Gendered Citizenship: Investigating representations of women in Jordanian Civic Education textbooks

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Abstract

This research explores the current Jordanian Civic Education textbooks for Grades 9 and 10 from a gender perspective. The Civic Education curriculum, mandatory for all students from Grade 5 to Grade 10, seeks to teach students local values and instill a sense of respect and loyalty to their country and to the Islamic nation. The curriculum discusses topics such as citizens' rights, responsibilities, history, and heritage. The textbooks are the only state-produced educational material for this subject, used by both teachers and students to navigate the curriculum. As women in Jordan continue to fight for their equal rights as citizens, this research analyzes the ways the Jordanian Civic Education textbooks discuss women's roles, rights, and responsibilities, within the local context. In addition to conducting textbook analysis, I drew on semi-structured interviews with curriculum developers and teachers in Jordan to explore local perspectives towards women's inclusion in Civic Education curricula. By identifying areas for improvement, this research speaks to ongoing curriculum development efforts in the country to strengthen representation of women in curricula, education, and society.

Résumé

Cette recherche vise à explorer les manuels actuels d'éducation civique Jordanienne pour les élèves de la 9e et 10e années dans une perspective de genre. Le programme d'éducation civique, obligatoire pour tous les élèves de la 5e à la 10e année. Le programme vise à enseigner aux élèves les valeurs locales et à susciter un sentiment de respect et de loyauté à leur pays et à la nation Islamique. Le programme traite de sujets tels que les droits et responsabilités des citoyens, l'histoire et le patrimoine. Les manuels d'éducation civique sont le seul matériel éducatif produit par l'État pour cette matière, et sont utilisés par les enseignants et les élèves pour naviguer dans le programme. Les femmes en Jordanie continuent de se battre pour leurs droits égaux en tant que citoyennes. Par conséquent, cette recherche analyse les façons dont les manuels scolaires d'éducation civique jordanienne discutent des rôles, des droits et des responsabilités des femmes dans le contexte jordanien. De plus, en utilisant des entrevues semi-structurées, cette étude engage des concepteurs de programmes et des enseignants en Jordanie pour explorer les perspectives locales envers l'inclusion des femmes dans les programmes d'éducation civique. En identifiant les domaines à améliorer, cette recherche témoigne des efforts continus de développement d'un curriculum dans le pays pour renforcer la représentation des femmes dans les curriculums, l'éducation et la société.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Background to the Study

After completing my undergraduate degree in International Development Studies at McGill in 2017, I started to think about my job prospects in my home country, Jordan. As a Jordanian Canadian woman who has lived and worked in both countries, I was curious and eager to start applying for jobs and to refamiliarize myself with the happenings in Jordan after an absence of several years. While applying for jobs, I came across a World Bank report from 2018 indicating that female workforce participation in Jordan is among the lowest in the world for a country that is not currently at war (World Bank, 2018). I grew curious and started to look deeper into some relevant factors and statistics. Women and men are approximately equally literate and enrolled at similar levels in primary and secondary schools - even at rates higher than neighboring Middle Eastern countries or other middle-income countries. Additionally, youth in Jordan, both male and female, are highly educated at a post-secondary level (World Bank, 2014; Abu Jaber, 2014; World Bank, 2018). While to a certain degree this problem of limited female workforce participation is rooted in the ongoing economic and political fragility the country has been experiencing in the wake of the Syrian crisis and regional economic slowdown, there are also critical socio-cultural barriers that hinder female workforce participation. These observations and factors created a set of questions that I was interested in delving deeper into.

Anecdotally, I can draw upon my own knowledge of the challenges women experience in the workforce in Jordan. Many women I know have had to choose between their careers and expectations of caring for their families, often prompted to do so by their husbands. My fieldwork in Jordan on other projects illustrated how challenging it is for women to find affordable childcare and challenge society's expectations of motherhood and domesticity when attempting to enter the workforce. Additionally, women and men are traditionally expected to adopt different roles in the household, economy, and society as a whole with women traditionally more limited to the private sphere, caretaking, and motherhood or family care (IRCKHF, 2019). As a result, women are largely restricted to domestic roles such as caretaking and childbearing, whereas men dominate public spheres, political life, and finances.

I grew interested in exploring this question of gender roles and norms in Jordan at what might be described as the intersection of international development, gender, and education – all

areas which inform my academic research and work interests. I was curious about the notion that women are socialized into these gendered norms and roles that continue to limit their aspirations and trajectories to housework and caretaking, and the possibility that this was occurring through the education system. How could the local education system better support women who may choose to enter the workforce? Is the current educational system reinforcing stereotypes regarding gender roles and norms? How should we teach women and girls that their roles as individuals extend beyond the household? Are these changes necessary or called for within society? Building on these questions and many more, I chose to investigate the ways in which the Jordanian educational system could engage youth beyond prescribed gendered stereotypes. Could the Jordanian education curricula encourage gender equality and women's empowerment? If yes, how?

Positioning Myself

It is important to begin with such a recognition and reflection of my own positionality and aspirations with regard to this research. I approach this topic and my writing as a Jordanian Canadian cis-gender woman, a transnational feminist, and an advocate for gender equality. Having grown up in Jordan, in a traditional Muslim and Jordanian household, I recognize my own positionality with regards to my upbringing and the ways I was (and continue to be) embedded within social norms - especially pertaining to my gender. I also recognize that I was once a student in Civic Education classrooms over several years: memorizing, internalizing, and maybe even implementing what I learned throughout middle school and high school. Lastly, I acknowledge that I now feel that I am embedded more within a Western and Canadian higher education institution, the power dynamics that stem from this, and the privilege I possess. I recognize this positionality and the ways it is important to both influence and guide my research and hope to reflect on the ways my identity and the research process have evolved throughout the study.

Why Civic Education?

Civic Education, also referred to as national education or civics, is a social studies subject that focuses on educating students about citizenship by "providing students with the knowledge, skills, and disposition to act as 'good citizens'" (Wong et al., 2017, p. 632). In many countries around the world, Civic Education is associated with history, politics, and national education.

Often, it also involves allowing students to "cultivate moral characteristics and prepare them to become 'good citizens' in their respective cultures" (Wong et al., 2017, p. 631). Pingel (2010), writing for UNESCO's *Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision* describes another purpose of the subject is to "[present] the political system prevailing in the student's own country … [depicting] the relevant political institutions" (p. 72).

According to Tse (2004), Civic Education is intrinsically tied to nationhood, nation building, national independence, and post-colonialism. Tse explains that the expansion of nation-states over the past century led to a growing emphasis on public education. Parallel to this, there was a growing emphasis on citizenship education, or Civic Education, around the world. Tse writes: "every nation-state or government has sought to convey its ideal of citizenship and nationhood through its school curricula" (2004, p. 49) which formalize teaching about citizenship. As he goes on to write: "States around the world have focused attention on using the school curriculum as a medium for transmitting political culture to the younger generation, with social subjects officially designed to acquaint students with nationalistic values and particular political ideologies" (p. 49). He explains that when countries entered decolonizing processes (and struggles), they were forced to rethink their national education systems and develop a more nationalistic education, within which citizenship education was envisioned to become the "social cement of national identity in order to foster unity and commonalities among a population undermined by economic, ethnic, and political cleavages" (p. 49). Hence, citizenship education, or Civic Education, was born as a tool to write, teach, and reproduce a national identity and unity.

While historically Civic Education has been tied to the importance of constructing an idea of citizenship within the newly formed post-colonial nation-state, today it is increasingly tied to "what it means to be a good citizen" (Johnson & Morris, 2010, p. 77). Johnson and Morris (2010) suggest that revisions and shifts in conceptions of Civic Education are tied to "multiculturalism, limiting the validity of ethno-nationalistic forms of identity; and associated attempts to promote forms of citizenship based on the promotion of a common set of shared values … which prepare young people to live together in diverse societies" (p. 78). They add that "in some contexts citizenship education is also expected to contribute to the promotion of social justice, social reconstruction and democracy" (p. 78-79).

The Jordanian Civic Education is a social studies class that focuses on teaching youth positive participation in their communities, aiming to develop their sense of citizenship and loyalty

"to their country and to the Arab and Islamic nation" (Kubow & Kreishan, 2014, p. 10). The curriculum has existed in different forms since its inception, previously as units within other Jordanian social studies curricula (Kubow & Kreishan, 2014). In the early 2000s, Civic Education became a standalone subject with its own textbooks - a recognition of its growing political, social, and educational importance. In Jordan, the subject is mandatory for all students across public and private schools from Grade 5 until Grade 10. Each grade is assigned two textbooks (one for each school term) that introduce a wide variety of local political, social, historical, and cultural topics. The textbooks discuss the duties and responsibilities associated with being an active Jordanian citizen, such as serving in the military and voting. In Jordan, the curriculum is also standardized: Civic Education textbooks are produced by the Ministry of Education's Curriculum Division, guided by a committee of teachers, university professors, and field practitioners. They are then approved by the Higher Education Council, to be disseminated across the country (Abu Jaber, 2014). In theory, all students across all public and private schools in Jordan are to be taught the same Civic Education curriculum, from the same textbooks.

The Civic Education curriculum, at the intersection of ethics, history, and social sciences, is an important and unique subject to explore as it explicitly discusses and teaches civic roles and responsibilities and the ways they can (and should) be implemented. In the Jordanian context, it is one of the few subjects that is both mandatory and standardized across the Kingdom's private and public schools. Given its importance in post-colonial nation building, education, and citizenship studies, I saw it as a particularly appropriate entry point for studying gender representations in Jordan's curricula.

Research Objectives

This research seeks to conduct a review of current Jordanian Civic Education (CE) textbooks for Grades 9 and 10 as the primary teaching resources for the subject, used by both teachers and students. The research aims to investigate the ways the textbooks could construct a gendered idea of citizenship. It then explores the ways women and girls are discussed within the context of citizenship in the textbooks, drawing comparisons to the ways men and boys are constructed and depicted. To do this, I conducted a content analysis of the four Civic Education textbooks in use for Grades 9 and 10. The second part of my research engages with teachers and curriculum developers in Amman in order to better comprehend field perspectives on the state of

gender in the Civic Education curricula, and whether it can (or should) improve. Here, I interviewed selected education professionals for their opinions of representations of women and gender in the Civic Education textbooks they use or are developing in their careers, and the ways in which they address such representations - if at all.

As such, I have developed two overarching questions for my study:

1. How are women and female citizenship represented in Jordanian Civic Education textbooks? How do these representations compare to those of men and male citizenship?

2. What are teachers' and curriculum developers' opinions towards representations of women and gender in the Civic Education textbooks? How (if at all) do they address them in their fields?

Rationale for this project

As is highlighted in a report by Tarek Diluwani in *The Independent Arabia* (2019b), women in Jordan exist on the margins of Jordanian society, First and foremost, they are not afforded the same citizenship rights as their male counterparts: Jordanian mothers cannot pass on their citizenship to their children. Citizenship and nationhood in Jordan are heavily patrilineal making this the first and most obvious exclusion of women from Jordanian citizenship: women have "diminished citizenship as [they] cannot pass their nationality to their children" (IRCKHF, 2019, p. 2). Additionally, Jordanian women have unequal relationships with the state: "a Jordanian woman's relationship with the state is articulated through a mediator – usually her father or her husband" (IRCKHF 2019, p. 2). In another report for *The Independent Arabia*, Diluwani writes about other forms of discrimination that women face in Jordan such as limited rights to inheritance and other limited financial and legal rights and freedoms (2019c). The Information and Research Center led by the King Hussein Foundation (IRCKHF) recently released its 2019 report on the status of gender discrimination in Jordan and stated that gender inequality is "one of the major issues hindering Jordan's advancement as a country" (2019, p. 1), citing the same World Bank report from 2018 which found that recently, just 14.6% of women in Jordan were formally economically active in the workforce (World Bank, 2018). Discrimination against women extends beyond economic participation and finances: social and cultural barriers exist to the elimination of women's subordination and subjugation. IRCKHF's report explains that gender roles can be reinforced through different media including Jordan's education curricula "which limits the role

of women to the private sphere" (p. 5). The report specifically calls for a review and revision of the Jordanian curricula to examine misrepresentations and omitted representations of women in society.

The standardization of the Civic Education textbooks and curricula across Jordan is interesting to me and an important detail in my research: all students, regardless of their race, gender, class, or social location otherwise are to be taught using the same textbooks about what it means to be a *Jordanian* citizen. Kubow (2010) writes: "State-required textbooks in Jordan represent contested terrain where local and global influences vie for attention and shape students' understandings about self, national identity, and belonging" (p. 15). Certainly, it is likely that there are variations in the ways the curriculum is being delivered in classrooms; however, the textbooks are centralized, standardized, and disseminated by the Ministry of Education to students across the country. All students of varying social identities and locations (and even ethnicities) are being exposed to one curriculum that teaches what it means to be a Jordanian citizen. I am especially interested in the gendered aspects of this: what does it mean for boys and girls in classrooms to learn one ideal of citizenship? Is this singular ideal of citizenship masculinized or exclusionary? What are the biases inherent in the materials?

It is clear that schools and other learning environments have an impact on students' identity-building, success, self-esteem, and learned social behaviors (Lips, 1988; Sadker, Sadker, & Zittleman, 2009). Teachers also play a vital role in classrooms in educating their students, relying on available curricula and their own lived experiences (Sleeter & Grant, 1991; Sadker et al., 2009). However, existing research, by scholars such as Lips (1988) and Schissler (1990), stresses the impacts that textbooks and other learning materials have on students' identities both inside and outside the classroom. Apple and Christian-Smith (1991) explain: "[Texts] participate in creating what a society has recognised as legitimate and truthful" (p. 4). Sadker, Sadker, and Zittleman (2009) emphasize the negative and stereotypical gendered implications that textbooks can carry to this day, and how teachers can contribute to textbook bias. More recently, echoing the same arguments, Pinar (2014) writes: "Through the curriculum and our experience of it, we choose what to remember about the past, what to believe about the present, and what to hope for and fear about the future" (p. 522). Abdou (2019), drawing upon Ng-A-Fook (2010), writes about the importance of a critical exploration of curricula to expose the ways school texts and other learning materials can be conditioning teachers, students, and societal interactions as a whole. Hence,

school curricula should be studied critically to understand the dynamics and narratives they consciously (or subconsciously) reproduce and teach. Hence, I chose to investigate Civic Education curricula and textbooks further especially with regards to gender. What (and how) are girls and boys being taught through textbooks about what it means to be a citizen in their country? What images and language are being used in the textbooks to express these ideas? What does this mean for gender norms and stereotypes?

Finally, this research is timely in light of ongoing curriculum revisions across the Ministry's textbooks and curricula, conducted by the Jordanian National Center for Curriculum Development (NCCD). The NCCD is a body that is external to the Ministry of Education established in late 2017 and that has several goals in the coming years. These include revising all curricula across all primary and secondary school subjects and developing new *Tawjihi*, or secondary education certificate, examinations (Jordan Times, 2017). Many of these curricular revisions are to be launched in September 2020, starting with revising mathematics and science curricula for primary grades, followed by other subjects for upper year students and courses (Al Nawas, 2019).

Research Overview

My research focuses on curricula for upper secondary years - Grade 9 and 10. I chose these years and their textbooks for two main reasons. First, the depth of the curriculum and the themes it introduces at this stage are more interesting, complex, and relevant to my research focus. For example, for Grades 5 through 8, the curriculum focuses largely on topics such as wildlife, nature, tourism, culture, and the environment, whereas for Grades 9 and 10, the curriculum starts to engage with topics such as civic duties, citizenship, the political governance structures in the country, employment, and so on, which I decided to explore using the gendered lens with which I approach my research.

Grade 10 is the final mandatory year for schooling in Jordan. In light of the topic I have chosen, it is important that I critically engage with some of the perspectives and choices posed for youth at this age who are deciding whether or not to pursue *Tawjihi* (the secondary diploma), or to end their school careers after Grade 10. I expect that the curriculum would engage with youth at this stage in their lives with some possible career trajectories or educational options, and that the curriculum would touch upon what were presumably some duties and expectations of these

youth in their lives and especially in the years to come. Were girls and boys being introduced to different life paths at this stage? Was the curriculum engaging with youth to allow them to make choices about their future education or employment? Was the curriculum at this stage gendered?

In addition to analyzing and discussing the textbooks I selected, I decided to interview teachers and curriculum developers in Jordan regarding whether or not they perceive the CE curriculum as gendered, whether they believe this can have any impacts in the classroom, and what steps they are taking in order to address it - if any. Research by Apple and Christian-Smith (1991), DeBolt (1991), and Tsutsumi (2010) stresses how teachers rely on textbooks in classrooms with their students. Hence, I decided to interview some teachers in Amman, the capital of Jordan, to engage them in conversations about the textbooks, their use, their usefulness, and the gendered dimensions to them. I am interested in learning from their first-hand experiences in classrooms dealing with gender and citizenship issues. As for curriculum developers, I was interested in learning more about whether gender was a key consideration for current and future iterations of the Civic Education curriculum. If so, how? If not, why? In July and August 2019, I interviewed 4 teachers and 3 curriculum developers in Amman, Jordan. I will discuss the details and results of these conversations later in this thesis, in Chapter 5. While these results are not intended to be generalizable to the greater Jordanian context, they seek to access a field-based perspective to this issue.

Chapter Overviews

The following section provides a brief overview of the chapters to come in this thesis. This first chapter provided an introduction and rationale to the topic at hand, by explaining how and why it was selected. The second chapter of this thesis introduces the two main theoretical underpinnings of this research as well as a literature review covering four overarching themes relevant to the study.

The third chapter will discuss the methodology employed by this research project. My methodology is inspired by two main disciplines: a feminist content analysis as outlined by Hesse-Biber (2014) and Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2007), and a coding method outlined by Charmaz (2006). The chapter will discuss both my textbook analysis procedures as well as the interview design and implementation.

The fourth chapter will delve into the analysis and discussion of the Civic Education textbooks selected for this research (for Grades 9 and 10). It will highlight some of the results relevant to the representations of women, or lack thereof. It will discuss the most significant emergent themes from the analysis. The fifth chapter will discuss my findings from teacher and curriculum developer interviews. These interviews seek to understand field practitioner insights into the state of gender representation in Civic Education textbooks, where they believe they are lacking, and how they can be improved, and stress the importance of teachers are agents who mediate textbook in classrooms.

The sixth and final chapter of this thesis will provide a summary of the findings and information presented throughout the thesis. It will draw conclusions from this study, bridging between the findings from the textbook analysis and informant interviews, to provide a vision for future Civic Education textbooks and curricula.

Chapter 2: Framing the Study

This chapter will serve as a discussion of the background and foundations of my research. In the first part of this chapter, I provide an introductory overview on the current situation in Jordan: why it is important to look at the current socio-political and economic context in Jordan, perceptions and attitudes towards women and gender, and relevant education policy and programming that help frame this research project. In the second part of this chapter, I discuss my theoretical frameworks and relevant literature focusing on three main themes in three sections. First, I discuss theories relevant to women, gender, and feminist studies, focusing on this area as it is one of my theoretical foundations. Second, I look at theories relevant to nationalism and citizenship studies, discussing the context of gender and education within citizenship. Lastly, I discuss research on textbook analysis starting with an overview on curriculum theories (as a second theoretical foundation for my study), followed by a discussion of current studies on the representations of women and gender in textbooks. The literature I explore in this section helps orient my study and is the foundation upon which I build my own research and analysis to follow.

Introduction on Education in Jordan

This section seeks to situate the reader on the current social, economic, and political contexts in Jordan, particularly in relation to the state of education in the country.

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan has experienced rapid population and economic growth over the past decade. The country's population is larger and more diverse than ever, and its politics and society continue to be shaped by these changing demographics. Nasser (2004) explains that Jordan is not a homogenous population: there are Chechens, Circassians, Syrians, and a large Palestinian population in Jordan as well. The country maintains a strong Muslim majority - Islam is declared the official religion of the state with Christianity as the second most prevalent religion.

Based on data from the World Bank, the country's young population is large compared to its neighbors in the region. By 2018, 34% of the population was between the ages of 0 and 14 - higher than the region's average of 30% and the Upper Middle-Income Country average of 21% (World Bank, 2019). Given this, 28.5% of total government expenditure is on education (World Bank, 2019). Even so, the country continues to struggle to meet demands for public education. In the 2017 - 2018 academic year, the most recent year for which data is available through the

Ministry of Education, there were 7,262 schools in the Kingdom (Jordanian Ministry of Education, 2018). Of these, the Ministry of Education operated 3,835 (half of which were gender-segregated). There were also 3,211 private schools, and the rest of the schools in the Kingdom are other governmental schools or schools run by UNRWA, the UN relief agency for Palestinian refugees (Jordanian Ministry of Education, 2018). There is a clear and high demand for private education in Jordan, especially in the capital Amman potentially due to "poor quality teaching and high pupil to teacher ratio" in public schools (Sabella, 2014, p. 29; Qablan et al., 2010).

Primary and secondary schooling in Jordan are both mandatory (from Grade 1 to Grade 10). Most subjects are taught in Arabic, but English language courses are introduced at an early age in many public and private schools. All public schools, and the majority of private schools, rely on curricula that are standardized across the country. These schools all use the same Ministry provided textbooks for subjects such as Math, Arabic, English, Sciences, Religion, and Civic Education. Government curricula is curated and provided by the Curriculum Division unit within the Ministry of Education. A technical committee of teachers, university professors, and field practitioners are assigned to supervise and guide curriculum developers in writing textbooks. Occasionally, NGOs and education-specialized organizations could be involved in the curriculum design as well. Ultimately, the Higher Education Council approves any and all major changes to existing textbooks and the development of new textbooks (Abu Jaber, 2014).

The country continues to develop its education sector in cooperation with local and international stakeholders. One of the largest education development projects initiated in the country to date was the Education Reform for a Knowledge-Based Economy (ERfKE) program, launched by the Ministry of Education in partnership with the World Bank in 2002. The project implementation lasted more than a decade and sought to 'modernize' the education system in Jordan in line with the knowledge economy through education reform towards scientific knowledge and critical thinking (World Bank, 2003). The program worked to increase access to basic school facilities, shift towards using online portals for education, increase kindergarten enrollment across the country, and develop a new strategy, policies, and regulations for education going forwards. One other notable outcome for the ERfKE program was that it prompted the creation of Civic Education as a standalone subject with its own separate textbooks specifically designed to handle "cultural heritage, citizen roles and responsibilities, and different political, economic, social, and environmental concepts and issues" (Kubow & Kreishan, 2014, p. 10).

The ERfKE program, while to an extent successful, lacked gender mainstreaming and gender-based programming. A quick word search of the World Bank ERfKE Project Appraisal document reveals that the document mentions the word "gender" just 7 times throughout the 99-page document, in reference to Jordan's achievement of gender parity in education. It references "women" twice, citing them as a population group that is vulnerable to the "negative impact of the transfer to a knowledge economy" (World Bank, 2003, p. 60). I argue that the ERfKE program did not sufficiently take gender into consideration throughout its programming. Kubow and Kreishan (2014) also critique the project, as it could not address local demands: while the ERfKE project emphasized science learning and technology, the Jordanian population demanded curricula centered around Islam. They explain: "[Jordanians] wanted to ensure that the centrality of Islam and the family unit, with gender-specific roles, are reinforced in the school's curriculum" (p. 12). Additionally, despite the introduction of the ERfKE project more than 15 years ago, Kubow (2010), Qablan et al. (2010), and Sabella (2014) explain how its reforms had little impact on classroom practices in Jordanian schools for several reasons: teacher perspectives were not taken into account during the education reforms, there continue to be large numbers of students in each class, and learning materials other than government-distributed textbooks are largely unavailable, especially in public schools. Thus, while the Jordanian government continues to make strides towards education reform, there continues to be challenges and barriers to overcome.

As noted above, the Jordanian population is uniquely and remarkably young: US AID writes that almost "two-thirds of the Jordanian population is under the age of thirty, offering enormous potential for the country" (US AID, 2019). Shirazi (2012), conducting research on the Jordan context, writes that "Education reform is at the heart of many high-profile efforts to address [the] perceived socioeconomic crisis in the Middle East" but that the "burgeoning youth population is depicted as both a source of potential instability and national prosperity … in Jordan, these accounts regarding the problem of youth are accompanied by solutions to mold them into enterprising, moderate, and empowered citizens" (p. 71). Shirazi (2012) adds that "through educational campaigns and partnerships with the international community, the Jordanian government has indicated a desire to create a more loyal, democratic, and self-enterprising citizenry" (p. 71). There is a clear relationship between youth, change, and citizenship in Jordan - a relationship I hope to explore through the lenses of education and gender.

