

History education in schools in Iraqi Kurdistan: Representing values of peace and violence

Darweish, M & Mohammed , M

Author post-print (accepted) deposited by Coventry University's Repository
Darweish, M & Mohammed , M 2018, 'History education in schools in Iraqi Kurdistan: Representing values of peace and violence' *Journal of Peace Education* , vol 15, no. 1, pp. 48-75.

<https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17400201.2017.1409198>

DOI 10.1080/17400201.2017.1409198

ISSN 1740-0201

ESSN 1740-021X

Publisher: Taylor and Francis

This is an Accepted Manuscript of an article published by Taylor & Francis in Journal of Peace Education on 4th December 2017, available online: <http://www.tandfonline.com/10.1080/17400201.2017.1409198>

Copyright © and Moral Rights are retained by the author(s) and/ or other copyright owners. A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge. This item cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the copyright holder(s). The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

This document is the author's post-print version, incorporating any revisions agreed during the peer-review process. Some differences between the published version and this version may remain and you are advised to consult the published version if you wish to cite from it.

History Education in Schools in Iraqi Kurdistan: Representing Values of Peace and Violence

M. DARWEISH^a & M.A. MOHAMMED^b

^aCoventry University, UK ^bUniversity of Duhok, Kurdistan, Iraq

^a *Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations, Coventry University, Coventry, UK;*

^b *Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution Studies, University of Duhok, Kurdistan, Iraq.*

^a Marwan Darweish

Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations, Coventry University, Coventry, UK. Dr Marwan Darweish is Principal Lecturer in Peace Studies at Coventry University. His key research interests are in peace processes, conflict transformation, and nonviolent resistance. He has significant experience in providing training for conflict transformation and peacebuilding and has carried out consultancy work in conflict-affected areas. His most recent book is *Popular Protest in Palestine: The Uncertain Future of Unarmed Resistance* (with Andrew Rigby. London: Pluto Press, 2015). Correspondence as above.

^b Maamoon Abdulsamad Mohammed

Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution Studies, University of Duhok, Kurdistan, Iraq. Dr Maamoon Abdulsamad Mohammed is a lecturer in the Department of Peace and Human Rights at the University of Duhok. He is also a trainer in peace education and conflict transformation at the university's Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution Studies. He gained an MPhil from the University of Tromsø, Norway, and a PhD in peace studies from the Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations at Coventry University in the UK.

Correspondence: University of Duhok, Zakho Street 38, 1006 AJ Duhok, Duhok Governorate – Kurdistan Region – Iraq, P.O Box 78

Email: zawity@gmail.com

Telephone: +494750 8203972

The Kurdistan Regional Government has implemented a wide range of reforms in Iraqi Kurdistan's education system since its establishment in 2003. This qualitative study utilises critical discourse analysis to investigate the content of History Education (HE) textbooks (grades five to eight) and to assess how far peace education values and principles have been integrated into the curriculum. The ME's top-down approach has faced significant resistance from teachers and it fails to consider the importance of hidden and null curricula. It focuses on the history of Iraq, Kurdistan, and Islam, glorifies war, excludes different narratives or interpretations, and fails to foster critical debate or enquiry. The curriculum appears to encourage violence and foster divisions between Muslims and non-Muslims, and the null curriculum is regulated to maintain the dominance of the group in power.

Keywords: Iraqi Kurdistan, history education, textbook analyses, hidden and null curricula, peace and war values.

Introduction

This original study analyses the History Education Curricula (HEC) used in schools in Iraqi Kurdistan (IK). It focuses on the content and processes of curricula development, and its investigation into how far peace education has been implemented and promoted in schools illustrates that the values presented in IK's HEC are more closely aligned with war than with peace. "Kurdistan" is used throughout this article to refer to the geographical area in which Kurdish people live, which includes areas of northern Iraq, northern Syria, northern and western Iran, and eastern Turkey. Over time, the religious, ethnic, and ideological differences in IK and Iraq have been manipulated and intensified by various regional and international powers in their own political and economic interests, and this has increased social fragmentation at all levels. The Kurdish nationalist movement clashes with the different social contexts in which Kurds live, and so the Kurdish situation is "undergoing constant change with both peaceful and violent transformation" occurring alongside each other (Tejel 2015, 2572).

International law does not recognise Kurdistan as a defined area, but its de facto borders are acknowledged by the Kurdish people (McDowall 1997). It is estimated that there are 20 to 40 million Kurds in the world, with about four million living in Iraq (Muller and Linzey 2007). The majority are Sunni Muslims, and Kurdish minorities include the Shia, Assyrians,¹ and Yezidis.² In 1919, after the Paris peace conference, the Kurds were divided between Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Turkey, and,

when Iraq's membership of the League of Nations was approved in October 1932, a formal declaration was issued guaranteeing the rights of minorities.

Three main dialects are spoken in Iraqi Kurdistan: people in Erbil and Sulaimaniyah speak Sorani, Badinani (Krmanchi) is the dialect of Duhok province, and the Zaza dialect is also spoken; many Kurds also speak Arabic. McDowall (1996, 344) suggests that the geographical and political divisions between Kurds have been key factors in their failure to establish autonomy and any cohesive sense of identity. However, other scholars (Migdal 2001; Tejel 2015) argue that Iraqi Kurds are not the only group to have struggled with the complex shift from a state characterised by majority-minority relations to one where demands for separation are being expressed.

Iraq and IK have experienced continual divisions and rivalry between Shiia and Sunni groups, and this has led to the ethnicisation of the education system: when Sunni factions held power, the contents of history curricula promoted Sunni knowledge and vice versa. Until the start of self-rule, the Iraqi education system was decided in Baghdad, and Iraqi Kurdistan had little influence over it. The ruling Ba'ath Party of Iraq, founded on an Arab nationalist ideology, used Iraqi education to transmit its own values and ideology, and so the education system contributed towards indoctrination processes and the active denigration of other ethnic religious minorities in Iraq. Al-Kubaisi (2012, 62–63) argues that this process has continued under self-rule: “mental and psychological violence is presented in the university curricula ... the textbooks contents are old fashioned and oriented by religious, sectarian and sub-sectarian biases. And the influence that religion plays is limiting, demanding consistency of thought and expression to the same degree as the previous Baath government did”. History textbooks are being used to construct images of “us” and “them” that establish and normalise hierarchised binaries between powerful

groups and victims, and this kind of dichotomy has an impact, not just on history curricula, but on ideas about Kurdish national identity and Iraq's identity as a whole (Lässig 2013).

After the defeat of Saddam's regime in 2003, priority was given to education reform and the rewriting of Iraqi curricula. These changes impacted on IK which is undergoing a process of democratisation and faces many challenges and impediments as its people strive towards self-determination. IK decentralised education after 1991, and, rather than moving away from Iraqi education's style of indoctrination, IK's decision makers mimicked its approach and tailored IK's education system so that it privileged Kurdish identity. Education reform therefore intensified rather than defused the long-standing tension between Kurdish and Iraqi identities (Baser 2015; Aziz 2011).

Since the federal status arrangement with the Iraqi government failed in 1991, many northern Kurds have remained in dispute with the central government in Baghdad. Unofficially, Iraq is now divided into three demographically and ethnically separate parts, with Kurds in the north, Sunni Arabs in the middle, and Shiia in the south. IK in the oil-rich north is a de facto state thanks to its military and economic power. Its war with Islamic State (IS) forces in Iraq and Syria confers strategic importance on it, and it has become a very important ally for the international community. However, war with IS has consumed substantial resources since 2014, and IK's support for the basic needs of Syrian refugees and internally displaced Iraqi people has also taken an economic toll. Nevertheless, regional and international changes and the growing influence of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) have provided an opportunity for "the great losers of the Ottoman Empire" to become independent (Hirst 2013).

The KRG has implemented wide-ranging reforms in the IK education system and its HEC changes reflect its growing confidence. In this article, we critically assess the efforts of the Kurdish Ministry of Education to develop a HEC free from Baghdad's influence, one that reflects the aspirations, identity, and history of the Kurdish people. The article examines the KRG's limited efforts to integrate peace education into the curriculum; it also asks to what extent the reformed education system reflects a peaceful vision of society, and it investigates how effectively the knowledge, values, and skills involved in a peace curriculum have been integrated and disseminated via textbooks. The findings of this research will be particularly relevant for other ethnic groups that are emerging from situations of occupation and conflict and are seeking to develop new curricula and teaching methods. The first section of this paper sets out a conceptual framework and introduces the principles of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as well as the methodology used in this research. The second section analyses our findings about IK's history education curricula, explores their implicit and explicit values, and assesses their treatment of conflict resolution and their representation of different religions. Our research findings suggest that IK's history textbooks neither promote peace education values nor discuss historical events in ways that contribute to future peace; instead, they have contributed to the marginalisation and delegitimisation of other ethnic groups and to the consolidation of the dominant group's authority.

Conceptual framework

Curricula are understood in this article as processes that involve a series of stages which include their production, implementation, benefits, and consumption, and each can be subject to strong ideological influences. Woodside-Jiron (2004, 190) argues that 'to ensure the success of policy, one must engage in discourse practices that eliminate as much resistance as possible'; therefore, the discourse analysis of curriculum contents undertaken here focuses not just on what is included in IK's HEC but on what is excluded from written and spoken texts. This analysis identifies the

hidden curriculum that is transmitted via pedagogies and is implicit in their contextual culture. It also considers the *null curriculum*: those elements that are not taught but which persist as knowledge that is taken for granted, ignored, or marginalised (Flinders, Noddings and Thornton 1986; Giroux 1983a). This null curriculum, as Skelton (1997, 187) argues, affects “moments of student learning, unlearning and relearning of ideas, values, norms and beliefs”.

