

Education in a Multicultural Cyprus

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Edited by

Iacovos Psaltis, Nicos Anastasiou,
Hubert Faustmann, Maria Hadjipavlou,
Hakan Karahasan and Marilena Zackheos

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To all teachers with a vision for and practice of peace

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EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

CAN EDUCATION PLAY A ROLE IN BUILDING A CULTURE OF PEACE IN CONFLICT SOCIETIES?

The question that titles the introduction to this volume is not a rhetorical one. While we may need utopian ideas concerning the potentiality of education to heal divided and multicultural societies like that of Cyprus, the process of effectively enforcing policies and practices of coexistence and peace education—as the chapters herein will show—is no walk in the park; it is a complex and difficult task. The question “Can education play a role building a culture of peace in conflict societies?”, however, certainly sets our agenda to inquire what has so far been accomplished or thwarted, and what still awaits further action, but also our realistic expectations.

The role of education in conflict resolution and in building a culture of peace in post settlement conflict societies which are multiethnic is well-researched both by scholars and practitioners (Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis 1993; Bar-Tal 2000; Solomon and Nevo 2002; Spyrou 2002; Hadjipavlou 2004; Zembylas, Charalambous & Charalambous, 2016). To this end, this volume tries to both add to and bring out this contribution. Some of the challenges the institution of education has to address, both in its formal and informal curricula, include issues of historical collective trauma, selective memories, misperceptions, competing belief systems, ethnic prejudices and deep-rooted fears. Concerns, therefore, arise regarding how to transform a conflict culture into a peace culture valuing coexistence, accepting differences of cultural and ethnic backgrounds, as well as learning to cooperate and live with “otherness”, whereby the “self” and “other” are valued equally. What is involved in multicultural education is much the same as what is involved in the development of a democratic public. Thus the major task of education in a democratic, multicultural society is that through the knowledge of other cultures students are able to see their own positions as dependent and subject to reflexive development

and change. Thus, for one to be educated in a multicultural way is to understand that this is a dynamic process so as to avoid essentialism.

In the context of Cyprus it is thereby essential that the mistakes of the past are not repeated. In fact, the emergence of the dispute between the two main communities on the island is closely related with the way education became organised and institutionalised during the British Colonial Period. When the British “leased” the island from the Ottoman Empire in 1878 they were unwilling to take over the expense for education and left it to the two main communities to provide for the education of their respective communal groups. In consequence, the communal leaders responded by bringing teachers from their respective “motherlands” to the island or having Cypriots being trained there. As a result of the time of “national awakening”, the two main communities focused on “their own national interests” by following their “respective motherlands” since the educational systems, the curricula, the textbooks and the teachers from outside came from the respective narratives where the “other” ethnic group was presented as the “barbaric” historical enemy. Thus, from the outset, the educational systems of both communities developed separately from each other antagonistically with a few English language schools acting as the only places of common education. This separation was maintained and institutionalised at the time of independence in 1960 with the establishment of two Communal Chambers in charge of the respective educational systems.

These two Chambers then allowed the influence of Greece and Turkey on the educational systems to continue. The breakdown of the constitutional order and partial separation of the two communities in 1963-1964 intensified the hostile perception of each other within historical discourses in schools. These events were used to strengthen ethnic identities projecting the other as the enemy - either as Turkish Cypriot (TC) rebels against the lawful Republic of Cyprus or as usurpers of the rights of the TCs. In 1965, based on the Law of Necessity and after the Greek Cypriots (GCs) unilaterally abandoned their Communal Chamber, a Ministry of Education was established. In theory, it was a ministry for both communities, but in practice, it was a ministry exclusively in charge of GC education. The forceful division of 1974, when a Greek coup against the President of the Republic was followed by the invasion and partition of the island by Turkey, completed the physical separation of the two main communities and aggravated the hostile narrative even further.

The narrative in the south gradually changed towards a separation of the idea of the good oppressed TC compatriots vs. the evil, occupying Turk and the culturally different settlers. Laudably, during the Christofias-

Talat era, both sides attempted to change the textbooks in the direction of bringing the two communities closer together. In the north, the revised textbooks were in use from 2004 until 2009, but in 2009 another revision took place which again brought back the nationalist discourse in history education. In the south, the attempt failed and the old books remain in place until today, despite remarkable work done in the way of reforming the related curriculum. In the context of Cyprus, therefore, historically, the politicisation of cultural-ethnic loyalty has been a threat to developing a shared citizenship because, since the beginning, education has acted as a “tool that creates national subjects.”