Women in Jordan

Gender inequality is still an issue in Jordan. A World Bank report states: "Jordanian women comprise 53 percent of university graduates yet female labor force participation rates in Jordan is the lowest in the region and among the lowest in the world" (World Bank, 2018, p. 15). As of December 2019, the Jordanian Department of Statistics (DoS) estimated an overall 19.1% official unemployment rate, with the rate for males at 17.1% and for females at 27.5% (Jordan Department of Statistics, 2019). The DoS also published the Refined Economic Participation Rate ("the labor force attributed to the population 15 years and over") at 33.6% for the Kingdom: 53.3% for males and just 13.2% for females as of the end of 2019 (Department of Statistics, 2019). While rising unemployment has proven challenging for all in Jordan, there could be different reasons for this large workforce participation gap. Women are bound to expectations of marriage, childbearing, and other household duties, and these expectations have an impact on women's economic mobility and entry to the workforce in the first place (IRCKHF, 2019). Additionally, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women's (CEDAW) report on the situation in Jordan has not found any changes in cultural stereotypes and gender roles since the year 2000. Its most recent report notes: "persistence of deep-rooted discriminatory stereotypes concerning the roles and responsibilities of women and men in the family and in society, which overemphasize the traditional role of women as mothers and wives, … [undermine] women's social status, autonomy, educational opportunities, and professional careers" (CEDAW, 2017, p. 7).

Gender Discrimination in Jordan (2019) published by the King Hussein Foundation's Information and Research Centre (IRCKHF), in partnership with UN Women, explains the history and current status of gender discrimination in Jordan. While women have been integrated into the public sphere in Jordan since its independence as a nation state in 1946, women have had to continue to fight to secure their rights in civil and political society (Massad, 2001). For example, after continuing to demonstrate and campaign for nearly two decades, in 1974 all adult women in Jordan were given the right to vote. However, just two years later in 1976, the Personal Status Law was established: "a law that maintains the traditional role of women as wives and caregivers, and emphasizes them as dependents" (2019, p. 8). The subordination of women and their construction as mothers and caregivers is not only socio-cultural, it is institutionalized. The King Hussein Foundation's gender discrimination report explains that at present, the Personal Status Law also "also assumes that men are responsible for the financial maintenance of women, and in return, women have the responsibility of obedience towards men" (IRCKHF, 2019, p. 16). This dynamic

is reproduced through marriage contracts and other legal or institutional barriers that prohibit women from making their own decisions or practicing their rights as full citizens. In addition to this, the Nationality Law in Jordan prevents women from passing their citizenship to their children. This law is derived from a British colonial law – a colonial legacy in Jordan that continues to disenfranchise Jordanian women (especially those who are married to non-Jordanians) and their children who are left unable to access the same services that Jordanian nationals are entitled to (IRCKHF, 2019). IRCKHF's report also identifies avenues through which gender roles are maintained, including the media, through religion (*fatwas*, or other religious advice that is up for interpretation), laws, and educational curricula.

Mayyada Abu Jaber, through the Center for Universal Education at Brookings, published a working paper titled *Breaking through Glass Doors: A Gender Analysis of Womenomics in the Jordanian National Curriculum* (2014). Explaining that workforce participation in Jordan is extremely low, Abu Jaber suggests that "in order to achieve the economic empowerment of women, society would need to view women's economic empowerment as being both 'desirable' and 'legitimate'" (p. 1). She stresses that education is one medium through which women can be engaged to recognize their potential and role within the economy and workforce. Drawing from Alexander and Welzel's (2010) theory on belief-mediated social change, Abu Jaber explains how "gender bias content in Jordanian textbooks directs both males and females towards employment futures that are socially desirable by and culturally acceptable for society, and not to employment futures that make economic sense for individuals, families, communities, and the nation" (p. 40).

The present social, cultural, political, and economic situation in Jordan influences daily interactions and dynamics especially in relation to gender. While the nation has made progress over the past several decades to educate women, achieving gender parity in literacy and education enrollment, socio-cultural and economic barriers hinder female integration and equality in society. In this research, I hope to speak to the value and importance of including women in education beyond just enrollment: the quality and content of the education girls receive is just as important to consider and can greatly impact their future trajectories and opportunities in society.

Theoretical Foundations

The following section covers a literature review to address and explore three main themes. First, it will offer an overview and discussion of the theories pertaining to women & gender,

including a section on relevant feminist theory. Second, it will introduce theory related to nationalism and citizenship studies in relation to gender & education. Lastly, it will introduce and discuss important curriculum theory that orient and guide this research, followed by relevant research on representation of women & gender in textbooks, focusing on textbook analyses including from the Middle East. As previously mentioned, my research is based on two main theoretical foundations that orient it and its methodologies (gender & feminist theory and curriculum theories). I constructed these frameworks by drawing on other works of textbook analysis such as those by Mkuchu (2004), Durrani (2008), Abdou (2016), and others.

<u>Gender & Feminist Theory</u>

Identity, Gender Theory & Education

Identity, as a whole, is socially constructed (Butler, 2006; Parker, 2014). One component of identity is gender, which is also socially constructed. The social construction of gender is important to unpack and understand as it is central to the theory behind this research. To begin, West and Zimmerman's (1987) critical piece *Doing Gender* makes a clear distinction between sex and gender. Sex, they explain, is a "determination made through the application of socially agreed upon biological criteria for classifying persons as males or females", whereas gender is the "activity of managing situated conduct in light of normative conceptions of attitudes and activities appropriate for one's sex category" (p. 127). In other words, while sex is physical and biological, gender is culturally and socially constructed, taught, and performed. 'Doing' gender becomes a part of our everyday routines and lives in our activities and behaviors that are consistent with the gender we are ascribed. West and Zimmerman explain: "Doing gender means creating differences between girls and boys and women and men … Once the differences have been constructed, they are used to reinforce the "essentialness" of gender" (p. 137). They conclude by stating: "To bring the social production of gender under empirical scrutiny, we might begin at the beginning, with a reconsideration of the processes through which societal members acquire the requisite categorical apparatus and other skills to become gendered human beings" (p. 140). Hence, exploring the origins of gendered norms and the ways they are reproduced, taught, and enforced is crucial. Processes by which we perform gender "render the social arrangements based on sex category accountable as normal and natural, that is, legitimate ways of organizing social life" (West &

Zimmerman, 1987, p. 146). Continuously performing gender produces and reproduces differences between men and women and legitimizes the differences created.

The socio-cultural construction of gender takes place in different spaces: in the media, in our language, in the institutions we engage with, and especially in our education. Gender is constructed in a way that delivers specific expectations towards boys (and men) and girls (and women) on a binary basis, which is now increasingly being disrupted. The construction and reproduction of a masculinity and a femininity are central to the ways we understand our lives, social roles, and expectations, especially with traditional thought of gender as a binary. Kulis et al. (2010) distinguish between said masculine and feminine traits (whether positive or negative). For example, masculinity can be associated with control, dominance, confidence, and leadership, whereas femininity can be associated with dependence, emotions, empathy, and an inclination towards nurture. One way the social construction of gender extends into our lives is through the family. Bernard (1982) explains the gender differences in marriage for instance whereby women and men have historically been responsible for different roles within the family - a trend that continues to exist today (Ellemers, 2018; IRCKHF, 2019). Even today, gender stereotypes condition and expect women to be more family-oriented and caring, and men to be the 'head of the household' figure, working, and exercising agency and strength (Ellemers, 2018). Still, women who work outside the house or have a full-time job are still expected to return to the house to perform the domestic work and care, she is expected to perform what Hochschild and Machung dub the 'second shift' (Hochschild & Machung, 2003; Ellemers, 2018). Ellemers (2018) concludes:

> "Gender stereotypes not only affect the way we perceive others and the opportunities we afford them, but also impact our conceptions of self, the demeanor we see as desirable, the life ambitions we consider appropriate, and the outcomes we value … the firm belief that gender stereotypes accurately reflect the achievements and priorities of most men and women prevents individuals from displaying their unique abilities and acting in line with their personal preferences" (p. 291).

While written more than three decades ago, Hilary Lips' *Sex & Gender* (1988) remains a seminal text in providing a critical overview of aspects related to gender from childhood to adulthood, in the media, in education, even in biology and psychology. Lips explains that gender socialization begins as early as birth from the parent(s) of a child, who communicate to their

children what expectations they should meet. Lips explains that often, parents are unaware of the extent to which they treat their sons or daughters differently, a finding that holds even cross-culturally. While Lips finds that gender socialization comes from the media such as television, today gender socialization can come through online media (Gadzekpo, 2016), learned non-verbal communication such as postures and fashion choices, and especially education (Ellemers, 2018).

Lips (1988) discusses how gender socialization can be reinforced through language: "children's development of gender identity and gender role is inextricably bound up with the acquisition of language" (p. 230). Language is inescapably gendered: "language contains built-in biases about gender - biases that reflect the sexism and gender stereotypes of the culture. In English, at least, these biases are reflected in the way language ignores females or labels them as special cases. The masculine gender is used to refer to people in general" (p. 231). This gender socialization through language continues in schools, too. Drawing attention to the (often masculinized) language in use both verbally and in writing sheds light on important and detrimental dynamics that shape women's lives (Ellemers, 2018).

Finally, another interesting aspect of gender socialization Lips raises, in relation to schools, is the idea that gender socialization can occur in relation to the gender of the teachers of different subjects: for instance, if there are more male mathematics teachers this can lead to an assumption among students that math is more suited for boys. Gender stereotypes are also prescriptive, according to research by Prentice and Carranza (2002), who explain that stereotypes can materialize as expectations. For example, given a stereotype that women should be caring, society will expect women to be caring. They write: "gender stereotypes are closely linked to traditional social roles and power inequalities between women and men … violations of gender stereotypes are met with various forms of punishment and devaluation, many of which appear to stem from their prescriptive quality" (p. 269).

Feminist Theory in Action

Sandra Acker (1987), writing on feminist theory, explains that feminist theoretical frameworks "address, above all, the question of women's subordination to men: how this arose, how and why it is perpetuated, how it might be changed and (sometimes) what life would be like without it" (p. 421). Acker, writing from the standpoint of liberal feminism, explains that one aspect of this is to recognize and eliminate "barriers which prevent girls reaching their full

potential, whether such barriers are located in the school, the individual psyche, or discriminatory labour practices" (p. 423). Thus, Acker's focus within liberal feminist theory and activism is the belief that all people deserve equal opportunities. Additionally, it includes a belief that gender socialization can have a negative influence on achieving this goal especially hindering women and girls. Liberal feminist theorists often argue that this socialization can render boys and girls, and women and men, unequal in society's eyes and can disadvantage females. Liberal feminist foundations have found their place within research on gender and education and continue to resonate with researchers whose focus is ultimately eliminating gender biases and stereotypes.

Taking a liberal feminist approach in her doctoral research on textbook analysis, entitled *Gender Roles in Textbooks as a Function of Hidden Curriculum in Tanzania Primary Schools*, Mkuchu (2004) explains that liberal feminism can employ several strategies in the field of gender textbook analysis to undo negative processes of socialization and restrictive gender roles. These include: "Analyzing curricula materials to document gender stereotypes in textbooks … [providing] pre- and in-service courses for teachers so as to equip them with knowledge and skills that would enable them to combat sexism in carrying out their day-to-day teaching activities" (p. 15). Mkuchu (2004) writes that the "socialization process made through instructional materials, curricula counselling, school organization and the general school atmosphere, leads to girls and boys being socialized into traditional attitudes and orientations, which result in limiting roles. The socialization process disadvantages women and girls" (p. 25). Mkuchu states that this socialization process also impacts men and boys negatively: boys are often socialized to believe they should only be strong, contributing to a toxic masculinity and male rejection of emotions that can have negative repercussions on their attitudes and relationships in their futures (2004, p. 25 - 26).

Keddie and Ollis (2019) also write using a liberal feminist lens, focusing on "challenging gender stereotypes and roles, promoting women's and girls' independence and decision-making and challenging the condoning of violence against women, and violence in general" (p. 535; Hall, 2015). They explain how liberal feminist discourses see gender discrimination as "a product of gender stereotypes that push women into passivity and underachievement" and the need for strategies to correct such representations of gender across the board (p. 540). They look at recent school programs that work to combat gender-based violence as well as challenge negative gendered stereotypes to promote equality among all students.

Unfortunately, negative outcomes of gendered language, stereotypes, and norms continue to reproduce themselves today. Findings by Warhuus and Jones (2018) show that the use of masculine-gendered language in course descriptions (specifically related to entrepreneurship and business (e.g.: 'businessman') can dissuade female students from entering such courses and hence choosing such careers even at a university level. They argue that "consciously changing the language in course descriptions may encourage students, who respond more favorably to feminized language, to study entrepreneurship" drawing attention to the dangers of using masculine gendered language as the norm even within higher education institutions (p. 13). Plante, O'Keefe, Aronson, Frechette-Simarc, and Goulet (2019) write about the interest gap in education where gender stereotypes about the abilities of men and women can predict their academic interests in the future. They explain: "gender differences in students' interests are often interpreted as a result of gender stereotypes, which are socially shared beliefs that certain qualities can be assigned to individuals based on their sex" (p. 229). Their research highlights new ways in which gender representation or bias that favors men in certain fields such as STEM can lead to their overrepresentation in such a field, and the overrepresentation of women in other fields such as language arts, despite the fact that women outperform men in subjects such as mathematics (p. 241). Hence, gender bias in textbooks and education have long-lasting impacts on men *and* women, consciously or subconsciously dictating their future lives and trajectories, and such gendered discourses surrounding masculinity and femininity (and the stereotypes accompanying both) should be addressed and remedied.

While it is important to look at liberal feminist theory and the contributions these scholars have made to liberal feminist theory, such theory as a whole, and activism and action globally, I recognize my own feminist theoretical grounding also aligned with Transnational Feminism. Chandra Mohanty's seminal 1984 work *Under Western Eyes* has been influential in transnational feminist research and thought. Mohanty calls for context-specific research and analysis, situated within the unique socio-cultural, political, economic, and even post-colonial contexts within which the research exists. To me, it is important to understand the ways in which gender equality (and inequality) manifest themselves in Jordan due to the unique and complex interactions of many factors such as gender, class, race, history, colonialism (and neocolonialism), power, and more. Furthermore, it is equally vital to take these dynamics into consideration when addressing gender equality or equity. Acker's and Mohanty's works and the works of many more liberal and

transnational feminists have inspired my own feminism and research. Gender norms and stereotypes, while present around the world, are largely rooted in culture and society and tend to change over time (Mohanty, 1984; Lips, 1988). My research focuses on gender norms and stereotypes in Jordan, hence it is important to analyze what some of these norms and stereotypes there look like today, some of which I have outlined earlier in this chapter, and which I will continue to engage with throughout this research.

Feminist Theory from the Middle East

Access to education has been at the core of Middle Eastern feminist action and activism as well. As early as the 1920s, Egyptian feminist Huda Sha'arawi founded the Egyptian Feminist Union and worked to improve women's and girls' access to education at all levels, albeit focusing initially on middle to upper class women (Alqahtani, 2017). Foundational work and activism by Egyptian feminists Malak Hifni Nasif, Nawal El Saadawi, Huda Sha'arawi, and more set the tone for Arab feminist movements of the 20th century, and revolutionised access to education for women in the Middle East & North Africa. Notably, Sha'arawi and many other Egyptian women's rights activist at that time also led nationalist protests against the British. Leila Ahmed (1982) comments: "Although the issue had been a nationalist and in no way a feminist one, nevertheless women's very participation seems to have empowered them to henceforth take a stand on issues relating to the status of women" (p. 160).

While well-known feminists in the West have branded Islam as a "misogynistic religion and culture" (Farris & Rottenberg, 2017, p. 8), Islamic feminists since the early 1900s but especially in the 1990s worked to see reforms in society and legal institutions that supported women, reflecting the "the resilience, and the agency of Muslim women" (Moghissi, 2011, p. 77). Moghissi explains that Islamic feminists are those who "while embracing Islamic ideology as liberating, are genuinely trying to promote women's rights within the confines of Islamic Sharia" (p. 79). Badran (2009) explains how Islamic feminists use *ijtihad* and *tafsir,* as two methods of interpreting the Quran, relying on verses in the Quran that mandate equality between men and women. For example, Sha'arawi used the Quran to base her calls for social reform, especially using it to strengthen her demands for equality in access to education (Ahmed, 1982). Amina Al-Said, a prominent Egyptian women's rights activist and writer, called for "the restoration of equal rights in politics education, economics and social participation as established by the Prophet

Mohammed", specifically referring the Prophet's calls for equal rights to leverage her cause (Alqahtani, 2017, p. 75). Similarly, Zaynab Al-Ghazali, the founder of the Muslim Women's Association, calls for gender equality as stipulated and promised in Islam, and saw women to have a crucial role in education not only to learn but to teach: "In her view, the primary duty of Muslim women as trainers was to cultivate in their children the highest caliber of men and women to fill the ranks of the Islamic world" (Alqahtani, 2017, p. 79). *Feminism in Islam: Secular and Religious Convergences* by Margot Badran (2009) explains how central religion has been to the different feminisms constructed by Muslim women, and how Islamic feminism has grown to be a global phenomenon. However, as Mogisshi (2011) explains, Islamic feminism is but one form of feminism present in the Middle East, but one that is important to recognise on a local, regional, and global scale.

Feminist activists in Jordan have long worked to achieve gender equality and their full rights and protections in society. The Jordanian Women's Union and Feminists of Jordan groups work to create spaces for dialogue on feminism and women's rights in the country (Cuthbert, 2017). More recently in 2019, Jordanian feminists led marches and protests calling for the government to take strict action against perpetrators of violence against women, demanding their full rights and protections in society (Husseini, 2019). Additionally, feminists in Jordan have worked to achieve gender equality in education. Jansen (2006) writes that "while progress has been made towards gender equality in higher education, this does not automatically lead to an enhanced position for women as workers, citizens, and family members" (p. 487). Jansen's words still ring true: despite higher education enrollment levels at primary, secondary, and tertiary levels than ever (World Bank, 2019), women in Jordan continue to experience discrimination and misogyny in culture, society, and political institutions. Building off of this tension, my research calls for ameliorated representations of women in education as one of countless avenues for positive change in Jordan in the representations and situations of women.

Nationalism, Citizenship, and Education

Origins of Nationalism & Citizenship Theory

It is important first to recognize that, as stated by Douglas Cole (1971), "The idea of nations and nationalism is a European one" (p. 161). It is one that has been imported to Jordan by a British colonial project and continues to manifest itself in Jordan and in many postcolonial nations around

the world in various ways. Marx (2003) in *Faith in Nation: Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism* defines nationalism as:

> "a collective sentiment or identity, bounding and binding together those individuals who share a sense of large-scale political solidarity aimed at creating, legitimating, or challenging states … often perceived or justified by a sense of historical commonality which coheres a population within a territory and which demarcates those who belong and others who do not" (p. 6).

This demarcation of who belongs and who does not belong is an interesting tactic and one I hope to revisit in my analysis.

Two foundational texts on theory of nationalism and nationhood are those by Gellner (1965) and Anderson (2016). Gellner (1965) explains that most nations are a modern and recent invention, and that their invention is facilitated by nationalism. Gellner writes about the centrality of education to nationalism and citizenship: "The manufacture of a human being requires more than the resources of family and village, it requires the resources of an educational system … The minimal requirement for full citizenship, for effective moral membership of a modern community, is literacy" (p. 158 - 159). Gellner expresses the central and critical relationship between nationalism and education such that they sustain each other. The creation of nationalism as an ideology so closely tied to education was necessary to create a unity and solidarity across a society with a shared language and culture. Also, the foundation of a national mass educational system for large communities created a new culture that could connect a wider audience. At the foundation of his theory, he stresses the importance of "culture and education in creating a modern nation" (p. 23). Anderson's text *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* first published in 1983, echoes some of Gellner's previous claims about nationalism and nationhood. However, Anderson puts forward a view of nationalism as "an imagined community … depended on a particular configuration of economic and communication technologies" (Stahl, 2017, p. 26). McClintock (1993) writes, explaining on Anderson's views, that the imagined communities are "systems of cultural representation whereby people come to imagine a shared experience of identification with an extended community" (p. 61). Anderson explains that nationalism is a product of the emergence of printing presses and more widespread literacies, hence nationalism and education go hand in hand.

Nationalism Theory & Gender

Anne McClintock (1993) touches upon these two foundational theories regarding the constructions of nationhood and nationalism by describing the gendered constructions of citizenship, drawing from and critiquing both Anderson and Gellner. McClintock's research, *Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism, and the Family* (1993), provides crucial background and theory on nationalism and education which informs my research. She starts by stating "All nationalisms are gendered, all are invented, and all are dangerous" (p. 61). She begins with a critique of Gellner, whose seminal definition of nationhood rested on a "*male* recognition of identity" (p. 62). She critiques Anderson's ideas of nationalism that emerged with print capitalism, explaining that print capitalism was only accessible to the literate elite. Her piece provides an overview of nationalism and construction of citizenship in relation to gender and the family: while women are constructed as symbols that carry national culture, they are not represented in relation to national agency. For example, the woman's body can transmit and produce national culture, but the woman appears only in a symbolic role. Deniz Kandiyoti (1991) argues similarly that these particular examples of female representation is important since the woman or female citizen is constructed in a way that transmits culture that represents her ethnic and local group, demarcating local ethnic or nationalist boundaries. Hence, the woman is constructed as a political agent and body that carries citizenship, albeit one that lacks any agency itself. I found this construction interesting given that in Jordan, as in many Middle Eastern countries, women cannot pass their citizenship on to their children: nationality and citizenship are only passed on by the father. This, to me, renders women's role as 'bearers of culture' even more symbolic and strips women of their agency as citizens even further. McClintock summarizes: "Nationalism is thus constituted from the very beginning as a gendered discourse and cannot be understood without a theory of gender power" (p. 63). McClintock also argues that another common and problematic trope for the construction of female citizens is as reproducing bodies that carry the nation's future citizens. Thus, while Gellner and Anderson, and many others, have theorized about a nationalism that is inclusive of populations, McClintock and others, such as Marx (2003), have written about a form of nationalism can inherently be exclusive. While Marx writes about exclusion along the lines of religion, McClintock touches upon an exclusion that is gendered - one that is central to my research. An abundance of literature explores the nationalism in education, however, Kandiyoti

(1991) and Durrani (2008) agree that analyses of gender, nationalism, *and* education seldom come together - but are crucial.

In *Feminist Perspectives on the Learning of Citizenship*, Julia Preece (2002) offers insight into how the idea of citizenship has historically been gendered. Her analysis considers power relations and the "role of text and institutional systems in reproducing the status quo of power differentials" (p. 23). She critiques the presentation of citizenship as a universal concept explaining that in doing so, gender, class, race, and disability are all rendered invisible. Similarly, Madeleine Arnot (1997), in *Feminist Perspectives on Education and Citizenship,* states that citizenship has historically been seen as an "emblem of modernity" and yet has continuously been critiqued by women and other marginalized communities who disagree with the foundations of this concept of citizenship. Women struggle to be recognized as equals under modern citizenship in the patriarchal and masculinized societies that exist around the world today because of the ways liberal democratic philosophies constructed women as incapable of the behaviors and attitudes that have historically identified men as citizens, for example, as workers or soldiers. The gendering of citizenship thus shapes the roles created for men and women in society. Arnot (1997) calls for a critical analysis of citizenship in education especially by looking at teachers' discourses surrounding citizenship. Naureen Durrani (2008) also explains the challenges of effectively representing gender in national textbooks in Pakistan. She writes: "Nationalism aims at eliminating all kinds of status differentials based on ascriptive features - ethnicity, religion, language, sex, class - that divide the population internally … the nationalist discourse downplays internal plurality, especially in the post-colonial nations where the creation of the state precedes nation formation" (p. 596).

While these previous texts offer highlight the antecedents of work on nationalism over the past 30-40 years, I want to also highlight more recent work. Roozbeh Shirazi's (2012) conceptual background in his research on masculinity in Jordan discusses Judith Butler's (2006) theories on gender performativity. Shirazi explains that gender performativity and gendered identities are learned but they can be unstable, and that they are often performed and exhibited through the body as a social site. However, Shirazi explains that "national identity is fluid and performatively constructed as well … acknowledging the performative nature of identity draws our attention to how national identities may be constructed and regulated similarly to those of gender" (2012, p. 76). Shirazi then adds: "if we accept that heteronormativity … regulates our intelligibility as gendered subjects, we must be willing to consider that there are normative orders that regulate the

national body through juridical and curricular discourses, which produce both 'authentic' and 'problematic' national subjects" (p. 76). Shirazi specifically finds schools to be "important spaces in which connections between the performance of gender and citizenship are enacted" (p. 76). The parallels Shirazi builds between gender performativity and performance of citizenship provide a ground for further analysis and are central to the discussion that will ensue in this thesis. Citizenship and gender are both performed, they are both learned, and their relationship is constantly being changed and renegotiated in institutions such as education.

