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2025 Tunisian Curriculum: Between Progress and Prejudice

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Acknowledgements

IMPACT-se's research into national curricula involves the meticulous review of thousands of textbook pages, systematically evaluating their content against UNESCO-derived standards of peace, tolerance, and respect for the "Other." This rigorous methodology underpins our commitment to promoting education that supports coexistence and fosters constructive global citizenship.

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Executive Summary

This report examines 80 textbooks from the national school curriculum of the Tunisian Republic. The textbooks span Grades 1 to 13 and include the subjects of Arabic Language (Texts and Grammar), Literature, French Language, Islamic Education, Islamic Thought, Social Subjects, Geography, History and Civics. This report evaluates Tunisian textbooks through a structured methodology grounded in internationally recognized standards for peace and tolerance education, drawing on UNESCO and UN recommendations as well as UNESCO's own guidelines for textbook development. The analysis assesses the degree to which the curriculum is in line with these pedagogical principles.

Tunisian textbooks largely reflect moderation, emphasizing tolerance and democratic values, gender equality, and national pride. However, challenges remain, particularly in addressing antisemitism, and fostering discussions on human rights. Thus, there is room for further alignment with UNESCO-derived standards of tolerance and inclusivity in education.

- Tunisian identity is portrayed as rooted in openness, tolerance, and innovation, with Ancient Carthage depicted as a historical meeting place of civilizations. However, modern history narratives largely omit discussions of domestic oppression under past leaders such as Bourguiba and Ben Ali, and the Arab Spring receives minimal treatment.
- French colonialism is addressed in a negative yet nuanced manner. Colonialism is condemned as oppressive and explained through Marxist theories of class struggle, but Tunisian agency in facilitating colonial rule is acknowledged. Solidarity is expressed toward other Arab and Maghreb nations who experienced European colonialism. Contemporary France is presented as an advanced and friendly nation, and students are encouraged to befriend French people. The European Union is mentioned as an influential power in the world, as is China. The United States is portrayed ambivalently—both as a diverse democracy and as an imperialist power linked to capitalism.
- The textbooks commend interfaith tolerance, drawing on Islamic traditions to emphasize respect for Christian and Jewish communities. The Jewish heritage of Tunisia is acknowledged. However, not much information about Jewish beliefs or history is provided, and problematic content persists, including stereotypes linking Jews with immorality, undue wealth and political influence. The Holocaust is only indirectly referenced as "Nazi crimes against the Jews" and no further details are provided, despite Tunisia's direct experience of Nazi occupation. However, European antisemitism is discussed in the context of Zionist history.
- Tunisia's progressive stance on women's rights is reflected in the textbooks, with frequent emphasis on women's contributions to society and portrayals of women in modern roles and attire. However, some traditional stereotypes persist. There is no acknowledgment of sexual or gender minorities.
- Islamic education textbooks advocate for tolerance and denounce religious-inspired radicalism. Yet, there is a lack of meaningful analysis of other faiths and occasional unsympathetic portrayals of non-Muslims, mostly through quotations of Scripture. Non-Islamic faiths other than Judaism, such as Christianity, are rarely discussed.
- The Arab-Israeli conflict is discussed at length in three history textbooks and alluded to in multiple Arabic Language texts. The attitude toward Israel is overwhelmingly negative, with violence against Israelis, such as the 1972 Munich Olympic massacre, celebrated in some instances. Israel is only mentioned in textbooks within the context of conflict, contributing to a one-dimensional and hostile perspective. Jewish self-determination is not recognized, and Zionism is dismissed as an imperialist conspiracy. At the same time, some Tunisian textbooks acknowledge Israel by name and indirectly on maps within the context of the conflict, and expose students to primary sources such as Israel's Declaration of Independence.

Introduction

A country smaller in size and population than its Maghreb neighbors, Tunisia was historically recognized as moderate, Western-oriented, and stable. Indeed, stability is habitually the defining feature of discussions about Tunisia, which often highlight it in an idealized manner. The country has experienced far less political and economic turbulence than many of its neighbors or more distant Arabic-speaking and Islamic countries. As a result, Tunisia historically attracted less international interest and remained largely unknown beyond the small number of scholars who studied it. However, this shifted in 2011, when Tunisia's revolution became the first in the region to successfully overthrow an authoritarian regime; its subsequent transformation into a democracy further cemented its image as a "success story." The revolution also increased international interest in Tunisian politics and society.

This report presents the study's findings in six sections, based on central themes, trends, and issues identified in Tunisian textbooks. These are representations of Tunisia's identity; elements of peace and tolerance in the curriculum; a discussion of Tunisia's global outlook; women and gender issues; the portrayal of Jewish people and beliefs in the textbooks; and the Arab-Israeli conflict. Each section explores a specific theme using concrete examples taken from the textbooks, each of which includes a screenshot of the original Arabic text and its translation into English. Report conclusions reiterate the main takeaways from these central themes, and provide an overall assessment of the curriculum's adherence to international education standards.

Tunisia: Brief Overview

Tunisia's colonial experience, which began in 1881 with the invasion of the French army and the imposition of a protectorate, was far less harsh than that in neighboring Algeria. Some even saw the imposition of French rule as a beneficial development that would help advance the country further into the modern era. Tunisia's struggle for independence was relatively benign, as France withdrew in 1956 to focus on retaining Algeria, while seeking to maintain ties with a pro-Western Tunisia under the leadership of Habib Bourguiba. Under Bourguiba, Tunisia embraced moderate positions in regional and international affairs, and promoted internal causes that were unusual in the region, such as improving the status of women.

Tunisia's textbooks reflect these efforts, and highlight the government's vision of the country's identity. These publications are often the main conduit for conveying this vision to Tunisian citizens and mobilize students to participate in efforts to confront national challenges. State education reflects the country's present situation, the ways in which it views its past, and its plans for the future.

Pre-Colonial Tunisia:

Tunisia was conquered by Arab-Muslim forces in the late seventh and early eighth centuries, as part of a wider campaign of the Umayyad dynasty to take control of the entire Maghreb [west] region. Although Tunisia's population was largely Sunni-Muslim and homogeneous (with the exception of a small Jewish community that numbered around 120,000 at its twentieth-century peak), it consisted of various tribes that had historically resisted external control.

In the eighteenth century, a local dynasty established by Ottoman military officers took control of the territory; they maintained formal relations with the Ottoman Empire but otherwise managed their own affairs, which included fostering diplomatic ties with European countries. Tunisia's rulers consolidated control over the country, with the capital port city of Tunis emerging as the central hub. They established a strong bureaucratic tradition, enabling the central government to effectively impose its authority across the population, mainly through collecting taxes and registering property. Although the state could not yet be categorized as "modern," throughout the nineteenth century Tunisia adopted initiatives that set it on the path toward modernization.

The Colonial Era and the Struggle for Independence

In a manner similar to the Ottoman Empire's experience in the nineteenth century, Tunisia faced growing foreign diplomatic and economic pressures from European nations. In particular, after France's occupation of Algeria in 1830, it had clear ambitions to extend its control in the region. Tunisia's rulers sought to resist foreign domination by establishing educational institutions to train local professionals and creating modern military units capable of confronting external threats.

In 1860, Tunisia was the first Arab country to frame a constitution, which reflected the notion of separating branches of government. Although never implemented, the constitution draft indicates Tunisia's advanced status, yet these endeavors required large financial investments. The Tunisian government was forced to secure loans from European banks and governments, creating a vicious dependency cycle that ultimately led to Tunisia's demise. Foreign powers gained control of its finances in 1869, and Tunisia's sovereignty was further eroded after foreign nationals were exempted from Tunisian jurisdiction, granting them a free hand to conduct business transactions that gave them an advantage over their local partners. The French invasion in 1881 was the final blow to Tunisia when the country was declared a French protectorate. Tunisia remained nominally sovereign, but its military and diplomatic affairs were handed over to France, which, over time, assumed control over most realms of Tunisian public life. It is important to note that some of the reforms instituted by France were initially seen by Tunisians as another step in the country's modernization process, and did not generate widespread opposition.

Over time, more Tunisians resented French rule, and began to press for reforms within the protectorate system. The Destour (constitution) party, established in 1920, sought to revive the 1860 constitution, but refrained from demanding independence. The party divided in 1934, when a group of younger Tunisians, mainly from peripheral regions, established the Neo-Destour party. The party was led by Habib Bourguiba, who would emerge as the independent Tunisia's founding father, the "supreme combatant" who championed the country's struggle for independence. The Neo-Destour became Tunisia's central political force, with tens of thousands of members and numerous branches.

In the mid twentieth century, World War II weakened France's position in Tunisia, and the nationalist struggle intensified. In 1954, France recognized Tunisia's right to self-determination, and began negotiations with the Neo-Destour leadership. Tunisia independence was finalized in 1955.

Post Independence Tunisia

Post-independence Tunisia was led by Habib Bourguiba. In July 1957, the country was declared a republic, and the monarchy, which had been significantly weakened and sidelined during the colonial era, was abolished. Although many Tunisians had hoped for a pluralist political system, the reality of public life was a far cry from that. Bourguiba presided over an authoritarian regime, in which the lines between the ruling (and only) party and state institutions were blurred. The parliament was merely a rubber stamp for approving presidential decisions, the judiciary was weak, and the media was controlled by the government.

In the 1960s, Bourguiba promoted a socialist-oriented, state-managed economy. Tunisian citizens benefited from generous government food subsidies and a wide social network intended to cover their needs. Economic difficulties in the 1970s forced Tunisia to change its course and embrace a market economy. As Tunisia lacked natural resources, it was forced to find other ways to generate prosperity and attract foreign investments. In order to achieve those goals, Tunisia's social and cultural orientation under Bourguiba remained staunchly Western. Although Arabic was Tunisia's official language, French remained the language of the business and science communities. Bourguiba distanced himself from Islamic religious tenets, contending that they were obstacles to progress. He went as far as calling on Tunisian Muslims to refrain from fasting throughout the holy month of Ramadan in 1961, arguing that the fast distracted from Tunisia's efforts to advance its economy. Bourguiba was particularly forceful in promoting the status of women, granting women full legal equality; a measure at odds with Muslim law. Personal status laws concerning women were unusual in Arab-Muslim countries. However, in Tunisia, polygamy was forbidden, women were given the right to divorce, and the legal age of marriage for women was set at 18. Tunisia was one of the first Arab countries to promote birth control and family planning programs, which further advanced the status of women. Women were allowed to study at secondary schools and universities; the number of girls attending Tunisian schools recorded exponential growth after independence, rising from 70,000 in 1956 to 200,000 in 1961. Most Tunisians supported Bourguiba, convinced that his approach would help Tunisia become a modern, developed country.

At independence, Tunisia's education system was small, and previously catered to European children during the protectorate era. Tunisia's educational priorities after independence were expansion, Arabization, and the training of skilled professionals to replace former Europeans, which remains so today. The education system was based on the French model: basic (six years), middle (three years), and upper school (four years) leading up to the Baccalaureate exam, which dictates entrance to university. Education was and remains compulsory from ages 6-16, and was mostly in Arabic, except for some science upper school classes. French was the second main lan-

guage, but English is gaining importance. Tunisia's first university was established in 1960, and the country now has 13 universities, along with over 185 other higher education institutions.

The Ben Ali Era

By the mid-1980s Habib Bourguiba appeared to be suffering from various health and age-related issues, which compromised his ability to govern. He increasingly made hasty and erratic decisions, which he often arbitrarily revoked. Mounting pressure from Islamist groups who opposed Bourguiba's Western orientation compounded the growing uncertainty, since Bourguiba had never designated an heir and had exclusive control of the political system. On November 7, 1987, Bourguiba was removed from office by a constitutional coup, after seven physicians declared him unfit to rule. He was moved out of the presidential palace and effectively placed under house arrest in his hometown of Monastir, where he died in April 2000 at the age of 98. Bourguiba was replaced by his prime minister, Zayn al-'Abidin Ben Ali, a former military officer who also directed the country's security services.

Ben Ali's takeover was initially welcomed by most Tunisians, who were relieved that Bourguiba had been replaced in a non-violent manner. Ben Ali vowed to maintain Bourguiba's policies but also implied that he was interested in expanding democracy and promoting greater political pluralism. However, over time, these promises rang hollow, and Ben Ali's regime proved to be ever more authoritarian, with no tolerance for any form of dissent. Although Ben Ali was supported by most Western powers, who valued his pro-Western approach and uncompromising position toward radical Islam, the reality for Tunisians at home was quite different. They were exposed to harsh repression and human rights violations. Despite some economic gains and political stability secured by Ben Ali, many Tunisians were disappointed and disenchanted with the regime. Growing corruption among the president's family and close associates further soured the public's mood.

The 2011 Revolution and its Aftermath

While the Ben Ali regime's popularity deteriorated, there was little to suggest that its days were numbered. It did not face any significant political opponents, who could serve as a viable alternative. Moreover, Tunisia did not have a history of revolutionary politics that could serve as a precedent for removing the regime from power. But much to the shock of many Tunisians, the country experienced a revolution in early 2011, which led to the demise of the Ben Ali regime and the transformation to a democratic order. This uprising, the first of its kind in the Middle East and North Africa, established the precedent of removing an authoritarian ruler from power, and became a model emulated by other countries, in what became known as the "Arab Spring."

The Tunisian revolution resulted from the impact of the desperate act of one young citizen named Mohamed Bouazizi, who set himself on fire protesting against the police harassment he experienced, compounding his dire economic situation. Bouazizi, who later succumbed to his wounds, became a symbol for Tunisians who took to the streets protesting against the regime. These protests gained traction and reached the point where President Ben Ali fled the country on January 14, 2011, and received political asylum in Saudi Arabia. Ben Ali's departure quickly unraveled his regime, which was replaced by a transitional government. Tunisia held democratic elections for a National Constituent Assembly in October 2011, and began its transition process to a new political order.

Since the revolution, Tunisia has been widely recognized as the success story among countries considered part of the "Arab Spring." It held several rounds of free and uncontested elections, the results of which were recognized by competing political forces, established a constitution in 2014 and promotes the need for consensus in politics. Despite this success, many Tunisians remain deeply disappointed with the revolution's outcome, particularly in the economic realm. These sentiments may reflect unrealistic expectations, but paved the way for the victory of Kais Saied, who was elected president in 2019. A former law professor and political outsider, Saied vowed to rid the country of the corruption and ineptitude that overshadowed public life. His decision in 2021 to suspend parliament and rule by decree has raised fears that Tunisia may be on the road back to authoritarian rule. Further measures, such as a constitutional reform which strengthened the president's executive powers at the parliament's expense, or charges against leaders of political parties, have added to growing concerns about Tunisian democracy. In October 2024, Kais Saied was elected to a second presidential term, without facing

significant competition. Voter turnout was less than 30%, reflecting growing public disenchantment. Tunisia's economic situation is also problematic, with rising unemployment and inflation. All of these factors cast a shadow over the country's future.

Tunisian Education System

Although Tunisia's education system has a good reputation, reflecting heavy government investments since independence, critics have highlighted many issues. These include antiquated teaching methods, ineffective supervision, and a lack of attention to the evolving job market. Tunisian students have scored poorly in international PISA assessments, with the majority of participating students scoring below the proficiency level in 2015. Tunisia ranked 66th out of 70 participating countries, raising further doubts about the proficiency of its educational system.[1]

The Tunisian education system has undergone a series of significant reforms since independence. In 1958, the government sought to unify and nationalize the sector, structuring it into three cycles—primary, secondary, and higher education—while making schooling both compulsory and free for all children. By the late 1960s, the curriculum for primary education was Arabized, establishing Arabic as the language of instruction across all subjects. However, French retained a central role as a second language, serving as the medium for communication and access to scientific and technical knowledge. Around this period, the Arabization of technical and scientific education was also introduced, becoming a defining feature of education policy.[2]

A new wave of reform began in 1989, aimed at raising educational standards and aligning training more closely with labor market needs. This was formalized in Law No. 91-65, which reinforced the principle of free education at every level and restructured basic education into two cycles: six years for the first stage and three for the second. Under this reform, all subjects—whether artistic, scientific, or technical—were to be taught in Arabic throughout basic education.[3] Higher education experienced a major transformation with the introduction of the LMD (Licence–Master–Doctorat) system, inspired by the Bologna Declaration of 1999. This reform sought to integrate Tunisia into the European Higher Education Area by standardizing degree structures, promoting student and faculty mobility, ensuring quality, and facilitating both diploma recognition and youth employment.[4]

After the 2010–11 revolution, several improvements were introduced to the educational system, with increased budgets and different political initiatives, the first of which was "the National Dialogue on Education Reform" in 2015.[5] Later, in 2016, Tunisia adopted the Strategic Plan for the Education Sector 2016-2020 —a five-year plan which seeks to improve teacher training, the curriculum, education infrastructure, and promote private partnerships, to better align the education system with the requirements of the job market.[6] Accordingly, in 2016, the Ministry of Education also published a "White Paper," overhauling national education and implementing reforms to various elements in the system.[7] The goals set by the "White Paper" were further promoted in the Country Strategic Plan (CSP) 2018-2022.[8]

1 Donia Smaali Bouhlila, "Education in Tunisia: Past progress, present decline and future challenges," Arab Barometer, 25 March, 2021. https://www.arabbarometer.org/2021/03/education-in-tunisia-past-progress-present-decline-and-future-challenges/

2 Ibid,

3 "Loi no 91-65 du 29 *juillet* 1991, relative au *système éducatif*," *Journal officiel de la République tunisienne*, no. 55 (Aug 6, 1991): 1398-1400.