A review of the literature about peace education (PE) demonstrates that there is still no consensus about the field’s definition and theoretical guidelines (Haavelsrud 2008; Salomon and Nevo 1999; Kupermintz and Salomon 2002; Harris 2002; Seitz 2004; Davies 2004; Buckland 2006; Harber and Sakade 2009), though scholars agree that any definition must involve the promotion of knowledge, skills, and values that prevent direct, cultural, and structural violence and build peaceful relations at all levels (Reardon and Cabezudo 2002; Bar-Tal 2002; Harris and Morrison 2003). Brock-Utne (2000, 133–134) argues that PE is a “social process through which peace is achieved”, while Reardon (1982, 38) argues that its role is “to prepare the learners to contribute toward the achievement of peace”.

Formal, informal, and global models for teaching PE have been proposed. The formal approach is implemented in additive form by the government as a single subject, or, in more holistic approaches, through all school subjects (Galtung 1996; Harris 2000, 2004; Danesh 2006). Government support gives PE legitimacy, and so it becomes more authoritative, counteracting claims of bias and indoctrination (Bretherton 2003; Davies 2005a). The informal model focuses on learning activities and adult education. There is no pre-packaged PE content that is suitable for implementation across the globe in all contexts. In order to identify things that specific groups of students in specific contexts will need to know about how to resolve conflicts constructively, consideration needs to be given to the context-specific opportunities and obstacles that will affect attempts to foster a culture of peace. The contents of curricula as well as classroom teaching strategies can be peace-

like or war-like to varying degrees, and so teaching styles as well as curricula need to be taken into consideration. Reardon (1988) and Brock-Utne (1998) highlight the further need to distinguish between negative and positive peace content in educational programmes. They suggest that negative content focuses on the root causes of war and its destructive power, while positive content centres on themes such as the environment and development. Other scholars divide PE content into education *about* peace and education *for* peace.

Collinge (1995) helpfully distinguishes between implicit PE, which concerns the nurturing and acquisition of peaceful values and behaviour in a school environment oriented towards cooperation and dialogue, and explicit PE, which provides direct information about war and peace. Ardizzone (2001, 16) links both content and delivery as we show later in this paper, and concludes that, when deployed well, “the content, methodology and objectives of PE are progressive, dynamic, transformative and holistic”. For communities emerging from conflict, the transformative potential of PE can be particularly significant given that, as Fairclough and Chouliaraki (1999) note, language plays an important role in building worldviews and social realities. Bar-On and Adwan (2006) have shown in relation to the case of Israel/Palestine, that where identities and worldviews are heavily contested, history curricula and textbook contents play an important role in shaping students’ worldviews, fostering ideology, instilling national consciousness, and shaping individual and collective attitudes, and so they become ready tools for transmitting a society’s ideology to new generations. HE can serve to legitimise the dominant group’s existence and justify certain acts, behaviour, and attitudes, and so it is particularly important to the kinds of state-building work being undertaken by the KRG.

It is understandable that PE content should include knowledge about a society's history of war and violence. As Reardon (1997) states, the conceptual core of PE is to educate people about different forms of violence and its impact, and PE differs from other types of education as it takes an explicit and implicit position on values. PE in schools should challenge the conditions that lead to structural violence and restrict both human potential (Galtung 1975) and "personal growth and development" (Hicks 1988, 248). Peace education aims to provide people with skills and knowledge so that they can either transform the structure of a violent society or sustain a peaceful status quo; it should also teach the key values of respect and cultural diversity and foster an integrative notion of the world (Hicks 1988; Harris 2002; Kester 2010; Cremin 2016). By empowering students to cooperate, acquire agency, and act in unexpected fashion (McNay 2000), PE can provide hope as well as imaginative access to a vision of a better future that can help to generate resistance and transformation in social structures (Brocke-Utne 1989).

Salomon (2002, 4) summarised current PE activities under four categories when he suggested that PE is (1) "a matter of changing mindset", (2) concerned with the cultivation of skills; (3) focused on promoting human rights; or (4) a "matter of environmentalism, disarmament, and the promotion of a culture of peace". Peace education should be integrated into history education and history curricula and reflect the particular needs, goals, and concerns of a society which is seeking to establish stability, as well as recognise the historical narratives that reflect the diversity of its ethnic and religious fabric (Bar-Tal and Yigal 2009; Danesh 2006). Some scholars argue that HEC can play a positive role in lessening ethnic and religious tensions both within Kurdistan and among Iraqis as a whole to help society deal "constructively with diversity, collective victimhood and lasting conflict" (Tejel 2015, 2571). Yet,

while IK's Ministry of Education recognised the need to foster peace, this study shows that it failed to integrate peace values into history education curricula.

There is overall agreement among scholars about the importance of applying critical and reflective methods to the delivery of PE (Aspeslagh and Burns 1996; Bush and Saltarelli 2000; Firer 2002; Shapiro 2002). It is also largely accepted that teaching and learning processes need to be student-centred, participatory, and interactive (Green 1997; Bretherton 2005; Davies 2005a; Haavelsrud 2008). Experiential learning is generally agreed to be the key method through which students can obtain and internalise peace-related knowledge, attitudes, skills, and behavioural tendencies (Bar-Tal 2002; Galtung 2008). However, scholars disagree about the ideal age group that PE should target (Montessori 1972; Stomfay-Stitz 1995; Lowicki-Zucca and Emry 2005; Connolly et al. 2006), and Lewsader and Myers-Walls (2017) suggest that children's understanding of peace is affected by their developmental stage.

PE has been criticised as a discursive practice that principally addresses secular concerns and is biased towards imposing western ideas on developing countries through their education systems (Ardizzone 2001; Schell-Faucon 2001; Seitz 2004). Local ownership can be lacking and PE can be dismissed as a vehicle for transmitting western values (Cooper 2007, 606; Richmond 2007; Mac Ginty 2008, 145). Firer (2002, 55) further argues that the main difficulty with PE lies in "the continuous *war education* that youngsters and adults have been receiving since the beginning of mankind". These factors, combined with the social context and patriarchal structures in IK and most Arab Islamic countries make it difficult to implement PE programmes there. Al-Barakat and Al-Karasneh (2005, 172) argue that the textbooks used in Arab states do not nurture critical thinking, and that teaching is usually based on "reciting information" with teachers acting as "sources of

information: they present, explain, clarify” (172); this approach, they suggest, engenders a “passive role in learners” and ignores “the importance of their learning to be active and effective citizens” (172).

A number of specific challenges face educators who teach HE in divided and post-conflict societies. Research often suggests that teachers in Northern Ireland, Bosnia, Palestine/Israel, Cyprus and other similar countries are unsuccessful in their attempts to reconcile histories in a divided school system where conflicting groups establish an “us and them” dichotomy (Bekerman and Zembylas 2012; Hadjipavlou 2007; Loukaidis and Zembylas 2016). In Macedonia, attempts to harmonise HE have failed because “the past is an issue of controversy” and ethnic groups have completely different interpretations of historical events (Van der 2012, 10; Cole and Barsalou 2006). places such In as Guatemala and Bosnia, authorities have gone so far as to suspend HE due to the lack of consensus on how and what to teach (Cole and Murphy 2006, 2010). In her discussion of the roles of historians and textbook authors, Worden (2014, 59) argues that national identity, in Moldova for example, remains contested despite repeated attempts by governments and educators to cultivate a shared sense of national identity. Worden and Smith (2017) suggest that political circumstances sometimes do not allow for transitional justice processes to occur in countries that are undergoing transition from a violent conflict. However, there are clear examples where these kinds of difficulty have been overcome. Germany and France as old enemies have succeeded in producing common textbooks, and Finland and Spain have dealt positively with internal civil conflicts in their HEC, for example.

In this article, we go on to examine how far peace education values have been integrated into HEC to date in Iraqi Kurdistan. When the IK education system was reformed in 1991, an inclusive approach was not taken. Instead, the Kurdish Ministry

of Education based their strategy on a nationalist grand narrative and adopted disciplinary approaches that promoted the “Kurdification” of HE textbooks, the validation of Kurdish claims and identity, and social amnesia. The narratives of other religious and ethnic groups were repressed or manipulated and seen as threats. In diverse multi-ethnic societies like IK, HE has served to aggravate intergroup hostility, and groups have suffered “uneven access or denial of access” to HEC, which are used as a “weapon in cultural repression”, with the authorities “manipulating history for political purposes, and segregating students to ensure inequality, lower esteem, and reinforce stereotyping” (Roberts-Schweitzer 2006, 2).

Kurdish society is diverse in terms of its ethnic and religious groups and HEC have overlooked this diversity. Elsewhere, however – in the case of Lebanon, for example – Abouchedid and Nasser (2000, 58) argue that history teaching is used more productively and “occupies a central position in the process of national integration, ... [N]egative intergroup relationships are exacerbated by biases and omissions in history texts,... [and] history [can be used as] an important medium to transmit basic political values and inculcate a sense of national citizenship”. The next section of this paper will present the research methodology we have used to analyse the ways in which peace education values are treated in IK history education curricula.

Methodology

This is the first in-depth original study of IK’s HEC textbooks for pupils in grades five to eight (ages 11–14). The research was conducted in public schools in Duhok, Erbil, and Sulaimaniyah in 2013 and 2014 and it was based on 59 qualitative semi-structured interviews with teachers, curricula developers, policy makers from the ME, teacher-trainers, representatives of international organisations, monitors, and pupils. A focus group was also conducted and this included policy influencers, parents, and students. The researchers conducted 30 observations of classes and teacher training seminars, drawing on a knowledge of the language and culture that gave them unique insights into the issues under discussion. Audio recordings were transcribed verbatim and submitted to data analysis using NVivo. Independent core coding was used to identify core categories and themes and to reveal the values and behaviours that emerged from the

interviews.