Nationalism in this Research

Writing on citizenship grounded within Middle Eastern women's movements reflect similar sentiments to those discussed earlier. Suad Joseph (1996) writes on how citizenship is gendered in the Middle East, where "state institutions and political processes have presumed the citizen to be male and females to be dependent second-class members of the political community" (p. 4). Women and other marginalised groups including minorities have been disempowered and disenfranchised in conversations about citizenship especially within the context of the post-colonial nation-state. Especially in the Middle East, Joseph (1996) and Kandiyoti (2001) comment on how rights are often bestowed through membership in a family, tribe, or community, which as "hierarchical entities animated by a patriarchal logic that privileges men over women" (Kandiyoti, 2001, p. 57). Such a perspective towards citizenship in the Middle East as inherently patriarchal and hierarchal will help orient my analysis of the textbooks.

In addition to analyses of gender, citizenship, and education, analyses of colonialism, citizenship, and education are important to consider. Wong et al. (2017) elaborate on the construction of 'good citizens' in education as a post-colonial agenda specifically through Civic Education and the notion of an education for citizens. Writing on the curricula in Hong Kong, they explain how the politicization of school curricula sought to "strengthen national identity and increase patriotism among young people" (p. 628). This post-colonial project was also replicated in Jordan. Betty Anderson's book *Nationalist Voices in Jordan: The Street and the State* (2005) sheds light on one pillar of this development: the construction of the Hashemite family (the ruling family in Jordan) and the Jordanian people as synonymous: "The Hashemites are Jordan; Jordan is the Hashemite family" (p. 1). Subsequently, she adds that the reigning discourse in Jordan is heavily centered on the ruling Hashemite family, specifically the King, and the state over which

he exerts his power - "the citizens of the country have no faces and no names" (p. 1). Anderson adds that even in education, the "overall message conveyed is that students should express their gratitude to the Hashemites" (p. 2). Hence, current discourses in Jordan relevant to nationalism are unique due to Jordan's post-colonial context, as well as its current history, politics, and society. Current nationalist sentiments are heavily rooted in respect and loyalty towards the King, the military, and the land (Massad, 2001). Nationalism and citizenship are spaces of ongoing dialogue and tension in Jordan, influenced by its post-colonial dynamics and ongoing tensions between Palestinians and Jordanians. These tensions have resulted in negative implications for women who are not afforded the same rights or responsibilities as men in Jordan. Two notable examples, as previously mentioned, are the Nationality Law whereby women in Jordan are unable to pass on their citizenship to their children, and the Personal Status Law whereby women are subordinated especially in relation to their husbands (IRCKHF, 2019).

This section served to introduce literature on nationalism, citizenship, gender, and colonialism. The gendering of citizenship, as discussed by McClintock, Kandiyoti, and others , is important to consider for my research particularly in relation to the construction of female bodies as reproductive bodies to birth the next generation and the construction of men as masculinized and militarized individuals who construct and protect the nation state. Hence, theories on citizenship and national duties are linked to education and gender.

Textbook Analysis

Why textbook analysis?

Textbooks, according to McCluskey (1993) can shape the "knowledge, attitudes and values of our young people" and can "reflect and shape the beliefs and actions of the nation itself. The value of their content for classroom use cannot be understated" (McCluskey, 1993, p. 3; Shiu, 2008). Shiu (2008) argues that there are three main purposes textbooks serve. First, they are inherently linked to a national memory and history, one that is often a reconstructed and contested history. In this respect, visual images in the textbooks play an important role here to construct and reproduce national memories of a specific history. Shiu then argues that the second purpose of textbooks is as "politicizing and socializing instruments" (p. 39) such that they teach and validate specific beliefs, politics, and a social order. Shiu stresses that textbooks can "reflect, reshape, and even redefine national identification(s) and identity(ies)" excluding and including specific peoples

and narratives to serve this very purpose (p. 39). Lastly, and importantly, textbooks are inherently pedagogical: "Textbooks approved at the ministry and district levels and used in schools by teachers and students often constitute authority simply because of their endorsement and validations by the former, and as such they consequently become the primary source of knowledge for the latter" (p. 40). Given the importance of textbooks to governments, teachers, students, and communities, I strongly value textbook analysis and literature on textbooks to understand where textbooks have been lacking and how we can improve them.

Rae Lesser Blumberg's 2007 paper *Gender bias in textbooks: a hidden obstacle on the road to gender equality in education* differentiates between girls' access to education and gender equality in education. Blumberg does this by discussing gender biases in textbooks specifically as a hindrance to gender equality in education. In her 2008 paper on the same topic, Blumberg argues that gender bias in textbooks is an "important, near-universal, remarkably uniform, quite persistent but virtually invisible obstacle on the road to gender equality in education" (2008, p. 345). Gender bias in textbooks is important to address for several reasons including that textbooks take up approximately 80% of class time, that they could "contribute to lowering girls' achievements", and that gender bias in textbooks involves "nearly identical patterns of under-representation of females, plus stereotypes of both genders' occupational and household roles that overwhelmingly underplay women's rising worldly importance" (p. 345). The influence of gender bias in textbooks is evident even in countries with no gender gap in school (Blumberg, 2008). Scholars interested in textbook analysis focusing on female representation often look at several different factors, including: "female and male visibility, gender stereotyping, use of gender-biased language, asymmetrical titles of female address, and male-firstness" (Lee, 2014, p. 41).

Curriculum Theory for Textbook Analysis

In order to conduct a textbook analysis and comment on the content and approaches of curriculum design, I draw upon three main well-established curriculum theories to orient my research and discussion. These curriculum theories feed largely into my theoretical framework. I chose these three theories in particular due to their prominence in other literature on textbook analysis related to gender and ethnic minorities, including Mkuchu (2004), Tsutsumi (2010), and Abdou (2019), and due to the different levels of observation and analysis they add to my analysis.

Building on work by Abdou (2019), I draw upon McLaren's (2003) definition of curriculum as something "more than a program of study, a classroom text, or a course syllabus … it represents the introduction to a particular form of life; it serves in part to prepare students for dominant or subordinate positions in the existing society" (p. 86). Giroux (2005), Abdou (2019), and more speak to the necessity of curricula that are "attentive to histories, dreams, and experiences" of all students regardless of their gender, class, race, or other background –especially paying attention to students from marginalized communities (Giroux, 2005, p. 142; Abdou, 2019).

Kennelly and Llewellyn (2011) write: "Educational discourses are powerful arbitrators of dominant norms and values within societies. Whether these norms are taken up, resisted, or co-opted, education unquestionably acts as a cultural agent through which acceptable behavior may be defined. Curricular documents or guidelines, while constituting only a portion of education curriculum, arguably play a key role in establishing the norms and boundaries of acceptable educational discourse" (p. 900). Apple (2000) discusses how curriculum is not neutral, and thus it should not be treated as such. Based on this, and the importance of curricula in classrooms discussed by Lips (1988), Schissler (1990), and more, curriculum theories are central to my research. Half of my research entails conducting a textbook analysis - specifically an analysis of the curricula presented in secondary school Civic Education textbooks and classrooms in Jordan. Accordingly, there are three main theoretical approaches to analyzing curricula that I rely upon throughout my analysis and study. The three following curriculum theories are important to unpacking the ways the Civic Education theory may not be neutral with regards to gender and consequently inform my theory, methodology, and analysis. I found that the three theories encompass the different dynamics I was interested in exploring in my curriculum analysis: where women's representations are hidden, excluded, and the capacity within which they are included – responding directly to my research goals.

First, the hidden curriculum theory is defined as "values, attitudes, and behaviors that are not part of the official curriculum, but which are nevertheless communicated to students in educational institutions" (Mkuchu, 2004, p. 18). Mkuchu's (2004) doctoral thesis discusses hidden curriculum. She explains that "hidden curriculum refers to the outcome of unintended side effects of the official curriculum … Curriculum therefore, goes beyond official statements of intention whether these are stipulated in the syllabuses or teachers' guides. Pupils therefore learn other things in the school besides the intended curriculum" (p. 76). Hidden curriculum can influence

social and personal attitudes - including gendered roles and stereotypes. One example Mkuchu gives related to hidden curriculum its curricular bias against women and girls, seen in gendered stereotypes that appear in textbooks - seeing women only as mothers for instance. Pingel (2010) also touches upon the importance of uncovering hidden curricula and the "underlying assumptions and the connotations which a text may evoke in the student's mind" (p. 67). More recently, Abdou (2019) explores hidden curriculum explaining that "hidden curriculum and unbalanced historical narratives - with their omissions and misrepresentations - are embedded in dominant discourses, which critical scholars argue are embedded in knowledge systems and worldview that need to be made visible and interrogated" (p. 25).

Beyond just hidden curricula in textbooks, I aim to address the "null" curriculum, or what is excluded from the curriculum (Eisner, 1985; Abdou, 2016; Abdou, 2019). Eisner (1985) explains that there are three aspects of any school curricula: "the explicit, the implicit, and the null" (Eisner, 1985, cited in Flinders, Noddings & Thornton, 1986, p. 34). The explicit curriculum can be regarded as what is included in the curriculum itself: in the lessons and the program to deliver to students. The implicit curriculum is related to ideas about hidden curriculum: what is learned by students but not formally included. The third pillar, the null curriculum, refers to what is left out in the process of curriculum development. Whether excluded intentionally or unintentionally, exploring what is excluded from curricula can help better understand the "options students are not afforded, the perspectives they may never know about" (Eisner, 1994, p. 107).

The third approach in curriculum analysis I focus on is 'additive' curricula. Banks (1989) defines an additive approach to curriculum reform as one that allows curriculum developers to include new content into the existing curriculum without restructuring what already exists. Additive approaches to curriculum reform can result in fragmented and often incomplete narratives in textbooks. Banks explains that this approach can pose negative outcomes since it "fails to help students view society from diverse cultural and ethnic perspectives and the ways in which the histories and cultures of the nation's diverse ethnic, racial, cultural, and religious groups are inextricably bound" (p. 18). Abdou (2019) explains that this additive approach can especially be dangerous as it "leaves the dominant culture largely unquestioned and unchallenged" (p. 23).

Using the three curriculum theories I outlined above, I conducted my analysis of the textbooks selected for my study. I use these theories to inform my discussion and analysis and to make recommendations if and where possible. Highlighting the perspectives forgotten, omitted,

and fragmented could contribute to a stronger understanding of the shortcomings of a textbook, and the opportunities for growth, development, and improvement, and can include and empower students of all backgrounds and social locations.

Textbook Analysis Research

The field of textbook analysis is large and extremely diverse in terms of its goals, methods, approaches, and findings. For this literature review, I draw from textbook analysis research that focuses on representation of women and gender, addressing some research on Jordanian textbooks.

Lee (2014) conducted an analysis of Japanese English as a First Language (EFL) textbooks in order to understand the gender representations in the textbooks. Lee explains that gender norms can be manifested through educational materials such as textbooks in a process she identifies as "linguistic sexism" (p. 39). She explains: "Many languages, including English and Japanese, have features that background or degrade women, including asymmetric expressions and the default presentation of male gender as the norm" (p. 39). This linguistic sexism is evident also in the Arabic language, where conjugations default to masculine. Lee also discusses hidden curricula, as a "socialization process of schooling" (Kentli, 2009, p. 83, cited in Lee, 2014, p. 40) which "functions to reinforce dominant beliefs, values, and norms among learners" (Lee, 2014, p. 40). Lee adopts several guiding questions for her analysis including: "what is the ratio of female-to-male appearances", "to what extent are gender-neutral and gender-marked constructions used", and "what are the common types of activities associated with men and women" (p. 43). She finds that textbook authors tended to have male protagonists in their chapters. She also found that females, who are under-represented, were more closely associated with indoor activities, being emotional and fragile, and being involved in family care, whereas males were associated with physical activity, wisdom, courage, and wealth.

Linguistic representation of gender in textbooks also warrants exploration and is critical to construction of gender. Lips' (1988) book finds that school children tended to interpret 'he' as male-specific rather than gender-neutral. Lips also found that consistent exposure to masculine normative conjugations leads children to internalize male as the typical, while female as atypical. Durrani's (2008) and Khan et al.'s (2014) studies echo this finding. Durrani (2008) conducted a content analysis of Pakistani National Education textbooks at an elementary level and found that less than one quarter of textbook illustrations were of women, and that the predominant and

prevailing national narrative is one that is masculine (p. 601). Durrani explores the impact this has on girls using classroom observations and activities. For instance, upon asking elementary school students in Pakistan to draw "us", she noted that girls rarely drew women. Boys did not draw women at all. Durrani also argues that the use of male-gendered language in reference to the prime ministers of Pakistan erases the fact that Pakistan also had a female prime minister thus removing diversity from the country and more specifically, women from the national history. She concludes that representing a homogenous citizenship can be damaging. Research by Khan et al. (2014) notes similar findings in looking at compulsory language textbooks in Pakistan for English and Urdu. They argue that the hidden curriculum conveyed through the textbooks, notably through the use of gendered language, can create negative self-perception among female learners (p. 73), also noting that language could be a means for social control and a tool for the construction of a cultural identity (p. 59). Both studies find that curricula tend to split the world into masculine and feminine. To add to this, Frazer and Miller (2009) document the longstanding use of the passive voice in conversations about women particularly in regard to talking about domestic violence against women in the news. They explain how the passive voice forces readers to notice the object of the sentence more often. Orienting women as active or passive in the language used within textbooks for instance is another important factor in female representation, or their further erasure.

Mayyada Abu Jaber's 2014 publication highlights important background information on education and textbooks in Jordan. She conducted a mapping exercise across 38 Jordanian textbooks from grades 4 through 10 in four different subjects and reviewed several teacher's guides to examine the gendered relationships and ideologies across the curricula. She also assessed leadership and policies within the Jordanian Ministry of Education in order to show how the gendered division of labour and leadership within the Ministry is an indication of the "attitudes of society toward female employment" (p. 12). Overall, Abu Jaber identified far more gender-negative concepts in textbooks than those that were neutral or positive. The textbooks implied that women's employment would conflict with their duties with regards to their families. Aspects of financial control and management such as budgeting or going to the supermarket were designated to men in the textbooks (p. 31). Interestingly, Abu Jaber suggests that the rating of different textbooks across the Jordanian curricula for gender sensitivity seems to improve when authors worked collaboratively with NGOs and other specialized educational organizations to author the textbook. Findings by Otoom (2014) echo Abu Jaber's: his analysis of Jordanian Arabic language

textbooks at an elementary level identified that men appeared more frequently than women in the textbook - especially in roles such as pharmacists, poets, farmers, doctors, and soldiers. Women were closely associated with compassion and tenderness as well as family care, whereas men were associated with leadership. Nofal and Qawar's (2015) analysis of English language textbooks chosen by the Jordanian Ministry of Education found that while there were efforts to make the textbooks more closely mirror Jordanian society, men were far more represented textually and visually.

Alayan and Al-Khalidi's research in *Gender and Agency in History, Civics, and National Education Textbooks of Jordan and Palestine* (2010) is perhaps the most relevant publication to my present study. The authors conduct an analysis of images of gender in textbooks in Jordan and Palestine - textbooks that have since been updated several times. They explain the importance of analyzing and critiquing textbooks as they "constitute legitimate and early type of 'media' and reflect the values and knowledge that any society sets out for its members" (p. 80). Their analysis suggests that in Jordanian textbooks, women occupied varying and inconsistent roles, which shows the variety and difference in textbook authors' opinions.

To conclude, there is clearly a large body of literature, extending further than what I present here, that discusses curriculum theory, textbook analysis, and textbook representations of gender. Most of the literature highlights similar pitfalls of textbooks with regards to gender: essentialist and stereotypical representations of women. Also, most literature makes reference to the inconsistency and lack of representation of women without engaging with suggestions for future reform. As for research on Jordan, studies overwhelmingly suggest biased and lacking representations of women (Abu Jaber, 2014; Otoom, 2014; Alayan & Al-Khalidi, 2010). Despite the availability of relevant literature, Blumberg (2007) explains that little has been done to explore the impact of these representations and biases on both females and males in classrooms and beyond. as she calls for "adequate, gender-disaggregated monitoring and evaluation of an intervention designed to ameliorate gender bias in textbooks and/or curricula" (2007, p. 36). Blumberg also calls for more action and innovation regarding teacher attitudes and training in order to better address gender biases. Durrani (2008) calls for similar analysis of the strong roles teachers play in mediating textbook content to present gendered ideals within society, which I hope to explore further later on.

Summary

This chapter introduced my two theoretical frameworks that support this research, as well as a wide range of literature upon which I build my study. Using foundational workings on gender & feminist, I discussed the importance of feminist theory to ground my research. This research, in line with existing feminist theory, calls for gender equality and equal opportunities and representation in education. Drawing from Mohanty, I argue that this work needs to be driven first and foremost by context-specific analysis upon which I can provide a strong understanding of the local dynamics in Jordan and the ways they could impact women and girls in education. Second, I draw from curriculum theories by a wide range of scholars in curriculum theory, who explain that curricula are not neutral. Hidden curriculum theory can help uncover the values and information that is not explicitly addressed in learning materials but can be implicitly passed on to students. Null curriculum theory refers to information that is not included in the curriculum at all. Additive curriculum is an approach to curriculum design that seeks to incorporate new information without restructuring it to fit into the overall narrative, which can have negative implications overall. I also drew upon a range of literature that spoke to three main themes relevant to my research. First, I highlighted theories relating to women and gender that highlight the ways in which female subordination in society has been long standing. Second, I addressed citizenship and nationalism theories to show the ways in which the concept of citizenship is heavily tied to masculinity and traditionally masculine occupations, such as being a worker or a soldier. Lastly, I looked at textbook analyses focusing on gender to highlight the ways that female representation in curricula and textbooks has been a longstanding issue that authors from around the world have sought to remedy over the past several decades. This literature review serves as a foundation to the research I conduct and discuss in the following chapters.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the two main methodologies employed for this study: textbook analysis and specialist interviews. This chapter is divided into two parts: first I will outline the methods used for the textbook analysis portion of the research. Second, I will outline the setup and methods used for the interviews. As mentioned in Chapter 1, and drawing upon Pingel's (2010) work as well as other scholars who have conducted their own curricular analyses, I have developed two overarching questions for my study:

1. How are women and female citizenship represented in Jordanian Civic Education textbooks? How do these representations compare to those of men and male citizenship?

2. What are teachers' and curriculum developers' opinions towards representations of women and gender in the Civic Education textbooks? How (if at all) do they address them in their fields?

My research process is inherently feminist: Hesse-Biber (2014) describes feminist research as research that "positions gender as the categorical centre of inquiry and the research process. By using a variety of research methods - quantitative, qualitative, mixed - feminist researchers use gender as a lens through which to focus on social issues. Research is considered "feminist" when it is grounded in the set of theoretical traditions that privilege women's issues, voices, and lived experiences" (p. 3). Hesse-Biber explains that the end goal of feminist research is to "support social justice and social transformation" (p. 3).

Overview of the Methods

This research project is divided into two parts. First, I conducted a content analysis of the four Civic Education textbooks in use in Jordan for Grades 9 and 10. Using a feminist and gendered lens, I set out to analyze the textbooks to highlight representations of women and gender (textually and visually) and address their significance. Each grade is assigned two short textbooks (one for each school term). This analysis is based on first, a numerical tally of the number of photos of men and women in the textbooks, followed by a qualitative analysis drawing largely from work by

Pingel (2010), Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2007), Charmaz (2006), and others, which I will discuss in more detail in the following sections. Second, I conducted semi-structured interviews, drawing inspiration from Charmaz's (2006) instructions on interview design, with teachers and curriculum developers in Jordan. I conducted a total of seven interviews between July and August 2019 in Amman with teachers and curriculum developers, from whom I gathered notes that I translated and transcribed. I will be analyzing the content of these interviews using a coding method also inspired by Charmaz (2006) to understand teacher and curriculum developer attitudes towards representations of women and gender in the Civic Education textbooks.

The Textbooks

Falk Pingel's *UNESCO Guidebook on the Textbook Research and Textbook Revision* (2010) outlines questions to address when conducting an analysis of Civic Education (CE) textbooks specifically. These guiding questions include:

- "Does the language allow differentiation between boys/girls or men/women?" (p. 74)
- "How often are males/females presented as people in positions of power or responsibility, how often do they appear in visuals, what are their opinions and roles in society?" (p. 74).
- "Which attitudes / values are expressed with regard to general rules and principles such as authority, tradition, customs and religious and ethical-moral norms, as well as to the constitution, laws or other legal principles?" (p. 72)
- "Does the schoolbook contain attitudes and values about the family, school, work and professions, consumption, leisure and the public sphere, etc.?" (p. 72)

Pingel's guiding questions for analyzing CE textbooks mention the need to explore modes of presentation (such as the descriptions used, active or passive participation or language and so on and the range of topics presented within the curricula (such as in relation to a holistic or monolithic society, and the differentiation or representation of minority groups). I chose to rely on Pingel's guiding questions in building my methodology to engage more critically with the textbooks at hand through his established framework.

As noted in Chapter One, there are a total of four textbooks used for Civic Education for Grade 9 and 10 - two for each grade. One textbook is assigned per term. The textbooks are all in Arabic, as this is designed to be a course taught in the Arabic language. Each textbook contains approximately 3 units on overarching themes such as Human Rights, Heritage, and Youth. Within

each unit, there are usually 3-4 lessons. The textbooks are generally designed to have 9-12 lessons across the units for the 12 weeks of the school term. Hence, lessons are typically short, each about 3-4 pages. The textbooks all contain one page dedicated to a photo of the King of Jordan, King Abdullah II, another dedicated to a photo of a map of Jordan, and several pages of review questions relevant to the lessons and units introduced. I selected these textbooks for two main reasons. First, the complexity of the topics introduced compared to earlier years (such as Grades 5 and 6, where the themes focus on the environment and tourism, which are less central to my research focus). Second, since Grade 10 is the final mandatory year of schooling, the topics that students, especially girls, are exposed to at this time may have profound implications regarding their first steps in joining adult society.

Below is a breakdown of the four textbooks used in this research:

- The Grade 9 Term 1 textbook (referred to as textbook 9.1) is 77 pages long. There are three units in the textbook: Human Rights, Democracy, and National Security & Security Services.

- The Grade 9 Term 2 textbook (referred to as textbook 9.2) is 78 pages long. There are four units in the textbook: Youth, Economic Concepts, Heritage, and Civilization Profile.

- The Grade 10 Term 1 textbook (referred to as textbook 10.1) is 63 pages. There are three units in the textbook: World Security & Peace, National Security, and Coexistence.

- The Grade 10 Term 2 textbook (referred to as textbook 10.2) is 62 pages. There are three units in the textbook: Jordan & Demographic Development, Royal Initiatives, and Civilization Profile.

The Interviews

I received approval from McGill's Research Ethics Board to conduct semi-structured interviews with teachers and curriculum developers in Jordan (See Appendix 1). The interviews were conducted within a 4-week period between July and August 2019 in Amman, Jordan. I conducted the interviews in Arabic. Participants were recruited in Amman with the help of a personal connection, who led me to several teachers in Amman. Of the teachers she introduced me to, a few were randomly selected to participate in my study. As for curriculum developers, I reached out to a member of the National Centre for Curriculum Development (NCCD) who was able to connect me with one of her colleagues. All participants were assigned a pseudonym and

their identities remain anonymized for the purpose of this research. Participants were given the choice to opt out of having their interview audio recorded. Due to this option to have interviews recorded (or not), transcripts produced for each interview vary significantly in length and depth. I transcribed and translated all notes and recordings. I met with a total of 7 interview participants, four of whom worked as teachers (including one former teacher working as a school administrator), and three of whom work (or worked) as curriculum developers. Of these interviewees, two opted to have their interview recorded. For the remainder, I took hand-written notes which I then translated and transcribed later on. Each interview lasted between 30 minutes to an hour and was conducted in the teachers' and curriculum developers' offices.

The text box (Text Box 1) below contains questions I prepared prior to my interview in order to guide the interviews with teachers. Drawing from Charmaz (2006), I prepared questions that touch upon my main research objectives in relation to women and gender in Civic Education but are also open-ended to allow for teachers to reflect and share their own experiences in the curriculum and their own careers. The questions also probe on topics such as teacher satisfaction with the current state of the curriculum, whether they perceive there is equal representation of men and women in the curriculum, and their own approaches to teaching Civic Education in their classrooms.