4 Bouhlila, "Education in Tunisia." See also Faiza Himri and Sadok Chennouf, "The LMD reform in Maghreb Countries: A comparative analysis of its implementation in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia," *International Journal of Economic Perspectives* Vol. 18, no. 12 (2024): 2891-2905. https://ijeponline.lingcure.org/index.php/journal/article/view/819/779.

5 "Tunisia's wide-ranging reforms in health and education boost education outcomes," Oxford Business Group. https://oxfordbusinessgroup.com/reports/tunisia/2018-report/economy/wide-ranging-reforms-aim-to-boost-educational-outcomes-lesson-plans.

6 Jackie Cilliers and Stellah Kwasi, "The Rebirth: Tunisia's potential development pathways to 2040," ISS African Futures, May 12, 2023. https://oxfordbusinessgroup.com/reports/tunisia/2018-report/economy/wide-ranging-reforms-aim-to-boost-educational-outcomes-lesson-plans https://futures.issafrica.org/special-reports/country/tunisia/

7 "Tunisia's wide-ranging reforms in health and education boost education outcomes," Oxford Business Group. https://oxfordbusinessgroup.com/reports/tunisia/2018-report/economy/wide-ranging-reforms-aim-to-boost-educational-outcomes-lesson-plans

8 "Tunisia: Annual Country Report 2018," *World Good Program* (WFP). https://docs.wfp.org/api/documents/WFP-0000104234/download/
Cf. Tiziana della Ragione, "Education Reform in Post-Revolutionary Tunisia: Between Covid-19 and a Divided Civil Society," Tel Aviv Notes Vol. 14, no. 8 (Nov. 2020). https://dayan.org/content/education-reform-post-revolutionary-tunisia-between-covid-19-and-divided-civil-society

According to official figures published by the Ministry of Education for the 2024–2025 school year, around 2.1 million students were enrolled in primary education, and 1.26 million in secondary education.[9] Education in Tunisia is divided into distinct phases. Since 2016, a transitional pre-primary preparatory year has been introduced. The primary level, known as "École de Base – Premier Cycle," lasts six years and is followed by a three-year lower secondary cycle, culminating in the award of the national completion diploma. After this, students can pursue either the four-year academic upper secondary track, culminating in the national Baccalauréat examination, or a vocational path that awards various professional certificates. For those opting for higher education, Tunisia has adopted a system resembling France's, granting university degrees at the Licence, Master, and Doctorate levels.[10]

IMPACT-se previously explored the school curriculum of Tunisia in a 2009 report, which examined 64 textbooks. The study found that Tunisian textbooks emphasize the importance of tolerance, peace and dialogue with the "Other," equality between all groups, openness toward the West, use of Islamic teaching for universal rapprochement, and restriction of the ideals of militant jihad and martyrdom to historical events.

The study concluded that Tunisian schoolbooks can serve as a model for other Arab countries in certain respects. At the same time, much remained to be addressed in the treatment of the Arab-Israeli conflict, which was presented in a purely one-sided Arab-Palestinian narrative, offering little meaningful or informative context.[11]

This updated report aims to offer a fresh and deeper look into the state school curriculum of Tunisia to uncover its major themes and trends and to evaluate its adherence to international education standards. As before, the study featured in this report employs the IMPACT-se standard method of textbook content analysis, with textbooks analyzed individually on the basis of international education standards and scanned for overarching themes and issues (see methodology on p. 10). A total of 80 textbooks have been studied in full (see list of analyzed textbooks on p.68) from Grades 1 to 13. Textbooks were selected primarily from humanities subjects, i.e., Social Studies, History, Geography, Islamic education, Arabic, English and French languages.

9 "Returning to School 2024-25 by the numbers," Ultra Tunisia, September 16, 2024. https://ultratunisia.ultrasawt.com/ويتوزع%20التلاميذ%20الى%201%20مليون,عليها%20من%20وزارة%20التربية%20:~:text=#العودة-المدرسية-2024-2025-في-أرقام/التراتونس/مجتمع/أخبار التونسية

10 "Education System in Tunisia," Scholaro Database. https://www.scholaro.com/db/countries/Tunisia/Education-System. Kathleen Trayte Freeman, "Tunisia," AACRAO Electronic Database for Global Education (EDGE). https://www.aacrao.org/edge/country/tunisia.

11 Arnon Groiss, Peace and the "Other" in Tunisian Schoolbooks (IMPACT-se, November 2009). https://www.impact-se.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Tunisia_Final2009.pdf

Main Findings

Overall, this report demonstrates that Tunisia continues to follow the same trendlines identified by IMPACT-se's previous report, 15 years ago. Tunisia remains a regional leader in its progressive outlook toward women's rights and gender equality, its avoidance of religious extremism and violence, and its somewhat conciliatory approach toward its former colonial ruler France and the Western world. Tunisian textbooks encourage intercultural dialogue, critical thinking and self-reflection in ways not commonly seen in the Arabic-speaking world. At the same time, they maintain some antisemitic tropes and stereotypes in their portrayals of Jewish people, and adhere to a strictly one-sided narrative of the Arab-Israeli conflict, hampering Tunisian students' understanding of the conflict and their ability to contribute to its peaceful resolution. These two issues remain the curriculum's greatest challenges.

Tunisian History and Identity

Tunisian textbooks portray national Tunisian identity in clear and confident terms, drawing from a long-standing self-awareness that predates colonialism. The dominant trend is a celebration of Tunisia's Islamic and Arab heritage, paired with the values of openness, moderation, and innovation—qualities anchored in the ancient Carthaginian civilization. The colonial era is presented with nuance but from a distinctly anti-colonial perspective, while still acknowledging elements of Tunisian complicity. However, significant gaps remain: the authoritarian periods under Presidents Bourguiba and Ben Ali are almost entirely omitted, as is the 2011 revolution and its democratic aftermath – likely due to current political sensitivities under President Kais Saied. This omission stands out as a major exception to the otherwise self-assured national narrative."

Peace and Tolerance

Tunisian textbooks promote peace, diversity, and tolerance as foundational values from the earliest grades. These are conveyed through illustrations of diverse friendships, discussions of racism, and intercultural dialogue, supported by both secular law and Islamic teachings. There is a sustained emphasis on peaceful conflict resolution, democracy, and universal human rights. Students are exposed to practical moral examples such as Gandhi and encouraged to apply these values in their everyday lives. However, discussions of tolerance and rejecting racism often fail to critique domestic bigotry, while peaceful conflict resolution is not applied to the Arab-Israeli conflict, showing that the values of peace and tolerance are not consistently implemented.

International Relations and Global Perspectives

Tunisian textbooks portray a generally moderate and pragmatic view toward global politics. Regional solidarity with Maghreb nations is advocated, and to a similar but lesser extent with the wider Arabic-speaking and Islamic world. France is depicted in two somewhat contradictory ways: negatively as a colonial oppressor, but positively as a cultural ally and model of development. Generally, European colonialism is heavily condemned, often in Marxist terms, while individual Europeans are often humanized. The United States receives mixed treatment – celebrated for diversity and innovation in some texts but often criticized as an imperialist power. Emerging powers like China are noted but underexplored. The overall tone supports global cooperation and intercultural dialogue, but Western powers are viewed with suspicion in reference to economic dominance, sometimes bordering on conspiratorial. Recent geopolitical nuances and conflicts are largely avoided, with the exception of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Women and Gender Equality

Tunisia's curriculum strongly reflects the country's legacy of promoting gender equality, particularly under Habib Bourguiba. Textbooks celebrate legal reforms banning polygamy, ensuring equal divorce rights, and promoting education for girls. Women are often depicted in modern roles and attire, sometimes even in bikinis. Female empowerment is consistently praised, and students are taught that women's rights are central to Tunisia's development. However, remnants of traditional gender stereotypes persist, especially in domestic roles, and there is no mention of sexual or gender minorities. The general trend is one of progressive reform and national pride, but the lack of inclusivity for LGBTQ+ individuals and the presence of some critiques of Western feminism suggest that progress remains incomplete.

Jews and Judaism

Of the non-Islamic groups represented in the curriculum, Jews receive special attention and are presented in a dual approach. On the one hand, Jews are individually respected through Islamic principles of tolerance, and historical Jewish presence in Tunisia is generally acknowledged. There are sporadic references to interreligious coexistence in Kairouan and Jewish heritage in Djerba, although there is insufficient factual information on Jewish beliefs and history. Christians, though mentioned less frequently, are treated in a similar way and are at times grouped together with Jews. By contrast, when Jews are depicted, it is often through antisemitic tropes—portrayed as greedy, manipulating the economy and media, or the conspirators behind imperialism. Zionism is vilified as a colonialist scheme, and the Holocaust is addressed in vague and indirect terms, despite Tunisia's direct experience with Nazi occupation. Hitler is sometimes described in favorable terms, and Holocaust denial is indirectly legitimized through uncritical citations of figures like Roger Garaudy. The lack of accurate Holocaust education and continued inclusion of antisemitic content stands in stark contrast to the otherwise moderate and inclusive curriculum.

Israel, Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict

The curriculum devotes significant attention to the Arab-Israeli conflict and the history of the Palestinian issue, without discussing Tunisia's role in the conflict. Zionism is framed as an imperialist project devoid of any legitimacy, either historical or religious. The curriculum presents Israel almost exclusively in negative terms; Israel rarely appears on maps and is often referred to as "the Zionist Entity," its internationally-recognized territory is described as "Occupied Palestine," and its existence regularly challenged. However, in few instances, Israel is acknowledged by name in texts and map legends. Palestinian nationalist violence against Israelis is often glorified as heroic, and historic instances of this violence, such as the 1972 Munich Olympic massacre, are celebrated. Israeli actions are consistently framed as savage or oppressive, with no mention of equivalent misconduct by Palestinians. Some textbooks include official Israeli documents (e.g., the Declaration of Independence), but these are presented without context. A few minor corrections or factual mentions aside, the curriculum overwhelmingly delegitimizes Israel. Unlike other chapters, where peace and tolerance are central, those values are largely abandoned in this context, and historic instances of the Arab-Israeli peace process are presented unfavorably.

Methodology

IMPACT-se's goal is to provide an assessment of a given nation's curriculum, by analyzing as many textbooks as possible, and ascertaining whether the material conforms to international educational standards in the fields of education for tolerance and peace, whether the "Other" is recognized and accepted or stereotyped and demonized, and, if a conflict exists, whether peaceful conflict resolution is advocated. This is done using strict academic research criteria based on UNESCO and UN declarations, as well as other recommendations and documents on peace and tolerance education. The findings of IMPACT-se research are published and used to bring about change in curricula through policy makers, international organizations, civil society and public opinion.

IMPACT-se undertakes a rigorous verification process to ensure that the report accurately analyzes textbooks from the Tunisian Republic's official curriculum, and that the latest available edition of each textbook was analyzed. This ensures that all cited examples of educational content found in this report are current and actively used in classrooms in Tunisia. Textbooks were acquired from the official website of the National Pedagogical Center (*Centre National Pédagogique*, henceforth CNP; in Arabic: *al-markaz al-waṭanī al-bīdāgūjī*),[12] a public body legally entrusted under the Tunisian Ministry of Education to publish and disseminate school textbooks and educational content.[13] For the 2025–2026 school year, CNP claimed to have undertaken the printing and dissemination of 206 textbook titles for students in over 15 million copies, alongside additional textbooks for teachers and for members of the Tunisian diaspora[14] CNP registers approved textbooks in an official list[15] and maintains digital editions of those textbooks on its website, freely available for download.[16]

While the digital editions of textbooks provided by CNP all bear the Tunisian Ministry of Education and CNP's signature on their cover page – affirming their authenticity and official status – they lack a year of printing or any indication of the school year their use is approved for. This creates some ambiguity as to how current those editions are, and makes it especially difficult to monitor changes made to them over time. To reflect this ambiguity, textbook citations throughout this report do not specify year of printing, and other bibliographical information is provided instead in the List of Analyzed Textbooks. However, the textbooks cited in this report have been acquired throughout the 2024–2025 school year and thus are assumed to be up to date as of that year. Moreover, a comparison with textbooks cited in IMPACT-se's 2009 report reveals that many of CNP's currently available textbooks have seen little or no change since that time.[17] It can therefore be assessed that the analyzed textbooks are currently used in Tunisian schools, and that they will likely not see major modifications in the 2025–2026 school year.

12 "الصفحة الرئيسية (main page)," Centre National Pédagogique. Accessed 11 August 2025. https://www.cnp.com.tn/arabic/index.htm

13 "Qui sommes nous ? (who are we?)," Centre National Pédagogique. Accessed 11 August 2025. https://www.cnp.com.tn/french/presentationCNP.htm

14 "العودة المدرسية 2025–2026 (back to school 2025–2026)," Centre National Pédagogique. Accessed 11 August 2025. https://www.cnp.com.tn/arabic/manuels-scolaires/25-26/25-26.htm

15 "قائمة الكتب المدرسية (school textbook list)," Centre National Pédagogique. Accessed 11 August 2025. https://www.cnp.com.tn/arabic/annee-actuelle/listeOfficielle.htm

16 "تحميل الكتب و الوثائق البيداغوجية (download textbooks and pedagogical documents)," Centre National Pédagogique. Accessed 11 August 2025. https://www.cnp.com.tn/CNP1/web/arabic/biblio/man-eleves.jsp

17 See for example: History (Sciences Track), Grade 12, p. 269, which is featured both in this report and our 2009 report (Groiss, Peace and the "Other", p. 17); https://www.impact-se.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Tunisia_Final2009.pdf at the time the textbook was dated 2007, and seemingly has seen no changes as of 2024–2025.

IMPACT-se's research goal is to provide an accurate and comprehensive assessment of a national system's school curriculum, by analyzing a large quantity of textbooks using international standards based on UNESCO and UN declarations as well as other international recommendations and documents on education for peace and tolerance. During research, the textbooks are read thoroughly and individual examples are selected on the basis of relevance to research and criteria. The examples are then analyzed as is, without interpretation or paraphrasis, by trained experts and linguists, in terms of both their content and their didactic significance. Finally, the examples are generalized to establish the examples' significance in the overall narrative, determining the curriculum's adherence (or lack thereof) to international standards of peace and tolerance education.

Textbook research is a highly effective means to understand how the "Self" and the "Other" in a given society are conceptualized through educational materials. Two established approaches to qualitative textbook analysis are generally employed: content analysis, which examines the text itself, i.e. what it says in plain terms; and discourse analysis, which examines the language, narrative and context of the text, while paying close attention to omissions, contradictions and assumptions embedded in the text. This latter method provides insight into coded or implicit messaging. Elements of historical, political and religious background are also considered when they are deemed to provide further context. IMPACT-se research uses both methods simultaneously and in a complementary manner, thus allowing to reliably uncover the significance of the text and how it may be perceived by the intended reader, i.e. the student, and minimize the observer bias on the part of the researcher.

The diverse nature of textual analysis necessitates clearly defined scope and parameters. As such, the methods of textual analysis mentioned above are employed with a focus on pre-defined topics and themes. To assess compliance with international educational standards, textbooks are approached with attention to the conceptualization of the "Self" and the "Other" in environments of conflict, and messages involving violence and incitement to violence; hate and intolerance; and peace and peaceful conflict resolution. These issues may be identified with the help of research questions, which serve as suggested leads and prompts for the researcher in exploring the context, aspects, significance and potential ramifications of a specific content example.[18] Also explored are issues that arise from the source material itself, such as culture- or nation-specific issues. For example, the identity of the "Other" differs from one society to another, and in many cases there are multiple groups of people labeled as such; the "Other" may be ethnic, religious, racial, national, socio-economic, gender, sexual, or any combination of the above. As such, each corpus of textbooks requires a unique set of criteria for identifying and collating content examples.

To ensure accuracy, research is conducted while taking into account known limitations and constraints. Since the contents of school curricula are created by multiple individuals and inconsistencies may occur even within a single textbook, the sample of textbooks to be researched is generally aimed to be as large as possible, encompassing multiple school grades and subjects. Favoring large samples also allows for a more accurate analysis of discourse and narrative that can only be perceived on a macro level, to pinpoint gaps and oversights, reach meaningful conclusions and facilitate actionable recommendations. Textbooks are selected for research after a preliminary study, on the basis of their verified use within the national education system and their assessed potential for relevance to pre-defined research topics.