Alternatively, it is important to free the future Cypriot citizen from having to choose between different parts of his/her identities. A new civic citizenship should be built on relatedness and in conversation with, instead of in competition with, the other groups. The primary historical communities that comprise the multicultural makeup of Cyprus consist of GCs, TCs, Maronites, Latins, and Armenian Cypriots. However, the continuing conflict between the GCs and TCs has geographically, politically, psychologically and socially segregated these communities, for decades. The influx of economic migrants, especially after Cyprus's accession to the European Union, has created new challenges for Cyprus on how to deal with multiple cultures and their needs and rights.

How has education over time attended to the issues introduced by Cyprus's complex evolving multiculturalism? How can education better contribute to the vision of coexistence in Cyprus? Our volume addresses these two overarching questions. First, this collection of essays explores how formal, non-formal and informal education¹ (Council of Europe 2010) has contributed to the creation and perpetuation of the Cyprus conflict as well as the prejudiced ethnic sentiments in the Cypriot communities. Second, the essays consider the ways in which education could contribute to peaceful coexistence between the GC and TC communities and how it

¹ By the term “formal education” we designate the structured education and training system which is provided through pre-school and primary education, secondary and tertiary education, whilst by the term “non-formal education” we refer to any pre-designed education system which has as its objective the improvement of a series of skills and abilities outside of the formal educational environment, like seminars, workshops and conferences organised by Non-Governmental Organisations. Finally, the term “informal education” refers to the life-long process through which every person obtains attitudes, skills and knowledge from educational interactions and sources within their own environment, as well as from their daily experiences and exchange of views.

may further strengthen reconciliation efforts as well as promote peace and respect among all ethnic groups residing in Cyprus in the future.

The book comprises three parts. The first part deals with international and theoretical perspectives regarding education in divided societies. The chapters cover a range of theoretical and practical principles, which could be used to revise the education systems of societies like Turkey, Northern Ireland, the United Kingdom, and Cyprus. The second part looks more closely at the case of Cyprus in particular by exploring, on the one hand, the past and present Cypriot educational systems and on the other hand, history education in Cyprus including policy changes. The final section brings together chapters that examine coexistence scenarios and endeavours toward that end in Cyprus.

In Part I "International and Theoretical Perspectives: Divided Societies and Education", Matthew Lange's opening chapter sets a critical tone concerning education's potentiality for promoting peace and tolerance. Lange asserts that education can certainly be an important means of more peaceful communal relations but cautions that policy makers planning a system of tolerance education must be cognisant of education's potential darker side: that it can promote ethnic violence. Kenan Çayır's contribution echoes Lange's concerns by articulating another example of potential double-edged consequences in inclusivist education. He inquires into the ways in which different ethnic groups can be included into national textbooks and into the collective imagination in Turkey and argues that inclusion of ethnic differences can on the one hand provide a ground for pluralisation of national imaginaries yet on the other, representation of different cultures and identities can bring the danger of essentialism. As the line between democratisation and social conflict is thin, the urgency to engage in a process of de-essentialising national identities is great for Çayır.

Turning to practical ways for engaging in coexistence through education, Tony Gallagher's chapter looks at three distinct principles, which he outlines as "the recognition of diversity, the importance of social cohesion, and an acceptance of the mutable nature of community relations". He explains that although education debates in Northern Ireland have long revolved around separate denominational schools versus common integrated schools, a type of "shared education" approach has recently been applied, which attends to these principles. Focusing on the education system in the United Kingdom, Wendy Booth proposes an interdisciplinary method toward revising the citizenship curriculum specifically. This method will take into account socio-psychological factors and intended outcomes in order to tackle issues such as diversity,

racism, and nationalism. Sotos Shiakides's chapter ends this section with an outline of a thought framework, namely Habermas's philosophy and social theory, which he proposes can adequately address multicultural coexistence issues in Cyprus when theory is put into practice. Shiakides argues that a shared political or civic identity for Cypriots could restructure Cypriot society and educate the diverse people of the island to unite through loyalty to the state.