Text Box 1: Interview Questions for Teachers.

Introductory Questions:
1. Do you teach in a public or private school? Is this a mixed-gendered or single-sex school?
2. How long have you been teaching?
3. How long have you been teaching social sciences and Civic Education? Do you teach any other subjects as well?
4. What grades do you teach Civic Education?

Civic Education Specific Questions:
1. What teaching materials or textbooks do you rely upon when teaching Civic Education? Where do you get these materials from?
2. Going through the Civic Education textbook in particular, are you satisfied with the subject and its curriculum?
3. Reflecting on your experiences in the classroom with your students, do you think your students are satisfied with the subject and its curriculum?
4. Going through the textbook, what would you like to suggest about revising or enhancing these textbooks? What do you think is missing from this textbook?
5. Which roles or values do you think are important in terms of being a good citizen, as

presented in this textbook?
6. How do you think men and women are presented in the curriculum (in terms of their roles, values, participation…)?
7. What sorts of representations exist of men or women in the textbooks? Do you think these representations are adequate or equal?
8. How do you like to teach Civic Education in your classroom, bearing in mind some of the challenges you identified earlier?
9. Should representations of men and women in the textbooks change? If yes, could you describe in what ways you would like to see them change?

Text Box 2 (below) contains the guiding questions used in semi-structured interviews with the curriculum developers and administrators. Similarly, questions were developed bearing in mind similar considerations and methodologies discussed above.

Text Box 2: Interview Questions for Curriculum Developers and Administrations

Introductory Questions:
1. Are you currently a teacher? If yes, in a public or private school? If not, were you a teacher in the past?
2. Can you describe your background working in curriculum development?
3. Do you focus on curriculum development for specific subjects? If yes, what subjects are those?

Civic Education Specific Questions:
1. Going through the textbook, what would you like to suggest about revising or enhancing these textbooks? What do you think is missing from this textbook?
2. Which roles or values do you think are important in terms of being a good citizen, as presented in this textbook?
3. How do you think men and women are presented in the curriculum (in terms of their roles, values, participation…)?
4. What sorts of representations exist of men or women in the textbooks? Do you think these representations are adequate or equal?
5. What potential do you see for the textbook and the Civic Education curriculum in its future revision?
6. Is gender a consideration taken when updating the curriculum? If yes, how will it be integrated or discussed?
7. Do you think representations of gender (or of men and women) in the textbooks can or should change? If yes, how?

It is important to note that in the end the interviews were more free-flowing than I had originally anticipated. In some cases, the conversation led to different topics. In other cases, the

interviewees touched upon several of the questions and themes I was hoping to introduce before asking those specific questions, since they were aware of the purpose of my research, which led the conversation to progress more quickly than anticipated.

Design of Methods

I chose to adopt a content analysis inspired by the work of Charmaz (2006) on coding, as well as works by Hesse-Biber (2014) and Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2007) on content analysis within feminist research and practice. Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2007) describe content analysis as a feminist research practice that seeks to explore questions such as: "Whose point of view is represented in popular and commercial culture? How is difference represented in culture? … How are ideas about masculinity and femininity constructed, reconstructed, and contested within culture via texts produced within the culture?" (2007, p. 227). They define content analysis as "the systematic study of texts and other cultural products or nonliving data forms", a form of analysis specifically dedicated to textbooks, books, pictures, and more. Content analysis developed "out of the assumption that we can learn about our society by interrogating the material items produced within the culture … social life, such as norms, values, socialization … by looking at the texts we produce" (p. 229). Feminist research stresses that "texts are not produced within a vacuum but are the products of a given time and space" (p. 229).

Charmaz (2006) explores several methods of coding data, which she defines as "[attaching] labels to segments of data that depict what each segment is about" as a way to filter, sort, and describe the data at hand (p. 3). Using Charmaz's coding techniques, I aimed to conduct the coding portion of my content analysis by sorting through the textbooks and interview transcripts and coding instances of gender representation and other ideas that are relevant to my research. This approach allows me to gain a deeper look into the data at hand and the code that can emerge from it. Bearing in mind the overarching theme of gender representation, I prioritize the examinations of texts and their emergent themes in relation to gender, rather than beginning the analysis searching for specific incidents. I did not predetermine a list of codes, but rather coded the text as I went along but focusing on gender only.

While the written content in the textbooks is a large component of my research data, pictures used in the textbooks are just as important to address and analyze. Pingel (2010) writes that "illustrations are more likely to foster deeply rooted prejudices; they help to create images in

the minds of students, which are more persistent than the written text" (p. 49). Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2007) question: "If a picture speaks a thousand words then what kinds of gendered images are young children being exposed to as they develop their self-identity?" (p. 240). Hence, throughout my content analysis and subsequent discussion, I aim to connect between the visual and textual components of the textbooks. Feminist researchers employ quantitative content analysis approaches to identify specific patterns within a text's methods, subjects, and content to "reveal statistically significant patterns of gender and race bias" (2007, p. 228). Hence, building on Hesse-Biber and Leavy's work, I chose to start with a simple tabulation of the number of photos of men, the number of photos of women, and the number of photos of both men and women together included in the textbooks. This approach enabled me to comment on the frequencies at which men and women are included visually in the textbooks. Afterwards, taking a qualitative approach, I discussed a selection of photos based on what I can infer, their description, and relevance. Although this approach involves greater subjectivity due to my own interpretation of the images, I believe that texts and the photos accompanying them must be analyzed together.

Coding and Procedures

The four textbooks I chose to analyze are only available in Arabic. I started by coding the textbooks in the order they are intended to be read by students (Grade 9.1 then 9.2, followed by Grade 10.1 and 10.2) in order to gain a better sense of the continuity offered by the textbooks since they are designed to be taught sequentially.

Charmaz (2006) defines coding as "categorizing segments of data with a short name that simultaneously summarizes and accounts for each piece of data … codes show how you select, separate, and sort data to begin an analytic accounting of them" (p. 43). Although Charmaz's coding is directed towards working within Grounded Theory, which my research does not adopt, I found value in her instructions on coding within qualitative analysis, especially her description of coding incident to incident. Working on physical copies of the textbooks, I started my coding process by reading through the textbook once to familiarize myself with the format, lessons, and overall content. I highlighted text that mentioned women or gender and applied a code (or phrase) to tag the data based on the theme it introduces. Since there is a large amount of information in the textbooks that does not relate to women or gender (my main research focus), I chose to focus solely on coding content relevant to my research. Hence, the codes I generated speak only to the gender

dimensions of the textbooks (E.G.: female conjugation, women's rights, empowering girls, women as mothers…). I describe the coding procedures with more detail in each relevant chapter. With regard to my analysis of the interview transcripts, I adopted a coding approach similar to the one above in order to generate codes and tags for the segments of data, some of which I found repeated often throughout the transcripts. I structured my discussion based on repetitious codes that emerged from my analysis. Overall, I conducted this content analysis guided by a feminist and gendered lens, bearing in mind a feminist research focus that privileges women, their experiences, and their empowerment.

Summary

Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2007) write: "Just as texts can be an integral part in creating and maintaining the status quo, so too can they help challenge long-held beliefs and practices" (p. 230). Additionally, Shiu (2008) and Pingel (2010) emphasize the importance of text and images being understood and analyzed *together*. Hence, in determining my methodology, I chose to use a content analysis approach inspired by feminist research methods in content analysis described by Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2007) and Hesse-Biber (2014) to account for my analysis of text and visuals together. I chose this approach in coding and analysis to engage more in depth with the textbooks and the content at hand. Through this approach, I hope to draw new findings from the textbooks and interview transcripts rather than base my analysis on preconceived assumptions.

In this chapter, I outlined by research methods and the data I choose to work with as twofold: the textbooks, and the interview transcripts. I adopted a definition of coding inspired by Charmaz (2006) who described coding as a data analysis and sorting process that can highlight interesting and unexpected themes in the data. Such a process would also allow me to better understand the texts through a more detailed and rigorous lens - a lens that is inherently feminist and focused on gender. Blumberg (2007) and Durrani (2008) note the relevance and importance of textbook analysis but call for research on the roles teachers play in mediating textbook content especially regarding gender, and the importance of working with teachers to address gender biases. Based on this, my analysis and discussion will ultimately speak to both the textbooks and my findings the participant interviews. It will identify gender representation in textbooks, attitudes towards this representation, and curriculum developers' outlooks on what can, and should, change.

Chapter 4: Textbook Analysis

Introduction

This chapter discusses the results of the textbook analysis for the four Civic Education textbooks selected in this study. The purpose of this analysis is to explore the ways in which women and gender are (or are not) represented in the textbooks, and to discuss the social roles or narratives associated with these representations. This chapter will briefly mention the content of each textbook and especially focus on instances of women's representation in the textbooks (whether linguistically / grammatically, visually, or textually). Next the chapter will discuss the use of photos in the textbooks using a tabulation of the number of photos of men and women throughout the textbooks (which allowed me to comment on the frequencies within which men and women were included visually in the textbooks), followed by a qualitative analysis of the photographs. Finally, the chapter will engage readers in a discussion on several themes present across all four textbooks to draw parallels, make conclusions, and shed light on the state of representation of women in the Civic Education textbooks. Research by Sadker et al. (2009), Tsutsumi (2010) and many others has expressed the ways in which textbooks are imbalanced in terms of gender representation, largely in favor of men. Hence, exploring and improving the representations of women, and representations of minorities, in textbooks is important. This chapter begins with a summary and discussion of the content of all four textbooks involved in this study, the most recent (2018-2019 school year) Jordanian Civic Education textbooks for Grades 9 and 10. The textbooks for each year are meant to be continuous and sequential. The core findings of this chapter are offered under the main headings: Authorship, Female Figures & Narratives, Gendered Language, and Additive Approaches.

Analytic Process & Coding

As discussed in Chapter 3, I chose to adopt a textbook analysis method drawing from Pingel's (2010) work on textbook analysis, Hesse-Biber and Leavy's (2007) and Hesse-Biber's (2014) works on feminist content analysis, as well as Charmaz's (2006) instructions on coding. Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2007) give examples of an implementation of a content analysis using exploratory questions such as "Whose point of view is represented in popular and commercial culture? How is difference represented in culture? … How are ideas about masculinity and

femininity constructed, reconstructed, and contested within culture via texts produced within the culture?" (p. 227). These questions served as some of my guiding questions to direct my research, methods, and analysis.

Rather than code line to line, I chose to code in a method closest to what Charmaz (2006) describes as incident to incident - specifically from incident to incident on women and/or gender. Due to the wide range of topics in the textbooks, I focused specifically on coding with a gender lens as this was most relevant to my research topic. For instance, I paid specific attention to content or language pertaining to women or gender, mention of women's roles, men's roles, family roles, and more. I also made sure to code or tag linguistic nuances within the text and specific instances where nouns or verbs were gendered either masculine, feminine, or both. For instance, I coded a piece of text where "citizen" was conjugated both masculine and feminine to draw attention to it, as it was unique and relevant to my research question. Arabic is a gendered language, similar to French, where nouns and verbs can be gendered masculine or feminine. Hence, I paid specific attention to instances where verbs and nouns were conjugated masculine, feminine, addressed both genders, or neutralized. There are photos woven through the texts and lessons in the textbook. I started by counting the number of photos that portrayed women, that portrayed men, or that portrayed both men and women together. Afterwards, I described a selection of these photos and analyzed them throughout my text based on the themes that emerged in my coding too. This approach facilitated a discussion based on themes and allowed me to better integrate an analysis of the photos within my greater research project. After coding each textbook, I identified some of the most common and relevant themes that emerged which I will discuss in greater detail in this chapter as well.

Organizing the Textbook Data

Below, I present the relevant data from each textbook in relation to my coding and analysis on gender or representations of women. I chose to display this data to orient the reader towards the sorts of content and examples the textbooks include that are relevant to this study, and to draw upon this data (in English) throughout my analysis and discussion to follow.

Grade 9 Term 1

Unit	Content
Human Rights	One lesson in this unit introduces six civic duties to citizens in Jordanian society, including a civic duty to defend the country, and one to uphold familial duties - which the textbook defines as duties assigned to members of the family. There is a strong emphasis on the family and familial rights and duties throughout the unit.
	One passage explains that Islam stresses the right to equality and being treated equally, specifically making reference to people of different races, colors, and socio-economic standings - but not gender (Breizat, Al-Ghuwayyan & Al-Khasman, 2018a, p. 15). The passage then uses a verse from the Quran that makes brief reference to gender. A passage explaining Islam's emphasis on the importance of education explains that education is the "duty of every Muslim man and Muslim woman*"* (Breizat et al., 2018a, p. 16). The sentence specifically conjugates the Arabic word for "Muslim [person]" to both masculine and feminine in reference to all people's right and duty to seek education and knowledge. The last passage in the lesson on Islam and human rights talks about the right to employment, using the gender-neutral word *"individual"* to explain the right, duty, and benefit of seeking employment.
	The next lesson begins with a discussion on how there was a newly found emphasis on human rights in the wake of World War II, culminating with the 1948 UN Declaration of Human Rights. A passage from the declaration is included in the lesson, which mentions specifically how men and women are equal in rights (Breizat et al., 2018a, p. 19). The lesson explains that while other covenants (such as on economic rights and political rights) are binding, the UN Declaration of Human Rights is not. One activity in the lesson asks students to research one of two figures who have fought for human rights (Mother Teresa or Martin Luther King) online and prepare a report to present to their classmates. There is no previous mention of either figure or their importance in the textbook.
	There is one page in the textbook specifically on the rights of women. The page contains just two passages. The first is a passage on the rights of women in Islam, explaining how Islam afforded women rights they did not previously enjoy such as the right to inheritance and the right to choose a spouse. While the passage mentions several other rights of women such as their right to participate in society and seek employment, it concludes with the following statement: "Islam views women as half of society … for women in Islam are partners with men to populate the Earth" (Breizat et al., 2018a, p. 23). While the textbook recognizes women as half of society, it does so to reference marriage and reproduction as a woman's duty in her partnership with man, and to create families. There is a discussion question below this passage that asks: "What is the importance of educating the Muslim woman?".

	The second passage talks about the rights of women in International agreements. The last sentence explains that the Jordanian constitution equates between men and women in their rights and duties. This page on the rights of women concludes with an activity, asking students to research Jordanian women who have played an important role in society and write a report on one woman to present to the class. This is followed by another discussion question: "Why was there specific discussion on the rights of women in international agreements?" (p. 23).
Democracy	The first lesson in the unit contains a text box at the bottom of the page. It reads: "I am a Jordanian citizen, I encourage [both] my parents to participate in the electoral processes because it is [both] their rights, and I participate in student council elections and bear those [democratic] responsibilities" (p. 31). The emphasis on *both* parents' democratic duties and rights should be noted.
	A textbox mentions men and women: "Embodying democratic thought inside the household involves a husband to respect his wife, and his granting her her rights, and equality between children both males and females. It involves the father and the mother sitting with their children, discussing topics with them, and consulting them about issues in their day to day lives" (p. 34). The text box explicitly mentions the need for respect in family households, particularly a husband's respect for his wife.
National Security & Security Services	The final unit on National Security & Security Services discusses the military, police force, and intelligence services that exist in Jordan. Despite mention of several different pillars of the Jordanian national security forces, there is no mention of women or their roles within such forces and services. In a lesson on the Jordanian civil defense forces, there is a text box that reads: "The Civil Defense Directorate recruited female students from universities in 2005 to involve women in civil defense work" (p. 66). This is the sole mention of women in the unit (in both text and photos).

Grade 9 Term 2

Unit	Content
Youth	Youth play a vital part in building society and also have other important duties including protecting the country, participating in peacebuilding and positive contributions to the country, participating in volunteering for community service activities, and engaging democratically such as in local and municipal elections. The textbook goes on to mention how the King and his son, the Crown Prince, have worked hard to foster a positive and encouraging environment for youth in Jordan.
	The next lesson discusses some of the organizations and institutions in Jordan that serve youth in particular, under the umbrella of the Ministry of Youth. One

	royal initiative, named in honor of the late King Hussein, runs camps and other military-style activities for youth.
Economic Concepts	The lesson on employment discusses the importance of employment in our lives as it is a source of income, it allows individuals to feel a greater sense of contribution and self-sufficiency, and it is called upon positively in Islam. Employment is important not only for individuals but also for the community as a whole as it can strengthen the local economy and eradicate unemployment and its negative consequences. The lesson mentions very briefly (in two sentences) the importance of women entering the workforce, which I will discuss in more detail in the 'Qualitative Analysis' section below.
	The rest of the lessons in the unit make no reference to women or gender.
Heritage	The lessons in the unit make no reference to women or gender, instead focusing on discussing the value of material and intellectual heritage.
Civilization Profiles	Al-Balkaa Governorate: The lesson provides examples of heritage in the city of Al-Salt in the governorate, including its architecture and clothing. One passage talks about the dress of women from Al-Salt. The photo included is the only photo of a woman in any of the textbooks. I will discuss the significance of both the photo and its accompanying text in the next section.
	The remaining lessons in the unit make no reference to women or gender.

Grade 10 Term 1

Unit	Content
World Security & Peace	The chapter explains the importance of peace and peacebuilding efforts locally and internationally. The chapter explains that peacebuilding creates a community of love and respect among individuals of varying "races, appearances, colours, and religions" (Al-Musaeed, Al-Othman, Kukeesh, & Mukdadi, 2018a, p. 12), without making reference to gender. An activity in the first lesson on world peace asks students to look at five different scenarios and determine which of them represent a peaceful scenario. Two of the examples list forms of violence, such as children participating in acts of war and armed conflict, but there is no mention of gender or gendered violence here. The lesson quotes a text from the United Nations that makes reference to human rights for both men *and* women (p. 15).
	The next lesson defines 'culture of peace' as values and behaviours that together express respect for human beings and their rights, reject violence in all its forms, recognize equal rights for men and women, and more (Al-

	Musaeed et al., 2018a, p. 19). Furthermore, there is an explicit mention of respect for men *and* women's rights. There is no discussion on how such equality can be achieved, or why it is important to achieve equality.
	The following lesson discusses the military's role in peacekeeping. Through the Jordanian military's various divisions, the country has participated in local and international peacekeeping and humanitarian relief efforts over the years. Accompanying this text, there is an image of men in Jordanian military uniforms delivering humanitarian aid to men and children. The unit on World Security & Peace makes frequent mention of extremism and violence, and the need to combat both. It does not make reference to gender-based violence.
National Security	The unit highlights the importance of equity, equality, and combating violence and extremism as methods to ensure political, social, and economic security and stability.
	The lesson on social security mentions extremism as radical and extremist thought, speech, and action (p. 37). The lesson also mentions violence as a disorderly behaviour that can take different forms, including as crimes of assault on both people and properties (p. 38). Neither passages on extremism or violence mention violence against women or gender-based violence.
Coexistence	The first lesson is on equality, which the textbook explains notes that all citizens enjoy the same rights and responsibilities in society. This first lesson begins with an activity asking students to think about the several scenarios listed below and determine which of them exhibit equality and which do not. One of the scenarios reads: "Dividing roles [tasks] between family members, each based on their capabilities." (p. 50). Here, the textbook's definition of equality makes direct reference to gender. It reads: "... providing the same opportunities for all for education, work, and living in dignity, and that all people enjoy their human rights regardless of their religion, gender, race, or opinion" (p. 50). The first pillar of equality defined in the textbook involves equality between all people in front of the law, which the textbook defines as a state where there is no discrimination between people at all, which means that all people enjoy the same rights and duties regardless of their religion, gender, or race. While this example mentions other socio-demographic characteristics, leaving out opinion and class for instance, it continues to mention gender. The lesson on equality ends with two opinion-based activities for students to reflect on various statements and provide their opinions. The first activity asks students to read several statements and determine whether they are practices they adopt in their day to day lives. One of the statements reads: "I do not differentially treat my brothers and sisters" (p. 52). Other

	statements read: "I respect other people's religions and religious beliefs" and "I value other people's feelings and respect them" (p. 52). The second activity asks students to read several statements, based on practices present around the world, and determine which are equitable and which are not. In this activity, there are two examples pertaining to gender. The first reads: "Preventing girls from taking political office", and the second reads "Determining university programs that are open only to males and others open only for females" (p. 52). It is up to the students to determine whether these practices are fair or discriminatory and discuss why they think they are or are not fair. There is no answer key provided to these activities in the textbook, as these activities (and all of the ones in the textbooks) are open-ended and optional
	The rest of lessons in the unit make no reference to women or gender.

Grade 10 Term 2

This is the last Civic Education textbook that Jordanian students encounter, as the subject is only mandatory until Grade 10.

Unit	Content
Jordan & Demographic Development	In a bid to increase his direct communication with his 'sons and daughters' (Al-Musaeed, Al-Othman, Kukeesh, & Mukdadi, 2018b, p. 10), the King published a series of discussion papers to share his vision of democracy with the next generation, and encourage his citizens to begin conversations on important matters of governance and civic duties in the country. There is no mention of women or gender.
Royal Initiatives	Some of the religious initiatives seek to counter violent extremism and focus on Islamic values and unity. There is no mention of initiatives for or by women.
	Some social initiatives the King has established include improving health insurance and providing better support for people with disabilities. Some other social initiatives target youth in particular, to support their education and subsequent entry into the workforce. There is no mention of initiatives for or by women.
	The lesson gives examples of economic initiatives that the King launched over the past two decades in his effort to strengthen the local economy. There is no mention of initiatives for or by women.
Civilization Profile	There is no mention of gender in this unit, instead focusing on providing information about some relevant heritage sites in the governorates.

Summary

        This section presented the textbook data that relates to representations of women or gender. This is the data I have been working with throughout my analysis and discussion. For the most part, there is little to no representation or mention of women in the textbooks, with several units containing no representation of women whatsoever. Some units do contain more mention of women or gender in the form of activities, text boxes, or discussion questions as mentioned above to prompt students to consider men and women in society, but these representations are inconsistent and spread out across the four textbooks. For example, The Grade 10 Term 1 textbook contains a lesson on coexistence, and the only mention of women in that lesson comes in an activity asking students determine which scenarios represent equality and which do not. The unit on National Security in the Grade 9 Term 1 textbook contains a text box with one sentence about an initiative from 2005 that bid to include women in civil defence work (despite this textbook being updated on almost a yearly basis). Interestingly, the Grade 9 Term 1 textbook contains a lesson relating to the rights of women and children - this is where the most extensive discussion relevant to women in particular takes place. Also, the Grade 10 Term 1 textbook references coexistence and equality specifically drawing attention to gender equality, asking students to think about case studies and determine whether certain practices can be considered discriminatory or not.

Photo Analysis & Preliminary Discussion

        In this section, I conduct a gender analysis of the photos in the textbooks. Illustrations and images in the textbooks are important and complementary to the text, and should hence be understood relationally (Pingel, 2010). Pingel suggests that if a text emphasizes the rights of women, for example, but there are no photos of women surrounding such a text, it will have no impact (p. 49). The approach I took to examine this more visual aspect of my analysis was two-fold. First, I conducted a visual analysis, drawing from Tsutsumi's (2010) and Durrani's (2008) methodologies in textbook analysis by tallying the numbers of photos of men and women in a textbook. Second, I sought to discuss the images present within the context of the narratives that surround them in order to discuss their importance or significance to my research question, a more qualitative approach.

Tallying

Tsutsumi (2010) writes on her methodology: "Visual analysis entails tallying and tabulating the gender of each person depicted either in pictures or illustrations through examination of visual cues such as facial characteristics to determine gender" (p. 67). I chose to use this approach (in addition to a qualitative analysis of the photographs) in order to note the frequencies at which men and women were included visually across the textbooks. Rather than tabulating the gender of each person in each photo, I looked at the presence of men or women in the photos. For example, if the photo depicted men seated at a table, I would tally it as one of the images of men. If the photo depicted both men and women in a particular setting, I would consider it to be a mixed-gender image (one of men and women) There were other images in the textbooks that did not show any people, such as photos of nature or of the flag, which I did not tally or include in the analysis below or in the total number of images. There were no illustrations in the textbooks I analyzed, only photographs. The results of my tally are displayed below in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1: Numbers of Images of Men and Women in Grade Nine Civic Education Textbooks

Textbook	Number of Images of Men	Number of Images of Women	Number of Mixed-gender Images	Total Number of Images of People
Term 1	10	0	1	11
Term 2	5	1	1	7

Table 2: Numbers of Images of Men and Women in Grade Ten Civic Education Textbooks

Textbook	Number of Images of Men	Number of Images of Women	Number of Mixed-gender Images	Total Number of Images of People
Term 1	8	0	4	12
Term 2	4	0	2	6

As seen in Table 1 and Table 2 above, there are a total of 36 photos depicting people across the four textbooks. The photos are varied in terms of representation: some show people at a concert venue for instance, while others depict men as police officers at their jobs. Of the 36 photos, just 1 photo depicted a woman solely, in Grade 9 Term 2, which I will discuss below. There were 8 mixed-gender images depicting both men and women together in various situations such as in public ceremonies.