In its assessment of educational materials, IMPACT-se employs UNESCO and other UN declarations, as well as international recommendations and documents on education for peace and tolerance. The use of internationally-recognized standards allows for an objective, empirical and fair analysis of a wide range of educational materials from diverse societies, mitigating political, national or religious biases on the part of the researcher and preventing prejudice towards any particular group of people. The use of these standards for evaluating educational content has been endorsed by bodies of the European Union, among others.[19] These standards are as follows:

18 Arnon Groiss, "Researching Schoolbooks of Societies in Conflict: Suggested Study Questions," 2013. https://www.impact-se.org/research-questions-2/;
also see suggested frameworks for the application of research questions in identifying violence and intolerance in textbook research:
Georg Eckert Institute, "Inception Report for a Study on Palestinian Textbooks," 12 April 2019, pp. 20–21, deposited in UK Parliament Libraries 16 June 2020, ref. no. DEP2020-0322. https://depositedpapers.parliament.uk/depositedpaper/2282265/files

19 European Parliament, Resolution with Observations Forming an Integral Part of the Decisions on Discharge in Respect of the Implementation of the General Budget of the European Union for the Financial Year 2022, Section III – Commission and Executive Agencies (2023/2129(DEC)), 11 April 2024, item no. 198. https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-9-2024-0228_EN.pdf

1. **RESPECT:** The curriculum should promote tolerance, understanding and respect toward the "Other," his or her culture, achievements, values and way of life.[20]

2. **INDIVIDUAL OTHER:** The curriculum should foster personal attachment toward the "Other" as an individual, his or her desire to be familiar, loved and appreciated.[21]

3. **NO HATE:** The curriculum should be free of wording, imagery and ideologies likely to create prejudices, misconceptions, stereotypes, misunderstandings, mistrust, racial hatred, religious bigotry and national hatred, as well as any other form of hatred or contempt for other groups or peoples.[22]

4. **NO INCITEMENT:** The curriculum should be free of language, content, and imagery that disseminate ideas or theories which justify or promote acts and expressions of violence, incitement to violence, hostility, harm and hatred toward other national, ethnic, racial or religious groups.[23]

5. **PEACEMAKING:** The curriculum should develop capabilities for non-violent conflict resolution and promote peace.[24]

6. **UNBIASED INFORMATION:** Educational materials (textbooks, workbooks, teachers' guides, maps, illustrations, aids) should be up-to-date, accurate, complete, balanced and unprejudiced, and use equal standards to promote mutual knowledge and understanding between different peoples.[25]

7. **GENDER IDENTITY AND REPRESENTATION:** The curriculum should foster equality, mutual respect, and should aim for equal representation between individuals regardless of their gender identity. It should also refrain from language, content, and imagery that depicts limiting and/or exclusionary gender roles.[26]

8. **SEXUAL ORIENTATION:** The curriculum should be free of language, content, and imagery that promulgates violence or discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.[27]

9. **SOUND PROSPERITY and COOPERATION:** The curriculum should educate for sound and sustainable economic conduct and preservation of the environment for future generations. It should encourage regional and local cooperation to that effect.[28]

20 As defined in the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance Proclaimed and signed by Member States of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, Articles 1, 4.2. See also the UN Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding Between Peoples (1965), Principles I, III. Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948): Education shall be directed to the full development of human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial and religious groups and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

21 The goal of education for peace is the development of universally recognized values in an individual, regardless of different socio-cultural contexts. See Ibid., Article 6. See also, on exchanges between youth, the UN Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples (1965), Principles IV, V.

22 Based on Ibid., Articles III.6, IV.7 and VII.39; and on the Integrated Framework for Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy, approved by the General Conference of UNESCO at its twenty-eighth session, Paris, November 1995, Article 18.2.

23 As defined in Article 4 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), adopted by the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2106 (XX) on December 21, 1965. See also Article 20 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), adopted by the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2200A (XXI) on December 16, 1966.

24 Based on the Integrated Framework for Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy, approved by the General Conference of UNESCO at its twenty-eighth session, Paris, November 1995, Article 9; and on the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance proclaimed and signed by member states of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, Article 5.

25 Based on UNESCO recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, adopted by the General Conference at its eighteenth session, Paris, November 19, 1974, Article V.14.

26 The preamble to the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance proclaimed and signed by member states of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, notes the Convention on the Elimination of Any Form of Discrimination against Women and emphasizes respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to gender.

27 Based on Resolutions 32/2 (adopted June 30, 2016) and 17/19 (adopted July 14, 2011) of the UN Human Rights Council, and numerous UN General Assembly resolutions expressing concern and condemnation of laws and practices around the world which target individuals based on their gender identity and/or sexual orientation for discrimination, violence, and even extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions—all of which contradict the most basic principles of the UN and have no place in education.

28 Based on UNESCO recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, adopted by the General Conference at its eighteenth session, Paris, November 19, 1974, Articles III.6, and IV.7. On the imperative for developing "systematic and rational tolerance teaching methods that will address the cultural, social, economic, political and religious sources of intolerance," see the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance proclaimed and signed by member states of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, Article 4.2. On education for international cooperation, see also the UN Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples (1965), Principle II.

The abovementioned standards are applied by the researcher in conjunction with specific guidelines for textbook development promoted by UNESCO itself. These include the following:

1. Treating textbooks as a tool for facilitating teaching and learning processes that foster peace, equality and mutual understanding;[29]
2. The integration of human rights principles and pedagogical processes that teach peaceful conflict resolution, non-discrimination and other practices and attitudes for "learning to live together";[30]
3. Incorporation of content that is free from harmful gender, religious and other stereotypes,[31] or generalizations that may oversimplify the representation of other groups or set one group against the other.[32]
4. Adherence to factual information on other groups in a manner that facilitates understanding, providing neutral information about controversies[33] and rejecting denial or distortion of proven historical facts;[34]
5. The promotion of peace, with attention to the emotive level of words, attitudes to different groups of people and nations, identifying and countering hate speech, and managing conflict through dialogue;[35]
6. The promotion of peace-building, that is, a broader concept of "positive peace" that is an expression of the fundamental dignity of and respect for life;[36]
7. The use of tools such as literature to foster tolerance and empathy, helping students to see the world from the perspective of other people and to experience how others feel;[37]
8. The incorporation of real-life examples in science and mathematics to promote sustainable development, discarding impertinent political, violent, or conflict-oriented messaging,[38] and employing STEM subjects to build bridges between communities and transcend frontiers;[39]

29 *Textbooks and Learning Resources: Guidelines for Developers and Users* (Paris: UNESCO, 2014), p. 12. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000226135_eng

30 *A Comprehensive Strategy for Textbooks and Learning Materials* (Paris: UNESCO, 2005), p. 11. https://inee.org/sites/default/files/resources/UNESCO-Comprehensive_Strategy_for_Textbooks_2005.pdf

31 Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development, *Textbooks for Sustainable Development: A Guide to Embedding* (New Delhi: UNESCO, 2017), p. 29. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000259932

32 *Making Textbook Content Inclusive: A Focus on Religion, Gender, and Culture* (Paris: UNESCO, 2017), p. 13. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000247337

33 *Making Textbook Content Inclusive: A Focus on Religion, Gender, and Culture* (Paris: UNESCO, 2017), pp. 15–16. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000247337

34 *Recommendation on Education for Peace and Human Rights, International Understanding, Cooperation, Fundamental Freedoms, Global Citizenship and Sustainable Development* (UNESCO: Paris, 2023), p. 9. https://www.unesco.org/en/legal-affairs/recommendation-education-peace-and-human-rights-international-understanding-cooperation-fundamental?hub=87862

35 Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development, *Textbooks for Sustainable Development: A Guide to Embedding* (New Delhi: UNESCO, 2017), p. 166. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000259932

36 *Textbooks and Learning Resources: A Framework for Policy Development* (Paris: UNESCO, 2014), p. 21. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000232222

37 Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development, *Textbooks for Sustainable Development: A Guide to Embedding* (New Delhi: UNESCO, 2017), p. 175. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000259932

38 Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development, *Textbooks for Sustainable Development: A Guide to Embedding* (New Delhi: UNESCO, 2017), pp. 37–42, 67–100. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000259932

39 *Recommendation on Education for Peace and Human Rights, International Understanding, Cooperation, Fundamental Freedoms, Global Citizenship and Sustainable Development* (UNESCO: Paris, 2023), p. 9. https://www.unesco.org/en/legal-affairs/recommendation-education-peace-and-human-rights-international-understanding-cooperation-fundamental?hub=87862

9. Combating sexism and unequal gender representation in textbooks;[40]

10. Appropriateness to age and the mental wellbeing of students.[41]

In addition, IMPACT-se takes the following two criteria into consideration when assessing educational materials' compliance with international standards:

1. Educational material should respect international law, relevant resolutions, previous agreements and obligations. This may include, for example, the principle of a negotiated two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

2. Educational material should be void of antisemitic content, which is to be evaluated on the basis of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) working definition of antisemitism.[42]

40 Carole Brugeilles and Sylvie Cromer, *Promoting Gender Equality through Textbooks: A Methodological Guide* (Paris: UNESCO, 2009). https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000158897_eng

41 Recommendation on Education for Peace and Human Rights, International Understanding, Cooperation, Fundamental Freedoms, Global Citizenship and Sustainable Development (UNESCO: Paris, 2023), pp. 8, 10. https://www.unesco.org/en/legal-affairs/recommendation-education-peace-and-human-rights-international-understanding-cooperation-fundamental?hub=87862

42 International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), Non-Legally Binding Working Definition of Antisemitism. https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/resources/working-definitions-charters/working-definition-antisemitism
Endorsed by the European Commission, Council, and Parliament as a "useful tool, in particular for education and training purposes for teachers, NGOs, state authorities and the media"
European Commission, "Definition of antisemitism", 2021; https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/combatting-discrimination/racism-and-xenophobia/combating-antisemitism/definition-antisemitism_en
European Parliament, Resolution on combating anti-Semitism (2017/2692(RSP)), 1 June 2017; https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-8-2017-0243_EN.html
Council of the European Union, "Fight against antisemitism: Council declaration," 6 December 2018. https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2018/12/06/fight-against-antisemitism-council-declaration/

Tunisian History and Identity

The discussion of modern Tunisian history and national identity in the surveyed textbooks is clear and straightforward, reflecting the country's assured self-perception. Unlike other countries in the Middle East and North Africa, Tunisia's identity developed naturally over time, evolving into a cohesive society before the advent of French colonial rule in 1881.

The economic deterioration that preceded the French invasion is clearly presented, along with the Tunisian reform efforts intended to stabilize the country and ward off the growing colonial threat. While the colonial era is discussed in the surveyed textbooks, the presentation could be expanded to cover more areas in which Tunisia developed and changed under French rule.

The anti-colonial struggle for independence is also outlined, albeit in a rather circumspect manner, without providing a more comprehensive overview and nuanced analysis. Tunisia's post-independence era is presented to students, with mixed reviews of the country's first president, Habib Bourguiba's rule and legacy, while the authoritarian regime of Bourguiba's successor, Zayn al-Abidine Ben Ali, is completely absent from the texts. More than ten years after the revolution that removed Ben Ali from power and overthrew his regime, one would assume it possible to incorporate that era into Tunisian schools' curriculum. However, given the current political situation in Tunisia, following President Kais Saied's 2021 measures to strengthen the presidency at the expense of other branches of government, clamp down on opposition politicians, and curb civil liberties. It is unlikely that the government or society is in a position to critically revisit that period and its aftermath.

Tunisian Cosmopolitan Identity

It was Ernest Gellner who noted that Tunisians "feel quite at home in their own cultural skin,"[43] which is evident in the confident discussion of Tunisian identity in school textbooks. A Grade 9 Social Subjects textbook introduces students to the several main components of Tunisian identity, which include Islamic tradition, Arab culture, and having an openness to the other. Students are further presented with features of those components, which underpin public life, including tolerance, moderation, and embracing innovation.

Emphasizing national values, the lesson explains that the components that constitute Tunisian identity derive from "the location of our country in a region that was the cradle of major human civilizations." There are no evident qualms with these components of Tunisian identity, or suggested alternatives, which presents a comfortability with embracing core tenets of Islamic culture, as well as a tolerance of societal differences.

• تتكامل في إطار الهوية الوطنية انتماءات وصفات أبرزها :
- الدين الإسلامي (العقيدة، العبادات، دور العبادة، الفقه الإسلامي، القيم الإسلامية، الأعياد الدينية، التقاليد الدينية ...)
- الثقافة العربية (العربية اللغة الرسمية، لغة التخاطب، لغة الإبداع الأدبي والشعري، لغة الإعلام والفنون ...)
- العادات الاجتماعية (شكل اللباس، إعداد الطعام، التّحية وأسلوب الكلام، الفنون الشعبية...)
- القيم الوطنية : إنّ موقع بلادنا في منطقة كانت مهد حضارات إنسانية كبرى، أهّل شعبنا ليكون :
- منفتحا على الآخر ومتفاعلا معه (التفتح على لغات العالم والتفاعل مع ثقافات الشعوب الأخرى)
- محبًا للتجديد والاجتهاد (الحركة الإصلاحية في القرن 19، مجلة الأحوال الشخصية ...)
- متسامحا ومعتدلا ... (نبذ العنف، الوفاق الوطني، التضامن الوطني ...)
• الهوية ليست شيئا ثابتا ومغلقا وإنما هي ذات إ نسانية متحولة ومتجددة بحسب تجدد حاجات المجتمع ومتطلباته.
• المجتمع المتماسك والمستقر والمنتج والديمقراطي يحافظ على هويته ويوفر لها أسباب النمو والتقدم.

Social Subjects: History, Geography, Civics, Grade 9. p. 245

** Within the framework of national identity, there are several affiliations and characteristics, most notably:*

- Islamic Religion (beliefs, rituals, places of worship, Islamic jurisprudence, Islamic values, religious holidays, and traditions...)

- Arab Culture (Arabic as the official language, the language of communication, literary and poetic creativity, the language of media and arts...)

- Social Customs (clothing styles, food preparation, greetings and manner of speaking, folk arts...)

- National Values: The location of our country in a region that was the cradle of major human civilizations has qualified our people to be:

- Open to others and interactive with them (openness to world languages and interaction with other cultures).

- Innovative and diligent (e.g., the reform movement in the 19th century, the Personal Status Code...).

- Tolerant and moderate (rejecting violence, embracing national unity, and fostering solidarity).

** Identity is not static or closed; rather, it is a dynamic and evolving human construct shaped by the changing needs and demands of society.*

** A cohesive, sustainable, productive, and democratic society preserves its identity while ensuring its growth and progress.*

43 Ernest Gellner, Muslim Society, Paperback Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 95.

Tunisia is presented as "a bridge between Eastern and Mediterranean" cultures, and geographically between Europe and Africa. This portrayal of Tunisia further asserts that the country is open to a multiplicity of cultures and the differences contained within them, and has retained this openness for generations. This implies that moderation and acceptance of otherness is not a new concept in Tunisia, and instead is an entrenched ideal, contributing to Tunisia's cosmopolitanism.

مثلّث البلاد التّ ونسيّة منذ أقدم العصور جسرا بين الحضارات الشرقيّة والمتوسّطيّة وبين أوروبا وإفريقيا عبر الصحراء .وهيّ تستمدّ هذا الدور الهام من موقعها الجغرافي المتميّز بانفتاحها على البحر المتوسّط من واجهتين وامتدادها داخل القارّة الإفريقية واتّصالها ببقيّة بلاد المغرب، وهو مَا يُفسّر ظهور كلّ الأشكال الحضاريّة لعصور مـ ـا قبل التّ اريخ بها قبل أن تدخل الفترة التّ اريخيّة مع قدوم الفنيقيين من الشرق في نهاية الألف الثّانية قبل الميلاد(تأسيس" أوتيقا .)"

History, Grade 10, p. 6

Since ancient times, Tunisia has served as a bridge between Eastern and Mediterranean civilizations, as well as between Europe and Africa across the Sahara. This significant role is derived from its strategic geographic location, with its openness to the Mediterranean Sea from two fronts, its extension into the African continent, and its connection to the rest of the Maghreb. This explains the emergence of all forms of prehistoric civilizations in the region before it entered the historical period with the arrival of the Phoenicians from the East at the end of the second millennium BCE (founding of Utica).

Ancient Carthaginian Civilization as an Exemplar

The ancient Carthaginian civilization is one of the most emblematic features of Tunisia's ancient history, a fact which is emphasized in Tunisian textbooks.[44]

Textbooks present Carthage in a way that one may perceive it as a prefiguration of Tunisia. When teaching about the Punic-Roman wars, the land and territory is presented as "Tunisian".[45] The grade 7 Arabic Language textbook presents to students a historic outlook to their Phoenician Carthaginian heritage, describing the vibrant city life that one imagines visiting the ruins of the city, situated "twenty kilometers from the capital Tunis".

