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Decolonizing World History: Mis-Representations of the Middle East In Secondary Social Studies Textbooks

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DECOLONIZING WORLD HISTORY: MIS-REPRESENTATIONS OF THE
MIDDLE EAST IN SECONDARY SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTBOOKS

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ABSTRACT

This study utilizes content analysis to evaluate three United States High School World History textbook's coverage of the Middle East since 1945 in order to determine if an authentic global approach to history is being utilized. This was determined by analyzing the amount of coverage that was dedicated to the Middle East, the focus of the narrative, and the portrayal of the Middle East. Analysis of the narrative content of the texts showed that coverage of the Middle East overall did not receive an equitable representation in comparison to other regions. The focus of this coverage centered on defining the Middle East, conflict and crisis in the Middle East, the Middle East as a resource, and the Middle East as viewed by the United States. As a result of the utilization of these themes within the text, textbooks provide the reader with a biased and incomplete view of the Middle East. As a result, it is necessary to consider other narratives and perspectives such as development in the region, the Middle East from the point of view of its people, and similarities to the rest of the world when teaching the Middle East in order to provide a more global perspective.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION: THE NEED FOR GLOBAL HISTORY

The demographics of schools in the United States have changed. Educators are no longer dealing with homogeneous populations of students with European heritage. According to a Center for Public Education Report, in 2010, one in five people in the United States was a first or second generation American. When looking solely at the school aged population, in 2009, 18% of students had at least one foreign-born parent and 5% of students were foreign born. The makeup of this foreign-born population: 41% Latin American, 40% Asian, 9% European and 3% from other regions, is causing dramatic increases in diversity in the United States, and in public school classrooms (Center for Public Education, 2012). The Arab population, the population most relevant to this study due to a lack of statistics on the Middle Eastern population in the United States, would be included in the other category. According to estimates from an American Community Survey Brief entitled Arab Households in the United States 2006-2010 1.5 million people (.5% of the population) living in the United States have Arab ancestry, this is a 76% increase since 1990 (United States Census Bureau, 2013). Furthermore, these populations are expected to continue to grow. The Census Bureau predicts that between 2010 and 2050 the Hispanic population will grow 167% increasing this group from 16% of the total population to 30%. During this same time, the Asian population will grow 213% causing an increase from 4.7% to 7.8% of the total population; the black population will grow 46%, which indicates that their share of the population will remain stable; and the non-Hispanic white population will increase only 1% causing a decrease in their share of the population from 64.7% to 46.3%. If these predictions turn out to be correct, by 2050, no group will be considered a majority of the population (Center for Public Education, 2012).

This diversity, and the process of globalization that has contributed to its development have created a need for students graduating from high school to develop a deep understanding of world history. It is important for students to understand the world in which they live and the people with which they will interact. The study of World History "involves the student in a constant comparison with his or her own life in contrast to previous people and other cultures" thereby allowing students to develop their own subjectivities and achieve freedom in a Foucaldian sense (Alder and Lye, 1987, p. 332). In order to do this, students need to be presented with a more complete world history that allows them to have a window into cultures and times that are different from their own.

One of the earliest calls for the study of world history took place at the 1976 meeting of the American Historical Association during a session entitled "Beyond Western Civilization: Rebuilding the Survey." The session focused on what William McNeill, Lewis Spitz, and Giles Constable believed was the next step in replacing, or revamping the western civilization course in order to offer students an interesting introduction into the study of history (McNeill et al, 1977). Since this time the World History course has become the center of a curricular debate focusing on whether students should be taught about their own "Western" culture (whether or not the majority of the students in the United States would consider themselves as belonging to a Western culture is also debatable) or the cultures of others, whether the history of the world can be taught, and if it can be taught what should the course cover. While the study of world history has come a long way since the "world history movement" began, it still needs to be further developed in order to do justice to the information being presented as well as to the students that are being taught (Don, 2003).

The essential question related to the study of world history seems to be the question of content. Because of a lack of training, many secondary educators use their introductory history class as a model for what they should teach their students. The problem with this is that many of these courses focus on western civilizations, or if the course does cover non-western civilizations, its focus is on a few select events (Don, 2003). Due to this lack of knowledge as well as a lack of resources that cover true world history (world history encompassing all of the world, from multiple perspectives), World History courses are often Western Civilization courses renamed. While there are many potential problems with these fairly limited curricula, the most glaring issue lies in the language used to create it. Instead of acknowledging the fact that this is a Euro-centric history, or at best a history of western civilization, it instead is a western civilization course masquerading as a world history one. This sends the students of this course the message that the history of the world, or the only history of the world that matters, is that that involves Western Societies in some ways. This leaves students with glaring gaps in their historical understanding while at the same time perpetuating the myth of Western Superiority. By perpetuating these myths we make the mistake that Said (1978) points out in *Orientalism* of forgetting that "such notions of modernity, enlightenment, and democracy are by no means simple and agreed upon concepts that one either does or does not find" (p. xix).

Moreover, this type of curriculum goes against the recommendations that have been made about high school social studies curricula within the United States. The Bradley Commission[1] (1989) advised that every student should at some point in their secondary education career study people in Africa, the Americas, Asia and Europe, that the study of these

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[1] The Bradley Commission on History in Schools was created in 1987 to respond to concern about the quantity and quality of history taught in American schools.

areas should include all groups including a variety of economic strata, woman and minority groups. In addition, students should develop "historical empathy" and study events in their own context as opposed to how we would view them today (Bradley Commission, 1989). Yet, the majority of these recommendations are not taken into account in the World History course. There is little attention given to Africa, Asia and Latin America. Furthermore, within the focus on European history, the focus of the courses tends to be males, more specifically males who are in positions of leadership and power. This lack of diversity in the curriculum prevents students from developing well-rounded worldviews while also prohibiting them from developing the historical empathy that the commission stated as an aim. World history from a global perspective, sometimes referred to as global history, is needed in order to allow students a more complete understanding of the world in which they live.

Need for Global History

When our students are bombarded with half-truths and inaccuracies in the media, it is important to create a course which can combat this often fragmented, biased, and in some cases incorrect information with a fuller picture of national and international events. It is not sufficient to look at history solely from the point of view of one's nation state. The globe is far too interconnected for the nation state to be considered the only unit governing interaction. As a result, we need to teach history in a way that highlights the interaction and connectedness of the world in order to prepare students to become actors in the globalized society in which we live. Furthermore, we need to allow those current events at the forefront in our culture to drive the history that our courses choose to focus on. In doing this, student interest will likely be increased because the history they are learning is applicable to what is happening in the world in which they live. In order to do this we need to trust our teachers to set curriculums that are responsive

to the needs of the students at the time as opposed to the current practice of a set of required content standards that allows teachers with little room to maneuver.

I do not argue for Global World History as a replacement to national history or even European and Western History. Instead, World History should be a course that is considered the equal of these other long established courses. Additionally, the teaching of global world history will provide a thematic framework as well as a global scope in which students and teachers can then situate national and Western events likely providing students with greater contextual understanding, which will lead to a deeper understanding of history itself. By studying a global world history students will be able to gain an understanding of common trends across history that can then be used as themes for which they can organize historical events. As stated in the Bradley Commission's Report for a Better History Curriculum in 1989 the teaching of United States History, Western Civilization, and World History is essential because "students need to confront the diverse cultural heritages of the world's many peoples and they need to know the origins and evolution of the political, religious, and social ideas that have shaped out institutions and those of others. Without studying the history of the West and the history of the world, students remain out of touch with these realities" (Bradley Commission 1989, p. 10, 13).

While the commission does argue for the study of both world history and western civilization, if there is a choice to be made between the two disciplines, a World History course could be developed in order to satisfy the goals of the study of both western civilization as well as world history thereby eliminating the need for both courses and making world history the obvious choice for a required survey, for "it is far better to know something about everything than to know all about one thing" (McNeill et al 1977, p. 521). Yet, there has not been the widespread implementation of a curriculum that is taught from a global perspective, teachers are

often unaware of interpretations of history that are based on the scholarship of world historians as opposed to western or area scholars, and teaching strategies specific to the study of world history have not been implemented (Don, 2003).

A Global Approach to History

We need to expand the story lines of history that are taught to students in secondary schools. History is far too complex and interactive to be narrowed down to one essential plot line. In 1978 historian Geoffrey Barraclough wrote "Awareness of the need for a universal view of history – for a history which transcends national and regional boundaries and comprehends the entire globe – is one of the marks of the present" (Gowaskie 1985, 365). Over thirty years later, this is a call that has not yet been fulfilled throughout the United States as many states continue to emphasize Western Civilization in their course requirements and curriculums. As of 2002, twenty-two states did not have World History requirements. Furthermore, this number is likely higher as in many cases the World History course has been taught as a Western Civilization course with a different name (Lintvedet, 2003). In Louisiana, World History is an option for fulfilling graduation requirements on some diploma tracks; however, Western Civilization or European History can also fulfill the course requirements. Yet, considering the globalized, multi-cultural society that we live in today, a global World History course that gives students a historical frame of reference as well as provides understanding for important events and interactions that are occurring today is very much needed.

The world is becoming more interconnected through trade and technology. Yet the focus of the general public has been inward, we have become a "narcissistic society." This is especially problematic because "historical perspective and international understanding are essential to cultural and political well-being, in fact, to survival itself" (McNeill et al 1977, 516). Therefore,

in addition to academic reasons for the course, there are also humanitarian ones to promote a more global view of World History that helps to combat the common stereotypes, resulting in part from ignorance and misunderstanding, that lead to the dehumanization of the other. As explained by Said (2003) in his lecture *Orientalism Once More* as "the mobilization of fear, hatred, disgust, and resurgent self-pride and arrogance – much having to do with Islam and the Arabs on one side, 'we' westerners on the other" (p.870). Though Said's lecture on *Orientalism Once More* was over ten years ago, many of the same sentiments appear to exist in the United States today and have possibly worsened. Solely teaching history from the perspective of one's nation state has allowed for the creation of a homogeneous other that is often viewed as the enemy. This process of dehumanization, as well as demonization of the other has created a dangerous atmosphere of hatred in which the lives of the other are devalued which has contributed to global violence and terror. In a world in which legitimate political candidates promote prejudice against certain religious groups, and the closing of borders to refugees is promoted, global history can help to combat this process of dehumanization by chipping away at these misrepresentations with a curriculum that highlights similarities across humanity and the common themes in the human experience while celebrating cultural differences. There is diversity within all cultures, in order to seek a true understanding of history; we cannot be satisfied with a homogenous representation of the other. Instead we need to approach history thematically in a way that highlights common experiences of humans and common threads of human nature.

While the shift to a world history that encompasses the study of the entire world is not yet complete as stated in the introduction and described below in the literature review, a new movement towards international history and global history or global education has begun.

Sachsenmaier (2006) describes the recent efforts to "internationalize or globalize historiography" (p. 452) in an attempt to replace Western history with an all-encompassing history of the world. However, there is little agreement about what these terms mean, or what their study should include. This becomes a challenge for teachers in the field who are looking to develop multi-perspective world history that deviates from the traditional Eurocentric narrative. As the largest professional organization for social studies teachers, the National Council for the Social Studies, in their position statement *Global and International Education in Social Studies,* provides definitions of global and international studies for practitioner's use. NCSS recommends that at the high school level teachers integrate international studies and global studies into the study of the traditional social studies such as history, geography, economics, etc. NCSS states "global education focuses on the interrelated nature of condition, issues, trends, processes, and events while international education emphasizes specific world regions, problems and cultures" (para. 2). Their explanation goes further to describe international studies as the "in-depth study of a specific area or region" with "the causes and effects of international problems or conflicts" (Development of the Concepts of Global Education, para.1) as a major focus for the high school student. While their explanation of global studies, states "an important characteristic of global studies is the analysis of problems, issues, or ideas from a perspective that deals with the nature of change and interdependence" (Development of the Concepts of Global Education, para. 3). Grew (2005) provides a similar definition of global history stating " it calls for exploring the past thematically and doing so through significant global relationships" (p.849) These definitions are compatible with the development of a world history course that studies modern world history from varied viewpoints, embracing the complexity of the globalized world in which we live.