In this article, we use CDA to study the connections that exist between texts (discourse), discursive practices (text production, dissemination, and consumption) and social practices (ideology and power) and how they interact with one another to produce constructive or destructive effects. CDA enables us to examine what counts as knowledge to IK students in terms of peaceful and war-like values (Fairclough, 1995, 2004), and to consider how and with what effects this knowledge is controlled, silenced, or ignored. CDA, as Stevens (2004, 207) notes, “draws on the dialogic relationship between texts and social practices” and helps to illuminate how curriculum contents challenge, resist, or entrench the power relations of dominant groups. These connections may not be obvious to the people who deliver and interpret curricular texts (Fairclough 1995), but they reveal those categories of privileged knowledge and practices which count as “legitimate knowledge” within a specific socio-cultural context (Fairclough 2003). CDA can help to expose how curricular language contributes to domination or emancipation (Fairclough 1989, 1).

Discourses can be identified through patterns of words and concepts within texts that are specific to particular contexts or fields of knowledge. CDA comprises three stages (Fairclough, 2001, 2003) which involve analysis of text (including words and their experiential values); analysis of the process of text production, consumption, and distribution, with particular attention to the treatment of dominant discourses; and the socio-cultural analysis of discursive events and practices. This three-stage analysis reveals how discourses are represented, legitimised, and reproduced, and how participants resist or comply with dominant discourses.

Analysis and discussion of IK history education textbooks

This section examines the HEC content taught in IK schools, identifies the themes that emerged from our research interviews, and explores the values that came to light

in relation to peace and war. The null curriculum and the implications hidden within the text are explored as well as the overt curriculum. In IK's history textbooks, the national aspirations of the Kurds are foregrounded and no clear border demarcations are provided for an undefined Kurdistan. Ancient Kurdistan is represented as a large state that extended from the Zakros mountains to the north-east of Mesopotamia,³ which extended its borders to Azerbaijan and Armenia during the Islamic era.⁴ Kirkuk is presented as being under the jurisdiction of the KRG, as if it had always been a Kurdish area, despite the fact that its status as an independent city was agreed by the government in Baghdad and by the KRG.

The HE textbooks also state that Kurds have fought for self-determination as well as cultural and democratic rights throughout history and suggest that the host governments of Iraq, Iran, Turkey, and Syria have refused to respond peacefully, instead using violence to annihilate the Kurds in ways that have generated support for the independence struggle.⁵ The nationalist discourses which arose as a consequence of that treatment were manipulated by both the Kurdish and Iraqi governments. The Iraqi government regard the Kurds as a minority group that has achieved far more than it deserves, while Kurds see themselves as a nation under occupation, denied their national rights to territories and natural resources. The Iraqi government uses the concepts of a united Iraq and Arab nationalism, and terms such as "north of Iraq" and "KRG government", to justify making Kurdish areas part of Iraq. Meanwhile, Kurds uses an implicitly nationalist discourse when they refer to Southern Kurdistan, Kurdistan of Iraq, and an independent Kurdistan.

The principle of nationalism is to instil in individuals a sense of common identity. Kurdish nationalism has accelerated since self-rule began in 1991, and new school curricula teach students loyalty to their homeland of Kurdistan, which is represented as including oil-rich Kirkuk as well as the three provinces of Duhok, Erbil, and Sulaimaniyah (Marr 2012, 248). The 2009 Kurdish Constitution demarcates the region covered by the KRG as "specifically including Kirkuk and invokes article 140 of the Iraqi federal constitution to return areas formerly considered to lie within Kurdistan" (Yildiz 2011, 68). Since self-rule, schools have delivered curricula

through the Kurdish language, with English as the second language. Only a few Arabic-speaking schools are dedicated to internally displaced Arabs from the middle and south of Iraq, and so young people in Kurdistan do not speak Arabic or consider themselves to be Iraqis. In a 2005 survey about inclusion in Iraq, 98 per cent of people voted for Kurdistan's independence (Rogg and Rimscha 2007, 833).

HE textbooks explain that, after World War One, the international community fragmented Kurdish society by dividing it between Iraq, Turkey, Iran, and Syria; they then focus on the fight for Kurdish rights after the emergence of the Iraqi state. Curricula therefore present a picture of demoralisation and powerlessness and engender distrust of the international community and the Iraqi government, as well as an appreciation for the heroism of the struggle for independence. Meanwhile, the Islamic state (662 CE–750 CE) is described as having been powerful and effective in ensuring equality, freedom, and justice for all of its citizens. Students are therefore encouraged to romanticise and yearn for an idealised past, without engaging with current realities. Kurdistan is always mentioned in textbooks as being separate from an Iraq in which Kurds never wanted to be a part. Cooperation with the Iraqi government is represented as an always unsuccessful strategy that has betrayed the Kurds. HE textbooks have effectively facilitated the construction of national consciousness and identity based around the idea of a “great Kurdistan”, encompassing all of the places where Kurds live. In line with Fairclough's (1995) discourse theory, HE textbooks are used to increase Kurdish nationalism rather than to reflect current social cultural practices or to promote means of cooperating with the Iraqi central government.

Implicit and explicit war values

In IK, teachers impart the pre-packaged history curriculum in good faith to students

who believe that it transmits truth. This transfer occurs within a culture where a 'successful school' is expected to transmit the greatest amount of information possible to students who are able to memorise it accurately. Students are expected to learn and internalise the principle of submission, not only to teachers but to course content which is avowedly war-like. HE textbooks present a great deal of the violence in Iraq's history, and they suggest that it was through wars that empires gained territories, states gained self-determination, and resources became secure. No opportunity is provided for students to become critical of these views or to develop different interpretations. Only one narrative is promulgated, and discussion is not embedded in course delivery.

The textbooks' criticism is reserved for the pre-Islamic period in which, it is implied, wars were waged without justification. Wars, this Islamic society suggests, were only ever waged for legitimate causes under Islam, with the goal of spreading the faith. IK's HEC suggests that it is everyone's obligation and duty to participate in such wars, and those killed in them are referred to as martyrs.⁶ Most teachers interviewed for this research agree that, while the emphasis of HE is on "the history of wars and conquests", Jihad has various meanings, most of which are nonviolent. The Prophet referred to nonviolent Jihad as being more important than its violent counterpart, but an emphasis on personal purification and sacrifice – "the Jihad of the soul" (Ali Gomaa, as quoted in Funk and Said 2009, 62) – and any discussion of that concept is lacking in HE textbooks in favour of a focus on violence. Students therefore receive contradictory messages.

Textbooks give several reasons why the state can justify war, such as the expansion of territory, the liberation of occupied areas, access to resources,⁷ deterrence, or self-defence.⁸ However, they fail to introduce students to international perspectives and ideas about *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello*. Students are not, therefore, being equipped to develop critical perspectives, to discuss the justification for wars, or to think about the relevance of international humanitarian laws that govern the way wars are conducted. The textbooks argue that, during the Islamic era, there were no laws prohibiting the state from fighting and there was anarchy in the

international system. States had no trust in each other and lacked reciprocal and strong relationships based on mutual benefit, friendship, trust, and cooperation.

Consequently, the state carried out primitive attacks; for example, the Ottoman Empire attacked the Kurds because it feared the Kurdish demand for independence.⁹

The suggestion is that truly effective approaches to conflict resolution are based on force and power, and that, in order to secure peace, states must prepare for war and increase their military capability.¹⁰

At the end of their accounts of violent conflicts, the textbooks portray Muslims as winners over defeated nonbelievers or non-Muslims.¹¹ In fact, Muslims always emerge as winners because, even in defeat, their fighters (peshmergah) are represented as martyrs who go to paradise, while nonbelievers go to hell. These paradigms may encourage pupils to use violence and to fight for the cause of religion and country to gain the highest reward hereafter. Even where peace is shown to have been obtained, textbooks in Iraqi Kurdistan argue that it is secured through enforcement and “power over” the other rather than “power with” the other (or “peace through strength”). It is suggested that peace can only be reached if the winning side imposes it on the losers, and peace is represented as being in the gift of the powerful.¹²

Iraqi Kurdistan’s HEC focus on wars and the use of force to resolve disputes and manage relationships and they fail to offer suggestions about peaceful resolutions or education for peace. An exception is made when textbooks refer to the constitution that the Prophet Mohammed established in Madinah,¹³ which called for cooperation between Muslims and non-Muslims and peaceful means to resolve conflict.¹⁴ The Madinah Constitution was intended to unite people’s efforts to protect the Islamic state; it also strove to ensure that both sides bore any costs of war and sought to

protect non-Muslims if they experienced oppression. It clearly promoted equality and mutual respect between Muslims and non-Muslims. Beyond descriptions of this agreement, HEC textbooks manifestly lack positive messages that might enhance peaceful relations in Kurdish society.

HEC textbooks teach that states declare war in order to instil beliefs and impose culture on others by forcing the religion of Islam on non-Muslims.¹⁵ IK's fifth-year textbook mentions the war that Abu Bakir and other *Caliphs* carried out against groups dissenting from Islam. After the Prophet's death, some groups defected from Islam and argued against some of its principles, believing that Islam had ended. Abu Bakir asserted that they either had to return to Islam or face war. The textbooks fail to examine either the conditions that led to this dissent, or its meaning, implications, or its applicability to contemporary Kurdish history and politics.¹⁶ In fact, HEC have transmitted to school pupils implicit messages that justify the use of violence to counter social dissent.

The textbooks convey the message that leaving Islam is prohibited, and in doing so they contradict the basic human right of freedom of religious affiliation. Yet, when the fifth-year textbook describes how the Quraish tribe, the ancestors of Muslims, prevented Muslims from practising their religion, it argues that Muslims were wrongly persecuted, tortured, expelled, and displaced for the change of religion they made. At moments like these, the HEC overlooks its own contradictions and allows no room either for multiple perspectives or for students to identify and debate issues that might usefully cast light on contemporary issues in Iraqi Kurdistan.