المحور الرابع: تونس الجميلة

2 - صُوَرٌ مِنَ الماضي والحاضر

عن سليمان مظهر
مجلة (العربي) عدد 414 مايو 1993

عَلَى أَطْلال (قَرْطَاجَ) الوَاقِعَة عَلَى مَسَافَة عشْرِينَ كِيلُومِتْرًا مِنَ العَاصِمة تونس، وَقَفْنَا نستعيد المَاضِيَ البَعيد، ونتأمّلُ صُورة المَدِينَة العَظِيمَة الَّتِي أَطْلَقَ عَلَيْهَا وَمَا جَاوَرَهَا بَعْدَ انْتِصَارَاتِهَا اسْمَ (إِمبراطُورِيَّة إِفْرِيقِيَا). وبَيْنَ مَابَقِي مِنَ الأَعْمِدَة وَالأَحْجَار، نَكَادُ نَسْمَعُ قَعْقَعَةَ الأَسْلِحَة وَهِيَ تَتَبَارَزُ فِي مَعَارِكَ القَرْطَاجِيِّينَ ضِدَّ الغُزَاة، وَتَتَرَدَّدُ فِي آذَانِنَا هُتَافَاتُ المُنْتَصِرِينَ وَضَرَبَاتُ مَجَادِيفِهِمْ وَهُمْ يَبْسُطُونَ نُفُوذَهُمْ عَلَى امْتِدَادِ السَّاحِلِ الجَنُوبِيِّ لِلْمُتَوَسِّطِ... وَنَسِيرُ بَيْنَ الأَطْلال: كُلُّ شَيْءٍ هُنَا يَفُوحُ مِنْهُ عَبَقُ التَّارِيخِ وَعَلَى رَجْعِ الصَّدَى وَحَفِيفِ أَمْوَاجِ البَحْرِ وَانْطِلَاقِ الرِّيحِ الَّذِي طَالَمَا حَرَّكَ السُّفُنَ وَمَلَأَ القِلَاعَ، نَتَجَوَّلُ فِي أَنْحَاءِ المَدِينَةِ الدَّارِسَةِ فَتَتَوَالَى فِي أَذْهَانِنَا صُوَرٌ يَمْتَزِجُ فِيهَا المَاضِي بِالحَاضِرِ... هُنَا جَنُوبًا، نَقِفُ عِنْدَ (حَلْقِ الوَادِي) بِحِصْنِهِ الَّذِي ظَلَّ صَامِدًا طَوَالَ خَمْسَةَ قُرُونٍ. وَعَلَى مَسَافَةٍ يَسِيرَةٍ تَسْتَلْقِي (صَالَمبُو) بِمَوَانِيهَا البُونِيقِيَّةِ وَمَسَاكِنِهَا نَاصِعَةِ البَيَاضِ وَحَدَائِقِهَا الغَنَّاءِ، وَهُنَاكَ شَمَالًا، مِينَاءُ (سِيدِي بُوسَعِيد) بِأَرْصِفَتِهِ الوَاسِعَةِ وَنُقُوشِ أَبْوَابِهِ الزَّرْقَاءِ وَدِيَارِهِ البَيْضَاءِ وَمَنَارَتِهِ الشَّهِيرَةِ وَنَتَّجِهُ إِلَى (المَرْسَى) حَيْثُ قُصُورُ بَايَاتِ تُونُسَ الصَّيْفِيَّةُ الَّتِي تَحَوَّلَ أَغْلَبُهَا إِلَى مَعَالِمَ يَقْصِدُهَا الزُّوَّارُ وَنُوَادٍ تَتَرَدَّدُ فِي أَرْجَائِهَا الأَنْغَامُ الأَصِيلَةُ.

معجمي
معجمي: ابحث عن معاني الكلمات الآتية: قعقعة - عبق - شحنة.

Arabic Language (Al-Anis), Grade 7, p. 120

On the ruins of Carthage, situated twenty kilometers from the capital Tunis, we stood to revisit the distant past and contemplate the image of the great city, which after its victories was named alongside its vicinities "the Empire of Africa".

The throwback to textbook discussion of Carthaginian identity acknowledges the native Berber identity. For example, a reading comprehension textbook for Grade 6 students portrays the arrival of the Phoenician Queen Dido to Tunisia and warm welcome she received by its native Berbers. The Berber representative, signifying native Tunisian identity, thus embraces the Phoenician newcomer, which culminates in the new Tunisian Carthaginian civilization. This welcoming of newcomers and alternative cultures emphasizes acceptance of the other, and the historical continuity of this tradition from ancient times to modernity. In another example from the same textbook, students are taught about the Carthaginian the general and statesman Hannibal, who is presented as both a brave warrior and a man of excellent morals.

44 *Social subjects* - History, Geography and Civics, Grade 5, pp. 30-32.

45 *Social Subjects*, Grade 7, pp. 53-68

– يُسْعِدُ بِلادَ ٱلْبَرْبَرِ وَسُكَّانَهَا أَنْ يُرَحِّبُوا بِمَقْدَمِكِ إِلَيْهِمْ أَيَّتُهَا ٱلْأَمِيرَةُ.
– أَشْكُرُ لَكَ، يَا جَنَابَ ٱلْحَاكِمِ، لُطْفَكَ وَحُسْنَ ٱسْتِقْبَالِكَ. إِنَّهُ لَيُبْهِجُنِي أَنْ أَرَاكَ تُمَكِّنُنَا مِنْ رَبْطِ صَدَاقَةٍ وَمَوَدَّةٍ نَعْتَزُّ بِهِمَا. وَإِذَا تَفَضَّلْتَ وَقَبِلْتَ مُشَارَكَتَنَا طَعَامَنَا

The World of Reading: Reader, Grade 6, p. 105

The Land of the Berbers and its inhabitants happily welcome your arrival, O Princess

I thank you, esteemed governor, for your grace and warm welcome. It gladdens me that you allow us to create bonds of friendship to be proud of [...]

53 - بَطَلٌ مِنْ قَرْطَاجَ

لَمْ يَكُنْ حَنِّبَعْلُ مُحَارِبًا بَارِعًا شُجَاعًا فَحَسْبُ، وَلَمْ يَكُنْ شُعُورُ ٱلْجُنُودِ ٱلْقَرْطَاجِيِّينَ مَقْصُورًا عَلَى ٱلْإِعْجَابِ بِشَجَاعَتِهِ وَنَبَاهَتِهِ فَقَطْ، بَلْ كَانُوا يُحِبُّونَهُ لِدَمَاثَةِ أَخْلَاقِهِ وَحُسْنِ مُعَامَلَتِهِ لَهُمْ، فَفِي غَيْرِ أَوْقَاتِ ٱلْحَرْبِ كَانَ هَادِئًا بَشُوشًا يَجْمَعُ، أَثْنَاءَ تَدْرِيبِهِ ٱلشُّبَّانَ، ٱلْحَزْمَ إِلَى ٱلْمُرُونَةِ. وَكَانَ يُوَاسِي ٱلْجَرْحَى بِنَفْسِهِ وَيَشْتَرِكُ فِي إِسْعَافِهِمْ وَلَوْ كَانُوا مِنْ أَعْدَائِهِ.

The World of Reading: Reader, Grade 6, p. 178-179

Hannibal was not only a skilled and brave warrior, and the feelings of Carthaginian soldiers were not limited to adoring his bravery and fame, but they also adored his gentleness, and kind treatment. Away from times of war he was relaxed and happy, and flexible when training the youth. He would attend to the wounded himself and assist them even if they were his enemies.

Duality toward French Colonialism

While narratives of acceptance are expressed in textbooks discussing Tunisia's cosmopolitanism, there is a duality with which its relationship with France is presented, criticizing colonial policies while avoiding direct accusations against France as a nation. A History textbook teaches about the pre-colonial economic crisis during the 1860s, in which Tunisia was forced to take more loans from European countries, which it was unable to repay, resulting in increased taxes on Tunisians. The textbook claims that the ensuing economic crisis weakened Tunisia's sovereignty and set the stage for increasing European intervention and "domination of the state's finances," culminating in the establishment of the French protectorate in 1881. This textbook presents French domination of Tunisia in a relatively objective manner, framing it as a causal chain of events that led European powers to dominate the Tunisian financial system. While it claims these loans 'brought no benefit' to Tunisia, casting the action itself in a somewhat negative light, it avoids presenting France or the French people in a hostile way.

* الأزمة المالية : إفلاس الدولة وخضوع البلاد للهيمنة المالية الأجنبية :
أمام تفاقم الاختلال في ميزانية الدولة نتيجة تقلّص الموارد الخارجيّة لجأ الباي إلى الترفيع في قيمة الضرائب مع إحداث ضرائب جديدة كما لجأ إلى تخفيض قيمة عملة الريال، لكن أمام استفحال هذا الخلل اعتمد سياسة التداين سواء القَرْض (غير المباشر) المتمثّل في السَّلم وهو عبارة عن بيع الدولة لزيت الزيتون للتجار قبل الانتاج أو

الاقتراض المباشر [8] بداية من 1862 من التجار والمرابين الأوروبيين المقيمين بتونس ومن البنوك الأوروبيّة مثل بنك أرلنجي Erlanger الفرنسي دون أن تعود هذه القروض بأيّة فائدة على البلاد بل أنّها مهّدت لهيمنة القوى الأوروبيّة على ماليّة الدولة من خلال إحداث اللّجنة الماليّة الدّوليّة أو الكومسيون المالي [9] للتحكم في الخزينة التونسيّة وضمان مصالح الدائنين الأوروبيين بعد أن تحققت هذه القوى من إفلاس البلاد وعدم قدرتها على تسديد ديونها.

History (Scientific Track), Grade 12, pp. 89-90.

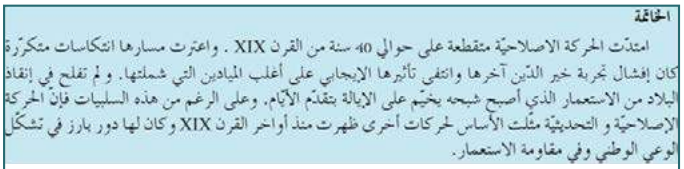
The Financial Crisis: State Bankruptcy and Foreign Financial Domination

Faced with a worsening imbalance in the state budget due to declining external resources, the Bey resorted to raising tax rates and introducing new taxes. Additionally, the value of the national currency, the rial, was devalued. However, as this imbalance became more severe, the state adopted a borrowing policy, both covert (indirect) and direct.

The covert borrowing was represented by the borrowing system, which involved the pre-sale of olive oil to merchants before production. Direct borrowing began in 1862 from European merchants and moneylenders residing in Tunisia, as well as from European banks such as the French Erlanger Bank.

These loans brought no benefit to the country and instead paved the way for European powers to dominate the state's finances. This was formalized through the establishment of the International Financial Commission (Commission Financière), which took control of the Tunisian treasury to secure the interests of European creditors. This domination was made possible after these powers confirmed the country's bankruptcy and inability to repay its debts.

In another example, the Grade 12 History textbook highlights efforts to ward off the growing foreign encroachment in the nineteenth century. These include social and legal reforms which "did not succeed" in "saving" the country from colonialism, but according to one textbook did help to shape national identity and later generated resistance to colonialism. On this subject, an example presents a quotation from Khayr al-Din, who led the Tunisian government in the late nineteenth century and championed the reform efforts. He is quoted as supporting scientific progress, and highlighting the achievements of the people of Europe in their systems of political justice. Overall, resistance to colonialism is championed, and the presentation of it as something the country required "saving" from, is a conclusively negative portrayal of the concept. However, the curriculum does not implicate French people, either historically or in the modern day for perpetuating this concept, and instead highlights European successes, implying them to be worthy of replication.



الخاتمة

امتدّت الحركة الاصلاحيّة متقطعة على حوالي 40 سنة من القرن XIX . واعترت مسارها انتكاسات متكرّرة كان إفشال تجربة خير الدّين آخرها وانتفى تأثيرها الايجابي على أغلب الميادين التي شملتها. و لم تفلح في إنقاذ البلاد من الاستعمار الذي أصبح شبحه يخيّم على الإيالة بتقدّم الأيّام. وعلى الرغم من هذه السلبيات فإنّ الحركة الإصلاحيّة و التحديثيّة مثّلت الأساس لحركات أخرى ظهرت منذ أواخر القرن XIX وكان لها دور بارز في تشكّل الوعي الوطني وفي مقاومة الاستعمار.

History (Literature, Economy and Management Tracks), Grade 12, 2023, p. 316.

Conclusion

The reform movement extended intermittently over about 40 years of the nineteenth century. Its path was plagued by repeated setbacks, the last of which was the failure of Khair Al-Din's experiment, and its positive impact on most of the fields it covered became null and void. It did not succeed in saving the country from colonialism, the specter of which began to loom over the Eyalet as days passed by. Despite these drawbacks, the reform and modernization movement were the basis for other movements that were appearing since the late nineteenth century and had a prominent role in shaping national awareness and resistance to colonialism.

3

"... ولايُتوهَم أنّ أهلها (أوروبا) وصلوا إلى ما وصلوا إليه بمزيد خصْب أو اعتدال في أقاليمهم... وإنّما بلغوا تلك الغايات والتقدّم في العلوم والصّناعات بالتنظيمات المؤسّسَة على العدل السّياسي... " .

خيرالدّين باشا، أقوم المسالك في معرفة أحوال الممالك ، تحقيق المنصف الشّنّوفي، بيت الحكمة،2000 ، م1، ص 104، 105.

4

"... فأيّ مانع لنا اليوم من أخْذ بعض المعارف التي نرى أنفسنا محتاجين إليها غاية الإحتياج... " .

خير الدّين باشا ،أقوم المسالك...،ص100.

History and Geography, Grade 6, p. 37.

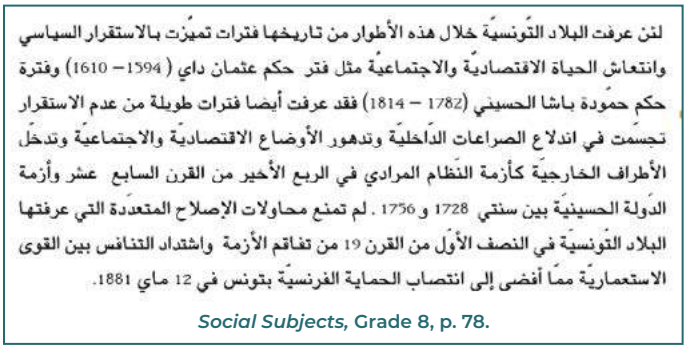
3. "One should not assume that the people of [Europe] achieved what they have due to greater fertility or moderation in their regions... Rather, they reached those heights and advancements in sciences and industries through systems founded on political justice."

— Khayr al-Din Pasha, The Surest Path to Understanding the Conditions of Nations, edited by Mansif al-Shannufi, Bayt al-Hikma, 2000 CE, pp. 104-150.

4. "So what prevents us today from acquiring some of the knowledge that we find ourselves in utmost need of?"

— Khayr al-Din Pasha, The Surest Path to Understanding the Conditions of Nations, p. 100.

The imposition of colonial rule and the establishment of the French protectorate is presented as inevitable. Most of the texts discussing Tunisian efforts to ward off colonial encroachment implicitly blame Tunisian rulers for weakness or incompetence, or as well-meaning but failed attempts at retaining independence. The example below corroborates this theme, and claims that the emergence of the protectorate was a product of internal failures to resolve crises.



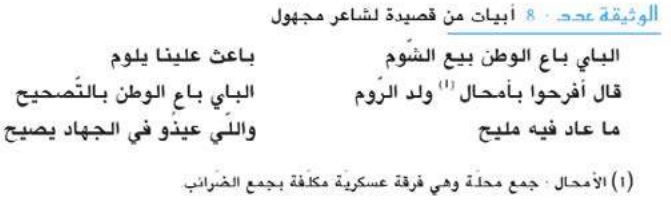
لئن عرفت البلاد التّونسيّة خلال هذه الأطوار من تاريخها فترات تميّزت بالاستقرار السياسي وانتعاش الحياة الاقتصاديّة والاجتماعيّة مثل فتر حكم عثمان داي (1594 – 1610) وفترة حكم حمّودة باشا الحسيني (1782 – 1814) فقد عرفت أيضا فترات طويلة من عدم الاستقرار تجسّمت في اندلاع الصراعات الدّاخليّة وتدهور الأوضاع الاقتصاديّة والاجتماعيّة وتدخّل الأطراف الخارجيّة كأزمة النّظام المرادي في الربع الأخير من القرن السابع عشر وأزمة الدّولة الحسينيّة بين سنتي 1728 و 1756 . لم تمنع محاولات الإصلاح المتعدّدة التي عرفتها البلاد التّونسيّة في النصف الأوّل من القرن 19 من تفاقم الأزمة واشتداد التنافس بين القوى الاستعماريّة ممّا أفضى إلى انتصاب الحماية الفرنسيّة بتونس في 12 ماي 1881.