However, the above definitions are not the universally accepted explanations of the terms global history and global education. Some scholars look at global history as the study of globalization, which then leads to a debate about at what point this study begins as the starting point for globalization varies with some scholars marking the beginning in the sixteenth century with the Columbian exchange and others putting the date as late as post World War II (Sachsenmaier, 2006). Others view global education as an interdisciplinary approach that explores issues of global concern such as poverty, human rights or the environment and looks for ways to solve these problems (Hanvey, 1983; Collins, Czarra, and Smith, 1996). While this is an admirable effort, it will be difficult for students to have a complete understanding of these problems without an investigation of the historical processes that have led to these problems or an understanding of the culture and history of the people who are experiencing them.

To further complicate the terminology surrounding new forms of global history is the use of the term Big History to describe the interdisciplinary study of the history of human kind pioneered by historian David Christian starting with the big bang and reaching to present day. Big History looks at history on a grand scale encompassing the disciplines of geology, astronomy, and other sciences to study the development of the earth and human kind. Study of history on this scale helps students and teachers to answer big questions such as the origins of human kind and emphasizes the commonality that all humans share, however, when looking at history from such a broad lens, it does not allow students to fully delve into the complexity of the interconnected world in which we live. In order to provide teachers with an understanding of the best ways to approach history as well as the knowledge and tools that the approach encompasses, these definitions and approaches need to become clearer.

The author of this study considers the approach defined by the NCSS of a combination of global and international studies as ideal for an authentic global history. As the largest professional organization for social studies teachers, the NCSS definitions are recognized by a wide variety of practitioners in the United States. Additionally, while NCSS highlights the options for interdisciplinary study in relation to global and international studies, the definitions they provide are specific to social studies and the study of history as opposed to other definitions which are broader in scope that describe an interdisciplinary or issues centered approach. Additionally, the combination of more specific regional history through international education combined with the situation of regional history in a global context allows for students to gain greater understanding of history. In fact, NCSS finds this combination essential stating that "in order to understand problems or issues that are global in nature, a student must have a strong knowledge base from several disciplines. The skills to acquire and analyze information about specific cultures and regions of the world must be developed" (Mcjimsey, Ross, & Young, 2016, Development of the concepts of global education, para. 5).

In order to determine if textbooks are providing students with an authentic and global approach to world history this research study will conduct a content analysis of three US World History textbooks: Pearson (2016) *World History: The Modern Era,* McGraw-Hill (2014) *World History and Geography: Modern Times*, and Houghton Mifflin Harcourt (2012) *Modern World History: Patterns of Interaction* to answer the following research questions and sub questions:

(1) To what extent does the coverage of the Middle East in three United States world history textbooks reflect a global and international perspective as defined by NCSS?

    a. How much coverage do World History textbooks dedicate to events that have taken place in the Middle East since 1945?

b. What is the focus of the narrative?

c. How is the Middle East Portrayed?

(2) How would an authentic global history of the Middle East be portrayed?

CHAPTER 2. THEORY: WORLD HISTORY CURRICULUM FROM A POSTCOLONIAL LENS

Theoretical Framework

In the United States, those in positions of power have used their influence to impact the curriculum in secondary schools resulting in curriculum that serves to perpetuate the status quo of Western dominance. Apple (1993) describes this as

> A largely monocultural national curriculum (which deals with diversity by centering the always ideological "we" and usually then simply mentioning "the contributions" of people of color, women, and others), emphasizes the maintenance of existing hierarchies of what counts as official knowledge, the reifying of traditional Western standards and values, the return to a "disciplined" (and one could say largely masculinist) pedagogy, and so on. (p.233)

This has led to the creation of history curricula that promotes the dominant historical narrative of European and American supremacy, without acknowledging the vital contributions and rich histories of non-Western groups. This process has occurred in the curriculums of the colonizers as well as the colonized. Morris (2016) uses Albert Memmi's portrayal of curriculum in Tunisia to describe the process of Westernization of the curriculum in colonized areas:

> Inheriting a Eurocentric canon is political. Inheriting this canon is also inheriting the memory and history of Europe. Native Tunisians – like Memmi – inherit a memory and history of Europe, while the colonizers erase the memory and history of native Tunisians. To inherit – through schooling - only a Eurocentric canon is a way not only to erase native identities but also to dominate others. (p. 216)

Furthermore, when subaltern groups are featured the cultural differences that exist among them are erased as the "other" is homogenized into a single group. This is referred to by Morris (2016) as a process of (mis) education that results in propensity to essentialize peoples. These processes are not only harmful in colonized areas (as described above), but also for students in areas that are considered the colonizers. As Pinar (1993) describes in relation to race, "not only African Americans have been denied self-understanding…. Institutional racism deforms 'white' students as well" (p. 62). By replacing "African Americans" with colonized and "white" with colonizer

the same principal can be applied to the study of colonized places as well. By failing to provide all students with an understanding of the world, all students suffer.

What is problematic about such a curriculum is not the inclusion of Western culture but the exclusion of non-Western areas. Chakrabarty (2000) states "European thought… is both indispensable and inadequate in helping us think through the various life practices that constitute the political and historical in India" (p. 6). In the globalized society in which we live, this idea of European thought as being "both indispensable and inadequate" can be applied to historical study in both colonizing and colonized countries. Furthermore the interaction that has existed between the colonized and colonizers has led to the creation of a hybrid space in which the knowledge of both becomes interconnected making it inadequate to study only one body of knowledge instead requiring an approach that incorporates both bodies of knowledge (Morris, 2016). With these ideas in mind, the author argues not for the erasure of Western history but the inclusion of non-Western history and history from varied points of view, in addition to Western history and Western points of view.

In order to evaluate world history textbooks as a source of curriculum, to determine if they are maintaining the practices described above of promoting a Western centered history, this study will use a postcolonial lens drawing heavily on Said's concept of Orientalism. A postcolonial reading of world history texts will allow the text to be examined for the ways in which colonization has influenced the narrative. Rizvi, Lingard, and Lavia (2006) describe the postcolonial lens as being able to

> makes visible the history and legacy of European colonialism, enabling us to understand how Europe was able to exercise colonial power over 80% of the world's population and how it continues to shape most of our contemporary discourses and institutions – politically, culturally, an economically. (p.250)

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In this way, the postcolonial lens will be used to analyze World History texts to determine to what extent they are providing a global, as opposed to a European view, of history.

From a postcolonial view, while colonization for many "ended" in the post war years, the belief that colonization and its impacts are no longer prevalent is a dangerous one. Colonization has continued through the use of ideology in which the dominant cultures ideas are embedded in the colonized and in the psychological aftermath of the domination for those who were colonized (Morris, 2016). Kanu (2006) describes, "although physical occupation and control of territories may end, the process of colonial cultural production and psychologization persist" (p. 9). Said's *Orientalism* highlights this use of ideology in colonization and its impact on both the colonized and colonizers. While Said has been criticized for perpetuating an essentialist binary in this divisive work, it is an appropriate lens when looking at world history textbooks due to their established use of an East / West binary.

US World History curriculum currently uses a colonial approach to the study of history which brings to mind Said's Orientalism. Said (1978) defines Orientalism as "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (p. 3). Said's theory can be applied to the treatment of the Middle East and other non-Western areas in secondary schools and the way that the current World History curricula approach these places from a Western perspective that renders the experiences of the inhabitants illegitimate. In discussing scholars approach to the Orient Said describes representations of the Orient as:

> every one of them kept intact the separateness of the Orient, its backwardness, its silent indifference, its feminine penetrability, its supine malleability; this is why every writer on the Orient…saw the Orient as a locale requiring Western attention, reconstruction, even redemption." (p. 206)

Over thirty years later, the same description appears to be applicable to curriculum's approach to non-Western areas in world history courses as they emphasize the moments of colonization,

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westernization, and conflict with the West. As a result, educators need to look for alternative ways to present non-western areas in world history that question this dominant narrative. Teachers should approach history in a way that problematizes current descriptions leading students to question the dominant perspective of events and allowing them to use multiple modes of inquiry in order to discover for themselves a more complete view of history. Students must be allowed to question what is taught to them as absolute truth while they work to construct their views of the world as it is today and how it came to be.

World history curriculum becomes colonizing through the use of idiom and stereotypes of non-Western areas that results in an essentializing of their culture which leads to an incomplete understanding of the place, people living there, and events important to its history. Said urges against such essentialist labels stating

> the terrible reductive conflicts that herd people under falsely unifying rubrics like "America," "the West," or "Islam" and invent collective identities for large number of individuals who are actually quite diverse cannot remain as potent as they are, and must be opposed" (xxviii).

Instead of looking at the complex and multiple narratives that are present, the curriculum promotes the dominant narrative presenting history from the lens of the west. As Said (1978) describes, "every European, in what he could say about the Orient, was consequently a racist, an imperialist, and almost totally ethnocentric" (p. 204), while such broad sweeping generalizations are problematic, the same can be said for the Americans in their approach to non-Western areas in World History curriculum. Not only does this provide an incomplete understanding but it also ignores the important historical thinking skill of contextualization. As Said describes:

> There has been so massive and calculatedly aggressive an attack on contemporary societies of the Arab and Muslim for their backwardness, lack of democracy, and abrogation of women's rights that we simply forget that such notions as modernity, enlightenment, and democracy are by no means simple and agreed-upon concepts that one either does or does not find. (p. xix)

By approaching non-Western peoples as other, and the main curricular emphasis on non-western

groups being that of colonized places, the colonization, in spite of the widespread belief that

Imperialism is dead, continues. Willinsky (1998) also describes how colonialism lives on

through Western styles of education:

> Given the enormity of imperialism's educational project and its relatively recent demise,
> it seems only reasonable to expect that this project would live on, for many of us, as an
> unconscious aspect of our education. After all, the great colonial empires came to a
> reluctant end only during the years when I and the rest of the postwar generation were
> being schooled. It may take generations to realize what lies buried in the body of
> knowledge as a way of knowing the world. (p. 3)

As opposed to an attempt to understand other cultures through the study of history, the approach

to world history in the United States has become one of judgment and often misrepresentation

(Said, 1978, p. 202-204). Said describes this as the difference between a desire to understand and

a desire to dominate:

> What I do argue also is that there is a difference between knowledge of other peoples and
> other times that is the result of understanding, compassion, careful study and analysis for
> their own sakes, and on the other hand knowledge – if that is what it is – that is part of an
> overall campaign of self-affirmation, belligerency and outright war. There is, after all, a
> profound difference between the will to understand for purposes of coexistence and
> humanistic enlargement of horizons and the will to dominate for the purposes of control
> and external domination.(p. xix)

World History curricula's depiction of the Middle East is currently part of the latter, one of

domination in which western superiority is reified; however, by introducing other points of view

into the curriculum and expanding the portrayal of formerly colonized areas, the curriculum can

become one of understanding that would allow students to be able to better navigate the

globalized world in which we live.

The narrowing of history (to the history of Western Civilization) has been allowed in

curriculum because of the belief in the existence of one true history that is relevant at all times to

all students. "The "ahistorical" nature of curriculum has been central to reinforcing conceptions

of curriculum as neutral, universal (timeless), apolitical, and a technical endeavor" (Hendry, 2011, p. x). This misrepresentation of curriculum as ahistorical denies the political nature of history. The grand narrative of history is written by the victor and therefor portrays only one side, often the side that works to maintain the current balance of power. This has led to the promotion of a version of history that is anything but neutral and ahistorical. Instead of celebrating the transnational nature of the world as a whole, policy makers have created World History curriculum that promotes a nationalist view of the world – promoting the position and views of the United States, which is very much a political endeavor designed to maintain the status quo of Western and US superiority. Said describes this process stating:

> Reflection, debate, rational argument, moral principle based on a secular notion that human beings must create their own history have been replaced by abstract ideas that celebrate American or Western exceptionalism, denigrate the relevance of context, and regard other cultures with derisive contempt. (p. xxvii)

Furthermore, by approaching history as a timeless subject, the curriculum has not been adapted to be responsive to current global conditions, and student interest in these phenomena.

Constructing history curriculum as a study of the winners and losers, the haves and have-nots, allows for history to be wrapped up in a neat package that ignores what Gilroy (2005) refers to as the "tangled" and messy nature of the study of history. Said also advocates for such an approach to history arguing:

> Rather than the manufactured clash of civilizations, we need to concentrate on the slow working together of cultures that overlap, borrow from each other, and live together in far more interesting ways than any abridged or inauthentic mode of understanding can allow. (p. xxix)

By ignoring the interconnected and complex nature of history we are denying students a complete understanding of the interconnected world in which they live. Hendry (2011) states "history produces subjects rather than subjects producing history" (p. 11). By picking and choosing for our students what aspects of history we have them study, we are producing subjects

who are expected to go out in the world and fit into the current power structures, and who will not begin to question the current situation. Students should instead be investigating history, looking at the complex interactions, delving deeper into the things that are puzzling which will allow for enhanced understanding in comparison to the surface level provided when history is placed in a neat package of facts (Hendry, 2011). An approach that allows students to delve into complexities, generate their own understanding of histories and to situate themselves into these potential realities would allow students to become subjects who are able to participate in a learning community as opposed to objects to be acted on and filled with the "correct" information.

