

The Role of Education in Peacebuilding in Kirkuk: "Secondary Education as an Example"

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Abstract

Kirkuk province is often referred to as a "small Iraq" because of its diversity of ethnicities, communities, religions and sects. After 2003, Kirkuk became a centre of conflict and instability in different stages and to different degrees. However, little academic research has been conducted on the post-2003 education system and its relationship to broader issues of conflict and peace within Kirkuk Governorate. There is no in-depth analysis of how the education system in these areas affects peacebuilding, despite education being considered an essential and effective long-term peacebuilding tool. Therefore, this research provides an analysis of the role of education in the context of peace and conflict studies, based on fieldwork. It collects quantitative data and analyzes the content of the social curriculum and topics related to the social subjects, including curriculum of national education, values and social skills in various Kurdish, Arabic, Turkmen and Syriac studies. Due to conducting surveys with secondary school students as well as analyses and evaluations of the social curriculum content, the methodology of this research is a mixed qualitative and quantitative approach. Through an analysis of the content of curricula in secondary schools student surveys in the centre of Kirkuk Governorate, this study will be an important field study to assess and analyze the educational situation in Kirkuk and its relationship to a peaceful resolution of problems and conflicts... More significantly, this study focuses on building active citizenship in educational institutions and posits the question of whether or not, education has played this role in Kirkuk. The main problem that this study seeks to address is how the education system and school curriculum can play a major role in peacebuilding among the diverse components of Kirkuk. The main objective of this study is to evaluate education policy and its role in peacebuilding. Another objective is to show how curriculum affects peacebuilding and coexistence. Through the analysis of the curricula, this study clarifies what value is given to the students.

Keyword: Peacebuilding, Kirkuk, Education, Curriculum, Coexisting

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1. Introduction

Immanuel Kant stated that to bring about a radical change in society, an individual's mind and culture must be changed, and to change an individual's culture, we have only one way: education (Nassar, n.d., p. 4). From Kant's point of view, education is the key tool for building perpetuates peace (Kant, n.d., p. 3). In John Galtung's (1967, p. 13) view, education is an essential tool for building positive peace. Galtung describes the absence of war as negative peace. He stated that all kinds of threats and contempt for others and concepts that create or cause conflict can be removed, and then society will move from a state of negative peace to positive peace. Education can also be an important channel for democratic and political socialization to build democratic peace, as liberals believe (Majeed, 2021).

The educational system and the political system also share a common goal which is to build good citizens for a decent life. A good life is fostered when human rights and dignity are protected, and of course, human dignity and rights cannot be protected in an environment full of conflict, war and violence, but it requires stability, peace and peace-building. Therefore, the main purpose of this study is to focus on education and the role of education in peacebuilding.

The social structure in Iraq is divided into several components²: religious communities, such as Muslims, Christians, Jews, Mandeian Sabians and Yazidis and sectarian components such as Shiites and Sunnis. There are also ethnic components, such as Arabs, Kurds, Turkmen, Christians, Sabean Mandayas, and Yezidis, who see themselves as ethnically different from each other (Batatu, 1990). In Kirkuk, a large section of these components can be found, so the education system in Kirkuk has a kind of privacy, and it is an educational system divided so

¹ The secondary stage of education is taken as an example in this study because it is the most important stage of political education and political socialization, which has a direct impact on the opinions and behaviors of individuals in society. This is based on the views of David Easton and Jack Denise in their book *Children in the Political System*. They talk about the importance of middle and late childhood and early adolescence and believe that the political values and norms that an individual receives during this stage remain in his life for a long time. For more detail see: (Easton & Dannis, 1969) .

that the components can study in the institutions and schools they want. Therefore, in Kirkuk, there is Arabic, Kurdish, Turkmen and Syriac education. The importance of this study lies in the fact that it examines the content of the curriculum in various studies. It also tries to highlight the role of education in peacebuilding and coexistence in Kirkuk governorate by analyzing the curricula within different components. It poses the question of whether the role of education is positive or negative in the peacebuilding process. This study hypothesises that education, curricula, and school at the secondary stage in the various studies in Kirkuk have not become a channel that helps coexistence and peacebuilding. To achieve the objectives, this research relies on the mixed method approach, that is, it is quantitative and qualitative. For this purpose, the content analysis approach was used to analyze the curricula. To obtain quantitative data, to know students' perspectives on issues related to coexistence and peacebuilding and to determine the extent to which the content of the curricula affects students' opinions, a questionnaire was conducted with some secondary school students in the centre of Kirkuk Governorate.

2. Conceptual Framework and Theoretical Approach

2.1. Peacebuilding

Peacebuilding is mainly considered in the peacebuilding process. In the field of peace studies, the term 'Peace Building' was first used in 1976 in Johan Galtung's article "Three Realistic Approaches to Peace: Peacekeeping, Peacemaking, Peacebuilding". In his work, Galtung focused on the questions of "What is the structure of peace and how should it be?". Galtung concluded that, unlike the consequences of the peacekeeping and peacemaking strategies, in peacebuilding, "structures must be found that will eliminate the causes of war and offer alternatives in cases where war may occur" (Teresa, 2017, p. 46). Moreover the concept of peacebuilding, in its simplest sense, describes the comprehensive process of trying to remedy the underlying causes of a conflict (Dizdariğlu, 2019, p. 1).

On the other hand, Boutros Ghali, the former Secretary-General of the United Nations, 1992, in his report titled "An Agenda for Peace", officially coined the term "post-conflict peacebuilding". Post-conflict peacebuilding is "the act of identifying and supporting structures that tend to strengthen and consolidate peace to prevent a recurrence of conflict" (Salam, 2018, p. 31). Furthermore, the United Nations defined peacebuilding as a long-term and integrated process that includes all sectors of society. It begins with an agreement between the parties to the conflict, the return of refugees, fair elections, the establishment of legitimate authority, the disarmament of armed groups and the protection of all human rights (Harun, 2021, p. 95).

The concept of peacebuilding is about a process rather than a goal, and it is aimed not only at halting armed conflicts but also at providing socioeconomic, structural, political and cultural stability along with security. In this way, it is conceived as a positive and sustainable perspective of peace that reduces the possibility of resumption and continuation of violence

and conflicts. The sustainability of the peacebuilding process includes functional management structures that meet the basic needs of the societies affected by war and a multi-faceted and multi-actor process in which a safe environment is created (Çelik & Eminoğlu, 2022, p. 199).

The concept of peacebuilding is also included in the work of Thania Paffenholz "Understanding Peacebuilding Theory: Management, resolution and Transformation" in which she presents a systematic analysis of different schools of thought explaining why different actors choose different paths for peacebuilding. In her analysis, she explains the approaches of "peacebuilding in the theories of International Relations" and "peacebuilding in different schools of thought". In the context of International Relations theories, Realism³, Idealism⁴, Structuralism⁵ and Post-structuralism⁶ theories are discussed. Within the scope of Different Schools of Thought, Conflict Management School⁷, Conflict Resolution School⁸, Complementary School⁹, Conflict Transformation School¹⁰ and Peacebuilding Alternative Discourse School¹¹ are examined (Paffenholz, 2009, pp. 3-5). Therefore, peacebuilding operations are complex and difficult. According to Richard Kaplan, the peacebuilding process should include: establishing and maintaining law and order, providing humanitarian assistance such as repatriation and reintegration of refugees and IDPs, and performing basic civic performance administrative tasks which include developing local democratic political institutions, including holding elections for these institutions, building infrastructure and civil society, reconstructing and developing economy and consolidating and spreading a culture of democracy (Sari, 2011, p. 52).

2.2. The Role of Education in Peacebuilding

In the post-Cold War era, more emphasis was placed on the social construction of peace than in the past, since most of the conflicts were intra-state and ethnic. In this context, the importance of education in Peacebuilding is increasing continuously. According to the Peacebuilding 2009 Report, former UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon identified five key priority issues for peacebuilding in post-conflict settings, including education (Ki-Mon, 2009).

At the same time, the idea that education is a key element in the peace-building process was also highlighted in the UNESCO report (2011, p. 222): "If future citizens receive an education that promotes tolerance, respect for others, and an appreciation of the complex identities that make up multi-ethnic communities, they can resist the 'other'. They will have less recourse to bigotry, chauvinism, and distrust-based violence" and "The right type of education is one of the best conflict prevention strategies available for any society". Therefore, to build peace and coexistence, education should emphasize two important values which are tolerance and dialogue (Mohammed, 2016). Bush and Saltarelli considered education an important part of peacebuilding, citing its positive and negative effects (Bush & Diana, 2000). Smith and Voux (2003), in their study, examine the relationship between education and conflict. The study focused on the relationship and consequently emphasized that more attention should be paid to the role of education in the process of transforming conflict and that

education should be used as a means of reconciliation (Smith & Vaux, 2003). On the other hand, the International Conference on Culture of Peace held in Salvador in 1994 stressed the importance of an educational program based on the principles of the culture of peace, as a vital necessity to consolidate the values of justice, human rights, democracy and development, in addition to the importance of citizens' self-participation in various educational and cultural activities, which would encourage the culture of peace and its value in society, in addition to the importance of purifying the historical texts presented to young people from lessons of violence, and providing them with objective and unbiased information about the other (Wafra, 2010, p. 115).