Part II "Evolution of the Cypriot Educational Systems" investigates how Cypriot formal education has promoted, mainly through the teaching of history, distinct narratives for the different ethnic groups of the island. One overarching narrative for GCs for instance has been that the island is Greek, since its overwhelming population hails from mainland Greece, while TCs have been remnants of Ottoman enslavement. A respective narrative for TCs has been that Cyprus is Turkish, because of its geographical proximity to Turkey and the centuries of occupation by the Ottomans, as opposed to the reality that Greece has never ruled the island.

Such distinct narratives have been propagated specifically through Cyprus's two separate educational systems. Panayiotis Persianis traces six ways in which these systems, established by the British rulers in the late 19th century in Cyprus, influenced the political perspectives of the two communities. Exploring the TC educational system in particular, Nikolaos Stelgias explains that since the last days of the colonial period it has played a crucial role in the social and political life of TCs, expounding on the fact that the nationalist TC leadership pressed for the total control of TC education. Furthermore, Meltem Onurkan Samani and Belkis Ayhan Tarhan argue that history education in Cyprus has been one of the tools used to legitimise, justify and explain the political attitude and demands on the Cyprus issue for "both parties" of the Cyprus Problem.

Dilek Latif and Evgenia Partasi's chapters proceed in investigating specific policy changes in Cyprus's two educational systems. Latif shows how history textbooks and history education's promotion of nationalism have acted as obstacles to peace education in Cyprus despite various attempts at making reformations in the teaching of history. Partasi in turn examines intercultural education in GC primary schools at the level of policy and practice.

Part III "Understanding Coexistence" showcases two thematics: firstly, attempts at comprehending a number of developments that concern coexistence in Cyprus, but consequently result in a "misunderstanding" of the issue and, secondly, endeavours to effectuate peacebuilding connections in the name of coexistence in Cyprus.

Panayiota Charalambous, Constandina Charalambous, and Michalinos Zembylas investigate a policy change in Greek Cypriot education advocating the “cultivation of peaceful coexistence, mutual respect and collaboration between GCs and TCs” in classroom practices and its complex reception by GC teachers. Analysing a set of forty interviews, the authors convey the ways in which the teachers understood the relation between the “older” educational objective of the Ministry of Education and Culture “I don’t forget and I struggle” and the “newer” educational objective of the school-year 2008-2009. Christiana Karayianni and Irene Photiou explore how GC media reacted to the Turkish Cypriot Roma arrivals to Limassol in the 1990s and to the children’s inclusion in the Ayios Antonios elementary school. Karayianni and Photiou ask whether or not media altered its initial racist discourse towards the TC Roma to include the several positive initiatives undertaken by the elementary school.

The final two contributions in this section highlight instances of non-formal education and peacebuilding, which enact greater communication between separate groups for peaceful coexistence. Andri H. Constantinou and Vasiliki Andreou investigate GC and TC dramatics, discussing the pedagogic role of theatre and the possibility of GC and TC theatre performances to serve as factors of bridge-building between the two communities. Finally, Maria Hadjipavlou discusses the facilitation of contact among youth from Greece, Turkey and Cyprus in conflict resolution skill training and peace education workshops as one of the approaches to reduce prejudices, misperceptions, ethnic stereotypes and historical enmity. Turning to the future and envisioning how education could be in a reunited Cyprus, we have to take into account the realities on the ground and the envisaged provisions in a future constitution in the case of a solution to the Cyprus problem. These realities suggest that the administration of education will most probably remain in the jurisdiction of the constituent states that have been agreed in principle between the two parts. This is not only prescribed by tradition, since this has been the fashion of providing education for centuries on the island, but because of practical reasons like the following: minorities, in the same way as majorities do, have the right for their national, linguistic and religious characteristics to be recognised and secured in a safe environment; it is likely that in integrated schools, minorities will feel threatened (see the case of the English School in Nicosia (Koumoullis 2013), the attempts in Dublin see Gallagher in chapter III of this volume and Bosnia and Herzegovina (Perry 2015)). The following admonition by Seed is very applicable here:

All existing research indicates that identity building is an extremely sensitive process and that external attempts to impose a new identity, particularly to high in-group identifiers, are more likely to backfire than to bring about positive results. Building a common identity involves the construction of a common vision for the future, while at the same time, respecting the uniqueness of each sub-group (2015 p.46)