As noted in the previous chapter, every textbook begins with the same opening pages. The first is a large photo of the current King, King Abdullah II. The next page shows a large photo of a map of Jordan identifying the governorates and major cities in the country. There are many photos of the King throughout the textbook. For example, the Grade 9 Term 1 textbook contains a total of 10 photos depicting men, four of which are of the King. This strong visual representation of the King is always accompanied by narratives of the King, his initiatives, and often even excerpts from his speeches and publications. There is a clear gap in the frequency of representation of women visually throughout the textbooks. There is just one image depicting just a woman across all four textbooks, compared to a total of 27 images of men throughout the textbooks. The Grade 10 textbooks overall contain more mixed-gender photos (such as images of men and women attending a conference), although even in such photos, the women are often in the background.

Qualitative Analysis

Shiu (2008) stresses the importance of interpreting both visual images and text together: "[Visual images] have a profound effect on the interpretation of historical events and people. However, because they are "detached from physical nature and consequently from the functional context", meaning has to be provided within the text in order for viewers to understand ([Edwards, 1999], p. 225). This, when incorporating visual images in the textbooks, the accompanying texts become as important as the images themselves" (Shiu, 2008, p. 39). Hence, in this section, I will discuss the images and their significance within the broader content of the textbook and their accompanying text.

Photos of Men

In the many textbook photos depicting men, they are often participating in a variety of active roles. The two images below are examples of photos of men in the textbook. Image 1 shows

two men raising the Jordanian flag, with other men in the background saluting the flag. They are all dressed in military uniforms. This photo appears in the chapter on youth, as a reference to the role of male youth in taking pride in their nation and participating in Jordanian military scout training. Image 2 from the same unit also shows men participating in military scout training sessions, with the face of several of the students clearly visible in the photo. Some of the men are dressed in white t-shirts while others are wearing their military uniforms. The photos both suggest a strong tie between men, the military, and the nation. The flag can be regarded as a symbol of nationalism and protecting the nation. Other photos of men in the textbooks see them as active economic participants. For example, there are photos of men as farmers, police officers, and members of peacekeeping forces. For the most part, the men in the photographs have a clear identity: whether it is their career or the visibility of their faces, the men in the photographs are identifiable and personified.

Image 1: An image of two males raising the Jordanian flag, as males in the background salute
(Grade 9 Term 2)

Image 2: Captioned "Image 4-3: Awareness lectures", related to the Al-Hussein Youth Camps in Grade 9 Term 2, Unit 4 on Youth

Image 3: Image of Men in Military Proceedings Captioned 'Mu'uta University Military Wing'

Also important to consider is the text surrounding these photographs. Image 2 appears in a lesson in the Grade 9 Term 2 textbook that introduces some of the government's programs for youth, including youth military camps called the Al-Hussein Youth Camps. The youth camp runs several programs including military training, field visits, and military-led community service

(Breizat, Al-Ghuwayyan & Al-Khasman, 2018b, p. 15). The photograph shows boys, some in military uniform, attending awareness-raising sessions. Another photograph in the unit shows boys participating in an athletic activity. The text accompanying these photographs asks students what activities they would participate in if given the opportunity to join the Al-Hussein Youth Camps. The lack of representation of women in these activities could pose challenges for girls who cannot see themselves represented at the camps. This, combined with no text or imagery of women in the military at all throughout any of the textbooks, contribute to an exclusionary rhetoric that suggests women do not belong in the military, or have no place in the youth camps. Images such as Image 5 further contribute to this rhetoric, depicting the King and male soldiers in the army in military proceedings. The text surrounding such a photo makes reference to the King and his achievements, and his standing in the army. The Grade 9 Term 1 textbook mentions a 2005 campaign to encourage women to enter the military. However, even the photographs accompanying this text about women depict men in the military and in first responder jobs. The dominance of such photographs and plethora of photos of the King accompanied by text that does not mention any women, or even the Queen, further implies that men dominate the most important roles in citizenship, governance, and peacekeeping

Photo of a Woman

The Grade 9 Term 2 textbook contains a unit on Jordanian heritage, outlining the heritage of different governorates across the country. One lesson on the heritage of Al-Balqaa Governorate contains a paragraph about the dress of women in Al-Salt, the capital of Balqa Governorate. The image below shows the paragraph and the photo.
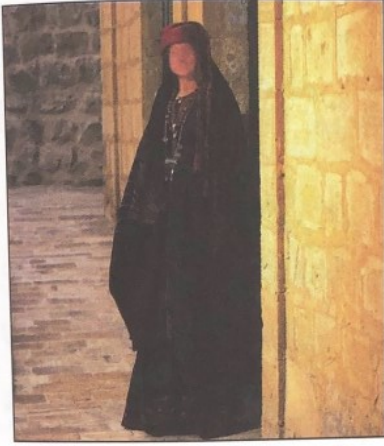
ثوبُ المرأةِ السَّلطيّة

يُعدُّ ثوبُ المرأةِ السَّلطيّةِ لوحةً تعبيريّةً للهويّةِ المحلّيّةِ، ويمتازُ بحجمِهِ الكبيرِ منَ القماشِ الأسودِ، تزيّنُهُ شرائطُ زرقاءُ مصنوعةٌ منَ القماشِ النّيليِّ المصبوغِ الّتي تمتدُّ طوليًّا على جوانبِ الأكمامِ وحولَ الحاشيةِ، وفي فصلِ الشّتاءِ تلبسُ المعطفَ المسمّى « بالجبّةِ السَّلطيّةِ» أوِ «الدّريعيّةِ» فوقَ الثّوبِ.

الشَّكلُ (٣–٧): ثوبُ المرأةِ السَّلطيّةِ.

Image 4:   Excerpt from Grade 9 Term 2 Textbook on Traditional Dress of Women from Al-Salt

The text in the image reads:

"Traditional Dress of the Woman from Al-Salt

The dress of the woman from Al-Salt is considered an expression of local identity and is characterized by its large quantity of black cloth. It is decorated with blue ribbons made of dyed indigo fabric along the sides of the sleeves and around the hem, and in the winter a coat is worn called the "*Jabba al-Saltiyya"* or the *"Al-Dari'iya"* over the clothing" (p. 64).

Despite the fact that the section seeks to discuss the traditional dress of women in Al-Salt city, the face of the woman in the photo is blurred. The viewer's gaze is channeled towards her dress rather unclearly as well, relegating the woman in the photo to a symbol or a mannequin. The use of a photo of a Jordanian woman without any markers of her identity aside from her clothing is a matter of concern, especially since this is the only photo depicting just a woman in the Civic Education textbooks for both Grade 9 and 10. Hence, in this sole visual representation of a woman in the textbooks, she is used as a figure to express tradition. The photo could be an indication of the ways in which women's bodies are hidden from the public sphere. Additionally, there is no section on men's traditional clothing, but there are significantly more photos of men throughout the textbooks with their faces visible. Moreover, the woman is robbed of her agency as a citizen and person in society because of the blurring of her face. This evidence is compounded when comparing this (sole) representation of women to representations of men in other photographs across the textbooks. This visual absence of women is accompanied by text that only references women using the passive voice ("It is decorated with blue ribbons made of dyed indigo fabric

along the sides of the sleeves… A coat is worn...") and instead focusing on the black garment worn and decorated by anonymous and unmentioned women (Breizat et al., 2018b, p. 64). This echoes conversations by Anne McClintock in her paper *Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism, and the Family* (1993) where she discusses the ways in which women are typically limited a specific tropes of nationalism - one that renders women as symbolic bodies to transmit national culture, with no agency of their own (p. 63). Kandiyoti (1991) agrees, explaining that in such representations the 'woman' serves to transmit national culture that can reproduce "boundaries of ethnic/national groups" (p. 429). Kandiyoti (2001) describes this cultural nationalism as one that "assigned women an ambiguous position by defining them as both citizens of the state and the privileged custodians of national values", which result in the patriarchal control over women, limiting women's claims and powers over their citizenship (p. 54). In fact, in the text accompanying the photo the woman is made to be a marker of tradition from a specific city and governorate in the country, confirming Kandiyoti's argument. Hence, the image and its accompanying text construct an anonymous symbol that serves to produce and transmit local culture and tradition, rather than portray a woman who is a Jordanian citizen - one who is carrying out her civic role and duty by proudly and visibly creating and transmitting her culture.

Mixed-Gender Photos

There are 8 photos depicting men and women together across the four textbooks. Below are some of the examples of these mixed-gender photos.

الشَّكلُ (٥-١): منتجاتٌ وسلعٌ.

وقدْ ساهَمَ دخولُ المرأةِ إلى سوقِ العملِ في تحسينِ الأوضاع الاقتصاديّةِ والاجتماعيّةِ للأسرةِ الأردنيّةِ، وانعكسَ بشكلٍ إيجابيٍّ على مستوى الخدماتِ التي تحصلُ عليها الأسرةُ.

• كيفَ يؤثّرُ العملُ في تقدّمِ المجتمعِ؟

نشاطٌ | اكتبْ تقريرًا عنْ أهميّةِ مشاركةِ المرأةِ الأردنيّةِ في سوقِ العملِ؟

Image 5: Excerpt from Grade 9 Term 2 Textbook on Female Employment

The image above is an excerpt from the Grade 9 Term 2 textbook, in the lesson on labour and employment (Breizat et al., 2018b, p. 29). The photo shows a man and several veiled women seated behind sewing machines. The caption below the photo reads: "Figure (5 - 1): Products and Commodities". The text below the photo reads: "And the entry of women into the labour market contributes to the improvement of economic and social conditions of the Jordanian family and is a positive reflection on the level of services that the family receives" (p. 29). There is one discussion question (in blue) below the passage that reads: "How does work affect the progress of society?" (p. 29). At the bottom of this page, there is an activity (in the text box in green). The activity question reads: "Write a report on the importance of the participation of the Jordanian woman in the workforce?" (p. 29). There is no subsequent mention of women or workforce participation afterwards. Instead, the lesson concludes by discussing some challenges the Jordanian labour market experiences, including high levels of unemployment.

In the image, a man (in the front) and several women are seen taking an active role in sewing and textile production. The faces of the women on the left side of the photo are blurred, with students able to see one woman on the right side wearing a mask. All the women in the photo wear the Muslim veil, or *hijab*. The text accompanying this photo in just two sentences mentions that it is important that women enter the Jordanian workforce. Afterwards, there is no explanation or discussion on the importance of women entering the workforce in Jordan. The lack of context on this issue is alarming especially given how low female workforce participation really is in Jordan, with recent data by the World Bank suggesting that it is just 14.15%, lower than the regional average of 20.2% (World Bank, 2019). While the image sought to represent women actively participating in the workforce, it is not accompanied by text that emphasizes this importance. The text makes reference to the fact that female workforce participation can ameliorate the social and economic conditions of the family - justifying female workforce participation as out of the family's socio-economic necessity rather than the women's right or choice (Abu Jaber, 2014). It is also important to note that there are no other photos that depict women actively participating in the workforce - or in any other activities for that matter. More information and context could have been beneficial in this paragraph to better situate the challenges women experience when entering the workforce, and the specific benefits female workforce participation can incur.

Images 6 and 7 below depict women seated or standing in the background. While they are present, they are not the subject of the photo and bear no significance. Many of the images depicting both men and women depict the King in his public engagements. For example, Image 6 above depicts the King giving a medal to a young boy. In the background, a woman wearing traditional dress is standing accompanying the King, and there are several other figures standing behind her, and all of their faces are blurred. There is a woman standing in between the King and the young boy, but her face and body are blurred and relegated to the background. The photograph centers around two male figures, with a woman both symbolically and literally designated to a background role.

Image 6: Photo of the King

الشكلُ (٤-٢): جلالةُ الملكِ عبدِ الله الثاني ابنِ الحسينِ في أثناءِ إطلاقِ برنامجِ التمكينِ الديمقراطيِّ.

Image 7: Photo of the King Captioned "His Majesty King Abdullah the Second During a Launch of a Democratic Empowerment Program

Image 7 above shows King Abdullah II and Crown Prince Hussein, along with other important figures, at a launch event for a democratic empowerment program, according to the caption of the photo. This is one example of a photo that depicts both men and women, as there are a couple of women whose faces are visible. Despite this, they are not the subjects of the photo. The two main subjects of the photo, reiterated in the photo's caption and the text accompanying it, are the King and the Crown Prince. Hence, when taking a closer look at the photographs, there are few and scattered women in the background.

Summary

The textbooks all employ a variety of photographs to accompany the text. Pingel (2010) and Shiu (2008) both stress the importance of photographs in delivering content to students through textbooks and the importance of understanding text and photos together. There is a plethora of photos of men in various civic roles in Jordan including as police officers and soldiers. There are indeed many photos of the King throughout the textbook, visible performing in his official duties and appearances. Several of the photos depicting both men and women see the King as the main persona, with other people in the background. This section juxtaposed visual representations of women to those of men. Men are more visible and appear significantly more frequently than women across all four textbooks. Compounded by their sparse mention in the text itself, the photos further cement the erasure of women from the textbooks.

While the textbook aims to illustrate values such as equality and cooperation among citizens, it fails to provide visuals for this image of a cooperative and collaborative Jordan. Men are seen carrying out their duties in the military, government, and public service, whereas women are included rather symbolically and often only in the background - noticeable if one takes a closer look. Photographs that more directly engage with the textbooks' values of equality and cooperation are necessary in order to drive such a message across to students.

Looking at Themes Across the Textbooks

In this section, I consider four thematic areas as recurring topics throughout the textbooks: authorship, female figures & narratives, gendered language, and additive approaches. I chose these four themes to highlight the most commonly emerging codes and topics from my analysis earlier, and to shed light on four main aspects of gender representation relevant to the textbooks that warrant exploration, review, and improvement.

1. Authorship

Alayan and Al-Khalidi (2010) comment on the authorship of the 2006 versions of the Civic Education textbooks noting that authorship was predominantly male but varied from year to year - a challenge when attempting to ensure consistency across the textbooks. Similar to their process, I tallied the number of female and male contributors to the textbooks. There were three types of contributors: authors, supervisors, and editors (including linguistic, factual, design, artistic, and

production editors). The results of this are presented below in Table 3. Textbook authorship varied: for Grade 9 textbooks, 2 of the 3 authors were female, however most of the people who supervised the composition of the textbooks (and ultimately had the final say in its composition) were male. For Grade 10, authors were predominantly male, and so were the supervisors.

Table 3: Textbook Authors, Supervisors, and Editors by Gender

	Authors		Supervisors		Editors	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Grade 9 Term 1	1	2	7	0	4	1
Grade 9 Term 2	1	2	7	0	5	0
Grade 10 Term 1	3	1	5	1	5	1
Grade 10 Term 2	3	1	5	1	4	2

Research by Abu Jaber (2014) suggests that there are already significant gender gaps in textbook authorship and supervision in Jordan. In certain curriculum development committees, Abu Jaber found that women make up just 2.4% of committee members (2014, p. 34). A study by Gupta and Lee Su Yin (1990) showed that male authors are more likely to write exclusively about men, while female authors are more likely to write with a balance between male and female characters and experiences (cited in Mkuchu, 2004).

Alayan and Al-Khalidi (2010) hypothesize that imbalances in textbook authorship over the years could lead to inconsistent portrayals of women, as an "indication of the authors' difference in opinions" (p. 84). Looking at Jordan's history curriculum, they explain that while the eighth and tenth grade textbooks did not address women, the ninth-grade textbooks were progressive and made frequent reference to prominent women in history - an indication of authors' differing opinions with regards to women and gender. They remark that textbook co-authorship should come with gender parity:

"the voice of women is not sufficiently heard in the process of authoring … If more female educationalists were able to participate in authoring committees, women's voices would

be offered an opportunity to express their needs and present more realistic images of women" (Alayan & Al-Khalidi, 2010, p. 90).

Table 3 shows that textbook authorship, editing, and production is not balanced between males and females, with males dominating the majority of these roles. Similar to Alayan and Al-Khalidi (2010), I argue that gender parity in authorship and production could better represent women and address the needs of female students. This parity should come with a greater diversity of voices in authorship and more democratic forms of textbook composition.

Research by Skliar (2007) suggests no relationship between gender of the authors and balanced gender representations in the textbooks. Abu Jaber (2014) explains that this could be due to the authors having little influence on the content of the textbooks in the first place. The Jordanian textbooks go through "four additional layers of review and the additional rounds of comments by committee members and other MoE staff … after initial content has been developed. Throughout this time, content can be modified by any member of the technical committee or the Higher Educational Council if they do not agree with the content provided" (p. 35). While textbook authorship could be balanced in terms of gender, ultimately the textbooks could go through revisions with curriculum developers who do not agree with specific content and messages about women. Thus, textbooks such as the Grade 9 textbooks (with two female authors and one male author) could go through heavy revisions (on predominantly male editorial and supervision boards), who may counter or negate any female-dominant narratives or perspectives.

Crucially, Abdou (2019) takes a critical stance against the role of the state in creating such mandatory and standardized school textbooks in the first place, explaining that the state could be perpetuating a dominant narrative through education. He writes, speaking to the situation in Egypt, that "curriculum developers and authors would be carefully selected based on their close political and ideological alignments with the ruling regime" (Abdou, 2019, p. 26). Given that textbook authors and supervisors are selected by the Ministry of Education, the possibility of author bias, mandated through the state, could have negative implications on the content of the textbooks and the ways in which the textbooks are used across the nation to maintain a status quo.

2. Female Figures & Narratives

As there is sparse mention of women throughout the textbooks, their narratives are fragmented and incomplete. There are two main examples that I chose to discuss below.

First, the Grade 9 Term 1 textbook contains a unit on Human Rights. This unit dedicates three paragraphs to discuss the rights of women. As discussed earlier, these paragraphs discuss how Islam granted women rights they did not previously enjoy, women's rights on an international scale, and Jordan's continuous commitment to women's rights by signing onto international agreements. While these passages seek to address the ways in which women's rights have been on local and international agendas for decades, the chapter does not address the inequalities that women experience in Jordan or on a global scale. These are inequalities include barriers to employment, gender discrimination in and out of the workplace, unequal pay compared to men, a lack of political agency, and unequal social standing (World Bank, 2014; UNDP, 2015). By reducing conversations about women's rights to two paragraphs with no historical context or contemporary figures, the textbook implies that the right for female equality in Jordanian society is not only complete but has been successful. The text can suggest that Jordan's commitments to women's rights, by adhering to Islamic values and committing to international agreements, has sufficed. However, as Massad writes, "all women are considered ostensibly equal to all men in the civil code, whereas all of them are unequal (in terms of rights and duties) in the personal status law in relation to all men" (2001, p. 50). Hence, to this date, men and women in Jordan are not equal in rights *or* responsibilities in the eyes of the law, proof of what is a gendered citizenship.

Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, the textbook does not explore or discuss the reasons why women's rights were and continue to be an important topic, nor does it discuss the benefits to female empowerment and equality in society. I argue that by simplifying the question of women's rights throughout history to three paragraphs void of historical context and present-day realities, the narrative of female suffrage and empowerment is fragmented. This narrative is presented in a way that suggests to readers that women's rights have been achieved universally, rather than presenting the narrative to its truth: there is quite a way to go. By failing to include important context, or even any examples, of women's ongoing struggle for equal rights, the passages suggest the struggle is in the past.

The second example I chose to highlight regarding women's narratives involves the unit on Royal Initiatives, from Grade 10 Term 2. The unit provides an overview of some of King Abdullah II's initiatives since he assumed the throne in 1999. These initiatives are broken into three types: religious, social, and economic. Examples of some of the initiatives include broadening health insurance coverage, countering violent extremism, and strengthening the

economy by boosting trade and tourism. Despite the fact that these textbooks are updated almost every year, most of the initiatives mentioned were launched between 2001 and 2003. There is no mention of any initiatives that target women either. Also, while the unit seeks to shed light on the King's accomplishments in his two decades as reigning monarch, the unit does not mention Queen Rania, his wife, at all. During her tenure, Queen Rania's initiatives have been largely successful including the Jordan River Foundation and Edraak, which are two of the Kingdom's strongest non-profit organizations to support education, empower women, and provide services to communities in need (Queen Rania, 2020). Also, while the unit mentions King Abdullah II's initiatives in improving education, it does not mention any of Queen Rania's education initiatives, including the Queen Rania Teacher Academy, a leading academy in the region. The erasure of Queen Rania from the unit on Royal Initiatives is stark. Importantly, it is accompanied by her complete erasure from all narratives and images in all four textbooks, despite there being many photos of the King. There is no mention of her, or any previous queen of Jordan, at all. Given the strong focus on the late King Hussein, present King Abdullah II, and Crown Prince Hussein II in narratives and images, and the overall heavy emphasis on the role of the royal family in building and protecting modern-day Jordan throughout the curriculum, the erasure of the female figures of the royal family is disconcerting.

In addition to the lack of mention of Queen Rania as a strong female figure in Jordanian society, there is no mention of *any* other important female figures in a global context. The Grade 9 Term 1 textbook, in the unit on Human Rights, asks students to research Mother Teresa as one of two important figures in history who have fought to champion human rights. However, the unit does not provide any information at all about Mother Teresa or on her role in fighting for human rights. This is the only other mention by name of any female figure.

Abu Jaber's 2014 study on textbooks in Jordan, including the Civic Education textbooks, makes reference to negative, stereotypical, and contradictory references of women. For example, passages on female participation in the workforce were followed by a question regarding childcare challenges as a result of female employment outside of the household (Abu Jaber, 2014, p. 22). However, my analysis of current Civic Education textbooks shows that there is an absence of such representations. In fact, the textbooks lack representations of women in the first place. It is clear that based on Abu Jaber's findings the textbooks have changed a great deal to remove such negative gender stereotypes and representations. However, in doing so, I believe representations

of women and gender were removed without considerable or adequate replacement. Illustrations that once included women in the family unit now do not exist. Examples that sought to highlight some possible careers for women (albeit as teachers or caretakers) now are missing as well.

To sum up, the Civic Education textbooks make no reference (in text or images) to female figures in Jordanian history and society nor on a global level. For example, the only mention of the government's bid to include women in the military and peacekeeping forces dates back to a 2005 campaign - despite these textbooks supposedly being updated almost every year. This erasure of women in history and public society can have a strong impact on their construction in society and the roles they are perceived to play, according to Abdou (2018). In Jordan, especially since the curriculum is standardized across the country, representations of gender, class, disability, and race are central to and indicative of their representation and inclusion in society. Also, the narratives represented of female citizenship in Jordan are highly fragmented and incomplete. In the example I used, discussing women's rights and representing them as rights that have been granted and hence are universally applied is deeply flawed, especially in a country where women continue to fight for the same rights and freedoms as their male counterparts, and where violence against women (in the forms of sexual violence, abuse, and honor killings) rage on. Just the inclusion or mention of under-represented groups including women is not enough, the narratives they participate in have a strong impact on the ways they are constructed or further excluded in society (Abdou, 2018, p. 479). Abdou (2018) explains that the curriculum thus "privileges and legitimizes the 'interests and values of the dominant classes'" (Giroux, 1983, cited in Abdou, 2018, p. 480). I argue that such fragmented and missing narratives are a reflection of the ways the Jordanian patriarchy has excluded and devalued women in society, and I call upon a curriculum that includes and celebrates female histories and lives.

3. Gendered Language

I have previously touched upon the significance of gender-neutral language in textbooks in Chapter 2. Lips (1988) writes: "language contains built-in biases about gender - biases that reflect the sexism and gender stereotypes of the culture … The masculine gender is used to refer to people in general" (p. 231). Durrani (2008) and Khan et al. (2014) have both conducted textbook analyses that examine the use of gendered language. Durrani, for instance, writes that the use of masculine language in reference to Pakistan's Prime Ministers erases the fact that Pakistan has had

a female Prime Minister. Khan et al. (2014) argue that gendered language can be seen as a method of social control and the construction of a cultural identity that can be exclusionary towards women and girls (p. 59). Sadker et al. (2009) write: "Texts often use generic male pronouns and nouns such as *man* or *he* to refer to both males and females … Some studies show that using such male generic words does take a toll" (p 239). The use of specific gendered language in the textbook warrants special attention and exploration. Since Alayan and Al-Khalidi (2010) conducted their research on older versions of the Civic Education textbooks from 2006, there have been some fragmented changes to better incorporate gender and represent women particularly through language. Arabic, similar to French, is a gendered language. Words are conjugated masculine by default, with different inflexions and conjugations for feminine. Since Alayan and Al-Khalidi's study, the textbook has begun to incorporate gender-neutral words to address students and citizens. The textbook sporadically and irregularly uses the Arabic term for 'individual' (*al-fard)* in reference to a citizen in society, which is gender-neutral, but mostly uses the word for "citizen" (masculine *al-muwatin,* feminine *al-muwatina*), which is always conjugated masculine. Recognizing that mainstreaming gender-neutral vocabulary can be challenging in a language such as Arabic, in a textbook that is already very unbalanced in terms of both visual and textual representation of women, masculine language in use can further contribute negatively to pervasive patriarchal discourse.