Bar-Tal and Rosen (2009) drew attention to the need for comprehensive social change in the peacebuilding process. In this change, it is underlined that besides the participation of political and cultural institutions, mass media, leaders, elites and schools also play an important role. In this context, Bar-Tal and Rosen (2009) sought an answer to the question of whether or not Peace Education can affect change in a socio-psychological environment that fosters conflicts. In the study, the potential of schools to affect change is explained in the following four points: First, the education system should be accessible to all generations, since school attendance is compulsory; Second, schools are the only social institution that can formally, deliberately and comprehensively fulfil the mission of peace education; Third, schooling takes place at the age when children are developing (more open to new ideas and information); Finally, the younger generation often accepts the messages and information conveyed in schools as correct (Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009, p. 560). In their study, first of all, the political-social¹² and educational conditions for the successful implementation of Peace Education are presented. Then, they identify two models for the implementation of Peace Education: Direct and indirect models.¹³

Finally, Bar-Tal and Rosen emphasized that Peace Education can be seen in all conditions (including violent environments) because the themes of Peace Education promote humanism and democracy, whose values are shared by many societies:

“Most societies will not object to themes of positive value such as tolerance, critical thinking, peace, acceptance of the “other,” rejection of violence, and human rights. However, societies ready to enter peace processes and ripe for the painful cultural changes that peace entails can go much further and focus on a general education such as democracy and humanism, as well as examine the causes that fuel conflict (such as the nature of conflict, the collective memory of conflict, and collective emotional orientations), can take it directly” (Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009, p. 569).

Lahai and Ware (2013) discussed the sociocultural context of Peace Education in their study of the case of Sierra Leone. Their article explores how Peace Education can help the public to transcend their individual experiences while trying to promote coming to terms with the past and national reconciliation. In this context, Lahai and Ware emphasize that the first

step is to acknowledge that war injures minds as well as bodies. Furthermore, it is argued that continually accepting the social logic of violence, means accepting that perpetrators and victims will be harmed because “communities where violence is the norm cannot achieve peace or build a secure future” (Lahai & Helen, 2013, p. 86). It is also emphasized that Peace education should show that there can be peaceful ways to achieve change with a shared vision, without resorting to violence.

Ruzica Rosandic (2000) focused on the broad social and political factors affecting Peace Education programs in the Serbian case. The social environment in Serbia in the 1990s was described as public spaces being filled with threats, rumours, poisonous propaganda, calls for homogenization and fears; broken democratic processes, intolerance and corruption exist; Ethnic conflicts are natural and inevitable. Smith (2010, pp. 2-3) underlined that education has different roles before, during and after conflicts. The preventative role of education given in the pre-conflict period is emphasized. Education has a protective role during a conflict. In post-conflict environments, education takes on the role of and focuses on social transformation and development. In the education system, it is stated in the literature that education is a tool of vital importance to support long-term reconciliation and prevent the recurrence of violent conflicts (Simth, 2010).

In these studies, examining the role of education in peacebuilding, it is seen that the current role varies depending on the needs and goals of the societies. In other words, for education to have a positive impact on peacebuilding, it depends on the nature and conditions of the society in which these practices take place. To better understand this, in the continuation of the study, first of all, the positive and negative effects of education on peacebuilding are explained. Then, by referring to the official factors that affect education, the effects of curriculum on education and peacebuilding are emphasized.

2.3. General Impacts of Education on Peacebuilding

Education can have a positive impact on peacebuilding in different and important ways. First, providing educational opportunities to those who did not previously have access to education, can reduce differences based on identity and thus reduce conflict (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000, p. 16). Schools can promote social and political unity, and through schools, individuals become aware of their own culture and that of others (Mohammed, 2016, p. 518). Therefore, schools are an important foundation for building a culture of peace (Beidoğlu, 2017, pp. 29-30). Second, nurturing and maintaining a more ethnically tolerant atmosphere can have a positive impact on peacebuilding (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000, p. 16). “Tolerance education” has a general content similar to Peace Education: Peace Education may also include studies on the causes and transformation of conflict and other global issues (Beidoğlu, Uluslararası Barış

Kültürü Eğitimi Konferansı: İyi Uygulamaların Paylaşımı “International Peace Culture Education Conference: Sharing of Good Practices”, 2017, p. 31). Third, education can improve mutual understanding between different groups by transforming previously entrenched separatist ideas into 'non-separatist' thinking (Bush & Diana, 2000, p. 17).

Fourth, linguistic tolerance towards different ethnic groups (ethnic groups can receive education in their language) can give them self-confidence and ensure their inclusion in social society as equal citizens (Bush & Diana, The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict towards a Peacebuilding Education for Children, 2000, pp. 17-18). to avoid assimilation, national minorities seek rights and legislation which allow them to maintain their own culture through the creation of their own economic, political and educational- institutions. Therefore, formal education can play a vital role in the pursuit of cultural nationalism. Education systems provide tools through which can transmit cultural practices, historical accounts, religion and language to the next generation of a community (Shanks, 2013, pp. 27-28). Fifth, with the help of education, more constructive and supportive bonds can be developed between civil society and the state, thus laying the groundwork for a more inclusive, multicultural citizen-state system rather than the rule of the exclusive and dominant ethnic group (Bush & Diana, 2000, pp. 18-19). Sixth, it is necessary to approach the history taught in schools critically and to learn that there are different sides to history. History books should be able to show the effects of the conflict on students themselves, their families and society. In this context, with the help of education, "Children need to learn negotiation, problem-solving, critical thinking and communication skills that will enable them to resolve conflicts without resorting to violence" (Bush & Diana, 2000, pp. 19-20). Seventh, the counter-practice of education in response to state pressure can (as far as possible) have a positive impact on peacebuilding (Bush & Diana, 2000, p. 21).

On the contrary, there are many negative effects of education. First, in the unequal distribution of education to each social group, opportunities are created for the dominant group to be more successful and superior in economic, social and political life. In some countries, ethnic minorities do not have the right to education in their language. This situation can pave the way for the formation of privileges, worsening relations between groups and causing injustice (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000, p. 10). According to UNESCO reports, under such kind of environment, many students leave school (Taka, 2020, pp. 1-2). Second, in the case of extreme cultural oppression, using education as a tool can lead to cultural genocide (Bush & Diana, 2000, pp. 10-11). Extreme cultural oppression is a process of loss of identity as a result of policies aimed at destroying language, social and political institutions, traditions, art forms, religious practices and values of the culturally diverse group. Third, in the event of violent conflict, it is possible to hinder the intellectual development of the victim group by closing or destroying schools, using education as a “weapon of war”.¹⁴ The fourth effect is to manipulate individuals with history education for political purposes. In this context, with the construction of a version of history that elevates the dominant group, past events or cultural ideas can be suppressed and create a divisive effect between groups (Bush & Diana, 2000, pp. 11-13).

Therefore, Gavriel Salomon, from the antagonists' point of view, argued that the collective narratives of disputing groups—their perceived histories, beliefs, self-image, and their opponents' histories—play a central role in explaining and fueling conflict (Salomon, 2004, p. 273). Fifth, with the advocacy of negative stereotypes in education, intolerance and hatred may increase, leading to conflict (Bush & Diana, 2000, pp. 13-14). Sixth, degrading education negatively affects children's psychology, making their ability to make rational decisions a problem and making them vulnerable to exploitation. Seventh, an education, which impoverishes children's imagination, prevents them from being able to deal with a conflict constructively (Bush & Diana, 2000, pp. 14-16).

After identifying the positive and negative effects, Bush and Saltarelli (2000, pp. 28-29) explained what education should aim to contribute to peacebuilding. The first aim is the 'demilitarization of the mind', that is, the first thought and implementation of the view that conflict can be resolved by non-violent rather than violent means. To this end, it may be necessary to return to the theory of education and teaching methods of Paulo Freire (1993, p. 87) and the role of pedagogy in coexistence and teaching students to think critically. It makes students think with an open mind and frees them from their biased ideas and opinions, which helps understanding and coexistence. The second aim is 'problematization', in other words, to develop students' critical skills and help them recognize problems and determine whether change is needed. The third aim is to 'state alternatives', that is, to show students who are affected by legacies of hatred and mistrust that permeate a post-conflict environment that alternatives exist (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000, pp. 29-30). The fourth aim is to 'change the rules of the game', that is, aim to build bridges between groups separated and polarized by violent conflict, replacing intolerance, doubt and despair with tolerance, trust and hope. The Fifth aim is the 'de-legitimization of violence in dealing with problems, through de-legitimizing gun-based authority structures, and legitimizing traditional or alternative authority structures while preserving the ability to work on the ground at the same time (Bush & Diana, 2000, p. 30).

Thus, education is an important channel for peacebuilding and has a significant impact on the process. However, it is important to know the most important elements that affect the education process.

2.4. How the Formal Elements Impact the Process of Education

Education is a learning process that starts from the early years and takes place in the family and society as well as at school. The analysis of the factors affecting this process is important in the prevention of conflict. It is possible to distinguish between formal and informal factors of education. Informal factors are social structures such as family, environment, religious institutions and media. The official ones are government policy, teachers and curriculum. One of the most important features of formal education is that it is often administered by the state. Those who run the government will often want to use education for their ends. In this case, one of the significant aspects is the government's views on the purpose of education and the extent

to which education is seen as a tool for political or ideological ends (Smith & Vaux, 2003, p. 23).