However, this does not necessarily stipulate that the contents of education will or should be divisive; alternatively, a coordinating mechanism could be set up at the level of the federal state, whose main responsibility will be to oversee curricula in terms of what may or may not be included. Therefore, it is necessary to work out the basic principles and values with which the new curricula must be imbued, like the promotion of secular and democratic human rights and the exclusion of hate speech and discriminatory references. Religious knowledge should replace denominational proselytism and the functions of state and religion should be separated at both the federal and the constituent state levels. At the same time, intercommunal institutions with an integrated curriculum could be an alternative venue for model schooling along the buffer zone for those who are ready to follow this structure of education. The buffer zone could also serve as a hub for research centres, scientific parks, environmental projects and cultural events. In this way, we may start constructing a common vision for the younger and future generations.

The examples of work produced by civil society in this regard are very promising. For example, the notable activities organised and the publications produced by the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR) as well as POST Research Institute (POST RI). Other efforts include the Invest in Education-Cyprus (InvedCy) project and the Cyprus Dialogue Forum (CDF). AHDR, which is housed in the buffer zone along with a number of other intercommunal organisations, focuses on history teaching and the preparation of alternative teaching materials which are at the disposal of teachers in both the state and private primary education. The establishment of the Home for Cooperation serves as a third space for the several Cypriot communities and for the organisation of lectures, seminars, conferences and all sorts of other intercultural and international events.

AHDR have also prepared a policy paper (2013) which looks at education in a reunited Cyprus. POST RI, which is also housed near the buffer zone, has analysed Cyprus history textbooks in the north and is now running an EU funded project on peace education in collaboration with the AHDR—Education for a Culture of Peace, which has been endorsed by the Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture as an in-service teacher

training course. InvedCy is a grassroots organisation, which has been generated from the European Citizens Initiative “Invest in Education” (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung 2015) and its main objective is the preparation of a policy paper on basic principles for a model educational system in pre and post solution Cyprus.

CDF is a very inclusive intercommunal forum comprised of more than one hundred organisations such as political parties, trade and teacher unions, chambers of commerce and industry, youth, women, sport, education and cultural organisations. Its main objective is to create a safe space for civil society to prepare ideas on sociocultural, economic and security issues for the two negotiators to the ongoing intercommunal talks for the Cyprus settlement. One of its Task Groups, currently in progress, is set up for the preparation of ideas regarding how education can promote coexistence.

Last, but not least, a very promising development has been the setting up of a “Technical Committee for Education” by the two Cypriot leaders in 2016 as part of their negotiations towards a solution to the Cyprus Problem with the mandate to conduct research into the role of education in the Cyprus Problem and work out confidence building measures, which will promote peaceful coexistence between the two communities. In order to transform a conflict culture into a culture of peace, coexistence and cooperation arguably we need a multilevel approach whereby civil society together with policy makers and independent experts will contribute in different ways.

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PART I:

**INTERNATIONAL AND THEORETICAL
PERSPECTIVES:
DIVIDED SOCIETIES AND EDUCATION**

CHAPTER ONE

EDUCATION AND ETHNIC VIOLENCE: A VIEW FROM COMPARATIVE HISTORY

MATTHEW LANGE

Tolerance education reconsidered

It is difficult to think of anything more widely revered than education. Whether rich or poor, black or white, Mormon or Muslim, Congolese or Canadian, educated or uneducated, seemingly everyone praises education as an enormous benefit to individuals and humanity alike. Indeed, along with economic development and health, the United Nations uses data on education to construct its Human Development Index, a statistic that is supposed to capture the overall well-being of a population. The United Nations and others equate education with human development because of its intrinsic value and because education is commonly perceived as a means to additional aspects of human well-being.

In addition to these potential benefits, many believe education promotes peace and tolerance, with innumerable claims that education is a cure for the likes of gang violence, racial bigotry, spousal abuse, and even terrorism. This tolerance education perspective suggests that education helps increase critical thinking skills and empathy, emphasises commonalities instead of differences, and stresses individual rights, all of which promote intercommunal tolerance. Such views are hardly new, as Aristotle and Plato described education as a vital determinant of peaceful human relations thousands of years ago (Elias, 2013). More recently, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 1995) described education as “the most effective means of preventing intolerance.”