Although the HE textbooks assert that Islam is the religion of mercy and that non-Muslims should be given the choice to practise their religion freely, they do not facilitate questions about the imposition of Islam on others. Instead, the establishment

of the Islamic state and the actions of Muslims fighting and invading other states to spread Islam are classed as forms of liberation. Arguably, the “disbelievers” described in the HEC did not want to be ruled by Muslims or pay tax for being non-Muslim, and the textbooks themselves state that many non-Muslims fought back against the spread of Islam. However, their “liberation” is stated in the textbooks as a matter of fact, and IK’s educational culture helps to establish that interpretation as valid, reliable, and beyond dispute. Both the fifth- and seventh-year HE textbooks explain that the state should use force to resolve internal conflicts and maintain power.¹⁷ The textbook for fifth-year students explains that, when Caliph Ali faced internal revolt, he declared war against those opposing him,¹⁸ but none of the textbooks sufficiently explain this event’s circumstances or indicate that this action might contradict modern concepts of humanity or peace values.

The defence of one’s state by all means possible is presented as something valuable and as a source of pride. No room is offered for questioning this, or for the concept that citizens can disagree with a state’s policies and viewpoints. The textbooks reinforce the idea that a state should be able to conduct attacks and military campaigns at will. There is certainly no indication that states might concede goals to save lives.¹⁹ In fact, our analysis revealed an insistence in IK’s HE textbooks that all means should be used to maximise harm to the other side in a conflict situation.²⁰ In wars, they suggest, it is acceptable that people’s belongings and property should be damaged and looted, people killed, and cities destroyed.²¹

The textbooks also fail to link information about past wars with current conflicts in the Middle East and the wider world. The end of the Cold War led to a reduction of interstate wars and an increase in civil wars. States are no longer the primary actors in conflicts; they have been replaced by “groups identified in terms of

ethnicity, religion, or tribe”, and such forces rarely fight one another in a decisive encounter Kaldor (2005, 212, 221). It would be valuable for students to reflect on Kaldor’s insight that combatants sometimes aspire to maintain a state of conflict because it provides them with lucrative economic benefits. Consideration of this ideas’ implications in relation to the causes and dynamics of the conflict in Iraq and its ongoing effects on IK society would be useful, and students might also usefully be encouraged to examine and understand if and how such a war constitutes a breach of international law. Instead, they consume simple descriptions and narratives of events. There is no mention of any role for the international community, or of third-party interventions for peacemaking and post-conflict reconstruction; neither is there any reference to the role of the UN or regional bodies in preventing violence, providing peacekeeping missions, or mediating and resolving conflicts.

Overall, the textbooks examined here promote war-like values rather than history for peace; even peaceful demonstrations are described in the HEC as having been legitimately curbed by violent means. It is clearly implied that peace has only ever been achieved by violent means and that wars result in more wars and violence.²² This perspective is in line with the current situation in both IK and Iraq,²³ and it legitimises the continued use of violence. Our research interviews suggest that the implicit values of IK’s HEC are not tempered by the ways they are presented in classrooms. Teachers told us that they do not encourage critical perspectives; as one teacher explained, “we want to teach our students that the blessed life that they are in, did not come in vaguely, without sacrifices. KRG made a lot of sacrifices, martyrs, without peshmergah we would not be in this situation. These students have seen nothing, no wars, no sufferings, and it is good to be reminded from time to time”.²⁴

Peaceful conflict resolution

When HE textbooks discuss peaceful and constructive ways to resolve conflict and use historical events to demonstrate how such values have been promoted, they focus on solutions that emerge from Islamic history and teachings. They explain, for example, how the Prophet Mohammed used conflict management techniques to evade war with the Quraish tribe when its people persecuted Muslims.²⁵ It was important for Muslims, who lacked power, to leave for Ethiopia to gain peace, and the absence of contact between the conflicting parties provided time for resentments to subside and for a permanent resolution to be found.²⁶ The textbooks also discuss the concept of arbitration including formal, informal, traditional, and religious methods of conflict resolution. Arbitration is widely accepted as a method of resolving conflict in most Muslim countries, and the Quran recommends it. Parties agree to a third-party intervention by an arbitrator who seeks to resolve their conflict, and both parties accept the outcome. The concept of arbitration is raised in the eighth-year textbook which states that the Prophet Mohammed acted as an arbitrator before the foundation of Islam and during the early Islamic period.²⁷ Elsewhere, the same book describes how the Prophet arbitrated with the Quraish clans during the reconstruction of the *Kaabah*.²⁸ Their conflict was about the honour of placing the Black Stone in the *Kaabah*. After five days of debate about whether or not to go to war, Mohammed intervened, placed the Stone on a piece of cloth, and asked each clan chief to hold an edge of it. He ordered them to lift the Stone together, and he himself placed it in the proper place.²⁹

A “diplomatic way” to resolve conflict is taught in the textbooks via an explanation of how to approach non-Muslims about paying taxes according to Islamic law. The textbooks focus on how to develop and manage communication between conflicting parties so as to resolve conflict peacefully, and the textbook explains that the Islamic state sent messages to non-Islamic states which required them either to convert to Islam, face war, or pay *Jizya* (a tax on non-Muslims living within the Islamic state).³⁰ Although the textbooks present this as a peaceful and diplomatic way for Muslims to avoid wars with non-Muslims, the implicit message is that non-Muslims must cooperate with the state or face punishment.

Reconciliation is presented in IK’s HE textbooks as another peaceful approach to conflict, and this idea is explained via information about the case in which the Prophet initiated *Sulh Alhudaibia* as an agreement of reconciliation between the Prophet and the Quraish tribe.³¹ Although the textbooks give very brief information about this case, the story demonstrates that, although the Prophet was on the stronger

side, he preferred peace to war. Yet the textbooks highlight neither the conditions that led to the agreement, nor the fact that the interests and needs of the other party were met to facilitate it (it was conceded that Muslim worshippers would not undertake pilgrimage to Mecca that year by divine command). The Prophet also negotiated with the Quraish to allow people who resigned from Islam to return to their tribe and to permit those who converted to Islam to join him. This case study could serve as the basis for a discussion about the right of religious affiliation and about internal reconciliation in contemporary Kurdistan. The textbooks tended to present reconciliation negatively as the only recourse of the weaker side.³² Conflicting parties are also shown to use negotiation and reconciliation to buy time or as a way of deceiving the other party. This characterisation reflects Kurdistan's social and cultural norms whereby one who first attempts reconciliation or who concedes goals is seen as weak and stigmatised.

The HE textbooks present elections and consultations as ways of gaining political power. The case of the first four *Khulafa* of Islam who became leaders through referenda is presented as a positive example, while on the other hand it is argued that King Faisal became king of Iraq through undemocratic processes and manipulation.³³ Throughout the history of Kurdistan, power has most often been gained through inheritance, or by a tribal leader becoming leader of his province. Although, currently, political power in IK is gained through electoral processes, the KRG is in a period of transition towards democratisation and there is still a lack of a democratic culture. The challenge is to establish a democratic system and culture in a tribal state system. Parker (as quoted in Aziz 2011, 158) has asked, "How can we transform Iraq into a modern liberal democracy if every government worker sees a government job as a route to helping out his clan at the expense of other clans?"

Certainly, although there are free elections, people vote for relatives and tribe leaders because they feel more loyalty to the tribe than to the nation state. Ideas about the exercise and transfer of political power are very much linked to cultural context and the values imparted by society and state education.

Religious representation

Islam is the main religion in IK and plays a significant role in its society, though there are several sizeable religious minorities. The textbooks suggest that martyrdom is conceptualised by Muslims to mean sacrificing oneself for the sake of one's religion and/or nation. The term "martyr" was used repeatedly and presented positively in the textbooks,³⁴ which mention the fact that three of the four Khulafa (Muslims' leaders) were martyred.³⁵ Although the concept of martyrdom is mentioned in the Quran and has been used throughout history, it has been misused and exploited by political and religious organisations. It is therefore deeply concerning that such a concept should be presented without further elaboration and discussion to students who are given no reason to question its prevailing socio-cultural meaning. As one teacher observed "the training we received ... lacked [a] participatory or critical approach and the teachers [have] been told to implement the curricula as it is".³⁶

The textbooks also praise heroes in ways that may instigate violence or encourage students to develop pro-violence values; they certainly reflect the cultural norm of extolling IK heroes such as the peshmergah who fight without mercy and are not scared of being killed because they know they will be martyrs and heroes. The media, teachers, parents, and textbooks endorse the cultural convention that the peshmergah – of whom there are more than 150,000 in IK, many connected to school-age students – deserve great respect. Bourdieu and Passeron ([1977] 1991) argue that securing a monopoly of symbolic violence is a powerful way to control powerless groups; therefore, its presence in history curricula is of particular interest in the IK context.

The textbooks present, with little discussion or critical perspective, many discriminatory and archaic concepts that were prevalent in the Islamic era and in Kurdish history. For example, representation of the Crusades in the section on the history of Islam is superficial and endorses old divisions between Muslims and

Christians.³⁷ Crusaders are defined in the textbook simply as “people who came from Europe and attacked Muslims and had Christian symbols on their clothes”;³⁸ this context-free description, represented as the whole truth, divides the world into two opposing groups. This kind of symbolic violence is particularly problematic in a contemporary context in which violence inspired by religious beliefs persists. Not only are the definitions provided in textbooks discriminatory, but the narrow concepts they present are highly aligned with conventional culturally accepted views in contemporary IK, and they fail to give students a comprehensive understanding of their implications.

When we observed HE classes, we saw that teachers taught history without adding critical perspectives, and they explained to us that they only “teach what is in the textbooks because otherwise students will complain and the teachers would have to include these definitions in the exams”.³⁹ Fairclough (2001) argues that language fixes common-sense assumptions so that they can be ideologically shaped by dominant groups. Certainly, in IK’s HEC, key concepts such as war, conflict,⁴⁰ liberation, invasion, conquest (*Fotohat* in Arabic), Jihad battles,⁴¹ and other terms, are used in ways that reinforce the dominant social group’s views. Some teachers in a focus group interview criticised the ME’s policy and suggested that “the teachers know better what students need to know; hence, they should be given more freedom”.⁴²

Muslim leaders have proposed that there is a need to end discrimination and racism among Muslims, and this view is promoted in HE textbooks.⁴³ This is positive because the different ethnic and religious groups in IK need to coexist peacefully and Muslim leaders can play constructive and positive roles in sharing peaceful messages between them. However, to be effective, their ideas need to be explained clearly, and

indications need to be provided as to why their views are important and how they apply to the current IK context. In fact, the HE textbooks we analysed do not address non-discrimination beyond referring to religious affiliations and to discrimination between different groups in IK. They therefore give the impression that the leaders' statement is only focused on non-discrimination among Muslims and not between Muslims and non-Muslims.

