of the contact, such as cotton, algebra and alcohol (*ibid*: 73), while another image depicts a Muslim and Christian playing chess in a tent (*ibid*). The only explicit mentions of Christians as a homogenised group in the textbooks appear in this chapter and another on religion, which provides no more than an overview of Christianity. In the chapter on the Reconquista it is specifically the “Christian Monarchs”, that is, the Catholic Monarchs, who are mentioned (*Civics*, Year 2, Middle School, 2004: 22–26). The European history in the textbooks, whether involving Morocco and the Islamic world or not, never refers to “the Christians” as a homogenised group; instead they are referred to by their respective nationalities. Therefore, there is no explicit discourse on “Christians”—it is rather on Europe, and the attitude towards Europe appears somewhat ambivalent.

World War II

The depiction of World War II focuses on the role of the then sovereign Muhammad V in events such as the Anfa conference and the hosting of this historical meeting between Roosevelt, DeGaulle and others in Casablanca. The image of Muhammad V and his son the later King Hasan II with the other world leaders is recurrent in the books (e.g. *Modern History*, Year 2, 2007/8: 59) and is also used on the cover of one of the books (*ibid*). The Moroccan contribution to World War II is depicted in detail, using tables with numbers on troops and volumes of grain, vegetables and so on (“Morocco’s Contribution to World War II” in: *History*, Year 2, 2007/8: 57–63). These are accompanied by images of Moroccan troops fighting for the French and receiving honours, and images of signs in French bakeries declaring that there is no bread. These underline the necessity and relevance of Morocco’s contribution to the Allied Forces fight against Vichy and Hitler.

At the same time, the use of the word *musāḥama* (participation) combined with the citation of a letter from Sultan Muhammad V read out in all mosques in 1939 proclaiming solidarity with France and urging Moroccans to assist France (*History*, Year 2, 2007/8: 58) places Morocco on an equal standing with the forces involved. Moreover, it also serves to validate the pro-Western narrative presented in the discourse.

The Alawi Dynasty

There are many chapters on the Alawi dynasty in the textbooks. The key-words used in the depiction include unification, colonisation, Morocco's contribution to World War II (*History*, Year 2, High School, 2007: 57), independence (*History*, Year 2, High School, 2007: 168), reform and modernity (*History*, Year 2, High School, 2007: 206–211). Above all, the discourse on the ruling dynasty stresses links between Morocco and Europe while promoting the idea of a unifying, reformatory modern monarch and state. It therefore seems fitting to ask how the discourse in the textbooks presents contemporary Morocco to the reader.

The title of one chapter sums up how the textbooks portray modern Morocco: “A Modern State in Greater Maghreb and the Arab Orient. The Model of Morocco” (*History*, Year 2, High School, 2007: 206–211). This chapter lists the many modern features of the Moroccan state, such as the constitution, its United Nations Membership, its parliament, human rights and the setting up of different foundations like the Muhammad VI Foundation for Solidarity. By including this in a narrative on Morocco today, the country is presented as a modern democratic state that has international relations and strives for human rights. The title of this chapter also provides insight into the discourse on Moroccan identity. Morocco identifies with the Maghreb and then the Arab Orient, but the African component is not included.

CONCLUSION

Moroccan national identity as presented in the discourse in the textbooks comprises elements from Morocco's pre-Islamic past, but is deeply rooted in an Arab-Islamic narrative. Further, with regard to the rest of the Arab world—the discourse places Morocco within the context of greater Maghrib and then the Arab world, but not Africa or the non-Arab-Islamic world. Morocco does not subscribe to pan-Arabism. Perhaps this is because pan-Arabism finds some of its origins in socialism and secularity,

which is not compatible with the form of state in Morocco where a king claiming Sharifian lineage is the sovereign. Moreover, a pan-Arabic discourse would also explicitly exclude the Berbers. However, there is perhaps an inherent pan-Arab discourse as opposed to an overt pan-Islamic discourse in the texts especially when considering the content of history presented. The Islamic history in the books is limited to history of Arab regions and not to the wider Islamic realm. While there are a number of chapters on the Ottoman Empire, possibly because they ruled much of the Arab world except for Morocco, there is little to nothing on Modern Turkey, Iran or Afghanistan. There is no mention of the larger Muslim populations in present-day Pakistan or Indonesia, for example, even within the context of colonialism, either. This means that Arabic, the sacred language of Islam, unites Morocco with the Arab-Islamic world, but not, it would seem, with the non-Arabic-speaking Islamic world.

With regard to the national discourse and the Berbers, the narrative includes the history of the Berber population and there seems to be no explicit Othering of Berbers in the discourse on national identity. The history of pre-Islamic Berber kings such as Bocchus, king of the historic Mauritania, is included in the textbooks while greater Africa is not part of the discourse on national identity. Berbers are presented as integral to the collective “we” through their role in defending Morocco against the Romans, the establishment of the Islamic state and the independence process.

With regard to the West, much emphasis is placed on European history. The discourse on collective groups are not overtly negative; the mention of “the Christians” as a homogenised group only occurs in the short chapter on the Crusades and the textbooks highlight non-negative aspects of the confrontation such as Arabic loanwords while presenting images of Muslims and Christians in a non-violent context. This displaces an emphasis on the violence of the Crusades. The account of the Romans is perhaps where a form of Othering could be interpreted, but, as mentioned above, it could also serve more a homogenising role in the context of the Berbers and, given that Rome no longer exists, this would be a safer form of Othering in relation to contemporary Moroccan relations with the Europe and the West.

The discourse on Jewish people and Israel is complex. Again, there is no mention of “Jewish people” as a homogenised group and there is no text written on Israel by the authors of the textbooks. The students are encouraged to observe and draw conclusions. At the same time, it could be argued that there is a certain angle to the textbook narrative evident in the images of tanks and stone-throwing Palestinian children and refugee camps. There is no text attached to such images apart from descriptive captions, yet the

maps depicting this territory add ambiguity to the textbook's narrative. Moroccan Jews meanwhile are entirely overlooked, except in the sources, as is the Holocaust. On the other hand, given that Morocco is almost always incorporated into the history depicted in the books and the Holocaust is not, de facto, Moroccan history, it may not be deemed relevant for the nationalist rhetoric framing the discourse. Nevertheless, even if Schroeter is correct when he argues that Jewish people are "sunk deeply into Maghrib soil", they are treated differently to the Berber minority in that they are excluded from the narrative of Morocco's national history in their textbooks. Whether this suggests that Moroccan Jews are depicted as an Other is debatable: the textbooks do not identify and isolate them as such, but the textbooks do not include information about the history of Moroccan Jews or their contribution to Moroccan society either.

Ultimately, the construction of the Other in Moroccan textbooks is far from clear. It would seem that the discourse on national identity is careful in its portrayal of (non-)Moroccan history. By using quotes and texts, documents, images and tables taken from other sources while avoiding the use of written texts by the authors of the textbooks, any distortions in the depictions apparently become primarily the responsibility of others. The Moroccan nationalist discourse in the textbooks avoids emphasising internal plurality, echoing the concept of a post-colonial totalising process that entails a relentless press towards homogeneity while at the same time promoting the pro-Western politics of Morocco's monarch. There are no explicit depictions of strangers and enemies in the discourse and, as such, the Moroccan national identity is not explicitly defined by the construction of an Other. Finally, it seems that the last line of the national anthem does indeed present a framework for an approach to defining Moroccan national identity and is generally in agreement with the findings here. According to the narrative in the textbooks, Moroccan national identity can be summed up with the synonyms of Muslim, citizen and subject—although perhaps not in that order.

NOTES

1. The Alawis have been in power, with the exception of the two years of exile during the Protectorate since the seventeenth century. See A. K. Bennison, 2014, '*Alawī dynasty*' in P. Bearman et al. (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, Brill Online. Retrieved on 14 September 2016 from http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/alawi-dynasty-SIM_0072?s.num=156&cs.rows=100&cs.start=80.

2. See statistics on UNICEF website. Retrieved on 14 September 2016 from http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/morocco_statistics.html
3. Mostly American designations have been taken here as they were found to be the most fitting translation.
4. Emile Toma (1919–1985) was a Palestinian political historian and philosopher.
5. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/66367?redirectedFrom=exordium#eid>
6. Data on numbers and percentages with regard to the Berber population vary greatly. Fatima Sadiqi (1997), for example, maintains that Berber is the mother tongue of almost half of the Moroccan population: the official Moroccan census of 2004 published by several Moroccan newspapers gave the following figures: 34 per cent of people in rural regions spoke a Berber language and 21 per cent in urban zones making the national average 28.4 per cent or 8.52 million.
7. L'Institut Royal de la Culture established Amazighe under royal decree (*dahir*) number 1-01-299. Located in Rabat, it has legal and financial independence from the executive branch. It can also make recommendations about the education of the Berber languages in Moroccan public schools that are, however, not legally binding for the government. Its responsibilities include: the maintenance and development of the Berber language; the inclusion of the Berber language in the Moroccan educational system and the reinforcement of the status of Berber culture in Moroccan society.
8. During the colonial period, there was a policy of separate education for Berbers to minimise the influence of orthodox Islam in the Middle Atlas. See Segalla 2009. Segalla cites Burke 1972. After independence, this policy was no longer implemented.
9. Berber rights were also part of the platform of the so-called February 20 Movement. See P. Karber 2012, *Fear and Faith in Paradise: Exploring Conflict and Religion in the Middle East*, p. 258.
10. <http://www.maroc.ma/en/content/national-holidays-religious-holidays>
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12. Idrīs b. 'Abdallāh (r. 172–5/789–91), eponym of the Morocco's first dynasty, the Idrīsids (r. 172–375/789–985) and founders of Fez. See S. O'Meara, 2014, "Fez, city of, history and art and architecture" in G. Krämer et al. (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Third Edition, Brill Online. Retrieved on 14 September 2016 from http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/fez-city-of-history-and-art-and-architecture-COM_27112

13. The word “Almohad” derives from the word *al-Muwahhidūn*, a word that means “followers of the doctrine of the divine unity”. They were a Muslim Berber dynasty that ruled large areas of North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula between 1121 and 1269. See M. Shatzmiller, 2014, *al-Muwahhidūn* in P. Bearman et al. (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition.
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15. According to C.R. Pennell, 2000, *Morocco since 1830: A history*, New York: New York University Press pp. xviii, Germain Ayache was a “Frenchman who took Moroccan citizenship after Independence”. On the other hand, J. Baida writes that he was born into a Jewish family in Berkane to a family that had French citizenship: “Ayache, Germain”, 2013, in N. A. Stillman (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*. Brill Online. http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/ayache-germain-SIM_0002640 (accessed 14 September 2016).

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Cyprus: National Identity and Images of Self and Others in History Textbooks

Areti Demosthenous

INTRODUCTION

This chapter investigates perceptions of Greek and Turkish Otherness as passed on to students via history textbooks on both sides of the island of Cyprus, and analyses the influence history and civics textbooks have had on the formation of current Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot identities. Nation-states all over the world promote their constitutional values, political ideologies and versions of “truth” through textbooks (Montgomery 2005; Altback 1991: 242–258), and indeed in Cyprus, curriculum choices have to a considerable extent been determined by the political situation (Koutselini-Ioannidou 1997). The word “*ανιστόρητος*” (*anistoritos*; “ignorant of history”) in Greek is used generally in a negative context to denote a person lacking the required historical knowledge of social and political circumstances. History teaching in Cyprus enjoys an important status, especially during the present years of austerity, where many people refer to history in search of an ideological umbrella under which to examine what went wrong. In addition, history as a school subject retains its unique role in preserving the cultural heritage due to the

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specific socio-political problems of the region, despite the fact that this method of teaching history as heritage suppresses the students' critical abilities. The teaching of "heritage" can also be said to promote patriotism in that it aims to enhance feelings of attachment to one's country or nation at the cost of excluding all others who do not fall within the boundaries of the own group (Makriyianni and Psaltis 2007). This chapter seeks to present the two different historical narratives as they become anchored within the psyche of each community and as they have been transmitted via textbooks and curricula in the classroom. It further analyses important obstacles standing in the way of constructive change towards less nationalised textbooks and curricula. A self-evaluation of one's own educational system, when undertaken from an academic rather than a politicised approach, can inspire a healthy process of undermining fanaticism and polarisation.

METHOD

The concept of Otherness in Cypriot textbooks is examined in this chapter via a hermeneutic method in a cross-cultural approach. The (traditional) hermeneutic or descriptive, analytical method focuses on the written content and hidden meanings within the text (Pyrgotakis 1981; Pingel 2010; Podeh 2002). This study specifically presents explicit biases and prejudices in Greek textbooks used in Cyprus, comparing them to their counterparts in textbooks of the Turkish community, and analyses their influence on the development of the national identity.

The textbook sample used for this study comprised textbooks used in the Turkish-occupied side¹ during the school years 2012–2013 and 2013–2014, comparing them with those used in previous years, before the Derviş Eroğlu government period. Eroğlu is the leader of the right-wing and conservative National Unity Party, *Ulusal Birlik Partisi* (UBP), which stands for a stronger nationalistic approach towards education. Terms such as "mother country Turkey" (*anavatan Türkiye*) and "baby Cyprus" (*yavruvatan Kıbrıs*), which had been removed by the previous government² in the course of textbook reform efforts towards reconciliation with Greek-Cypriots, reappeared with the election of the UBP (e.g. *Turkish Cypriot History*, 8th grade 2013: 73–75).³ I included in the sample the books titled *Turkish Cypriot History* for all grades, *Social Studies* for fourth and fifth grade, *Social Studies* (History) for sixth and seventh grade and *Social Studies* (Geography) for sixth and seventh grade.⁴ For the Greek-Cypriot textbook sample, I included all those in use during the school

years 2012–2013 and 2013–2014, for history, literature and civics. Cypriot schools make use of textbooks written and published in Turkey and Greece as well as those written and published in Cyprus, rendering the number of textbooks on the regional market somewhat high.

As in other post-conflict societies, there are two principal aspects under consideration when seeking constructive reform. The first is the content of history textbooks and curricula; the second is the way in which teachers present their material. It has been argued that it seems easier to change curricula and textbooks than to influence how teachers teach (Pavlowitch 2004). Particularly in small countries with tight-knit communities, such as Cyprus,⁵ the opposition to reform can be so strong that every effort to change textbook content can prove difficult. The Greek-Cypriot education system places considerable emphasis on textbook contents as well as on the influence of the teacher. Recent curricula ask teachers to put together their own bank of literature with the help of the lesson supervisor (Christoforou et al. 2012), a positive step towards greater freedom in the use of sources, either approved or not included in the directive of the Ministry. Furthermore, since 2011, the Ministry of Education has given permission to history and civics teachers to teach history “in a way that promotes critical thinking, creativity and coexistence”, in an effort to enable content reform in cases where teachers are keen to pursue it.⁶ This directive has provided teachers with the autonomy to decide in working seminars at their schools how to promote these values using suitable supplementary materials that they have chosen themselves.

The Historical Narrative in Cyprus

The “Cyprus dispute” is the result of the ongoing disagreement between the [Republic of Cyprus](#) and [Turkey](#) over the [northern part of Cyprus](#). Initially, with the annexation of the island by the [British Empire](#) (1878), the dispute was identified as the conflict between the people of Cyprus and [the British Crown](#) regarding the Cypriots’ demand for [self-determination](#). What began as a colonial dispute, however, ultimately shifted to an ethnic conflict between the Turkish and the Greek islanders. In 1571, Ottoman Turks settled on the island and the 300 years of Ottoman rule that ensued were hard times for the Christian population. This hardship lasted until the reforms of Tanzimât (1839).⁷

The historical narrative in Cyprus is shaped by the concept of Turkish or Greek “Otherness”. For most Greek-Cypriots, Turks (whether Turkish-Cypriots, new settlers from Turkey or even the present inhabitants of

Turkey) are Others. For most Turkish-Cypriots or Turks in Cyprus (new settlers after the invasion of 1974), Greeks (whether Greek-Cypriots or Greek citizens living in Cyprus as workers) constitute Others. The differences in language and religion are often seen as basic characteristics of the two groups. During Ottoman rule, for the majority of the Christian Greek-Cypriot population (including some thousands of Latin and Armenian citizens, also Christian), the Other was the Muslim (Pavlidis 1990). The early Ottoman population in Cyprus following the conquest as well as the Ottoman rulers were Muslim in religion and spoke the Ottoman language. They were the Other for the conquered Christian people, who constituted the Other for the Muslim Ottomans. The term “Turkish” to denote citizens of the Turkish nation is a recent one. Even under British rule, national censuses conducted by the British spoke of Mohammedan, Muslim or Christian inhabitants of Cyprus; not of “Turkish” or “Greek-Cypriot” peoples. Otherness was defined in terms of religious identity because during the centuries of Ottoman rule, there were many Latin, Armenian or Orthodox Christians who became Muslims for various reasons: some hoped to avoid taxes imposed by the Ottoman rulers and others due to intermarriages⁸ or fear-inspired conversion. This new Muslim population often spoke Greek rather than the Ottoman language, rendering the differentiating characteristic their adherence to Islam. In the nineteenth century, intellectual expansion politicised the local ethnological traditions in Cyprus and turned them into dynamic elements of political change. According to Niyazi Kızılyürek (2002), the growth of national consciousness and assertion that culminated in a political vision of national emancipation through union with “mother” countries was the determining factor in the construction of the national memory. This process was a parallel phenomenon in other countries as well, resulting in shifts within the cultural and political map of Europe. It is remarkable that the nation-building process occurred simultaneously in the political and cultural fields—a development that provided a major incentive for the establishment of national schools.

In Cyprus the presence of a legitimised Other, within the majority population and of Greek origin, is denied by Turkish textbooks. Greek-Cypriots are presented as different in culture from Greeks in Greece. Significant here is that the textbook *Turkish Cypriot History* (sixth grade 2013: 2) in its presentation of the ancient peoples of the island does not mention Greek tribes at all. Further, the book emphasises that the Achaean Greek tribe came from Asia during the twelfth century B.C. and not from

Greece (36). There is thus no evidence of “Greekness” as pertaining to the Greek-Cypriots. Further, Turkish textbooks also question the Turkish-Cypriot identity as an independent cultural entity. Turks came from Anatolia in 1571 and inhabited the island (66). All textbooks contain a portrait and quotes from the founder of the Turkish Republic, Kemal Atatürk, in their first pages.

TEXTBOOK ANALYSIS

While there is a great deal of literature on the education system in Cyprus, there are only few publications on textbook research and curricula, mainly published in the last three decades. The historical trauma rendered it a somewhat ambitious and occasionally dangerous undertaking to criticise one’s own community’s approach towards history teaching. History education has in the past been considered a national issue, and any attempts to change it might be condemned as unpatriotic or the work of a “traitor”. On the Greek side, the first attempt to address history textbooks was made by sociologists and, later, by teachers working either for the Ministry of Education and Culture, universities, the Pedagogical Institute or in schools. These sociologists emphasised that history teaching had hitherto been a more national than academic project (Kızılyürek 2002; Papadakis 2008; Mavratsas 1997); that for many years education had been based on community politics and objectives, on dividing rather than uniting knowledge.⁹ The British colonial administration and the leaders of the local Greek and Turkish nationalism movements had their own expectations of the curriculum. Simoni Photiou (2009) notes that the case of the Cypriot educational system reflects the struggles of opposing groups to have their own interests, values, histories and politics dominate school textbooks and curricula.

The Turkish side comprises two groups of scientists: those engaged in the practice of reform, appointed by the Ministry of National Education and Culture, and researchers from the academic sphere. Nergis Canefe evaluates how Turkish textbooks reflect on political events in Turkey as compared to the perspective of the Turkish side in Cyprus (Canefe 2002) and accepts the depiction of the *Barış Harekatı* (operation towards peace) as an invasion (388). Finally, Étienne Copeaux has published extensively on textbooks, history teaching and on Turkish national historiography.

For the Greek-Cypriot textbooks, the responsibility rests with the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Cypriot Government and its Pedagogical Institute. Responsibility for the Turkish-Cypriot textbooks is held by the Council for Instruction and Education (*Talim ve Terbiye Kurulu*), a public service organisation that controls “everything in the education system” (Copeaux 2002: 398).

GENERATIONS OF TEXTBOOKS

The education system has undergone four phases¹⁰ in its efforts to describe the Cyprus dispute and depict the Other. Each period is characterised by new history textbooks.

The First Generation (Prior to 1960)

During the long period before the establishment of the Cypriot government, which included the Ottoman and British administration, education was separated into two different streams with different principles and values: one for Muslims and one for Christians. The beginning of British rule in Cyprus (1878) and the establishment of Kemal Atatürk’s secular Republic in Turkey (1923) are landmarks for the development of school materials in both communities of the island. In Ottoman schools priority was given to theoretically substantiate the presence of Muslim Ottomans on the island as citizens with sovereign rights as well as the religious Muslim orientation (*Turkish Cypriot History*, 6th grade 2013: 58, 66f). Feelings of justice and injustice, pain and memory and hope and despair are presented as reality. During British rule, there were improvements in terms of regulations and administrative laws. The school system achieved its legal institutionalisation; Muslim and Christian students were allowed to attend their community school.¹¹ However, a de facto separation of the population took place at school, thus helping the rulers to divide and rule. The British promoted the building of Mosques and emphasised differences in both population groups. This atmosphere incited the “mother countries” to declare their presence (Kızılyürek 1993), emphasising two national orientations (*History of Cyprus. Medieval and Modern Period*, 11th grade 2013: 275f).

The Second Generation (1960–2004)

This period is interspersed with landmarks: 1960, when Cyprus attained independence, the inter-ethnic struggles of 1963, the rise to power in Greece of a military junta between 1967 and 1974 and a coup d'état in Cyprus followed by the Turkish invasion of 1974, presented incidentally in the Turkish textbooks as the operation towards peace (e.g. *Turkish Cypriot History*, 10th grade 2013: 56f) and, in 2004, the Annan Plan proposal for settlement of the dispute followed by a referendum. The main characteristics to be found in textbooks of this period are the presentation of the contemporary conflict “as a modern version of past massacres” (Papadakis 2008), the use of prejudice and stereotypes. During this phase ethnic groups continued to pursue their individual objectives.