A number of analyses of political and racial tolerance seem to support the claims of Aristotle, Plato, and UNESCO. These works use individual-level survey data and find that education is positively related to different measures of tolerance (Bobo and Licari, 1989; Moore and Ovardia, 2006).

For example, the higher one's education, the greater the chance s/he responds positively to a question asking whether s/he favours political equality for all communities. The authors of this body of work suggest that the relationship between education and tolerance is deterministic and point to two causal mechanisms through which education promotes tolerance. First, education might enhance the ability of individuals to think critically and connect ideas, and these cognitive skills supposedly allow individuals to empathise with and extend norms to individuals from different backgrounds and with different views. As a consequence, people are more likely to respect differences instead of acting in prejudiced ways. The second mechanism deals with how schools socialise students. It proposes that schools commonly socialise individuals to hold and uphold values of equality and human rights, and these values supposedly promote more tolerant and peaceful interactions with people from different backgrounds.

There is little doubt that education has the potential to promote tolerance in both ways, but universal claims that education promotes peaceful social relations must be questioned on a variety of grounds. For one, the results of past analyses are frequently more mixed than most recognise. Some analyses fail to find a significant relationship, and others even find a negative relationship between education and tolerance. One of the earliest studies of this kind in the United States, for example, found that 34 percent of respondents with a college education expressed dislike for Jews, as opposed to only 18 percent of people with a high school education and 14 percent of people with a grammar school education (Campbell, 1952). Several analyses also find that the relationship between education and tolerance varies greatly depending on the issue and the wording of questions (Jackman and Muha, 1984; Kane and Kyyro, 2001). One notable example finds that the educated are less likely to hold traditional stereotypes, to favour discriminatory policies, and to reject casual contacts with minority-group members but more likely to hold certain derogatory stereotypes, favour some forms of informal discrimination, and oppose intimate contact with minorities (Stember, 1961).

Another potential problem with past findings is case selection. Previous studies focus primarily on the United States and attempt to generalise for the entire world based on the rather unique American experience. One study of anti-Semitic attitudes in Austria, France, Germany, and the United States, for example, finds large variation in the relationship between education and tolerance between countries (Weil, 1985). Similarly, studies that explore changes in tolerant attitudes over time in the United States find that tolerant attitudes have transformed and

become more prevalent, showing that any relationship between education and tolerance is not static and must be considered temporally.

Self-reporting surveys, which commonly provide erroneous results to questions that have socially appropriate responses, might also bias the findings. For example, people frequently give inflated responses to questions about church attendance and the amount of money donated to charity. In the case of education and tolerance, the educated might be socialised to believe that tolerance is valued and therefore be more likely to respond in ways that portray themselves in a favourable light in order to maintain a positive self-image, to gain the respect of the interviewer, or both. So, when an interviewer asks a respondent if African Americans should have the same rights as whites, an educated white respondent might be more likely to respond in a tolerant way even if s/he is not actually more tolerant. An influential study by sociologist Mary Jackman supports this view. She finds that educated individuals are more likely to show higher levels of tolerance toward racial integration in abstract survey questions but are no more likely to provide racially tolerant responses to questions that require the respondent to apply ideas of racial tolerance to real-world circumstances (Jackman, 1978).

Instead of self-reporting surveys, researchers can explore the impact of education on peace and tolerance through cross-national analysis and by looking into the background of intolerant and violent people. In *Educations in Ethnic Violence* (2012), I use the first strategy and find that countries with higher levels of education and more rapidly expanding educational enrolment are at considerably greater risk of intense intercommunal violence. Similarly, if you look at the background of intolerant and violent actors, they commonly are relatively educated. Different analyses of the Rwandan genocide, for example, find that education is positively related to participation in the atrocities (Brehm, 2013; Verwimp, 2005). Similarly, evidence on Nazi supporters, members of the KKK in the 1920s, and contemporary “terrorists” offer evidence that education is linked to extremism and violence (Lange, 2012).

Beyond potential empirical problems with past analyses, logistical considerations force one to reconsider the impact of education on tolerance. Most of the literature suggests that formal schooling can promote tolerance but that this outcome requires an appropriate curriculum focused on diversity and mutual-understanding as well as a large, motivated, and capable staff. In the real world, such a curriculum must be meticulously constructed and commonly faces stiff opposition from powerful and entrenched interests, and few schools are lucky enough to have a large number of talented and inspired teachers (Anyon, 1997;

Hagan and McGlynn, 2004; Vassilichenko and Trasberg, 2000). The most important requirements of tolerance education are therefore either absent or in short supply in many places.