Political involvement in issues, for example, placement of teachers, determination of curriculum and the like can indicate how government perceives education (Smith & Vaux, 2003). Relationships between groups may also be related to how differences are managed within the general education system and institutions. In this context, educational institutions can be assimilationist, i.e., “The only institutions that operate according to the values of the dominant tradition, where the needs and interests of the minority are often neglected” (Smith & Vaux, 2003, p. 27), and also separatist and integrative in terms of their characteristics. The extent to which government policy supports each of these trends can increase or decrease the likelihood that education is a source of conflict, so the type of political system influences the educational process (Smith & Vaux, 2003).

Teachers are at the centre of the educational process. Because they interact directly with students and assume great responsibility for the values and messages conveyed through the curriculum. For ideological or other reasons, teachers themselves may trigger conflict behaviour (Smith & Vaux, 2003, p. 33). The quality of education received by the teacher himself is also very important to teach the student peaceful behaviour. At this point, it is of great importance to the extent to which teachers are trained in the fundamentals of human rights education and to the extent to which personal values and perspectives are questioned (Smith & Vaux, 2003). The opportunity to develop critical thinking can enable teachers to play a role in addressing controversial issues in society, for more detail see Freire, (1993).

The main tool for teaching and learning in formal education is the school curriculum. Curriculum, like other factors, can be part of a problem or a solution. First, the curriculum shows what counts as valid knowledge (Williams & V, 2012, p. 17). Based on how the curriculum is designed, it is possible to determine to what extent it is a control tool. The knowledge-only curriculum aims to teach the content. This type of curriculum places great emphasis on the transfer of knowledge from one generation to the next and limits the opportunity to question its content. Curriculum, when designed in this way, can be perceived as an extremely powerful tool to convey certain political ideologies, religious practices, cultural values and traditions. In contrast, curricula designed not only based on knowledge but on 'learning outcomes' offer significant potential for the development of skills that can assist in conflict prevention (Smith & Vaux, 2003). The type of curriculum based on learning outcomes offers opportunities to develop diverse communication skills, the ability to utilize multiple sources of information and evaluate conflicting evidence, media literacy, critical thinking, and social and moral values. All the courses that make up the curriculum convey values to individuals, but some course areas have a greater role in conveying values that will trigger or prevent conflict. It is possible to divide those areas into three parts, the first is the way the curriculum addresses identity issues such as language, religion, and culture (Smith & Vaux, 2003, p. 29), the second is the role of traditional subjects such as art, music, literature, history

and geography. Thirdly, there are innovative areas (courses such as civic education) that are defined by the preventive role and seek a place in the curriculum (Smith & Vaux, 2003).

Having provided the above theoretical framework on the role of education in peacebuilding, now by evaluating and analyzing curricula and conducting a survey with student's secondary schools the role of education in peacebuilding can be known in Kirkuk.

3. Analysis of Secondary Education Curriculum¹⁵ in Kirkuk

In general, political and social events in Iraq have had a profound impact on the education system. Iraq's education system faces a major challenge since 2003. A new situation arose and the curriculum, content and education system of Iraq had to be changed. The whole system had been monopolized by the previous regime to spread its ideology and beliefs. The new education system has tried to ensure that all ethnic, and religious groups have access to education in their language, eliminate gender and racial discrimination, and improve the quality of education (Hussein, 2009, p. 149). The fall of the Ba'ath regime in 2003 has given non-Arab nations constitutional freedom to defend their identity and presence in the disputed areas (Shanks, 2013, p. 109).

The Constitution provides the right to education at all levels for everyone. It also recognizes the multilingual, multi-religious and multi-ethnic nature of Iraq and thus guarantees the full religious right of all individuals to freedom of belief and religious practice, such as Christianity, Yezidi and Sabi'a Mandani. Moreover, it gives Iraqis the right to educate their children in their mother tongues, such as Arabic, Kurdish, Turkmen, Syriac and Armenian¹⁶. These constitutional texts were not implemented as they were. For example, in 2006, the Iraqi Ministry of Education declared that the government was committed to providing education in the mother tongue to any component that made up 25% of the population. Later, it was proposed that the subject could be taught in the language of the components twice a week, but this was rejected by the components. Finally, attempts were made to have special schools and programs for the components (Shanks, 2013, p. 113).

There are schools for all four components in Kirkuk: Kurds, Arabs, Turkmen and Assyrians. There are departments for Turkmen and Syriac languages in the Kirkuk General Education Directorate, along with Arabic. However, there is a special directorate for Kurdish education, which is headed by the Ministry of Education of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG). The curricula are the same as those taught in the Kurdistan Region. In addition, most of the teachers who teach in Kurdish schools receive salaries from the KRG.

This educational division or education in the mother tongue is often used in conflict zones and in areas of ethnic, religious and sectarian plurality to defend survival and preserve identity. This will ensure that the different components taught in their mother tongue do not feel alienated or marginalized. On the other hand, these differences may lead to deepening differences if the content of educational curricula and methods used by teachers do not serve

coexistence and mutual acceptance. Therefore, this article attempts to analyze social curricula and the curricula related to social curricula, such as the national education curricula and the social values curricula that are taught at secondary schools. The curricula are analyzed in all four levels of education: Kurdish, Arabic, Turkmen, and Syriac.

The education system in Iraq is 12 years, 6 years of primary school, which is compulsory (Hussein, 2009, p. 154), and 3 years of secondary school, covering grades 1, 2 and 3. This stage of Kurdish education which covers grades 1 to 9 of primary school is considered as primary education, (Ibrahim, 2009, p. 3). High school education in the Iraqi education system is three years, covering grades 4, 5 and 6, which is divided into literary and science studies (Hussen, 2009).

The most important values to build peace in a multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-cultural society are the value of citizenship. To embody the value of citizenship, education must be done through curricula and pedagogy to work on the enhancement of skills, critical thinking and building an active individual and encourage students to participate in political and social activities. To develop the goals of education for the value of citizenship in schools, UNESCO has defined the most important categories of education for citizenship (Shteeb & Mohammed, 2022, pp. 8-9):

- 1- Human rights,
- 2- Continuous development,
- 3- Culture of peace and non-violence,
- 4- Equality between men and women,
- 5- Respect for cultural diversity,
- 6- Dialogue between cultures.

Thus, several things are taken into account as the basis for analyzing the curricula:

- An accurate reading of the curricula.
- Setting several values and categories. The content of the programs will be analyzed based on the values and the degree of repetition the will be as shown in Table 1 below.
- To determine the percentage of values in the curricula, the number of repeated values is divided by the number of pages in the curricula.

Table 1: Concepts and Values for Analyzing and Evaluating Curriculum Content

Sequencing	Values	Sequencing	Values
1	Justice	8	Equality
2	National identity	9	Respect for the law
4	Tolerance	10	Coexistence
4	Freedom	11	Plurality
5	Peace	12	Confronting extremism
6	Democracy	13	Human rights
7	Responsibility	14	Dialogue

Source: [Researchers]

3.1. Analyzing the Kurdish Study Curriculum

Kurdish Study in Kirkuk has a special department and is affiliated with the Ministry of Education of KRG. To analyze the Kurdish Education curriculum in Kirkuk, the secondary school curriculum has been taken as a sample which consists of grades 1, 2 and 3, which are evaluated to grades 7, 8 and 9 in the KRG education system (Ibrahim, 2009). For this purpose, the social curriculums, which consist of two subjects (history and geography) and the curricula of skills and social values will be analyzed and evaluated.

3.1.1. Analysis of the Social Curriculum

3.1.1.1. Analysis of the Social Curriculum for the Seventh Grade

This 184-page program consists of history and geography. Pages 1-93 are for the history section, and pages 93-184 are for the geography section (KRG7, Babata Komalayatyakan Poli Hawtami Bnarati[Social Issues Seventh Grade], 2022). A detailed analysis of this program is conducted according to the degree of repetition of the values listed in Table 1. That is, issues that are not related to these concepts and values are not discussed. However, some words and sentences that mean the same as these concepts or are close to them or are derivatives of these concepts are considered as the concept itself. The content and pictures of the curriculum are

clear. On the cover of the program, along with some other historical pictures, there is a large picture of Erbil Citadel. This is an important message to tell students that this area was an ancient city.

The first section of the curriculum is dedicated to the history of humanity, and the objectives of this section are to introduce students to the ancient history of humanity (KRG7, 2022, p. 11). The second section deals with the history of the ancient nations of Iraq (KRG7, 2022, p. 29). The curriculum also aims to provide students with knowledge about the ancient nations of Iraq. This is an important message about students' awareness of the diversity of Iraqi society and the presence of many different nationalities in this land, all of which make up this country. Section 3 of the book of history has been devoted to the ancient nations of Kurdistan, and again this contains a message of pluralism and coexistence, as well the book indicates that students should be familiar with the different nations who lived in Kurdistan. The fourth section of this program is about the different religions and monuments of Kurdistan, an important issue for coexistence and knowledge of other religions and recognition that there are different religions in the Kurdistan Region KR (KRG7, 2022, p. 61).

Table 2 below identifies the most important values in the history section based on the values in Table 1.