Social Subjects, Grade 8, p. 78.

Although Tunisia experienced periods of political stability and economic and social prosperity during certain phases of its history—such as the rule of Othman Dey (1782-1814) and Hammouda Pasha al-Husseini (1782-1814)—it also endured long periods of instability. These were marked by internal conflicts, economic and social decline, and foreign intervention, such as during the crisis of the Muradid dynasty in the late 17th century and the crisis of the Husainid dynasty between 1728 and 1756.

The various reform attempts undertaken in Tunisia during the first half of the 19th century did not prevent the worsening of the crisis and the intensification of competition among colonial powers, ultimately leading to the establishment of French protectorate rule in Tunisia on May 12, 1881.

Textbooks generally lack detailed discussion of the protectorate, and have contrasting approaches to addressing French colonial rule. While many textbooks present the issue with a more neutral tone, an anonymous poem in a Grade 8 textbook takes a harsher and more violent approach. The textbook blames the Tunisian monarch (the *Bey*) for "selling the homeland," describes the French as "children of the Romans," and implicitly calls for a holy war (*jihad*), against them. It is worth noting that jihad is otherwise rarely mentioned in Tunisian textbooks, even in those dedicated to teaching Islamic education.


الوثيقة عدد 8 : أبيات من قصيدة لشاعر مجهول

الباي باع الوطن بيع الشّوم — باعث علينا يلوم

قال أفرحوا بأمحال [1] ولد الرّوم — الباي باع الوطن بالتّصحيح

ما عاد فيه مليح — واللّي عيدّو في الجهاد يصيح

(1) الأمحال : جمع محلّة وهي فرقة عسكريّة مكلّفة بجمع الضّرائب

***Social Subjects*, Grade 8, p. 111.**

Document No. 8: Verses from a Poem by an Unknown Poet
The Bey sold the homeland, a cursed sale,
Sending against us while making accusations
He said, "Rejoice in the amḥāl[46] of the Children of the Romans"
The Bey sold the homeland with the Reform,
which left nothing good,
And whoever eyes jihad, screams.

This more negative tone is corroborated by further discussion of the colonial rule in multiple textbooks. One Social Subjects text describes how colonial economic policy hurt Tunisians and impoverished them.[47]

It is noted in a History textbook that during the 1930s, France enacted labor laws that were applicable only to French workers, and colonial educational policies led to limited educational opportunities for Tunisians and high illiteracy amongst them at the time of the country's independence.[48] This presentation of colonialism highlights how French imposition has negatively impacted the country, driven by discriminatory policies during their rule.

In another example of anti-colonial tone, there is discussion of public Christian ceremonies such as the 1930 Eucharistic Conference. The Conference coincided with the centennial celebrations of the French invasion of Algeria, which was held in colonial Tunisia, disrespecting Tunisian Muslims. This is evident from a photograph of the ceremonies appearing in a Grade 13 textbook where Christian children are paraded dressed up as Crusaders wearing white cloaks with large crosses and bearing sword-shaped rods. This conveys how this event was etched in the country's collective psyche, as a religious based affront that spurred further Tunisian anti-colonial sentiments. In the same lesson, one reads an article excerpt in which the author criticizes the church's insistence on holding the ceremony on Islamic soil and under the "high patronage of an Islamic leader."

استعراض الشبان المسيحيين أثناء المؤتمر الأفخرستي المنعقد بقرطاج –ماي 1930

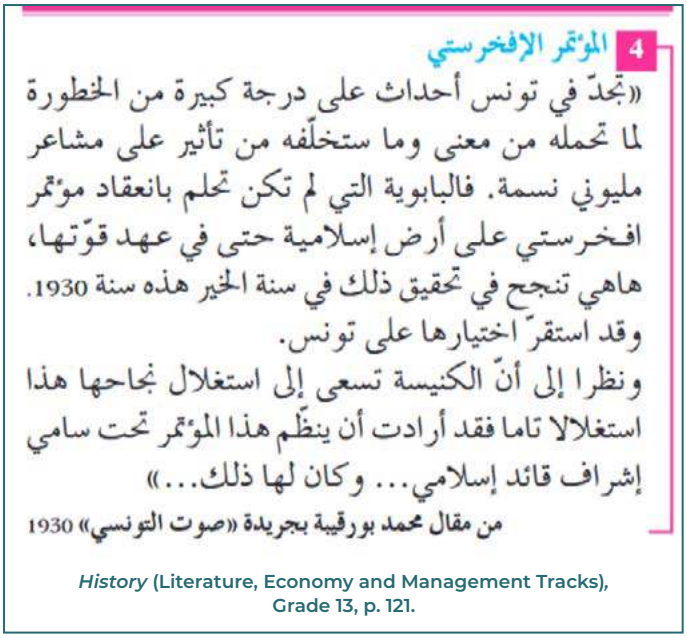
***History* (Literature, Economy and Management Tracks), Grade 13, p. 119.**

A presentation of Christian youth during the Eucharistic congress held in Carthage – May 1930.

46 Plural of *maḥala*, referring to military units assigned to collect taxes.

47 *Social Subjects*, Grade 9, p.17

48 *History* (Literature and Economy and Management Tracks), Grade 13, p, 124, 128; *History for Science Classes*, Grade 12, p. 244



4 المؤتمر الإفخرستي

«تجدّ في تونس أحداث على درجة كبيرة من الخطورة لما تحمله من معنى وما ستخلّفه من تأثير على مشاعر مليوني نسمة. فالبابوية التي لم تكن تحلم بانعقاد مؤتمر افخرستي على أرض إسلامية حتى في عهد قوّتها، هاهي تنجح في تحقيق ذلك في سنة الخير هذه سنة 1930. وقد استقرّ اختيارها على تونس.

ونظرا إلى أنّ الكنيسة تسعى إلى استغلال نجاحها هذا استغلالا تاما فقد أرادت أن ينظّم هذا المؤتمر تحت سامي إشراف قائد إسلامي... وكان لها ذلك...»

من مقال محمد بورقيبة بجريدة «صوت التونسي» 1930

History **(Literature, Economy and Management Tracks), Grade 13, p. 121.**

Eucharistic Congress

In Tunisia, events of great severity are unfolding, carrying significance and impact on the feelings of two million people. The papacy, which could never have dreamed of convening a Eucharistic Congress on Islamic soil even during its period of strength, has succeeded in achieving this in the year of grace, 1930. Tunisia was chosen as the venue.

Given that the Church seeks to fully exploit this success, it wished to have the congress organized under the high patronage of an Islamic leader... And it succeeded in this endeavor.

(From an article by Mohamed Bourguiba in the newspaper Voice of the Tunisian, 1930)

Extremist colonialists, as a Grade 12 History textbook asserts, believed in racial superiority and supported segregation in Tunisia. This is evident in a newspaper opinion piece penned by one such colonialist, who criticized the French government for enacting integrationist and egalitarian policies in colonial Tunisia, which contradicted his racist world view. This marks a presentation of the negative consequences of colonialism, without attributing certain values and ideas to France or the French people collectively, which bars against negative stereotyping. While the general contours of the Tunisian experiences under colonial rule are outlined in many textbooks, there is room for a more nuanced study of that period and its aftermath.

العنصرية الاستعمارية

"لقد كانت وستظل ثنائية الأعراق قائمة الذات في إفريقيا الشمالية ، وسيعيش الأوروبيون والعرب جنبا إلى جنب دون اختلاط أو تمازج ... لقد انساق حكامنا في اتجاه التيار السائد في فرنسا فارتكبوا أخطاء ثلاثة عندما أرادوا إدماج الأهالي عن طريق التعليم وإخضاعهم إلى قوانيننا أو جزء منها وبإعلان المساواة بينهم وبيننا ... ويستوجب على الإدارة أن تكون الأولى في تأكيد تفوّقهم (المعمرون) عوض التقليل من شأنهم باسم مبدأ لا يصحّ في تونس، وهو المساواة أمام الجباية.

فيكتور دي كارنيار، جريدة تونس الفرنسية 30 سبتمبر 1899.

* فيكتور دي كارنيار (Victor de Carnières) : ينتمي لفئة كبار المعمرين ويعتبر من غلاة الاستعمار ترأس الغرفة الفلاحية بالشمال وكان عضوا بالندوة الاستشارية، مميّز بمواقفه العنصرية ومناهضته لكلّ نفس وطني.

History **(Literature, Economy and Management Tracks), Grade 12, 2023, p. 338**

Colonial Racism

"There was and will remain a self-existing duality of races in North Africa, and Europeans and Arabs will live side by side without mixing or blending ... Our rules were drawn in the direction of the prevailing trend in France, and they made three mistakes when they wanted to integrate the people through education, subject them to our laws and declare equality between us and them … The administration must be the first to confirm their (the colonialists) superiority instead of belittling their status in the name of the principle of equality which is not valid in Tunisia."

Victor de Carnières, Tunisian French newspaper, September 30, 1899.

Victor de Carnières belonged to the senior colonialists and is considered as one of the extremists of colonialism. He headed the Agricultural Chamber of the North and was a member of the advisory symposium. He was distinguished by his racist positions and his opposition to every national aspiration.

Discussion of the nationalist struggle against colonial rule could also be improved. The emergence of Tunisia's Liberal Constitutional Party in 1920 is discussed, along with the party's demand for democratic separation of powers, greater equality and participation in the framework of the French protectorate. It is stressed that the party did not raise demands for independence, and that party activity diminished because of French repression. However, there is no mention of internal fissures within party ranks, and the rise of a new party elite that originated in the Sahel region that challenged the Constitutional party's Tunis-based elite.[49] This division led to an internal party schism in 1934, and the establishment of the Neo-Destour party in 1934, which is absent in the study of Tunisian nationalism in these textbooks; the omission of this aspect of French colonial history in Tunisia is important to highlight since colonial and anti-colonial attitudes were not homogenous.

49 Kenneth Perkins, *A History of Modern Tunisia, Second Edition*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 79–109.

2

مطالب الحزب الحرّ الدّستوري التّونسي:

1 مجلس 1 تفاوضي مشترك بين التّونسيين و الفرنسيّين...
2 حكومة مسؤولة أمام هذا المجلس.
3 الفصْلُ بين السّلط التّشريعيّة والقضائيّة والتّنفيذيّة.
4 قبول التّونسيّين في جميع الوظائف...
5 التّساوي المطلق في المرتبات بين التّونسيّين والفرنسيّين...
6 إنتخاب حرّ للمجالس البلديّة...
7 حريّة الصّحافة والإجتماع والمؤسّسات...
8 التّعليم الإجباري العامّ ...
9 مشاركةالتّونسيّين في ابتياع 2 الأراضي المخصّصة للمعمّرين.

أحمد توفيق المدني، حياة كفاح ،ج1 ،ص 186، 187.

1 مجلس: برلمان.
2 ابتياع : شراء.

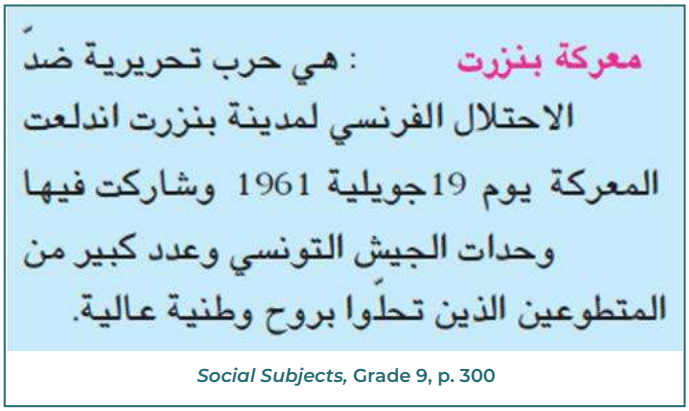
History and Geography, Grade 6, pp. 52–53 .

Demands of the Tunisian Liberal Constitutional Party:

1. *A joint parliamentary (negotiation) council between Tunisians and the French.*
2. *A government accountable to this council.*
3. *Separation of legislative, judicial, and executive powers.*
4. *Acceptance of Tunisians in all job positions.*
5. *Absolute equality in salaries between Tunisians and the French.*
6. *Free elections for municipal councils.*
7. *Freedom of the press, assembly, and associations.*
8. *General compulsory education.*
9. *Allowing Tunisians to purchase lands allocated to settlers.*

Source: Ahmed Tawfik al-Madani, Life of Struggle, Vol. 1, pp. 186–187.

Seeking to impart a patriotic commitment to protecting Tunisia, a Grade 9 textbook contains a lesson titled "duty to defend the homeland," which emphasizes the civil duty to defend the homeland and fight colonialism, as Tunisians did in the past during the battle of Bizerte (1961). The battle is seen as a major milestone in country's history, stating that it was "a liberation war against the French occupation" in which soldiers and volunteers "demonstrated a high sense of patriotism." This example promotes liberation wars to end colonialism as a form of patriotism, which could endorse violent narratives within this specific historical context.



معركة بنزرت : هي حرب تحريرية ضدّ الاحتلال الفرنسي لمدينة بنزرت اندلعت المعركة يوم 19جويلية 1961 وشاركت فيها وحدات الجيش التونسي وعدد كبير من المتطوعين الذين تحلّوا بروح وطنية عالية.

Social Subjects, Grade 9, p. 300

The Battle of Bizerte was a liberation war against the French occupation of the city of Bizerte. The battle broke out on July 19, 1961, involving units of the Tunisian army and a large number of volunteers who demonstrated a high sense of patriotism.

While key figures of Tunisia's anti-colonial struggle are introduced to Tunisian students, including Ferhat Hachad, Salah Ben Yusuf, and Habib Bourguiba, it is Bourguiba who receives the most attention,[50] leaving little room for understanding alternative political figures and movements that appeared during that period.

50 *History* (Literature and Economy and Management Tracks), Grade 13, pp. 252–271.

Post-Independence History and Leadership

Content about Tunisia's post-independence history features discussions concerning abolishing the monarchy and the establishment of a republic, along with framing its new constitution.

5 جلاء القوّات الفرنسيّة عن بنزرت في 15 أكتوبر 1963.

6

من قانون 12 ماي 1964 :

" ابتداء من صدور هذا القانون لا يمكِنُ أن يملك الأراضي الصّالحة للزّراعة إلاّ الأفراد من ذوي الجنسيّة التّونسيّة".

عن : كتاب المواد الاجتماعيّة لتلاميذ السّنة السّادسة من التّعليم الأساسي، م .ق .ب ، ص.59

History and Geography, Grade 6, pp. 64-65

The evacuation of French forces from Bizerte on October 15, 1963.

From the law of May 12, 1964: Starting from the issuance of this law, individuals who do not hold Tunisian nationality cannot own arable land [...]

There are mixed reviews of Bourguiba's rule as Tunisia's first president, reflecting the ambivalent sentiments about him harbored by many Tunisians. Topics such as his one-party rule, his appointment as "president for life," and the internal disputes between his close associates over succeeding him continue to overshadow his legacy. One textbook acknowledges that there were good times and bad times under his rule, and that despite his shortcomings, Tunisia recorded exceptional economic and social development during that era. Attention is given to Bourguiba's efforts to advance the status of women, promote progressive social legislation, and ban polygamy.[51] However, textbooks do not provide a varied account of his legacy and opposition to him.

More than a decade after the Tunisian revolution, which overthrew the long-presiding Zayn al-Abidine Ben Ali, the absence of extensive treatment of the quarter century- long Ben Ali era in Tunisian textbooks is noteworthy; the surveyed textbooks provide few mentions of his regime. This absence is particularly notable given that earlier editions of the same Grade 6 History and Geography textbook *currently in use* contained a dedicated chapter[52] devoted to the era of Ben Ali's presidency. The chapter presented him as the guarantor of national independence and stability, explicitly justified the concentration of power in his hands—especially in his role as the sole commander-in-chief of the armed forces—and guided students through exercises framing presidential authority as serving the supreme national interest. Visual materials portrayed Ben Ali as socially engaged and benevolent, highlighting his support for children's rights, disadvantaged communities, scientific research, youth, sports, and technological modernization in education, while excerpts from official speeches emphasized his leadership in foreign policy, humanitarian military engagement, and Tunisia's integration into regional and global partnerships. The removal of this chapter from later editions of the same textbook therefore represents a deliberate curricular revision in which a once-central narrative of presidential legitimacy and authority has been excised from the material presented to students. The 2023 edition of Grade 6 History and Geography does not contain the previous reference from the 2007 edition to Ben Ali's takeover in November 1987. The absence of any discussion of the Ben Ali regime reflects an ongoing reluctance in Tunisia to revisit that era and study the regime's development and shortcomings, indicating that the subject may be too recent and controversial to be properly addressed. The revolution that overthrew the regime in 2011 is rarely found in Tunisian textbooks. One example discusses Mohamed Bouazizi's self-immolation in December 2010, which led to massive protests against the ruling regime. Students are asked to discuss types of heroism after reading about Bouazizi, claiming that "heroism has two forms." Further coverage of the revolution, its background, outbreak, and evolution, were not observed in the survey, and so textbooks overall lack context for the event, as well as its impact on Tunisian society.