Postcolonialism is a natural lens to utilize when looking at the study of modern world history due to the prominence of the colonized and colonizers in the content that is presented. Additionally, Rizvi, Lingard, and Lavia (2006) describe the relationship between education and postcolonialism that cannot be avoided:

> On the one hand, it [education] is an object of postcolonial critique regarding its complicity with Eurocentric discourse and practices. On the other hand, it is only through education that it is possible to reveal and resist colonialism's continuing hold on our imagination. (p.257)

Postcolonialism not only acknowledges education's role in perpetuating colonial ideology but also serves to provide criticism for Western-centric narratives and offers an alternative for an authentic global history. Asher (2006) echoes this sentiment stating "postcolonialism serves as a vehicle for making audible historically silenced voices and contributes to transforming the field of education" (p.75).

The postcolonial lens will be used to analyze world history textbooks to determine to what extent they perpetuate colonizing curriculum. The concept of Orientalism will be used to illuminate the potential othering and the domination of the people of the Middle East within the

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narrative. Texts will also be analyzed for the use of essentializing descriptions and an emphasis on Western history to the neglect of non-Western history. Additionally, the postcolonial concept of hybridity will be used to envision an alternative history in which both Western and non-Western narratives are included and explored in depth.

CHAPTER 3. LITERATURE REVIEW: TEXTBOOKS, WORLD HISTORY, AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Textbooks

Textbooks are a common resource found in schools that are often used by both students and teachers alike. This is evidenced by the 5.5 billion dollars a year spent on textbooks for K-12 classrooms (Lillejord & Ellis, 2014, p.51). Even in the case when a teacher does not rely heavily on instruction from the textbook in their day to day teaching, it is often the source of the content teachers choose to teach in class as well as provides the order and manner in which the content is presented (Marino, 2011). In social studies classrooms, when curriculum possibilities are vast, textbooks work to narrow down content and along with curriculum guide teachers to what material to teach. This is especially important in classes like world history, which many teachers do not have extensive background knowledge in prior to entering the classroom. This inadequacy of many teacher preparation programs to prepare teachers to teach history, specifically world history, is noted by the Bradley Commission in their *Guidelines for Teaching History in Schools* (1989). This process is heightened by textbook publisher's alignment of textbooks to curriculum standards as well as standardized tests in many states (Sewall, 2004; Foster & Nicholls, 2005). Thus, for inexperienced teachers, the textbook often becomes a vital resource. As a widely used source of curriculum, an analysis of textbooks can be used to determine what subject matter is commonly taught in world history classrooms.

A textbooks' ability to shape the content that is taught in schools is a powerful one. The recognition of this power is demonstrated by the complex and political process of textbook adoption in the United States, in which many interest groups and government agencies have become involved and influence the content that is placed in textbooks. This is magnified in states which use a state adoption process in which the state must first approve of a set of texts that local

districts can then choose from. This has resulted in certain states, specifically California, Texas, and Florida, and the curriculum in those states having great influence over the content of textbooks. In fact, Sewall (2004) describes the process in which specific pieces of information, such as placement of Desmond Tutu in a place of prominence and the previously unknown ancient figure Eratosthenes, were included in textbooks due to their inclusion in the Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills (TEKS), the framework that is the basis for the state's curriculum, and as a result widely used textbooks as well.

Textbooks are viewed as an accurate authority and therefore need to be examined to determine "how and in what depth" history is being taught (Marino, 2011, p.423). Unlike other primary and secondary sources used in social studies classrooms, students, and in some cases teachers, are unlikely to question the information that is written in textbooks. This becomes especially problematic because as pointed out by Marino (2011), textbooks in secondary schools do not use the nuanced language used by most historians to signify the theorization of history, instead using absolute terms that portray historians' conclusions as absolute facts. As a result, students accept the information at face value, which often results in a one sided view of history. Instead, students and teachers alike should begin to interact with textbooks, in the way that they interact with other sources, questioning the accuracy of the information, the point of view of the author(s) and the information that is included as well as what is left out.

As a centerpiece of the social studies curriculum, textbooks then "greatly influence how students understand and perceive history" (Lillejord & Ellis, 2014, p. 51). Textbooks are able to influence students perspectives of history based on the events and information they choose to emphasize, as well as the perspectives they choose to highlight. Students then internalize these emphases giving supremacy to the events and perspectives that are included while the people,

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places, and events that are left out become considered inferior due to the lack of consideration. This is especially important when textbook publishers choose to include one side's perspective and not the other, denying students the ability to gain a complete understand of the event, place, or period described. Additionally, according to Apple as quoted in Lillejord and Ellis (2014), much of the content in textbooks "endorses [the] dominant social and political group's vision of needed knowledge (p. 53)." When this principle is applied to world history textbooks, it results in the privileging of the Western culture paired with the exclusion and / or othering of non-Western areas. For students, this results in an incomplete understanding of the increasingly connected world in which they live.

Textbooks have a great influence on students by shaping their understanding of the past and their nation's role in the past (Foster & Nicholls, 2005). Textbook reviewers have found that textbooks are often used to promote nationalism and national bias. Foster and Nicholls (2005) in their study of textbooks from England, Japan, Sweden, and the United States point out that

> all nations, to some degree, appear to be guilty of using history textbooks as a means to promote a particular view of the past to enhance the collective memories of a nation and more often than not to appease social and political agendas in the present. Textbooks never appear as neutral sources. (p.214)

In the absence of neutral and or multi-perspective textbooks, it is important for students and teachers to become aware of the politicized nature of textbooks in order for them to approach textbooks critically. Textbooks rarely portray the country in which the textbook was produced in a negative light. Additionally, Barlow (1995) found that textbooks give positive portrayals of allies and negative portrayals of enemies. This was not a phenomenon found only for textbooks in the United States but was also the case in texts studied by Foster and Nicholls from Britain, Sweden and Japan. Additionally, in the case of Iran and Israel, state sponsored and or supported textbooks portray this phenomenon in a more overt way. (Al-Haj, 2005; Science Applications

International Corporation [SAIC], 2007). This is problematic because in order to be informed citizens of the world, students should be aware of both the high and low points in their nation's history. Moreover, in classes such as world history, when all perspectives should be taken into account and events should be viewed in their own context, students are left with an incomplete and one sided understanding as a result of prejudices created by a national bias that prevents students from being able to draw their own conclusions.

World History Textbooks

The discipline of world history, specifically how world history textbooks influence the discipline has been the focus of much research in the field (Bolgatz & Marino, 2014; Commeyras & Alvermann, 1994; Marino, 2011; Sewall, 2004). This is largely due to the role that textbooks can play in shaping curriculum and instruction. The role of textbooks in shaping student's understanding becomes problematic in the study of world history because the textbooks are often complicit in the standardizing and westernizing of world history. World History textbooks are often criticized for being too Eurocentric and giving an inferior status to other people and other histories. Jane Bolgatz and Michael Marino (2014) reviewed world history textbooks to determine the accuracy of this critique. They found that while many of the images and supplementary sections represent diversity the narrative content is still very much weighted toward European history. This review confirmed the findings of Marino in his 2011 analysis of World History texts in which he found that while world history textbooks show evidence of what he refers to as the World History movement (the push in the United States to include the study of world history in secondary schools) in that they use themes, stress the commonality of the human experience and the interconnectedness of the various regions of the world a closer examination found that they are still very much European in focus. This weight toward European history is

shown by the coverage breakdown of World History textbooks. Commeyras and Alvermann (1994) found that about one third of the chapters in world history books deal with the histories of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Marino (2011) found that at least 55% of the pages in the textbooks he analyzed were devoted to European History. For a world history course, these statistics are troubling considering that in order to give students a true global history, coverage should be more evenly distributed among both Western and non-Western areas and events. In addition, there are few supplementary materials available, which is a necessity for the teaching of secondary students who need more than a textbook to spark their interest.

Many textbooks that are available are simply western civilization texts that have had slight modifications in order to pass them off as world history textbooks. Tyson-Bernstein noted "although publishers have made strides toward broader representation of non-European civilizations in history texts, the trend has been merely to mention, rather than to develop in depth, information about these groups" (Commeyras & Alvermann, 1994, Challenges for Multicultural Literacy, para. 2). In the process of adding information about other parts of the world to western civilization texts, other areas are simply added in, in a somewhat random manner because they do not always fit in with the historical chronology used. As a result, students are left with a confusing view of non-Western areas and their role in the world. Furthermore, when information about non-Western areas is included, it is often when they come into contact with Western groups and areas. When this occurs, the perspective of the non-Western peoples is often left out, making the events appear as if something that has happened to them as opposed to events in which they were active participants. Commeyras and Alvermann (1994) conclude,

> Students will learn that Western Civilization was important, dominant and powerful in
> shaping the history of all people. They will also learn that the histories of the Third

World on the other hand are primarily about their colonization by the West and their recovery from Western Imperialism. (Implications for Using Textbooks to Teach World History, para. 1)

As a result of this phenomenon, students are left with a damaging one-sided view of history that leaves out important counter narratives. It also prevents students from grappling with the highs and lows of their nation's history and drawing their own judgments and conclusions about those actions.

The content contained within the texts is not the only aspect that should be questioned. Not only is it necessary for textbooks to have skillfully chosen information in order to adequately present the content but texts also need to be organized in a way that allows students to follow the themes of the course and make connections across time and cultures. Marino (2011) found that the texts follow a chronology that is based off of major European events such as the Middle Ages, Renaissance and Enlightenment as opposed to more broad historical periods such as early modern, modern, and contemporary. This shows students that the events of the West are the guiding events of history, denying the significance and importance of milestones that have taken place in other areas. For example, the Renaissance is often the event that begins the study of Modern World History, the course often taught in high school. The Renaissance is presented as a rebirth from the dark ages; however, other parts of the world did not experience the dark ages as they were experienced in Europe and by framing the narrative in this way textbooks are denying the achievements made in other areas of the world during that time period. According to Marino (2011), the use of Western chronology and periodization is key as a true study of world history would not only have a more equal representation of content but also develop a "historical chronology that transcends the history of any one geographic region and creates a global vision of the past that explains and interprets the historical evolution of the earth and links the histories of the civilizations that inhabit it" (p. 441-442).

This European based sequencing often breaks down following WWII when the typical western civilization timeline can no longer be followed due to the role of non-Western states in the period form 1945-present. While the chronology breaks down, non-Western areas are usually highlighted for their interaction with Western superpowers during cold war conflicts, or their development as independent nations as decolonization took place following WWII. By focusing on these aspects of non-Western areas their involvement and agency in their own history is often left out. Additionally, Commeyras and Alvermann (1994) found that in the period of 1945 to present textbooks often show a negative or unpromising perspective highlighting the problems in the third world. When positives and developments are shown, negatives often follow them. By presenting the history of non-Western areas in this way, textbooks are portraying them as inferior to the more "advanced" and "developed" West and giving students a biased picture of other parts of the world. Barlow (1995) also notes a "crisis by crisis approach" to the Middle East in which students are confronted with one problem or conflict after another as opposed to tracing developments that have taken place. In order to stop the continued promotions of the idea of non-Western areas as other as opposed to highlighting common themes across cultures and celebrating the differences within, new course materials that enhance instruction must be developed (Bradley Commission, 1989).

Another common criticism of world history texts is that in an attempt to do too much, they end up doing nothing. In his review of world history textbooks for the American textbook council, Gilbert Sewell (2004) found that world history texts had become a jumble of meaningless babble as a result of trying to incorporate the scope and diversity that publishers believe are necessary in a world history text. In addition, Sewall (2004) claims that in an attempt to meet the demands of coverage, world history textbooks have become too narrow and

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simplistic. This is supported by Marino (2011) who found that complex and controversial topics are simplified. Additionally, the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee's [ADC] report *Arab Stereotypes and American Educators* states that the region of the Middle East is diminished to simplistic images through textbooks. By simplifying the interconnectedness of the world and the resulting complexities that are at play in historical events studied, students are given an incomplete and inaccurate understanding of the world.