Table 2: The most important values in the history section of grade7 social subject

Sequence	Values	Number	Percentage	Sequence	Values	Number	Percentage
1	Justice	1	%0.01	8	Equality	2	%0.02
2	National identity	106	%1.13	9	Respect for the law	1	%0.01
3	Tolerance	0	%0	10	Coexistence	2	%0.02
4	Freedom	1	%0.01	11	Plurality	4	%0.04
5	Peace	0	%0	12	Confronting	1	%0.01

					extremism		
6	Democracy	0	%0	13	Human rights	0	%0
7	Responsibility	0	%0	14	Dialogue	25	%0.26

Source: [Researchers]

The most important value is the value of national identity and the curriculum pays great attention to Kurdistan and Kurdistan's places and monuments. It also discusses the governments and religions in Kurdistan's history. This section can convey a message to students to know their history, to love their land and to consider Kurdistan as part of their identity. For example, on page 36, students are asked about suggestions to protect Kurdistan. Also on page 53, the activity topic describes the creation of a play by a group of students, each of them represents a group and nation and all of them aim to protect Kurdistan together. This is an important message of coexistence and the creation of a national identity. The second most important value, as shown in Table 2, is the value of dialogue. At the end of each topic, a section is devoted to activities. These activities aim to teach students to have a dialogue with teachers and among themselves but also to teach students to work in groups. Unfortunately, the program is designed in such a way that little attention is paid to other values for example Justice, Tolerance, Freedom and democracy which are important for peace-building and creating a culture of civilization.

Regarding the geography section, from page 93 to the end, the first section is a gateway to geography, and the other sections deal with the solar system, climate, and population density. The section contains the map of Iraq and KR and the administrative map of KR. Telling by the nature of the subject, little attention has been paid to the concepts and values listed in Table 1. Moreover, only a small number of concepts that can be found are important for the loyalty of the country and region we take the concept of national identity or the concepts that are important to serve this value they are repeated about 9 times, which is 0.09%. Similarly, the concept of dialogue and group work is mentioned at the end of each topic and is repeated seven times, which is 0.07% of the geography section. It is stated on page 172: "The teacher divides the class into several groups, each group will discuss several points that will strengthen coexistence between ethnic and religious components in the KR" (KRG7, 2022, p. 172), which is important in this book for coexistence and peacebuilding. In total, the topics related to national identity repeated 115 times in both history and geography, which is 0.62%. Dialogue repeated 32 times, which is 0.17%, and the concept of coexistence repeated 3 times, which is 0.01%.

3.1.1.2. Analysis of the Social Curriculum for the Eight Grade

This curriculum consists of 207 pages and consists of two parts. The first part of the history section is on pages 1-114, geography section, is on pages 114-207. The history section consists of five parts, which are dedicated to the history of Islam. The fifth section is about Kurdistan and the beginnings of its relationship with Islam and then the Kurdish monarchs and powers that were created in this context.

Table 3: The most important values in history in social subjects in grade eight

Sequenci ng	Values	Number	ge percenta	Sequenci ng	Values	Number	ge percenta
1	Justice	4	%0.02	8	Equality	1	%0.00 8
2	National identity	41	%0.35	9	Respect for the law	0	%0
3	Tolerance	3	%0.02	10	Coexiste nce	2	%0.00 8
4	Freedom	0	%0	11	Plurality	0	%0
5	Peace	5	%0.04	12	Confront ing extremis m	3	%0.02
6	Democrac y	0	%0	13	Human rights	1	%0.00 8
7	Responsib ility	0	%0	14	Dialogue	24	%0.20

Source: [Researchers]

As Table 3 shows, the most important value is the value of national identity, which includes love for the country and the name of Kurds, Kurdistan and Kurdish principalities (KRG8, 2022). In addition, the curriculum emphasizes dialogue, which is the second most important value according to the values listed in the table. In all activities, teachers are required to pay attention to students' discussions and an opinion, which helps students express their opinions freely and is a way to help students think critically. The Medina Pact says that Islam believes in coexistence and peace between different religions. However, the words war and conquest appear more than 110 times in the curriculum. Although the subject matter is history and should be written as it is, it was important to explain the good and bad aspects of war and conquests or more attention could be paid to historical subjects that caused love and understanding between faiths, religions, and races.

The geography section of this program begins on page 114 and consists of seven sections. It pays more attention to the experience of the continents, in terms of population density, climate, agricultural situation, and the like. KR is mentioned in three places: On page 113 students are asked to locate the Kurdistan Region in Asia. On page 42, the section explains that the KR is suitable for agriculture, but what is the reason for the backwardness of the agricultural sector, and asks the students to answer. This section also mentions five times the discussions and dialogues between the students themselves and the students with the teachers about the topics.

3.1.1.3. Analysis of the Social Curriculum for the Ninth Grade

This curriculum is divided into two parts, a history and a geography part, and the history part consists of seven main sections, and the total number of sections is about the KR starting from page 9 to page 134. The geography section consists of five main sections on the geography of Iraq and the KR, starting from page 134 to the end of page 260 (KRG9, 2022).

Table 4: The most important values in the history section of the grade 9 social curriculum

Sequence	Values	Number of	Percentage	Sequence	Values	Number	Percentage
1	Justice	4	%0.02	8	Equality	3	%0.02
2	National Identity	more than	%2.91	9	Respect for the law	0	%0

		391 times					
3	Tolerance	0	%0	10	Coexistence	2	%0.01
4	Freedom	1	%0.00 7	11	Plurality	0	%0
5	Peace	3	%0.02	12	Confronting extremism	0	%0
6	Democracy	7	%0.05 2	13	Human rights	1	%0.00 7
7	Responsibility	0	%0	14	Dialogue	8	%0.05 9

Source: [Researchers]

The history of the ninth grade in Kurdish education is related to the events in Iraq, Kurdistan and the KR. Kurdistan refers to South Kurdistan¹⁷, North Kurdistan¹⁸, West Kurdistan¹⁹ and East Kurdistan²⁰. The program uses the words Kurd and Kurdistan more than 391 times. It describes the conflicts between the Ottomans and the Safavids and their impact on Kurdistan. It also talks about the Kurdish principality and the establishment of the Republic of Mahabad and the referendum in the KR in 2017.

When national identity is mentioned in this curriculum, it means identity and loyalty to the KR and other parts. In addition, the program does not emphasize the relationship between the components of the KR, especially the role of the components in the referendum (KRG9, 2022, p. 118). On the subject of the Kurdish principalities or emirates, the curriculum also does not mention the relationship and role of the different groups, religions and nationalities at that time. This history was written as a history of the Kurdish nation, and most of the subjects show that the Kurds were oppressed by the Ottomans and then, for example, the Kemalists, successive Iraqi governments, or the Safavid Empire. In this context, can students express their love for other nationalities and groups when they study this history? On the other hand, another problem arises which is a matter of history. Can a student who studies in his language not know his history? Are the histories of different nations and groups written in the same way in their educational curricula and contain the same truth? Of course, these are dilemmas that require

finding appropriate strategies for the curriculum of history to become an important factor for coexistence and peace, and also to benefit or take a lesson from the unfavourable events of the past to build a better future. However, there are few references to the various groups and religions in Kurdistan. On page 42 the curriculum describes the remains of different temples in different religions. On page 47, the students were asked if they believed that unity among the components of Kurdistan would help in strengthening KR. In addition, as shown in Table 4, this program emphasizes discussion and activities as seen in the program, which is a good point for students' expressiveness and strengthening their ability to think critically.

The geography part of this curriculum starts on page 124. Pages 125-175 are devoted to the geography of Iraq which includes two sections on the region of Iraq, related to industrial, agricultural, economic, mineral production and climate. Then the geography of KR is discussed on pages 175-256. This section includes 13 maps of KR, and great attention is paid to students' knowledge about the income, climate, and demographics of the KR. The main ethnic components of the Kurdistan region, namely the Kurds, Turkmens, Arabs, Chaldeans and Assyrians, are mentioned. This in itself is a kind of recognition of the diversity of the community, and this of course helps to bring the components closer together and foster mutual understanding. This section also includes helping students to love the land, water and air. Other values in Table 1 are not taken into account.

3.1.2. Analysis of the Skills and Social Values Curriculum

This program is taught in basic schools in KR. This section analyzes and evaluates the three programs of skills and social values in grades 7, 8 and 9, according to the values given in Table 1. The total number of these programs is 243 pages. Each program consists of 81 pages. As mentioned at the beginning of all three curricula, these programs are designed to enrich education with humanitarian principles. Therefore, human values and humanity are an integral part of this curriculum. It pointed out that these programs will help achieve the aspirations of citizens based on humanitarian concepts and democratic values. These two values are important values that serve the process of coexistence and peacebuilding. However, the beginning of the three curricula indicates that the main topics consist of the following;

- 1- Citizenship
- 2- Rights
- 3- Skills
- 4- Values

3.1.2.1. Analysis of the Skills and Social Values Curriculum Seventh Grade

The content of this program consists of four parts according to the topics discussed. The first part deals with government institutions (Hussain & Others, 2019, p. 12). On page 12, it mentions that the type of government and authority must be run in such a way that it is a source of happiness and welfare for the people. If the first topic was about citizenship, instead of happiness and welfare, it would have been about democratic governance. If power is exercised based on democratic principles, then the principle of citizenship will be exercised and citizens will be treated according to citizenship. An undemocratic government can try to make its citizens happy, but is the principle of citizenship respected for all rights?

In addition, several political concepts are used, and students are asked about the role of the government and its institutions. This is a significant point to increase students' political awareness, but when you look at the program preparation committee, none of them specializes in political science. Therefore, it is expected that political concepts will be vague and flawed in their definition. Besides, the supervisors and teachers of this program do not specialize in political sciences, but rather in social sciences [for more detail see: Majeed, (2021)].