(See the continuation of the example on the following page)

51 *History* (Sciences Track), Grade 12, pp. 240-242; 257-273; 278-279

52 *History and Geography*, Grade 6, 2007, pp. 245-259

Arabic **(Sports Track), Grade 11, 2023, p. 91**

Heroism has two forms

[caption 1:] AlBou'zizi in 17/12/2010

[caption 2:] the power of the Tunisian people in the 14/01/2011

Subjects of interest:

In both pictures there is anger and fire that ranges between discovery and concealment, between truth and metaphor. Explain it.

Looking at those pictures we can notice that Muhammad AlBu'zizi burned himself and set fire at the same time. Explain the difference between the two forms: being on fire and setting fire. Detail whether this view is correct or not.

Explain the connection between the two pictures, while classifying the type of heroism of each.

Which type of heroism do you prefer – social or individual heroism? Why?

What added the sense of heroism and leadership to the Tunisian revolution in the Arab world?

Further coverage of the revolution, its background, outbreak, and evolution, were not observed in the survey, and so textbooks overall lack contextualization of the event, as well as its impact on Tunisian society.

Peace and Tolerance

School curricula often serve to establish an overarching set of normative values which would be expected to be prioritized over others. Tolerance and peacemaking are values that can be taught from a young age and take many forms, and over time yield profound national and regional consequences. Given that these values are upheld by international educational standards, it is useful to examine how Tunisian textbooks implement them.

Tolerance as a general virtue is taught in the Tunisian curriculum from Grade 1. A textbook teaching the Arabic alphabet contains many colorful illustrations showing children with diverse physical appearances interacting with each other in positive ways, through playing and learning. The children are understood to be all Tunisian – bearing Muslim Arab names, sharing studying and living spaces – in spite of their visible (perhaps even exaggerated) differences, conveying the message that Tunisia is a fundamentally diverse nation and signaling to students that they should expect their peers at school to be similarly diverse. For example, to teach the Arabic letter *Sīn* (س), an illustration shows a dark-skinned child shaking the hand of a light-skinned child. The text accompanying the illustration portrays the two as friends who peacefully share a computer. These examples are illustrative of the fact that peace, and tolerance amongst diverse peoples in society is promoted in Tunisian textbooks.

My Friend: Reader, Grade 1, p. 18

[The letter] Sīn

Murad sat by the computer. He heard Ahmad and hurried to greet him: "Welcome! The computer is waiting for you."

The equivalent textbook for Grade 2 continues along the same theme. In the example below, an idealized school scene shows five friends enjoying their time together in the yard. Compared to the previous example, the physical differences between the students are more muted and realistic, but they remain visibly diverse. Pointedly, the group includes both female and male members, one of which uses a wheelchair, promoting both the coexistence of genders as well inclusion of those with disabilities. Above the children, the schoolhouse flies a Tunisian flag – subtly reminding students of their belonging to a national identity which encompasses and unites their differences.

My Pathways: Reader, Grade 2, p. 6

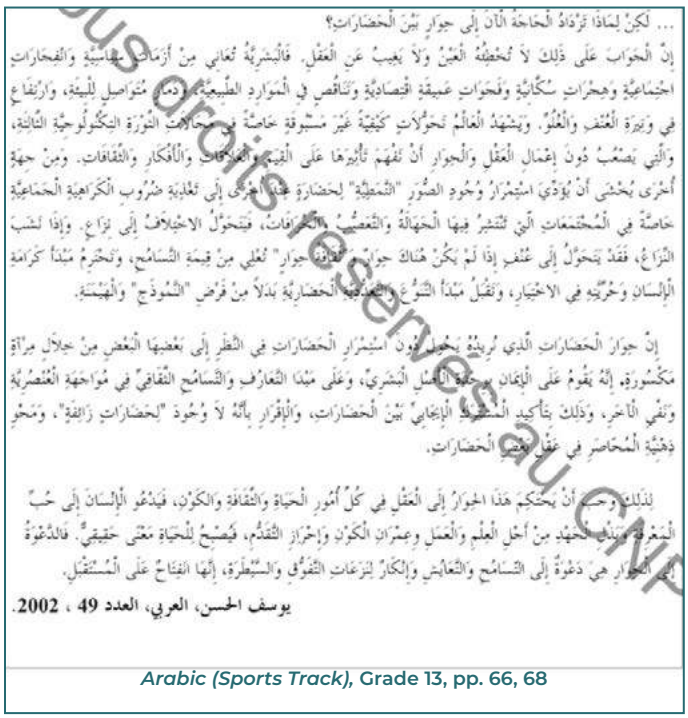
Lesson 2: A Trip on the Web

Tasnim is a cheerful, beloved girl who loves to discover things. Her friends got used to her […]

The promotion of diversity is not limited to a Tunisian national context. In more advanced grades, students are exposed to discussions of global human diversity, of physical features as well as cultures and norms. One Grade 10 Civics textbook contains an illustration showing how people from different countries wear clothing and consume food differently.[53] One Arabic textbook provides the example of a Tunisian diplomat who recounts his experience traveling overseas and meeting people of different origins, emphasizing their shared humanity, which accords with international peace, and tolerance ideals.[54]

Similarly, textbooks for higher grades directly discuss racial bigotry, stereotyping and hatred. A Grade 12 Arabic text criticizes racism against Muslims and (black) Africans in European sports, calling it "a detestable illness" that contradicts the teachings of Abrahamic faiths and attributing it to colonialist heritage. While taking a clear moral stance against racism, the text seems to imply that racial bigotry is an exclusively European phenomenon, although the textbook later asks students to consider whether this phenomenon exists in Tunisian sports as well.[55] This reflects a desire to foster critical thinking by encouraging reflection on bigotry within Tunisia. Similarly, a Grade 13 Philosophy textbook introduces students to a dialogue from the 1973 French film *The Mad Adventures of Rabbi Jacob*, which depicts a French man making generalizing statements about different ethnic and racial groups he encounters, concluding with his cry of indignation: "Me, racist?!" The textbook uses this example to discuss the notion that people who hold racist beliefs may be unaware of their offensive nature.[56] However, the Jewish identity of the film's director, Gérard Oury, is not mentioned in the lesson, and the Jewish character within the film, Solomon, is given an Islamic-sounding name "Salman." The film's deconstruction of antisemitism is not discussed, thus missing an opportunity to combat this particular form of bigotry (see Chapter on antisemitism below).

A more inclusive understanding of combatting racism is seen in the example below. Here, an Arabic reader presents a text entitled "Why is the need for intercultural dialogue so great now?" asserting that without such dialogue disagreements between cultural groups escalate to conflict and violence. To enable dialogue, the text suggests bringing to light the commonalities between cultures, and to combat "rejection of the other" and what it calls "siege mentality." This text is followed by a series of illustrations, including the text "no to racism" in Arabic and French, a picture of diversely-colored hands holding the globe, and a 1999 photo of Pope John Paul II kissing a copy of the Qur'an. The takeaway of this presentation seems to be that intercultural dialogue is the antithesis of racism, and is a normative value students should pursue.



... لكنّ لماذا تزداد الحاجة الآن إلى حوار بين الحضارات؟

إنّ الجواب على ذلك لا تخطئه العين ولا يغيب عن العقل. فالبشريّة تعاني من أزمات [illegible] والفجارات اجتماعيّة وهجرات سكّانيّة وفوارق عميقة اقتصاديّة وتناقص في الموارد الطبيعيّة [illegible] متواصل للبيئة، وارتفاع في وتيرة العنف والعنوّ. ويشهد العالم تحوّلات كيفيّة غير مسبوقة خاصّة في مجالات الثورة التكنولوجيّة الثالثة، والّتي يصعب دون إعمال العقل والحوار أن نفهم تأثيرها على القيم والعلاقات والأفكار والثقافات. ومن جهة أخرى يخشى أن يؤدّي استمرار وجود الصور "النمطيّة" لحضارة عن أخرى إلى تعدية ضروب الكراهية الجماعيّة خاصّة في المجتمعات الّتي تنتشر فيها الجهالة والتعصّب والخرافات، فتتحوّل الاختلافات إلى نزاع. وإذا لم نسلّم النزاع، فقد يتحوّل إلى عنف إذا لم يكن هناك حوار. فالحوار تعلي من قيمة التسامح، وتحترم مبدأ كرامة الإنسان وحرّيته في الاختيار، وتقبل مبدأ التنوّع والتعدديّة الحضاريّة بدلاً من فرض "النموذج" والهيمنة.

إنّ حوار الحضارات الّذي نريده يحول دون استمرار الحضارات في النظر إلى بعضها البعض من خلال مرآة مكسورة، إنّه يقوم على الإيمان بوحدة الجنس البشري، وعلى مبدأ التعارف والتسامح الثقافي في مواجهة العنصريّة ونفي الآخر، وذلك بتأكيد المستوى الإيجابي بين الحضارات، والإقرار بأنّه لا وجود "لحضارات زائفة"، ومحو ذهنيّة المحاصر في عقل بعض الحضارات.

لذلك وجب أن يحتكم هذا الحوار إلى العقل في كلّ أمور الحياة والثقافة والكون، فيدعو الإنسان إلى حبّ المعرفة وتبنّي الجهد من أجل العلم والعمل وعمران الكون وإحراز التقدّم، فيصبح للحياة معنى حقيقي. فالدعوة إلى الحوار هي دعوة إلى التسامح والتعايش والابتكار لنزعات التفوّق والسيطرة، إنّها الفتاح على المستقبل.

يوسف الحسن، العربي، العدد 49، 2002.

Arabic (Sports Track), Grade 13, pp. 66, 68

(See the continuation of the example on the following page)

53 *Civics*, Grade 10, p. 74.

54 *Ru'a – Texts* (Science Track), Grade 13, pp. 178–179.

55 *Arabic* (Sports Track), Grade 12, pp. 147–148.

56 *Philosophy* (Science Track), Grade 13, p. 119.

Arabic (Sports Track), Grade 13, pp. 66, 68

…Why is the need for intercultural dialogue so great now?
[…] There is a fear that the continued existence of "stereotypical" images of each culture among others would sustain different kinds of collective hate, especially in societies where ignorance, tribalism and superstitions are common. Thus, disagreement becomes conflict. And if there is conflict, it could turn into violence, if there is no dialogue and "culture of dialogue", that arises from the value of tolerance, respects the principle of human dignity and freedom of choice, and accepts the principles of cultural diversity and pluralism in place of imposing "example" and hegemony.
[… Intercultural dialogue] is predicated on faith in one human origin and in the principle of intercultural knowledge and tolerance, in the face of racism and rejection of the other. This is to be accomplished by emphasizing the positive commonalities between civilizations, affirming that there are no "fake civilizations", and erasing the siege mentality of some cultures.
[…]
Yusuf Al-Hasan, Al-Arabi, no. 49, 2002
[…]
Activity 2: Reading a picture
Document:
[Top left photo reads: "No to racism", and below: "You are all children of Adam, and Adam was made of earth"]
[Bottom left:]
** Comment on the pictures in terms of type / context / content / message*
** Choose which of the following values suits each picture: coexistence / collaboration / equality / dialogue / diversity / tolerance / integration / recognition*

To promote tolerance, Islamic religious teachings are frequently referenced. This has the double effect of establishing tolerance as a divinely-ordained virtue on the one hand, and promoting a tolerant understanding of Islam on the other, allowing students to take pride in their Islamic identity as one tied to values of coexistence. A high school History textbook, teaching about the emergence of Islam, establishes tolerance as one of three core "Islamic values" (*qiyam 'islāmīyah*), alongside seeking knowledge and fairness.[57] A Philosophy textbook reiterates this idea, defining tolerance as "not oppressing those who believe differently from us, so long as they treat us the same way," and presenting this value as a feature of early Islamic civilization, as manifested for example in the Qur'anic verse "there is no compulsion in religion" (2:256). Furthermore, students are taught in a Grade 9 Islamic Education textbook that learning about other religions is essential to understanding their own, with a cartoon stating "he who does not know other religions – knows no religion."[58] The same textbook later asserts that Islam should play a role in bringing about peaceful coexistence between Muslims, Christians and Jews, which accords with international principles of interfaith tolerance and coexistence.[59]

The manner in which Islamic sources are used to support the principle of tolerance can be seen below. The textbook presents to students several quotes from the Qur'an and the hadith – oral traditions attributed to the Prophet Muhammad – of which five examples are presented here. The textbook authors refrain from explaining the quotes in their own words, and instead cite short passages of interpretation from well-established and revered classical Islamic exegetes such as Al-Tabari (839–923 AD) or Ibn Kathir (14th century AD), leaving students to understand that these interpretations are well-sourced and authoritative. Some of the texts are easily interpreted as promoting peace and tolerance, such as a hadith attributed to Muhammad proclaiming that no nation or race is superior to another, or the verse "[God] created [mankind] from one soul" (4:1), both of which are presented as a rejection of racism and a call for human unity. Another example is a verse interpreted by Ibn Al-Arabi (1165–1240) to suggest that all non-Muslims should be treated justly, even if they had fought Muslims. However, the textbook also quotes some of the more combative verses from the Qur'an – such as "fight in the way of Allah" (2:190) – and offers interpretations that

57 *History* (Science and Technology track), Grade 11, p. 65.
58 *Islamic Education*, Grade 9, p. 12.
59 *Islamic Education*, Grade 9, p. 17.

moderate or minimize their inflammatory potential; in this case, the text includes citations from an exegete who imposes strict limitations as to the fighting sanctioned in this verse and who it is targeted at. Examples such as these allow Tunisian educators to promote a tolerant understanding of religion based on religious teachings without hiding 'undesirable' information from students.

نشاط 2 : في المنطلقات

السند 1

قال تعالى :

﴿ يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلنَّاسُ ٱتَّقُواْ رَبَّكُمُ ٱلَّذِي خَلَقَكُم مِّن نَّفْسٍ وَٰحِدَةٍ وَخَلَقَ مِنْهَا زَوْجَهَا وَبَثَّ مِنْهُمَا رِجَالًا كَثِيرًا وَنِسَآءً وَٱتَّقُواْ ٱللَّهَ ٱلَّذِي تَسَآءَلُونَ بِهِۦ وَٱلْأَرْحَامَ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ كَانَ عَلَيْكُمْ رَقِيبًا ﴾ (النساء: 1)

﴿ يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلنَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَٰكُم مِّن ذَكَرٍ وَأُنثَىٰ وَجَعَلْنَٰكُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَآئِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوٓاْ إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِندَ ٱللَّهِ أَتْقَىٰكُمْ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ ﴾ (الحجرات: 13)

– قال ابن كثير: "يقول تعالى مخبرا للناس أنه خلقهم من نفس واحدة وجعل منها زوجها وهما آدم وحواء وجعلهم شعوبا وهي أعم من القبائل وبعد القبائل مراتب أخر كالفصائل والعشائر والعمائر والأفخاذ وغير ذلك... فجميع الناس في الشرف بالنسبة الطينية إلى آدم وحواء عليهما السلام سواء، ولهذا قال تعالى بعد النهي عن الغيبة واحتقار بعض الناس بعضا منبها على تساويهم في البشرية "يا أيها الناس إنا خلقناكم من ذكر وأنثى وجعلناكم شعوبا وقبائل لتعارفوا" أي ليحصل التعارف بينهم..."

ابن كثير: تفسير القرآن العظيم: 4/277

السند 4

– عن جابر بن عبد الله قال: خطبنا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في وسط أيام التشريق خطبة الوداع فقال: "يا أيها الناس إن ربكم واحد وإن أباكم واحد ألا لا فضل لعربي على عجمي ولا لعجمي على عربي ولا لأحمر على أسود ولا أسود على أحمر إلا بالتقوى إن أكرمكم عند الله أتقاكم ألا هل بلغت؟" قالوا: "بلى يا رسول الله". قال: "فليبلغ الشاهد الغائب". (البيهقي: شعب الإيمان: 4/289)

– روى النعمان بن بشير عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: "مثل القائم على حدود الله والواقع فيها كمثل قوم استهموا على سفينة فأصاب بعضهم أعلاها وبعضهم أسفلها، فكان الذين في أسفلها إذا استقوا من الماء مروا على من فوقهم، فقالوا: لو أنا خرقنا في نصيبنا خرقا ولم نؤذ من فوقنا. فإن يتركوهم وما أرادوا هلكوا جميعا، وإن أخذوا على أيديهم نجوا، ونجوا جميعا" (البخاري: الجامع الصحيح: 2/882)

1– حاول في إطار نقاش مع زملائك أن تبيّن مقوّمات الرؤية الاستخلافيّة للوجود الإنساني في الأرض.