In many other ways Sewall's review of world history textbooks differs widely from other reviews of the content (Bolgatz & Marino 2014, Commeryras & Alvermann 1994, Marino 2011). Sewall looks at the textbooks from the perspective of wanting to promote and further democracy and a western agenda. Instead of looking at the benefits of studying the development of all types of civilization and the roles of all individuals in that development, Sewall contends that by adding diversity we have confused the curriculum. He goes further to say that when discussing diversity we overcompensate in fear of offending other groups of people. While textbooks have become sanitized in order to avoid controversy as a result of the politicization of textbooks, Sewall ignores the importance of portraying all sides of an event in the study of world history in favor of looking at world events through a western lens. This ignores the recommendation of the Bradley Commission that history be studied with in its own context.

AP Word History textbooks show evidence that the AP World History course, is closer than the secondary world history course at achieving a more global view of history. Bolgatz and Marino (2014) found that "by emphasizing themes and reorienting the content and by highlighting social and environmental history and geography rather than political and military history, these texts reflect a more global orientation toward world history" (Conclusion, para. 4). Also, by using themes, redefining terms, and describing events in history from indigenous

perspectives, they have pioneered viewing the history of the world through a more global lens. As a result, the AP course and associated texts can become a model for the teaching of a world history that incorporates the study of a true World history from multiple perspectives.

Portrayals of the Middle East in Textbooks

Studies show a lack of coverage given to the Middle East in most World History textbooks. Perry (1975) found that on average 15-25 out of 700-900 pages were devoted to the Middle East. Perry (1975) also found that post-1945 the coverage devoted to the Middle East increased proportionally. This aligns with Marino's (2011) findings that the Western Civilization chronology tends to break down post WWII when texts then provide a survey of various world regions. This lack of coverage minimalizes the Middle East and its people ignoring vital elements of history that would allow students to have a greater understanding of the world today. Moreover, he notes that when coverage is devoted to the Middle East, it is often on topics that are related to the West or involve the role of the West in the region. This depiction often ends up one sided, portraying the perspective of the West and minimizing the perspectives of the people of the Middle East.

Additionally, a description of the variety of peoples and cultures living in the Middle East is often lacking. According to Barlow (1995), one textbook reviewer stated that

> none of these texts really tries to convey ethnic, religious, cultural or geographic identity of the people or nations of the Middle East / Islamic world. Its people are portrayed implicitly as a mysterious other without any legitimate cultural, ethnic, religious, or national interests. (para. 12)

 Instead of promoting an understanding of different groups of people and the places that they live, textbooks serve to other and homogenize the people of the Middle East. Some texts go further than a lack of Middle Eastern perspective portraying a negative view of the Middle East and its leaders. For example, Barlow (1995) notes that the leaders in the Middle East are

portrayed as fanatics while their counterparts are labeled reformers. Perry (1975) also found

negative treatment of the actions of Egypt and its leaders in the "seizure" of the Suez Canal and

descriptions of Arab nationalism. These examples highlight the problem of a lack of Arab

perspectives in textbooks portrayals of the region. This process of creating negative

characterizations as well as a lack of multiple perspectives allows the United States to ignore its

own role in certain events according to Barlow.

In covering the Middle East, textbooks often use common stereotypes of the region.

According to the ADC in *Arab Stereotypes and American Educators*,

> The Arab world – 22 countries, the locus of several world religions, a multitude of ethnic
> and linguistic groups, and hundreds of years of history – is reduced to a few simplistic
> images. It is as though American society were to be portrayed solely in terms of
> cowboys, gangsters, and Britney Spears" (para. 4).

Both Perry (1975) and Barlow (1995) found the overuse of the Arab as Nomad stereotype in

their studies of textbook portrayals of the Middle East. This is both an inaccurate as well as

damaging portrayal of the people and the region. Inaccurate, considering that only about two

percent of the population of the Middle East would be considered nomadic as well as the large

number of Arabs who currently live in cities or villages. Furthermore, the use of this stereotype

helps to portray Arabs as inferior peoples who hopelessly wander through the desert. In contrast,

the texts make clear in their discussion of Israel, that Israelis are not considered nomadic people

(Perry, 1975). Another often used or uncorrected stereotype revolves around distinctions

between the terms Arab and Muslim. Textbooks rarely point out the difference in these terms,

sometimes going as far as using them interchangeably. Furthermore, it is often generalized that

all people living in the Middle East can fall into the categories of Arab or Muslim, which is

largely inaccurate (Perry, 1975; Barlow, 1995).

Most of the textbooks previously reviewed, whether for the coverage of Modern World History, or World History in general, include a description of Islam. While the basic facts of Islam are presented accurately, reviewers have found certain aspects of textbook descriptions of Islam to be problematic. Islam is often presented as a violent, and sometimes intolerant religion. This portrayal omits the fact that at times, Islam has been much more tolerant than Judaism or Christianity, such as when Catholic Spain demanded the conversion of all of its people and many Jews and Muslims who fled persecution were welcomed in the Muslim Ottoman Empire (Barlow, 1995). Jihad tends to be a focus as opposed to the five pillars, which would be considered more central to the faith than Jihad by most Islamic scholars. Furthermore, the interpretation of Jihad as a personal struggle is minimized in favor of the representation of Jihad as a Holy War. Additionally, while monotheistic and related in its origins to both Judaism, and Christianity, Islam is often presented as a "foreign" religion. Perry (1975) notes that some texts use the phrase " "Muslims worship a God named Allah" [which] encourages the misconception that Muslims somehow, even if they are monotheistic, worship a different God from the One worshiped by Christians" (p.48). Another area in which texts' depictions of Islam is lacking is the description of Muslim or Islamic fundamentalism which is often depicted as a phenomenon that threatens the peace desired by western nations, however the context of fundamentalism as well as the actions of the West that fundamentalism was in part a response to are often not explained (Barlow, 1995).

Sewall (2003) disagrees with Perry and Barlow's characterizations of textbooks portrayals of the Middle East in his *Islam and the Textbooks* Report. In this report, Sewall notes the involvement of Muslim and Middle Eastern interest groups in the creation of textbooks which he argues has led to the sanitation of descriptions of Islam noting "on significant Islam-

related subjects, textbooks omit, flatter, embellish, and resort to happy talk suspending criticism or harsh judgments that would raise provocative or even alarming questions" (What the Textbooks Say, para. 1). Sewall argues that the historical use of the term Jihad to describe a holy war is diminished in favor of what he describes as a more modern interpretation of the word to be a personal struggle. Other aspects of the Muslim world that Sewall describes as being portrayed inaccurately are Shari'a and the role of women in Islamic society. In regard to Shari'a Sewall criticizes the lack of distinction between the religious law practiced in Islamic states and the democratic civil law that is a result of the separation of church and state in Western society; however, with this criticism Sewall is applying a western lens to the study of other societies, which should be studied in their own context. As far as the treatment of women, Sewall claims the mistreatment of women in Islamic society is minimized in favor of highlighting the rights given to women in Islamic society, again applying modern and western views to historical events in another culture. While the criticisms of Perry, Barlow, and Sewall are valid, there should be room in world history textbooks for a portrayal of all perspectives that allows students to view events in their own context and come to their own conclusions.

According to Perry (1975), when covering the Arab-Israeli conflicts textbooks vary from mostly neutral to extremely biased in favor of Israel. The Israelis are always worthy of praise, with negative terminology often describing the actions of the Arab leaders. Additionally, the perspective of the Palestinians and Arabs in the portrayals of these conflicts is lacking in favor of the perspective of Israelis and westerners. Brockway (2007) found that the actions of the Israelis were always described as justified, while the actions of the Palestinians were often associated with terrorism. This portrayal of the conflict aligns with Barlow's critique that textbooks portray

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a country's allies as laudatory while criticizes their enemies. In regards to the Arab-Israeli conflicts this ignores a large part of the story, which is multifaceted, complex, and ongoing.

Another major event covered in most textbooks is the Iranian Revolution. However, textbooks coverage of this event is largely one sided, portraying the perspectives of the United States while failing to include descriptions of actions of the United States that helped to further the conflict. Barlow (1995) and Brockway (2007) highlight a failure to acknowledge that Prime Minister Mosaddeq was a democratically elected leader, the CIA's involvement in his overthrow, and the taking in of the Shah by the United States when the Iranians wanted to put him on trial – all events that precipitated the revolution. By carefully choosing which aspects of the Iranian revolution to emphasize, textbook publishers are catering to American nationalism to the detriment of students. By giving a one-sided description students are unable to gain a full understanding of the event and think critically about its causes and effects.

It would be difficult to determine whether or not United States texts are presenting a complete view of the events in other parts of the world such as the Middle East, without also reviewing studies of textbooks from other countries to determine how they portray themselves, as a result literature analyzing the texts in Israel and Iran was also included. Using other reviews of these texts can become problematic due to the author's potential bias; however, it was a necessity in order to gain information about texts from other countries due to a lack of access and readability.

The creation of textbooks in both countries includes heavy government involvement. In Iran, this involves state created textbooks that are posted on the government's website with the SAIC report stating "Iran hopes to transform school children into devout Muslim citizens with little regard for the world beyond Iran" (p.2). The report found that the role of Islam, and

obedience to Islam are emphasized in texts of all subjects. The texts are pro-government

promoting the Islamic revolution and the positives of the Iranian government while vilifying the

governments of the West. On the text's portrayal of foreign affairs, the study focuses on the US

and the West, in which it portrays a negative view of the United States and their involvement in

the region situating the US as the aggressor, as well as the conflict in Israel and Palestine, in

which the texts portray Israel as the enemy, referring to "Israel as the occupier of Palestine

(SAIC report, 2007, p. 8). While the SAIC report is illuminating, it must be noted that as a report

prepared for US government analysts and policymakers, it is unlikely to be considered a neutral

source.

In Israel, government involvement in the creation of textbooks involves the ministry of

education, which is involved in creating and adopting textbooks. After the creation of a new

wave of textbooks in the late 1990s the government went as far as banning a particular text that it

felt was "hostile" to the Jewish population in the country. A review of the "new" Israeli

textbooks was conducted by Al-Haj, A Palestinian Israeli. The "new" Israeli textbooks, released

in 1999, were a result of an effort that came out of the Oslo Accords to create more neutral

textbooks that would promote the perspective of Israeli's and Palestinians. In spite of

international praise for these books as well as criticisms from conservatives in Israel, Al-Haj

found the revisions made in the textbooks to be minimal. While he considered them a move in

the right direction for their use of the term Palestinian as well as the mention of the massacre at

Deir Yassin he found that overall the texts still promoted the Zionists narrative, leaving out the

perspective of the Palestinians as well as the role of Israel in the Palestinian struggle. He found

this to be especially problematic considering that there is much Israeli influence over the

education of Arabs in Israel, however, there is no input by the Arabs on the education of Israelis.

As with the SAIC report, the bias of Al-Haj as a Palestinian in Israel must be noted.

CHAPTER 4. METHODOLOGY: CONTENT ANALYSIS

In order to determine if the textbooks are providing global, diverse curriculum, this study was designed to analyze the following research questions:

(1) To what extent does the coverage of the Middle East in United States world history textbooks reflect a global and international perspective as defined by NCSS?

(2) How would an authentic global history of the Middle East be portrayed?

As stated in previous chapters, NCSS states that at the high school level students should take social studies courses that incorporate both international studies (in depth study of a particular area or region) and global studies (interconnectedness of the world and the issues, trends, processes, and events that are associated with this connection) (Mcjimsey et al, 2016). The NCSS suggested curriculum and definitions were chosen due to NCSS being one of the professional organizations for teachers as well as their appeal to the author for the combination of focused history that is taught from multiple perspectives. To determine if World History textbooks are following such an international and global approach, the following sub questions will be investigated: (a) How much coverage World History textbooks dedicate to events that have taken place in the Middle East since 1945?; (b) What is the focus of the narrative?; (c) How is the Middle East portrayed?