Table 5: Most Important Values in the Skills and Social Values Curriculum 7th Grade

sequencing	Values	Number of Repetitions,	Percentage	Sequencing	Values	Number of Repetitions,	Percentage
1	Justice	72	%0.91	8	Equality	9	%0.11
2	National identity	10	%0.12	9	Respect for the law	15	%0.18
3	Tolerance	2	%0.02	10	Coexistence	7	%0.08
4	Freedom	6	%0.07	11	Plurality	3	%0.03
5	Peace	5	%0.06	12	Confronting extremism	1	%0.01
6	Democracy	17	%0.02	13	Human rights	65	%0.80
7	Responsibility	7	%0.08	14	Dialogue	12	%0.14

Source: [Researchers]

Justice is the most frequently mentioned concept in the curriculum, followed by the concept of human rights. Students' awareness of these concepts serves the peace-building

process. In addition, the role of the media and civil society organizations in society is discussed, as well as the importance of coexistence. As explained on page 42, it states that human rights apply to all people regardless of colour, culture, religion or nationality. Although the number of repetitions of the concepts varies, all concepts must be mentioned.

3.1.2.2. Analysis of the Skills and Social Values Curriculum Eight Grade

This book begins with the flag and map of Kurdistan and the title Kurdistan is the country of humanity. It is divided into four sections according to the topics mentioned, but the subjects are different. The first section discusses elections, the second section discusses good governance and the rule of law, and the third section discusses mental agitation, the fourth section discusses democracy. In this study, the concepts of elections and democracy are considered as one concept. In general, this program is a good curriculum that you will feel that it pays a lot of attention to democratic awareness, so it contains two main topics about elections and democracy, see Education (2022).

Table 6: Most important values in the grade 8 skills and social values curriculum

Sequenc	Values	Number	Percentage	Sequenc	Values	Number	Percentage
1	Justice	1	%0.14	8	Equality	11	%0.13
2	National identity	19	%0.23	9	Respect for the law	30	%0.37
3	Tolerance	1	%0.01	10	Coexistence	12	%0.14
4	Freedom	5	%0.06	11	Plurality	1	%0.01
5	Peace	14	%0.17	12	Confronting extremism	13	%0.15
6	Democrac y	120	%1.48	13	Human rights	30	%0.37

7	Responsibility	2	%0.02	14	Dialogue	12	%0.14
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Source: [Researchers]

The most important value in this program is democracy, followed by respect for both the law and human rights. This curriculum pays great attention to democracy and democratic culture. On page 24, it refers to the importance of citizens' participation in elections on page 25, it discusses that the goal of the democratic process should be universal, equal, secret, fair and which are transparent the criteria for a successful election. On page 26, it encourages students to participate in the electoral process and tries to reduce political fraud. The second part discusses good governance. Of course, good governance is an important issue for peacebuilding. The program also places great emphasis on the concept of citizenship, which is a key principle of coexistence and peacebuilding. In this program, students are familiarized with the main functions of the government and parliament, alluding to Parliament duty on page 72. Page 80 describes the duties of government and parliament. The constitution has been defined. Teachers and students are asked to discuss whether the KR has a constitution. On page 75, the curriculum discusses political culture, which is believed to have a great impact on the political system, especially social-political life. Therefore, a definition of political culture should be provided so that teachers and students understand the subject better, while teachers are not specialized in political science. In general, the images in the program contain good indications of coexistence and democracy.

3.1.2.3. Analysis of the Skills and Social Values Curriculum Ninth Grade

This curriculum focuses on the four topics mentioned. Also, it focuses on international organizations, national rights and unity, mental skills, and media awareness. The first part discusses the history of the United Nations, the mission of the UN, the UN and the right to self-determination (Sherif & Others, 2021). The first part of this program is to make students aware of the importance of international organizations and to know the tasks and duties of the UN. Of course, this is an important issue because the UN has a strong role in peacebuilding and stability, see Yusf and Yaziji (2011). The second part of the curriculum focuses on a very important topic, which is the concept of moderation and combating extremism (Sherif & Others, 2021, p. 30). The third part of the curriculum is devoted to mental awareness and self-confidence, while the fourth part focuses on media and public opinion (Sherif & Others, 2021, p. 66).

Table 7: Most important values in 9-grade skills and social values curriculum

Sequence	Values	Number	Percentage	Sequence	Values	Number	Percentage
1	Justice	6	%0.07	8	Equality	9	%0.11
2	National Identity	21	%0.25	9	Respect for the law	1	%0.01
3	Tolerance	8	%0.09	10	Coexistence	23	%0.28
4	Freedom	11	%0.13	11	Plurality	2	%0.02
5	Peace	25	%0.30	12	Confronting extremism	51	%0.62
6	Democracy	2	%0.02	13	Human rights	25	%0.31
7	Responsibility	1	%0.01	14	Dialogue	18	%0.22

Source: [Researchers]

What can be seen in this curriculum is that the topics of combating extremism and preventing violence are repeated most often. Like other skills and social values curriculum, all the values in Table 1 are included in the curriculum. More emphasis has been placed on the concept of peace and coexistence than on other programs. In addition to the issue of national identity, these concepts have been given attention and linked to the political reality of KR.

On page 24, the curriculum focuses on some concepts for students to discuss, such as the right to self-determination, referendum, independence, and the constitution. On page 27, the importance of the right to self-determination and independence for people is illustrated by drawing. On page 30, it also focuses on learning the concepts of social justice, racism, discrimination, and tolerance. In general, along with other topics, information and concepts, this program focuses on coexistence, countering extremism, and maintaining the peace and mental health of students to avoid all causes of violence and extremism. On the other hand,

it tries to increase students' awareness of media, the importance of media, the role of new media, and the distinction between true and fake news.

3.2. Analysis of Curriculums in Arabic Studies

In this topic, we will analyze the social curriculum in Arabic studies, for the first, second and third grades of the secondary stage, which is the seventh, eighth and ninth grades of Kurdish studies. The total number of social curriculum pages for the three semesters is 432. This curriculum will be analyzed in the same way as the previous curriculums.

3.2.1. Analysis of the Social Curriculum of the First Grade of Secondary School

This curriculum consists of 132 pages. Its contents consist of 5 parts. The first part deals with the history of the emergence of ancient civilizations (abdulraza & Others, 2021, p. 5), the second part deals with the Mesopotamian civilization, and the third part deals with the Nile Valley civilization (abdulraza & Others, 2021, p. 49). The fourth part deals with the most important urban centres in the Arabian Peninsula (abdulraza & Others, 2021, p. 67). The last part deals with the ancient civilizations of neighbouring Arab countries (abdulraza & Others, 2021, p. 98).

The introduction of the curriculum emphasizes that the curricula try to build good citizenship and loyal to the country. The program does not pay much attention to the values listed in Table 1. It presents a deep historical background on the civilizations of Mesopotamia and then the civilizations of the Nile Valley, as well as the civilizations that existed in the Arabian Peninsula and focus on the Persian and Greek civilizations. Of course, this information is important and should be known by students of human history and civilizations. However, the values taken as criteria were as follows: The concepts related to the Iraqi nation and Iraq are repeated 34 times, which is 0.25%. Human rights, democracy and freedom are each mentioned twice, while respect for the law is mentioned once. This program, which refers to the village of Charmo and Erbil, does not refer to the Kurdistan Region, the word northern Iraq is often used instead.

3.2.2. Analysis of the Social Curriculum of the Second Grade of Secondary School

This curriculum consists of 140 pages, including geography and history. In the part of geography, attention is paid to the geography of the Arab nation, its location, and its natural characteristics. The population and commercial activities in the area were also discussed... The value of national identity is repeated 22 times, but no other value is mentioned (Mahmood & Others, 2021, p. 5).

The history section of this program starts on page 70 and until of the end syllabus. This section deals with Arab history before and after the advent of Islam and also discusses the life of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) in Mecca and Medina. It refers to the events of Islam and the migration of the Prophet to Medina. One of the very important topics that can be used for coexistence is the Medina Pact (the Medina Document). On page 123, there are seven points, the most important of which is maintaining the social cohesion of the community. However, the same duties and rights are given to those who live in the non-Muslim community, i.e., from other religions and groups. Additionally, it encourages peaceful dialogue and peaceful coexistence among followers of other religions. It also stipulates that violence should not be used against women, which is not acceptable in Islam.

Table 8: Most important values in the social curriculum for the secondary 2 grade of history part

Sequenc	Values	Number	Percenta ge	Sequenc	Values	Number	Percenta ge
1	Justice	0	%0	8	Equality	0	%0
2	Nationa l identity	1	%0.01	9	Respect for the law	0	%0
3	Toleran ce	4	%0.05	10	Coexiste nce	8	%0.11
4	Freedo m	0	%0	11	Plurality	1	%0.01
5	Peace	2	%0.02	12	Confront ing extremis m	3	%0.04
6	Democr acy	0	%0	13	Human rights	2	%0.02

7	Responsibility	0	%0	14	Dialogue	4	%0.05
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[Source: Researchers]

3.2.3. Analysis of the Social Studies Curriculum for the Third Grade

The main cover of this curriculum bears the map of Iraq. It consists of 160 pages (Hassan & Others, 2020). The first unit is on the geography of Iraq on pages 1-80. None of the values listed in Table 1 is mentioned in this section. In addition to national identity and concepts related to the Iraqi nation and Iraq, and the names of provinces and special projects that have been carried out in Iraq, these concepts are considered as the value of national identity and love of the country. For example, the value of the national identity card is repeated 244 times, which is 3.05% of the curriculum in the geography section. The other values are not repeated in any way. It is noteworthy that in some places the word northern Iraq is used instead of the word KR. For example, on page 8, he uses the word north when it refers to the mountains, or when it refers to Erbil it does not mention that it is the capital of KR. Likewise on page 65, it mentions the presence of natural gas in northern Iraq, not KR. Nevertheless, when he talks about the oil fields of Taq Taq and Khurmala, he mentions KR (Hassan & Others, 2020, p. 62).