2– استثمر السّندات الأربعة لتبيّن معالم المرجعيات الإسلاميّة للإحساس بالآخر، معتمدا الجدول التالي بعد نقله إلى كراسك.

نشاط 3 : في المبادئ

السند 3

– ﴿ لَّا يَنْهَىٰكُمُ ٱللَّهُ عَنِ ٱلَّذِينَ لَمْ يُقَٰتِلُوكُمْ فِي ٱلدِّينِ وَلَمْ يُخْرِجُوكُم مِّن دِيَٰرِكُمْ أَن تَبَرُّوهُمْ وَتُقْسِطُوٓاْ إِلَيْهِمْ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ يُحِبُّ ٱلْمُقْسِطِينَ ﴾ (الممتحنة: 8)

– قال ابن العربي: "قوله تعالى: "تقسطوا إليهم"، أي تعطوهم قسطا من أموالكم على وجه الصّلة، وليس يريد به العدل، فإنّ العدل واجب في من قاتل وفي من لم يقاتل." ابن العربي: أحكام القرآن: 7/303

السند 4

– ﴿ وَقَٰتِلُواْ فِي سَبِيلِ ٱللَّهِ ٱلَّذِينَ يُقَٰتِلُونَكُمْ وَلَا تَعْتَدُوٓاْ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ لَا يُحِبُّ ٱلْمُعْتَدِينَ ﴾ (البقرة: 190)

– قال فيها الطبري نقلا عن ابن عباس: "لا تقتلوا النساء، ولا الصبيان ولا الشيخ الكبير ولا من ألقى السلم وكفّ يده فإن فعلتم هذا فقد اعتديتم..." تفسير الطبري: جامع البيان في تأويل القرآن: 3/193

" في القول بنسخ الآية رأيان، وقد رجّح الطبري القول بعدم النسخ قائلا: "وأولى هذين القولين بالصواب القول الذي قاله عمر بن عبد العزيز لأنّ دعوى المدّعي نسخ آية يحتمل أن تكون غير منسوخة بغير دلالة على صحة دعواه تحكّم والتحكّم لا يعجز عنه أحد. الطبري: جامع البيان في تأويل القرآن: 3/193

السند 5

الإنسان –في نظر الإسلام– هو الإنسان، أينما كان، لوحدة المصدر الإنساني ﴿ يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلنَّاسُ ٱتَّقُواْ رَبَّكُمُ ٱلَّذِي خَلَقَكُم مِّن نَّفْسٍ وَٰحِدَةٍ وَخَلَقَ مِنْهَا زَوْجَهَا وَبَثَّ مِنْهُمَا رِجَالًا كَثِيرًا وَنِسَآءً وَٱتَّقُواْ ٱللَّهَ ٱلَّذِي تَسَآءَلُونَ بِهِۦ وَٱلْأَرْحَامَ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ كَانَ عَلَيْكُمْ رَقِيبًا ﴾ (النساء: 1)

وفي الأمر بالتقوى، وتحريم تقطيع الأرحام الإنسانية الناشئة عن وحدة الأصل في حروب عالميّة، بواعثها عُنصُرية ظالمة، أو مطامع ماديّة، أو حبُّ التفرُّد بالاستعلاء في الأرض، قهرًا وتسلّطا وبغيا، مما لا يتّصل بنُصرة حقّ، أو إقامة عدل، أو تحقيق صالح إنساني عامّ، أقول: في ذلك إشارة كافية إلى ذلك المنفّت والتحريم للعنصرية، وبدليل إرسائه مبدأ الوحدة الإنسانية بديلا عنها، وذلك من أصل مُقوّمات السِّلم والأمن العالميّين دون ريب.

د. فتحي الدريني: خصائص التشريع الإسلامي في السياسة والحكم: 32

Islamic Thought (Literature Track), Grade 13, pp. 63–65

Activity 2: Some Starting Points

Document 1

The Almighty said: "O mankind, fear your Lord, who created you from one soul and created from it its mate and dispersed from both of them many men and women. And fear Allah, through whom you ask one another, and the wombs. […]" (4:1)

"O mankind, indeed We have created you from male and female and made you peoples and tribes that you may know one another. […]" (49:13)

Ibn Kathir commented: "The Almighty says this to inform people that He made them from one soul, making it a couple: Adam and Eve, and created nations out of them […] Thus, all people are dignified in equally having the earthly lineage of Adam and Eve, peace be upon them. Therefore the Almighty, having forbidden people from slandering and looking down on one another, and informing them that they were made equal in their humanity, says to them […] to get them to know each other."

- Ibn Kathir, Exegesis of the Holy Qur'an, 4/277

[…]

Document 4

Jabir bin Abdallah narrated: "The Messenger of God, peace be upon him, gave us the Farewell Sermon in the midst of the days of Tashriq, saying: 'Your Lord is one, and your father is one. Is it not that there is no preference to the Arab over the Persian, or the Persian over the Arab, the Red over the Black or the Black over the Red, except in their fear of God? […]'"

- Al-Bayhaqi, People of Faith, 4/289

[…]

2. Use the four documents to explain the key points of the Islamic authoritative sources regarding sensitivity toward the Other. […]

Activity 3: Principles

[…]

Document 3

"Allah does not forbid you from those who do not fight you because of religion and do not expel you from your homes – from being righteous toward them and acting justly toward them. Indeed, Allah loves those who act justly." (60:8)

Ibn Al-Arabi commented: "The Almighty says 'acting justly toward them' [tuqsiṭū 'ilayhim], meaning give them some share [qisṭ] of your property as gift. He does not mean just treatment ['adl], as just treatment is [equally] obligatory when treating those who fought [you] and those who did not."

- Ibn Al-Arabi, Rulings of the Qur'an, 7/303

Document 4

"Fight in the way of Allah those who fight against you but do not transgress. Indeed, Allah does not like transgressors." (2:189) [sic; i.e. 2:190]

Al-Tabari commented about this [verse], quoting Ibn Abbas: "Do not kill women, the young, the venerable old, or those who present peace and pull back their hands. If you did so – you have transgressed."

Al-Tabari's Exegesis, Collection of the Clear in Explaining the Qur'an, 2/195

[…]

(See the continuation of the example on the following page)

Document 5
Human beings, in the eyes of Islam, are human, wherever they are, because they share one human origin: "O mankind, fear your Lord, who created you from one soul […]" (4:1). Regarding the commandment to be fearful of God, the prohibition on severing human bonds of kinship arising from that single source through brutal wars, instigated by unjust racism, material ambitions, or love of taking possession for oneself on Earth […] – to that I say, here there is ample proof that [God] detests and prohibits racism, and instills the principle of human unity in its place. This is one of the most noble components of world peace and security, without a doubt.
- Dr. Fathi Al-Durayni, Characteristics of Islamic Shariah Jurisprudence in Politics and Statecraft, 52

Secular law is also invoked in Tunisian textbooks to support tolerance. In this case, the goal is less to warn students of the legal consequences of intolerance (which are rarely substantial), and more about instilling respect for the Other, pluralism and equality as normative and universally applicable values, in a similar manner to how Islamic teaching is used, as noted above. Moreover, if teaching tolerance in Islamic contexts can have the benefit of portraying Islam as a source of good and worthy of pride, it stands to reason that teaching tolerance in the context of Tunisian secular law can likewise present Tunisia as a tolerant, benevolent state that students are able to take pride in. For example, one Arabic textbook opens a chapter on freedom of expression with an excerpt from Tunisia's 1993 Press Law, which is presented as guaranteeing that freedom. The citation from Tunisian law is juxtaposed with a relevant text from the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which likewise discusses the universal freedom of expression.[60] The same textbook later cites another article of the Tunisian Law of the Press which imposes jail time on persons who "spread ideas predicated on racial discrimination or religious extremism,"[61] clarifying that these are to be regarded beyond the pale of legitimate discourse. The Tunisian Constitution is frequently cited; for example, one Civics textbook cites an article which guarantees freedom of religious beliefs and rituals.[62] These examples show how secular law reinforces the value of tolerance in textbooks, offering students a civic justification that complements the religious basis provided by Islamic teaching.

In the example below, Grade 7 students are taught about equality. After a definition of the concept from the Tunisian government's Center for Research, Studies, Documentation and Information on Women (CREDIF), the textbook cites Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which ostensibly codifies the value of equality, followed by Article 6 of the (now defunct) 1959 Tunisian Constitution, which applies it to Tunisian law. This sequence of texts allows students to follow the concept of equality to both its universal and national sources, establishing it as an indisputable, normative value. Furthermore, the juxtaposition of Tunisian law and UN declarations creates the impression that Tunisia respects and follows the international model. However, the fact that an obsolete version of the Constitution is cited is worthy of attention, and may indicate that the textbook has yet to be updated.

5
المساواة : تعني عدم التمييز وأن يعامل كل الناس بالطرق نفسها دون اعتبار جنسهم أو لونهم أو لغتهم أو آرائهم...
المصدر: الكريديف /حقوق المرأة والطفل ص4
6
يولد جميع الناس أحراراً متساوين في الكرامة والحقوق، وقد وهبوا عقلاً وضميراً وعليهم أن يعامل بعضهم بعضاً بروح الإخاء.
المصدر: المادة 1 من الإعلان العالمي لحقوق الإنسان10 / 12 / 1948
كلّ المواطنين متساوون في الحقوق والواجبات وهم سواء أمام القانون.
المصدر الفصل 6 من دستور الجمهورية التونسية1959

***Social Subjects*, Grade 7, p. 226**

5. Equality: meaning no discrimination, and that all people are treated the same way, regardless of their sex, color, language or views…
Source: CREDIF, Rights of Women and Children, p. 4

6. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act toward one another in a spirit of brotherhood.
Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 10 December 1948

All citizens are equal in rights and obligations, and are equal before the law.
Article 6 of the 1959 Constitution of the Tunisian Republic

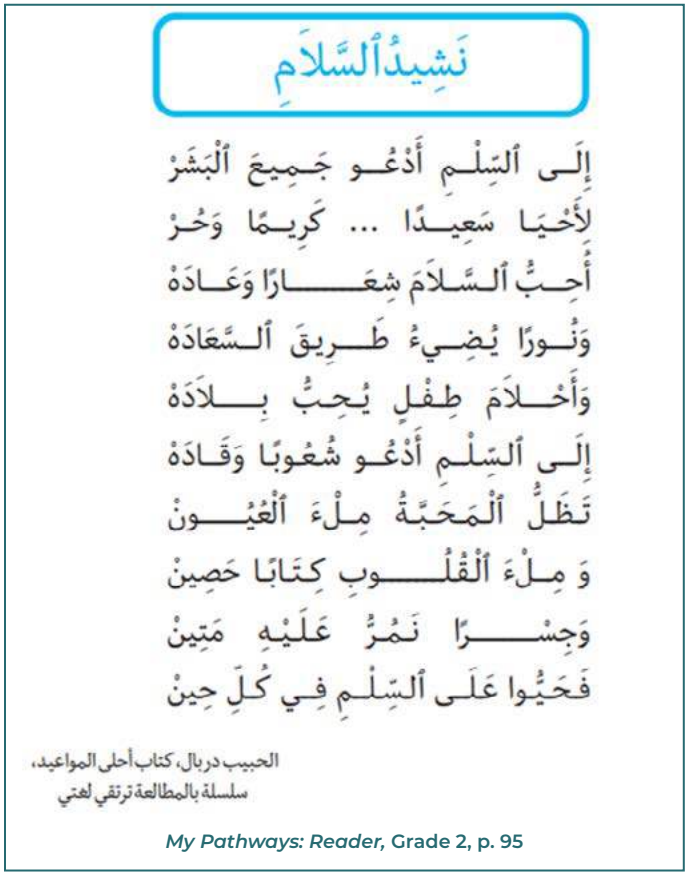
60 *Arabic – Signs* (Science Track), Grade 12, p. 248.

61 *Arabic – Signs* (Science Track), Grade 12, p. 255.

62 *Civics*, Grade 10, p. 75.

Peace is taught as a virtue in all major age groups, and is usually rationalized based on universal humanity and human fraternity. For example, one Grade 3 text discusses a drawing competition, where children from different countries express the uniform ideal of "peace and man's coexistence with his human brother" in paintings – an idea said to transcend (skin) color, sex, country and religion.[63] A Grade 7 text rationalizes peace by explaining that it is necessary for prosperity, knowledge and justice, proclaiming that "men's bravery" is determined by their "recognition of the sanctity of human life" regardless of "sex, color or religion."[64] For Grade 9 students, UNESCO's 1995 Declarations of Principles of Tolerance are quoted mentioning "the human family" and asserting that "without peace there can be no development or democracy."[65] Other rationalizations for peace are also offered; for instance, a Grade 11 Civics textbook suggests that adhering to a peaceful foreign policy can save humanity the resources it spends on armaments,[66] and a Grade 3 story titled "the River of Peace" uses the allegory of two horses who cannot meet due to a minefield separating them, to convey the woes that wars inflict on regular people.[67]

The importance of peace as reflected in the textbooks is illustrated in the example below. Students as young as Grade 2 are taught a poem by Tunisian writer Al-Habib Dirbal titled "the Hymn of Peace," which advocates for peace as the key to happiness. The poet directs his advocacy to the entirety of humanity, especially to world leaders, and urges them to consider "the dreams of a child who loves his country." The poem concludes with an imperative "come to peace!" (*ḥayyū ʻalā s-silmi*), a play on the standard adhan, or Islamic call to prayer: "come to pray!" (*ḥayya ʻalā ṣ-ṣalāh*), implicitly comparing peace to a religious obligation.


نَشِيدُ ٱلسَّلَامِ

إِلَـى ٱلسِّلْـمِ أَدْعُـو جَـمِيعَ ٱلْبَشَرْ
لِأَخِيًا سَعِيـدًا ... كَرِيـمًا وَحُـرْ
أُحِـبُّ ٱلسَّـلَامَ شِعَـــــارًا وَعَـادَهْ
وَنُـورًا يُضِـيءُ طَـــرِيقَ ٱلسَّعَادَهْ
وَأَحْـلَامَ طِفْلٍ يُحِبُّ بِـــلَادَهْ
إِلَـى ٱلسِّلْـمِ أَدْعُـو شُعُوبًا وَقَـادَهْ
تَظَلُّ ٱلْمَحَبَّةُ مِـلْءَ ٱلْعُيُـــونْ
وَ مِـلْءَ ٱلْقُلُـــوبِ كِتَابًا حَصِينْ
وَجِسْـــرًا نَمُرُّ عَلَيْهِ مَتِينْ
فَحَيُّوا عَلَـى ٱلسِّلْـمِ فِـي كُـلِّ حِينْ

الحبيب دربال، كتاب أحلى المواعيد، سلسلة بالمطالعة ترتقي لغتي

My Pathways: Reader, Grade 2, p. 95

The Hymn of Peace
To peace I call all human beings
So that I may live happy… in dignity and freedom
I love peace, as a slogan and as a habit
As a light that shines the path to happiness
As dreams of a child who loves his country
I call to peace nations and leaders
Love remains, as full as the eyes
As full as hearts, as a sturdy book
As a firm bridge we pass on
So come to peace, at all times!
-Al-Habib Dirbal, Book for the Best of Times, in the series Reading Advances My Language

Textbooks for older grades provide examples of practical peacemaking, showing how it can be implemented and potentially connecting the value of peace to the everyday lives of students. Textbooks claim that "non-violence is a human principle shared by everyone," contributing to the universality of the concept. At least two Arabic textbooks for Tunisian high school students in the sports track discuss sports diplomacy, and how international athletic tournaments contribute to understanding between

63 *Arabic*, Grade 3, p. 107–108.
64 *Arabic Grammar*, Grade 7, p. 161.
65 *Social Subjects*, Grade 9, p. 320.
66 *Civics*, Grade 11, p. 14.
67 *Arabic*, Grade 3, pp. 114–115.

hostile countries and inspire youth to pursue their dreams.[68] For science track students, one of the Arabic textbooks focuses on dialogue as a means of achieving peaceful coexistence.[69] In the text below, Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948) is presented as an example of a thinker calling for non-violent conflict resolution. The textbook follows a text about the life of Gandhi – told from his perspective – with questions that focus on Gandhi's values of non-violence and tolerance. In one of the questions, students are asked to imagine themselves resolving a dispute between two of their friends to prevent them from engaging in violent acts.

في الأثناءِ أسّستُ أشرام سبرماتي في مدينةِ أحمد آباد مُقاطعتِي الأصليّةِ، وأسكنتُ بها خمسة وعشرين نفرا ليعيشوا بالطّريقةِ الّتي رَسَمْتُها والتّعاليم الّتي لا أنفكّ أُبَشّرُ بها وهي: نَبْذُ العنفِ و التّقشّفُ والتعفّفُ والتّسامُحُ. وهذه الخَصْلَةُ الأخيرةُ أوشكتْ ذاتَ مَرّةٍ أن تَضيعَ في امتحانِ عسيرٍ عندما طلَبَتْ عائلةٌ مِنْ طائفةِ المنبوذين الانضمامَ إلينا فقابلهم كلُّ الأعضاءِ بالرّفض، بَمْنْ فيهم زوجتي «كاستربايْ»، ولكنّني أصررتُ على قَبولِهِمْ فانضمُّوا إلينا.