The textbooks describe the different methods and systems that Muslim leaders during the Islamic era used to differentiate between Muslims and non-Muslims after the Prophet's death,⁴⁴ and they explain that the Islamic state used to take compensation from non-Muslims. The eighth-year textbook notes that, during the rule of Abdul Malik (685–705 CE), they counted the numbers of non-Muslims who paid taxes, known as *Jizya*.⁴⁵ On the same page it explains that, during Omer Bin Abdulaziz's rule, they cancelled the compensation to be taken from those Christians, Jews, and Yezidis who converted to Islam; meanwhile, the seventh-year textbook explains that in the Abbassi state era (656 CE) there were attempts to end discrimination between Arab Muslims and non-Arab Muslims.⁴⁶ The fifth-year textbook also states that non-Muslims who lived within the borders of Islamic state had to pay *Jizya* for being non-Muslims, a charge which was levied in lieu of military service.⁴⁷ Accordingly, Persians, Jews, and Christians were given the choice either to convert to Islam or to keep their own religion but pay taxes to the state. The textbook clearly indicates that inequality existed and that the preferential treatment for Muslims over non-Muslims was legitimised. This message is given without any facilitation of critical review or consideration of this story's current relevance to IK as a multi-ethnic and religious society. It is therefore liable to inspire people to discriminate

against and de-legitimise others in contemporary IK, and any such actions will impact negatively on the social fabric.

The lack of critical analysis about past discrimination is of particular concern in IK because, although there is a Muslim majority, Christian, Yezidi, Sabai, Buhai, Shabak and other religious groups also exist. Education is centralised in IK, and even the segregated schools, such as Christian and Yezidi schools, use the same textbooks. The negative representation of groups who live alongside each other is therefore liable both to foster resentment and division between Muslims and non-Muslims and to enforce a hierarchy of first- and second-class citizens based on religious affiliation rather than citizenship. When HE textbooks fail to acknowledge IK's religious and ethnic diversity and denigrate freedom of expression, they reinforce Bourdieu and Passeron's ([1977] 1991, 5) claim that "all pedagogical action is, objectively, symbolic violence insofar as it is an imposition of a culture by an arbitrary power".

The history of Islam and dealing with the other

The HE textbooks assessed here differentiate between Muslims and non-Muslims and marginalise other ethnic religious groups such as Yezidis, Christians, and Jews. Jews are represented as untrustworthy while Christianity and Zaradashti are presented as religions undeserving of worship. For example, no reasons are given when students are informed that "many Kurds left Christianity and Zaradashti and converted to Islam".⁴⁸ Education for peace is missing in this kind of material which risks indoctrinating students and encouraging hatred instead.

The textbooks' declarations about religious intolerance are liable to lead to alienation and divisions between Muslims and other religious groups. When it is stated that it was "the will of the Prophet to expel all the foreigners from the Islamic state",⁴⁹ and that Abu Bakir (R. 632–634) sought to implement this, there is no critique or alternative offered that would indicate the importance of respect for other religions. Instead, IK's HE materials present Islam as the only true religion. When it is stated that "the Prophet Mohammed came to spread the message of Islam to all

people” and that he was a “messenger to all mankind”,⁵⁰ these and other similar claims help to delegitimise and undermine non-dominant ethnic and religious groups, and such rhetoric can foster their continued marginalisation and undermine peace values.

When the textbooks deal with the history of Kurdistan, it is notable that they overlook non-Muslim groups. The seventh-year textbook refers to different ancient groups who lived in Kurdistan such as the Sumarion, Akadyon, and Asshoryon, but it ignores the Yezidis.⁵¹ Our interviews with the Yezidi community indicated that people were unhappy about being discounted. Ministry of Education officials countered that they were not mentioned because they were considered to be Kurdish, but teachers in Yezidi communities resented this idea, arguing that “if (they) were part of the Kurds it should have mentioned they were considered as Kurds”.⁵² The seventh-year textbook also mentions that, historically, the Yezidis’ religion (Zaradashti) was the official religion under the Mydyoon Empire and in the Mydia state.⁵³ Yezidis are mentioned in the sixth-year textbook in relation to their cooperation with Kurds during revolutions and with reference to the time when Kurds integrated the Yezidis’ area into Kurdistan.⁵⁴ The textbook also states that, over time, many Yezidis have converted to Islam, and there are many other occasions when the textbooks imply the rightful dominance of Islam. For example, the eighth-year textbook mentions that “Muslims were on right track and their enemy were on wrong track”.⁵⁵ Moreover, mosques are the only places of worship referenced in the textbooks,⁵⁶ with Christian churches and Yezidis’ holy places going utterly unmentioned. Some Yezidis community teachers argued that “the ME is lacking in fairness and inclusiveness” and most of the teachers were not happy with the education system. One Yezidi head teacher stated that, “despite the fact we have

complained many times to the ME about not having Yezidi committee to represent us like the Christians and Turkmen have, they did not reply to us – we feel marginalised”.⁵⁷

The teaching of the religion and history of one religious group at every grade level reflects that group’s dominance. Students not only study Islamic religion as a specific subject each year, but also study Islamic history in their 5th and 8th years, during which half of their textbooks focus on Islamic history. As Bourdieu and Passeron argue ([1977] 1991, 40–41), pedagogical work has the function of making dominated groups internalise values that best serve the interests of dominant groups. The history education curriculum in IK is clearly not serving the interests of minority groups.

The exclusion of other religious and ethnic groups from HE curricula implies that they are insignificant and so strengthens prejudices and stereotypes against them. As Eisler (2000) posits, the inclusion of certain kinds of information in the curriculum and the exclusion of other kinds effectively teaches children what is and what is not valuable. IK’s HE curricula purport to promote understanding and diminish indoctrination but achieve the opposite. The HEC should at least highlight similarities between the peace values that religions share which can be employed to build harmony and coexistence rather than division, discrimination, and hatred. The explicit and implicit content of IK’s history textbooks strongly suggest the superiority of Islam and imply that other religions have inferior spiritual status.

Peace values

While the IK’s HEC mainly focus on teaching war values, they do also present some peace-orientated values when they discuss the role and responsibilities of the state in providing services to, and protection for, its citizens. One textbook also asserts that the state should foster “economic development and the provision of social services”.⁵⁸ Other peace values are mentioned, and while equality between people is only referred

to once,⁵⁹ related concepts such as tranquillity,⁶⁰ friendship, stabilisation, security,⁶¹ and brotherhood are referenced in a few places. Muslim leaders such as Omer Khalifa and Omer Bin Abulaziz are mentioned in terms of their reputations for and commitment to social justice; however, no further explanations or examples are given.

There is a little discussion of, or reference to, concepts such as forgiveness and reconciliation. One textbook mentions these concepts in relation to the people of Quraish despite the crimes they committed.⁶² There are many undiscussed examples of peaceful values being put to use in Islamic history and in different interpretations of Islam. There are four traditional legal schools of thought in Sunni Sharia (Hanafi, Hanbali, Maliki, and Shafi), and benefit can be drawn from this diversity, especially as some of these schools are more tolerant and open to interpretation of Islam than others. For example, the Maliki School is open to adopting innovative methods of interpretation such as *Al Maslaha Almursal* (considering public interest), a concept which makes Sharia responsive to the people's needs (ElHajjami, 2009). Shaabban (2011, 95) argues that, "the Quran talked and confirmed freedom of worships in 100 verses, confirming freedom of worship in general ... and not obliging anybody to convert to any religion".

However, the content of IK's HEC represents more values relating to wars and violence than peace, and in doing so it reflects the current situation in many Muslim-majority Arab states where violence, marginalisation, and discrimination are widespread. This indicates the difficulties involved in establishing a peaceful society structured around co-existence and an education system free from discrimination and violence. Freire (1998, p.40) argues that, while authoritarianism can lead "students to adopt rebellious positions defiant of any limit, discipline, or authority", it will also "lead to apathy, excessive obedience, uncritical conformity, lack of resistance against authoritarian discourse, self-abnegation and fear of freedom".

Women's roles are rarely addressed in the HE textbooks,⁶³ even though women fought shoulder to shoulder with men and there have been many women leaders in Kurdish and Iraqi history. Moreover, although the textbooks mention women's rights, as perceived by the Prophet, there is no discussion about this issue.⁶⁴ Our analysis reveals that there are two pictures of men and none of women in the fifth-year textbook; 31 images of men and no images of woman in the sixth-year textbook; four pictures of men with none of women in the seventh-year textbook, and two pictures of men and none of women in the eighth-year textbook. This reflects the patriarchal nature of IK society and helps to confirm students' acceptance of a traditional, patriarchal society which generally undermines women. The school system might play a critical role in fostering gender equality by including more subjects related to women and positive role models for women in HE textbooks.

History education exercises

Textbook exercises are the most important part of the curriculum in terms of giving students opportunities to discuss, assimilate, and participate in producing information in the classroom. They provide an opportunity for students to reflect on the subject and relate it to their own social and political contexts. However, our analysis shows that almost all of the questions found in HE textbooks are recall and repeat questions: in the fifth-year books, these make up 54 out of 55 questions. Meanwhile, in the eighth-grade textbook, there are 31 recall questions, no reflective questions, and only one activity is provided.