In order to answer these questions, this study analyzes the geographic region often referred to as the Middle East. Specifically, this study examines the history of the Middle East since 1945 as portrayed in three high school World History textbooks published between 2012 and 2016. The region of the Middle East was chosen due to the common use of stereotypes as well as popular misconceptions that are often associated with the region (Morgan, 2008). Morris (2016) also discusses what she refers to as the (mis) education of students in the United States

about the Arab world arguing against the essentialist pedagogy that ignores the complexities of the Arab world, stating "This is a terrible problem in the United States right now and it would behoove us to better educate our children about the complicated Arab world. Scholars must engage in anti-essentialist pedagogy. Not all Arabs are alike and not all Israelis are alike"(p.212). Additionally, recent conflicts have situated the region as a central focus for the United States and its foreign policy interests.

Like any region, what constitutes the Middle East is debated because it is a subjective definition. While the list of countries that fall into this region often varies, for the purpose of this study, the definition of the Middle East will be that of the Middle East Policy Council (MEPC). The MEPC is a non-profit organization dedicated to increasing American understanding of the Middle East. They accomplish this task through the publication *Middle East Policy*, the Capitol Hill Conference Series offered to policymakers and their staff as well as professional development for K-12 educators. This organization's definition was chosen because of its application in K-12 schools, it includes the following areas in the Middle East region: Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iran, Iraq Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Oman, The Palestinian Territories, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen. These areas are included based on similarities in their human and physical geography. Countries that are often associated with the Middle East such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Sudan are not included because, while they do have relationships with the Middle Eastern countries and may share similarities in language, religion, and politics, the areas have many other characteristics that distinguish them from the Middle East (Middle East Policy Council, n.d.).

To answer the research questions, this study will utilize quantitative and qualitative content analysis of three US High School World History textbooks. Content analysis was chosen as a research design due to its use in "investigating any problem in which the content of communication serves as the basis of inference" (Holsti, 1969, p.2). Krippendorf (1980) defines content analysis as "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context" (p.21). Krippendorf's definition is utilized for this study due to its inclusion of the possibility for both quantitative and qualitative analysis.

The following textbooks were chosen for analysis from a typical sample - they are recent publications from what the American Textbook Council refers to as "the three remaining major K-12 publishers – Pearson, McGraw-Hill and Houghton Mifflin Harcourt": Pearson (2016) *World History: The Modern Era,* McGraw-Hill (2014) *World History and Geography: Modern Times*, and Houghton Mifflin Harcourt (2012) *Modern World History: Patterns of Interaction.*[2] Each of the textbooks analyzed contained a unit or chapters covering the history of the world from 1945 until present. Text from this section was selected for analysis if the chapter, section, heading, or subheading referred specifically to the Middle East or one of the countries defined as part of the Middle East. In addition, any pages listed in the index as referring to the Middle East or one of the countries of the Middle East for the unit being analyzed were included. Using this method of text selection, if a country was included as part of the Middle East by the text, though not included in the definition of the Middle East, it was included in the analysis. For example, the Houghton Mifflin Harcourt text refers to Afghanistan as part of the Middle East and though it does not fall into the region as this study has defined it, it was still included for analysis due to

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[2] From this point forward these texts will be referred to by their publisher, and if necessary the publication year.

the textbook's inclusion of the area in the region of the Middle East. Furthermore, if the text did not define a country as Middle Eastern, as was often the case with Algeria, text referring to the country was included for analysis.

Once the text was selected for analysis, quantitative content analysis was conducted in the form of a page count to establish how much of the 1945-present unit is dedicated to the study of the Middle East and events that have taken place there. This page count was used to gauge what percentage of the text that discusses 1945 to present is devoted to coverage of the Middle East. Based on this percentage conclusions were drawn as to whether or not the text is providing an equitable distribution of coverage to the Middle East.

Upon completion of the quantitative analysis, an initial reading of the selected text was completed in order to outline the topics and events covered, determine units for analysis and develop codes that would be used to categorize the data. The outline of topics and events was used to determine the focus of the narrative. Upon an initial reading it was determined that sentences would be used for units of analysis, as pages and paragraphs contained too much information for the data to be easily coded into mutually exclusive categories. Additionally, it was determined that only narrative text would be included for analysis while images and other graphics would be excluded as many images have been replaced with informational graphics and maps(likely as a result of a the push for more informational texts) and they did not provide for additional points of analysis relevant to the research questions.

After the initial reading of the texts, four codes were created and defined for use in categorizing the data 1) the definition of the Middle East - any information that describes the region as a whole and or its people, 2) the Middle East as a Resource - text that describes the Middle East as being valued by either country for its resources, position, loyalty, etc., 3) The

Violent Middle East in Conflict and Crisis - any topics or events that discussed war, conflict, or issues in the region, and 4) The Middle East as Viewed by the United States - events that were described in a manner that favored the United States and its interest or role in the event. Due to the nature of these categories, some topics and events could be coded for multiple categories; however, each unit of analysis will receive only one code. A second reading of the texts was then completed in order to assign each sentence to one of the four codes. The outline of topics and events and coded data was then used to analyze the focus of the narrative. Lastly, the above data was used to examine the text's portrayal of the Middle East and infer the conclusions that teachers and students reading the text might draw about the region and its people.

CHAPTER 5. FINDINGS: THE MIDDLE EAST AS PORTRAYED BY TEXTBOOKS

Coverage

The three textbooks the author analyzed range from 500-700 pages devoting between 100-150 pages to history that has taken place from 1945-present. Coverage of the Middle East ranged from 9.5 to 12.5 pages of narrative content and graphics or between 9.3% and 13.5% of the text focusing on 1945 to present. While the textbooks define the Middle East in different ways, text was chosen for analysis if it referred to the Middle East or a country that is included in this study's definition of the Middle East. Of the pages analyzed, Table 1 breaks down the coverage specifically.

Table 1				
Textbooks Coverage of the Middle East				
Textbook	1945 to Present Pages	Middle East 1945 to Present Pages	% of 1945 to Present Devoted to Middle East	Countries Included
Houghton Mifflin Harcourt	141	12	8.5%	Afghanistan[3], Algeria, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey
McGraw Hill	102	9.5	9.3%	Afghanistan[4], Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, Yemen
Pearson	115	15.5	13.5%	Algeria, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey

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[3] Though Afghanistan is not included as part of the Middle East for this study, the text included it in a section dedicated to the Middle East.
[4]Ibid.

Considering a breakdown of the world into 5-7 regions that vary by period and text (For Example - The West: Europe, US, Canada; Latin America, Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, The Middle East, East Asia, South Asia) 14-20% coverage would be considered an equitable distribution. With this percentage in mind, the Pearson text comes close to an equitable distribution with 13.5% of the text on 1945 to present being devoted to the Middle East while the Houghton Mifflin Harcourt and McGraw Hill texts fall short; however, coverage is not the only indicator of a global history. Not all of the text referring to the world since 1945 is divided by region; furthermore, the information included in the text is often a better indicator of a global perspective then coverage. As a result, it is important to look at what places, events, descriptions and perspectives are included within the text through qualitative analysis. These elements will be explored further in later sections.

While all of the texts appear to include a number of Middle Eastern nations in their narratives based on the countries included in the text, this paints a misleading picture as many of the countries that are included are briefly mentioned, often in conjunction with other countries. Instead, the texts tend to focus on only three to four of the countries: Israel, Iran, Iraq, and Palestine. The focus on these countries is largely a result of their interactions with the West specifically the United States since 1945. Instead of providing coverage on the region as a whole, the textbooks chose to cover how the west has been involved in the region perpetuating a Western centric view that lacks a global scope.

As indicated by Marino (2011), a text's organization is important for determining whether or not a global perspective is present. The texts analyzed in this study lack a coherent organization in the events from 1945 to present. Chapter, section, heading and subheading titles depicting this organization of the text analyzed in this study are listed in Appendix 1. The texts

initially follow a regional pattern, describing events in various regions that occurred following

WWII. Each text contains a chapter that describes the formation of "new nations" or the

independence of former colonies after WWII. These chapters are then broken down into sections

based on region with Algerian independence located in the region on Africa, while the section on

the Middle East provides coverage that centers on conflict in the region, often emphasizing the

Arab-Israeli conflict that has followed the creation of Israel in 1948. This organization is

problematic from a global history perspective. Describing the development of "new nations"

from the colonies indicates a Western perspective. Furthermore, it denies the existence of these

nations as independent and sovereign entities prior to colonization. Additionally, coverage

revolving around conflict in a region is specific to the Middle East. This generalizes the situation

in a small number of countries to the entire region, painting it as an area in perpetual conflict

sending a message to students that conflict is inherent to the area and the people who live there.

The texts then shift from a regional to a thematic organization covering the big ideas of recent

years. While the regional organization was problematic due to the titles and section headers that

were chosen, it provided a structure for the information that was easy for students to follow. This

is not the case when the texts switched to a thematic organization to cover contemporary society.

While a thematic organization is often preferable for a global history, the switch from regional to

thematic results is a repetitive and confusing organization that is difficult for the reader to follow.

Following the switch to thematic organization, mentions of the Middle East usually involve

terrorism or Islamic fundamentalism. These stereotypical topic choices essentialize knowledge

about the region into a few brief categories.

Focus

The text was analyzed to determine the focus of the narrative that covered the Middle East from 1945 to present, this included looking at what events and or topics were included as well as the perspective given for each of the topics and events. A breakdown of these topics by textbook can be viewed below in Table 2. When analyzing the narrative, it became apparent that the focus of the different texts was very similar allowing for the creation of categories by which to analyze the text: What is the Middle East?, The Middle East as a Resource, The Violent Middle East in Conflict and Crisis, and The Middle East as viewed by the United States. Each category will be explored below.

Table 2

Topics Included in Text

Textbook	Topics Included		
Houghton Mifflin Harcourt	• Truman Doctrine • Creation of Israel • 1st Arab Israeli War • Suez Crisis • 6 Day War • Yom Kippur War • OPEC • Camp David Accords	• PLO • Intifada • Oslo Accords • Continued Violence in Israel: Rise of Hamas, Second Intifada • Revolution in Iran	• Iran-Iraq War • Persian Gulf War • Soviets in Afghanistan • Algerian Independence • US Invasion of Iraq • Terrorism
McGraw Hill	• Truman Doctrine • Turkey Joins NATO • Central Treaty Organization • New Nations Emerge • Creation of Israel • 1st Arab-Israeli War • Suez Crisis • Nasser and Pan-Arabism	• 6 Day War • Yom Kippur War • OPEC • Camp David Accords • PLO • Intifada • Oslo Accords • Revolution in Iran • Iran-Iraq War • Persian Gulf War • Soviets in Afghanistan	• Society, Culture, and Religion in the Middle East • Algerian Independence • Arab Spring • US Invasion of Iraq • Terrorism • Refugee Problem in the Middle East

Table 2 Continued

Textbook	Topics Included		
Pearson	• Truman Doctrine • New Nations Emerge • Diversity in the Middle East • Creation of Israel • Arab-Israeli Wars (1948, 1956, 1967, 1973) • Nasser and Pan-Arabism • 6 Day War • Yom Kippur War • OPEC	• Sadat Makes Peace • PLO • Intifada • Oslo Accords • Continued Violence: Rise of Hamas, 50 Day War • Obstacles to Peace Between Israel and Palestine • Revolution in Iran • Iran-Iraq War	• Persian Gulf War • Society, Culture, and Religion in the Middle East • Algerian Independence • Arab Spring • US Invasion of Iraq • Terrorism • Civil War in Lebanon • Syrian Civil War

What is the Middle East?. While all of the texts use the term the Middle East within a section header, none of the texts define what they mean with this regional category. The reader is left somewhat on their own to figure out what countries and people would be included in the area. While it is understandable that the texts would not want to provide a set definition of the region as a result of disagreement by scholars of what is included in the Middle East due to the arbitrary nature of the term, it is important to provide a description as a result of the use of the term. While what specific countries are included in the region is absent from all texts, the McGraw Hill and Pearson texts do provide some description of society and culture in the Middle East. The Pearson provides a brief description of the development of each country it discusses providing the reader with some context for the place and events to be discussed. Additionally, the Pearson text highlights the diversity of the region which helps combat the generalization that all people in the Middle East are Muslim Arabs, and that the terms Muslim and Arab can be used interchangeably. Additionally, by establishing the diversity that exists in the region, the Pearson text provides the background for many of the conflicts that are discussed in later section of the text therefore providing the reader with a deeper understanding. For example:

> The borders of the new nations were artificially drawn and lumped together diverse ethnic and religious communities. Some ethnic minorities demanded self-rule or even independence.
>
> Different religious sects, or groups loyal to their own set of beliefs, further divided the new nations…Sectarian violence, or conflict based on religious loyalties, posed challenges to unity. (p.486)

These clarifications are lacking from the Houghton Mifflin Harcourt which provides no description of the area, leading the reader to assume that the Middle East consists of Arab Muslims who are hostile to Israeli Jews. Additionally, while the McGraw Hill text does provide a description of the region, its description sticks to generalizations and commonalities as opposed to highlighting diversity.