Following the overthrow of the Makarios government and the subsequent Turkish invasion in 1974, textbooks refer to the war as waged by Turkey and the junta brought to the island by Greek commanders, expressing hatred and strong accusations of these Others who destroyed the country. This situation lasted around three decades, each side hoping—in vain—that a solution would be found by the so-called mother countries, just as the disaster had also originated outside the island. On neither side were there attempts to work towards unification within the education system. Turkish-Cypriot students learnt the Turkish narrative (*Turkish Cypriot History*, 9th grade 2011: 92–105). Greek-Cypriot students studied the Greek counterpart, learning that Turks are aggressors (designated as the “Turkish Attila” Turks) and part of the historic enemy. Textbooks of this generation characterise Turkish-Cypriots as descendants from mixed marriages with Greeks and from ex-Islamisation¹² of the Christian population (e.g. *History of Cyprus*, 5th and 6th grade 1995). This book is still in use, but with major changes in the new edition of 2011, such as the omission of previously featured images of Christians being assassinated by Ottomans.

The Third Generation (2004–2009)

Landmarks of this period reflect the failure to achieve a solution via “The Annan Plan”,¹³ and the subsequent changes (political and educational) as a result of public debate not only abroad (Cyprus joined the European Union as a divided country), but mainly on the island itself regarding the consequences of teaching the conflict for the population. Negotiations

began under the guidance of the United Nations with the aim of reunifying the island; indeed, an initial educational objective expressed in the curricula sought “to create a school culture of peaceful coexistence and collaboration between Turkish and Greek Cypriots in order to support all efforts towards unification of our divided island” (MoE 2011).

Characteristics of textbooks from this period include the recognition of the Other as a legitimised citizen of the island (new settlers are excluded), acknowledgement of multi-vocality (varying perspectives), recognition of a counter-narrative (refugees, missing soldiers, killings) and an acceptance of certain major problems (new settlers, the property issue). Mehmet Ali Talat became prime minister of the Turkish side in 2004 and authorised changes to textbooks. On the Greek side, the government of Demetris Christofias (2007–2013), former secretary general of the communist party and friend of Talat, began a reform of curricula and textbooks. On both sides, textbook designers agreed that a comprehensive approach to history teaching should enhance multiple perspectives both as a teaching method and an epistemological standpoint.

On the Turkish side, a phase of history textbook reform begun in 2004 stressed the importance of the territorial rather than the ethnic dimension of identity.¹⁴ The notion of “Kıbrıs Türklülük” (Turkish-Cypriotness) signifies the cultural uniqueness of the Turkish-Cypriots and represents a reaction to Turkish nationalism. This reform lasted until the election defeat of President Mehmet Ali Talat and the victory of Derviş Eroğlu (2009). The latter sought to satisfy the members of his party who blamed Talat for reforms that had been “the biggest threat to us—bigger even than the Greek Cypriot threat”.¹⁵

On the Greek side, especially after Cyprus had joined the European Union in May 2004, the need to introduce reforms in history teaching and textbooks was emphasised by a special committee of university professors who were invited by the Ministry of Education and Culture to evaluate the educational system. Their report described the history textbooks of the time as Hellenocentric, insufficiently multicultural and ethnocentric (Committee of Educational Reform 2004: 36–70).¹⁶

The actual implementation of the committee’s suggestions, however, did not begin until 2008. Pictures insulting or presenting Turks as “Barbars” were removed from textbooks, curricula emphasised the necessity of teaching peaceful coexistence, and directives urged teachers to follow these guidelines during their teaching.¹⁷

Apart from textbooks, curricula and directives, there is also a prescribed set of aims and orientations to be followed by teachers for each school year. For many years, teacher directives had focused on the objective to promote Greek and Christian values in order to help young students become virtuous citizens, and, in addition, to give multicultural orientation within a united Europe without any racism or prejudice.¹⁸ During the academic year 2008–2009, when this last reform began, the aim changed: “to promote knowledge about the Turkish community and support all efforts of governmental and non-governmental organisations towards peaceful coexistence on the island”.¹⁹

The Fourth Generation (2009–2017)

Landmarks of this period include the election of Derviş Eroğlu, leader of the National Unity Party, on the Turkish side. He became president in 2009 and reinforced the nationalistic approach to education as had been established before the government of Mehmet Ali Talat. On the Greek side, President Christofias remained in power until 2013, when Nicos Anastasiades, leader of Democratic Rally, the centre-right political party, won the election. The island was struck by a financial crisis, and many people believed that a possible solution to the Cyprus conflict might have a positive influence on the economy of both sides. Teaching history, which had become a more national than academic matter, now needed to become a synthesis of both approaches and indeed remains a target of Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot educational policy to date. The legitimised Other is a neighbour and students acquire a more balanced picture of history with peaceful coexistence as the required virtue. In literature textbooks in particular, poems and literary texts describing peaceful relations between Turkish and Greek-Cypriots in daily life are part of the curriculum.

During the academic year 2010–2011, the aim was to continue “promoting knowledge about the Turkish-Cypriot community and create a school culture of peaceful coexistence and collaboration between Turkish and Greek Cypriots in order to support all efforts towards unification of our divided island” (MoE 2011). The focus for the school year 2012–2013 shifted “to educate democratic citizens and to support Cyprus’ Presidency of the European Union” (Demosthenous 2012). The new Anastasiades government declared as its first objective for 2013–2014 that students learn: “I get to know my country, I do not forget the land that is mine and

yet occupied, and I demand the freedom and the reunification of my island". The second aim is given as the achievement of active citizenship with an emphasis on solidarity and social networking.²⁰ With regard to Turkish-Cypriot education, the overall aim for all members of the Turkish Cypriot community, as published on the website of the Ministry of National Education and Culture, is to educate students in accordance with Ataturk's principles and revolution, a sense of partnership, modernisation targets, Ataturk's nationalism, democracy, social justice and the rule of law based on the protection and development of educated citizens". Furthermore, "the Cypriot community must be aware of the history of struggle for its existence, protect and improve the Turkish society, love the motherland Turkey, the Turkish nation, the community and family with strong links attached to its homeland, the secular state and the rights of peaceful citizens".²¹

IMAGES OF SELF AND OTHER

Changes within political and social life in both communities brought about an improvement, one that took decades to penetrate the existing narrative, in the way in which textbooks of the third generation portray concepts of Self and Other via powerful storytelling. The second-generation textbooks introduce the Turk as "Hellenism's barbaric arch enemy" (Papadakis 2008); the cover of a primary school history textbook (6th grade 1997) illustrates this with a group of Greek fighters against a background of Turks holding Greeks captive, with one Turk wielding a curved sword and preparing to behead them. This cover image no longer features in the third-generation textbook (*History of Recent and Current Years*, 6th grade 2012), where it has been replaced by five small images of different historical events with an emphasis on culture.

The *History of Cyprus for the 7th—9th grade* (2013) is a one-volume textbook that displays a more balanced view of the Ottoman period in Cyprus by referring to it as "*Tourkokratia*" (Turkish domination) rather than "Ottoman". Only ten pages in the textbook are devoted to the entire period of 1570–1878. It introduces the beginning of Ottoman rule with the words "One hundred thousand Turkish soldiers managed to conquer Nicosia in September 1570" (96). The question arises as to why such a large number of Turks were required to conquer Nicosia since the entire population of Cypriots at the time did not exceed 197,000 (Kyrris 1996: 259). It becomes apparent here that the Greek-Cypriot authors of this textbook were trying

to avoid any speculation that Turkish-Cypriots come from Greek Christians who were converted to Islam by force, as was inspired by the previous generation of textbooks which placed the number of Ottoman soldiers who attacked and occupied Cyprus at only 3000–4000. It thus remains unclear where the huge number of Turkish-Cypriots came from. The book *A Turkish Cypriot History for 7th grade* (2012: 12–15) does not give any number for the Ottoman soldiers conquering Cyprus. Interestingly, however, the same textbook presents a fourth reason why Ottomans should take over the island: “In Cyprus there were *Muslims for centuries*²²; the evidence is the famous Hala Sultan Tekke, Ümmü Haram, the tomb of the aunt of the Messenger of God, the Prophet Mohammed” (6). This reason is not given in the Greek history textbooks, which present the Turkish Other as having destroyed the unity of the island in order to establish unity with the mother country of Turkey, and further as the occupying force of nearly half of the country (*History of Cyprus. Medieval and Modern Period*, 11th grade 2013: 280–303). Greek textbooks emphasise the difference in culture between Turkish-Cypriots and Turkish new settlers from Turkey, the latter forming a majority in occupied Cyprus (301). New settlers are described as more faithful to Islam, while Turkish-Cypriots are depicted as displaying more secular tendencies; Turkish-Cypriots often took part in Christian celebrations (called *πανήγορης*). Moreover, new settlers differ in terms of culture, coming as they do from different regions of Turkey; some from Anatolia, some from Istanbul (this toponyme comes from the Greek ‘εις την πόλιν’, ‘towards the main town’), others still are of Kurdish or other origin. Turkish-Cypriots, however, are brought up in Cyprus; many of them understand or speak Greek and have much in common with Greek-Cypriots in terms of everyday behaviour, habits and working life.

Readers are given a new and more elaborate presentation of the constitution which was given to President Makarios by the British when he was in exile in Seychelles in 1956 (known as Radcliffe’s proposal²³) and which led to division rather than unity (242). The authors include a cartoon (see Fig. 12.1) portraying this constitution as made of chains coming from the Foreign Office, adorned by a sign stating “Made in England”. Anthony Eden, the British Prime Minister, is showing it to Makarios, who is standing on the island alone on the right-hand side of the picture. The textbook thus introduces in pioneer fashion the British Other as also responsible for the conflict and the division of Cyprus.

On the other hand, Turkish textbooks question the “Greekness” of the Other. Greek-Cypriots are presented as different in culture from Greeks in



Fig. 12.1 Cartoon portraying the constitution as chains made in England. Source: *History of Cyprus: Medieval and Modern Period*, 11th Grade 2013: 242

Greece (*Turkish Cypriot History*, 6th grade 2012: 36). Greek-Cypriots are presented not as the offspring of the four Greek tribes who had lived for millennia in Greece, but rather in terms of how they differ from “the Greeks”. In addition, Cyprus is depicted as belonging geographically to Asia rather than Europe, with some of its inhabitants coming from Anatolia. The textbook emphasises that the Ottomans helped the Greeks survive, alleviating them from suffering under Venetian rule, by taking over the island (62).

Turkish-Cypriot textbooks use the term “*Türk-İslam*” (Turkish-Islam) even in reference to the sixteenth century (e.g. *Social Studies 7, History* 2013: 7). However, for maps the textbooks use the term “*Osmanlı devleti*” (Ottoman Empire), rather than “Turkish”. Greek-Cypriot textbooks speak of “Islam” and “Muslims” in reference to this period only and use the term “Turkish” rather in the context of the nineteenth century. Turkish-Cypriot textbooks introduce Turkish-Cypriots as similar in culture, religion and habits to Turks in Turkey (*Social Studies 7, Geography* 2013: 12). This Turkish self-image is not represented in Greek-Cypriot textbooks, where Turkish-Cypriots are shown as having many things in common with the Greek-Cypriots (*History of Cyprus. Medieval and*

Modern Period, 11th grade 2013: 156f). In contrast to this, Greek textbooks emphasise similarities in culture between Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots. The population is characterised as one Cypriot people, indeed in accordance with political efforts to reunify the island as one cultural and political entity and to overcome division. The Turkish-Cypriot method prioritises the nationalising of history teaching and emphasising bonds to the “motherland” of Turkey, while the current Greek-Cypriot portrayal seeks to enable an understanding of the so-called Cypriotism.

NATIONAL IDENTITY: GREEK/TURKISH NATIONALISM AND CYPRIOTISM

Nationalism (*εθνικισμός*—ethnikismos) is a word derived from *έθνος* (nation) and is a Greek term expressing high admiration for one’s own nation.²⁴ In divided societies such as Cyprus, some people use this term with positive connotations, while many others use it to express the superiority of their own nation over that of the Other. Greek-Cypriot nationalists nowadays use the term “our nation”, not because they seek union with Greece, but as a reaffirmation of their Greek identity “in the context of an independent polity which is organically tied to Greek culture” (Mavratsas 1997). Cypriotism (*Κυπριοτισμός*) is the movement initiated by the so-called neo-Cypriots following the clashes between Turkish- and Greek-Cypriots in 1963. Neo-Cypriots then emphasised the unique character of the island as hosting different cultures with diverse social, political and economic interests differing considerably from those characterising the two “motherlands”, Turkey and Greece. This ideology is still supported by many Cypriots and non-governmental organisations and is regarded as a de-ethnicised political ideology.

Turkish nationalism seeks to strengthen ties with motherland Turkey, as reflected by the first page of each textbook which displays a portrait of Atatürk and his Address to Turkish Youth (*Atatürk’ ün gençliğe Hitabesi*). Further, Turkish textbooks regard Cyprus a province. This aspires to solve many problems, such as that of international pressure to settle the dispute and remove Turkish forces from the island, internal pressure by peacemakers in Turkey and the high financial cost of the divide. These are only a few reasons why textbooks stress the territorial rather than national similarities, including geographical, environmental and other physical elements (*Turkish Cypriot History*, 6th grade 2012: 9). On the other side, Turkish-Cypriotism is akin to Greek-Cypriotism; in fact all are Cypriots. The difference here is

that due to the thousands of new settlers from Turkey, Turkish-Cypriots are now a minority, being one in ten of those living in the north. Turkish textbooks do not mention any circumstances created by the waves of immigrants from Turkey. While the Greek history and civics textbooks emphasise the “Greekness” of Greek people, they also confirm that many Turkish-Cypriots also have “Greek blood” due to conversions and mixed marriages (*History of Cyprus. Medieval and Modern period*, 11th grade 2013: 153–155). These were secret Christians who publicly claimed to be Muslims but in private practised Christianity (156f).²⁵ The description of the Ottoman soldiers in particular appeals to the emotions of students and reinforces the image of the Other, in particular the reference to them as *jān'isār* (128). These were male children of Christian families taken away from their parents in early childhood and brought up in Islam under the strictest discipline. They constituted the elite corps of the Ottoman Empire and were used as the best military forces (Fig. 12.2).

The Turkish history and civics textbooks emphasise the “Turkish-Cypriotness” of Turkish-Cypriots during the reform of Talat’s government,



Fig. 12.2 Elite corps of the Ottoman Empire that were used as the best military forces. A picture from textbook *History of Cyprus: Medieval and Modern Period*, 11th grade, 2010: 128

which signifies their cultural and territorial uniqueness. More recently, however, with the election of Derviş Eroğlu in 2009, textbooks once again tended to reinforce the nationalistic approach to education and the tight bonds to the *anavatan* (fatherland) (*Turkish Cypriot History*, 9th grade 2011: 108). In addition, these more recent textbooks of what I call the fourth-generation stress that Greek-Cypriots are not the true offspring of the ancient Greek tribes (*Social Studies 6, History* 2013: 25), in an effort to alienate Greek-Cypriots from Greeks in Greece. While this narrative pursues a nationalistic agenda by stressing the territorial bonds to Turkey and the national identity of Turks, at the same time, it also unveils the existing attitude towards the Greek-Cypriots by questioning whether indeed they are truly “Greek”; that is, more than “mere” Cypriots.

An important issue for this study is the question as to how textbooks report the 1974 invasion and the consequences of a possible partition of the country. Greek-Cypriot textbooks present the divided Self (of the whole island) and the Other who seem to be powerful (e.g. *History of Recent and Current Years*, 6th grade 2012: 227). Turkish-Cypriot textbooks emphatically blame Greek-Cypriots for creating a conflict that rendered Turkish-Cypriot refugees for a second time. The textbook author complains of, amongst other things, the lack of official recognition of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, with the exception of the Turkish fatherland (*Turkish Cypriot History*, 8th grade 2012: 87f.), a complaint echoed by a Greek textbook (*History of Cyprus*: 302). Another issue addressed by the textbooks is the duty of memory, memory playing, as it does an immense role in the formation of a national identity. The media broadcast weekly programmes entitled “*δεν ξεχνώ*” (I do not forget) in Greek, or “*unutmayım*” in Turkish. In these programmes the young generation is called upon to remember the bloody clashes, the painful past and not to trust the Other. The duty of memory is transmitted in textbooks as a mechanism to avoid future conflicts (*Turkish Cypriot History*, 9th grade 2011: 108) along the lines of: “If we know the traitor Other, we will be protected”. This attitude can be fatal for reconciliation as it manifests the imaginary necessity to have an enemy and to not trust those considered Others. This painful memory is kept alive by the media on both sides and in the psyche of each community, with prejudice unchanged over decades.

Safety is another topic related to nationalism in Cyprus. The “Greekness” or “Turkishness” of Cyprus is viewed as the guarantee of the Greek-/Turkish-Cypriots’ survival in the midst of their current misfortunes (*New and Current History*, 9th grade 2011: 156). Mother countries

are regarded as providing “rescue” to Turkish-Cypriots and “hope” to Greek-Cypriots (*Turkish Cypriot History*: 81). An emerging question is whether textbooks (Greek or Turkish) have examined any perspectives to avoid the resurgence of nationalistic attitudes (Pingel 2010: 15). On the Greek side, there has been one such effort. Until recently the reference to Byzantium was a source of consolidating Greek elements in the narrative, because Byzantine culture is regarded as Greek. By emphasising that the period before the Ottoman Empire was Byzantine (i.e. Greek), open questions remained regarding the sources of Ottoman culture as well. The designers of the Greek textbook wished to avoid this debate and prevent a further continuation of what might be a more nationalistic historical attitude, therefore placing less importance on Byzantine culture and more on the “Cypriotness” of Greek-Cypriots. One example of these efforts is found in a change of title of a history textbook used in secondary schools, from *The Byzantine Empire* during the second-generation phase to—since 2012—*History of the Middle Ages and Modern Times* (8th grade 2012). As Yannis Papadakis notes in his study of Cypriot textbooks in use before the current reform, “emphasis is placed on Ancient Greece as the beginning of history, succeeded by ‘foreign domination’ until the rise of the Byzantine Empire (treated as a glorious ‘Greek’ empire) and finally liberation from the ‘Turkish yoke’” (Papadakis 2008: 5).²⁶ Ultimately, the decision as to how the Middle Ages should be depicted—whether as entirely Byzantine, or as an era when Byzantine was only one of diverse Western and Eastern cultures—is thus left to the teacher.

Another example of a Greek textbook which emphasises the “Cypriotness” of all Cypriots in an effort to convey to students the perception and value of an independent state is the *History of Recent and Current Years* (6th grade 2012). This textbook, unlike those of the second generation, refers to all people who live in Cyprus as “Cypriots” (Κύπριοι) (225) and refrains from differentiating between “Greek” or “Turkish” Cypriots. It is of importance that this textbook was published in Greece. Unfortunately these efforts are not mirrored in the Turkish-Cypriot textbooks of the fourth generation due to the change of government and the mainstream policy which granted a rebirth to nationalism together and reinforced the political will to present the “historic” enemy and teach students the Turkish national identity (*Turkish Cypriot History*, 9th grade 2011: 108–110).

EXISTING OBSTACLES TO EDUCATION REFORM

There are many obstacles in the path of real, effective reform. Some can be traced back to institutions, some to societal mechanisms and some to a lack of academic instruction and inadequate knowledge on the part of teachers. I will refer to some of these obstacles briefly here.

The first obstacle is that of constructed realities in the textbooks, which differ between both communities. These are imagined ideas which find their way into textbooks as principles or prejudices that are accepted without any doubt or research; sometimes constructs are political targets given as slogans. Marc Gobin (2002) describes very accurately the meaning of constructs in his famous book *Holy War, Holy Peace: How Religion Can Bring Peace to the Middle East*. He begins the debate with the classical question: “Who is chosen by God to be his beloved son, Ishmael or Isaac?” and illustrates how this constructed reality is used in textbooks to propagate the conflict in the Middle East.

Another construed notion amongst the education sector in Cyprus is the idea that history textbooks must not be changed. This, however, was deemed incorrect even in ancient times: Polybius (200–118 B.C.), the Greek Historian, in his famous book *The Histories*, wrote emphatically that “*Ὀλβιος, ὅστις τῆς ἱστορίας ἔσχε μάθησιν*” (happy is he who knows history well). To know history well is to know how it evolves as our understanding grows, and so a scientific interpretation of history presupposes change. Many secondary schools use this sentence in reference to national holidays, and teachers often explain the importance of this principle through theatre, speeches or other festivities.

The famous quote of Atatürk’s, “*ne mutlu Türk’üm diyene*” (happy is he who says “I am a Turk”) and the last line of his poem, “*Türk’üm, doğrudum, çalışkanım*”, is implemented as a construct when it imposes nationalistic fanaticism and when it is even written in huge letters on the mountain on the Turkish-occupied side (and lit up at night in order to be visible from passing aeroplanes). Constructs in textbooks and curricula tend to exacerbate conflicts, as in the case of the dictum found in *Turkish Cypriot History* for ninth grade: “*Kıbrıs Türkü!*” (Cyprus is Turkish) (2011: 108). Both the media and politicians like to use such construed realities, in which a real event is given an exaggerated portrayal to political effect. A characteristic example is the “massacre” of Turkish-Cypriots by Greek-Cypriots at the village of Pallodkia. This event is accepted by Greek historiography as fact. While, however, 13 Turkish-Cypriots were indeed

killed there (Katsiaounis 2009), it was not something that can be referred to as a “massacre” as does the Turkish textbook (*Turkish Cypriot History*: 92–96).

The second obstacle to true education reform is the lack of multifaceted identities²⁷ in textbooks and curricula. In history, wars have not been about facts but about understanding; there has been no room for multiple interpretations (Fuchs 2010: 717). For this reason teachers might begin by explaining the multiple elements and identities that may exist, which indeed avoids confusion later when there is a reform or changes in how a national identity is defined.

A Turkish-Cypriot may have various different identities, such as Turkish-Cypriot, Turkish, Muslim, Sunni Muslim, Cypriot, Mediterranean, Middle Eastern or European. A Greek-Cypriot may feel Greek-Cypriot, Greek, Christian, Orthodox Christian, European, Mediterranean or Middle Eastern. These identities are not in conflict with each other. Teachers can stress the coexistence of Turks and Greeks in Cyprus as being similar to the coexistence of different identities in one person in an intercultural context. A new civics education is required, both inside schools as well as outside. Teaching multifaceted identity will create a common feeling of belonging currently missing in textbooks.

Another existing obstacle to reform is that of the exploitation of religion. Religion is connected to nationalism (Koutselini and Persianis 2000), and like other traditional values, it may regard reform as a challenge on the part of an agnostic modernity. In addition, politicians often exploit religion in order to reach the desired level of fanaticism and polarisation. A Turkish textbook uses the illustration in Fig. 12.3 to accuse members of the church (*Kilise*) of being one group with the communist party (*AKEL*) and against Turkish-Cypriot rights.