Intolerance education?

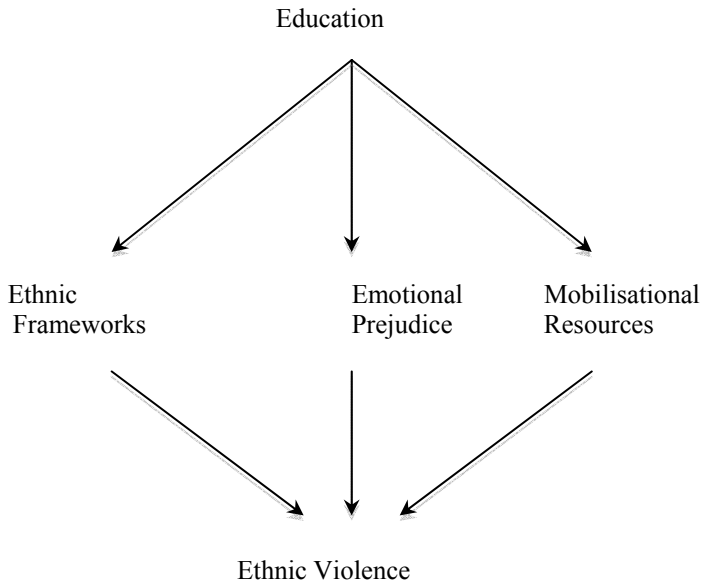
A look at comparative-historical sociology also suggests the need to question some of the fundamental assumptions of tolerance education. Several comparative-historical analyses find that the impact of education on tolerance depends fundamentally on what is actually taught. And instead of using schools to teach curricula that promote tolerance, states and other powerful actors commonly control education and manipulate it to pursue particular interests and goals (Bryan and Vavrus, 2005; Darden, forthcoming; Lange, 2012, 2016; Weber, 1976). This commonly involves employing education to shape the cognitive frameworks and outlooks of students and designating “others” as degenerate, dangerous, and outside the moral community. Education also offers very important resources that can mobilise violent ethnic movements. A review of the comparative-historical literature therefore suggests that education can promote ethnic violence in three ways: by strengthening ethnic-based cognitive frameworks, intensifying emotional prejudice, and offering mobilisational resources (see Figure I-1).

Ethnicity is commonly viewed as a concrete thing: It is a coherent and well-defined group linked by shared culture. More recent works in sociology, however, recognise that ethnicity is, first and foremost, a type of consciousness shaping how people perceive themselves and the social world around them (Brubaker, 2004; Jenkins, 2008). That is, ethnicity shapes how humans perceive, interpret, and represent the world—people believe that particular ethnic groups exist, identify with an ethnicity, value their ethnic communities, and categorise people according to ethnicity. Sociologists and psychologists consider ethnic consciousness a type of cognitive framework; in the pages that follow, I use this terminology and refer to it as an ethnic framework.¹

Comparative-historical analyses commonly pinpoint education as an important determinant of ethnic frameworks. One of the earliest and most influential examples is Eugen Weber’s (1976) *Peasants into Frenchmen*.

¹ Following Brubaker (2004), I take a cognitive view of ethnicity and see ethnicity, race, and nation as largely—but not completely—interchangeable terms.

Figure I-1. The Impact of Education on Ethnic Violence



He describes how the French state invested massively in public education and taught exclusively in French, which created a common national language among a population that had previously spoken hundreds of languages and dialects. A common language, in turn, contributed to a sense of French national unity. Schools also bombard students with ideas of nation and patriotism. Weber notes, for example, that all French students were forced to complete assignments asking them to describe what the “fatherland” is, which was an abstract and incomprehensible question for many un-indoctrinated French youth. With help, however, students were able to make sense of the new national community. As one student wrote in an essay in 1878, “The fatherland is not your village, your province, it is all of France. The fatherland is like a great family. Your fatherland is you. It is your family, it is your people” (Weber, 1976 p. 333).