The history section, from pages 80 to 137, deals with the reality of Iraq during the Ottoman period, as well as the history of Iraq during and after World War I. The entire curriculum is dedicated to the history of Iraq. The values in this curriculum are shown in Table 9.

Table 9: most important values in the social curriculum for secondary grade 3 of the history section

Sequenci	Values	Number	Percentage	Sequenci	Values	Number	Percentage
1	Justice	0	%0	8	Equality	0	%0
2	National identity	More than 181	%3.17	9	Respect for the law	0	%0

		Times					
3	Tolerance	0	%0	10	Coexistence	1	%0.01
4	Freedom	6	%0.10	11	Plurality	0	%0
5	Peace	0	%0	12	Confronting extremism	0	%0
6	Democracy	0	%0	13	Human rights	0	%0
7	Responsibility	0	%0	14	Dialogue	5	%0.08

[Source: Researchers]

As mentioned, the program is specific to Iraq, so we see the words Iraq and Iraqi nation in the history and geography section, which is included in the value of national identity, more than 425 times repeated. In the history section, which deals with the revolutions in Iraq, the subject of the October Revolution, deals with the revolution in Kurdistan and uses the Kurdistan Shay. It also discusses the concept of Kurdish brothers who have been able to confront the invaders, which will help to bring students closer together and spread love and recognition of the existence of the Kurdish nation and the Kurdistan Region. On page 126, the section mentions several conditions and points, one of which emphasizes the rights of religious and ethnic components, freedom of expression, religious freedom and public and private freedoms for all.

The third part of the program is dedicated to national education, which is on pages 137 - 160. This part discusses national and social values. The concepts of citizenship, political participation and volunteering will also be discussed (Hassan & Others, 2020, pp. 138-139). It also discusses human rights, rights in particular and duties. The last part of this unit is devoted to cleanliness and environmental protection awareness of how to use technology and the Internet and the dangers of misuse. In general, the values are listed below in this section.

Table 10: Most important values in the social curriculum for grade 3 (Section of National Education)

Sequenc	Values	Number	Percenta	Sequenc	Values	Number	Percenta
1	Justice	1	%0.04	8	Equality	2	%0.08
2	National Identity	11	%0.47	9	Respect for the law	4	%0.17
3	Toleranc e	1	%0.04	10	Coexiste nce	13	%0.56
4	Freedom	10	%0.43	11	Plurality	1	%0.04
5	Peace	3	%0.13	12	Confront ing extremis m	7	%0.30
6	Democra cy	1	%0.04	13	Human rights	53	%2.30
7	Responsi bility	1	%0.04	14	Dialogue	5	%0.21

[Source: Researchers]

As you can see in the table, all values are in this section. The most important value in this section is human rights. Then coexistence and mutual respect is the second most important value.

3.3. Analysis Curriculum of the Turkmen Studies

Similar to Kurdish and Arabic in Turkmen education, the social program is included as a unit of analysis in the secondary stage, ie the first, second and third grades of Turkmen education. The total length of the social program is 436 pages. The content of the programs in the secondary school in Turkmen education is the same as the content and the same committees that set the social programs for Arabic education. The programs are the same, only translated

into Turkish, that is, no additions or deletions have been made to social programs in Turkmen education. Moreover, as a constitutional, legal and human right, Turkmens can study in their language. Another difference is the addition of the first page containing the Iraqi national anthem. With the Turkmen march, the Turkmenli Marchi mentions. “We are Turkmen, our language is Turkmen, our region is from Mandali to Tal Afar, we are Muslims, may God help us, the Turkmen are our country. We will all run together on the right path, and we will break through obstacles, we are Turkmens, we will always live independently”. These anthems and marches are made to protect the national identity of the students²¹.

3.4. Analyzing the Syriac Studies Curriculum

Syriac education is no different from Arabic education. The social programs in secondary school are the same as those taught in Arabic education. Even though the language has not been translated into Syriac, it is still taught in Arabic. There is a Syriac language program in Syriac education, not in Arabic education. Therefore, the social program and values are the same as those in the other programs that were analyzed. However, when the researcher visited schools in Kirkuk for field research, I saw this beautiful painting on the wall of Ashtar Secondary School.



This image, which refers to cooperation, freedom, dignity and equality, and above the principles of human rights, is a group of messages and values that students learn to accept and respect each other have a good effect on the process of peacebuilding.

4. Results of field study with students in Kirkuk schools

As mentioned, this study is a field analytical study. To determine the impact of schools and pedagogy methods by teachers and the impact of educational curricula values on students' behaviour regarding the issue of coexistence and peace-building in Kirkuk, a field study was conducted. For this purpose, the (Stratified Random Sampling Method) was used as the basis for field research sampling. This method is described as the best method for obtaining specific samples according to this method which contain the most accurate representation of the study community (Hanna, 1989, p. 33). Thus, 65 students from all four studies (Kurdish, Arabic, Turkmen and Syriac) were taken as a sample.

There are middle schools in Kirkuk where students study in the first, second and third grades. There are also secondary schools where grades 1 through 6 are taught. Some of the schools are high schools, grades 4-6. The number of middle schools in Kirkuk is 253. The number of secondary schools in Kirkuk is 212. There are 31 middle schools and 49 secondary schools in central Kirkuk from the Kurdish Study. There are 22 Turkmen schools in total. The Syriac School There are only two schools in central Kirkuk. The rest is the School of Arabic Studies.²² The student survey form consists of a set of personal information and 12 questions, which have been analyzed in detail. 65 students were included as a sample for this study. 20 ninth-grade students from three different schools were taken in the Kurdish study, 20 students from three different schools in the Arabic study, 15 students from two different schools in the Turkmen study, and 10 students in the Syriac school in the city centre of Kirkuk. The students consist of both males and females. This study aims to find out to what extent the values in the curriculums have an impact on students' thoughts and behaviours, especially in coexistence and peacebuilding. And to distinguish between these different studies(Kurdish, Arabic, Turkmen and Syriac), to see which kind of study is more in the service of the peacebuilding process. After reading all the questions precisely, the questions were analyzed through the SPSS program.

4.1. Analysis of the Questionnaire²³ Form of Students in Kurdish Schools

20 students were taken into Kurdish schools, 12 boys and 8 girls. The geographical location of the schools was taken into account, such as a school in northern Kirkuk, a school in the city centre, and a school in southern Kirkuk. After reading the forms and analyzing them, it appears that the results of the student's answers were as follows:

1- Regarding the question (What is the most important value that you learned in the curriculums) the students' answers were as follows:

Table 11²⁴: The most important values in the curriculums

Value	Number of Repetitions	Percentage	Percentage of answered forms.
Science and Information	9	%45.0	%45.0
I don't know	4	%20.0	%20.0
beautiful manners	4	%20.0	%20.0
Nothing	1	%5.0	%5.0

Religious values	1	%5.0	%5.0
Hate from the teacher's behaviour	1	%5.0	%5.0
Total	20	%100.0	%100.0

[Source: Researchers]

Unfortunately, students' responses to peace and coexistence are not very encouraging. For example, no student said that through the curriculum they learned the value of tolerance, love, human rights and citizenship.

2- As for the second question, what other language do you know besides your mother language? It is also clear from the students' responses that a small percentage of students know more than one language. This is not a good sign to serve coexistence and understanding, because language can be created dialogue on conflicting issues. How can a dialogue be established when a Kurd does not speak Arabic or Turkmen and vice versa? See Table 12 in Appendix 2.

3- In particular, by asking if there are students of different nationalities in your class. Only 1 student said yes, 19 students said, or 95% of the students said no. Lack of integration in schools may negatively affect the coexistence and peace-building process. On the other hand, if students are not allowed to study in their official language, this is again persecution and a violation of human rights. Therefore, it is important to solve this dilemma in education, especially in Kirkuk.

4- As for the question of whether you have a friend who is not of your religion? Students' responses are not pleasant in Kirkuk, as the so-called small Iraq, where the answers are as follows: only 3 students say yes, which is 15%, and 17 students say no, which is 85%.

5- This question is about getting students' opinions about whether they would like to have other students in their class who are different from their culture and religion. 7 students answered yes (35%) and 13 students answered no (65%).

6- In particular, by asking the student what democracy is in your opinion. 14 said they did not know that it was 70%. 5 students said it is freedom, which is 25%. 1 student said it is to get everyone's opinion without discrimination, which is 5%. This is not a good sign, of course,

since the concept of democracy is given great importance in skill and social values curriculums. However, about 70 per cent of students do not know democracy, so other reasons affect this issue, including teachers' lack of specialized teachers, teachers' treatment, an increase in the number of students and neglect of skills and social values.

7- Regarding the question, does your school have any special annual activities to visit religious and cultural centres that are different from your religion and culture? The answer of all students was no, which is a bad indication of the inactivity of the schools in terms of helping the process of coexistence and peacebuilding.