Another important linguistic consideration is the use of the passive voice. Existing research documents the frequent use of the passive voice in reference to women, especially in the news. Frazer and Miller (2009) research the language in use when talking about domestic violence against women. They explain that using the passive voice forces "readers [to] see the object of the sentence … as more salient in passive-voice sentences" (p. 63). Pingel (2010) emphasizes a similar sentiment on the importance of critically engaging with the linguistic nuances that could have an impact on students' learning. One of the only passages in the textbook that talks about women, in the Grade 9 Term 2 textbook, uses the passive voice. Looking back to Images 6 and 7 on the traditional dress of women, the caption of the photo reads "Traditional Dress of the Woman from Al-Salt" rather than more active phrasing such as "Woman from Al-Salt Wearing Traditional Dress." This, accompanied by a photo of a woman with no face, forces readers to focus on the object, the dress, rather than the woman. The passage then reads: ""in the winter, a [traditional] coat is worn" in reference to the women who wear these coats (Breizat et al., 2018b, p. 64). The

readers focus on the coat as the object and focal point in the sentence rather than the woman with agency to wear the traditional coat. Orienting women as active participants in cultural transmission is one step towards achieving stronger representation of women in the textbook as a whole, especially since this is the only mention of women in the Grade 9 Term 2 textbook, and one of the very few mentions of women in the textbooks as a whole. I argue that the exclusive use of masculine-gendered terms, such as the words for citizen (*al-muwatin),* student (*al-talib)*, and even the use of masculine gendered verbs such as 'discuss' (*nakish,* as opposed to *nakishy* for feminine) can contribute to the widespread masculine and patriarchal tone of the textbooks. The textbooks address only male students and hence only male citizens, discussing their roles, responsibilities, and importance, while representations and grammatical inclusion of women are extremely sparse, echoed by Lips who found that students interpret 'he' as male-specified not gender-neutral (1988). The use of gender-masculine language means that the textbooks directly address and speak only to the male students in the classroom (Abu Jaber, 2014). I argue that this, accompanied by the textbooks' frequent use of the passive voice, contributes further to erase women from citizenship studies *and* cement a citizenship discourse where men are dominant and women deviant.

4. Additive Approaches

The textbook makes use of activities spread throughout the lessons to engage students further with the materials they are learning. These activities can be discussion questions, possible assignments, or quick response questions. Several of these activities across the four textbooks make reference to women (and constitute the only reference to women). I highlighted these representations in my breakdown of each textbook above and will discuss their importance below.

One activity in the Grade 9 Term 1 textbooks asks students to choose a prominent Jordanian woman to write a report on and to present this report to their class (Breizat et al., 2018a, p. 23). The textbooks do not contain any mention of prominent Jordanian women for the students to base their research on. Research by Alayan and Al-Khalidi (2010) and Abu Jaber (2014) suggested that the Ministry of Education's history curricula *also* lack mention of female figures, failing to support such a discussion on this topic (p. 89). The Grade 10 Term 1 textbook mentions gender in an activity as well. The activity asks students to read several statements and determine how they behave in their daily lives. One statement relates particularly to gender: "I do not differentially treat my brothers and sisters" (Al-Musaeed et al., 2018a, p. 52). Another activity in the same lesson asks students to determine which practices from around the world are equitable and which are

discriminatory. Two examples in this activity relate to gender: "Preventing girls from taking political office" and "Determining university programs that are open only tomalley and others open only for females" (Al-Musaeed et al., 2018a, p. 52). In both activities, it is up to the students to express their opinions and arguments. There is no answer key, and like the other activities in the textbook, they are open-ended and optional. These activities include some of the only textual mention of women across all the textbooks in the study. In the Grade 9 Term 1 textbook, the only mention of women comes in the form of discussion questions at the end of lessons, for instance, asking students to reflect on the importance of giving women their rights, but not engaging students in curricula that could introduce correct (and unbiased) answered to such questions. Establishing the lack of inclusion of women across the curricula already, I argue that only mentioning women in activities constitutes an additive approach to curriculum design. Banks (1989; 1994) explains that an additive approach to curriculum reform allows developers to include new content in the curriculum without restructuring the content itself. For example, if a curriculum developer worked an activity mentioning women into the curriculum, it could, in passing, introduce women, but "the additive approach still relegates groups like women … to the periphery of the curriculum" (Banks, 1994, p. 5). Hence, while the curriculum is "broadening in terms of issues mentioned", it is not changing the structure of the lessons, the presentation of content, or the integration of women (Gordy, Hogan, & Pritchard, 2004, p. 81). I also question the efficacy of such activities in the textbook: will teachers actually make use of the discussion questions and activities in the classroom? If they do not, and only choose to use the core material in the textbooks, their lectures could be void of mention of women entirely.

Even visually, the content on women is additive. The textbooks use colored text boxes, with short passages of text or discussion questions at the bottom of pages or ends of lessons. Such boxes contain additional information relevant to the unit, and often contains the sole mention of gender or women in the lesson. Discussion questions about women are added at the bottom of pages or at the end of lessons - an afterthought to the remainder of the lesson and its structure. Cohen (2016) writes that such text boxes and approaches can be a "preferred way to put women in the book without disturbing the traditional political narrative" (p. 333), which I argue is the approach adopted throughout the textbooks to include mention of women with no context or integration into the curriculum's body. The lack of integration of the content from the text box to

the lesson itself can make the boxes seem like an afterthought. The textbooks, while slowly better incorporating women, are "stalled in the additive stage of inclusion" (Gordy et al., 2004, p. 89).

Discussion

While it can be challenging to unpack every embedded message sent to students through textbooks and curricula, I consider that it is crucial to reflect critically on the messages that are being transmitted through such standardized textbooks and on the ways these messages can be received. Sadker et al. (2009) write:

> "Does it really matter if girls are cast in passive roles, boys in active ones … or if male characters outnumber female characters? It matters. Gender stereotypes and the lack of female characters contribute negatively to children's development, limit their career aspirations, frame their attitudes about their future roles as parents, and even influence personality characteristics" (p. 92).

This chapter highlighted the exclusion of women in CE textbooks as citizens or as persons with agency. This exclusion is stark and alarming. Accompanying this is a lack of mention of any prominent female figures in Jordan or even globally. Eisner (1994) dubs this the 'null' curriculum. He explains that studying what is excluded from curricula can allow us to understand "the options students are not afforded, the perspectives they may never know about" (Eisner, 1994, p. 107). The absence of women in the curricula is just as important to draw attention to as their presence.

Across all units, the textbooks constantly emphasize values such as equality, equity, and respect. These three values are seen to be the foundation for all citizens, they are values that have been passed down through Islam and can be exercised through democracy and a respect for human rights. Yet, despite the textbooks' overall emphasis on tolerance, peacebuilding, familial ties, and respect for all citizens regardless of their race and class, the textbooks imply and reinforce a notion that active citizens are Jordanian, Muslim, and male. They do so by focusing on male-driven narratives, such as those about the King and Crown Prince and their initiatives, or narratives of men in the military or in public service. Additionally, the textbooks strongly emphasize the importance and sanctity of the nuclear family unit: a father and mother and their children. The textbook makes reference to the family unit's importance in combatting violent extremism, protecting society from negative influences, and raising citizens who are responsible and respectful. The family unit is seen to be the vessel through which values such as tolerance equality,

and respect can be mainstreamed into society. However, even this emphasis on the nuclear family can be damaging for women and gender equality: the report on gender discrimination by the King Hussein Foundation's Information and Research Centre explains: "Patrilineal citizenship structures and the emphasis of family as the single most important unit in society impacts the wellbeing of citizens who do not fall within this traditional structure" and in particular, this impacts women who are divorced or unmarried and women who are married to non-Jordanians, including their children (IRCKHF, 2019, p. 2). These two examples are instances of hidden curriculum, where the school textbooks imply and socialize messages to students on their roles in their societies (Khan et al., 2014; Abdou, 2019) – where boys learn to become active agents in the family, military, government, and workforce, and girls in turn learn little about their trajectories and opportunities outside of their presence within the 'sacred' nuclear family unit.

As discussed earlier, the textbooks employ gender-masculine language and conjugation almost exclusively to refer to citizens in their civic duties at school, in their jobs, in the military, and beyond. The textbook occasionally makes reference to gender-neutral 'individuals' but more often uses gender-masculine words. Looking at language as a "means for social control … [and] construction of cultural identity particularly relating to gender" is important (Khan et al., 2014, p. 59) - especially since boys and girls tend to internalize male-gendered nouns and verbs as masculine, *not* gender neutral (Lips, 1988; Khan et al., 2014). I argue that the use of masculine gendered nouns and verbs throughout the textbooks further erases women. Mainstreaming gender-neutral language throughout the textbooks could be one opportunity to move away from a masculine discourse towards one that is inclusive of all gender identities and hence all students.

The rare mention of women, their rights, and their responsibilities in Jordan is additive; perhaps to satisfy external demands to include women in curricula. However, this approach leaves mention of women decontextualized and fragmented from the overall narrative of the lessons themselves. The so-called 'absence of presence' of women in the textbooks is alarming. The additive approach used by curriculum developers to construct and modify the textbooks over the years fails to integrate women into the conversation on Jordanian citizenship, instead making sporadic decontextualized mention using text boxes and discussion questions at the ends of some lessons. I argue that women are not represented sufficiently nor clearly, and that this lack of emphasis on women in both text and photos can suggest their lack of significance in society. By blurring the face of the only woman represented in her own photo in the textbooks, the curriculum

erases her presence as a citizen with agency and suggests her significance only as a bearer of national identity and culture. Even the text accompanying this photo does not afford the woman her personhood or citizenship, instead focusing on the dress. Building on Shiu's (2008) calls to examine texts and photos together, this sole representation of women in the textbook was accompanied by a text that used the passive voice in reference to women. Since this is one instance of the limited textual mentions women are afforded in the textbooks, this erasure is alarming. On the other hand, men are allowed to retain their individuality and personhood in the textbook and in society as a whole. Men are well-represented both textually and visually in coherent narratives on the ways in which they have, and continue to, work towards a better country. Women are homogenized, relegated to the background, and even excluded from text, images, and citizenship narratives as a whole. While men can be seen participating in a large variety of civil service roles, women are not.

There are some rare instances of gender-positive dialogue and representation throughout the textbooks. The textbooks rarely make reference to both male *and* female citizens in its conjugations. The fact that the language in the textbooks is occasionally gender disaggregated is useful for readers - especially for girls. The Grade 10 Term 1 textbook contains a lesson on equality which stresses the importance of gender equality. A lesson in the Grade 9 Term 1 textbook asks students to ensure *both* their parents' rights to vote in local elections. While such representations of women are exceptional and rare, they do signal some hope in the capacity of textbooks and curricula to better address both male *and* female students in their language in use.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I engaged in an analysis of the textbooks for Civic Education Grades 9 and 10, guided by my positionality, conceptual framework, academic background, and through a close reading strategy for being systematic. This research pointed to the fact that representations of women in the textbook are critically lacking, especially in comparison to dominant representations and narratives of men. Using both photo analysis and text analysis together, I highlighted instances where gender representation is lacking and warrants improvement and drew attention to units and lessons where gender perspectives are wholly missing. The dominant representations of men in the textbook revolve around governance (such as the King and Crown Prince) and the military.

Representations of female citizenship, duties, and participation in public society are limited to scattered examples across the four textbooks.

In conducting any textbook analysis, I stress that it is crucial not only to understand the text itself but to gain deeper insight into the ways the text is going to be delivered in classrooms. Teachers play an important role in mediating the curricula to students (Sadker et al., 2009). Chapter 5 will discuss and analyze interviews I conducted with teachers and curriculum developers in Jordan to assess their perceptions of gender representations in the Civic Education textbooks they use, write, and hope to see in the future.

Chapter 5: Interviews in the Field

Introduction

Shirazi (2012) writes: "Schools play a central role in [education] reform efforts as they are sites where national identity and values of unity are reinforced through daily ritual" (p. 72). It is often the daily rituals of teachers and other education practitioners in schools that can teach and reinforce such national identities. I argue that through a curriculum such as that of Civic Education, teachers can play an important role in introducing, mediating, and teaching national identities and values that students as a result can internalize. Tsutsumi (2010), Apple and Christian-Smith (1991), DeBolt (1991), and more all highlight the value of textbooks to teachers' practices both in and out of classrooms. Hence, understanding the curriculum not only involves an understanding of the textbooks but also an understanding of the ways in which they could be designed, mediated, and received.

Arnot (1997) conducted a survey in 1995 of secondary student teachers in the United Kingdom to explore their opinions about citizenship studies in their classrooms. She found female teachers more willing to discuss gender issues in citizenship education, more willing to promote critical discussions of the representations of men and women in the media, and more encouraging of men to participate in activities such as housework. Reading this component of her research and her findings reinforced my beliefs in the importance of conversations with education practitioners in the field, especially since a large volume of the literature on textbook analysis I had read and discussed earlier (in Chapter 2) does not involve teachers at all. Thus, having conversations with education practitioners including teachers in the field was important to me within the Jordanian context to gain a better idea about their attitudes towards gender roles in citizenship studies given the cultural, social, and political dynamics that dictate life and work in Jordan at present.

Additionally, given the current focus on curriculum development led by the National Center for Curriculum Development (NCCD), I decided it is important not only to gain an idea of teacher perspectives in the field but to also engage with curriculum developers who are working hard to craft Civic Education textbooks for future classrooms as many of the NCCD's curriculum revisions will be implemented starting in September 2020 (Al Nawas, 2019), I chose to interview curriculum developers to understand whether or not gender and stronger female representation in curricula is a priority for upcoming revisions and textbooks. In this chapter, I present my findings

from the seven interviews conducted with teachers and curriculum developers in Amman on their perceptions towards representations of women and gender in the Civic Education textbooks.

Interview Design

I conducted seven interviews in Amman, Jordan. I had aimed to conduct interviews with 3-4 teachers and 3-4 curriculum developers and education administrators who are working in Jordan, and who are specifically working on Civic Education. I chose to limit the number of interviews I conducted for this research given the scope and size of this project, as a master's thesis, and in order to focus on analyzing a manageable data set. Participants were recruited with the assistance of a personal connection in Amman, who led me to several willing teacher participants, of whom three were randomly selected. I was able to reach out to one member of the National Centre for Curriculum Development, who connected me with one of her colleagues who was willing to participate in this research as well. Participants signed a consent form (which I provided in Arabic or English depending on their preference – see Appendix 2). In the consent forms, participants were given the choice to have their interviews audio-recorded, and two of the seven opted to do so. I personally conducted all the interviews in Arabic and translated and transcribed all my notes. I took hand-written notes for all the interviews as well. Consequently, transcriptions of my interviews varied greatly in length. Interview and note transcripts are included in the Appendix. Drawing from work by Charmaz (2006), I prepared semi-structured interview questions to guide my interviews and allow me to probe further regarding specific points if necessary. However, I gave participants space to discuss the topics they found most interesting and relevant to my study which led some conversations in different directions. As I chose to focus on a feminist research process, relying on work by Hesse-Biber (2014) and more, gender was at the center of my inquiry and was intended to be the main focus topic for my interviews.

Methods

In order to analyze my interviews, I relied on a similar method to what I have already described in Chapter 3, drawing from Charmaz (2006) and her work on coding. Charmaz defines coding as "categorizing segments of data with a short name that simultaneously summarizes and accounts for each piece of data" (2006, p. 43). Rather than code line-by-line, I coded segment by segment instead to try and draw out relevant themes from the work and from my transcripts.

Working on a digital copy of my transcripts, I generated codes for segments of data in order to highlight themes that are emergent and recurring and discuss the results of these interviews clearly. Rather than predetermine a list of codes for the analysis process, I chose to focus on coding the data by understanding themes and embracing emergent topics and themes. In my analysis and discussion below, I draw attention to the most frequently emerging ideas and themes from the interviews. For example, one interview participant said: "... the people who were working in the Ministry of Education in my opinion are people who were conservative and focused on the past" (Leen, research interview, 2019). I coded this specific phrase as "Critique of Ministry of Education", to highlight this as one challenge in curriculum development. As this was a recurring theme throughout other interview transcripts, I used the same code to tag similar content and discuss such relevant content together later in this chapter.

Participant Profiles

Between July and August 2019, I interviewed seven participants for my research. All participants are assigned pseudonyms for the purpose of the analysis and discussion.

Teachers and Administrators

Four of my interview participants are currently Civic Education teachers in schools in Amman. All four teachers are female. Two of the teachers work at all girls' public secondary schools, and the other two work at a private school that is mixed gendered for secondary years (Grade 9 onwards) only. Public schools in Jordan are typically gender-segregated as of Grade 3, with the teaching staff of public schools tending to be gender-segregated as well (Queen Rania Foundation, 2018). Hence, the first two teachers work in all female classrooms and schools, while the third works in co-ed spaces.

Below, I have created short profiles for each teacher based on the introductory interview questions:

1. Aya studied History in university. She is currently a History and Civic Education teacher at her public all girls' school in Amman.
2. Bayan studied Geography in university. She is currently a Geography and Civic Education teacher at her public all girls' school in Amman. Bayan has been teaching for approximately 5 years and teaches at a secondary level (Grade 9 and above).

3. Leila is a recent university graduate who studied abroad (in the United Kingdom). She has been teaching for two years. She teaches social sciences and humanities at a private school in Amman.

4. Samia is currently an administrator at a private all girls' school in Amman. She was formerly a teacher at this school and as an administrator currently works closely with administration at her school's partner boys' school as well.

Curriculum Developers

Three of my interview participants work in curriculum development within different capacities.

1. Sarah is a university professor and curriculum developer in Jordan. Since 2013, she has been working as an activist for reforms in curricula especially focusing on gender. At present, she is working closely with the NCCD on text and curriculum development for the social sciences.

2. Khalid is currently an administrative supervisor to public schools in Amman, specifically providing support to teachers in social studies. He has previous experience working with curriculum developers and as a liaison between teachers and curriculum developers. He works for the Ministry of Education and is nearing his retirement. Previously, he worked as a teacher for an unspecified number of years.

3. Leen is a curriculum developer and school principal in Amman. She is currently working with the NCCD on curriculum development.

General Challenges in Civic Education

The participants were able to identify a variety of challenges they saw with the current Civic Education curriculum and its textbooks. Some of these challenges relate specifically to gender, while others do not. This section will discuss some challenges participants brought up that do not relate directly to gender or representation of women in textbooks but are relevant to their experiences of teaching and working on Civic Education. I will be discussing the more gender-related findings from my interviews in the next section. I chose to highlight these themes first as they feed into my discussion about gender and women.

1. Student disengagement from CE curriculum

Student disengagement is a common theme that emerged across several of the interviews. Aya, a CE teacher at a public school, mentioned that in the past, the curriculum was boring and dense, hence students felt disengaged in the classroom. The way that the curriculum was structured made it challenging for students to understand the content. Aya explained that her students focus instead on memorization without understanding or engaging with the subject at all, which made it challenging to teach. Bayan, also speaking to her experience in a public school, mentioned similar challenges. Her students are not always interested in engaging critically with the material they are learning and just want to get the subject out of their way to focus on other subjects they deem more important, such as sciences and math. Aya and Bayan both mentioned having to put significantly more effort to make the curriculum easier to present and easier to understand for their students. Laila, speaking of her private school experience, explained that in order to address this challenge, her school adapts the Ministry's curricula as a whole by building upon it with their own curricula too. The CE curriculum she teaches uses government textbooks but incorporates other lessons too and elaborates where the textbooks are lacking. However, this creates a significantly higher workload for teachers.

2. Curriculum discontinuity and inconsistency

Khalid, an administrative supervisor at the Ministry of Education, mentioned some other challenges of the current CE curriculum at the moment based on his experience working on the curriculum and working with CE teachers. First, the curriculum is not continuous for Grades 6 to 10. He explained that the curriculum should have been designed to build upon itself over the years, giving students a sense of continuity, and that curriculum writers are to blame for this. Bayan echoed these concerns, critiquing the lack of continuity in the curriculum and lessons. Bayan explained that in addition to continuity challenges, the curriculum can be inconsistent. Messages can appear to be contradictory across the years, but also across different social sciences subjects. She gave the example of a message from the King included in a Geography textbook that contradicts one from the Civic Education curriculum.

3. Curriculum is static and dated

Khalid explained that while Jordanian society is rapidly changing, the Civic Education curriculum is unable to keep up. Now, the Internet has become a primary resource for adolescents. Also, classrooms are more diverse than ever with the arrival and integration of migrants and refugees from across the Middle East and North Africa; however, this cultural diversity has no presence in the curriculum or the educational system as a whole. Echoing some of Khalid's critiques of the curriculum and the way it is structured, Aya explained that curricula are not sufficiently updated to keep up with present events. The girls in her classroom are well aware of current events and want to discuss them in their classes, not just talk about the past. Bayan explained that as students are able to access a wide variety of resources and content, they are increasingly interested in seeing this diversity reflected in the classroom. This can be challenging as the curriculum does not reflect this diversity of thought and opinion, and especially not on more current topics and events. Bayan mentioned this as a challenge as it requires additional work on the part of teachers to incorporate contemporary debates and case studies into their classrooms. Leen mentioned that this lack of forward vision in the Ministry of Education has had an impact on curricula and students for years and needs to change.

4. Teacher limitations

Khalid explained that teachers who teach CE are not specialized in the subject. Instead, they are specialized to teach History or Geography, so they are not knowledgeable about the subject or passionate about teaching it. In addition to this, teachers assigned CE often have to teach Grades 5 to 10, with too many textbooks to work through, so teachers often struggle with the volume of the curriculum and the work they have to do. These teachers end up experiencing burnout, according to Khalid, and are unable to effectively deliver content to all the Grades. Many resort to encouraging memorization in the classroom rather than understanding and discussion. This high workload can take a toll on teachers as well. Aya mentioned that some of her colleagues do not actually teach the CE curriculum and instead encourage their students to read and memorize textbooks in order to pass. Khalid explained that motivating such teachers to deliver the curriculum better is a challenge at the moment that should be addressed through incentives and continuous professional development programs, both of which are lacking. Bayan explained that while teacher

professional development should be an option, it is not always available and is often gender segregated, which she believes is limiting.

5. External dynamics impact the classroom

Bayan brought up an interesting point regarding extremism. She explained that while certain traits are inherent in our culture and should be addressed in the curricula, measures should also be taken to address such issues outside the curricula as well. She mentions how the smallest difference of opinion, such as support for opposing football teams, can cause large problems inside and outside classrooms, hence students bring in aspects of their opinions and lives into the classroom that could cause conflict. While the curriculum can work to counter extremism and violence, Bayan recognizes that parents should play a critical role in this and should be more engaged, as students import what they learn from their families and communities to their classrooms, even blaming the parents to an extent as they continue to perpetuate the same negative and extremist thought at home and in their daily lives. Hence, while Bayan mentioned several issues with the present Civic Education curriculum, she draws attention to the external dynamics that could clash with the curriculum, those dynamics that the curriculum does not sufficiently address or cannot undo in its present shape.

Gender in Civic Education

As previously discussed in Chapter 2, Alayan and Al-Khalidi (2010) discuss the critical importance of ensuring clear and equal representation of women and men in Social Science subjects such as Civic Education and History. They explain that women were underrepresented in Civic Education textbooks in Jordan and Palestine textually, linguistically, and in photographs. While these textbooks have since been updated, my research and discussion in Chapter 4 suggest that there are still lacking representations of women in current Civic Education textbooks. They also note that the use of gendered pronouns and language in textbooks, in reference to male or female citizens, is problematic and warrants extensive exploration. Durrani (2008) engaged with such gendered citizenship representations with students: she found that students tended to think of a collective "us" in Pakistan that was masculine.

While many textbook analyses have shed light on the negative and lacking representations of women, including in citizenship studies, few have engaged with teachers to explore their

perceptions towards these representations. In the following section, I draw out some of my findings from the interviews I conducted with teachers and curriculum developers specifically in relation to representations of women and gender in the Civic Education textbooks. From my interviews, three main themes emerged with regards to gender and women representations in the textbooks, which I will discuss below.