A Greek textbook (*History of Recent and Current Years*, 6th grade 2012: 74f) presents the struggle via the general slogan, “*ὡπὲρ πίστεως καὶ πατρίδος*” (for the faith and the home country) in which religious people take part as soldiers. In Cyprus in 1821, the textbook claims, Turks first killed the Archbishop and the other members of the synod aiming to terrify Greek-Cypriots into abstaining from rebellion (102).

Although education in Cyprus is secular on both sides and religion has generally not been the reason for clashes, recently a kind of religious transformation has been taking place on the Turkish side. The Turkish President, Abdullah Gül, on a visit to Cyprus in 2009 emphasised that “religious differences have played an important role in Cyprus”. This quotation appears frequently in textbooks written in Turkish (*Turkish Cypriot*

E- RUMLARIN SİYASİ TEŞKİLATLANMASI

1. AKEL (İlerici Halkın Komünist Partisi)

AKEL (İlerici Halkın Komünist Partisi), 1941 yılında kuruldu. İngiltere, II. Dünya Savaşı'nda komünist bir ülke olan SSCB ile aynı grupta yer aldığından AKEL'in faaliyetlerine müdahale etmedi. AKEL 1949 yılına kadar Enosis'e karşı cephe almışsa da, 1949 yılında ani bir dönüşle Enosis'e tam destek verdiğini açıklamıştır. Bunun ardından AKEL, 1949'da Birleşmiş Milletler Güvenlik Konseyi'ne başvurarak Kıbrıs için "self-determinasyon" isteyecek kadar ileri gitmiştir.

1949'dan itibaren AKEL ile Kilise arasında Enosis'i kimin gerçekleştireceği konusunda bir yarış başlamıştır.



Fig. 12.3 Kilise runs with Akel, Source: Turkish Cypriot History, 8th grade 2012: 21

History, 9th grade 2011: 93). This book, like several other Turkish-Cypriot textbooks, adopts a negative approach to Christianity (86). In addition, the media encourage “better religious education”.²⁸ Every year around 500 students (aged 11–16) are sent to Turkey to learn about Islam. This is considered by some to be an “attack on the secular education system”.²⁹

Religious enmity is easy to teach to students, because many parents invoke the concept of punishment from God in their children’s upbringing. When textbooks depict the idea of God as a punishing power, a

difference of religion conveys a completely different—and often enmity-inspiring—image of Self and Other. Sitas, Latif and Loizou (2007) have published an interesting report regarding the reconciliation attitudes of Turkish and Greek-Cypriots, where a Greek-Cypriot maintains: “There is no prospect for reconciliation; whatever they do, they are not European...we want a solution, if the Turks leave us alone there can be co-existence. But there won’t be much sharing. But can’t we forgive and get on with it? No! No, such graciousness and generosity! We have it in our religion but they don’t have it in theirs”.³⁰

CONCLUSIONS

In Cyprus, changes to textbooks reflect changes in political life more than changes within society as a whole. Perceptions of Self and Other are altered when the curriculum is adjusted to suit every newly elected government’s political orientations. Generally speaking, there is a willingness amongst designers of textbooks and curricula to base history teaching on both sides more on intercultural content and progressive pedagogy. Many pictures of violence were removed in the third-generation textbooks, and cartoons are often used in order to encourage students to reflect on events.

Two dominant historical narratives have become firmly established in the psyche of each community as the decades have passed. The Greek history textbooks present the Other as having destroyed the unity of the island in order to establish unity with the mother country Turkey; as the occupier of nearly half of Cyprus; and as descended from mixed marriages with Greeks and forced conversions of the Christian population to Islam. On the other side, Turkish textbooks question not only the Greek character and culture of the Other (Greek-Cypriots are presented as different in culture from the Greeks in Greece) but also their own Turkish-Cypriot identity as an independent cultural entity. Turkish-Cypriots are portrayed as tightly connected to the motherland of Turkey, its culture and civilisation. In addition, constructed realities and stereotyped language in both sides’ textbooks create a fundamental obstacle to a common understanding of the historical narrative.

In this chapter I have suggested that reforming textbooks and curricula both in the Greek and Turkish languages could contribute greatly towards a more constructive, realistic and honest education, inspiring the next generation to think more freely and to live together in greater harmony for a secure, peaceful future. There are still three major obstacles to this

change: the embedded opposing negative constructs that now pervade many of our textbooks and may even influence our teachers; the exploitation of religion by desperate politicians which breeds both religious and nationalist fanaticism; and, thirdly, the simplistic idea that identity is based on a single aspect of our lives, rather than being multifaceted. Change has been achieved, if rather painfully and slowly. However, there is a certain eagerness amongst both textbook editors and teachers themselves to encourage more independent thought and an openness to new ideas.

NOTES

1. The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC, *Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti*), commonly referred to as Northern Cyprus, is a self-declared state that comprises the northeastern part of the island. Recognised only by Turkey, Northern Cyprus is considered by the international community to be an **occupied territory** of the **Republic of Cyprus**. A **buffer zone** under the control of the **United Nations** stretches between Northern Cyprus and the rest of the island and divides **Nicosia**, the island's largest city and the capital of both states.
2. Mehmet Ali Talat, leader of the left-wing Republican Turkish Party (*Cumhuriyetçi Türk Partisi*) became prime minister in 2004 and subsequently won the presidential election held in 2005. Talat succeeded the retiring President **Rauf Denktaş**.
3. Translations from both Turkish and Greek textbooks are my own.
4. The social studies textbooks for sixth and seventh grade are titled either *Social Studies, History* (*Sosyal Bilgiler, Tarih*) or *Social Studies, Geography* (*Sosyal Bilgiler, Coğrafya*), because the volume as a whole deals with geography or history from a sociological angle.
5. Populous countries have more armed conflicts than small countries, but have fewer conflicts or casualties per capita than small countries. This is revealed by research carried out by the Centre for the Study of Civil War. See Halvard Buhaug, Scott Gates, Håvard Hegre and Håvard Strand, *Global Trends in Armed Conflict*, International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO). <http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/ud/kampanjer/refleks/innspill/engasjement/prio.html?id=492941> (accessed January 2017).
6. Directive no. 7.1.05.23 of 23 September 2011 to the directors of all primary and secondary schools titled: "The aim of this school year 2011–2012". For the following years, see Ministry of Education and Culture, *New Curricula, 2010–2014*, Pedagogical Institute, Nicosia 2010–2014 (in Greek).

7. *Tanzimât* was a period of reformation that began in 1839 and ended with the [First Constitutional Era](#) in 1876.
8. During Ottoman rule laws regulating family affairs were the religious laws of each community. The law of each religion further claimed superiority over other religious laws existing in that country or territory. Should, for example, a Christian girl be in love with a Muslim, the couple had two options: either to get married in the mosque and the Christian girl to convert to Islam or celebrate the marriage in the church and the Muslim man to be christened before the wedding. Children of these couples could be either Christian or, more often, Muslim. There were many such cases in Ottoman Cyprus, and Greek textbooks consider children of such marriages to be of Christian Greek origin. In contrast, Turkish textbooks ignore intermarriages. See A. Demosthenous (2007), "Toward a Socio-Legal Acceptance of Muslim-Christian Marriages in Cyprus", *INTAMS Review (Journal for the Study of Marriage and Spirituality)* 13 (1): 95.
9. Cyprus gained independence in 1960. Article 87 of the constitution provided for two Communal Chambers, the Turkish and the Greek, each having jurisdiction in matters of religion, education, cultural affairs and personal status over members of its respective community. As a consequence, the Turkish Educational Office and the Office of Religious Matters were by law responsible for arranging all necessary provisions regarding the education of Turkish-Cypriots. According to these organisations, the prime task of education was to promote an attitude of responsibility to the family, to the community, to the Turkish nation and to the world and to enable students to understand and appreciate the importance of the ideology of *Kemalism*.
10. This is the first study to identify periods relating to the pace of changes in textbooks and curricula of the Cypriot system. I follow the method used by Elie Podeh (2002).
11. In the year 1895, Cyprus passed its first piece of education legislation. This law provided for separate Educational Councils for the Turkish and Greek communities.
12. The term *ex-Islamisation* (Greek: *εξισλαμισμοί*) means "change of religion by force" due to fear. Further, during Ottoman rule, Christians often used to profess Islam in order to avoid paying the taxes demanded of the non-Muslim population by the Ottoman administration.
13. This was a [United Nations](#) proposal to resolve the Cyprus problem. The proposal suggested restructuring the [Republic of Cyprus](#) as a "United Republic of Cyprus", which would be a federation of two states. It was revised a number of times before being put to the people of Cyprus in a [referendum](#). Greek Cypriots rejected the proposal by 76%, while 65% of Turkish-Cypriots accepted it.

14. According to the Turkish-Cypriot textbooks, the Cyprus problem is not an international one; it is territorial. Cyprus is regarded as a territory belonging to Turkey (*Social Studies 7, Geography* 2013: 12).
15. On the reform during Talat's term of office, see Y. Vural and E. Özuyanık 2008, "Redefining Identity in the Turkish-Cypriot School History Textbooks: A Step Towards a United Federal Cyprus", *South European Society and Politics* 13 (2): 133–154. The quote given here is from a speech by Erdil Nami, President of the Turkish Chamber of Commerce: http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/fe34071e-8f04-11db-a7b2-0000779e2340.html?ft_site=falcon&desktop=true#axzz4cz6Ym9eB (accessed April 2017).
16. See also I. Psaltis (2006), *Educational Reform: Theory and Praxis* (in Greek) Nicosia: Parga.
17. For this and the following quotations, see the Cyprus Pedagogical Institute website: "Analytika Programmata": <http://www.pi.ac.cy/pi/index.php?lang=el> (accessed January 2017).
18. Letter to teachers from the Ministry. See E. Papamichael 2009, "Greek Cypriot Teachers and Classroom Diversity: Intercultural Education in Cyprus", *International Handbook of Research on Teachers and Teaching* 21: 605–617. http://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007%2F978-0-387-73317-3_38#page-1 (accessed April 2017).
19. www.moec.gov.cy/stochoi/2008_2009_scholiki_chronia.html (accessed April 2017).
20. http://www.moec.gov.cy/stochoi/2013_2014_scholiki_chronia.html (accessed April 2017).
21. Milli Eğitim Amacı in <http://www.mebnet.net/?q=node/17> (accessed 06.01.2017), in Turkish.
22. My italics.
23. Lord Radcliffe's proposal of a Constitution for Cyprus was a document recommending a single-chamber assembly with 6 seats reserved for members elected by voters on the Turkish-Cypriot roll, 24 for members elected by the rest of the population and 6 for members nominated by the British Governor. There would be a cabinet, with a chief minister, responsible to the Legislative Assembly. These arrangements would give to the people of Cyprus "the widest possible measure of autonomy compatible with the reservation to the Governor of defence, external affairs and public security". (H.C. Deb. 19 December 1956 vol. 562, cc 1267–1279). <http://akaum.atilim.edu.tr/pdfs/1956LordRadcliffeonerisi.pdf>
24. The term *ἔθνος* did not exist in ancient Greece; however, the debate regarding the relationship between those who were citizens of Athens (*Ἀθηναῖοι*—athineoi), and all others who did not share the Greek education and culture (*βάρβαροι*—barbaroi) is amazingly similar to the current

- discussion of how to treat illegal immigrants, even thousands of years later. See Plato's *Politeia* (The Republic), E 470C 1–7. In ancient Greece the term *φιλοπόλις* (filopolis) meant loyalty to and love of one's own town (Plato, *Politeia*, E 470D 8).
25. There is extensive literature on secret Christians in Cyprus. See, for example, F. Papadopoulou (2002), *Turks, Muslims or secret Christians?* Nicosia (in Greek).
 26. See also I. Millas (2005), *Images of Greeks and Turks: Schoolbooks, Historiography, Literature and National Stereotypes* (in Greek), Athens: Alexandraia; and L. Koullapis (2002), "The Presentation of the Period 1071–1923 in Greek and Turkish Textbooks Between 1950–2000, *International Textbook Research* 24/3: 279–304.
 27. On multifaceted identity and the related modern discussion, see S. Choudhry (2010), *Multifaceted Identity of Interethnic Young People*, London: Ashgate.
 28. Interview with Turkish Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan in Lefkoşa, published in newspaper *Yeni Düzen*, 2 February 2012.
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 30. In its original Greek, this quotation uses the term Συγγώρεσης (forgiveness). Published in A. Sitas, D. Latif and N. Loizou, *Prospects of Reconciliation, Co-Existence and Forgiveness in Cyprus in the Post-Referendum Period: Monologues of Discord*, PRIO Report 4/2007: 45–46.

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Who Are We? Identity Discourses in Iraqi Textbooks Before and After 2003

Achim Rohde

INTRODUCTION

Since the overthrow of Saddam Hussein's regime in 2003, international and Iraqi actors have engaged in attempts to rebuild the Iraqi public education system. Once renowned in the region for its quality, by 2003 the Iraqi education system, as in fact the whole Iraqi state, had been depleted by decades of disastrous wars and sanctions and was in urgent need of investments and reforms on all levels.¹ Considerable attention has been paid in this context to curriculum and textbook revision. Indeed, after years of ideological penetration (most intensively in subjects like history and patriotic education, but to varying degrees also in other subjects), neglect and isolation from international trends, the Iraqi curriculum in 2003 was outdated both didactically and in terms of content in all subjects (UNESCO 2003b; Alwan 2004a, b). This study discusses aspects of the Iraqi curriculum and textbooks and the changes visible therein over a period of several decades within the wider political and historical contexts, with an eye towards constructions of an Iraqi national self and its relevant others, external as well as internal.

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The deepening fragmentation of the Iraqi state and society in recent years is also visible in the field of education. As early as in the 1990s, a separate education system began to evolve in the Kurdish autonomous areas in Northern Iraq.² Since taking over from the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) in 2004, the central government has invested in rebuilding the education system in the Arab parts of Iraq. After the rise of the Islamic State (IS) in 2014, its reach became limited to those predominantly Shi'i-populated areas that remain under government control, while within its dominion, while IS started to form an education system of its own to disseminate its Jihadi world view. As IS is being reduced to a regular insurgent organization without a quasi-sovereign control over territory in Iraq and Syria at the time of writing this chapter, substantial efforts will be necessary to rebuild the state education system in the areas brought back under the control of the central government. This chapter focuses on textbook and curriculum development under the control of the central government before and after 2003 and prior to the rise of the Islamic State in 2014.

The Iraqi population has always been characterized by religious, cultural and ethnic diversity, and the country's various state building elites have struggled with this fact since the inception of the Iraqi state. The perceived risk of sectarian division/conflict have been the focus of passionate debates regarding the character of Iraqi education since the inception of the country's modern school system in the 1920s, and these debates were most acutely felt in the field of history and religious education (Bashkin 2006, 2009). Most post-colonial Arab states have opted to paste over the diversity of Arab societies and presented a homogenizing narrative of an autonomous and united nation pitted against external others (Georg Eckert Institute 2011). In Iraqi history textbooks published during the Ba'hist era, internal others, most prominently Kurds and other minorities like Turkmen, were not accounted for at all.³

Given the prominence of religious fault lines and sectarianism in post-2003 Iraq, specifically the tensions between Sunni and Shi'i Arab Iraqis, the study focuses on the ways in which the Islamic religion was integrated into the curriculum by the supposedly secular-nationalist Ba'hist regime and on the changes introduced in this regard after 2003 in the Arab part of Iraq. Most states with Muslim-majority populations, whether ruled by Islamist or secular regimes, integrate Islamic values and religious education into a nationalist curriculum (Leirvik 2004; Doumato and Starrett 2007; Abbas 2010). Iraq is no exception to this rule. Beyond religious education as a distinct subject area, the study therefore focuses also on the ways in which Islam was/is referred to in other subject areas, particularly history and Arabic language.

Tikriti (2010) presents Iraqi textbooks published before and after 2003 as promoting a generic version of Islam as part of national heritage. He discerns a vague Sunni tendency in the Iraqi curriculum and argues that references to Islam grew more accentuated in textbooks published during the 1990s. After 2003, according to Tikriti, only a few paragraphs were changed, giving more prominence to Shi'i figures like 'Ali b. Abi Talib and putting more emphasis on a Muslim *umma* (community, nation) instead of Arab nationalism's Arab *umma*. This study both profits from and adds to Tikriti's essay. I compare the development of Iraqi schooling during the Ba'thist period (1968–2003), particularly the 1990s, and after 2003, focusing on how religious and national identities are negotiated in textbook narratives and curricula in the fields of history, religious education and Arabic language.

The study is based on existing scholarly literature, Iraqi textbooks and curricula from before and after 2003, published and unpublished reports by international agencies as well as press items in the Iraqi and international media on relevant matters. I did not analyse a complete set of all textbooks used in Iraqi schools under the former regime and today, but examined a selection of sources acquired by the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research. This empirical base was broadened by the works of other researchers, reports by international agencies and press items, which refer to numerous other textbooks to which the author did not have direct access. The limited empirical base of this study does not allow for a comprehensive analysis. Nevertheless, scrutinizing the available sources with regard to their content, their use of religious and nationalist terminology and their didactical approaches allows for a number of preliminary conclusions to be drawn.

IRAQI SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS DURING THE BA'THIST PERIOD

The Iraqi curriculum is built around an educational system of 6 years primary school, 3 years intermediate school and 2 years secondary school. A number of changes were introduced by successive governments during the twentieth century, but the gist of the curriculum introduced by Sati' al-Husri and his successors in the 1920s and 1930s—with its blend of “late Ottoman pedagogical legacies and ethical values, British curricular models, and pan-Arab nationalist political orientations”—remained largely unchanged up to the 1970s (Tikriti 2010: 351; Bashkin 2009; Brown 2005; Roy 1993).

As part of its efforts to consolidate its rule, from the mid-1970s onwards, the Ba'thist regime greatly expanded the education system and

simultaneously infused party ideology into the curriculum (Al-Kasey 1983: 94–163). The personality cult that was developed around Saddam Hussein after his ascendance to the presidency was duly reflected in school textbooks published since 1980, all of which contained pictures of him and a preface praising his achievements. The Iran-Iraq war was referred to by inserting short paragraphs into the existing curriculum for history, patriotic education and other subjects, depicting it as a modern version of the battle of Qadissiya, which occurred during the days of the early Muslim conquests and in which Muslim armies had prevailed over the Sassanid (ancient Persian) empire. This portrayal, thus, effectively depicted the Ba’thist regime as the torch bearer of true Islam against pagan Persians. By implication, Saddam Hussein was turned into a leader whose Islamic credentials equalled those of the early Muslim war heroes (see Tikriti 2010: 353). Yet, such changes did not alter the curriculum in any qualitative sense. Rather, they were inserted into it as additional layers and in a rather superficial way.⁴ Next to Iranians, British colonialism and “the Zionist entity” were highlighted as the most relevant and antagonistic external others in modern times (MoE 1999a). Generally speaking, the original curriculum more or less remained in place throughout the decades: Its original Arab nationalism was merely imbued with Ba’thist ideology and references to Saddam Hussein. The repetitive and normative character of the curriculum remained in place all through the years, at least in the humanities and social sciences, where the same topics were addressed in each grade, only on different levels.⁵ The normative, homogenous narratives, questions and exercises, which were attached to each unit, were strictly repetitive and fostered rote learning. No significant curriculum development took place in Iraq after the early 1980s; the same textbooks were reprinted again and again until the invasion of 2003.

Still, some gradual changes were discernible over the years, particularly regarding the place of religion in the Iraqi curriculum. In original Ba’thist doctrine, Islam was considered part of the Arab national heritage and an expression of its genius, along with ancient pre-Islamic civilizations that had existed in the region, and this was aptly reflected in history textbooks. During the regime’s modernist heydays in the 1970s, comparatively little space was dedicated to religious education in the school curriculum (Baram 2014: 66–68). Yet, by the late 1980s and in particular during the “national faith campaign” of the 1990s, the regime islamized its official discourse. After the Intifada of 1991 had exposed the splits in Saddam Hussein’s system of rule along ethnic and sectarian lines, the regime gave

up its earlier hands-off approach in favour of an active religious policy (al-Baka' 2002). In 1994, Saddam Hussein "initiated a series of Islamization steps in the educational, institutional, and (...) legal spheres", such as compulsory Islam courses in schools (Baram 1996: 40, 2014). The regime invested considerable energies throughout the 1990s to spread its piety campaign in schools, through its various mass organizations and via TV and radio programmes. The "Saddam Islamic Studies Academy", founded in 1989, was responsible for providing qualified teachers in the field of religious education at all school levels; the curricula eventually included not only learning to recite the Qur'an but also the teachings of Sunna and Shari'a (Al-Khaizaran 2007: 329).

Reflecting this development, Tikriti notes a growing number of references to Islamic traditions in textbooks published during the 1990s, which he describes as being characterized by a "vaguely and somehow generic Sunni preference" (Tikriti 2010: 354). True, accounts of early Arab Islamic history described the Prophet's life, the age of the righteous caliphs, the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties and the history of Al-Andalus without ever mentioning any splits in the Muslim *umma*. These textbooks did "not even mention the dispute over the succession to the caliphate in 661 C.E. that led to a split between Sunnis and Shi'is" (Davis 2005a: 224, see also MoE 1998c). Nor did they reference crucial actors in this context, like the sons of 'Ali b. Abi Talib, who are prominent in Shi'i accounts of early Islamic history. Circumventing any open discussion of religious fault lines existing in Iraqi society or in other Muslim-majority countries and ignoring historical events that led to the emergence of Shi'i Islam implicitly privileged a Sunni perspective (Baram 2014: 282–285).