In their definitions of the Middle East, the McGraw Hill and Pearson texts highlight the role of Islam in the Middle East as a whole. When describing the new nations that emerge in the region following WWII, the McGraw Hill text describes them as predominantly Muslim. In later sections its focus is on the rise of Islamic fundamentalism and Islamic Extremists but the distinction between the two groups is unclear.

> In recent years, conservative religious forces in the Middle East have tried to replace foreign culture and values with Islamic forms of belief and behavior. This movement is called Islamic fundamentalism or Islamic activism... Extremists want to remove all Western influence in Muslim countries. These extremists give many Westerners an unfavorable impression of Islam. (p.395)

By blurring the line between Islamic Fundamentalism and Islamic Extremism, it perpetuates the idea that all Muslims are extremists; furthermore, by using this description in a description of Society and culture in the Middle East it promotes the idea that all societies promote Islamic fundamentalism, ignoring the fact that some states in the Middle East are secular and follow more progressive ideologies. In contrast, in its description of Islam and the Modern World, the Pearson book provides descriptions of Islamic Revival and Radical Islam making a clear distinction between the two ideologies through the use of headings. The text also highlights that

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"Some Muslims" participated in Islamic revival or Islamic fundamentalism as opposed to hinting that all Muslims participate in this movement. By including the qualifier some, and creating separate sections for Islamic Revival and Radical Islam the text avoids making generalizations that perpetuate common stereotypes about the region.

A description of the role of women is also included in both the Pearson and McGraw Hill texts. Both of the texts highlight the relegating of women to traditional roles in many Middle Easter countries. While the McGraw Hill text attempts to describe some of the reforms that have taken place with regards to women it ends up generalizing an attempt at reform followed by a move backwards to traditional roles in the 1970s, using the example of Iran and generalizing this to all countries.

> In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Muslim scholars debated issues surrounding women's roles in society. Many argued for the need to rethink outdated interpretations and cultural practices that prevented women from realizing their potential. Until the 1970s, the general trend in urban areas was toward a greater role for women. Beginning in the 1970s, however, there was a shift toward more traditional roles for women. This trend was especially noticeable in Iran. (p.396)

In contrast, while highlighting the fact that inequalities exist in stating: "conditions for women vary greatly across the Muslim Middle East. In most countries, women won equality before the law but women still faced legal and social hurdles, especially to jobs" (p.491), the Pearson text also describes reforms in some of the more progressive countries: "In turkey, Egypt, and Syria, many urban women had given up wearing the hejab, or traditional Muslim headscarf or loose, ankle-length garments meant to conceal" (p.492). By including descriptions of the role of women in multiple areas, the text gives the reader a better understanding of the region and its diverse practices.

The Middle East as a Resource. All of the texts describe the value of the Middle East within two common themes: the value of oil – an important resource in the West that is plentiful

in some of the countries of the region, and the importance of the Middle East in combating

communism. While these two themes can be viewed independent, they are not mutually

exclusive, one of the reasons for the United States desire to prevent communist influence in the

area was to keep the Soviet Union from gaining control of the valuable resource. These themes

are most evident in the text's discussion of The Truman Doctrine, OPEC, The Iranian

Revolution, The Iran-Iraq War, The Persian Gulf War, and The Soviets in Afghanistan

The desire of the US to prevent Communist influence in the Middle East was important

for both ideological and economic reasons. In their descriptions of the Truman Doctrine, the

texts highlight that Turkey was receiving aid to stop the spread of communism as part of the US

policy of containment, the policy of the United States to stop the spread of communism, which

they felt was a dangerous ideology at odds with democracy. Additionally, the Houghton Mifflin

Harcourt and McGraw Hill texts describe the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan which took place so

that the Soviets could shore up the communist government there. The texts go on to describe the

United States aid of the Mujahedeen in order to help remove the Soviet influence from the area

and weaken the Soviet Union by ensuring that the conflict in Afghanistan would be a long and

difficult one. The Houghton Mifflin Harcourt text describes the involvement of the United States

stating "The United States had armed the rebels [the Mujahedeen] because they considered the

Soviet invasion a threat to Middle Eastern oil supplies. President Jimmy Carter warned the

Soviets against any attempt to gain control of the Persian Gulf" (p. 553) Underlying both the

interventions in Turkey and Afghanistan was the need to maintain the balance of power in the

region and ensure continued western access to the oil there. By portraying the interventions in

this way, and highlighting the Western perspective, the texts are portraying Middle Eastern

countries as game pieces in a conflict between the two superpowers. This is damaging because it

does not allow for the perspective, motive, and actions of the Middle Eastern countries during the events described to be known sending the reader the message that these are inconsequential, and that the superpowers are the only important focus.

All of the texts use the protection of oil resources to justify the US intervention in Middle Eastern countries. This promotes the idea that if the United States and the West want or desire something, they have a right to it and may use any means necessary to protect their access to it. In their descriptions of the Iranian Revolution, the Houghton Mifflin Harcourt and Pearson texts describe the United States aid to the Shah, in order to maintain influence in the country. The Houghton Mifflin Harcourt text states:

> Iranian nationalists resented these foreign alliances and united under Prime Minister Muhammed Mossadeq. They nationalized a British-owned oil company and, in 1953 forced the shah to flee. Fearing Iran might turn to the Soviets for support, the United States helped restore the shah to power. (p.552)

What these texts fail to emphasize is the United States aid in the removal of a democratically elected prime minister – Mossadeq – in order to maintain such an influence. Additionally, only the Pearson text mentions the brutality with which the Shah crushed his opposition. The McGraw Hill text is even more vague ignoring most of the US involvement in the crisis in stating:

> Many Muslims looked with distaste at the new Iranian society. In their eyes, it was based on greed and materialism, which they identified with American influence. Leading the opposition to the shah was the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, a member of the Muslim clergy. By the late 1970s, many Iranians had begun to respond to Khomeini's words. In 1979 the shah's government collapsed and was replaced by an Islamic republic. (p.394)

By ignoring the perspective of Iranian nationalists as well as minimizing the negatives of United States involvement, the actions of the US are justified due to the fact that they were done in the name of protecting economic interests.

Intervention in the Iran-Iraq War and the Persian Gulf War was also explained as a result of the United States protecting oil interests in the region. The Pearson text describes United

States intervention in the Iran-Iraq war in saying "After both sides attacked foreign oil tankers in the Persian Gulf, the United States sent naval forces to protect shipping lanes" (p.497). Furthermore, all of the texts provide the motivation for entrance into the Persian Gulf War as to protect the oil fields of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia with protection of the people from Saddam Hussein and his brutal policies was secondary. The Pearson text describes:

> In 1990, Iraq invaded its oil-rich neighbor, Kuwait. Saddam Hussein wanted Kuwait's vast oil fields and greater access to the Persian Gulf. The United States saw the invasion as a threat to its ally, Saudi Arabia, and to the viral oil resources of the region. In 1991, a U.S. led coalition of international forces under the UN banner drove Saddam's forces out of Kuwait. (p. 497)

With the emphasis being firstly on the protection of oil and secondly the protection of people and human rights, it promotes the narrative that in the Middle East, the oil resources are more valuable and important than the people living there.

All of the texts, provide descriptions of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries or OPEC that have negative connotations, blaming the organization for the global economic crisis that resulted from its actions during the 1970s. The Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Text states:

> On the other hand, nations possessing oil reserves have the power to affect economic and political situations in countries all over the world. For example, in the 1970s the Arab members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) declared an oil embargo—a restriction of trade. This contributed to a significant economic decline in many developed nations during that decade. (p.645)

By removing this description of OPEC and the OPEC oil embargo from the conflict of the Yom Kippur War, the motivation for the embargo is depicted as an arbitrary decision by Arab states as opposed to a politically motivated decision in relation to a continuing conflict. The Pearson description provides its readers with this context describing

In 1973, Middle Eastern members of OPEC used oil as a political weapon. They stopped

oil shipments to the United States and other countries that had supported Israel in the

Yom Kippur War. This oil embargo triggered a global recession. (p.490)

The description of the organization in the McGraw Hill book is very similar to the above,

contextualizing the actions of the organization while still placing the blame on it for economic

crisis. While the descriptions in the Pearson and McGraw Hill text do contextualize the actions

of OPEC it still paints them in a negative light and minimized the right of the OPEC countries to

do what they choose with their own resources.

The Violent Middle East in Conflict and Crisis. The crisis by crisis approach to the

Middle East indicated by Barlow (1995) is present in the textbook's emphasis on conflict and

crisis. In describing the Middle East, conflict and terrorism are the central focus, with other

problems like poverty and women's rights also dominating the narrative. With the exception of

the descriptions of the emergence of new nations and society culture and religion found in the

McGraw Hill and Pearson books, as well as attempts at peace between Israel and Palestine that is

described in all texts, all of the topics discussed focus on war or other conflicts. Furthermore, in

the sections on society and culture, problems faced by the Middle East are included, leaving

students with little information about progress in the region as well as the perception that the

state of conflict is natural for the area and is unlikely to change.

The conflict that receives the most attention is the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Houghton

Mifflin Harcourt text "sets the stage" for its "Conflicts in the Middle East" section by stating:

In the years following World War II, the Jewish people won their own state. The gaining
of their ancient homeland along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea, however,
came at a heavy price. A Jewish states was unwelcome in this mostly Arab region, and
the resulting Arab hostility led to a series of wars. (p.583)

The Pearson text also characterizes conflict in the region as a result of the creation of Israel stating "Arab rejection of the State of Israel has led to an ongoing conflict" (p.493). Both of these descriptions imply that the Israelis deserved to create their own state in the region and that the hostilities that have resulted are solely a result of unfounded Arab animosity towards the Jewish people. The number of pages devoted to this conflict range from one in the McGraw Hill text to an entire section that is seven pages in length in the Houghton Mifflin Harcourt. This prioritizes the conflict between Israel, an ally of the West, and the Arab states as the most important issue in the region. In the Houghton Mifflin Harcourt text, the Arab-Israeli conflict is the only conflict in the section entitled Conflicts in the Middle East, this influences the reader to believe the only conflict of importance is the Arab-Israeli dispute. In contrast, the McGraw Hill text states that "the conflicts between Israel and Palestine is one of many challenges in the Middle East" (p.394). While this is an improvement from prioritizing one area, it still keeps the focus on problems in the region. Additionally, while efforts at peace between Israel and Palestine are outlined, the failure of these efforts and continued problems are highlighted in the Houghton Mifflin Harcourt and Pearson texts, with the Pearson text devoting nearly a page and a half to "The Difficult Road to Peace" (p.494). This gives the reader the impression that the conflict cannot be resolved and is destined to continue.

The war in Iraq also receives a significant amount of attention in all three texts with the Houghton Mifflin Harcourt text discussing this event in depth in two different sections of the text. All of the texts describe the suspicion of Weapons of Mass Destruction that led to the US invasion and all acknowledge the fact that such weapons were never found. Additionally, criticisms of US action are included. The Houghton Mifflin Harcourt text describes the by saying:

In 2002 analysts once again suspected the Hussein might be developing WMD…U.S. President George Bush argued that Hussein might be close to building powerful weapons to use against the United States or its allies. In March 2003, Bush ordered American troops to invade Iraq… After four weeks of fighting, Hussein's government fell.

However violence in Iraq continued…By the end of 2009, untold thousands of Iraqis and over 4,300 Americans had been killed. No WMD were ever found. (p.649)

The Pearson text also describes the violence and struggle that continued following the fall of

Saddam Hussein:

After Saddam's overthrow, Iraq became a bloody battleground as rival factions fought for power…

In 2011, the last American troops withdrew, leaving a Shiite-led government in control. Iraq Still faced deep hurdles. Car bombings, suicide attacks, and assassinations continued to plague the country…

The ongoing violence hurt efforts to rebuild Iraq's once-prosperous economy. (p.498)

By showing that the fighting continued in the country, in spite of the removal of the dictatorial

ruler, it leaves the reader with the impression that the people of Iraq are prone to conflict,

regardless of who is in charge and the attempted reforms that the US orchestrated.