Schools also helped build a nation-based ethnic framework by teaching French national history, which described the origins and exploits of the French nation and thereby helped make it real in the minds of students. Like national histories elsewhere, the nationalising French curricula focused on the supposed origins of the French people (the Gaul), the factors that made someone French (such as language and religion), and the

historical trials and tribulations of the glorious French nation. Maps, in turn, helped ground these histories in a physical reality. French schools universally displayed maps of France that gave a concrete idea of what this abstract entity referred to as “France” actually was. Importantly, the maps allowed students to see with their own eyes that their local communities were a tiny part of this larger whole, thereby allowing them to better imagine this novel idea of the nation.

The impact of education on ethnic frameworks has implications on ethnic violence in multiple ways (Brubaker 2004; Darden forthcoming; Gallagher, 2004; Jenkins, 2008; Lange, 2012, 2016). First, and most basically, communal diversity is a necessary condition for ethnic violence, so education contributes to ethnic violence when it promotes multiple ethnic frameworks. In addition, strong ethnic frameworks promote ethnic violence by pushing people to see the world through communally tinted glasses, and the latter contributes to ethnic violence by causing people to look out for the well-being of their community and to interpret events in terms of ethnicity, both of which commonly promote intense emotions that can motivate ethnic violence. Finally, strong ethnic frameworks create an attachment to ethnicity and thereby promote obligations to protect the well-being of the community, which can push individuals to attack communal rivals who appear to threaten the community.

While linked to ethnic frameworks, the emotions that frequently motivate violence are important determinants of ethnic violence and require separate consideration. In particular, participants in ethnic violence are usually motivated—at least in part—by emotions, usually some combination of anger, fear, resentment, and hatred. These emotions are most powerful when they focus on entire categories of people, something commonly referred to as emotional prejudice (Fiske, 2011).

Education can help intensify emotions and focus them on entire communities (Bryan and Vavrus, 2005; Gallagher, 2004; Lange, 2012, 2016; Papadakis, 2008). Most notably, educational curricula commonly depict communities of others in very negative ways. They are commonly described as degenerate and inferior to the true national community, something promoting hatred. School curricula also commonly describe “others” as dangerous and threatening the true community, promoting fear. Finally, textbooks commonly pin national hardships on other communities, thereby contributing to anger and scapegoating.

These emotions likely occur at the time of instruction, especially when the teacher emphasises the degenerate, dangerous, and infuriating aspects of the “other.” That said, these sentiments can also be triggered at a later time. Such long-lasting effects are most common when education instills

students with myth-symbol complexes that portray other communities negatively (Kaufman, 2001; Smith, 1986). Myth-symbol complexes are collections of symbols and myths that represent communities and depict their origins and history. They frequently depict other communities as historical adversaries and antagonists who committed great harm to the community. Such myth-symbol complexes, in turn, are used to interpret one's experiences and can promote negative, communally oriented emotions whenever current events are framed and interpreted in terms of the myth-symbol complexes.

The teaching of history, in turn, plays a very important role imparting myth-symbol complexes that shape emotional responses to "others" (Papadakis, 2008). In addition to defining the community, history curricula describe rivals who committed horrific atrocities against the community and continue to threaten the "glory" of the community. History classes in pre-genocide Rwanda, for example, presented myth-symbol complexes depicting Tutsis as evil intruders who conquered and exploited indigenous Hutus, thereby heightening antipathy toward Tutsis and legitimising violence against them (Gasabo, 2006; Lange, 2012).

The final way in which education commonly contributes to ethnic violence is through the mobilisational resources that it provides. Such resources are important because ethnic violence rarely erupts out of chaos but instead is organised by individuals controlling important means of mobilisation. In this way, ethnic violence commonly has important commonalities with social movements.

Education provides two different types of resources that can effectively mobilise ethnic violence. The most obvious types of resources are organisational and communicational resources, as schools and campuses have an enormous concentration of both. These resources are commonly used to publicise grievances, recruit participants, and coordinate action. The second type of resource is cultural and helps frame movements and motivate participation in ethnic violence. Myth-symbol complexes, for example, are one type of cultural resources taught in schools. They can, in turn, serve as important resources that facilitate ethnic mobilisation when leaders use them to frame movements in ways that attract participants. For example, myth-symbol complexes can be used to present movements in terms that are easily understood, that provoke emotional reactions, and that justify violence, all of which help movement leaders to mobilise support.