Yet in 2003/2004, a team of Iraqi and international experts, participating in an emergency curriculum revision conducted by UNESCO on behalf of the CPA, reported that a variety of textbooks covering subjects, such as religious education, Arabic reading and Arabic literature, contained numerous pro-Shi'a expressions.⁶ These expressions included the blessing "sal Allah 'alayhi wa ahlihi wa sallam" ("God bless and salvage him and his family"), uttered whenever the name of the Prophet is mentioned, whereas Sunnis would bless the Prophet alone.⁷ The textbooks also included numerous references to the Prophet's chosen companions ("wa sahbihi al-munta-jabin")⁸ versus all his companions ("sahbihi ijma'in"), which is the equivalent term used among Sunnis. Similarly, the texts connected the blessing "'alayhi al-salaam" ("Peace be upon him") to the names of 'Ali b. Abi Talib and his son Hasan,⁹ whereas among Sunnis this blessing is exclusively attached to

the names of Prophets.¹⁰ The UNESCO reviewers noted that these expressions were typed in a different font than the rest of the texts. As the textbooks in use in 2003 were reprints of ones that had first been published in the early 1980s, the reviewers concluded that these pro-Shi'a expressions had been added to the text at some point, likely during the 1990s. To be sure, the textbooks occasionally contained also pro-Sunni expressions, like references to the “state of monotheism” (“dawlat al-tawhid”), a slogan typically used by the ardently anti-Shi'a Salafis.¹¹ Moreover, it seems that religious expressions of this sort were not systematically injected into all textbooks for all subjects, but were scattered across various textbooks in a somehow random fashion. Thus, the author reviewed several Iraqi textbooks published in the 1990s, among them some designed for the same subject areas as those reviewed by the UNESCO team in 2003/2004, but they contained no such expressions.¹² In any case, a certain implicit Sunni preference was still discernible in the curriculum until 2003, as its core structure and its contents were not altered.

REBUILDING IRAQ'S EDUCATION SYSTEM AFTER 2003

The toppling of Saddam Hussein's regime and the extensive bombings by a US-led multinational force that invaded Iraq in 2003 was followed by the collapse of the Iraqi state and widespread disorder, including looting, which wreaked further havoc on the country's already depleted public infrastructure, including schools and universities. Misconceived US policies, the destruction caused by the insurgency and counter-insurgency and the civil war of 2005–2007 triggered the disintegration of Iraqi society along sectarian lines (Herring and Rangwala 2006; Baram et al. 2010). The violence and social fragmentation also weakened the ability of schools to function adequately. Although reliable statistics are rare, reports point to increasing dropout rates among students and teachers failing to show up at work for safety reasons. Schools were attacked by suicide bombers or hit by artillery; militias threatened schools to change their curriculum or face attack (De Santisteban 2005; MSNBC 2007; UNHCR 2010). The insurgency and the civil war have caused a terrible death toll among Iraqi academics and educators, many of whom fled the country, thus contributing to an on-going brain drain that effectively deprives Iraq of the human capacities needed for rebuilding the country's education system.¹³

As levels of violence receded, the refurbishing of Iraq's education system as well as its reconstruction and modernization should have been a

high priority of the post-Saddam Iraqi polity in its efforts at rebuilding the Iraqi state and society. Indeed, considerable investments were registered in the Iraqi school sector in recent years. But US-inspired efforts at rebuilding the Iraqi education system were far more focused on higher education than on schools, and they were part and parcel of a wholesale push for the privatization of state assets and public services, which the CPA enforced upon the country since 2003. Reflecting neoliberal ideology, privatization was seen as a means to create effective services and as a contribution to the country's democratization.¹⁴ This strategy did not prove too successful, as Iraq until today remains a fragmented country with an almost dysfunctional political system and a weak state that is suffering from high levels of corruption and authoritarian government. The current confrontation between the central state and IS causes a further deterioration of the general situation. Rebuilding an inclusive all-Iraqi education system under these circumstances seems all but impossible.

These conditions have adversely affected the efforts of Iraqi and international actors to rebuild the country's public education system to a degree that would enable it to meet the needs of a growing and young population. Thus, even though government spending in the educational sector increased, the shortage in school buildings has become more severe due to population growth (Ministry of Planning and Development Cooperation & Baytal Hikma 2008: 128; Geopolicity 2009: 3). Internal refugees pose an additional burden on the school system, and this pressure has increased dramatically due to the growing number of internally displaced persons fleeing IS or the embattled zones, including many children (International Crisis Group 2011, 2014; Walker 2014). As a result, there is an increased demand for private schools that offer better learning conditions.¹⁵ Obviously, this option is available only to the wealthier strata of society.¹⁶ The erosion of the state education system has also led to the emergence of a growing number of religious private schools run by Islamic endowments, both Sunni and Shi'i, further contributing to the fragmentation of the country along sectarian lines (Abu Zeed 2015).

SECTARIANISING EDUCATION IN POST-SADDAM IRAQ: EMERGENCY REVISIONS OF 2003/2004

Reflecting both the CPA's and the nascent post-Saddam Iraqi polity's emphasis on de-Ba'athification, among the most immediate aims of curriculum revision were the erasure of Ba'athist ideology from the curriculum,

and the development of new learning materials that would help accommodate a reconstructed sense of Iraqi national identity. Building on models of textbook revision developed since the end of WW II in the context of de-Nazification and post-conflict reconciliation between former enemies, these efforts illustrate the importance ascribed to school textbooks and curricula as crucial means for shaping the identities and world views of students along a political agenda defined by states or ruling elites, particularly in the humanities and social sciences (Franzén 2012; Saghieh 2007).

Among the first measures the CPA undertook in 2003 was the abolition of the existing school curriculum, even though in practice there were little changes except the cancelling of the infamous “patriotic education” course mentioned by Tikriti (2010: 353) that was completely dedicated to disseminating Ba’thist propaganda.¹⁷ This was followed by so-called emergency measures, conducted on behalf of the CPA by UNICEF and UNESCO in cooperation with Iraqi educational experts drawn from the Ministry of Education (MoE), all funded by USAID.

This was not a systematic curriculum reform, but a rather superficial political intervention undertaken in a rush in order to have the revised textbooks printed and delivered by the start of the following school year. The emergency measures aimed at erasing any traces of Saddam Hussein’s personality cult and Ba’thist ideology, anti-American, anti-Israel and anti-Kurdish content from Iraqi textbooks, including a quest to erase all phrases that could be seen as fostering sectarianism or gender inequality. Initially, the reviewers were required to remove all references to religion from the textbooks, “in order to comply with the American constitution”, a criterion that reflects both the political power of the US in Iraq at that point and the influence exercised by the donor, USAID, on the revision process.¹⁸ But according to the reports published by UNESCO on these interventions, this far-reaching requirement proved controversial among the committee’s members and was subsequently dropped.

As a result of the emergency measures of 2003/2004, several references to religion were taken out of the textbooks, but most were left in place. Judging by the various reports published by UNESCO on this review process, the decision whether to erase the Qur’anic phrase or other references to Islam from a given textbook depended on whether these items were related to the subject matter treated therein. However, these reports do not identify “problematic” religious content that was actually removed from the textbooks as a result of the revision. Rather, the reports only cite numerous examples where religious content was considered

justifiable and was therefore left in place (UNESCO 2005: 37–43, Appendices 1 and 2). In contrast, the *Textbook Revision Details* filed by the committee members and intended for internal use only, which formed the basis for their published reports, contain numerous references to Islamic religion in textbooks that were considered problematic and consequently removed (UNESCO 2003a). The omission of these details in the published reports points to the political sensitivity of the issue, which was highlighted by the protest of then Iraqi Minister of Education, Ala'din Alwan, against the removal of religious content from textbooks at the hands of the revision committees (*Financial Times* 2003; Etzioni 2006).

Of particular interest for the reviewers were passages that were understood as fostering sectarianism. As a result, those phrases and expressions that I discussed above, which had been inserted into the textbook narratives during the 1990s in symbolic recognition of the religious diversity existing in Iraqi society, particularly the pro-Shi'a and the pro-Salafi expressions, were all removed. They were replaced by expressions that "will be accepted by all Islamic groups."¹⁹ But these changes, however small they might appear, effectively erased the symbolic recognition of the Shi'i religious tradition that had been inserted into Iraqi textbook narratives during the 1990s. Judging by the comments of the reviewers on what they considered religiously biased content, they assumed a non-sectarian common ground of Islamic discourse shared by all Muslims, which, paradoxically, seems to boil down to a mainstream version of Sunni Islam and thus excludes Shi'is.

The reviewers even went so far as to alter a sentence in an English language textbook ("Can you tell me the way to Al-Sadr school?") because it allegedly promoted religious bias, that is, they perceived this sentence as being pro-Shi'a and therefore unacceptable to Sunnis.²⁰ Similarly, the reviewers criticized a section of an Arabic literature textbook that allegedly featured only poets with a Shi'i background, demanding that the "selected poets should represent the different groups in Iraq."²¹ It is interesting to note that this same standard of pluralism didn't apply to the religious expressions discussed above. The reasons for this inconsistency in the reviewers' argumentation are unclear. Such comments imply that the reviewers saw Iraqis as being completely defined by their sectarian identities, thus effectively discounting the possible existence of a more inclusive Iraqi identity. But this kind of rampant sectarianism developed its destructive potential in Iraqi society only after the invasion of 2003, and even in the midst of sectarian strife and civil war during 2006/2007, most Iraqis

expressed their overriding commitment to Iraqi national identity (Tessler 2006). It remains to be seen whether this kind of inclusive Iraqi sense of identity will survive the current war between a Shi'ite leaning central government and the Islamic State (IS).

IDENTITY DISCOURSES IN TEXTBOOKS UNDER THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT

Since the CPA was dissolved in 2004, formal authority over educational matters has rested with the Iraqi government.²² In the evolving post-Saddam political landscape, Shi'i political parties have emerged as the dominant political forces, and their sectarian practices have contributed to the rise of IS as their Sunni nemesis. These domestic developments reflect a broader regional context: A weak and dependent post-Saddam Iraq is turned into a staging ground for a regional power struggle between Shi'i Iran and Wahabi Saudi Arabia. It is thus interesting to see to what degree the results of the emergency revisions of 2003/2004 pertaining to Islamic discourse discussed in the previous section were left in place by the Iraqi government. Based on my analysis of a history curriculum for eighth grade dating from 2007 and a selection of history textbooks published since 2005 (as well as according to occasional media reports), no thorough curriculum reform took place under the post-Saddam Iraqi government. This means that the Arab nationalist meta-narrative that structured the curriculum since the inception of the Iraqi education system has remained unchanged. Thus, contemporary Iraqi textbooks used in government-controlled areas of the country on ancient history speak of the ancient civilizations in the Arab homeland (*watan*), although they fall short of displaying them all as Arab in character, as was the case during the Ba'thist period (Baram 1991). Still, this ancient "Arab homeland" is frequently raided by external others, such as Persians, Greeks and Romans (MoE 2007a). Textbooks on Arab-Islamic history and on modern and contemporary history present a homogeneous and united Arab nation (*umma*) as the acting subject of history, and most of the time, this *umma* is fighting for liberation from foreign intruders, be they Persian, Byzantine, Mongol, Seljuk, Ottoman, British or Zionist. Regarding modern Iraqi history, the account stops with "the Arab liberation movement between 1958 and 1967", thus evading any discussion of the Ba'thist era. As during the Ba'thist era, Kurds are still not mentioned in this account (MoE 2007b). Beyond violent encounters with external others, these textbooks

contain no accounts of any relational history between Iraq and other regions. Modern European history is selectively treated only on the secondary level and in separate textbooks, covering the French and industrial revolutions, national and democratic movements, imperialism, the inter-war years between WW I and WW II (mentioning the rise of Nazism in Germany, the establishment of a dictatorship under Hitler in the 1930s, the persecution of political opponents, while completely ignoring the Nazi regime's anti-Semitic policies prior to WW II) as well as national liberation movements in Asia. There is no link between European and Middle Eastern history in this long-established textbook narrative (issued in the 43rd edition, i.e. probably dating back to the 1960s) except through the lens of European imperialism (MoE 2006b). This remains a rather inward-looking curriculum, focused on the construction of a homogeneous and autonomous national self by way of juxtaposing it against more or less antagonistic external others. The diversity of Iraqi society is not accounted for in this curriculum.²³

It is instructive to compare the 1998 and 2007 versions of the eighth-grade history textbook. First, in 2007 more importance is attached to Islamic religion in general. Thus, the 1998 textbook describes the Jews of Medina as traitors and conspirators against the Prophet, "who feared Arab unity and strove to cause division between them in order to make sure they remained in control of the situation" (MoE 1998c: 26). In the 2007 version, the Jews fear Arab-Islamic unity, not merely Arab unity (MoE 2007c: 30).

More crucial are the changes between the two versions concerning the history of the four righteous caliphs and the Umayyad caliphate. The 1998 version tells the story of the four caliphs without particular reference to any one of them; they are all treated equally and the traditional blessing "radiya Allah 'anhu" ("May God be pleased with him"), used to distinguish the Prophet's companions, is attached to their names. There is no mention of the sons of 'Ali, Hasan and Hussein, or to their martyrdom, nor are the terms "Sunna" and "Shi'a" explicitly mentioned anywhere. The chapter is followed by one on the Umayyad dynasty, which mentions neither the wars against rivaling caliphs nor the murder of Hussein at the hands of Yazid, thus making it a convenient narrative for Sunnis and omitting any references to splits in Arab-Islamic unity and to the emergence of the Shi'a.

In the 2007 version of this textbook, there is still no explicit recognition of Sunna and Shi'a. But in contrast to the earlier version, numerous

references to the Shi'i tradition have replaced the former Sunni ones in the text: First, the Prophet is blessed throughout the book with the words "sal Allah 'alayhi wa ahlihi wa sallam" ("May God bless and salvage him and his family"), instead of the Sunni blessing that refers only to the Prophet himself. It attaches the blessing "'alayhi as-salaam", which is reserved for Prophets among Sunnis, to the name of 'Ali b. Abi Talib, whereas the previous three righteous caliphs are blessed in the 2007 version of the textbook with the words "radiya Allah 'anhu". 'Ali's son Hasan is marked as the fifth righteous caliph who accepted an oath of allegiance by the Muslims in Kufa after the death of his father, but decided not to insist on his caliphate and fight against the first Umayyad caliph Mu'awiya. According to the textbook, the latter had obtained the caliphate due to his military and financial power, but not in accordance with established Islamic rules for choosing a caliph. The textbook then eulogizes Hasan, whose sacrifice it presents as having helped to preserve the unity of the *umma*. The following chapter on the Umayyad dynasty mentions the wars against rival caliphs, including the murder of Hasan's brother and successor Hussein in Kerbala at the hands of Yazid (MoE 2007c; Baram 2014: 285–288).

The same account can be found in further history textbooks on the same period designed for different grades, which were published in 2005, although these books still contain the Sunni blessing "sal Allah 'alayhi wa sallam" attached to the Prophet (MoE 2005b, c). This suggests that the changes towards a stronger emphasis on the Shi'i tradition in textbooks portrayed in this section were implemented gradually over several years. A media report published in 2010 suggests that in numerous more recent textbook editions the Shi'i blessing "sal Allah 'alayhi wa ahlihi wa-sallam" is attached to the Prophet instead of the Sunni blessing that does not pay such tribute to his family (Institute for War and Peace Reporting 2010a).

While the textbooks issued since 2005 certainly reflect Shi'i views, they step short of explicitly discussing the different theological strands or the varying historical narratives that emerged in the wake of this conflict over the caliphate, and they do not discuss the history of Shi'i and Sunni communities and the relations between them. Doing so would constitute a kind of multi-perspective approach to teaching Arab-Islamic history, by recognizing competing and partly conflicting readings of the shared history of Muslims on the Arab peninsula. This would be considered a suitable way of teaching about religion or the history of religions in diverse societies, in order to promote an agenda of mutual respect and tolerance

(Cole 2007; Korostelina and Lässig 2013; Lester 2011). But doing so would somehow blur the image of a unified Arab nation that is the acting subject of history in Iraqi textbooks since the founding of the state. Indeed, we still encounter in post-2003 Iraqi textbooks the same old normative account of Arab-Islamic history that characterized history textbooks during Saddam Hussein's rule and even before, except that the textbooks now include more references to Shi'ism than prior to 2003 and during the immediate aftermath of the invasion.

The changes introduced to textbooks since 2005 are likely to cause estrangement in Sunni quarters. They constitute one factor among many that contributed to the feeling of marginalization among Iraq's Sunni Arabs, which eventually helped IS to assume power in large parts of the country in summer 2014. Yet, they do not constitute a Shi'i sectarian narrative in the strict sense, as they still also reference core ideas of Sunni Islam. Thus, Hasan is marked along the Sunni tradition as the fifth righteous caliph and not as the second Shi'i Imam. In sum, the nationalist narrative on Arab-Islamic history remains structurally unchanged, as it still clings to the image of a unified Arab-Islamic *umma*. But this narrative is adjusted to the changed political landscape in Iraq, in which the balance of power between the Sunni and the Shi'i segments of the Arab-Iraqi population has been altered in favour of the latter, by injecting personalities important to the Shi'i tradition into the narrative and by changing symbolic references to the Islamic religion like blessings along the Shi'i tradition.

Openly acknowledging the theological differences between Sunnis and Shi'is in a non-judgemental way is still considered a taboo in Iraq, and schools avoid touching these issues. MoE officials and Iraqi Members of Parliament explained this practice as a necessary step to avoid sectarian conflict from erupting inside schools (Institute for War and Peace Reporting 2010a). Other potentially divisive topics like the era of Saddam Hussein, the US occupation and the inter-communal violence that erupted in Iraq after 2003 are equally excluded from the curriculum (Reuters 2009). In reaction to critical media reports about increasing Shi'i sectarianism and unfair treatment of religious minorities in Iraqi textbooks, MoE officials stated their intention in 2010 to amend the curricula in a way that accommodates all Iraqis and announced a plan to develop separate religious education curricula for minorities like Christians and Sabians (Institute for War and Peace Reporting 2010b). They did not mention any intention to develop such a curriculum also for Sunnis. At one occasion

the MoE cautiously tried to address the issue of religious diversity among Muslims in Iraq in textbooks in a neutral fashion that informed students about differences in religious practice, though not differences in belief: in 2009 the MoE published a religious education textbook for primary schools that included a picture of a boy praying in a Sunni manner alongside one that showed a boy praying in a Shi'i manner. This was a notable departure from the Ba'thist era: A similar such textbook published during the 1990s had included pictures only of the Sunni version (Baram 2014: 282–283). But the textbook was quickly withdrawn from schools after a storm of protest on the part of parents, who expressed fear for the safety of their children should such issues be brought up in school (AFP 2009; You Tube 2009).

Chances for any improvement in this regard remain slim, as the rise of IS has re-ignited the sectarian civil war of 2006/2007. While no reliable accounts of IS's educational policies are available to date, occasional evidence suggests that IS is systematically investing in the development of a school curriculum that reflects its values and has banned the use of government-sponsored textbooks and curricula in areas under its control. To a large degree, IS seems to copy the Saudi curriculum. Any reference to the Iraqi or Syrian nations have reportedly been removed from IS-sponsored textbooks, and whole parts of the state curriculum like art, history and music have been banned (Mamori 2014; CBS News 2014). To what degree this Salafist-Jihadist curriculum has impacted on the world views of children who lived under IS rule remains to be seen. The experience of warfare and terror with heavy sectarian overtones on both sides of the divide will most probably deepen the mutual enmity against adherents of the 'other side' among both Shi'i and Sunni Arab Iraqis.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the Ba'thist era, the Iraqi school curriculum remained imbued by pan-Arab values and presented a homogenizing picture of Iraqi society that pasted over its internal diversity, most notably with regard to Kurds but also regarding different Islamic sects. External Others were presented in a similar homogenizing way, mostly as antagonistic players vis-à-vis the Iraqi nation. Following the Intifada of 1991, the Ba'thist regime seemed to go to some lengths towards symbolically acknowledging the Shi'i religious tradition in textbooks. These observations are in line with its declared more active religious policy during the 1990s, when the regime positioned itself as a mediator between the various sects and religious groups comprising Iraqi society. The changes in textbook narratives during the 1990s discussed in this chapter are of course rather superficial and

do not seriously tackle the issue of religious diversity in Iraq and the differences between Sunnis and Shi'is. Still, these findings show that the regime's handling of religious affairs was more nuanced than would be expected of a "Sunni dictatorship" in addressing religious matters. Equally remarkable for a highly centralized governing system like Saddam's Iraq is the unsystematic way in which an official policy was implemented on the level of textbook narratives. This evidence points to the weakening of the centralized state during the embargo years.

However, these half-hearted beginnings towards acknowledging the religious diversity of Iraqi society were erased in the course of the emergency textbook revisions conducted on behalf of the CPA in 2003/2004. Ironically, as the result of a process officially aimed at removing all traces of sectarianism from Iraqi textbooks, the revised textbooks reflected the Sunni tradition more strongly than those published during the latter years of Saddam's regime. This suggests that the international experts involved in the process either lacked an understanding of the Iraqi cultural context or were subject to contradictory policy guidelines on the part of their superiors. Interestingly, therefore, efforts directed at the de-Ba'athification of textbooks and curricula initially did not push back Sunni influences, as was observed in other areas of Iraqi politics (Saghieh 2007; Lafourcade 2012).

Regarding textbook narratives, this process really set in only after the CPA was dissolved in 2004. The steps undertaken in this regard since then by the Iraqi government seem to signify a return to the path first taken in the 1990s, albeit under inverted political circumstances: The former symbolic acknowledgment of Shi'i Islam in a curriculum with Sunni leanings was replaced by an implicit acknowledgment of Sunni sensitivities in a curriculum with Shi'i leanings.

But no systematic attempts have been made to develop a new curriculum for the humanities and social studies. Basically, the homogenizing and normative Arab nationalist curriculum first devised under the monarchy and subsequently amended by the country's various rulers is still in place in those parts of Iraq that are controlled by the central government. Contemporary Iraqi textbooks on religious education and Arab-Islamic history do not emphasize or examine in detail the existence of multiple and conflicting narratives or the great social and cultural diversity that exists in Iraqi society. The study suggests that Iraqi textbooks are still very much part of the problem and far from turning into part of the solution to the problems of social and cultural

fragmentation and sectarian strife that threaten the country's very existence. In order to turn textbook narratives concerning Arab-Islamic history and religion into part of the solution to these problems, the curriculum would need to account for the different religious and cultural traditions existing in Iraq and present them each as legitimate parts of the national heritage. It would need to acknowledge the tensions and the contradictions that existed between the different traditions in a way that amounts to a multi-perspective way of looking at their shared history and their common religion. At the same time, the textbooks would also need to focus on historical traditions and instances of inter-sectarian and inter-communal cooperation and cosmopolitanism, for instance, during anti-colonial rebellions or in the framework of workers unions and civil associations.²⁴

How far Iraq still is from tackling these issues can be gleaned from a new initiative to rebuild the Iraqi education system, which was launched in 2010 by the Iraqi government and the Kurdish regional government (KRG) in cooperation with UNESCO and the Emirate of Qatar, which is financing the endeavour. Given the general erosion of the Iraqi education system on all levels, this constitutes a huge task, far more demanding than developing a new curriculum (UNESCO 2004; Geopolicity 2009). In the framework of this project, a general curriculum framework for Iraq was developed, which contains all the right buzzwords habitually used in internationally funded education reform project emphasizing human rights and democratic values, respect for diversity, active and skills-oriented learning and so on (UNESCO 2012). New curricula as well as blueprints for new teaching materials are to be developed on this basis. A central aspect of the project is the establishment of an *Educational Resource and Training Centre*, which will include a capacity-building programme for Iraqi teachers and curriculum planners. According to the project outline, the new syllabi will be piloted in selected schools in Iraq and the KRG and then gradually be introduced in the whole country. At the time of this writing (summer 2017), no progress beyond the publication of the curriculum framework has been reported in this regard.²⁵ Moreover, the project explicitly limits its activities to mathematics and the sciences, and mentions no plans to eventually address other subjects as well. But textbooks and curricula for mathematics and the sciences had largely been declared free of any problematic content by the emergency revision committees in 2003/2004. The initiative will therefore not address the issues discussed in this study.