8- Regarding the constitution, 75% of students, or 15 out of 20 students in Kurdish, do not know what the constitution is. Of course, it is mentioned in the content of the programs and at least Kurdish students should have had a specific answer, because daily Article 140 of the Iraqi constitution, is related to the conflict areas in the channels and meetings and discussions. It is also about the fate of their city. See Table 13 in Appendix.

9- Regarding questions, student's knowledge about the duties of parliament. Students responded as follows: 15 of the students said they did not know which 75% is. So the problem is that they have no political awareness about elections and democracy, and 70% of the students did not know how to define democracy. See Table 14 in Appendix 2.

10- Regarding the question, do they conduct any artistic activities that serve intercultural coexistence and understanding between cultures, the students answered 100% no.

11- Regarding the fact that human rights, coexistence and democracy are discussed in school, 15 students said no, which is 70%. See Table 15 in Appendix 2.

12- The general notes of the students were as follows: 17 of the students have no notes, which is 85%. One student believes that social and political reforms should be carried out, which is 5%. 2. Other students believe that more attention should be paid to respect, which is 10%.

4.2. Analysis of the Questionnaire²⁵ Form of Students in Arabic Schools

Similarly, 20 third-grade students were taken to three different schools according to their geographical location. There were 12 boys and 8 girls. After reading the questionnaires precisely, the students' answers in Arabic were as follows:

1- Regarding the question (What is the most important value that you learned in the curriculums) the students' answers were as follows: 12 students, or 60%, said they did not know. What is noticeable is that the number of students who said they do not know is less in Kurdish than in Arabic. See Table 16 in Appendix 2.

2- Regarding the knowledge of other languages in Arabic schools, students know more other languages, which is because students, Kurds, Turkmen and Christians go to central schools and the mixture occurs more than in other schools.

3- Regarding the question, are there students of different nationalities in your class? 13 students said yes (65%) and 7 students (35%) said no. There is a mixture of Arabic studies for different reasons. Some students are Kurds or Turkmen, but they are studying Arabic.

4- As for the question of whether you have a friend who is not of your religion? Students' responses are not pleasant in Kirkuk, as the so-called small Iraq, where the answers are as follows: only 9 students say yes, which is 45%, and 11 students say no, which is 55%.

5- This question is about getting students' opinions about whether they would like to have other students in their class who are different from their culture and religion. 7 students answered yes (15%) and 5 students answered no (25%). The students' response here is more positive than the students' response in Kurdish education.

6- In particular, by asking the student what democracy is in your opinion. 17 said they don't know which 85% is, 1 student said it is freedom which is 5% and 1 student said it is respect for the people which is 5%. Another student said we do not have democracy, which is 5%. Of course, this is not a good sign. If we look at the response of students in Kurdish education, we see that the response of students in Kurdish education is better than the response of students in Arabic education.

7- Regarding the question, does your school have any special annual activities to visit religious and cultural centres that are different from your religion and culture? 5 students say yes, which is 25%, and 15 students say no, which is 75%. Students' responses to this question were better in Arabic than in Kurdish. In Kurdish education, the answer was 100% no.

8- As for the question of what the Constitution is? 95% of students, or 19 out of 20 students in Arabic study, do not know what the constitution is. Again, if we compare the answers of students in Kurdish study to this question, those who said (we do not know what the

constitution) is more than in Arabic Education. This may be due to the differences in the curriculums. Because there is a curriculum of skills and social values in Kurdish education, there is no such curriculum in Arabic education. See Table 17 in Appendix

9- Regarding the duty of parliament, 19 students said they did not know, 95%. So the problem is that they have no political awareness about elections and democracy. One student said defending people's rights, which is 5%. Students' responses to this question were better in Kurdish.

10- When asked whether they do any artistic activities that serve intercultural coexistence and understanding, 11 students answered no. 55% and 8 students said yes, which is 40% and 1 student did not answer. Of course, this answer was much better than the answer of the students in Kurdish education, who said that there are no activities in our school.

11- Regarding the fact that human rights, coexistence and democracy are discussed in school, 11 students said yes, which is 55%. 9 students said no, which is 45%.

12- The general comments of the students were as follows: 16 of the students have no notes, which is 80%. Three students reported that there are no teachers, no attention to sports and a large number of students in the classroom, which is 15%. One student says Iraq will remain great, a national value he learned from (Arabic Education).

4.3. Analysis of the Questionnaire Form of Students in Turkmen Schools

15 students were taken in two different Turkmen schools, taking into account the geographical location of the schools. The students consist of nine boys and six girls. Similarly, after reading the forms, the student's answers were analyzed.

1- Regarding the question (What is the most important value that you learned in the curriculum) the students' answers were as follows: 6 students, which is 40%, said science. 5 students said they did not know (33.3%) and 1 student (6.7%) said good manners. 3 students (20%) said that respecting differences is a very important value that should be emphasized more.

2- Regarding the knowledge of other languages in Turkmen schools, students know more other languages, especially Arabic. 13 out of 15 students said they knew Arabic.

3- Regarding the question, are there students of different nationalities in your class? 13 students said no (86.7%) and 3 students (13.3%) said no.

4- As for the question of whether you have a friend who is not of your religion? Students' responses are not pleasant, and the answers are as follows: only 6 students say yes, which is 40%, and 9 students say no, which is 60%.

5- This question is about getting students' opinions about whether they would like to have other students in their class who are different from their culture and religion. 14 students answered yes which is 93.3%.

6- In particular, by asking the student what democracy is in your opinion. 12 said they don't know which 80% is, 1 student said it is freedom which is 6.7% and 1 student said it is justice which is 6.7%. Another student said it's a dialogue, which is 6.7%.

7- Regarding the question, does your school have any special annual activities to visit religious and cultural centres that are different from your religion and culture 7 students said yes, which is 46.7%, and 8 students say no, which is 53.3%. The answer to this question means that Turkmen schools are more active.

8- When the students were asked about the information about the Iraqi constitution, they answered as follows: All the students said they did not know. Students' answers to this question were better in the Arabic and Kurdish studies.

9- Regarding the duty of Parliament, the students responded as follows: 12 of the students said that they do not know which is 80%, so the problem is that they do not have political awareness of elections and democracy, and 3 students said that they enact laws, which is 20%. Students' answers to this question were better in the Kurdish study.

10- When asked whether they do any artistic activities that serve intercultural coexistence and understanding, 8 students answered no. 53.3% and 7 students said yes, which is 46.7%.

11- Regarding the fact that human rights, coexistence and democracy are discussed in school, 8 students said yes, which is 53.3%. 7 students said no, which is 46.7%.

12- The general notes of the students were as follows: 13 of the students have no notes, which is 86.7%. 2 students say that they should do scientific trips, which is 13.3%.

4.4. Analysis of student questionnaires in Syriac Schools

There are two Syriac secondary schools, and 10 Syriac students, 5 girls and 5 boys were taken.

1- Regarding the question (What is the most important value that you learned in the curriculums) the students' answers were as follows: 5 Students (50%) said they do not know. 2 students said science (20%) and 1 student (10%) said good manners. 2 students (20%) said respecting differences.

2- Regarding the knowledge of other languages, all students know Arabic and some of them know Arabic and Turkmen.

3- Regarding the question, are there students of different nationalities in your class? There are 2 students of different nationalities, which make up 20% of the students in the third grade of Syriac schools.

4- Regarding the question, do you have friends who are not of your religion? The answer was 8 yes, which is 80% and 2 students answered no, which is 20%.

5- This question is about getting students' opinions about whether they would like to have other students in their class who are different from their culture and religion. 5 students answered yes is 50%. 5 students answered no which is 50%.

6- In particular, by asking the student what democracy is in your view. All students said they did not know. There is a very bad sign in Syriac education, while in one school there are pictures of human rights principles, as mentioned earlier

7- Regarding the question, does your school have any special annual activities to visit religious and cultural centres that are different from your religion and culture? 9 students say no, which is 90%.

8- 13. When asked about the information about the Iraqi Constitution, the students answered as follows: All the students said that they do not have information.

9- Regarding the duty of Parliament, the students responded as follows: 9 out of the students said they did not know which is 90%, so the problem is that they have no political

awareness about elections and democracy. Students' responses to this question were better in Kurdish education.

10- When asked whether they do any artistic activities that serve intercultural coexistence and understanding, 6 students answered No 60% and 3 students said Yes, which is 40%.

11- Regarding the fact that human rights, coexistence and democracy are discussed in school, 9 students said Yes, which is 90%. While no student has been able to define democracy, this answer is not taken more seriously.

12- No students had any notes.

5. Conclusion

There is a strong link between education and peacebuilding. Education is considered a key long-term tool for peacebuilding. Just as education has a positive and effective role in peacebuilding, it will also have a negative role if it does not serve the peace-building process. Curriculum plays a major role in providing the values that the political system sets and wants to educate its individuals on.

Our evaluation of the curriculums reveals that there are problems in the secondary education curriculums, especially in social subjects. Kurdish education is better in terms of curriculums on issues of coexistence and peacebuilding because of the existence of a curriculum called Skills and social values. It is the best curriculum among all programs that focuses on the values of coexistence and peace and tries to create a culture of peace. However, this curriculum is not available in other education or studies.

According to the student's responses in the field survey, there is no such difference between the responses in all four studies. There is no legal and democratic awareness among students. For example, a very high proportion of students do not know what democracy is, and they are not familiar with the Constitution. Schools are not very active and their artistic and public activities related to coexistence and understanding between cultures are not as necessary.