In general, the HEC curriculum teaches one approach to understanding reality: the Kurds are always right, while the Iraqi government and the international community are wrong; Muslims are always shown to be right and disbelievers are wrong, and all negative characteristics are attributed to the other. One teacher commented that "the Ministry of Education is right to give one narrative as it wants to unite people, make them agree on one statement, for us to have different opinions we need another fifty years of self-rule and independence".⁶⁵ However, Davies (2005b) argues that it is debatable whether such silence promotes harmony or simply leaves

students open to other influences. When some kinds of knowledge about a highly political and controversial issue are included in the curriculum while other forms of knowledge are purposefully excluded, the curriculum is often seen by marginalised groups as a political and/or ideological tool (Smith & Vaux, 2003; Smith, 2005).

The present HE curricula inhibit exploration of other possible narratives, and their contents are always stated as fact as if there were no other possible versions, stories, or truths available for consideration. Information is delivered in ways that make it clear that there are no doubts about its validity, and nowhere do the textbooks mention any informational resources that students might use to generate alternative perspectives. The binarised approach to right or wrong and legitimate or illegitimate forms of knowledge this approach fosters inevitably serves to narrow down students' creativity and critical thinking, since it does not prompt or encourage a search for truth or alternative sources of knowledge.

This failure to provide students with comprehensive knowledge about their cultural reality, or to make them aware that there are many realities, creates dependency on teachers, and it promotes a state of passivity or docility on the part of the students. The students' resulting ignorance of other or more nuanced narratives is often blamed on learners themselves; meanwhile, their oppression by those who frame what can be learned helps to normalise and fuel cycles of violence.

Conclusion

The basic premise of CDA is that language and language use do not merely reflect our social and mental realities but also help us constitute and construct them. An analysis of the HE curricula in IK reveals many phrases that relate to war, violence, discrimination, and divisions between Muslims and non-Muslims. These are used positively when describing issues such as “diplomatic” ways of compelling non-Muslims to comply with Muslims, the outcomes of war for Muslims, and conflict avoidance rather than conflict resolution. The words and concepts used repeatedly in students' textbooks generally focus on Muslims' alienation of the other rather than on more positive aspects of Islam. Meanwhile, terms such as “peace”, “tolerance”,

“equality”, “friendship”, and “cooperation” are largely absent, as is any mention or involvement of other ethnic/religious groups in the text and the curriculum-making process. The dominant group promulgates its own knowledge and regulates a null curriculum in order to legitimise its continued dominance. Hegemonic discourses further stabilise meaning and reinforce this dominance in ways that produce long-lasting effects.

People throughout history have used education as a tool for disseminating knowledge that serves the dominant group’s interest, and, as Eggins (2004, 10) states, “no text is free of ideology. To use language at all is to use it to encode particular positions and values”. Although the HE textbooks ostensibly provide a straightforward description of events in history, and students and teachers in IK schools may understand them as neutral, they are written in a way that ensures students lack an understanding of the implications of what they are learning. One teacher explained that “HE is about knowing facts, story events, dates, numbers”,⁶⁶ and others argued that students are not skilful enough to challenge the text and understand diverse narratives. Students are not given the knowledge or opportunity for discussion, and neither are they encouraged to look for different interpretations. HEC texts contribute to the state’s hegemony by offering an accepted and common interpretation of its character and narrative that becomes embedded and normalised in social consciousness.

Fairclough (1992) uses the concept of “hegemony” to describe the process by which discourse establishes itself as “common sense”, and this normalization of prejudice is evident in IK’s history curricula materials. One single narrative approach is adopted which repeats and privileges concepts and values that align with the dominant group’s ideology, and students are situated as passive, docile recipients of the knowledge embedded in textbooks and presented by teachers. The null and hidden curricula here are as significant as the overt knowledge presented.

To be effective in terms of PE values and education for peace, HEC must be enquiry-based and open to celebrate different narratives, interpretations, and critical debate, and it must also start a process of de-victimization which would encourage a new collective narrative to emerge. However, HEC in IK feature concepts and statements that might foster hatred and discrimination between different religious and ethnic groups rather than tolerance and understanding; they also build distance and divisions in IK society. As Van Dijk (1997, cited in De Wet 2001, 100) argues, discourse plays an important role in the production and reproduction of social prejudices, and, without the opportunity to question these, students have little choice but to reproduce them.

Human thought and action are embedded in social contexts that extend beyond the individual and children learn a huge amount about history from their communities and families as well as through the media. Nevertheless, IK HE's failure to provide a balanced perspective on the violence prevalent in their society makes a huge contribution to a process through which dominant norms go unchallenged and are embedded in young people's minds as part of an uncontested, single narrative about their shared past, present, and future.

-
- ¹ Assyrians – also known as Syrians, Chaldeans, or Assyro Chaldeans (Chaldo Assyrians) – mainly live in the mountainous areas of Iraq. It is estimated that up to 45,000 Assyrians live in the IK region (See Nissman, 1999).
- ² The majority of Yezidis live in IK, mainly in Duhok province, and their population is estimated at about 400,000.
- ³ 5th-year textbook, 53.
- ⁴ 8th-year textbook, 114.
- ⁵ For more information about the emergence of Kurdish nationalism from the division of Middle-East states, see Abbas Vali (2003) and Fred Halliday (2006).
- ⁶ A martyr (Shahid or shahada in Arabic) is generally defined as someone who died fulfilling religious commandments to defend Islam, spread Islam, and for the sake of their country.
- ⁷ See the textbooks for 5th-year (56, 67–69); 6th-year (55–57, 63, 68, 70, 81); 7th-year (97, 103–109, 127, 132, 142, 143); and 8th-year (96, 99, 121–128). The battles are mentioned on pages 64 and 72 of the 5th-year textbook, page 128 of the 7th-year textbook, and on pages 77, 90, 99, 103–109 (twice), and 129 of the 8th-year textbook. The war of revenge is mentioned in the 6th-year book (87) and the 8th-year textbook (91).
- ⁸ See the 6th-year textbook (55–57, 63, 68–70). The battles are mentioned in the 5th-year (64, 72), 7th-year (128) and 8th-year textbooks (77, 99, 90, 103–104, 109 110, 129). A war of revenge is mentioned in the 6th-year (87) and 8th-year textbooks (91). In the 8th-year textbook (92, 102), wars are said to have been waged to loot and collect the belongings of the defeated.
- ⁹ 6th-year textbook, 56.
- ¹⁰ 5th-year textbook, 53–59, 107–108.
- ¹¹ Mentioned in the 5th-year (53 three times, 64), 6th-year (95, 106); 7th-year (66, 70, 72), and 8th-year textbooks (91, 92 104, 108 twice, 110, 117–119, 128). Situations where the state or groups helped, made alliances, and agreed to help one another in waging war together are mentioned in the 5th-year (55), 7th-year (95, 113, 121, 124, 132 twice), and 8th-year textbooks (91, 94).
- ¹² See the 7th-year (98, 101–103, 107, 110, 131) and 8th-year textbooks (69, 72–74, 90–93, 107, 118–119, 121–123, 131–148, 144–145).
- ¹³ The Prophet Mohammed made the Madinah Constitution in the first year (622 CE) after his emigration to Medina. It included the rights and duties of local people, especially the

-
- Jews. It was intended to manage people`s everyday affairs and prescribed equality among Muslims and non-Muslims in terms of rights and duties.
- ¹⁴ 8th-year textbook (89).
- ¹⁵ See 5th-year textbook (64) where the Prophet is said to declare war to spread Islam.
- ¹⁶ People leaving Islam are not accepted back into Islam. This is a matter for considerable debate among Muslim scholars, who generally agree with the premise but question how it can be applied in an era of globalisation, interdependence, and international human rights.
- ¹⁷ ‘The king has done everything to stay in power, killed all the suspects’ (5th-year textbook, 128, 143 and 7th-year textbook, 109, 111, 134, 128, 129 and 132).
- ¹⁸ 5th-year textbook, 67.
- ¹⁹ 5th-year (53, 54, 61) and 7th-year textbooks (102).
- ²⁰ 5th-year (61) and 8th-year textbooks (75).
- ²¹ 5th-year (60, 61, 67), 7th-year (121, 126), and 8th-year (75, 92, 104, 106) textbooks. See the 6th-year textbook (119) for the destruction of *Mahabad*.
- ²² In the 6th-year textbook (60), in a discussion of the battle of *Chaldiran*, it is stated that Kurdistan was divided between the Ottoman and the *Safawi* states and that the outcome of a violent demonstration was to liberate the Kurdistan area from the *Safawi* state (61); the book also states (119) that Iran’s government agreed with the Soviet Union to withdraw from Iran so that it could attack the Kurds.
- ²³ 6th-year (78, 94, 100), 7th-year (122) and 8th-year (118, 119 twice) textbooks.
- ²⁴ Interview with a teacher in focus group in an Erbil school, 13 December 2012.
- ²⁵ It was called Habasha at that time.
- ²⁶ 5th-grade textbook, 62.
- ²⁷ The 8th-year textbook (77) notes that people accepted arbitration as a means to prevent conflict. It mentions that the prophet Muhammad acted as an arbitrator between the *Aos* and *Kazrej* tribes.
- ²⁸ Kaabah is a sacred place in Saudi Arabia where people perform pilgrimage and which people face when they perform prayer outside Mecca in Saudi Arabia. See the 8th-year textbook, 77.
- ²⁹ See the 8th-year textbook, 77.
- ³⁰ The war against people dissenting from Islam started after the Prophet’s death, and continued during the reigns of Abu Bakir Caliphate (R. 632–634 CE), Umar Caliphate (R. 634–644 CE), Uthman (R. 644–656 CE), and Ali (R. 656–661 CE). In the 8th-year textbook (99, 107), it states that *Abu Obeide* sent a message to people in *Alquds* to

convert to Islam or face war. In the same textbook (109, 110, 111), Muslim troops are said to have patrolled all the way to the city to make it surrender and oblige the people of *Alquds* to sign a convention.