NOTES

1. Based on late Ottoman beginnings, the modern Iraqi education system evolved in stages after the foundation of the Iraqi state in 1921, when it served the state and nation-building efforts of the nascent Iraqi state elites. It was considerably expanded after the revolution of 1958. When the Ba'athist regime took power in 1968, it accelerated this path. While the 1970s saw some important and highly publicized achievements in the educational sector, the war with Iran that dominated the 1980s caused a stagnation of the system. Moreover, the war of 1991 and the embargo of the 1990s brought about a steep decline and deterioration of educational levels. For the early years, see Mathews & Akrawi (1949), Björkmann (1951), Dawn (1988), Bashkin (2006). For later periods, see Soussa (1982), al-Kasey (1983); Roy (1993), Brown (2005), De Santisteban (2005), al-Khaizaran (2007), Issa (2010).
2. See also the contribution by Shirko Kirmanj in this volume.
3. As Kirmanj notes in Chap. 14.
4. Al-Newashi (2003: 19); Davis (2005a: 224). See also MoE (1997: Ch 8–10, 17, 32). In an eighth-grade history textbook on early Arab-Islamic history, a chapter on Saddam's Qadissiya was attached to a chapter on the Futuh, the early Muslim conquests, thus disrupting the inner logic of the narrative to serve the regime's ideological aims (see MoE 1998c).
5. Thus, textbooks on modern and contemporary Arab history from sixth-, ninth- and twelfth-grade cover identical topics, only at different levels and more or less elaborated (see MoE 2003, 2005a, 2006a, 2007a). Three of these textbooks were published after the fall of Saddam Hussein, but they were printed in their 16th, 15th and 23rd editions, indicating that they were first published under the Ba'athist regime.
6. Most of the internal protocols of this revision were obtained by the author (see UNESCO 2003a). These *Textbook Revision Details* cover only a part of the whole curriculum and included the following subject areas: IT education, sciences, math, economics, family education, health education, geography, English, Arabic and religious education. The textbooks reviewed were designed for grades 5, 6, 8, 9 and 10. Although this does not represent a complete survey of all textbooks in use, in 2003, the available material covers a sufficient quantity of sources to discern certain overarching patterns.
7. Quoted from UNESCO (2003a), according to which this expression was found on 11 different pages in a fifth-grade textbook entitled "Holy Quran", on 28 different pages in a tenth-grade textbook on the same subject, on three different pages in a sixth-grade Arabic reading textbook and on two different pages in a ninth-grade Arabic literature textbook.

8. According to UNESCO (2003a), this expression was found once in a fifth-grade textbook on the Holy Quran, once in a tenth-grade textbook on the same subject and twice in a ninth-grade Arabic reading textbook.
9. According to UNESCO (2003a), this expression was found once in a sixth-grade Arabic reading textbook.
10. Numerous biblical figures, including Abraham, Moses and Jesus, are considered Prophets by Muslims, Sunnis and Shi'is alike. But the latter revere 'Ali as someone close in religious stature to the Prophets and thus attach the same blessing to utterings of his name and the names of his sons. This practice is anathema to many Sunnis, because it can be interpreted as contradicting one of the pillars of the Islamic faith, namely, that Muhammad was the last among the Prophets.
11. According to UNESCO (2003a), this expression was found once in a tenth-grade textbook on the "Holy Quran".
12. MoE (1998a, b, c, 1999b).
13. For details, see the contributions of Adriaensens and Fuller in Baker et al. (2010); Paanakker (2009). On refugees, see Sassoon (2009), Chatelard (2012).
14. Apple (2004), *Asia Times Online* (2005), Saltman (2006, 2007), Mahdi (2007), Wesling (2009).
15. Occasional media reports point in this direction (see *MSNBC* 2004; *Reuters* 2010; *Iraq Daily Times* 2011).
16. For comparisons with recent education reforms supporting privatization in other Arab countries, see Abi-Mershed (2009), Mazawi and Sultana (2010).
17. To compare the curriculum of the 1990s with the one put in place after 2003, see two reports published by the MoE (2001, 2004).
18. Commisso (2004: 23), UNESCO (2005: 13), Tikriti (2010: 355–357). I have been unable to get hold of a report by UNICEF on its part in the emergency revision process; according to Tikriti none was ever published.
19. Quoted from the *Textbook Revision Details*, the internal protocols of the commission tasked with the revision by UNESCO (2003a).
20. *Ibid.* The quote relates to an English language textbook for eighth grade. A number of important Shi'i scholars emanated from the al-Sadr family.
21. *Ibid.* The quote relates to an Arabic literature textbook for ninth grade.
22. In theory, the Kurdish regional government (KRG) in the autonomous region in northern Iraq has to coordinate its educational policies with the central government in Baghdad. In practice, it pursues its own independent agenda.
23. MoE (2005a, b, c, 2006a, b, 2007a, b, c, d).
24. Davis (2005b), Bashkin (2009), Franzén (2012). For an attempt to apply a multiple-perspectives approach to teaching history in the Israeli-Palestinian

setting in a way that might be conducive to further mutual understanding between the conflicting sides, see Rohde (2012).

25. For detailed information, see <http://www.ibe.unesco.org/en/themes/curricular-themes/curriculum-development/countries/iraq.html> [accessed 8 July 2017].

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National Identity, Self-Images and Picturing Others in History School Textbooks of the Kurdistan Regional Government

Sherko Kirmanj

School textbooks used in the areas administered by the Kurdistan Regional Government in Iraq are an as yet unexplored area of study. This chapter thus constitutes the first analysis of these textbooks and reviews history and social studies textbooks in terms of their contribution to the construction of the Kurdish/Kurdistani national identity, and of their portrayal of Others and Otherness. This is to reveal the discourses, categories of difference, assumptions and views regarding these concepts as well as attempts made through the textbooks to answer the question of what it means to be a Kurd or a Kurdistani. The study also examines the strategy employed by the Kurdish authorities to create an “imagined community”. It argues that the textbooks aim to strengthen the process of nation-formation in the Kurdistan region and the creation of a nation-state (Kurdistan) within a nation-state (Iraq). The chapter concludes that while, chronologically, Mesopotamian Semitic groups and then the Arab-Muslims, Ottomans, Safavids and later the Arab-Iraqis, Persians, and Turks are *othered*, none of the groups is defamed, dehumanised or stigmatised.

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TEXTBOOKS IN THE CONTEXT OF TRADITIONAL SOCIETIES

It is well established that modern education systems and schooling are among the most important agents of nation-building (Apple 1991; Crawford 2003). As the state commissions the creation of school textbooks in most Arab states, as in the Kurdistan region, the state thus “controls the ways by which the students’ national identity and collective memory is shaped” (Nasser 2004: 221). Indeed, in the Kurdistan region, the Ministry of Education is “responsible for developing education policies for all school levels in Kurdistan, as well as preparing learning plans, composing learning programs and creating school textbooks including supporting materials” (Kurdistan Regional Government 2009: 9). Studies of school textbooks are significant as “it is through the history curriculum that nations seek to store, transmit and disseminate narratives which define conceptions of nationhood and national culture” (Crawford 2003: 6). Further, textbooks are often used as ideological means that serve the interests of certain classes and social groups (Apple 1991: 10).

Since its creation in 1992, and in particular post-2005, the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) has endeavoured to use school curricula as linguistic, ideological, political and cultural creations. As Hassanpour (2012) points out, in education systems such as that of Kurdistan that are based on memorising facts, textbooks function as essential tools.

While students have only been exposed to the KRG textbook messages and values for a short time (2005 to present), the impact of the textbooks may well be significant. In general, it is difficult to establish the exact role played by textbooks when compared to other sources of information such as social and digital media. In Kurdistan as in elsewhere, the growing exposure of younger generations to digital media has undoubtedly affected the centrality of school textbooks as instruments of education and unitary sources of knowledge. Despite this, most scholars tend to agree that textbooks have remained crucial (Podeh 2000: 66–67). Furthermore, textbooks may have more significant effect in a school system, such as that of Kurdistan, where “spoon-feeding” and learning based on monologue are the principal means of transmitting information. This is because such approaches are teacher-centred and do not promote critical thinking; in traditional societies such as Kurdistan’s, teachers are perceived as authorities akin to parents, and messages contained in textbooks disseminated through teachers are endowed with near-absolute authority. For all these reasons, the role and impact of textbooks in shaping national identity and identification of the Other requires in-depth analysis that has been neglected by research thus far.

The scope of this study includes history textbooks developed and published by the KRG's Ministry of Education. In the Kurdistan region, history is taught in two stages. During the first stage, history, geography and citizenship are combined under the subject of social studies and taught from year 4 to year 9. During the second stage, history is taught as a subject in its own right in years 10, 11 and 12. This study focuses on eight textbooks, of which five are used at elementary school level (year 4 to year 9) and three are used at preparatory school level (year 10 to year 12).

Quantitative and qualitative approaches are drawn upon to examine history textbooks taught in the KRG-administered areas. Quantitative methods are used to measure aspects of the text in terms of frequency and space. This may take the form of quantifying how frequently a particular message, value, name, place or date appears in a textbook. Four qualitative approaches are also employed; firstly, historiographical analysis to examine how the discipline of history is conveyed; secondly, visual analysis to assess the use of images, charts and maps; thirdly, structural analysis to scrutinise how historical events and processes are structured across textbooks, including what is included and what is omitted; and finally, discourse analysis in order to deconstruct textbook contents aiming to identify what information, groups and events the authors value, take for granted, valorise or consider unimportant. Discourse analysis is also used to evaluate texts, illustrations, images and maps in order to understand both the explicit and implicit meanings in a discourse, revealing hidden motivations behind a text or an image and deconstructing the reading and interpretation of a text (see Nicholls 2003: 14).

This study also draws on the categorisation presented by Bar-Tal and Hammack (2012: 30) as strategies by which a certain delegitimisation of the Other occurs. Bar-Tal and Hammack categorise delegitimisation into five categories: (1) *dehumanisation* depicts a group as nonhuman (e.g. "uncivilised savages" or "cockroaches"); (2) *outcasting* involves rhetorical categorisation into groups that are considered violators of key social norms ("murderers" or "terrorists"); (3) *trait characterisation* involves the rhetorical attribution of traits considered extremely negative and unacceptable in a given society (e.g. aggressors); (4) *political labels* denote political groups that are absolutely rejected by the values of the delegitimising group (e.g. "fascists" or "colonialists"); and (5) *group comparison* occurs when a group is given a traditionally negative label (e.g. "thugs" or "Huns"). This categorisation is used to analyse the delegitimisation of the *other* in KRG's history textbooks.

KURDISH TEXTBOOKS: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The first modern school in Kurdistan was opened in 1870, during the Ottoman era. Prior to this, the *hujra/madrasa* (traditional Kurdish religious/Islamic school) had been the common place of education where students had learned Islamic teachings and graduated as *mullas* (religious teachers). Arabic, Persian and Turkish were the main languages of instruction, and Kurdish was also used (Kakasur 2004: 10–12). In the early 1910s, for the first time, Kurds urged the local authority and the Ottomans in Istanbul to include Kurdish in the school curriculum. Despite this, the first school where Kurdish was used as the language of instruction was opened in 1918 after the British occupation of southern Kurdistan, today's Kurdistan region. Two Kurdish schoolmasters, Muhammad Amin Zaki and Mirza Muhammad, assisted by two British officers, Major E. B. Soane and Captain W. J. Farrel, played a vital role in preparing the needed resources (Kakasur 2004: 26–27, 31; Edmonds 2012). For nearly a decade, the schools in Kurdistan had been without Kurdish textbooks, and it was not until 1927 that the first textbooks, translated from Arabic, were printed. Arabic language books had hitherto been in use in Kurdish schools and Kurdish was only used to explain the text. In the last year of the monarchy (1957–1958), 28 primary school Kurdish textbooks were in use, most of them translations of Arabic textbooks. The fall of the monarchy made it possible to introduce small changes to the textbooks and the curriculum. Soon after the political changes of 1958, until well into the 1970s, successive Iraqi governments refused to allow education in Kurdish. In the 1970s an agreement between the Iraqi authorities and the Kurdish leadership (the 11th March Declaration) resulted in the recognition of Kurdish as the official language alongside Arabic in areas of Iraq where Kurds constituted the majority (Bengio 2012: 47–48). Consequently, considerable volumes of Kurdish original writing and poetry were incorporated into Iraqi textbooks. By 1985, textbooks on all subjects from the first year of primary school to the end of secondary school were available in Kurdish. The total number of textbooks reached 225 titles by 1984. Of these, 15 were published in the 1920s, 14 between 1930 and 1950, 23 in the 1950s and 20 in the 1960s, accounting for a total of 72 titles. The remaining 153 titles were published after 1970 (Kakasur 2004; Hassanpour 2012).

Despite the large number of textbooks in Kurdish, the content of the Iraqi school curriculum demonstrated a clear absence of and lack of appreciation for the history and culture of (non-Arab) ethno-national groups

within Iraqi society (Kirmanj 2013: 141–142, 233–243; al-Rubaiy 1972: 182). Iraqi history textbooks published between 1921 and 2011 were written from the Sunni-Arab or Shiite-Arab perspectives and excluded the Kurds altogether. In fact, there is no mention of the terms “Kurd”, “Turkmen” and “Chaldo-Assyrian” anywhere in the Iraqi history textbooks from 1976 to 2010.¹ In the entire historical account presented in the current Iraqi history textbooks (2003–2012), the only two lines dedicated to the Kurds appear to be typesetting errors.² The two lines refer to the “[c]hemical bombardment of the city of Halabja in Iraqi Kurdistan where thousands of Iraqi people became victims” (*Modern and Contemporary History of the Arab Homeland*, 3rd Grade Intermediate, 2011b: 92). These two lines are misplaced in an unrelated section of the textbook, titled “[T]he 1956 Uprising and the Revolution of 1958”, discussing these two events as well as some modern political developments in Egypt. In one of the passages, the discussion is suddenly interrupted by the two lines referring to Halabja, after which the passage somewhat nonchalantly returns to its narrative of the 1956 uprising and the revolution of 1958.

In 1991, as a result of the First Gulf War, the Kurdish uprising, the imposition of a no-fly zone over large parts of the Kurdistan region, the withdrawal of the Iraqi administration and security apparatus, the election of the Kurdistan parliament as well as the establishment of the KRG in July 1992, commenced a new era of independent self-authoring, planning and development of school textbooks, learning resources and curricula for the Kurds in Iraq. However, because of insufficient funding, lack of necessary resources, internal strife and conflicts of the 1990s and sanctions imposed on the Kurdistan region by the Iraqi regime and the United Nations, the Kurds were not able to make considerable improvements or changes to textbooks that were relics of the Ba’athist regime. For nearly 14 years (1991–2005) and despite their relative autonomy, the Kurds used the same textbooks that were used in other parts of Iraq; however, the books had been “cleansed and purged” of content considered by the Kurds to be “pro-Ba’athist”, “pro-Arabism” or “to have chauvinistic connotations” (Osman, Sadiq A., and Umer A. Sharif 2011, pers. comm., 6 April). In addition to cleansing and purging, booklets were produced by Kurdish educators to replace the titles, subjects and sections that had been removed from the Iraqi textbooks.

After 2005, as a consequence of the United States’ invasion of Iraq in 2003, the collapse of the Iraqi regime and the subsequent increase of the

KRG's revenue, the KRG Ministry of Education produced large numbers of textbooks authored by Kurdish educators. The sample of books examined in this study constitute the second edition (generation) of the history textbooks developed from 2007 to 2011 and used at public schools in the Kurdistan region. Textbooks in the first edition were produced and introduced into schools in 2004 and 2005. There are also a few private schools in the region, some of which use different history textbooks. There are approximately 1,520,000 students in primary and secondary schools of the Kurdistan region, of whom some 20,000 attend private schools (Aziz, Kawkas 2012, pers. comm., 15 June). Given that only 1.3 percent of Kurdistan students are enrolled in private school, the textbooks used in such schools were not included in this study.

KURDISH/KURDISTANI NATIONAL IDENTITY IN TEXTBOOKS OF THE KRG

Forging any nation's collective memory is deemed an integral part of nation-formation and nation-building. To this end, the KRG textbook authors aim to create a common memory, real or imagined, by linking the present to the past and the induction of the younger generations into this creation. For nation-builders and ideologues, the successful inculcation of specific and identifiable knowledge (i.e. common memory) is crucial as they believe it turns young people into loyal citizens and helps to instil a shared identity (Podeh 2000: 65).

National identity is revived, created and instilled through historical narratives, self-images, differentiation and identification of geographical, racial and political boundaries between the Kurds/Kurdistan and Others, be it in ethnic, national or geographical terms. Indeed, in order to give the impression that Kurdish/Kurdistani history has deep historical roots, the textbooks have used every available (real or mythical) claim and argument. Kurdistan is portrayed as an ancient country and nation. According to the textbooks, several groups, among them Subarians, Lulubis, Gutians, Cyrtians, Carduchis and Medes, lived in "ancient Kurdistan", an area covering, so the textbooks claim, the "Zagros mountains and Eastern and Northern Mesopotamia" (*Social Studies*, 7th Grade, 2010: 124–132; 5th Grade, 2010: 53–55). It is claimed that Lulubis and Gutians (ancient Kurdish groups) established the first "Kurdish state" more than 4000 years ago. They settled, the textbooks continue, in the areas around

today's Suleimaniya and Kirkuk (*History of Civilizations*, 10th Grade, 2011: 10–22). To further deepen the roots of Kurdish history and tie the ancient settlers of the region to today's Kurds, a Kurdish calendar is invented. The calendar begins with the successful conquest of Ninava by the “Kurdish Medes” in 612 BCE (*Social Studies*, 4th Grade, 2011: 47–53), suggesting that the Kurdish calendar is over six centuries older than the Gregorian calendar. This Kurdish calendar is officially used in the Kurdistan region alongside its Gregorian and Islamic counterparts. Of the relationships between modern Kurds and their ancient forebears, that between the Kurds and the Medes is given particular emphasis. The books promote Medes as the “forefathers of the Kurdish nation” who lived in Kurdistan where they built their own state and civilisation. Having Kurdish history regress by more than 5000 years serves to emphasise an alleged common ancestry and shared history, elements deemed highly significant in the formation and building of a nation.

The term Kurdistan mean the “homeland of the Kurds”; indeed, a homeland that is, according to the textbooks, the “cradle of civilisation”. The textbooks particularly stress that it was in Kurdistan that the first human beings settled as a result of the invention of agriculture at a village called Charmo near the city of Kirkuk. In addition to its historical importance, Charmo's geographical location (near the city of Kirkuk) is frequently mentioned (*Social Studies*, 7th Grade, 2010: 135–137; 5th Grade, 2010: 48–49). Frequent mention of Kirkuk in the context of the ancient history of Kurdistan is aimed at satisfying another need. Kirkuk has, in the modern history of Kurdistan, been the focus of Kurds' most important territorial dispute (Rafaat 2008; Knights and Ali 2010). By arguing that Kirkuk has always been a Kurdish city, the textbook authors aim to strengthen their territorial claim over the area. Furthermore, Kurdistan is depicted as the “first homeland of the second generation of mankind”, as Neanderthal remains were found in a Shanidar cave in the Erbil province, Kurdistan region. Similar ancient sites, such as the Hazarmerd cave, the Zarzi cave, Charmo village and the statue of the Acadian ruler Naram-Sin (found in Kurdistan), are repeatedly displayed and mentioned in the textbooks (*Social Studies*, 7th Grade, 2010: 136–137; 5th Grade, 2010: 51–52).

The history textbooks also seek to create a sense of uniqueness and unity through the resurrection of recent common memories. To this end, some of these textbooks display images of chemical attacks by the Iraqi government on the city of Halabja and of the Kurdish mass exodus, better

known in Kurdish literature as the 1991 *Koraw* on their cover and inside pages (*Social studies*, 12th Grade, 2011: 211; 4th Grade, 2011: 61, cover page). To further stress these themes, students are asked in an exercise to identify the significance of several dates relating to important events of contemporary Kurdish history in Iraq. Of these dates, 6 September 1930 (the uprising of *Bardarki Sara* against the monarchy regime), 11 September 1961 (the starting date of the Kurdish revolution against Abd al-Karim Qasim) and 16 March 1988 (the chemical attack on Halabja by Saddam Hussein's regime) are just few examples (*Social Studies*, 6th Grade, 2011: 111).

The placement of images and illustrations of archaeological sites on the covers of textbooks is intended to imply a deep-rootedness of the Kurdistan civilisation and to provide the students with a sense of pride and place regarding the history of Kurds and Kurdistan. This strategy also seeks to keep bitter memories alive and thus connect the new and older generations of Kurds by establishing common memories. The images and contents of the textbooks frequently depict the mistreatment of Kurds by foreign powers and instil a sense of collective victimisation at the hands of the Other. In these contexts, it is the Iraqi regime (not the Iraqi-Arabs), that is depicted, as Bar-Tal and Hammack (2012: 34, 36–37) have put it, as “greedy” and “colonialist”. The theme of collective self-victimhood also permeates the textbooks as illustrated above, portraying the Kurds as the victims of the adversary Iraqi regimes.