On the other hand, there is a great threat to the Syriac language and the language is fading completely. Another problem in schools is that some Kurdish, Turkmen and Syrian families send their children to Arabic schools. Some students believe that it is better to study Arabic in the future. On the other hand, overcrowded classrooms and a lack of schools in Kirkuk are two main problems that we as researchers have noticed during our visits to schools. This prevents the message of the programs from reaching students properly. In general, we can say that

education in Kirkuk has not been a tool for building peace and playing a positive role in the understanding between cultures and the process of coexistence.

6. Recommendations

1- Serious changes should be made to the education curriculum that serves coexistence and peace in Kirkuk.

2- It is important to have a special program for peace education in all four educations: Kurdish, Arabic, Turkmen, and Syriac.

3- More attention should be paid to artistic activities that serve peacebuilding.

4- The Iraqi government should help reduce overcrowding in classrooms by building schools and recruiting new staff.

5- For the educational condition in Kirkuk, a specific educational policy should exist.

6- More attention should be given to the education of Kurdish, Turkmen, and Syriac languages. For Syriac education, it is crucial to translate all curricula into their mother tongue.

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¹ The secondary stage of education is taken as an example in this study because it is the most important stage of political education and political socialization, which has a direct impact on the opinions and behaviours of individuals in society. This is based on the views of David Easton and Jack Denise in their book *Children in the Political System*. They talk about the importance of middle and late childhood and early adolescence and believe that the political values and norms that an individual receives during this stage remain in his life for a long time. For more detail see: (Easton & Dannis, 1969).

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² The Constitution of the Iraqi Republic of 2005 refers to the clear importance attached to the term “components”, as it appears twice in its preamble, and five times in the text of the Constitution, Articles 125 and 142, Paragraph 1. (Republic of Iraq, 2005).

³ In realism, peacebuilding means maintaining stability through the power of hegemony and the protection of interests.

⁴ Peacebuilding in the context of idealism seeks to achieve peace among nations through entities such as the United Nations, which can help regulate and monitor, based on norms and standards.

⁵ In this context, peacebuilding is a revolutionary approach that mobilizes the masses to achieve a radical change in the international system.

⁶ Here, peacebuilding is about understanding differences and incorporating discourses about the everyday peace of ordinary people into international debates in a liberating sense.

⁷ This school aims to identify and bring to the negotiating table leaders of the conflict parties. Its main focus is the short-term management of armed conflict.

⁸ The approach of this school is to resolve the underlying causes of the conflict and rebuild the destroyed relationships between the parties.

⁹ This school focuses on possible alignment between Conflict Management and Resolution Schools.

¹⁰ This school is based on Lederach's peacebuilding understanding of conflict transformation.

¹¹ This school shows that peacebuilding discourse has become a self-referential system that has lost its connection with the real world and people's needs.

¹² Political-social conditions determine what kind of peace education can be implemented, and for its successful implementation, the study suggests: Progress towards peace; support for the peace process; Compromise maturity; Government and political support. Training conditions, on the other hand, are essential requirements for the implementation and establishment of any new programs involving administrative and organizational practices, but they are only concerned with organizational priorities and efficiency, not with the political climate. In this context, the following are required for the successful implementation of Peace Education: Ministry support; a well-defined peace education policy; Peace education professionals (Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009, p. 562).

¹³ The dimension that differentiates the two models is related to the political-social conditions. The Indirect model can be applied in situations where there are political-social conditions unfavourable for the development of Peace Education. This type of peace education focuses on general topics (such as identity, ecological security, violence, empathy, human rights and conflict resolution skills). On the other hand, the direct model can be applied where there are favourable political-social conditions for the implementation of Peace Education. This type of peace education encompasses all the themes of conflict that contribute to the development and maintenance of a culture of conflict and are obstacles to a peaceful resolution. Moreover, it directly presents themes that allow the construction of a new morality of peace from which a culture of peace will flourish, and this includes a new collective memory (Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009, pp. 563-569).

¹⁴ For example, the previous regime had monopolized the education process and schools in Kirkuk through the policy of Arabization, to serve its interests and agenda. For more detail see: Shanks, (2013, p. 68).

¹⁵ Education Curriculums are a set of programs and plans to reach students with specific goals and objectives, which of course they are directed by the authorities according to the goals and philosophy of education. For More detail see Al-Sir (2018, p. 34).

¹⁶ See Article 4. , Iraqi federal constitution.

¹⁷ This refers to KR.

¹⁸ This refers to the Kurdistan of Turkey.

¹⁹ It refers to the Rojava Region or Kurdistan of Syria.

²⁰ It refers to the Kurdistan of Iran. (In Kurdish literature and cultural background, these four parts contain the Greater Kurdistan).

²¹ For more information, see the social curriculum in Turkmen education in the first, second, and third grades of secondary school: (Abdulraza & Talib, 2020), (Mahmud & Others, 2020), (Hassan & Others, 2020).

²² To conduct the field study, all schools with the first, second and third secondary grades were taken. All statistics are taken from the General Directorate of Education of Kirkuk. Of the lack of a suitable site to obtain all the information, the information was taken from some directorates of education in Kirkuk. Some of them are not very obvious due to a lack of statistics or data. This is a problem we encounter when conducting field studies.

²³ The form is prepared in three languages: Arabic, Kurdish and Turkmen. A sample of the form in English is in Appendix Number 1.

²⁴ Only this table is provided here, the other tables are in Appendix 2.

²⁵ The form is prepared in three languages: Arabic, Kurdish and Turkmen. A sample of the form in English is in Appendix Number 1.

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Appendix Number 1: (Survey Form Sample in English)

Dear student:

This form is a series of questions about conducting scientific research entitled "The role of education in peace building in Kirkuk, secondary school for example" The truthfulness of your answers will serve scientific research. We assure you that your answers will remain confidential for research purposes.

•• Name (Optional)...

•School name.....

• Nationalism : ☐ Arab ☐ Kurd ☐ Turkmen ☐ Other ☐

• Religion: 1- ☐ Muslim, 2- ☐ Christian 3- ☐ Yezidi 4- ☐ habak 5- ☐ Kakai, 6- ☐ Mandan 7- ☐ Other. ☐

• Gender: 1- ☐ Male 2- ☐ Female

•Mother Language: 1- ☐ Arabic ☐ 2- ☐ Kurdish 3- ☐ Turkman 4- ☐ Syriac

5- Others, ☐

1- What is the most important value you learned in the curriculum?

2- Do you speak a language other than your own?

1- ☐abic 2- ☐rdish 3- ☐kman 4- ☐ Syriac

5- ☐other

3- What do you think is the state constitution?

4- Are there students of different nationalities and religions in your class ?-

Yes ☐ 2- No ☐

5- Do you have friends who are not from your religion?

1- ☐Yes 2- ☐No

6- Would you like to have students from different religions and cultures in your class?

1-Yes ☐ 2- No ☐

7- What do you think democracy is?

8- Does your school have annual special events to visit religious and cultural centres different from your religion and culture:?

9- Do you engage in artistic activities that serve intercultural coexistence and understanding? 1- Yes 2- No

10-What do you think is the role of parliament?

11-Does your school discuss the importance of human rights, coexistence and democracy?

Appendix Number 2: (Table of answers to some of the questions)

Table 12: Knowledge of languages other than mother tongue

Answer	Number of Repetitions	Percentage	Percentage of answered forms.
Arabic	4	%20.0	%20.0
Kurdish	11	%55.0	%55.0

Turkmen	1	%5.0	%5.0
English	1	%5.0	%5.0
Arabic and Tukmani	1	%5.0	%5.0
Arabic, Turkmen and English	1	%5.0	%5.0
Kurdish and Turkmen	1	%5.0	%5.0
Total	20	%100.0	%100.0

[Source: Researchers]

Table 13: The duty of parliament from the perspective of students.

Answer	Number of Repetitions	Percentage	Percentage of answered forms.
I don't know	15	%75.0	%75.0
Defending the rights of the people	4	%20.0	%20.0
Provision of supplies	1	%5.0	%5.0
Total	20	%100.0	%100.0

[Source:Researchers]

Table 14: Constitution from the perspective of students.

Answer	Number of Repetitions	Percentage	Percentage of answered forms.
I don't know	15	%75.0	%20.0

It is to provide justice	1	%5.0	%55.0
It's a collection of rules	1	%5.0	%5.0
Ensuring stability	1	%5.0	%5.0
Protecting Islamic principles	1	%5.0	%5.0
It leads to unity	1	%5.0	%5.0
Total	20	%100.0	%100.0

[Source:Researchers]

Table 15: Discussing human rights, coexistence and democracy in schools

Answer	Number of Repetitions	Percentage	Percentage of answered forms.
Yes	4	%20.0	%20.0
No	15	%75.0	%75.0
to some extent	1	%5.0	%5.0
Total	20	%100.0	%100.0

[Source:Researchers]

Table 16: The most important values in the curriculums (Arabic Education)

Value	Number of Repetitions	Percentage	Percentage of answered forms.
Science and Information	3	%15.0	%15.0
I don't know	12	%60.0	%60.0
beautiful manners	4	%20.0	%20.0
Respecting differences	1	%5.0	%5.0
Total	20	%100.0	%100.0

[Source:Researchers]

Table 17: Constitution from the perspective of students. (Arabic Education)

Answer	Number of Repetitions	Percentage	Percentage of answered forms.
I don't know	19	%95.0	%95.0
It's a collection of rules	1	%5.0	%5.0
Total	20	%100.0	%100.0

[Source:Researchers]