- ³¹ The *Sulh Alhudaibya* (Alhudaibya reconciliation) peace agreement between Prophet Mohammed, who represented the state of Medina, and the Quraish tribe, who represented the state of Mecca, took place in March 628 CE. The agreement was for a ten-year truce between the two sides.
- ³² This is mentioned in the in the 7th-year (128) and 8th-year (92, 110, 119, 128, 138) textbooks. The textbooks mention negotiations with the Jews (5th-year, 63–4; 7th-year, 112, 129; 8th-year, 145).
- ³³ See the 5th-year (65) and the 8th-year textbooks (97). The 6th year textbook (112) discusses the fake referendum conducted by King Faisal in his bid to hold on to power.
- ³⁴ See 5th-year (66) and 6th-year (81, 98, 103, 108, 111, 133, 194, 195, 196 twice) textbooks.
- ³⁵ Umar was martyred in 644 CE, Uthman in 656 CE, and Ali in 661 CE.
- ³⁶ Interview with teacher in focus group in an Erbil school, 13 December 2012.
- ³⁷ See the 5th-year (71, 72) and 8th-year (127) textbooks.
- ³⁸ 5th-year textbook, 72.
- ³⁹ Interview with a teacher in a focus group in an Erbil school, 13 December 2012.
- ⁴⁰ Conflict, battles, and war are mentioned in the 6th-year textbook (57, 58, 59 twice, 60 twice, 63, 71, 85, 90). ‘Liberate’ is mentioned in the 5th-year (71, 72) and 8th-year (99, 107 twice, 108 three times, 128, 134) textbooks. That the state wanted to invade or had invaded areas is mentioned in the 5th-year (54), 6th-year (81, 85, 93, 112, 113, 122 twice), and 8th-year (110, 111, 148) textbooks. For mentions of conquest, see 5th-year (64) and 8th-year (94, 99, 100, 102, 103 three times, 107, 108, 109 twice, 110 twice, 113, 132 twice, 133) textbooks. Historically, when Muslims invaded disbelievers’ cities, they called this practice “opening cities”.
- ⁴¹ See 6th year (85) and 8th-year (97, 101) textbooks. On page 101 of the 8th-year textbook, the army in the Islamic state is described as making Jihad to raise the Islamic flag and spread the Islamic religion.
- ⁴² Interview with a teacher in a focus group in Duhok, 10 December 2012.
- ⁴³ The 7th-year (95, 96, 98) and 8th-year (88, 98) textbooks state that the Prophet united all Muslims. On page 65 of the 5th-year textbook, Abu Bake emphasises that there should be no discrimination among Muslims.
- ⁴⁴ 8th-year textbook, 136.

-
- ⁴⁵ The Muslims used to take Jizya as compensation from non-Muslims as protection money in lieu of military service and imply that Jizya was effectively a fine for being non-Muslim.
- ⁴⁶ The 8th-year textbook (140) mentions that the Abbassi state wanted to end racism between Arabs and non-Arabs.
- ⁴⁷ 5th-year textbook, 65.
- ⁴⁸ See the 8th-year textbook (89, 114) for references to Jewish people and Yezidis.
- ⁴⁹ 8th-year textbook, 98.
- ⁵⁰ 5th-year (66, 67) and 8th-year (79, 106) textbooks.
- ⁵¹ 7th-year textbook (94). On page 105, it mentions the Lolebeen, Kotyoon, Medyoon, Metanyoon, Kashyoon as the ancient groups that lived in Kurdistan.
- ⁵² Interview with teacher focus group in Duhok school, 16 December 2012.
- ⁵³ 7th-year textbook 113.
- ⁵⁴ 6th-year textbook, 69, 91.
- ⁵⁵ 8th-year textbook, 91.
- ⁵⁶ Mosques are mentioned twice in the 8th-year textbook (87).
- ⁵⁷ Interview with a teacher in Xanke Yezidi school, Duhok, 6 December 2012.
- ⁵⁸ See 5th-year (54, 56, 73, 66, 67, 70, 71) and 8th-year (124, 143) textbooks.
- ⁵⁹ 5th-year textbook, 69.
- ⁶⁰ See the 7th-year (108, 123, 124, 128, 132, 136) and 8th-year (113) textbooks. Peace is mentioned on page 66 of the 6th-year textbook, and on pages 124 of the 7th-year and 13 of the 8th-year textbook.
- ⁶¹ See the 7th-year textbook (123, 124, 128, 132, 136). Peace is mentioned in the 6th-year (66), 7th-year (124) and 8th-year (138) textbooks.
- ⁶² This is referred to only once (8th-year textbook, 94).
- ⁶³ Women are rarely mentioned. In the 7th-year textbook (90), students are given an example of how to draw in a way that shows that a woman is being represented, and are told that women were unable to be rulers (143); in the 6th-year (114) textbook.
- ⁶⁴ 8th-year textbook, 95.
- ⁶⁵ Erbil school focus group interview, 5 May 2013.
- ⁶⁶ Interview with a teacher in Sulaimaniyah, 18 December 2012.

References

- Abdul, S. R., S. Othman, A. MuheAdeen, and Z. A. Abdul Rhaman. 2012. *The Grade Seven Social Studies Textbooks, History Education Textbook Section*. 7th ed. Erbil: Kurdistan Regional Government, Iraq Ministry of Education, General Directorate of Curriculum and Publication.
- Abouchedid, K., and N. Nasser. 2000. "The State of History Teaching in Private-Run Confessional Schools in Lebanon: Implications for National Integration." *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies* 5 (2): 67-82.
- Al-Barakat, A. A., and S. M. Al-Karasneh. 2005. "The Contribution of School Textbooks in the Early Grades of Education in Preparing Young Children to Become Effective Citizens: Teachers' Perspective." *Journal of Early Childhood Research* 3 (2): 169–191.
- Al-Kubaisi, Y. 2012. "A Journey of Learning: The Curriculum in Iraqi Schools and Higher Education." In *Re-imagining Research for Reclaiming the Academy in Iraq: Identities and Participation in Post-Conflict Enquiry*, edited by H. Brunskell-Evans, and M. Moore, 53–63. Rotterdam: Sense.
- Ardizzone, L. 2001. "Towards Global Understanding: The Transformative Role of Peace Education." *Current Issues in Comparative Education* 4 (2): 16–25.
- Aziz, M. A. 2011. *Ethno-nationalism and National Identity in Iraqi Kurdistan*. London: I. B. Tauris.
- Bar-On, D., and S. Adwan. 2006. "The Psychology of Better Dialogue Between Two Separate but Independent Narratives." In *Israeli and Palestinian Narratives of Conflict: History's Double Helix*, edited by R. I. Rothberg, 205–224. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Bar-Tal, D. 2002. "The Elusive Nature of Peace Education." In *Peace Education: The Concepts, Principles and Practices around the World*, edited by G. Salomon, and B. Nevo, 27–36. London, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Bar-Tal, D. and Yigal, R. 2009. "Peace Education in Societies Involved in Intractable Conflicts: Direct and Indirect Models." *Review of Educational Research* 79 (2): 557–575.
- Baser, B. 2015. *Diasporas and Homeland Conflicts: A Comparative Perspective*. UK: Ashgate.

- Bekerman, Z., and M. Zembylas. 2012. *Teaching Contested Narratives: Identity, Memory and Reconciliation in Peace Education and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P., and Passeron, J. C. ([1977] 1990). *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. London: Sage.
- Bretherton, D. 2003. "Peace Education in a Post-Conflict Environment: The Case of Sierra Leone." *Ethos* 33 (2): 219–230.
- Brock-Utne, B. 1985. *Educating for Peace: A Feminist Perspective*. New York: Pergamon.
- Brock-Utne, B. 1989. *Feminist Perspectives on Peace Education*. New York: Pergamon.
- Brock-Utne, B. 1995. "Peace Education at the End of a Millennium." In *Peace Education and Human Development*, edited by H. Løfgren, 55–76. Malmo: Malmo School of Education, Lund University.
- Burns, R., and R. Aspeslagh, eds. 1996. *Three Decades of Peace Education around the World: An Anthology*. New York: Garland.
- Bush, K. D., and D. Saltarelli, eds. 2000. *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict: Toward a Peace-Building Education for Children*. Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research.
- Cremin, C. 2016. "Peace Education Research in the Twenty-First Century: Three Concepts Facing Crisis or Opportunity?" *Journal of Peace Education* 13 (1): 1-17. doi:10.1080/17400201.2015.1069736.
- Cole, E., and J. Barsalou. 2006. "Unite or Divide? The Challenges of Teaching History in Societies Emerging from Violent Conflict." Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.
- Collinge, J. 1995. "Sharing our Food Baskets: Some Thoughts on Peace Education and School Subjects in New Zealand." In *Peace Education and Human Development*, edited by H. Løfgren. Malmo: Malmo School of Education, Lund University.
- Connolly, P., S. Fitzpatrick, T. Gallagher, and P. Harris. 2006. Addressing Diversity and Inclusion in the Early Years in Conflict-Affected Societies: A Case Study of the Media Initiative for Children. *International Journal for Early Years Education*, 14 (3): 263–278.