While history and social studies textbooks are used to convey a message about who the Kurds are and where they are from, geography is utilised as a tool to provide visibility to their habitat and demonstrate the boundaries of Kurdistan through cartography. This aims at creating a visual sense of the Kurdish homeland, through the demarcation of Kurdistan from its surrounding countries and nations. On the first pages of one of the textbooks, students are asked to locate their “country” on a map. Interestingly, to avoid conflation between Kurdistan and Iraq, in an informative section just below the question, the textbook reminds the students that “the Kurdistan region is our country, located in the northern and north-eastern parts of Iraq” (*Social Studies*, 4th Grade, 2011: 6).

In discussing the topography of Kurdistan, every opportunity is seized to point out that the Hamrin chain of mountains constitute the southern “border of Kurdistan that separates it from the Middle and Southern parts of Iraq” (*Social Studies*, 9th Grade, 2011: 49; 5th Grade, 2011: 8; 4th Grade, 2011: 4, 8). Identifying the borders of Kurdistan with such fre-

quency is part of the strategy to re-emphasise the territorial identity of Kurdistan which has been part and parcel of the Kurdish question in Iraq (Kirmanj 2013: 80, 103, 113–116, 214). Indeed, many conflicts lasting decades and more, including the conflict surrounding Kurdistan, are perceived as being about “territory, self-determination, autonomy, statehood, resources, identity, etc.” (Bar-Tal and Hammack 2012: 34).

The term “Iraq” as a geographical area, a state, a country or a homeland is mentioned with far less frequency compared to instances where the term Kurdistan is used. While the Geography section of grade six is dedicated to Iraq’s geography, its content is mostly about that of the Kurdistan region (*Social Studies*, 6th Grade, 2011: 3–66). In general, the term “Iraq” is used with negative connotations such that it could be categorised under the *trait characterisation* presented by Bar-Tal and Hammack. It is generally mentioned in relation to “the aggressive policies of the previous Iraqi regimes that led to the destruction of forestry” in the Kurdistan region or in the claim that “Iraqi governments repeatedly made promises to the Kurds ... but never kept them” (*Social Studies*, 6th Grade, 2011: 118; 5th Grade, 2010: 21). This sentence is turned into an exercise to be discussed by students. Iraq is mentioned as a positive term only in relation to its new, 2003–present, political (federal) system. Ironically, even before its realisation on the ground, Iraq is divided into two federal regions, Kurdistan region and Iraq (*Social Studies*, 9th Grade, 2011: 47; 6th Grade, 2011: 4). This shows that the Kurdish textbooks not only reflect the Kurdish nationalist views but also their aspirations and dreams of having Iraq organised around two federal regions.

Furthermore, the KRG textbooks contain hardly a single photograph of an Iraqi city. Most photographic images in the textbooks are of Kurdish cities. More importantly, the central theme of the photographs appears to be the question of the national and territorial identity of Kurdistan. Photographs of the City of Kirkuk repeatedly appear in the textbooks, highlighting its Kurdistan identity by constantly emphasising that it is an “ancient Kurdistan/Kurdish city” stressing that the majority population of the city are Kurds and that it was subject to “aggressive campaigns, such as Arabisation and genocide, at the hands of previous regimes” (*Social Studies*, 9th Grade, 2011: 90, 112, 222; 5th Grade, 2010: 27; 4th Grade, 2011: 57). The word “Iraq” never appears in reference to the Kurdistan region on the maps, but is only written below the borders of the Kurdistan region, implying that it is in fact another country (*Social Studies*, 9th Grade, 2011: 4, 47; 6th Grade, 2011: 4; 5th Grade, 2010: 12; 4th Grade, 2011: 38).

The approach taken by the KRG textbook to the concepts of Kurdish and Kurdistan national identity is one of confusion and at times irony. The Kurdistan region is home to a diverse number of ethnic, religious and cultural groups. For the most part, the books encourage the ideals of tolerance and harmony and celebrate the diversity of the people of Kurdistan. Cultural and religious festivities of different groups are presented in the books, and the region is portrayed as multi-ethnic and multicultural (*Social Studies*, 9th Grade, 2011: 90; 5th Grade, 2010: 10). However, despite this display of pluralism, being Kurdish is core to the definition of the Kurdistan national identity. In their approach, the textbooks confuse and conflate significant concepts such as ethnicity, nationality and citizenship.

An exercise aimed at 10-year-old students describes the mass exodus of people from the Kurdistan region in 1991 as the “Kurdish mass exodus” during which “the inhabitants of Kurdistan left their livelihoods and headed towards an unknown fate, refusing to bow to a tyrannical regime” (*Social Studies*, 4th Grade, 2011: 51). Although the exodus is clearly described as a “Kurdish mass exodus”, the textbook continues to state that the “inhabitants of Kurdistan” were the people suffering such a fate. It is evident that in this instance the authors confuse the terms Kurdish and Kurdistan (i.e. inhabitants of Kurdistan that include Turkmens, Caldo-Assyrians and others) using them interchangeably. Furthermore, terms such as the “Kurdistan nation” and “Kurdistan people” are used as synonymous to the “Kurdish nation” and “Kurdish people”. While the reasons for such connotations and misuses of terms remain unclear, they can be partially attributed to the fact that for the past 100 years or so, the term “Kurdish nation” has been used to denote the Kurdish national liberation movement during a time in which Kurds lacked any indigenous polity. However, since the establishment of the KRG in 1992, the term “Kurdistan nation” has emerged as a substitute for “Kurdish nation”. This has partly been the result of pressure from some Kurdish intelligentsia and nationalists who have realised the shortcomings of the term “Kurdish nation” due to its ethnic and exclusivist connotations. Although in some political circles the substitution process has yet to be settled, the current literature on Kurdistan region indicates that an increasing number of people from younger generations recognise the distinctions between such terms (Aziz 2011).

Although the textbooks loosely consider the Kurdistan region a part of Iraq and Kurds its citizens, they nevertheless sporadically promote the notion of pan-Kurdism. Presenting Kurdistan either within the geopolitical

boundaries of Iraq or as Greater Kurdistan (divided between Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Syria) is a continuing dilemma for the Kurdish nationalists influential in the development of the KRG textbooks. Kurdistan, according to the textbooks, was divided among four countries in 1923—the eastern part that had been under the control of Iran remained as it was, the northern part was given to Turkey and the southern part was annexed to Iraq. A small part of Kurdistan was also linked to Syria (*Social Studies*, 9th Grade, 2011: 243; 5th Grade, 2010: 7). In addition to using terms such as Northern, Southern and Eastern Kurdistan, terms with pan-Kurdism connotations, pan-Kurdism has found other expressions in the KRG textbooks. Links between the historical events occurring in the Kurdistan region and those taking place in other parts of Kurdistan constitute examples. Historically all events in Greater Kurdistan are dealt with sequentially without any differentiation between occurrences in Eastern Kurdistan (Kurdistan of Iran), Northern Kurdistan (Kurdistan of Turkey) or Southern Kurdistan (Kurdistan of Iraq) (see *Contemporary and Modern History*, 12th Grade, 2011: 130–176; *Social Studies*, 6th Grade, 2011: 103–129). The main focus, however, of all history and social studies textbooks remains still the Kurdistan region in Iraq.

PICTURING THE OTHER: CREATING IDENTITY VIA DIFFERENTIATION AND EXCLUSION

National identity, as pointed out by Triandafyllidou (1998: 593), is defined not only from within but also from without by distinguishing and differentiating the national group from other national or ethnic groups. Indeed, as she suggests, national identity becomes relevant only via contrast with Others. This is an approach frequently used in the KRG textbooks; what constitutes the Other in the textbooks varies diachronically throughout the specific history with which the books are concerned. For example, the ancient civilisations of the region are divided into “Kurdistani civilisation” and other civilisations (e.g. Iraqi, Egyptian, Iranian, Greek and Roman). Separate sections are dedicated to the “ancient history of Kurdistan” and “Iraq in ancient times”. The ancient community groups are also divided into categories such as “Kurdistan’s ancient national groups” and “Iraq’s ancient national groups”. Accordingly, Mesopotamian groups, such as Acadians, Babylonians and Assyrians who migrated from the Arabian Peninsula are considered the Others (*History of Civilisations*, 10th Grade,

2011: 10–22, 27–76; *Social Studies*, 7th Grade, 2010: 110–121, 124–132). In other words, Iraq’s civilisation and Semitic groups are seen as Others. This is to establish distinct historical roots for the Kurds by portraying the Subarian, Lulubi, Gutian, Cyrtian, Mitani, Carduchis and Median civilisations as Kurdistan, and the Sumerian, Acadian, Assyrian and Babylonian civilisations as Iraqi. Geographically, the groups who settled in the southern parts of Iraq (including Sumerians who are not considered a Semitic group) are considered Others. Furthermore, Assyrians also constitute Others despite settling in parts of what the textbooks call Kurdistan. Overlooking geographical factors in differentiating between ancient Kurdistan and Iraqi civilisation means that in the KRG textbooks, race and common ancestry are the arbitrators in defining Others.

According to the KRG textbooks, the word Kurdistan consists of two parts: Kurd “is the name of the Kurdish nation, of Aryan race. The second part is [the suffix] “stan” which means homeland/country. [The term] Kurdistan denotes the homeland of Kurds”. Reference to the race of the Kurds as Aryan is intended to differentiate them from Arabs, who are considered Semites. Civilisations that are regarded as Indo-European, such as those of Mitanis and Medes, are seen as belonging to and built by the forefathers of the Kurds. Furthermore, the textbooks consider the Median Empire as the first Kurdish empire in history. The homeland of the Kurds, based on these observations, is defined as areas to which peoples of Indo-European (racial) ancestry have been indigenous. While the textbooks consider the Median Empire as the first Kurdish empire in history, they do not claim all areas historically under the Median rule (e.g. areas with an aboriginal Semitic population that were conquered and annexed to the empire) as Kurdish homeland. Geographically, the textbooks consider areas south of the Hamrin chain of mountains as being the land of the Other. The books also consider the presence of Semitic groups in areas beyond the Hamrin chain of mountains as that of foreign forces.

After the emergence of Islam, the Arabs (as a group) rather than Islam (as a religion) constitute Others. It is notable that the authors of the KRG history textbooks omit the word “Arab” from the titles of Arab-Islamic history and Arab-Islamic civilisation textbooks. In other parts of Iraq, the word (which was also used during the previous regime) is retained (*Arab Islamic History*, 2nd Grade, 2003; *Arab Islamic History*, 2nd Grade, 2009).

The KRG textbooks describe the arrival of Islam in the Kurdistan region as “expansionist” because it brought Arabs to areas which were then and are still now regarded as Kurdistan (*Social Studies*, 8th Grade,

2011: 122, 127). The concurrent arrival of Arabs and the expansion of Islam in the region are seen by the textbooks as the first attempts to Arabise Kurdistan. Although Islamic rulers from dynasties such as the Umayyad and the Abbasids are at times introduced as “unjust” (*Social Studies*, 8th Grade, 2011: 133–134) and Ottomans and Safavids as “occupiers”, the books neither undermine nor question the tenets of Islam as a religion (*Social Studies*, 9th Grade, 2011: 129–148). The Kurdish rebellions and uprisings against the Umayyad, Abbasids, Ottomans and Safavids are portrayed as movements countering the oppression of rulers and not that of Islam. They characterise the message of Islam as universal and maintain it is not restricted to Arabs. The textbooks stress that the Kurds’ acceptance of the new faith was merely due to being exposed to its doctrines (*Social Studies*, 9th Grade, 2011: 129–148; 8th Grade, 2011: 133–134). The Ottomans and Safavids are chiefly blamed for being the driving force behind the division of Kurdistan into two parts. These two empires are credited as the first states that (in 1514) divided Kurdistan for the first time in its history. During the imperial Islamic period, Arab, Turkish and Persian dynasties replace the Semitic groups of the ancient era as the Others. Groups of Semitic ancestry, Jewish people of the contemporary era as an ethnic or national group, or Israel as a state are all hardly mentioned in the Kurdistan textbooks, neither in relation to these periods nor in the context of contemporary history.

The first mention of Jews in the KRG textbooks is in the context of the Jewish uprisings against Babylonians that “resulted in the captivation of 40,000 Jews by Babylonians” (*Social Studies*, 7th Grade, 2010: 120). In describing these events, the Jews are presented as victims of tyranny. At the outset of the Islamic era, the textbooks’ perspective towards the Jews shifts yet again, describing them as “conspirators against the Prophet Muhammad” (*Social Studies*, 8th Grade, 2011: 95). In the context of the dawn of Islam, the Jews are thus seen as the Other. In relation to modern and contemporary history, Zionism is described as an “expansionist and usurpationist religious and political movement” whose main purpose it is to bring Jews around the world to Palestine in order to establish a state to serve the interests of imperialism in the region (*Contemporary and Modern History*, 12th Grade, 2011: 239). Nevertheless, it can be observed that the Palestine/Arab-Israeli conflict is a marginal issue here when compared to textbooks of the other countries in the region. Only eight pages of the eighth-grade textbook are dedicated to Palestine, and even here the book focuses on the history of Palestine up to 1936 and does not specifically address Arab-Israeli conflict.

In the post-World War I era, the arrival of the British forces in the region and their occupation of Iraq and the southern parts of Kurdistan and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire promoted the British to the status of the Other in the textbooks. The establishment of the state of Iraq in 1921 saw yet again another change in the attribution of the term Other to an ethnic/national group. At this time the British and Arab-Iraqis (especially after the alliance of their forces in suppressing the Kurdish rebellion of the 1920s) were seen as Others. Nowhere in the textbooks is Iraq portrayed as a homeland for Kurds, but rather as “[an] Iraqi Arab nationalist state” because in the creation of the Iraqi state in 1921 and the annexation of the Kurdish-populated Ottoman province of Mosul to Iraq in 1926,³ the will of the Kurdish people was never taken into consideration (*Contemporary and Modern History*, 12th Grade, 2011: 33, 35, 119–120, 141).

Successive Iraqi regimes that ruled between 1921 and 2003 are regarded, in the KRG textbooks, as treacherous, deceptive, oppressive and fascist; descriptions that fall under Bar-Tal and Hammack’s category of *political labels* denoting political groups that are absolutely rejected by the values of the delegitimising group. Kurdish protests, demonstrations and movements, either civilian or armed, in Iraq during the monarchy (1921–1958) and the republican era (1958–2003) are seen implicitly as national movements struggling for the liberation, emancipation and independence of Kurdistan (*Contemporary and Modern History*, 12th Grade, 2011: 157, 182, 184; *Social Studies*, 8th Grade, 2011: 192). A passage from a history textbook sums up the Kurdish situation in Iraq:

[The] Kurdish nation has been seen by successive Iraqi regimes as an obstacle in [the project of] the unification of the [greater] Arab nation. From the perspective of their [Arab] political and military leaders, Iraqi Kurds are a threat to the Arab and Iraqi national security. Therefore, to the best of their ability, they have tried to assimilate and eliminate them [Kurds] by whatever means available. (*Contemporary and Modern History*, 12th Grade, 2011: 199)

Here we notice the theme of the justness of own (Kurdish) goals, as suggested by Bar-Tal and Hammack (2012: 36–37), which outlines the supreme goals in the Kurd-Iraqi conflict. ‘Abd al-Karim Qasim is the only Iraqi president that has not been branded as treacherous and despotic. This is, according to the textbooks, because he was the first Iraqi leader

who acknowledged that “Arabs and Kurds are partners in this country” (*Contemporary and Modern History*, 12th Grade, 2011: 184; *Social Studies*, 9th Grade, 2011: 212).

In light of these observations and other evidence from the KRG textbooks, the Arab-Iraqis have maintained the status of Other since 1926. It is worth noting that although various Iraqi regimes are portrayed negatively, Arab-Iraqis have never been depicted in any of the categories presented by Bar-Tal and Hammack (2012). Nowhere in the textbooks are they as an ethnic and/or national group stigmatised, dehumanised, out-casted, politically labelled or given negative descriptions in the KRG textbooks. By the same token, while the textbooks promote the Kurdish armed forces as the defenders of the Kurdish people and their homeland, they also encourage students to adopt dialogue and diplomacy in upholding their (Kurds’) rights. They suggest civil methods via which to achieve their objectives as modern means of struggle, and denounce conflict, war and intolerance (*Social Studies*, 9th Grade, 2011: 198, 218). In this sense the KRG textbooks avoid licencing harm of an out-group by rejecting any participation in violence.

BUILDING A NATION-STATE WITHIN A NATION-STATE

Since the establishment of the Kurdistan Regional Government in 1992, school textbooks have treated the Kurdistan region as a geo-political entity equal in status to the neighbouring nation-states. In one activity, students are asked to identify the borders of the Kurdistan region with neighbouring states, thus raising the status of the Kurdistan region to that of the existing states of Iraq, Syria, Iran and Turkey (*Social Studies*, 5th Grade, 2010: 8, 11).

The textbooks define homeland as “demarcated territory” bearing the name of the nation, such as Kurdistan. It then adds that a homeland is “a place that we are born in, live in and raised in”, emphasising that “the Kurdish nation, like any other nation in the world, has its own homeland/country” (*Social studies*, 5th Grade, 2010: 78). A nation is defined in these textbooks as “a group of people who settled in a single homeland, whose life relations and common fate unites them and who share a common history” (*Social Studies*, 9th Grade, 2011: 238; *Social Studies*, 6th Grade, 2011: 154–155). The textbooks identify the bases on which a nation is defined as the existence of a group of people, a shared homeland, a common language, a shared history and mutual interest. The importance

placed on these elements is such that students are invited to recognise them in an exercise. It could be construed from the emphasis on these elements that the KRG textbook authors see the concept of a nation through the prism of ethno-symbolism set by scholars such as Anthony D. Smith and John Hutchinson (see Smith 2009; Hutchinson 2000). At times, a common race is also considered a basis in the formation of a nation which illustrates the textbook's primordial approach towards the question of nation and national identity (see Geertz 1994). The primordial approach excludes individuals with non-Kurdish ancestry who live in Kurdistan and those who have migrated to Kurdistan in one way or another from being members of the nation of Kurdistan. This perspective rejects the validity of a contractual entry into a commonwealth by an individual citizen based on rights and responsibilities but attributes validity only to the membership granted to the individual as their birthright, that is, having been born to a Kurdish family.

A state is defined as a "political, legislative and administrative entity", where the relations between its (national) components are organised along the lines of a social contract. This definition corrects the primordial exclusionary approach discussed above. The textbooks consider a state as a contractual agreement valid only if the conditions of the contract are fulfilled and the obligations of all parties (Kurds and Arabs in the case of Iraq) are met. This seems to be a direct reference to a statement in the preamble of the new Iraqi constitution that states, "Adherence to this Constitution preserves for Iraq its free union of people, of land, and of sovereignty" (*Constitution of the Republic of Iraq*, 2012, "Preamble"). In general terms, from the Kurds' perspective, this sentence somehow safeguards their political rights, such as the right to live under a federal polity and the right of return to the areas from whence the Kurds were forcibly removed during the previous regime's campaigns of Arabisation.

To further stress the right of self-determination and the right to statehood, the KRG school textbooks elaborate on the concept of nationalism. Nationalism is suggested to be the "emotional attachment of human beings to their nation" and "a relationship that governs the loyalty of individuals to their nation". The object of nationalism is described to be national liberation and the formation of a political entity that includes *all* people belonging to the nation (*Social Studies*, 9th Grade, 2011, 241–242). Expanding on the idea of the right to statehood, the Kurdish nation is defined as an Indo-European nation that has been living in its homeland (i.e. Kurdistan) for centuries. Kurdish people share one history, culture,

civilisation and literature. It clarifies that although the Kurdish language has different dialects due to geographical, political and economic factors, it is nevertheless one language asserting and signifying the emotional and material interests that unite the members of this nation. In continuation of this discussion, a textbook offers what it calls “essential information” becoming more assertive in instilling the idea of the right to statehood in the minds of Kurdish students: “Dear student: it is the right of any nation to have its own polity; our neighbouring nations, such as Arabs, Turks and Persians, all have their own entity”. Furthermore: “Kurds are the largest national group of our age that are yet to have their own polity” (*Social Studies*, 9th Grade, 2011, 242–243).

To emphasise the uniqueness of the Kurdish culture and to create a sense of common memory and pride, the textbooks dedicate large portions to Kurdish/Kurdistani national and patriotic events that are proclaimed public holidays in the Kurdistan region. Most of the public holidays in the current Kurdish calendar are those proclaimed after the establishment of the KRG. With the exception of 14 July commemorating the 1958 revolution, the overthrow of the monarchy by the Iraqi army, and the Islamic religious festivals, no other public holidays are shared with other parts of Iraq (*Social Studies*, 6th Grade, 2011: 147–153). It is also stressed that the 14 July holiday is included in the Kurdish calendar because it commemorates a revolution that resulted in the acknowledgement of the partnership between the Kurds and Arabs in Iraq for the first time in the modern history of the country. Religious celebrations for the minority groups are acknowledged but not considered national or patriotic days as they are in the case of Malaysia, for example.

Discussion of national days is used as an opportunity to re-emphasise the Kurds’ right of self-determination. One textbook explains the reasons behind making 4 October 1992 a national day, the day on which the Kurdistan Parliament declared the Kurdistan region a federal region within Iraq. It also points out that the Kurds are no less entitled to the right of self-determination than are other nations in the Middle East, such as Turks, Arabs or Persian (*Social Studies*, 6th Grade, 2011: 151). This argument is rather more in line with the descriptions of legitimisation than of delegitimisation (Bar-Tal and Hammack 2012: 42), which involves acceptance of the rival group (Arabs, Persians and Turks) as an acceptable category worthy of the same moral treatment as the in-group (Kurds). In this context, KRG textbooks tend to reject any kind of social or ethnic hierarchy in favour of equal status. The book also uses the passage to stress that

the Kurdistan region's relationship with the central government must be built around mutual understanding as well as the principles of "voluntary unification". In light of this analysis of KRG textbooks, the core message they aim to convey to students is that all nations have the right to self-determination and statehood. In other words, the primary message of these textbooks is representative of their main objective: to build a nation-state (Kurdistan) within and nation-state (Iraq).

SELF-IMAGE AND THE CREATION OF A NATIONAL IDENTITY

It has been suggested that the salience of identity is dependent upon the particular social comparisons which are available in any given context. In relation to national identity, it is argued that when the context contains a comparable national out-group, the salience of the national identity of in-group increases (Oakes et al. 1994). In addition to the in-group/out-group comparison, collective group identity has also been closely linked to self-respect/esteem (Spinner-Halev and Theiss-Morse 2003: 515; Shafiee et al. 2010). In line with these findings, building and strengthening a bright and high-status image of any national group, individually or collectively, serves the creation of a strong national identity. For nation-builders and nationalists, school curricula are effective carriers for building a collective identity. This is the aim to which Kurdish educators aspire in authoring and using in the classroom the history and social studies textbooks of the KRG school curriculum.