Patriarchal Curriculum Authors

Curriculum developers Khalid, Sarah, and Leen all agreed that women are largely missing from textbooks, echoing my own findings from my content analysis discussed in Chapter 4. While there has been a great deal of progress over the past two decades to better incorporate women in curricula, including in Civic Education, female representation in textbooks and curricula as a whole is lacking (Alayan & Al-Khalidi, 2010). The causes of this lack of representation varied according to participants.

To begin, when speaking about the lack of female representation in curricula, Leen was highly critical of previous leadership at the Ministry of Education. She explained that staff at the Ministry of Education were too conservative and were ultimately to blame for negative and lacking representations of women and gender in the textbooks: "... we passed through a phase where the people who were working in the Ministry of Education in my opinion are people who were conservative and focused on the past. There was no forward-looking vision..." (Leen, research interview, 2019). She dubbed staff as conservative and conventional, and explained that this certainly influenced portrayals of women in curricula. Samia expressed a similar disdain towards the Ministry of Education, saying: "I doubt that [female empowerment and equality] is on the top of the priority of the Ministry of Education" (Samia, research interview, 2019). Sarah calls the exclusion of women from curricula the discriminatory and intentional. She dubs it the "symbolic annihilation of women" and explains that not only is it pervasive in curricula but in the greater media environment too: "Mindsets we have in Jordan are grounded in stereotypes, in the media, in public spaces, in politics and culture, and in a language that is masculinized and patriarchal" (Sarah, research interview, 2019). She explains that while disrupting these ideas is not easy, textbooks are one avenue to begin this change.

On the other hand, Khalid stated that while there are no examples of women participating in society in the Civic Education curricula, this is an accidental trend across other subjects too,

such as Islamic Religion and History, hence curriculum developers cannot be to blame. He added that this absence of women is unintentional, as curriculum developers simply did not think to include women so explicitly in the lessons - "they probably didn't think about it" (Khalid, research interview, 2019). Similarly, when asked about the example of the photograph of a woman in the Grade 9 Term 2 textbook (with her face blurred), Khalid explained simply that it was because "women don't like taking photographs" (Khalid, research interview, 2019). Hence, there is a disconnect between the attitudes of curriculum developers external to the Ministry of Education and those internal to it.

Gendered Language in the Classrooms

I have discussed the significance of gendered language in Chapter 2 and in my analysis in Chapter 4. My content analysis revealed that the textbooks rely more often on gender masculine nouns and verbs, especially masculine terms for 'citizen' (*al-muwatin* as opposed to feminine *al-muwatina*) and 'Muslim [person]' (*Muslim* as opposed to feminine *Muslima)*. I argued that this, in addition to the lack of representation in both text and visuals throughout the textbooks contributes to their symbolic erasure of women from citizenship discourses. Two interview participants reiterated these arguments. Leen mentioned that changes to curricula should include linguistic changes across all textbooks: when we talk about a good citizen, we should use a framework of equality between men and women. She said we should talk about "[male] citizens and [female] citizens (*muwatin wa muwatina)"* (Leen, research interview, 2019)*,* in addition to talking about male and female citizens who together are cooperative, productive, and innovative - values that we should be instilling through the Civic Education curriculum within this framework of equality.

Sarah stresses the same concept, as one important aspect of her proposed curricular reform focuses on language that is gender neutral. She explains that language that is neutral and inclusive in the textbooks will allow students to learn a lot more about themselves and form their own identities. Where this is not possible, she proposes the use of both masculine *and* feminine conjugations: for example, the Arabic word for "answer" '*ajib'* [masculine] and '*ajiby'* [feminine], hence using both '*ajib/ajiby'* for discussion questions or assignments. The current language in use only employs masculine conjugations by default, which she explains is patriarchal, further perpetuates gender-stereotypical mindsets we have in Jordan and can be damaging for students - especially girls - in the classroom.

Bayan mentioned that she takes this seriously in her classroom as well. When textbooks mention engineers ('*muhandis'* [masculine]), she also addresses women with the female conjugation ('*muhandisa'* [feminine]). She takes a similar approach with other professions as well to include her female students in the conversation and address them using the appropriate grammar. She finds that such a grammatical nuance has an influence on the girls in her classroom and the language they, in turn, use. Hence, I found that my interview participants did pay attention to fine details in the textbooks including the language in use and found change as fundamental as linguistic nuances as important as curricular adaptations.

Speaking Positively about Women

Samia works with an all girls' school and an all boys' school and found there were big differences in the ways girls and boys spoke about women - even their mothers. She explained:

> "I was asked to give a talk to Grade 4 boys on gender empowerment and female empowerment, and even Grade 4 boys told me that the most important person in the family is the father. Because he goes out, he works, he earns money to support the family. So I asked them, I knew the boys who were talking to me have working mothers because their mothers worked with us at the school. And he said 'yes, but [my father] makes more money than my mother.' 'So is he more important because he makes more money?' He said 'yes so he comes home tired.' I said 'what does your mother come back home feeling?' He said 'she comes home feeling tired.' I said 'what does she do?' He said 'she helps me with my homework, she helps me with that, she has to cook, she has to clean, she helps us…' 'Then don't you think she does more than your father at home?' He said 'yes, but he is my father.' It's ingrained in their thinking" (Samia, research interview, 2019).

Samia imagines that such a rhetoric from a student so young is likely influenced by their exposure to messages in curricula and education more broadly that emphasize the importance of the father figure as the decision-maker and breadwinner and either neglect to mention or outright devalue women's labour inside and outside the household. Samia also explained that present curricula failed to positively engage with such a student (as with many others) on the positive contributions of women ranging from the household to the community and all other spaces too. At present, women were designated a secondary role in society and secondary importance, which she seeks to change through dialogue with students at all ages. She explained that such an approach

with students, allowing them to get to their own conclusions by using guiding questions, could be positive as it can foster critical thinking skills and allow students to better observe the situations surrounding them to make conclusions. She argues that allowing students to understand the value of gender equality and the contributions of all women (from mothers to politicians to engineers and more) will create positive change and reinforce a belief in gender equality. While such a process is not easy, speaking positively about women and encouraging a positive discussion about women in society is an important duty she takes on at school: "This is our mission. So we keep on trying to change mindsets" (Samia, research interview, 2019).

Since Samia explains that negative attitudes are pervasive at all age levels, gender representation in curriculum design should move away from stereotypical and essentialist ideals of gender, and better inform students on gender equality using positive narratives. My interview participants drew attention to negative representations of gender as well as ways these could be improved. Leen gives the example of one elementary level textbook that contained an illustration of a mother who was cleaning while the father was sitting reading a newspaper - which can reinforce attitudes on gendered responsibilities. However, today she sees a serious effort on all levels by curriculum developers and the Ministry of Education going forwards to respect and uphold equality. This involves changes in text and visuals: she gives an example saying "Mom cooks and dad cooks, mom works and dad works" (Leen, research interview, 2019).

The teachers I interviewed had their own approaches to make up for where they saw the textbooks were lacking or stereotypical in terms of representations of women. Aya recognized the lack of content regarding women in the Civic Education textbooks and mentioned that her students have also drawn her attention to this. Aya approaches this deficiency in two ways, taking matters into her own hands. First, she mentioned that she brings in her own examples of women in a variety of professions into the classroom - examples that do not exist in the textbooks. She uses such figures as a starting point for her classroom to discuss and learn despite there being little content on women in the textbooks themselves. Aya begins each lesson with a discussion about women, instead of focusing on the men and the male figures. Second, to reinforce positive attitudes towards women and gender, and ensure her students recognize their importance, Aya tests her students on the passages of each chapter that *do* mention women to stress the importance of such passages and draw students' attention towards them in the first place. This strategy makes use of the textbooks despite their shortcomings but uses them as a starting point to encourage students to be more

critical of the content they receive and seek out the knowledge they are missing otherwise. If the textbook explains that female employment is valuable, she encourages her students to seek out the answers and discuss them in the classroom. Aya found that such an approach encouraged her own students to contribute their success stories of leading women they know or heard about. She concludes her lessons telling her students that they themselves are success stories, and they should be celebrated.

Masculinity and Militarization

Repeatedly, the textbooks make reference to the military, its strength, its role in protecting our nation, and its importance in our everyday lives. Basheer (2015) explains that the Jordanian Civic Education curriculum promotes "stereotypical masculine social obligations" (p. 49). The military is of central importance in both imagery and security in the country. Massad defines the military as the "most important homosocial nationalist institution within the confines of the nation state … the military as an institution produces a gendered set of nationalist agents - namely, those of the masculine variety" (2001, p. 100). Hence, imagery of the military *outside* of the textbooks is already glaringly masculine. The textbooks stress the importance of Jordan having a strong military force, due to its geographic and political location in the world. Imagery of the King of Jordan (as well as of the late and former King Hussein) focuses on his presence as a militarized figure, a former soldier, and a military leader. The textbooks mention activities youth can partake in, such as military-style camps and scout training, to prepare for their duties in the military. The imagery the textbooks use to talk about the military is also masculine, and all textual reference to the military is masculine safe for one sentence in the Grade 9 Term 1 textbook briefly mentioning a 2005 campaign to include women in the military - an outdated reference and one that is interesting given the lack of visual representation of women in the military (or at all). Sarah explained that the Civic Education's national identity is "heavily focused on men and boys in patriotic and political spaces and in the military" (Sarah, research interview, 2019). Leila noted that conceptions of citizenship in the textbooks are closely tied to being Jordanian and being in the military. She explained that this alignment of citizenship with the military can be challenging especially for boys attempting to understand their own roles and duties in their society. However, even though it is mandatory for males over the age of 18 to serve in the military, there are numerous loopholes to avoid conscription, and so she does not find that many boys in her classes (at her

private school) take this duty seriously. Compounded by this militarized citizenship, a toxic masculinity prevails. Massad speaks of this masculinization and militarization together where "conventional masculine values of strength, victory and loyalty are opposed to a sexist convention defining femininity as weakness" (2001, p. 207). Leila explains that all-male schools tend to have a hypermasculine culture that curricula cannot address at present. This hypermasculinity stresses strength and militarization and can border on dominance and violence. As discussed earlier, Samia found that such a masculinity can materialize young and can be pervasive and destructive if left unchallenged. She cites negative outcomes of such a toxic masculinity that believes in the superiority of men over women, explaining that it contributes to a culture where violence against women is tolerated and even accepted: "Women have discussed cases when [husbands] can strike them. So the whole idea is so ingrained in the mindsets of people, it needs focus in our educational programs" (Samia, research interview, 2019).

Sarah explained that curriculum developers are working to address both militarization and masculinization of citizenship in coming revisions. She explained that at present, the CE curricula's national identity is heavily focused on men and boys in patriotic and political spaces and in the military, but that this is one narrative that should become more inclusive. Given how closely tied the nation and masculinity are and how pervasive this imagery is, according to Massad, detaching male identities from narratives of strength, dominance, and militarization has already proven challenging. A previous quote from Samia's interview already sheds light on the ways in which boys see men as superior. Samia also explains: "We tried to work with the boys but it's just … helping them see that the girls are their equals takes something away from them. It diminishes their sense of value because of all the messages they hear" (Samia, interview participant, 2019). However, interview participants pointed to the fact that the types of conversations we have with boys should change. Rather than instill a sense of value in boys according to their capacity to defend the honor of the country and its people, Sarah explained that boys should be encouraged to talk about violence and especially violence against women in school settings, which is a growing issue. By relating the curriculum to real-life stories and issues in their communities, rather than speaking vaguely and abstractly about violence or extremism, the Civic Education curriculum could begin to touch upon issues with toxic masculinity and the deconstruct the hidden codes and curriculum that allow boys to resort to violence, strength, and supremacy over women.

Towards a new 'good citizen'

Many of the interview participants touched upon what they believe it should mean to work towards a Civic Education curriculum that can create good citizens. Conceptions of who a 'good citizen' is vary; however, there was some overlap among participants especially regarding gender, and what it could mean for men and women to be good citizens in the same ways in Jordan. Leila begins her discussion of good citizenship by questioning the alignment of citizenship with the military. She says instead that good citizens should be committed to peacekeeping through social justice. However, she stressed the role of schools to create good environments for students to learn and to express themselves positively and critically within their communities. Leen echoed this thought, mentioning that good citizenship rests upon a foundation of gender equality, and positive atmospheres for students to learn more about themselves, their duties to their communities, and their opportunities after they graduate. Leen says she always seeks to foster a citizenship that is creative, critical, entrepreneurial, and productive. She added that she is looking to encourage citizens to care for the public good by looking at each other as partners (men and women alike).

Parallel to this conversation about good citizenship, Leen brought up the need to re-define the Jordanian woman in curricula. She explained that the Jordanian woman should no longer be seen as someone less knowledgeable, but as someone who is aware of the culture, tradition, and society she exists within. The Jordanian woman should be seen as someone who can lift the economy upwards by turning present challenges into opportunities - this redefinition of Jordanian women pushes new understandings of what it means for women to be good citizens, bursting out of stereotypical roles towards more opportunities and equality. In Leen's eyes, such a rethinking of the image of the Jordanian woman as someone tied to culture and tradition but also the economy and society is what is presently lacking from curricula.

Both Leen and Samia mentioned that 'good' citizens should uphold their responsibilities to serve underprivileged communities in Jordan, making reference to the current economic conditions the country is experiencing and the influx of refugees from neighboring countries, mostly from Syria. Samia explained her ideal model of a good citizenship education: "We focus on the idea that when students leave the school we want them to feel that they can contribute to life in Jordan, to making life better, to making the conditions that women live under better" (Samia, research interview, 2019). She emphasized that students should have a connection to their

neighbors: she gave the example that the girls at her school study, play, and learn in the same environment as the girls at the neighboring public school. Samia's approach seeks to engage students with their civic duties by introducing them to the opportunities they have to improve their communities: "... bringing in students to tell [them] about different initiatives that are going on in the country … they are part and parcel of the community and they have to work towards making their country progress and advance" (Samia, research interview, 2019), even going so far as to introduce students to NGOs, initiatives, and projects they can participate in outside the school. Leen built upon similar ideas: "You are responsible to learn in your school, but you have a duty to establish a relationship to underprivileged communities in your area. We are all one Jordan" (Leen, research interview, 2019). She then moved to emphasize the importance of situating the local citizen within their global ties: "[Students] shouldn't see Jordan in isolation in the region or in the world. You want a good Jordanian citizen, a good Arab citizen, a good global citizen" (Leen, research interview, 2019). Leen concluded: "And in order to create this Jordan that we seek, we need equality" (Leen, research interview, 2019).

Future Trajectories

The interview participants mentioned several different future trajectories they would like to see in the development of the Civic Education curriculum. One important emergent theme from the interviews is a shift not only towards a new curricula and new theories about what it means to be a citizen (especially as a woman), but towards new pedagogies that can support learning and teaching in increasingly diverse classrooms. Leen, for instance, touches upon the need to create curricula that inspires both consuming knowledge *and* creating knowledge, especially shedding light on the importance of innovation in learning. Samia, Leen, and Sarah all speak to the importance of shifting away from learning theory in isolation, towards learning theory within the context of their everyday lives and actions as citizens of Jordan, the Arab region, and the world. Sarah explains: "[Civic Education] should become a subject that is grounded in community service, social work … not just theory and textbook words" (Sarah, research interview, 2019). Similarly, Leen defines students' recognition of their roles as global citizens as an important function of good citizenship for *all* students regardless of their gender, and that this can be accomplished through community service and applying what you are learning in your day-to-day actions. The teachers I interviewed echoed similar arguments. Aya seconds this need for a new

pedagogical approach. She explained that a subject such as Civic Education cannot be abstract. Instead, it needs to be grounded in action and community engagement. Bayan makes a similar comment that the new curriculum needs to be hands-on: she gave the example of allowing students to participate in daily life such as seeing a parliament in session or receiving guest lectures from experts in the field on a variety of topics such as on water scarcity. Both of them expressed that such changes could have positive impacts on their students' learning and engagement and foster stronger connections to their communities.

Finally, while curriculum developer Sarah mentioned the importance of democratic construction of curricula, Aya flagged this area as a challenge in her career. Aya mentioned that teachers she has spoken to often don't feel engaged with curriculum developers and curriculum updating processes. She gave one example from the last reprint of the textbooks mentioning that there were many mistakes in the Geography textbooks for Grade 11, errors she tried to communicate to the Ministry to no avail. She explains that having a conversation with the Ministry and its curriculum developers as a teacher is not straightforward, but that with the proper communication channels in place such errors could have been avoided. Sarah explained that the one shift she anticipates is a vision of a curriculum that is collectively owned. She strives to start a conversation about curriculum and make it easier for teachers to contribute and discuss what they would like to see included. She anticipates that this democratic process will create positive benefits especially with regards to representation of women and gender in the curriculum, as teachers (such as Aya and Bayan) will be able to bring forward their own best-case practices and case studies on women that have been tried and tested in their own classrooms. Hence, it is important that education practitioners and administrators have an open channel of communication with the Ministry and its curriculum developers going forwards to feel that their voice is heard, that their revisions are received, and that their concerns could be addressed.

Discussion

Curriculum development in Jordan is sensitive not only in terms of content but also in terms of change. In recent years, several clashes between students and the Ministry of Education have affected curriculum development. In 2016, modifications to school textbooks that included illustrations of women without the Muslim veil were received negatively, with protestors burning the books and even using social media to call for the Minister of Education to resign (Ma'ayeh,

2016). Other revisions that year included an illustration of men participating in housework, a photo of boys and girls seated in a mixed classroom, and modifications to promote religious tolerance and counter violent extremism, which the then Minister of Education noted were inteded to "focus on the values of the nation, moderation, and the core values of Islam" (Ma'ayeh, 2016). However, even the teachers' union condemned these changes as "part of a conspiracy against Islamic values" (Ma'ayeh, 2016). One news outlet reported that this negative reception could have resulted from the fact that the changes were introduced without any public consultation (Hadid, 2016). Leen warns that pushback is to be expected in any sort of change, whether governmental, societal, or educational. However, she stresses that changes need to happen: "There is a change, but this is, like I mentioned, a journey that needs time and patience. It's not because people are upset at the change or refuge it that we regress … Protecting our country comes from increasing the quality of our education. Increasing the quality of our education without equality between men and women is a joke" (Leen, research interview, 2019).

More recently in October 2019, there were more clashes between the public and the Ministry of Education. Diluwani (2019a) reported on a public campaign against a new Ministry of Education curriculum for elementary science and mathematics, as the curriculum and textbooks were translated from a British curriculum. Public outrage especially ensued given that there is already a curriculum council that should be drafting new curricula itself, rather than outsource the work. Khalid discusses these dangers of outsourcing the curricula. He said that while foreign institutions and grants often assist in updating Jordanian curricula, these changes often do not trickle down to classrooms and students positively if they are not relatable. While research by Abu Jaber (2014) suggests that the most successful textbooks in terms of gender representation tend to be those that were co-produced with INGOs and other specialized education institutions, Khalid explained that if international organizations force subjects and topics onto teachers and education administrators who do not agree with this content, it is likely that they will not be adopted in the first place. Khalid adds that if there is going to be a push to update the curriculum, this push needs to be driven locally. Hence, the sensitivity of imported curricula to local culture and values, and even religious beliefs, is crucial to its acceptance and adoption in classrooms, and ultimately its success. This speaks to a comment by Leila, who discussed the need and importance of social reform as a slow but necessary process. She and Bayan both mentioned that while the curricula can better address certain topics, there is a strong role that communities, especially parents, play

in countering extremist thought, including on gender, and that these dynamics cannot be easily addressed at school. With any changes, especially with curricular reform that is so closely tied to social, cultural, and religious values, Leen stresses the importance of patience and perseverance on the road to success.

While curricular reform to incorporate and include women is important, and something many participants expressed as a priority, they also specified that such curricular reform should be matched with new pedagogies that can support new forms of learning. For example, Leila, who teaches at a private school, recognizes that even if we do remedy exclusionary rhetorics with regards to gender, divisions can still exist inside and outside classrooms. However, she believes in the importance of teachers acting as moderators in classroom discussions to facilitate debates and manage conflict rather than teach a curriculum based on memorization. She mentioned that schools should become a positive environment for students to learn, seek knowledge, and express themselves to gain important critical thinking skills. Such a change could influence the teaching of social sciences including Civic Education away from rote memorization towards understanding and knowledge-building. Ultimately, all interview participants recognized that on some level, inclusion of women is lacking and requires attention. Aya, Bayan, and Leila, currently working as teachers, recognized the need to work to fill in the gaps in curricula where they felt themes were excluded: for example, Aya mentioned the example of talking about prominent female figures from Jordanian history, whereas Leila recommended talking about the impacts of colonialism on perceptions of masculinity and femininity in the 20th century. Leen mentioned changes as simple as adding "Mama works and Baba works, Mama cooks and Baba cooks" to foster a sense of shared responsibilities in the household, and greater gender equality. The interviewees stressed changes that, while small, can be mighty.

Summary

Sadker et al., (2009) explain that teachers could add to textbook bias. Thus, when exploring what can be done with regards to textbook and educational representation of women, it is important not only to conduct the textbook research but also to consult with those in the field who experience and mediate these very representations. For teachers, these conversations occur in classrooms. For curriculum developers, these conversations may be happening at a higher level to motivate change in curricula including on gender representation. Based on my conversations with the teachers in

this study, I argue that they represent the vanguard of this change. Three teachers expressed their desire to incorporate more conversations about women and gender in their classrooms, in one way or another. By adding to the curricula in areas they consider lacking, or emphasizing the importance of the passages on women, the teachers were able to craft a curriculum they thought their students deserved. The curriculum developers and teachers agreed that changes should come to the ways in which we discuss the roles and responsibilities of female citizens in Jordanian citizenship studies and textbooks. However, these changes should come gradually, in line with local culture, society, and religion, and as a cooperative effort across students, parents, teachers, and curriculum developers. Moreover, changes to the Civic Education curriculum as a whole (with regards to structure, content, and pedagogical approaches) could facilitate more positive discussions in classrooms about what equality in citizenship in Jordan means to youth across the nation.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

Summary of Findings

Textbook analyses exploring gender representation show that representations of women are frequently stereotypical and sparse, a phenomenon present in textbooks in use around the world. Sadker et al. (2009) write:

"... schoolbooks shape what the next generation knows and how it behaves … When children read about people in nontraditional gender roles, they are less likely to limit themselves to stereotypes. When children read about women and minorities in history, they are more likely to feel these groups have made important contributions to the country" (p. 87).

Hence, strengthening representations of women (and minorities) in textbooks and curricula is crucial for the ways in which students understand their identities as well as their national histories. Dana Al Emam (2015), writing in *The Jordan Times*, explains that school curricula must be revised to better represent gender. She explains: "depiction of gender in school textbooks establishes for negative stereotyping against women and portrays them as "the absent ones" … the exercises in the books, which are supposed to transfer cognitive skills into a value system that translates into behavior, excludes females from that process" (Al Emam, 2015). Al Emam adds: "the gender unit at the Education Ministry said the ministry had trained some of its staff members on "selected" gender-related concepts, due to "fears" of the topic's "sensitivity"" (2015), however there is an evident need for more employees to receive more comprehensive training on gender mainstreaming. What Al Emam discusses with regards to Jordanian curricula is well-established within education research and even public opinion. Studies by Alayan and Al-Khalidi (2010), Nofal and Qawar (2015), Otoom (2014), Abu Jaber (2014) and others stress that representations of women in Jordanian curricula across a variety of grades, levels, and subjects is stereotypical and lacking.

My research set out to answer two questions:

- How are women and female citizenship represented in Jordanian Civic Education textbooks? How do these representations compare to those of men and male citizenship?

- What are teachers' and curriculum developers' opinions towards representations of women and gender in the Civic Education textbooks? How (if at all) do they address them in their fields?

Using a conceptual framework grounded in feminist theory and curriculum theories, I studied the representations of women in Jordanian Civic Education textbooks for Grades 9 and 10 in the latest issue of the textbooks for the 2018-2019 academic year. First, I found that women are largely excluded from national narratives of citizenship, political participation, and peacekeeping or national security. The textbooks imply the importance of a Jordanian citizenship that is masculine and militarised, relying on case studies and photographs of men carrying out their civic duties in the military and police. There are very few visual and linguistic representations of women in the first place, leading me to conclude that women and female citizenship are insufficiently represented in Jordanian Civic Education textbooks, especially in comparison to the dominant representation of men and ideals of male Jordanian citizenship. The main representation of women comes in passages referring to culture and tradition. Text in dialogue with students (for example, referring to 'citizen' in the masculine and feminine conjugations) is sparse, with the majority of passages using masculine conjugations only. At the same time, there are some positive representations of women and gender that I drew attention to in Chapter 4. For example, one text box engages students to encourage *both* their parents to carry out their civic duties and participate in local elections. Such language that engages men *and* women is sparse but offers some hope for future iterations of these textbooks to better mainstream language that is inclusive.