Terrorism and its presence in the region is emphasized in the text with the Pearson text

stating "Increasingly, the Middle East has become a training ground and source for terrorism"

(p.552). Much of the descriptions of terrorism in the texts center around the Israeli-Palestinian

conflict with the 1972 kidnapping and murder of Israeli Olympians an often cited example of

terrorism in the Middle East. While violence on both sides of the conflict is included, the

emphasis is on the instigation of such violence by the Palestinians and characterizes violence on

the part of Israelis as a response or retaliation. The Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Text states:

The problem of modern international terrorism first came to world attention in a shocking way during the 1972 Summer Olympic Games… Members of a Palestinian terrorist group killed two Israeli athletes and took nine others hostage, later killing them…

Many terrorist organizations have roots in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict over land in the Middle East. Groups such as the Palestine Islamic Jihad, Hamas, and Hizballah have

sought to prevent a peace settlement between Israel and the Palestinians. They want a homeland for the Palestinians on their own terms, deny Israel's right to exist, and seek Israel's destruction. In a continual cycle of violence, the Israelis retaliate after most terrorist attacks and the terrorists strike again.

While these are not inaccurate descriptions of the region, the focus on these violent elements increases and legitimizes the association of the Middle East as synonymous with terrorists. The association of terrorism itself with the Middle East is not problematic, it is the focus on terrorism paired with the neglect of other aspects of the region that create a problematic picture in terms of global history.

The Middle East as Viewed by the US. In reading and analyzing the text it became evident that the United States perspective was emphasized, regardless of the fact that it is a World History textbook that should include a multiplicity of perspectives versus a US history textbook. Furthermore the text promoted nationalist ideology by highlighting accomplishments and the good done by the United States while minimizing any unsavory or underhanded involvement in world affairs. Additionally, allies of the United States, specifically Israel and to an extent Saudi Arabia are also painted in a positive light while "enemies" such as Iran and Iraq under Saddam Hussein are portrayed negatively. This nationalist rhetoric is throughout the text, but is most evident in the descriptions of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, Iranian Revolution, and the Iraq War.

The pro-Israel rhetoric begins with descriptions of the creation of Israel. Each of the text describe the Diaspora, the Zionist movement, and the creation of sympathy for the Jewish people following WWII, largely ignoring the history of the Palestinians in relation to the land and their views on the matter. Additionally, the Arab rejection of the UN plan is highlighted as a reason for the conflict as well as for a lack of Palestinian state. The Houghton Mifflin Harcourt text states:

> At the end of World War II, the United Nations took action. In 1947, the UN general assembly voted to partition the Palestine Mandate into an Arab state and a Jewish

state…All of the Islamic countries voted against the partition and the Palestinian Arabs rejected it outright…Finally, the date was set for the formation of Israel.

The new nation of Israel got a hostile greeting from its neighbors. The day after it proclaimed itself a state, six Islamic states invaded Israel. (p.584)

While the information provided is not inaccurate, it does not provide the global perspective that is needed in the study of world history due to the emphasis of only one side of the event.

In regards to the Arab-Israeli conflict violence by Israelis is described as an action in response to aggression by the Arab nations of Israel such as when the McGraw Hill text states "fearing attack by Egypt and other Arab states, on June 5, 1967, Israel launched air strikes against Egypt and several of its Arab neighbors" (p.661). This type of narrative places the blame for the conflict on the Arabs as opposed to examining the role that each country has played in the conflict. Additionally, the militancy of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Intifada are highlighted while the Israeli response, which has also resulted in civilian death is minimized. This allows Israel to be viewed as a struggling nation that just want be allowed to exist while the Arabs, who have a desire for their own nation that is similar to the Israelis, are vilified due to the absence of multiple perspectives.

In addition to emphasizing the Israeli perspective, the McGraw Hill and Houghton Mifflin Harcourt texts highlight the role of the United States in attempts at peace, specifically the Camp David accords. The McGraw Hill text goes as far as ignoring the role that Sadat played in reaching out to Israel to begin the negotiations stating:

In 1977 US President Jimmy Carter began to press for a compromise between Arabs and Israelis. In September 1978, President Carter met with President Sadat of Egypt and Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin at Camp David in the United States. The result was the Camp David Accords, an agreement to sign an Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty. (p.393)

While the Houghton Mifflin Harcourt text acknowledges the significance of Sadat's reaching out to the Israeli parliament prior to the accords, the role of Carter in the agreement is highlighted

stating "Carter triumphantly announced" the terms of the agreement (p.586). The Pearson text differs from these above descriptions, instead emphasizing the role of Sadat in the peace.

The textbooks coverage of the Iranian Revolution is written from the United States perspective in that it minimizes the negative aspects of US involvement such as the US involvement in the overthrow of an elected official - Mossadeq, and support of the Shah in spite of his brutal policies while also emphasizing the negatives of the Nationalists describing the taking of US hostages and the authoritarian style rule of Khomeini. In fact, only the Pearson text describes Mossadeq as an elected official while he is left out of the McGraw text completely. Additionally, the motives behind the taking of hostages are oversimplified. The Pearson text states:

> The new government was a theocracy or government by religious leaders. The Iranian Revolution introduced strict Islamic law. Like the shah, the new leaders silenced critics. In 1979, Islamists seized the American embassy in the capital and held 52 hostages for more than a year. (p.489)

Based on the above description, the reader is led to believe that there was no motive for the taking of hostages other than dislike for Americans. However, this leaves out the fact that the US had provided the Shah with refugee to receive cancer treatment while the Iranians wanted him returned to the country so that he could be tried for crimes against Iranian citizens that he had committed during his reign. While for most this does not justify the taking of hostages, it provides a more complete picture of the event as opposed to the senseless hate for Americans that is insinuated by the description in the text. By providing more perspectives students are allowed to gain a fuller understanding of historical phenomenon and are allowed to make their own judgements on events as opposed to adopting simply adopting the nationalist argument put forth by the text.

In their coverage of the War in Iraq the texts highlight the motive of the United States to overthrow a brutal dictator developing dangerous weapons and to bring democracy and development to the country while minimizing the criticism of the action and the lack of weapons found though these factors are at least acknowledged. For example, the Houghton Mifflin Harcourt text states:

> With the help of US officials, Iraqis began rebuilding their nation. They established an interim government that created a democratic constitution and held election in February 2005. (p.693)

However, what is lacking is the perspective of Iraqis, both those who supported and opposed Saddam Hussein, in response to the actions of the United States. In its description of the conflict the narrative of the text has shifted from protecting oil interests to promoting democracy and stopping a dangerous leader; however, the action was still one that was motivated by US interests, and the reaction of those who are the most greatly impacted by these actions are lacking in factor of glossing over the negative aspects of US intervention.

While some aspects of the textbooks coverage of the Middle East provided student's with a more global perspective of history; overall there needs to be revisions to the narrative in order to provide students with a truly global world history. A more global perspective would include a more rich description of the Middle East its peoples and its culture, a broadening of coverage of events to include events that the United States and the West are not directly or indirectly involved in, and the inclusion of a variety of perspectives that would allow students to gain a more complete understanding of the history of the Middle East as well as the ability to draw their own conclusion about the place, its people, and events that have taken place there. It is important that a more global view of history is developed in order for students to be able to better

understand the events and policies of the world today. Without a complete understanding of the past, the understanding of the present and the ability to draw accurate conclusions about present events is lacking.

Current coverage of the Middle East lacks adequate descriptions of the Middle East, its people, and its culture with only the Pearson book attempting to provide students with a description of the diversity that exists in the region. Because the Middle East is an artificial construct, defined largely by the West, generalizations involving Arabs and Islam are often presented as the overarching definition of the Middle East. However, this definition ignores the diverse groups or people and culture that make up the region. The common stereotype of the Arab and Muslim Middle East must be abolished in schools. These essentialist divisions deny the rich cultural history and diversity that exists. The region is not populated solely by Arabs with Persians in Iran, Turks in Turkey, as well as other minorities in various countries such as the Kurds. The category of Muslim is also inadequate due to the existence of other religions such as Judaism and Christianity as well as various differences within these religions and within Islam. Additionally, it must be acknowledged that the lack of attention paid to the diversity and division in the Middle East when the creation of nation states occurred has led to increased conflict in the region. Instead of simply stereotyping the region as one that is constantly in conflict leaving students to assume that it is the nature of the people that live there this would allow students to understand the nature and history of the conflict as well as the West's role in the conflict.

Textbook coverage of the Middle East tends to portray it as a backwards place governed by religion in which women are treated as second-class citizens. Such descriptions are problematic for multiple reasons: this type of description privileges western ideas over other cultures preventing students from contextualizing their understanding, and these descriptions

also ignore the amount of "progress" that has been made in many Middle Eastern countries over the past one hundred years or so in which nation-states have existed in the region. Instead of focusing on this perceived backwardness, textbooks should also highlight achievements in the arts, science and technology, and women's rights that have taken place in the region. Such coverage should include improvements in education of women, voting rights being extended to women, and the election to office of women. Not only have women gained increased access to education but literacy has increased for all people in the region as well. Additionally, technologies such as desalination plants are being used in multiple countries. Furthermore, the only cultural product that is focused on in the Middle East in current textbooks is Islam. This ignores the rich contributions to film, literature, and music that have been made by people from the Middle East. While human rights abuses and denial of women's rights should not be ignored, they should also not be the only cultural focus nor generalized to the region as a whole for their existence in specific countries.

By only including coverage of events in which the West is involved, textbooks are sending the message to readers that the only events that matter in the Middle East are the ones in which Western nations and their allies are involved. By including events that are not related to the West, students will gain a deeper understanding of the region as well as the way that the region interacts with other areas of the world. This is not to say that the events in which the Middle East is b interacting with the West should be ignored, on the contrary, the interaction between and interdependence nation-states and regions is one of the key components of global history. However, this cannot be the only coverage.

To provide students with a global understanding, multiple perspectives must be included in a world history course. Currently textbooks highlight the perspective of the United States and

its allies, namely Israel, in their coverage of the Middle East. As a result, readers are given only a partial understanding of events that take place in a region. Just because a textbook is published in the United States does not mean a national bias should drive its content. On the contrary, in order for students to be knowledgeable about the globalized society in which we live it is important for them to understand not only how the United States perceives events but how others view them in order to allow for an complete understanding of the United State's place in the world and its interaction with other countries. Without understanding the history of other places and our relationship with them, students will be unable to fully understand current interactions. This is especially important in the Middle East, which is a central focus of United States foreign policy. Providing a variety of perspectives is perhaps the most challenging aspect of a global world history. It includes both practical and political difficulties. Practically, it is difficult for teachers and textbooks to provide a multitude of sources that are translated into English; however, it is imperative that these sources be found and included. It is not sufficient to only have primary and secondary sources created by the West and their allies, the perspective of indigenous people must be included as well. The political difficulty with multiple perspectives is that it will sometimes be the case that by providing additional perspectives the United States will be portrayed negatively, a perspective that is not welcomed by most curriculum designers. The problem with leaving out potentially negative portrayals is that students are left with only a partial understanding of the past and therefore limited understanding of the present. Additionally, it should be left to the student to draw their own conclusions and make their own judgements when presented with all aspects of a place or event instead of molding a desired perspective based on limited information.

CHAPTER 6. A DECOLONIZED CURRICULUM: A THEMATIC APPROACH TO THE MIDDLE EAST

As recommended by the NCSS, in high school a global history should be achieved by a combination of international and global studies. This approach involves the integration of in depth study of a region with a global perspective that is "attentive to the interconnectedness of the human and natural environment and the interrelated nature of events problems and ideas" (Mcjimsey et al, 2016, Development of the Concepts of Global Education, para. 3). A possible curriculum outline for teaching the Middle East since 1945 using such an approach is outlined below. The events and topics chosen in such an approach are not as important as the manner in which the topics and events are presented. As such many of the topics and events outlined below were addressed in the textbooks as they are major events of regional and global importance; however, the manner in which they are approached and the context in which they are placed is adapted to achieve a more global perspective of the history of the region. Additionally, as current events influence the interest of students, teachers should take advantage of such interest and adapt their teaching in a way that is responsive to student interests.