The textbooks use manifold strategies to build and strengthen both individual and collective self-esteem. On the one hand, they depict Kurds as an ancient and friendly nation, native to their homeland. The Kurds are one of the great nations of the region, the textbooks suggest, who have lived in their homeland for thousands of years (*History of Civilisations*, 10th Grade, 2011: 22–24). The aim of this narrative is to create a positive self-image and inspire a sense of pride among the students. Parallel to this, the textbooks assert, the Kurds have faced and overcome external threats, aggressions and attacks throughout their history. Although the Kurds have been constantly subjected to persecution, the textbooks claim, they have survived and succeeded in dealing with the threats (*Contemporary and Modern History*, 12th Grade, 2011: 42; *Social Studies*, 9th Grade, 2011: 121, 131–133, 144–145). Kurdish-Islamic leaders such as Salahaddin al-Ayubi are given more space and attention than non-Kurdish leaders. Large sections of history and social studies textbooks are dedicated

to the role and history of Kurdish-Islamic principalities during the Umayyad and Abbasid rule (*History of Civilisations*, 10th Grade, 2011: 178–188; 8th Grade, 2011: 136–146).

In relation to how they have treated and been treated by Others, the textbooks mythologise and romanticise the ways in which the Kurds have dealt with their neighbouring national groups. According to these books, Kurdistan as a nation, its leaders, empires and principalities have always been peaceful, just, humanist, respectful and faithful. Throughout history, the textbooks continue, they have made generous contributions to human civilisations (*Contemporary and Modern History*, 12th Grade, 2011: 56, 61–62; *Social Studies*, 9th Grade, 2011: 164; 8th Grade, 2011: 136–146; 6th Grade, 2011: 78–84). Conditions within Kurdish principalities in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are described in a textbook as follows:

Despite all the tragedies that overshadowed Kurdistan as a result of Ottoman and Iranian wrongdoings, the Kurdish areas under the rule of the local [Kurdish] principalities were able to keep their national [Kurdish] footprints. They were also able, within their capacity, to develop Kurdish livelihood in most aspects of life. In comparison with the surrounding areas, [the Kurdish regions] witnessed noticeable progress. The foreign travelers who visited Kurdistan during those times, noticed and documented many aspects of this [progress] which was to their surprise. (*Social Studies*, 9th Grade, 2011: 150)

The textbooks also maintain that the Kurds were often ill-treated, deceived and betrayed by Others, including neighbouring nations and states. Furthermore, Others always needed the support and the allegiance of the Kurds and promised to fulfil their aspirations. The promises were never kept, so the textbooks claim (*Contemporary and Modern History*, 12th Grade, 2011: 12, 53). Interestingly, according to these accounts, the Kurds never experienced problems among themselves, but were always provoked by Others. The Kurds never occupied other people's territories; rather, it was always the Others who made such attempts (*Social Studies*, 9th Grade, 2011: 120, 132, 143–144).

Undoubtedly, the omission of crucial facts and viewpoints from the textbooks profoundly limits the ways in which students come to view historical events (Griffen and Marciano 1979: 35). Nationalists rarely review their history with unbiased criticism. This is to avoid revelations of shortcomings, misjudgements and brutalities. In order to avoid discussion of

the darker pages of their history, they conveniently overlook the less favourable aspects of their history, often leaving students in the dark. The KRG textbooks omit altogether accounts of internal fighting among Kurdish political groups, a major part of the Kurds' contemporary history that began in 1966 and lasted intermittently for 34 years. This omission of the Kurdish internal conflict is probably due to the unwillingness of nationalists, who enjoyed great influence over the development of the KRG textbooks, to present a negative image of themselves and their role in a conflict that claimed many lives and paved the way for the commission of crimes against many others.

CONCLUSION

In addition to the observations made throughout this chapter, it may also be concluded that, historically, ancient Semitic groups, such as the Akkadians, Babylonians and Assyrians, then the Arabs, the medieval Ottomans and Safavids and the modern Arab-Iraqis, Iranians and Turks, are "othered" in the textbooks of the Kurdistan Regional Government. While the regimes of these countries are occasionally trait-characterised and/or politically labelled (e.g. aggressors, fascists and colonialists), as ethnic or national groups, the Turks, Arabs and Persians are, however, not *defamed*, *dehumanised*, *outcasted* or *stigmatised*. In other words, no racist remarks are made against these ethnic and national groups. The contribution of ancient "othered" groups to human civilisation is widely acknowledged in the second generation of KRG textbooks. But when it comes to the Middle Ages, early modern or contemporary eras, one can rarely find direct acknowledgment of the "othered" states and national group contributions to the region's civilisations, especially the contemporary states of Turkey, Iraq and Iran. Nevertheless, the contribution of Kurdish rulers, dynasties and principalities are not only acknowledged but are sometimes romanticised. One factor that is almost completely absent in Kurdish textbooks is the question of sectarianism or sectarian identity in Iraq.

As a general assessment, it could be said that the collective self-image presented in KRG textbooks is, at best, incomplete, and at times even misconceived. Although the books' focus on the historical achievements of the Kurds, albeit romanticised and nostalgic at times, may be justified in forming a positive self-image for students, the complete omission of important events in recent Kurdish history (e.g. the intra-Kurdish con-

flicts from 1966 to 1998) can leave an image in students' minds that is misconstrued, incomplete and at times convoluted. Omitting Kurdish civil conflict from textbooks cannot erase the scars from Kurds' memories and lives; it would be much better to address the conflict, its implications and dimensions in school textbooks and to provide a neutral perspective to schoolchildren.

In an Israeli-Palestinian context, Adwan and Bar-On (2004) have developed a textbook for teaching the history of the conflict that contains both historical narratives of the conflict. In doing so they use two strategies outlined by Bar-Tal and Hammack (2012: 44): deinstitutionalisation and rescripting of dominant narratives. In the absence of these strategies, students will obtain information on the conflict from other sources, such as political parties who had been involved in the fighting and who would likely provide a highly biased perspective. Further, the textbooks' failure to mention any Kurdish misdeeds over the years may impact students' ability to empathise with minorities such as Chaldo-Assyrian Christians, who sometimes constitute a painful historical memory vis-à-vis the Kurdish elites.⁴ Bar-Tal and Hammack (2012: 44) argue correctly that groups must come to recognise their own actions that have violated the rights of the out-group. While the diversity of Kurdistan society and experience is admittedly acknowledged by the textbooks, diversity is certainly not as discussed as might be expected.

The principal aim of Kurdistan's school history textbooks is to promote a particular view of national identity that reflects the Kurdish nationalist perspective with ethno-symbolist and, at times, primordial theories of nationalism. The content and the methods employed to convey this message to students are often inclined towards a nationalistic approach by sidelining more nuanced academic approaches. One of the implications of the nationalist, and sometimes maximalist, views expressed in KRG history textbooks is, for example, the focus on Kirkuk as an ancient Kurdish/Kurdistani city. This extensive focus on Kirkuk may make it harder for Kurdistan's leaders to present a compromise on the issue of the disputed territories to their constituents, especially in areas such as Hawija, Tal'afar, Mandali and Bakhdida (Hamdaniyya), where any trace of "Kurdishness" has been erased due to Arabisation policies of successive Iraqi governments. In other words, it may be almost impossible to de-Arabise the above-mentioned areas.

In sum, KRG history textbooks present a core political message that the Kurds, as a national group in the world of nation-states, have the right to

self-determination and statehood, as do all other nations of the world. Indeed, it may be safely argued that the main discourse to be found in KRG history textbooks is the need to create a nation-state either within or outside the Iraqi “nation-state” borders. The extent to which the content of KRG history textbooks complements or challenges the policies of the political elites and reinforces or undermines this sense of Kurdish identity and geography promises to be an interesting subject for further study.

NOTES

1. See *Arab Islamic History*, 2nd Grade intermediate, 2003; *Modern and Contemporary History of the Arab Homeland*, 6th Grade high school, 2001; *The Ancient History of the Arab Homeland*, 1st Grade intermediate, 2000.
2. See *Modern and Contemporary History of the Arab Homeland*, 6th Grade high school, 2011; *Modern and Contemporary History of the Arab Homeland*, 3rd Grade intermediate, 2011; *Arab Islamic History*, 2nd Grade intermediate, 2009.
3. In early 1923, the League of Nations appointed a committee to investigate British and Turkish claims on the Ottoman province of Mosul. In July 1926, the League of Nations voted in favour of incorporating the province into the newly created state of Iraq. The Kurdish people considered their inclusion in Iraq to be a betrayal by the great powers that had promised Kurdish independence in the Treaty of Sèvres.
4. During the 1890s and the World War I, the Ottoman army, along with Kurdish tribal fighters, forcibly relocated and massacred thousands of Chaldean and Assyrian civilians living in what are today predominantly Kurdish regions. See Travis (2010: 237–277, 293–294).

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Turkey: Greeks and Armenians in History Textbooks (1930–2010)

Medi Nahmiyaz

Following their victory in the Turkish War of Independence fought between the years 1919 and 1922, the national elite of the newly established Turkish Republic faced a different kind of struggle: the difficult process of nation-building. In the early years of the Republic, national defence and national education were considered to be the two major pillars of state-making and nation-building in Turkey. Realising that education will play an important role in Turkish nation-building, the national elites established the Ministry of Education and organised an Education Congress in 1920 when the army was still fighting the war of independence (Altınay 2004: 119).

Amongst the many subjects studied in the education system, history and historiography were especially considered important by the national elite in the process of nation-building. The Kemalist elite invented and enforced through its various mechanisms a new historical narrative. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was personally involved in the foundation of the *Türk Tarihi Tedkik Cemiyeti* (Turkish History Association), which restructured history according to the principles of *Türk Tarih Tezi* (Turkish History Thesis). The Turkish History Thesis was “based on a racialised

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conception of the history of civilisation at the centre of which lay the Turkish race, culture and language” (Altınay 2004: 22). It established itself as the dominant version of history as any criticism or contradiction to it was considered to be anti-patriotic and dangerous (Altınay 2004: 21). This official history was disseminated to the masses and new generations through the education system. Textbooks, especially history textbooks, became instrumental in instilling the values and world vision of the political elite in young minds. The Turkish Historical Society published four new volumes of history textbooks in accordance with the principles of Turkish History Thesis to be used in the 1931–1932 academic year.

National history has a particular character as it is formulated and structured according to the present and future needs of a nation (Lewis 1975). History in nationalist projects involves remembering and forgetting particular events and periods of time (McCrone 1998). Moreover, nationalists use existing motifs and myths taken from epics, chronicles, documents of the period and recombine them to “invent” the past. This reinvention of history is carried out in accordance with the specific character of the nation exposing those qualities that are specific to a nation and its identity. In nationalist historiography, heroes, sages and saints represent the “embodiment of all the ‘pure qualities’ of the community”, and they become reference points for the community often being contrasted with the Significant Others (Smith 1986).

Anna Triandafyllidou, who writes on nationalism from a political and psychological perspective, emphasises that the notion of the Other is inherent in nationalist doctrine and the history of each nation is marked by the existence of others from which the community seeks to differentiate itself (Triandafyllidou 1998). These Others have an impact on the development of a nation’s identity. Similarly, sociologist Zygmunt Bauman states that nationalism enforces a binary vision of the world dividing it into enemies and friends. The division between friend and enemy determines the difference between the good and the bad, the proper and the improper and the truth and the false (Bauman 1990). Moreover, Triandafyllidou argues that the others become salient during periods of instability and crisis when the territorial and symbolic boundaries of the in-group are unstable and unclear (Triandafyllidou 1998). Daniel Bar-Tal argues on similar lines and stresses that one of the reasons for this process is a society’s need for psychological tools to cope with instabilities and conflicts (Rouhana and Bar-Tal 1998). This leads to a simultaneous process of delegitimisation and dehumanisation of others while glorifying the Self by

emphasising heroism and endurance (Rouhana and Bar-Tal 1998). Once these societal beliefs are formed they remain fixed and can only change as a result of a continuous social and historical process in which the reality, as members of society perceive it, changes (Bar-Tal 2000).

Triandafyllidou categorises Significant Others into two categories: external and internal Significant Others. External Significant Others are generally rival nations—particularly neighbours of the in-group—who have claims to the homeland or a part of the territory ruled by the in-group. On the other hand, nation-states and ethnic groups that are territorially close but do not have any claims to land can also become external Significant Others if they contest the in-group's cultural heritage by emphasising certain myths, symbols and ancestors which the in-group regards as being its own cultural identity (Triandafyllidou 1998: 602). An internal Significant Other refers to ethnic or religious minorities that have “distinct culture, language, traditions and myths of origin [that differ] from the dominant nation and may therefore be perceived by the dominant nation to pose a threat either to the territorial integrity of its quasi nation-state, if they raise secessionist claims, or to its cultural unity and authenticity, when they assert their right to difference” (Triandafyllidou 1998: 600). An external Significant Other is seen as threatening to “wipe out” the nation, while the internal counterpart threatens to “contaminate” it (Triandafyllidou 1998: 603).

By analysing the main themes that are prominent in Turkish history textbooks in depictions of Self and Other—primarily the Greeks and the Armenians as the Others of the Turkish nation—this chapter will show that the above arguments on nationalism are valid for the Turkish case. The portrayal of Greeks and Armenians was specifically chosen for this study because the analysis reveals that these groups are particularly prominent as Turkey's enemy Others in the books, while other minorities of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, such as Jews or Kurds, are not. Greeks and Armenians became the Others of the Turkish nation when the latter was facing instabilities and conflicts with these communities. This process led to the creation of a delegitimised and dehumanised Other, and an elevated self-image characterised by heroism, endurance, courage, justness and tolerance. The Turkish textbooks reflect a binary world vision defined by friends and enemies who pose both external and internal threats to the nation. An analysis of the changes and continuities in images of Others in Turkish history textbooks from the establishment of the Republic until 2010 will reveal how this world vision and these images have become

embedded in societal beliefs, becoming an inseparable part of Turkish national identity.

It should be noted that two different words are used in Turkish when referring to the Greeks: *Yunanlı* is used for Greeks of the Greek state and *Rum* refers to the Greek community in Turkey. This chapter will refer to the Greek community of Turkey as *Rums* and Greeks of the Greek state as Greeks to reflect the differentiation that exists in Turkish discourse.

THE TURKISH EDUCATION SYSTEM

The establishment of the Modern Turkish Republic in 1923 brought important changes to the education system. The Turkish political elite believed that the Ottoman state had several educational systems with different ideological and pedagogical goals which hindered the unity and realisation of the Turkish people as a nation (Kaplan 2006: 39). One of the most important reforms executed in the field of education was the enactment of the law of *Tevhid-i Tedrisat* on 3 March 1924. The law brought all educational institutions under the supervision of the Ministry of Education (except for military schools which remained under the supervision of the Ministry of Defence until 1925) (Akyüz 2001). *Medreses* (institutions of higher religious learning) and Dervish lodges such as *tekke* and *zaviye* were closed and the state became the only agent supervising educational personnel, curricula and policies (Kaplan 2006: 39).

Until 1939, primary school comprised 5 years (in rural areas often only 3 years). After 1939, compulsory education in the cities as well as in rural villages was fixed at 5 years. As of the 1997–1998 academic year, compulsory primary education was expanded to 8 years: in addition to the 5 years of primary school, the first stage of secondary education (3 years of middle school) became compulsory. Beginning with the 2012–2013 academic year, a new structural change was introduced to the Turkish education system rendering 12 years of education compulsory. According to the new so-called 4+4+4 principle, 4 years of primary school is compulsory for any student who has reached the age of five, followed by 4 years of middle school. The student then moves on to 4 years of high school. Until the 1997–1998 academic year, secondary education consisted of two stages. In the first stage, the students studied at middle schools for 3 years before continuing to high school for another 3. In 1998, primary education was extended to 8 years, followed by secondary education of 3 years, and in the 2005–2006 academic year, another year was added to secondary education.

There are two types of secondary education schools: general schools and vocational and technical schools, which prepare the student for a particular vocation. According to the new arrangements, students who have completed 4 years of primary school will have the right to continue to *Imam Hatip* religious schools,¹ which fall under the category of vocational schools, and any middle school.

IMAGES OF SELF AND OTHERS IN TURKISH HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

This section focuses on themes common to the portrayal of Greeks and Armenians, mentioning any differences that may exist between them, and unveils changes and continuities occurring in images of Self and Others. The study was conducted using two sets of textbooks: Ottoman history and modern Turkish history textbooks. Those textbooks which focus on Ottoman history from the beginning of the thirteenth century until the end of World War I will be referred to as Ottoman History textbooks. Those textbooks which mainly present the time before and after the Turkish War of Independence and the reforms of Atatürk will be referred to as modern Turkish history textbooks. Most of the textbooks analysed were written for the high school level. The middle school textbook was only used for the analysis regarding the early years of the Republic because of the limited number of high school textbooks available for this period.

The scope of the textbook sample was limited to textbooks written during the Republic and did not include textbooks written during the last years of the Ottoman Empire and still in use after the establishment of the Republic. This is because this study is intended to show the changes and continuities in images of Others within the nationalist discourse of the Republican times. The 1931–1932 “history reform” was highly influenced by Turkish history writing which began in the last 30 years of the nineteenth century and matured in the next 60 years (Copeaux 2006: 49). However, new factors brought changes to historical discourse during the founding years of the Republic. For instance, there was a special emphasis on Central Asian roots in historiography before the Republic. However, the Armenian deportation and Greek expulsion from 1915 onwards created the need to erase historical claims by these communities to Anatolia and to establish the existence of Turkish ancestors (Copeaux 2006: 50).

The analysis for this study comprised 35 textbooks, categorised into three generations. I refer to the textbooks published until the 1940s as first-generation textbooks, those published between 1940 and the 1980s as second-generation textbooks and those published from the 1980s until the present day as third-generation textbooks. Textbooks of different generations differ in terms of their language, the length of the text and the choice of historical incidents. Moreover, different generations of textbooks correspond to the changes that took place in Turkish historiography. Following the death of Atatürk in 1938, the enthusiasm which had led the Kemalist revolution began to fade and studies aiming at producing a world vision unique to Turks no longer satisfied the historians (Copeaux 2006). The intellectual elite turned to the West, and Arif Müfit Mansel, an expert in ancient Greek history, wrote a new set of textbooks. This new movement in Turkish history writing was named “humanist” historiography and it began with the translation of Greek, Latin and Western classics. While opposing Kemalist historiography, it never rejected it openly. The reaction to this “humanist” intellectual elite led to a new movement based on the Turkish-Islamic thesis (*Türk İslam Sentezi*) (Copeaux 2006). Towards the 1970s, a group of intellectuals advocated the Turkish Islamic thesis calling for the integration of Islamic values to national political culture, and this became prominent after the military adopted a religious orientation for the Turkish education system after the 1980s (Kaplan 2006).

The portrayal of Greeks and Armenians has never been static, and it is possible to observe both continuities and changes in the manner in which they have been described in history textbooks of different periods. The most significant change is evident in a discussion on the Armenian community in the textbooks of the early 1980s. Until the publication of the third-generation textbooks towards the beginning of 1980s, only the Greeks appear as the Significant Other of the Turkish national identity. The first- and second-generation textbooks portray a general silence towards the Armenian community, the Armenian deportation and the events of 1915. The main reason for this is that the Armenians, who remained a small community in Turkey, were not perceived as a threat to Turkey during this time. Armenians began to appear as Significant Others from the 1980s onwards once Turkey began to perceive Armenia as an enemy state and the Armenian diaspora as an enemy group because of certain international political developments which will be discussed in further detail.

IMAGES OF OTHERS IN OTTOMAN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

Tolerance and Special Status

One particularly prominent theme in depictions of Greeks and Armenians in Ottoman history textbooks of all generations is that of the Ottoman regime's tolerance and justice towards religious minorities. In textbooks of all generations, the status of Rums and Armenians is presented as an example of Ottoman tolerance, as the allegedly just Ottoman rulers allowed their Rum and Armenian subjects to enjoy all kinds of rights and liberties. The first- and second-generation textbooks emphasise that "being tolerant" (*müsamaha ile idare etmek*) towards the Christian minorities was a state principle (Mansel et al. 1949: 28). The Christian peasants were loyal to the Turks who "were not bigots and knew how to rule very well" (*asla mutaasıp olmıyan ve çok iyi idare etmeyi bilen*) because the Turks granted them "a happier and more comfortable life" (*çok daha mesut ve müfferreh bir hayat*) and more "justice and welfare" (*adalet ve refah*) than the feudal regimes of Europe and the rule of the Vesalius and the kings (T.T.T. Cemiyeti 1941: 36). Regarding the Rums, the first- and second-generation textbooks state that when Sultan Mehmed II conquered Istanbul, he summoned all Rums to the city and informed them that they would be free to practice their religion and that their property would be safe (Mansel et al. 1949; T.T.T. Cemiyeti 1941). He was especially kind to the Patriarchate, the religious head of the Rums in Istanbul, granting him the same status as his viziers and a squad of Janissaries for protection (T.T.T. Cemiyeti 1941: 36).

There is a striking difference in the depiction of Rums between the first generation of textbooks and those to follow. The discussion of the Greek minority in first-generation textbooks focuses on the representatives of this community: the Rum Patriarchate and *Fenerli Rum Beyleri* (The Rum Beys from the Fener neighbourhood), which refers to clergymen and also to Rums who worked as *sarrafs* (money changers) in Istanbul. The history textbook for high school from the 1940s describes the Rum Beys from Fener as the "worst calamity of the Ottoman state" and as "riffraff left over from Byzantium (*Bizans döküntüleri*) gathered around the Fener Patriarchate" and a "gang of mixed races who amassed a good fortune by illegal means from exploiting the treasury of the Patriarchate" (T.T.T. Cemiyeti 1941: 198). The first-generation textbooks openly state that the Rums controlled Ottoman diplomacy and the monetary system,

which allowed them to manipulate the Ottoman state according to their interests. For instance, the textbooks state that they gained control of Ottoman diplomacy while working as translators for the Imperial Council. Taking advantage of their posts, they “robbed the people” and freely received bribes from European states (T.T.T. Cemiyeti 1941: 198). They also mediated between the higher political elite and those who sought appointment to certain official posts. These people borrowed money from the Rums and paid bribes to higher state officials through them (T.T.T. Cemiyeti 1941: 199). Moreover, the first-generation textbooks hold the Rum Patriarchate and Fener Beys responsible for political and economic dissatisfaction in the Balkans. They state that the corrupt Rum priests appointed to the Voivodes² of Wallachia and Moldavia oppressed the people of the region (Ertem and Duru 1941; T.T.T. Cemiyeti 1941). These statements are totally removed from second- and third-generation textbooks, which provide a general overview of the Greek minority living in the Ottoman Empire rather than only focusing on its representatives.