I sought to conduct a textbook analysis as well as consult with teachers, who had further insights about textbooks and their use, and are often the main actors to mediate textbook content in classrooms. The interview participants agreed that representations of women are lacking, and that there needs to be improvement in the ways in which both men and women are represented to be carrying out their duties as citizens in the country. The teachers I interviewed were interested in incorporating more conversations about women and were doing so in their own ways by emphasizing the few passages about women or by creating spaces for their students to engage further with topics related to women and gender in Jordan. In short, they were going beyond the textbooks. The curriculum developers I interviewed explained that changes should come to the Civic Education textbooks to improve the status and representation of women, albeit more gradually. Leen, for example, explained that implementing such changes gradually is likely to

improve positive reception of new ideas – something that is very important given the local cultural, social, and religious contexts in the country. Importantly, interview participants unanimously called for a move away from gender stereotyping (such as examples where the mother cooks and the father works) and towards more frequent and diverse depictions of women that are representative of their lives, roles, and opportunities in the country. Teachers referred to the ways that, in their daily practices, they attempt to remedy insufficient representations of women in the textbooks. Additionally, participants referenced the need for structural and pedagogical changes in addition to curriculum development in order to create Civic Education textbooks that do the curriculum (and women) justice, given the importance of the subject.

Not only it is important to remedy representations of women, it is also important to remedy representations of men. At present, the curriculum instills a masculinity in students that is toxic and militarized, that focuses on male dominance in society and on the responsibility of men to defend the nation. Teachers and curriculum developers I interviewed found this had negative implications on boys across Jordanian classrooms who learned early on that it was acceptable for them to resort to violence, that they were rightfully dominant in society, and that their responsibility to the nation is one that is militarized.

I, and some of my interview participants, expressed hope towards future iterations of curricula in Jordan. Samia expressed the need to take matters into her own hands to enact the change she wishes to see:

"I'm sure you know … that women's rights and empowerment are never on any priority list of anybody … and this is left for people who feel passionate about this, for enlightened people who feel that there are no human rights without women's rights, and that progress cannot happen in any society if half the society is not contributing the way they should. So it's up to schools like ours, it's up to civil society organizations, to fill in the gap" (Samia, research interview, 2019). Samia and other interview participants, recognized that it will be a long road ahead: "I think it's a long long fight and there's a lot of hope but it will take us years and years until we reach, if we reach, an acceptable state" (Samia, research interview, 2019).

Leen recognized some positive indications as well, explaining that there are several female committee members working in the NCCD, and also more women than men on the implementing

committee of the NCCD too, which she sees as a positive indication for change in the future that would support women and champion gender equality. Tsutsumi (2010) writes:

> "Textbooks should be seen not only as a delivery tool of curriculum expectations, but also as a political, cultural, historical, and social product which delivers certain framed messages to contribute to student's knowledge construction and perceptions of reality. It is crucial for textbooks to portray and represent diversity much more accurately, fairly, and meaningfully … to celebrate and enhance understanding of diversity" (p. 106).

One item lacking from the Civic Education curriculum is a celebration of women and their contributions in the construction of Jordan. This lacking inclusion and celebration of women is necessary for textbooks to adequately represent the population of the country.

Civic Education of the Future?

One important question that emerged frequently throughout my research is: What should Civic Education in Jordan look like in the future? My research and interviews led me to several possibilities as to what the subject could, or should, look like in the coming years.

My textbook analysis indicated that while the textbooks have made progress in inclusion of women (compared to Alayan and Al-Khalidi's findings in 2010, and according to Abu Jaber, 2014), there is room for significantly more progress with regards to the representations of women. For example, while the textbooks have started to incorporate the use of gender-neutral terms, this use is not effectively mainstreamed across the textbooks. As such, one potential avenue for change is to better incorporate the use of gender-neutral terminology throughout the textbooks, especially in light of how important these conjugations can be to boys' and girls' readings of the textbooks. Leen and Sarah both suggest similar revisions, explaining that the textbooks should better incorporate not only gender-neutral terms, but conjugate masculine words to feminine as well. Additionally, my textbook analysis pointed to the stark difference in the quantity of representation between women and men textually and visually. There is solely one photograph of a woman in the photo, but I argue that the use of such a photo is problematic. The textbooks carry a disproportionate amount of content (visually and textually) about men in Jordan and the King, erasing the role that women (even female members of the royal family) have played over the past several decades in constructing the country since its independence. Hence, future iterations of the

textbooks and curriculum can and should better incorporate female-driven narratives and female figures from Jordanian history.

My interviews pointed to the importance of pedagogical revisions accompanying content and curriculum revisions for the Civic Education textbooks. All four teachers I interviewed made reference to some pedagogical approaches that could revolutionize the way Civic Education is taught, improve the representation of women in the textbook, and create a Civic Education curriculum that fosters a more positive form of citizenship for their students (both boys *and* girls). Importantly, the teachers and curriculum developers touched upon the need for a Civic Education that is grounded in present-day facts, figures, and case studies. They pointed to students' need for a Civic Education curriculum that is current and that allows them to engage with their daily lives and challenges, preparing them for their future careers and roles after high school.

James Youniss (2011) suggests in *Civic Education: What Schools Can Do to Encourage Civic Identity and Action* different ways for schools to strengthen Civic Education. One way is through public discussion, that allows students to share their opinions and listen better to each other. It is especially relevant in instances of opposing opinions between students in order to learn more from one another. Teachers I interviewed agreed; Aya, Bayan, and Leila all mentioned different ways they seek to engage their students in dialogue to foster their critical thinking and communication skills, but also allow them to build and explore their identities within the context of citizenship studies. Another element Youniss discusses is the need for community service. He draws upon previous studies that show how students who participated in community activities during high school civics classes were "more likely to vote and to belong to volunteer organizations than their peers whose civics class did not include service" (2011, p. 102). Samia stresses this as an important aspect of her school's education for citizenship that is practical. In addition to learning theory, Samia believes in the importance of community service to connect her students to their communities through lived practice. Youniss proposes that a specific type of citizenship be embedded through Civic Education: one that allows students to "[partake] in civic organizations which represent interests and promote value traditions that have roots in religion, civic movements, social justice, and the like" (p. 102). Hence, it is important to note that this citizenship is not one that is embedded in an identity (E.G.: being a Jordanian Muslim male), but rather in duties and values that respond to democracy, cooperation, and respect for the nation and

its people. Youniss stresses that there is no single value related to citizenship but rather a unity within citizenship. He concludes:

> "Civic Education can be more than acquiring a set of facts, learning about rights and obligations, and becoming an informed voter. It is, at its psychological base, coming to know how to function in a democratic system and working to sustain it for oneself and for others" (p. 102).

Contributions to Textbook Research

This research drew attention to the implicit and explicit ways the Jordanian Civic Education curriculum represents women and gender. I argued that the textbooks at present do not sufficiently or clearly portray women: the only mention of women comes in text boxes, discussion activities, and sparse and inconsistent mention of women across the four textbooks. This work contributes to textbook research in Jordan (and in the Middle East) to draw attention to the importance of representing women in textbooks sufficiently and clearly to incorporate them into national narratives of citizenship. This work also highlighted the ways in which citizenship in the Middle East is gendered (where women are not afforded the same rights and responsibilities as men) and how this bias translates into curricula. My conversations with teachers and curriculum developers showed that such representations of women are of concern to others and should be remedied in order to create a curriculum that is accommodating and celebrating of all national identities. Shirazi (2012) writes:

> "approaches to education in the Middle East have long overlooked individual experiences and sociopolitical practices at the school level. In neglecting the narratives and individual experiences embedded in daily practices of schooling, approaches to education … overlook a critical dimension of what schools produce and how they produce it" (p. 72).

By using both textbook analysis and interviews for my research and discussion, I aimed to explore and address gender representation in textbooks, gather ideas about teacher attitudes towards such representations, and share curriculum developers' outlooks for future iterations of the Civic Education curricula. Such an approach, adopted in this study on a smaller scale, can engage with individual experiences and practices in schooling that could inform the ways curricula are designed and adapted in the future. Through this research approach, I hope to have pointed to the importance of expanding textbook analysis and curriculum revision to a move consultative

process, as teachers and curriculum developers are the first line of action and change in the field. Rather than focus solely on my own perceptions and attitudes towards the textbooks, I aimed to open up the discussion towards a more democratic process of curriculum design, discussion, and analysis, bringing in expert perspectives and the perspectives of individuals whose daily activities involve engaging with the textbooks, and mediating textbook content to students. I hope that this research raises the importance of cooperative data analysis especially with diverse participants.

In the future, I argue that curriculum development and design should become an even more collaborative and democratic process. This study involved the perspectives of select teachers and curriculum developers. However, Shirazi writes about the importance of youth voices in understanding and shaping their own futures: "Most glaringly absent … are the voices of the youth themselves in how they understand their futures, their place in the state, and the educational and political initiatives enacted in their name" (p. 72). One of the main purposes of Jordanian Civic Education, as put by Kubow and Kreishan (2014) is to allow students to understand their sense of loyalty to their communities, country, and the region as a whole. Youth should be able to engage with curriculum developers to suggest lessons or content they see relevant to their lives and experiences. This is something several interviews have pointed to with regards to the need for a Civic Education curriculum that is up to date, engaging, and relevant to youth's daily lives. Thus, youth voices, inputs, experiences, and actions are each important aspects of their education for citizenship that will continue to shape who they are and where they see themselves in the nation state. The value of youth and their agency in and out of classrooms should not be underestimated.

Limitations of the Study

There are several limitations to the study. Primarily, the results from this analysis, for both the textbooks and interviews, cannot be generalized, transferred, or applied to other textbooks or to the overall context of teachers, students, and curriculum developers in Jordan. My findings regarding the textbooks are specific to my interpretations of the textbooks at the present time, guided by my theoretical framework, positionality, and research background, and are inherently subjective. Neither do the methodological processes and research study design allow me to make comments or interpretations on the ways the textbooks are actually being understood or applied in classrooms across the Kingdom either, except from the perspectives of the select teachers I interviewed. To address some of these limitations of textbook analysis, I chose to interview a few

teachers and curriculum developers in order to gain deeper insights into the textbooks and the ways they might be mediated and taught, or the ways in which they can or should improve. Hence, data obtained from the interviews are non-generalizable as well, as interviewees express solely their own opinions and insights into their personal experiences within the field. Since this is my own content analysis of the textbooks and interview transcripts, it is impacted by my own positionality, which influences my coding and the descriptions I make with regards to coding the data.

The textbooks are only available in Arabic, yet I conducted my coding (as well as analysis and discussion) in English, without translating the textbooks. As a native English and Arabic speaker, with previous experience translating and interpreting between the two languages, I found this had few challenges in practice throughout the analysis but recognize that this is perhaps one shortcoming of the research methodology at hand. However, the reflexivity involved in the research as a bilingual project is stimulating and fascinating and one I hope to continue to reflect on in my academic work in the future. My goal from this research was not to make generalizable findings, but rather to gain insight into the textbooks themselves guided by my own approach and positionality and gain a deeper insight into the teachers' perspectives regarding this issue as well. One limitation of my interviews is that I was only able to interview female teachers. I recognize that their emphasis on including women could be driven by their identities as Jordanian women and their previous experiences in education. Interviewing male teachers, especially those teaching at all-male schools, would have shed light on whether they notice or address the inclusion of women. Engaging men in conversations about gender and strengthening the role of women in education & society is crucial to build community partnerships to strive for gender equality.

Final Remarks

I believe the Jordanian Civic Education curriculum carries a strong potential to engage students in meaningful and critical conversations on civic duties, patriotisms, and what it means to be a citizen. The Jordanian population is more diverse now than ever, with Palestinians, Syrians, Jordanians, Chechens, Circassians, and more living together in the country. As such, I believe the curriculum should seek to instill the same values in all students regardless of their race, class, and of course their gender. These are values that are apparent in the textbooks at the moment: equality, equity, honesty, and loyalty to the nation. In focusing on teaching values rather than instilling a single identity, the Civic Education curriculum could engage a generation of diverse youth who

are proud of their individual identities, who understand their roles and responsibilities, and who seek to create positive impacts on their communities, countries, and beyond. Focusing on narratives that are inclusive of all Jordanians, men and women equally, youth will be able to contextualize themselves within their greater society. Women will be able to see themselves in the curriculum and better engage with its content. Banks (1994) summarizes this point clearly: "When content, concepts, and events are studied from many points of view, all of our students will be ready to play their roles in the life of the nation" (p. 8).

Despite the country's focus on policy and programming to encourage female workforce participation and economic engagement, strengthening the role and representation of women in curricula and textbooks could have positive implications on women's understandings of their senses of self, their agencies, their capabilities, and importantly their aspirations. This research identified where the curriculum has lacked such positive representations of women that could empower female students and encourage men to see the value of gender equality. With a large youth population in Jordan, I believe changes in curriculum are one avenue that can engage and challenge this next generation to think about their futures and their roles within their society. It can encourage gender equality, women's empowerment, and equality in civic engagement and education.

The question of inclusion and exclusion from national narratives and curricula is ongoing in Jordan (Shirazi, 2012). Curricula are clearly political and sensitive in Jordan, evidenced by frequent public uproar at any changes in textbooks. A curriculum such as that of Civic Education is especially at the center of such uproar as it is dedicated to teaching national narratives and enforcing boundaries of inclusion or exclusion. Shirazi (2012) suggests that curriculum reform is not only hindered by a political desire to maintain the status quo but by the public's desire to maintain the existing state of affairs - a situation that is inherently political, cultural, social, religious, and, as this study showed, gendered. Literature and advocacy in Jordan and beyond reveal the importance of this debate on gender representation in curricula and the commitment of actors around the world to ensure gender equality in education beyond just enrollment.

While a country like Jordan has made strides to achieve gender parity in enrollment (World Bank, 2019), it should continue to ensure that women are represented in education, in curricula, and in governance to truly deliver a message to women and girls that their education *and* their civic participation are valuable to the prosperity of the country. I argue that this message is one

that should come across through education. The Grade 9 and 10 textbooks frequently address youth, and this conversation can and should be stronger, targeted, and gender sensitive in order to engage all youth (boys and girls alike) with their duties, their responsibilities, their opportunities, and their trajectories in Jordan.

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Appendix 1: Research Ethics Board Certificate

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Research Ethics Board Office　　　　　　Tel: (514) 398-6831
James Administration Bldg.
845 Sherbrooke Street West. Rm 325　　　Website: www.mcgill.ca/research/research/compliance/human/
Montreal, QC H3A 0G4

Research Ethics Board 2
Certificate of Ethical Acceptability of Research Involving Humans

REB File #: 493-0519

Project Title: Investigating the representation of women and gender in Jordanian Civic Education textbooks

Principal Investigator: Yasmeen Shahzadeh　　**Department:** Integrated Studies in Education

Status: Master's Student　　**Supervisor:** Professor Claudia A. Mitchell

Approval Period: <u>July 18, 2019 – July 17, 2020</u>

The REB 2 reviewed and approved this project by delegated review in accordance with the requirements of the McGill University Policy on the Ethical Conduct of Research Involving Human Participants and the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans.

Georgia Kalavritinos
Ethics Review Administrator

* Approval is granted only for the research and purposes described.
* Modifications to the approved research must be reviewed and approved by the REB before they can be implemented.
* A Request for Renewal form must be submitted before the above expiry date. Research cannot be conducted without a current ethics approval. Submit 2-3 weeks ahead of the expiry date.
* When a project has been completed or terminated, a Study Closure form must be submitted.
* Unanticipated issues that may increase the risk level to participants or that may have other ethical implications must be promptly reported to the REB. Serious adverse events experienced by a participant in conjunction with the research must be reported to the REB without delay.
* The REB must be promptly notified of any new information that may affect the welfare or consent of participants.
* The REB must be notified of any suspension or cancellation imposed by a funding agency or regulatory body that is related to this study.
* The REB must be notified of any findings that may have ethical implications or may affect the decision of the REB.

Appendix 2: Consent Forms

Below are texts of the English and Arabic consent forms used for interviews (the latest version from July 2019 that was approved under my Research Ethics Board application). The English consent form was submitted to Abu Ghazaleh Translation Services in Amman for official translation to Arabic.

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<div dir="rtl">

نموذج موافقة المشارك

الباحث الرئيسي: ياسمين شاهزاده

ماجستير تربية ومجتمع (دراسات النوع الاجتماعي والمرأة) – جامعة ماكجيل، مونتريال، كوبيك (كندا)

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المشرف: كلاوديا ميتشيل

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هاتف: (514) 398-4527 Ext. 09990

بريد إلكتروني: claudia.mitchell@mcgill.ca

عنوان المشروع: بحث تمثيل المرأة والنوع الاجتماع في الكتب الدراسية في مادة التربية الوطنية الأردنية.

ملف REB رقم: *493-0519*

الغرض من الدراسة: تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى استكشاف منهج وكتب التربية الوطنية الأردنية والطرق التي تمثل بها الرجل والمرأة. كما تسعى الدراسة إلى تحديد ومناقشة تمثيلات المرأة والفتاة في الكتب المدرسية لتقديم توصيات لتطوير المنهج مستقبلاً.

إجراءات الدراسة: بصفتك معلماً لمادة التربية الوطنية في الأردن، أنت مدعو للمشاركة في مقابلة لهذه الدراسة. المشاركون مدعوون لمقابلات لمناقشة تمثيل المرأة والنوع الاجتماعي في الكتب المدرسية الحالية لمادة التربية الوطنية. ستطرح عليك (المشارك) في هذه المقابلات أسئلة عن آرائك بالمنهج الدراسي وتمثيله للرجل والمرأة وما إذا كنت ستختار طرح مواضيع عن النوع الاجتماعي في حصصك الفصلية. ستستغرق المقابلة حوالي ساعة من الزمن حسب ما يناسبك.

المشاركة تطوعية: المشاركة في المقابلات لغرض هذه الدراسة مشاركة تطوعية. باستطاعة المشاركين رفض المشاركة في هذه الدراسة، ويمكنهم اختيار سحب مشاركتهم من هذه الدراسة في أي وقت لأي سبب كان. إذا اختار المشاركون الانسحاب من الدراسة، سيتم إتلاف المعلومات التي قدموها ما لم يعطونا الأذن بخلاف ذلك.

المخاطر المحتملة: لا توجد مخاطر متوقع تعرضك لها من خلال المشاركة في هذا البحث.

المنافع المحتملة: لا توجد فائدة مباشرة لك بصفتك مشاركاً، وذلك من مشاركتك في هذه الدراسة. تأمل نتائج هذا البحث أن تسهم في تطوير المنهج الدراسي في الأردن وفي جميع أنحاء الشرق الأوسط، وخصوصاً فيما يتعلق بتمثيل المرأة والفتاة في الكتب المدرسية وغيرها من المواد التعليمية.

</div>

المكافأة: لا توجد مكافأة مقابل المشاركة في هذه الدراسة.

السرية: ستتم المحافظة على سرية معلوماتك. لن يطلع أحد غيري على البيانات التي تحدد الهوية والتسجيلات الصوتية. لن تكون هناك إمكانية للتعرف عليك في تحليل البيانات أو مناقشتها، حيث سيتم إعطاء اسم مستعار. ستكون المعلومات الوحيدة المعرفة المستخدمة نوعك الاجتماعي ونوع المدرسة التي تعمل فيها: أكانت مدرسة حكومية أم خاصة (مثلاً، معلم مدرسة خاصة للبنات...).

سيتم تسجيل هذه المقابلة صوتياً بموافقتك، وسيتم تشفير التسجيلات وتخزينها على قرص صلب ليقتصر الاطلاع عليها فقط على الباحث الرئيسي (ياسمين شاهزاده). ولن يتم إطلاع أي أحد على التسجيلات الصوتية أو نشرها.

سيتم نشر نتائج هذا البحث من خلال القنوات الأكاديمية، بما في ذلك المؤتمرات والمقالات الصحفية وأطروحة الماجستير الخاصة بالباحث الرئيسي (ياسمين شاهزاده).

أوافق على تسجيل هذه المقابلة صوتياً.

نعم ....   لا ....

الأسئلة: إذا كانت لديك أية أسئلة عن مشروع البحث، أو إذا أردت أي توضيح إضافي، يرجى الاتصال بياسمين شاهزاده على الرقم 1+ 514 632 4994 أو على الرقم 9990082 79 962+ أو عبر البريد الإلكتروني yasmeen.shahzadeh@mail.mcgill.ca.

إذا كانت لديك أية مخاوف أو شكاوى أخلاقية بشأن مشاركتك في هذه الدراسة وترغب بالتحدث مع أحد ليس عضواً في فريق البحث، يرجى التواصل مع مدير الأخلاقيات في ماكجيل على الرقم 1+ 514-398-6831 أو عبر البريد الإلكتروني: lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca.

يرجى التوقيع في الأسفل إذا قرأت المعلومات أعلاه ووافقت على المشاركة في هذه الدراسة. لا تشكل موافقتك على المشاركة في هذه الدراسة تنازلاً عن حقوقك أو تعفي الباحث الرئيسي من مسؤولياته. سيتم إعطاؤك نسخة عن نموذج الموافقة هذا وسيحتفظ الباحث الرئيسي بنسخة لديه.

اسم المشارك: (ترجى طباعته) ....

توقيع المشارك: .... التاريخ: ....

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Participant Consent Form

Principal Investigator: Yasmeen Shahzadeh

MA Education & Society (Gender & Women's Studies) - McGill University, Montreal, Quebec (Canada)

Tel.: (514) 632-4994

yasmeen.shahzadeh@mail.mcgill.ca

Supervisor: Claudia Mitchell

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Tel.: (514) 398-4527 Ext. 09990

Email: claudia.mitchell@mcgill.ca

Title of Project: Investigating the representation of women and gender in Jordanian Civic Education textbooks
REB File #: 493-0519

Purpose of the Study: This study aims to explore the Jordanian Civic Education curriculum and textbooks, and the ways they represent men and women. The study seeks to identify and discuss the different representations of women and girls in the textbooks, in order to make recommendations for future curriculum development.

Study Procedures: As a Civic Education teacher in Jordan, you are invited to participate in an interview for this study. Participants are invited to partake in interviews to discuss representations of women and gender in current Civic Education textbooks. In these interviews, you (the participant) will be asked about your perceptions on the curriculum, its representations of men and women, and whether you choose to incorporate topics about gender in your classrooms. The interview will last approximately 1 hour, at your convenience.

Voluntary Participation: Participation in interviews for this study is voluntary. Participants can decline to participate in this study, and may choose to withdraw their participation in this study at any time for any reason. Should participants choose to withdraw from the study, information they shared will be destroyed, unless they give permission otherwise.

Potential Risks: There are no anticipated risks to you by participating in this research.

Potential Benefits: There is no direct benefit to you, the participant, from participating in this study. Results of this research hope to inform curriculum development in Jordan and across the Middle East, particularly with regards to representation of women and girls in textbooks and other learning materials.

Compensation: There is no compensation for participating in this study.

Confidentiality: Your confidentiality will be maintained. Only I will have access to identifiable information and the audio recordings. You will not be identifiable in data analysis or discussion and will be assigned a pseudonym. The only identifying information used will be your gender and the type of school you work in: either public or private (EG: a female private school teacher…).

With your permission, this interview will be audio-recorded. Recordings will be encrypted and stored on a hard-drive to be accessed solely by the Principal Investigator (Yasmeen Shahzadeh). Audio recordings will not be shared or publicized.

Results of this research will be disseminated through academic channels including conferences, journal articles, and the Principal Investigator's (Yasmeen Shahzadeh) MA Thesis.

I agree to have this interview audio recorded.
YES _____   NO _____

Questions: Should you have any questions about this research project, or require any additional clarification, please contact Yasmeen Shahzadeh at +1 514 632 4994 or +962 79 9990082 or at yasmeen.shahzadeh@mail.mcgill.ca

If you have any ethical concerns or complaints about your participation in this study, and want to speak with someone not on the research team, please contact the McGill Ethics Manager at +1 514-398-6831 or lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca

Please sign below if you have read the above information and consent to participate in this study. Agreeing to participate in this study does not waive any of your rights or release the Principal Investigator from their responsibilities. A copy of this consent form will be given to you and the Principal Investigator will keep a copy.

Participant's Name: (please print) _____

Participant's Signature: _____   Date: _____