Study of the Middle East can be broken into smaller thematic units that allow students to explore similarities and differences between the countries of the Middle East, as well as between the Middle East and the rest of the world. Such an approach will highlight the interconnectedness of the world as opposed to a country by country approach that treats events in separate countries as isolated phenomenon. Additionally, thematic units allow teachers to adapt instruction to student interest and current events. Each unit will be approached with multiple perspectives in mind in order to achieve a full understanding of the unit as well as a global outlook. The thematic units outlined below include 1) Culture and Society – explores a description of the Middle East, its people, and how the society has evolved over time 2) Nation Building – explores

the creation and development of nations in the Middle East and their continued evolution including the Arab-Israeli conflict, separatist movements, and the Arab Spring 3)Interaction, Conflict, and Agreement – describes the exchanges among the people of the Middle East as well as between the Middle East and the rest of the world including conflicts and agreements that have resulted from the interaction Below are possible schedules, guiding questions, topics, and suggested resources for teaching each of these units. The schedules are based on a four by four block schedule with 90 minute class periods.

Society and Culture in the Middle East

In order to contextualize other learning about the region, it is important for students to have an understanding of the culture and the people of the region. By first teaching a thematic unit on society and culture, teachers are able to provide their students with the background information that is necessary in order to provide for a deeper understanding of later units. Moreover, teachers are able to use discussions of culture and society to combat common stereotypes about the region as well as highlight commonalities of the human experience. For example, a discussion of religion and its role in the Middle East will allow students to gain understanding of the diversity of religious practices within the region as well as the similarity in the role of Islam to the role of other religions in society. Teachers should spend three to five class periods exploring the theme of society and culture.

Table 3	
Suggested Curriculum for Society and Culture in the Middle East	
Guiding Questions	Possible Topics
- What is the Middle East? - Why is the term Middle East used to describe the region? - What people make up the Middle East?	- Identification / Definition of the Region - Discussion of the arbitrary nature of the region and the implications of its name.

Table 3 Continued

Guiding Questions	Possible Topics
• How has society in the Middle East developed since 1945? • What is the role of societal institutions in the Middle East such as religion, schools, government, the family, etc.? • How is Islamic Fundamentalism a response to Western involvement in the region? • How is Islamic Fundamentalism similar to other fundamentalist religious movements?	• Discussion of the Diversity in the region. • Religion and its role in the Middle East • The role of religion in the Middle East as compared other societies and other times • Islamic Fundamentalism • Radical Islam • Demographics of the Middle East • Education • Technology • Role of women • Civic and political life • Economy

Nation Building

Since WWII, the Middle East has undergone and continues to undergo a process of

nation building. This began with the arbitrary drawing of borders by Western nations in the

Middle East which has resulted in civil war and separatist movements in some countries. The

creation of Israel and the resulting struggle for Palestinian statehood is also a central topic for the

development of nations. Additionally, states in the Middle East continue to evolve politically

with the pro-democracy movements of the Arab Spring. Due to the commonalities in the

evolution of nations in the Middle East with the evolution of nations in other areas this unit is

ideal for making connections across time and cultures. For example, the move from authoritarian

regimes toward democracy during the Arab Spring is similar to the political revolutions of the

18th and 19th centuries. Additionally, the desire for a nation-state for one's own people as is the

case with the Kurds is similar to struggles for independence that have taken place in Eastern

Europe. By making connections across times and culture, teachers are able to highlight

similarities in society that are a result of similarities within the human condition. Due to the

volume of information associated with state building as well as the large number of connections that can be made to other times and areas, teachers should spend five to seven class periods on the theme of nation building.

Table 4	
Suggested Curriculum for Nation Building in the Middle East	
Guiding Questions	Suggested Topics
- How were modern nation states formed in the Middle East? - How was the creation of nation states in the Middle East a global phenomenon? - Why did the creation of nation-states in the region lead to conflict? - What other areas have had similar conflict as a result of nation formation? - What led to the pro-democracy movements known as the Arab Spring? - What is the impact of the Arab Spring in the Middle East and the world? - What is nationalism? - How has nationalism impacted countries in the Middle East in the process of nation building? - What movements have attempted to move beyond the borders of the nation-state?	- Drawing of Boundaries Post WWI and WWII - Independence of the Mandates and Colonies - Zionism - Creation of Israel and Resulting Conflict - Struggle for Palestinian Statehood - PLO - Iranian Revolution - Pan-Arabism - Arab Spring - Separatist movements such as the Kurdish separatist - Coups in Turkey - Civil War in Lebanon and Yemen - Syrian Civil War - Islamic State

Interaction, Conflict, and Agreement

One of the essential aspects of a global history is the inclusion of the interconnectedness of the world in curriculum. As a result, interaction between the Middle East and the rest of the world as well as interaction between countries of the Middle East is essential. Focusing on interaction allows students to understand the ways in which the world has become connected with and dependent on other areas. Additionally, it allows students to analyze how events in one area can have an impact on people and places throughout the world. Interaction can include

environmental interaction, economic interaction, political interaction, and social interaction.

Teachers should spend four to six class periods on the interaction, conflict, and agreement theme.

Table 5	
Suggested Curriculum for Interaction, Conflict, and Agreement in the Middle East	
• What factors influence the relationship among nations of the Middle East and between the Middle East and the rest of the world? • In what ways do nations of the Middle East interact with one another? With the rest of the World? • What conflicts have occurred in the Middle East since 1945? • What efforts at peace have been made to resolve the conflicts? • What is the impact of conflict in the Middle East?	• OPEC • Cold War relationships • Iran-Iraq War • Iraq War • Persian Gulf War • Iran Nuclear Deal • Terrorism • Camp David Accords • Oslo Accords • Intifada • Migration • Refugee Crisis

By using broad themes such as those suggested above, teachers can provide in depth instruction on an area or region, highlight similarities across time and place, show historical events from multiple perspectives and adapt instruction to fit student interest as well as current events. This will allow for the presentation of a global history that enables students to understand and participate in a globalized world.

The above suggestions for a thematic approach to world history provides a description of the type of unit on the Middle East that could be taught if teachers were given the autonomy to direct their own curriculum in a way that allowed for the teaching of an authentic global history; however, in the current climate of accountability and high stakes testing this is often not the case. While the suggested pacing provides for a three to four week unit covering the region from 1945 to present, it is much more likely that teachers will only be able to spend a week on the region, if they are lucky. In spite of such strict time constraints, it is important for teachers to due their best

to still provide students with an authentic global history that provides students with the knowledge and skills necessary to understand the region as it is today. In my classroom, this means doing my best to emphasize a variety of viewpoints while showing the common threads that run through the history of people in various regions and time periods by teaching the above themes on a much smaller and abbreviated scale while also teaching the essential concepts that students will be tested on when taking district benchmark exams.

Suggested Resources

- http://teachmideast.org/

- http://teachmiddleeast.lib.uchicago.edu/index.html

- http://edsitement.neh.gov/teaching-middle-east-new-online-resource-educators

- http://ncmideast.org/outreach/teaching/

- http://cmes.arizona.edu/outreach/lessons

- http://gulf2000.columbia.edu/maps.shtml

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APPENDIX. ORGANIZATION OF TEXTS

Appendix 1 Organization of Texts	
Textbook	Organizational Outline

Houghton Mifflin Harcourt	1) Restructuring the Postwar World
	   a) Cold War: Superpowers Face Off
	     i) The United States Tries to Contain Soviets
	       (1) Truman Doctrine
	   b) The Cold War Divides the World
	     i) Confrontations in the Middle East
	       (1) Religious and Secular Values Clash in Iran
	       (2) The United States Supports Secular Rule
	       (3) Khomeini's Anti-U.S. Policies
	       (4) The Superpowers Face off in Afghanistan
	2) The Colonies Become New Nations
	   a) New Nations in Africa
	     i) Fighting for Freedom
	       (1) Algeria Struggles with Independence
	   b) Conflicts in the Middle East
	     i) Israel Becomes a State
	     ii) Israel and Arab States in Conflict
	       (1) 1956 Suez Crisis
	       (2) Arab-Israeli Wars continue
	       (3) The Palestine Liberation Organization
	     iii) Efforts at Peace
	       (1) Israeli-Palestinian Tensions Increase
	       (2) The Oslo Peace Accords
	     iv) Peace Slips Sway
	       (1) The Conflict Intensifies
	       (2) Shifting Power and Alliances
	3) Global Interdependence
	   a) Global Economic Development
	     i) Impact of Global Development
	       (1) Political Impacts
	   b) Global Security Issues
	     i) Issues of War and Peace
	       (1) War in Iraq
	       (2) Ethnic and Religious Conflicts
	   c) Terrorism
	     i) Terrorism Around the World
	       (1) The Middle East
	     ii) The United States Responds
	       (1) Antiterrorism Measures

Appendix 1 continued

Textbook	Organizational Outline

	4) Unresolved Problems of the Modern World
	   a) Seeking Global Security
	      i) The War in Iraq
	         (1) The Path to War
	         (2) The War Begins
	         (3) The War Draws Down

McGraw Hill	1) The Cold War
	   a) The Cold War Begins
	      i) Balance of Power After WWII
	         (1) The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan
	      ii) The Spread of the Cold War
	         (1) New Military Alliances
	   b) Cold War Conflicts
	      i) The United States and the Soviet Union
	2) Independence and Nationalism in the Developing World
	   a) The Middle East
	      i) The Mideast Crisis
	         (1) The Question of Palestine
	         (2) Nasser and Pan-Arabism
	         (3) The Arab-Israeli Dispute
	      ii) Iran, Iraq, and Afghanistan
	         (1) The Iranian Revolution
	         (2) The Iran-Iraq War
	         (3) The Persian Gulf War
	         (4) Afghanistan and the Taliban
	      iii) Society and Culture
	   b) Africa
	      i) Independence and New Nations
	3) A New Era Begins
	   a) Regions After the Cold War
	      i) Middle East and North Africa
	         (1) Region Overview
	         (2) Revolutionary Upheaval
	4) Contemporary Global Issues
	   a) Political Challenges in the Modern World
	      i) International Security
	         (1) Challenges in the Middle East
	   b) Social Challenges in the Modern World
	      i) Human Rights and Equality for Women

Pearson	1) The Cold War Era
	   a) A New Global Conflict
	      i) Soviet Aggression Grows
	         (1) The Truman Doctrine

Appendix 1 Continued

Textbook	Organizational Outline

	2) New Nations Emerge
	    a) African Nations Win Independence
	        i) The New Nations of Africa
	            (1) Nationalism Leads to Freedom
	        ii) Case Studies: Five African Nations
	            (1) Algeria
	    b) The Modern Middle East Takes Shape
	        i) The Challenges of Diversity
	            (1) Mandates Gain Independence
	            (2) Religious and Ethnic Divisions
	            (3) Kurdish Nationalism
	        ii) The Founding of Israel
	            (1) Arabs and Israelis in Conflict
	            (2) The Growth of Israel
	        iii) New Nations in the Middle East
	            (1) Egypt's Leadership in the Arab World
	            (2) The Arab Spring and its Impact
	            (3) An Islamic Revolution in Iran
	            (4) Modern Turkey
	        iv) The Importance of Oil in the Middle East
	            (1) OPEC
	            (2) Saudi Arabia
	        v) Islam and the Modern World
	            (1) Islamic Revival
	            (2) Radical Islam
	            (3) Islam and the Lives of Women
	    c) Conflicts in the Middle East
	        i) Israel and Palestine
	            (1) The West Bank, Gaza, and the Golan Heights
	            (2) The PLO and Intifada
	        ii) The Difficult Road to Peace
	            (1) The Oslo Accords
	            (2) Violence Continues
	            (3) Obstacles to Peace
	            (4) A Two-State Solution
	        iii) Conflict in Lebanon and Syria
	            (1) The Lebanese Civil War
	            (2) The Syrian Civil War
	        iv) Warfare in Iraq
	            (1) The Iran-Iraq War
	            (2) The 1991 Gulf War
	            (3) The Iraq War
	            (4) Iraq Continues to Struggle
	            (5) The Rise of ISIL

Textbook	Organizational Outline

	3) The World Today
	    a) The Industrialized World
	        i) A New Europe
	        (1) Growth of the European Union
	    b) Terrorism and international Security
	        i) The Threat of New Weapons
	        ii) The Nuclear Nonproliferation treaty
	    c) The growing threat of Terrorism
	        i) Growth of Terrorism in the Middle East
	        ii) Islamic Fundamentalism
	    d) The US Response to Terrorism
	        i) War in Iraq
	        ii) Iran, Syria, and North Kore Pose Threats

VITA

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