The textbooks of the third generation also emphasise tolerance and state that the Christian minorities of the Ottoman Empire were not influenced by the reform movement in Europe. The textbooks stress that the Ottoman administrators protected the Christian minorities against abuse from the Church, and there was no sectarian conflict, thanks to the religious tolerance of the Ottomans. Moreover, a reading text entitled “Istanbul: Symbol of Tolerance” in the 2009 history textbook describes how Ottoman rule based on tolerance rendered Istanbul a “centre of attraction” for Jews and Christians, who were oppressed by Europe (Cazgır et al. 2009: 41). In all generation textbooks, Turks are portrayed as protective rulers regarded as “saviours” by Greeks and Armenians because they saved them from oppressive European feudal regimes, the Church or the Byzantium Empire.

In reference to the Armenian community, the third-generation textbooks claim that the Armenian subjects did not face any prohibitions and were free to practice their religion and speak their own languages. “Even the Turks”, the textbooks maintain, “the real masters of the country, were not as comfortable or free as they were” (Palazoğlu and Bircan 1995: 144). As a result of this policy of tolerance which was rarely practised in other countries during the time, the Armenians were deeply devoted to the Ottoman state and considered the most trustworthy minority community until the middle of the nineteenth century (Kalecikli 1996; Palazoğlu and Bircan 1995). They were called *Millet-i Sadıka* (Güneş and

Özbek 2004; Kalecikli 1996; Kara 2006; Palazoğlu and Bircan 1995). So complete was their integration that Turkish was their language of speech and prayer; they even forgot their mother tongues (Cazgır et al. 2009; Palazoğlu and Bircan 1995). The extent of their integration caused Europeans to refer to them as “*Hristiyanlaşmış Türkler*” (Christianised Turks) (Kalecikli 1996: 133).

Another theme found in second- and third-generation textbooks is that of the “special status” allegedly enjoyed by both Greeks and Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. Some second-generation textbooks state that Rum sailors who sailed “under the Turkish flag” benefited from its “impartiality” and became wealthy as they controlled the Black Sea and Mediterranean Sea trade (Niyazi Akşit 1951; Niyazi Akşit and Uluçay 1952; Atsız and Oran 1963). Third-generation textbooks also include similar statements. For instance, the Rums of the Ottoman Empire enjoyed the “special condition” of being granted them more “privileges” (*imtiyaz*) than other Christians in the Empire (Oktay 1987: 238). “Although the Christians were not permitted to serve the state, they [the Rums] were appointed to important and confidential posts such as translating for the Port and [serving as governors] in Wallachia and Moldovia” (Kara 2002: 106). Similarly, after the Gregorian Armenian Patriarchate was established in Istanbul during the rule of Mehmed the Conqueror, the rights granted to the Armenian community were expanded during the rule of Yavuz Sultan Selim and Suleyman the Magnificent (Cazgır et al. 2009). The Armenians were also given control of other religious institutions such as the Abyssinian, Assyrian and Coptic Churches (Güneş and Özbek 2004). Moreover, after the declaration of the Imperial Reform Edict in 1856, they were given the opportunity to work for the state, where they served as members of parliament, ministers, ambassadors, academics and high-ranking officials (Kara 2006; Palazoğlu and Bircan 1995).

The tolerance discourse with regard to religious minorities dominates the second- and third-generation textbooks. However, some of these books mention, albeit rarely and without much influence on the underlying theme, restrictions or “injustices” (*baksızlıklar*) faced by the minorities (Niyazi Akşit and Uluçay 1952; Atsız and Oran 1953; Köymen et al. 2001; Oktay 1987). For instance, one second-generation textbook states that the Rums who lived under the just rule of the Turks began to face “injustices” as the Ottoman state became weaker. “They [the Rums] became unhappy [*gayri memnun*] as money and taxes which exceeded the amount determined by the law were levied upon them” (Niyazi Akşit and

Uluçay 1952: 185). Similarly, Emin Oktay's book from 1987 states that there were legal differences between the Christians, the Jews and the Muslims, and that division within Ottoman society was on account of religion. The non-Muslims held the status of Dhimmi: "The Turks and the Muslims were the masters and owners of the country" (Oktay 1987: 36). Another textbook from 2001 states that, while minorities received the right to become state officials and to serve in the Ottoman army after *Hattı-ı Hümayun* of 1856, they were never accepted by the military academy in Harbiye (Köymen et al. 2001: 165).

The Greek and Armenian Quest for Independence

Since the Ottoman regime was tolerant and the minorities living under its rule were happy and enjoying a comfortable life, the Greek and Armenian nationalist movements which resulted in their rebellion against the Ottoman Empire could only stem from external factors. According to the textbooks, from the nineteenth century onwards, the Ottoman Empire became the battleground for power struggles between the European states and Russia as each of these countries realised that the Ottoman Empire would soon disintegrate. Textbooks of all generations mention that these states began to intervene in the internal affairs of the Empire and to pursue their own interests by using the status and treatment of Ottoman minorities as an excuse. The minorities thus became a tool for foreign countries who continuously exploited them in order to achieve their objectives. As one textbook explicitly states:

The communities living within the boundaries of the Ottoman State always took action [against it] because of *dış tabrik* (foreign provocation) ... States seeking to take advantage [of the situation] acted as the protector of non-Muslim living in the Ottoman lands. They used the Armenians as a tool in their policies. (Palazoğlu and Bircan 1995: 145)

Another important theme that emerges in the discussion of the Greek and Armenian independence movements is that of betrayal or a lack of gratitude. The first-generation textbooks state openly that "the gang of Patriarchate and *Fener Beys* who did not worship anything other than [their own] financial interests had an innate character to change sides and betray the state" (T.T.T Cemiyeti 1941: 199). In second- and third-generation textbooks, the word "betrayal" is not used explicitly, but a lack

of gratitude on the part of minorities is implied by ignoring any internal reasons for their rebellion and emphasising their special status. For instance, according to the textbooks, the Rums, who enjoyed privileges and lived happily, rebelled against the tolerant Ottomans who had granted them these rights: “if one considers the rights that Rums had in the Ottoman Empire, it could be seen that they had less reason to rebel” (Koprman et al. 2001: 60).

The Greek and Armenian collaboration with Western powers or Ottoman enemies like Russia in order to break away from the Ottomans and establish their own states are further factors used to portray a lack of gratitude. Textbooks of all generations emphasise the close ties between Russia and the organisations that led movements such as *Etniki Eteryä*, which initiated the Greek revolution. The textbooks also mention the direct contact that existed between the Rum and Armenian Patriarchate and the European states and Russia. Statements holding minorities responsible for the destruction of the Ottoman Empire can also be found in all textbooks. For instance, the Ergezer textbook cites sections from a letter that the Rum Patriarchate in Istanbul wrote to the Russians during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II. The letter begins by listing the good qualities of Turks as smart, hardworking, moral, patient and strong. The Rum Patriarchate continues the letter by stating that the obedience and spiritual attachment of Turks should be destroyed. He writes, “The best ideas to destroy the Ottoman state can come from us who have lived with them under their sovereignty over centuries” (Ergezer 1995: 69).

IMAGES OF OTHERS IN MODERN TURKISH HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

Greeks and Armenians During the Turkish War of Independence

In modern Turkish history textbooks, Greeks and Armenians are mainly discussed within the context of the Turkish War of Independence. As briefly stated above, until the publication of third-generation textbooks, the Greeks and Rums appear as the primary enemies of the Turkish nation who fought a harsh war to save their country under the most difficult conditions. The Turkish people are praised for their heroism, bravery and sacrifice. The first- and second-generation modern Turkish history textbooks include a section on the Turkish-Armenian war fought during the

Turkish War of Independence. However, this section is less than a page long (the first- and second-generation textbooks vary between 200 and 400 pages in total), and the event is described as a war fought in the context of the Turkish War of Independence without any references to Armenians as a community. With the publication of third-generation textbooks during the 1980s, new sections on the Armenian deportation are added to this chapter. While first-generation textbooks do not mention the Armenian collaboration with French forces in the southeastern region at all and only a few second-generation textbooks mention this aspect, new sections on this issue appear in all third-generation textbooks.

All textbooks emphasise the technological superiority and favourable conditions of the Greeks versus the difficult conditions and struggles faced by the Turkish nation including women, children and the elderly who made great sacrifices to save the country. The technological superiority of the Greek forces is shown by providing the details of the number of arms and other war equipment that each army possessed during the war and by repeating such sentences as “the Greeks had *twice* as many rifles and cannons than the Turks” or “they had *ten times* as many machine guns and aeroplanes than the Turks” (T.T.T. Cemiyeti 1934: 98). The textbooks show that what the Turkish people lacked in material sources, they compensated with their willpower which allowed them to win a war against a technologically superior enemy.

The alleged lack of gratitude criticised in Ottoman history textbooks is also mentioned by modern Turkish history textbooks. A section discussing secret associations founded by the Rums and Armenians before the Turkish War of Independence states that the Rums and the Armenians, who had lived peacefully as Turkish citizens for centuries and benefited from all kinds of opportunities, exploited the Ottomans’ weak situation and collaborated with the occupying forces (Karal 1944; Palazoğlu and Bircan 1995; Şapolyo 1950; Su and Su 1980; Yazgan and Serdarlar 1956). The Rums founded the *Mavri Mira* and Pontus Rum associations and the Armenians established the *Hınçak Komitası* (Association). These associations worked for the interests of these communities and were engaged in activities that supported the establishment of independent states in parts of Turkey. Moreover, certain third-generation textbooks highlight the Armenian betrayal in their discussion of the *Tehcir* Law,³ which led to the Armenian deportation. They state that the Tehcir Law was enacted because the Armenians collaborated with the Russians and “stabbed the Ottoman state, which was in a state of war, in the back” (Güneş and Özbek 2004:

120). The Turkish narrative on the Tehcir Law and the incidents following it is fully developed in third-generation textbooks. These books tend to use neutral words to refer to the incidents, such as *göç* (immigration), *yerleştirme* (settlement or relocation), *nakil* (transporting or transferring) and *sevki* (moving).

The textbooks describe several historical incidents in which the minorities collaborate with the invading forces. One important incident recited in the textbooks is the Greek invasion of Izmir, which has symbolic significance as the “first bullet fired on the enemy” which started the Turkish War of Independence. The textbooks state that when the Greek forces entered the city, the church bells of Izmir rang, Greek flags were hoisted in Rum neighbourhoods, and the Rums showered the incoming Greek soldiers with flowers (Su and Mumcu 1985: 27). Similarly, the third-generation textbooks describe the cooperation between the French invading forces in the southeastern cities of Urfa, Maraş and Antep and the local Armenians living in these cities. Some textbooks state that the French brought with them Armenians who were deported to Syria and Egypt after the issuing of the Tehcir Law (Kara 2006; Su and Mumcu 2004). The textbooks state that the French formed “revenge brigades” from Armenians living in the region (Akđin, et al. 2008: 40; Kara 2006: 57).

The textbooks cite several historical incidents that demonstrate the cruelty, brutality and violent nature of the enemy who constantly humiliates and harms the Turks, thus exemplifying the Turkish nation’s bravery and patriotism in the face of the enemy. For instance, all generation textbooks cite the story of *Süleyman Fethi Bey*. When the Greeks invaded Izmir, they humiliated the Turks by forcing the Turkish soldiers, officers and government officials to say, “Long Live Venizelos!” (the Greek president at the time). One Turkish soldier, Süleyman Fethi Bey, refused to subject to this humiliation and was consequently murdered by the Greeks for his disobedience. Some third-generation textbooks state that the Greeks killed 2000 innocent Turkish citizens in 48 hours and accused the Greeks of generally devastating behaviour fit for no nation exhibited during the invasion of Izmir (Kara 2000; Palazođlu and Bircan 1995; Su and Mumcu 1985). Similarly, the textbooks tell the story of *Hacı İmam* or *Sütçü İmam* who shoots and wounds a group of Armenian and French soldiers because they humiliate a Turkish woman by tearing down her veil and saying, “This place does not belong to the Turks any more. You can’t go around wearing a veil in a French country” (Akđin et al. 2008: 111).

Defending Turkish honour is a frequent motif in the textbooks, and the barbarity of the enemy is contrasted with the alleged civilised behaviour of the Turks, especially in third-generation textbooks. For instance, having been defeated by the Turks, the Greeks begin to run away and “execute their last villainy” by burning down and destroying everything in their path and starting a fire in Izmir (Palazoğlu and Bircan 1995: 189). The textbook states that, although most of the Greeks and Rums ran away, some of them remained in Izmir, afraid that Turks would act towards them as the Rums and Greeks had behaved towards the Turks. However, their fears were unfounded as “the Turks would never respond to barbarism with barbarism” and Atatürk had taken the necessary precautions for the protection of the minorities in the city (Palazoğlu and Bircan 1995: 189).

Greek and Armenian Expansionism

After the 1980s, official history as presented in the textbooks was highly influenced by Greek and Armenian international campaigns for Turkey’s recognition of controversial Pontian Greek⁴ and Armenian genocides which took place during World War I. The shift in Turkish discourse as connected to international developments is also reflected in the new curriculum of 1982. This curriculum lists amongst the objectives of Turkish history lessons: to teach the student that Atatürk’s principle “peace at home, peace in the world” and that independence of “our state” can only be preserved if Turks remain strong and do not give others the opportunity to disrupt the country’s and the nation’s unity (T.C Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, Dec. 20, 1982). Setting security and unity as a condition of peace does not appear in previous history curricula.

New sections entitled the “Pontus Problem” and the “Armenian Issue” began to appear in third-generation Ottoman and Modern Turkish History textbooks. The Pontus Problem section serves as a response to genocide claims in the Eastern Black Sea region and seeks to refute these claims and any historical Greek connection to the region. The Armenian Issue section discusses the reasons for the enactment of the forced immigration law, *Tehcir Kanunu*, and tries to refute genocide claims. In the discussion of these issues, two particular arguments stand out: firstly, the claim that the objective behind Greek and Armenian claims of genocide consists in Greek and Armenian aspirations to expand and annex parts of Turkey, and secondly, the textbooks argue that it was not the Turks who

committed genocide in the region but in fact the Greeks and the Armenians who did so in mass killings of Turks.

According to the third-generation textbooks, Greek historical claims to the Pontus region situated in the Eastern Black Sea region are part of a greater scheme: realisation of its “Megali Idea”. The Megali Idea, translated as Big Ideal, Greater Ideal, Great Idea or Greater Greece by the textbooks, is the Greek “ideal and movement aspiring to form a new empire by uniting all Greeks and conquering ancient lands ruled by Alexander and the Byzantium Empire” (Kalecikli 1996: 42; Palazoğlu and Bircan 1995: 34). Greece thus aspires, so the claim, to annex Cyprus, Crete, Western Anatolia, the Aegean Islands, Istanbul and the Eastern Black Sea region, and has been working towards achieving this goal since World War I. The establishment of the Pontus State in the Eastern Black Sea region was an important step in the realisation of this project (Cazgır et al. 2009: 159).

Greek aspirations to annex the Eastern Black Sea region are not only limited to the period during and after WWI but still continue today. Since 1985 Greece has sought to present the “Pontus Rebellion” in the international arena by depicting it as a genocide, despite there being no scientific or judicial evidence that such events ever took place (Akđin et al. 2008: 39; Cazgır et al. 2009: 160). The *Tarih 10* textbook published by the Ministry of Education warns the Turkish student against the present-day expansionism of Greece and the European states thus:

[Greek] Orthodox separatism based on imaginary claims about the Eastern Black Sea Region which has been a part of the Turks and the Turkish world since the early periods of history and still continues to be so, persists today. The aspirations of the European forces and Greece towards Anatolia are still valid. Greece is working to revive Orthodox separatism which was ended by the Treaty of Lausanne in the Eastern Black Sea Region. It began to voice its claims on the Eastern Black Sea Region at international organisations as a so-called genocide. (Cazgır et al. 2009: 158)

As to the 1915 Armenian deportation, the textbooks similarly accuse Armenia and the Armenian diaspora of having expansionist aspirations to annex parts of Turkey and to establish a Greater Armenia. The Güneş & Özbek textbook references the third congress of the World Armenian Associations in July 1985 which voted to form an Armenian State on Turkish land. The *Tarih 10* textbook further purports that the Armenians

present the 1915 incidents as genocide for the benefit of a sympathetic world audience strategically in line with their “Four Ts” plan: *Tanıtim*, *Tanıma*, *Tazminat ve Toprak* (presentation, recognition, compensation and land), ultimately hoping to receive compensation from Turkey and use this money to establish Greater Armenia (Cazgır et al. 2009: 202). Several textbooks state that Armenians formed the terrorist organisation ASALA, the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, on 20 January 1975 to execute this plan (Cazgır et al. 2009: 202; Güneş and Özbek 2004: 130).

The Güneş and Özbek and *Tarih 10* textbooks further argue that it is not only Armenia and the Armenian diaspora who exploit the Armenian issue for their interests but also the Russians and the Western states who have geopolitical concerns about Turkey’s rise as a regional power. According to the *Tarih 10* textbook, during the Cold War, Russia was concerned because Turkey was a member of NATO and her rising power would hurt Russian interests. Similarly, the Güneş and Özbek textbook states that the USA and other European countries such as France and England support the Armenian claims in the hope of protecting their political and economic interests in the Middle East; these countries fear a strong and stable Turkey would inhibit their access to the region’s rich oil reserves. It is also interesting to note that Greek aspirations for annexation do not appear as the leading motivation behind some historical events such as the invasion of Izmir in the first- and second-generation textbooks. However, third-generation textbooks associate the invasion with the annexation of western Anatolia and realisation of the Megali Idea.

Another prominent argument in the discussion of the Armenian and Pontus matter focuses on Greek and Armenian killings of Turks. The textbooks discuss the activities of Rum and Armenian and gangs active in the Eastern Black Sea Region and Eastern Turkey. According to the textbooks, the systematic transfer of people including “separatist and trained militants” from Greece was organised before WWI in order to increase the Rum population in the region. During WWI, increased numbers of gangs terrorised the local Turks and forced them to leave the region; they “raided the Turkish villages, looting and burning them and killed innocent people here” (Akdivin et al. 2008: 35). As to the Armenian case, the textbooks similarly provide many examples of deaths of innocent Turks. For instance, the *Tarih 10* textbook states that according to Russian records, the Armenians massacred 600,000 Turks in the cities of Erzurum, Erzincan, Trabzon, Bitlis and Van and forced 500,000 others to migrate. Similarly

another textbook emphasises that “When Turkey was fighting a life-and-death struggle, the Armenian *komitacıs* committed acts of terror and genocide (*terör ve soykırım*) against the Muslim population. They used propaganda tools and disseminated incorrect information in order to deceive the Christian world into believing that those massacred had been Armenians” (Güneş and Özbek 2004: 121). Both the *Tarih 10* and Güneş and Özbek textbooks refute international claims that 1,500,000 Armenians died during the deportation (Cazgır et al. 2009: 200; Güneş and Özbek 2004: 120).

CONCLUSION

Until the publication of third-generation textbooks, only Greeks and Rums appear as the Significant Other of Turkish national identity. New sections on the Armenian community, Armenian deportation, 1915 incidents and Armenian collaboration with the French are added to third-generation textbooks. The Greeks and Rums are presented as Significant Others in first- and second-generation textbooks because the struggle against the Greeks played an important role during Turkish nation formation. To use Triandafyllidou’s and Bar Tal’s conceptualisation, during the Turkish nation-building process in the 1930s and continuing well into the 1950s, the territorial and symbolic boundaries of the Turkish identity were unstable and not clearly defined as Turkish elites sought to form a nation-state out of the remnants of a multi-ethnic empire. The society also needed psychological tools with which to cope with the difficult times. The recent past is characterised by a major war between Turkey and Greece, and the Turkish Republic was founded after an “extremely bitter and destructive” war against Greece (Millas 2002: 158). The national struggle—fought mainly against the Greeks—became an important element of Turkish national identity. As the conflict between Greece and Turkey continued over the years due to various issues such as population exchange, problems over sovereign rights in the Aegean shelf, the Cyrus issue and recognition of Pontian Greek genocide, the Greeks continued to be depicted as Significant Others in third-generation textbooks (Millas 2002).

Overall, the narrative presented in Turkish history textbooks reflects the Turkish national historiography on the minorities. Although critical historians have emerged in the past decades such as Fatma Müge Göçek, Taner Akçam or Yektan Türkyılmaz, most Turkish nationalist authors keep

“their polemics for Greeks and Armenians” (Millas 2002: 159). This is directly connected to the approach that Greek and Armenian national historiographies take towards Turkish history. There are a good number of Greek and Armenian authors who hold the view that their community in the course of its existence has been confronted with a national enemy, which is the Ottoman regime and then the modern Turkish Republic following it (Millas 2002: 159).

Fatma Müge Göcek emphasises that during the construction of a Turkish national identity, the Republican leaders and intellectuals consciously omitted and repressed the past including incidents of violence and trauma. This led to the development of “a mythicised Turkish past” that “valorised Turkish achievements, whitewashed the crimes, blamed especially the minorities and the West for all past defeats, and silenced the violence committed against others” (Göcek 2011: 42). Thus, certain social groups such as Armenians and Greeks and the violence committed against them were excluded from the collective myth and their histories were forgotten and silenced. Significant empirical and methodological advancement in official Turkish historiography therefore requires critical analysis and inclusion of other people’s history as well as the history of interactions between Turks and minority groups (Göcek 2011: 52). This will also greatly contribute to the reconciliation process between these societies.

NOTES

1. *Imam Hatip* schools are vocational schools whose purpose it is to educate students to become *imams*. They are considered to be the religious schools of modern-day Turkey.
2. *Voivode* refers to the ruler of a province during Ottoman times.
3. *Tehcir Kanunu*, Tehcir Law, is the forced immigration law enacted by the Ottoman Empire against the Armenians during World War I.
4. The Pontian Greeks refer to the Greeks living in the historical Pontus region situated in the eastern Black Sea region. The textbooks refer to the controversy between Greeks and Turks regarding the status of this region.

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