- Cooper, N. 2007. "Review Article: on the Crisis of the Liberal Peace." *Conflict, Security and Development* 7(4): 605–616.
- Danesh, H. B. (2006) Towards an integrative theory of peace education, *Journal of Peace Education*, 3(1), 55–78.
- Davies, L. 2004. *Education and Conflict, Complexity and Chaos*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Davies, L. 2005a. "Schools and War: Urgent Agendas for Comparative and International Education." *Compare* 35 (4): 357–371.
- Davies, L. 2005b. "Teaching about Conflict Through Citizenship Education." *International Journal of Citizenship and Teacher Education* 1 (2): 17–33.
- De Wet, C. 2001. "A Media Discourse Analysis of Racism in South African Schools." *International Education Journal* 2 (5): 98–112.
- Eggins, S. 2004. *An Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics*. London, Continuum.
- Eisler, R. 2000. *Tomorrow's Children*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Fairclough, N. 1989 *Language and Power*. Essex, Longman.
- Fairclough, N. 1992. *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Fairclough, N. 1995. *Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. 2001. *Language and Power*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. 2003. Political Correctness: The Politics of Culture and Language." *Discourse Society*, 14 (1): 17–28.
- Fairclough, N. 2004. "Semiotic Aspects of Social Transformation and Learning." In *An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analyses in Education*, edited by R. Roger, 119–127. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum .
- Fairclough, N., and L. Chouliaraki. 1999. *Discourse in Late Modernity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Firer, R. 2002. "The Gordian Knot Between Peace Education and War Education." In *Peace Education: The Concept, Principles, and Practices around the World*. G. Salomon, and B. Nevo, 55–62. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Flinders, D. J., N. Noddings, and S. J. Thornton, "The Null Curriculum: Its Theoretical Basis and Practical Implications." *Curriculum Inquiry* 16 (1): 33–42.
- Freire, P. 1998. *Teachers as Cultural Workers: Letters to Those who Dare Teach*. Translated by D. Macedo, D. Koike and A. Oliveira. Boulder, CO, Westview.

- Galtung, J. 1975. "Peace Research Education Action: Essays In Peace Research – Copenhagen." *Eljers* 1: 334–339.
- Galtung, J. 1996. *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization* Oslo and London: PRIO Sage.
- Galtung, J., ed. 2008. *Form and Content of Peace Education*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age.
- Giroux, H. 1983a. *Theory and Resistance in Education: A Pedagogy of the Opposition*. South Hadley, MA: Bergin and Garvey.
- Giroux, H. 1983b. "Theories of Reproduction and Resistance in the New Sociology of Education: A Critical Analysis." *Harvard Educational Review* 53: 257–293.
- Green, P. 1997. "Teaching Nonviolence in a Violence-Addicted World." *Journal of Consciousness and Transformation* 20 (2): 1–5.
- Haavelsrud, M. 2008. "Conceptual Perspectives on Peace Education." In *Encyclopaedia of Peace Education*, edited by M. Bajaj, and M. Charlotte, 59–66. Charlotte, NC: Information Age.
- Halliday, F. 2006. "Can we Write a Modernist History of Kurdish Nationalism?" In *The Kurds: Nationalism and Politics*, edited by A. Jabar Faleh, and D. Hosham, 11–20. London, Saqi.
- Hamadameen, W. S., and S. O. Ali. 2011. *Babten komalayati yen pola benje benarat*. [Fifth-grade social studies textbooks, history education textbook department] 1st ed., translated by S. H. Muhammed. Sulymaniyah, KRG: Kurdistan Regional Government, Iraq Ministry of Education, General Directorate of Curriculum and Publication.
- Harris, I. 2000. *Peace-Building Responses to School Violence*. New York: National Association of Secondary School Principals.
- Harris, I. 2002. "Conceptual Underpinnings of Peace Education." In *Peace Education: The Concept, Principles, and Practices around the World*, edited by G. Salomon, and B. Nevo, 15–26. New York, Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Harris, I. 2004. "Peace Education Theory." *Journal of Peace Education* 1 (1): 5–20.
- Harris, I., and M. Morrison. 2003. *Peace Education*, 2nd ed. Jefferson, NC: McFarland.
- Harber, C., and N. Sakade. 2009. "Schooling for Violence and Peace: How Does Peace Education Differ from 'Normal' Schooling?" *Journal of Peace Education* 6 (2): 171–187.

- Hicks, D. 1988. "Understanding the Field." In *Education for Peace: Issues, Principles, and Practice in the Classroom*, edited by D. Hicks, 6–18. London: Routledge.
- Kaldor, M. 2001. *New and Old Wars: Organized Crime in a Global Era*. Oxford, Polity.
- Hirst, D. 2013. "This Could Be the Birth of an Independent Kurdish State." *The Guardian*, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jan/09/birth-kurdish-stateottoman-syria-arab-spring>, January 9.
- Kaldor, M. 2005. "Elaborating the 'New War' Thesis." In *Rethinking the Nature of War*, edited by I. Duyvesteyn, and J. Angstrom, 201–214. New York: Frank Cass.
- Kester, K. 2010. "Education for Peace: Content, Form, and Structure: Mobilizing Youth for Civic Engagement." *Peace and Conflict Review* 4 (2): 1–10.
- Kupermintz, H., and G. Salomon. 2005. "Lessons to be Learned from Research on Peace Education in the Context of Intractable Conflict." *Theory into Practice*, 44 (4): 293–302.
- Lässig, S. 2013. "Introduction: Post-Conflict Reconciliation and Joint History Textbook Projects." In *History Education and Post-Conflict Reconciliation: Reconsidering Joint Textbook Projects*, edited by Karina Korostelina, and Simone Lässig, 1–13. London, Routledge.
- Lewsader, J., and Myers-Walls, J. A. 2017. "Developmentally Appropriate Peace Education Curricula". *Journal of Peace Education* 14 (1): 1–14.
- Loukaidis, L. and M. Zembylas. 2016. "Greek-Cypriot Teachers' Perceptions of Religious Education and its Contribution to Peace: Perspectives of (In)compatibility in a Divided Society, *Journal of Peace Education* 14 (2): 176-194.
- Lowicki-Zucca, L., and M. Emry, eds. 2005. *Educating Young People in Emergencies – Time to End the Neglect*. Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies.
- Mac Ginty, R. 2008. "Indigenous Peace-making Versus the Liberal Peace: Cooperation and Conflict." *Journal of the Nordic International Studies Association* 42 (2): 139–163.
- Marr, P. 2012. *The Modern History of Iraq*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- McDowall, D. [1997] 2000. *A Modern History of the Kurds*. 2nd edn. London: I. B. Tauris.

- McNay, L. 2000. *Gender and Agency: Reconfiguring the Subject in Feminist and Social Theory*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Migdal, J. S. 2001. *State in Society: Studying how States and Societies Transform and Constitute one Another*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Montessori, M. 1972. *The Discovery of the Child*. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Muller, M., and S. Linzey. 2007. *The Internationally Displaced Kurds of Turkey: Ongoing Issues of Responsibility, Redress and Resettlement*. London: Human Rights Committee of England and Wales.
- Murphy, S. 1999. "Democratic Legitimacy and the Recognition of States and Governments." *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 48: 545–581.
- Nissman, D. 1999 "Review." *RFE/RL Iraq Report 2* (13): 2.
- Reardon, B. 1982. *Militarization, Security, and Peace Education: A Guide for Concerned Citizens*. Valley Forge, PA: United Ministries in Education.
- Reardon, B. 1988. *Comprehensive Peace Education*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Reardon, B. 1997. "Human Rights as Education for Peace." In *Human Rights Education for the Twenty-First Century*, edited by G. J. Andreopoulos, and R. P. Claude, 436–454. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Reardon, B., and A. Cabezudo. 2002. *Learning to Abolish War*. New York: Hague Appeal for Peace.
- Richmond, O. 2007. *The Transformation of Peace*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rogg, I., and H. Rimscha. 2007. "The Kurds as Parties to and Victims of Conflicts in Iraq." *International Review of the Red Cross* 89 (868): 823–42.
- Salomon, G., and B. Nevo. 1999. *Peace Education: An Active Field in Need for Research*. Haifa: University of Haifa.
- Salomon, G., and B. Nevo, eds. 2002. *Peace Education: The Concept, Principles and Practices Around the World*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Schell-Faucon, S. 2001. *Conflict Transformation through Educational and Youth Programmes*. Berlin: Berghof.
- Seitz, K. 2004. *Education and Conflict: The Role of Education in the Creation, Prevention and Resolution of Societal Crises – Consequences for Development Cooperation*. Bonn: GTZ Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit.

- Shapiro, S. B. 2002. "The Commonality of the Body: Pedagogy and Peace Culture." In *Peace Education: The Concept, Principles and Practices Around the World*, edited by G. Salomon, and B. Nevo, 143–154. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Skelton, A. 1997. "Studying Hidden Curricula: Developing a Perspective in the Light of Postmodern Insights." *Curriculum Studies* 5: 2177–2193.
- Smith, A. 2005. "Education in the Twenty-First Century: Conflict Resolution and Reconciliation." *Journal of Comparative Education* 35 (4): 373–391.
- Smith, A., and Vaux, T. 2003 *Education, Conflict and International Development*. London: Department for International Development.
- Stevens, L. P. 2004. "Locating the Role of the Critical Discourse Analyst." In *An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis in Education*, edited by R. Rogers, 207–224. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Stomfay-Stitz, M. 1995. "First Steps in Early Childhood Peace." In *Peace Education and Human Development*, edited by H. Löfgren, 123–144.. Malmo: Malmo School of Education, Lund University.
- Tejel, J. 2015. "The Potential of History Textbooks and Curriculum Reform in Iraqi Kurdistan within a Conflict Transformation Frame: Dealing with the Past from a Processual and Dynamic Perspective." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 38 (14): 2569–2583.
- UNESCO. 2011. *The Hidden Crisis: Armed Conflict and Education. EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011*. Paris: UNESCO.
- United Nations. 2009 *Machel Study 10-Year Strategic Review: Children and Conflict in a Changing World*. New York: UNICEF.
- Vali, A. 2003. *Essays on the Origins of Kurdish Nationalism*. California: Mazda.
- Van Dijk, T. 1993. "Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis." *Discourse and Society* 4 (2): 249–283.
- VanDijk, T. A. 1998 *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Study*. London: Sage.
- Woodside-Jiron. H. 2004. "Language, Power, and Participation: Using Critical Discourse Analysis to Make Sense of Public Policy. In *An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis in Education*, edited by R. Rogers, 173–192. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence. 173–192.

Worden, E. A., and A. Smith. 2017. "Teaching for Democracy in the Absence of Transnational Justice: The Case of Northern Ireland." *Comparative Education* 53 (3): 379–395.

Yildiz, K. 2004. *The Kurds in Iraq: the Past, Present and Future*. London: Pluto.