«نَبْذُ العُنْفِ» مبدأ إنسانيٌّ مشاعٌ للجميع، لكلّ امرىء حقُّ اتّباعِه والسّيرِ بِهَدْيِهِ.إنّه قانونُ أمْثالِنا مِنْ طُلّابِ العدلِ والمساواة، كما أنّ العنفَ قانونُ الظّالمينَ الطّغاةِ. وبما أنّ الكرامةَ البشريّةَ قيمةٌ ساميةٌ تَسْمُو بالرّوحِ وتُقَوّيها ضدّ الذّلّ والانكسارِ – وهذا ما أريد للهُنُودِ أن يُؤمِنوا به ويطبّقوه – أريدُ منهم الشعورَ بِقُوّتِهِمْ وَقُدُراتِهِمْ.

عبد الواحد إبراهم
غاندي يروي قصّة حياته
عالم الكتاب . 2005 .ص/ص 42–46

أعرف المؤلف

عبد الواحد إبراهم : كاتب تونسيّ معاصر ، كتب العديد من القصص والرّوايات من بينها : «مربّعات بلاستيك» ، «بحر هادئ سماء زرقاء» ، «تغريبة أحمد الحجري».

أستعد للدرس

أحدّد موقعَ الهند على الخريطة وأجمعُ معلوماتٍ تتّصل بِعَدَدِ سكّانِها ولغاتِهم ومعتقداتِهم.

أفهـــم

5– أستخرج القيمَ الّتي بشّر بها غاندي ودعا إليها، وأبيّن دورها في خدمة الفرد والوطن والإنسانية.
6– أبرز الحجج الّتي جاء بها غاندي للإقناع بضرورة نبذ العنف، وأستخلص منها ما يدلّ على نبل هذه الشّخصيّة وعظمتها.

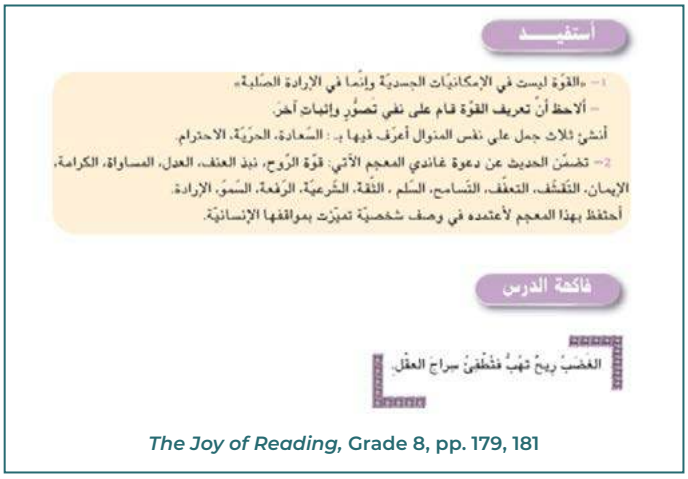
أتحاور مع أصدقائي

أتحاور مع أصدقائي حول كيفيّة الاستفادة من القيم الّتي نادى بها غاندي في سبيل بناء علاقات متينة داخل المدرسة.

أنتـــج

كنت أتابع حوارا بين زميلين لي، وأحسستُ أنّه سيتحوّل إلى شجار فتوجّهت إليهما بالخطاب لتهدئتهما ولتذكيرهما بأهمّيّة التّسامح ونبذ العنف . أنقل مخاطبتي لهما وأضمّنها العباراتِ الملائمة من النّصّ.

The Joy of Reading, Grade 8, pp. 179, 181



أستفيـــد

1– «القوّة ليست في الإمكانيّات الجسديّة وإنّما في الإرادة الصّلبة».
– ألاحظ أنّ تعريف القوّة قام على نفي تصوّرٍ وإثبات آخر.
أنشئ ثلاث جمل على نفس المنوال أعرّف فيها بـ : السّعادة، الحرّيّة، الاحترام.
2– تضمّن الحديث عن دعوة غاندي المعجم الآتي: قوّة الرّوح، نبذ العنف، العدل، المساواة، الكرامة، الإيمان، التّقشّف، التعفّف، التّسامح، السّلم ، الثّقة، الشّرعيّة، الرّفعة، السّمو، الإرادة.
أحتفظ بهذا المعجم لأعتمده في وصف شخصيّة تميّزت بمواقفها الإنسانيّة.

فاكهة الدرس

الغضبُ ريحٌ تهبُّ فتُطفئُ سراجَ العقل.

The Joy of Reading, Grade 8, pp. 179, 181

[…]
From now on, I can enter the battles yet to come based on my strategy, which relies on the theory of "non-violence". That means that peacefulness, in my view, is far more sublime and esteemed than violence. […] "Non-violence" is a human principle shared by everyone. Every man has the right to adhere to it and follow in its path. It is the law of those like us, who seek justice and equality, just as violence is the law of the oppressors and tyrants. […]
Abd al-Wahid Ibrahim, Gandhi Narrates His Life Story, Alam al-Kitab, 2005, pp. 42–46
[…]
I Understand
[…]
5. I will extract the values Gandhi preached and called for, and explain their role in the service of the individual, the nation and humanity.
6. I will highlight the arguments Gandhi brought up to persuade of the necessity of non-violence, and on that basis I will deduce what shows the nobility and greatness of that figure [Gandhi].

I will Discuss with My Friends
I will discuss with my friends how I will benefit from the values Gandhi called for in order to build strong relationships inside the school.

I will Draw Conclusions
I was following a conversation between two of my classmates, and felt it would turn into a quarrel. I addressed the two of them to calm them down and remind them of the importance of tolerance and non-violence. I will copy my address and include appropriate expressions from the text [above].
[…]
Fruits of the Lesson
"Anger is a wind that blows the lamp of the mind."

68 *Arabic* (Sports Track), Grade 11, pp. 81, 84; *Arabic* (Sports Track), Grade 13, pp. 56, 58, 62.

69 *Arabic – Ru'a* (Science Track), Grade 13, p. 156.

It can be surmised that Tunisian textbooks generally imbue the values of peace and tolerance in students from young ages until high school. These topics are mostly discussed in Arabic reading comprehension texts and Civics textbooks. Racism, religious and ethnic bigotry, and war are acknowledged as negative phenomena to be avoided as a matter of principle. In some cases, textbooks also provide – or at least hint at – specific and practical examples of tolerance and peacemaking. Yet, these values are not used to criticize Tunisia's own history or national narrative, and as other chapters show, are not always applied when it comes to certain topics, not the least of which is the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Jews and Judaism

The Tunisian curriculum is defined by an overall tolerant and moderate approach toward Jews as individuals and Judaism as a religion, anchored in Muslim tradition, though interspersed with conspicuous instances of antisemitic content. Many texts assert the duty to respect Jews (and Christians) according to principles laid out in the early Islamic period. This obligation stems from Muslim universal goals and a quest for world peace, as promoted in some of these textbooks.[70] In some historical accounts, emphasis is placed on cooperation and dialogue between Muslims and non-Muslims that existed in various settings, generating intellectual and material achievements. The Jewish historical presence in Tunisia is also highlighted, along with the fact that Jews lived in harmony with Arabs across North Africa. While the call for tolerance in the textbooks is very clear, there is hardly any discussion about the tenets of non-Muslim religions (including Judaism), that could help students become better intellectually acquainted with them. There are also negative examples and depictions of Jews as greedy individuals keen on cheating others, or in control of trade. There are also disturbing outright antisemitic examples, such as Jews controlling world capital.

The presentation of events leading up to World War II and the Holocaust is problematic. Adolf Hitler is often presented positively, as one who successfully turned Germany into an economic and military power. General ideas of German Nazi "thinkers" and their supporters are presented in Philosophy textbooks without any reference to their support of the regime and its ideology. There is no discussion of the Holocaust per se, and Nazi actions and atrocities that are mentioned (such as the burning of books in 1933 or concentration camps) are presented in a very generic manner, without reference to Jews as the main victims. Attention is also given to opinions of Roger Garaudy, who was convicted for Holocaust denial and claiming that the murder of six million Jews was a myth – a fact the textbooks fail to mention. The near complete avoidance of any discussion of the Holocaust is even more surprising in Tunisia, given its own World War II history. Tunisia was the only Arab country formally occupied by Nazi Germany (from November 1942 to May 1943). The Germans enacted anti-Jewish measures in occupied Tunisia, and some Jews were deported to Death Camps in Europe. Tunisia's war-time experiences, and their impact, are entirely absent from the surveyed textbooks.

However, any sympathy for Jews as individuals, which is a feature in many textbooks, disappears when the concept of Jewish peoplehood is discussed. The general approach in this regard is dismissive and negative, with unsubtle doubts about the legitimacy of Jews to be identified as a people with ties to an ancient homeland. Ancient Jewish presence in historic Palestine is recognized in a lesson on the history of ancient civilizations referencing the Hebrew kingdoms, King Solomon building a temple in Jerusalem, King David making Jerusalem (spelled 'Urshalim') the capital of Judeah, Jewish migrations led by Abraham, Joseph, and Moses, and even the Ten Commandments. However, this history is presented briefly and framed as coercive or oppressive toward other inhabitants of the region rather than as a legitimate indigenous connection.[71] The general attitude toward Jewish nationalism requires more nuanced and sophisticated treatment, as the current presentation to Tunisian students remains superficial and requires greater attention.

Non-Islamic faiths other than Judaism are rarely mentioned in textbooks. Christianity is often associated with colonial and European history, (see previous chapter and Chapter 5: "International Relations and Global Perspectives") although occasionally, some Islamic Education textbooks quote Scripture that refers to "Infidels" (*kuffār*) or "pagans" (*mušrikūn*), without giving further commentary.[72] One text presents a Tunisian student trying to convince his "foreign neighbor" that God exists, dispelling her "confusion."[73] However, these examples are few and far between compared to content about Jews and Judaism.

Although religious freedom and coexistence have not always been a reality in many Muslim countries—and Tunisia itself saw demonstrations after the 1967 Arab-Israeli war that in some cases led to attacks on Jews and synagogues—the way these values are presented in Tunisian textbooks is nonetheless commendable.[74] An Islamic Education textbook, developing the theme of "Respecting Fellow Man" presents a text on the prophet Muhammad observing a Jewish funeral, calling on those around him to stand up in respect of the dead.

70 *Islamic Education*, Grade 9, p. 17.

71 *History* (Science and Technology), Grade 11, pp. 13–15.

72 *Islamic Education*, Grade 8, p. 8

73 *Islamic Education*, Grade 7, p. 14

74 Kenneth Perkins, *A History of Modern Tunisia*, Second Edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 149.

عن ابن أبي ليلى قال : كان سهل بن حُنَيف وقيسُ بن سعد رضي اللّه عنهما قاعِدَيْن بالقادسيّة فمرّوا عليهما بجنازة فقاما فقيل لهما إنّها من أهل الأرض (أي من أهل الذِّمَّةِ) فقالا: إنّ النبيّ ﷺ مرّت به جنازة فقام. فقيل له إنّها جنازةُ يهوديٍّ فقال : أليست نفسًا ؟

البخاري – كتاب الجنائز

Islamic Education, Grade 9, p. 63

Sahl bin Hunayf and Qais bin Sa'd were sitting at Al-Qadisiya when a bier was brought past them. They stood up, and when they were told that it was one of the people of the land, i.e. of the dhimmis [Christians and Jews], they replied that a bier came past God's messenger and he stood up. On being told that it contained a Jew he said, "Is it not a soul?"

(Bukhari)

هل أنّ مواقفك وآراءك تجاه الآخرين تستند دائما إلى احترام النّفس البشريّة ؟

Islamic Education, Grade 9, p. 63

Do you base your positions and views on others always on respecting human souls?

A lesson on Islamic Thought for Grade 13 explains that Jews, Christians, and non-Muslims should be treated well, referring to them as the "neighbor farther away." This sets the tone for further positive descriptions of respecting other religions, especially Christians and Jews.

السند 3

– قال تعالى: ﴿ وَبِالْوَالِدَيْنِ إِحْسَانًا وَبِذِي الْقُرْبَىٰ وَالْيَتَامَىٰ وَالْمَسَاكِينِ وَالْجَارِ ذِي الْقُرْبَىٰ وَالْجَارِ الْجُنُبِ وَالصَّاحِبِ بِالْجَنْبِ ﴾ (النساء: 36)

– قال نوف الشامي: "الجار ذي القربى" المسلم "والجار الجنب" اليهودي والنصراني.

قلت: وعلى هذا فالوَصاةُ (أي الوصيّة) بالجار مأمور بها مندوب إليها مسلما كان أو كافرا، وهو الصحيح.

القرطبي: الجامع لأحكام القرآن: 171/5

السند 4

ولا يحفر* المسلمون لأهل العهد ما صالحوهم عليه، وقد كان الوليد بن يزيد الخليفة أجلى أهل قبرص إلى الشام، بعد أن أقرّهم في بلدهم الأمير الفاتح معاوية بن أبي سفيان في خلافة عثمان، فأنكر فقهاءُ المسلمين على الوليد. فلما وَلِي بعده يزيدُ بن الوليد، ردّهم إلى قبرص، فاستحسن المسلمون ذلك ورأوه عدلًا.

محمد الطاهر ابن عاشور : أصول النظام الاجتماعي في الإسلام: 212

* خَفَرَ به خَفْرًا وخُفُورًا: نَقَضَ عَهْدَه وخانَ به وغَدَرَه... ويقال: أخْفَرَ الذِّمّة إذا لم يَفِ بها وانْتَهَكَها.

الزبيدي: تاج العروس: 278/1

Islamic Thought (Literature Track), Grade 13, p. 70

Document 3:
God Almighty said: "to parents do good, and to relatives, orphans, the needy, the near neighbor, the neighbor farther away, the companion at your side" (4:36)
Nawf Al-Shami explained: "the near neighbor" is the Muslim, and "the neighbor farther away" is the Jews and Christians. [...]
Document 4:
The Muslims do not violate their agreements with the people of the Covenant [...]

Students studying Islamic Thought are taught that Muslims and "People of the Book" share a belief in one God and his revealed books that preceded the Quran's appearance. Muslims are urged not to argue with "People of the Book," except with those who act wrongfully.[75] A textbook for younger students notes that the Qur'an, Torah, and Gospels are divine books.[76] An Islamic Education exercise for Grade 6 notes that freedom of religion exists in Muslim countries, which have mosques, churches, and synagogues standing side by side. The texts on Islam's position toward "People of the Book" highlights the monotheistic faiths, with an exercise suggesting that Muslims, Christians, and Jewish citizens all live under the same banner and share the same rights and duties

النّشاط الرّابع :

– في جُلّ الدّول العربيّة يعيش المواطنون المسلمون والنّصارى واليهود تحت رايّة واحدة ويتمتّعون بنفس الحقوق وعليهم نفس الواجبات تجاه أوطانهم. ماذا تستنتج من ذلك ؟

النّشاط الخامس :

– عندما تدخل مدينة في دولة إسلاميّة وترى المساجد والكنائس والمعابد متجاورة فيها وكلّ إنسان يؤدّي فرائضه بكامل الحريّة. ماذا تستخلص من ذلك ؟

My Islamic Education, Grade 6, pp. 123-125

4- In most Arab countries, Muslim, Christian and Jewish citizens live one banner, enjoying the same rights and duties to their countries. What do you infer from this?
5- When you enter a city in a Islamic country and see mosques, churches and synagogues located adjacently, where every person observes his rites in absolute [religious] freedom. What do you infer from this?

75 *Islamic Thought* (Literature Track), Grade 13, p. 60.

76 *Arabic – Paths of Writing*, Grade 5, p. 46.

Students are also introduced to historic examples of dialogue and co-existence between Muslims, Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians in tenth century Baghdad, the cooperation of which "yielded a new fabric in a radiant" Arab Islamic culture. In such cases, the Abbasid caliphate era is described in another book as one where Jews, Christians, and Muslims exchanged ideas and thoughts.[77] Two texts on the tenth century Muslim intellectual Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi describe his era in Baghdad as one marked by tolerance, lively dialogue, and intellectual exchange among Muslims, Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians and Sabians. One textbook claims that "among the features of scholastic openness and intellectual enlightenment of that century is the tolerance of Muslims to other religions" which presents tolerance as an enduring concept.

1- التثاقف في عصر التوحيدي

ممّا يلاحظ أنّ الفلسفة في هذا العهد، كما يَتَبَيَّنُ من أعمال أبي حيّان، انتقلت من عصر الاصطلاح والعبارات المترجمة حرفيا، وما فيها من ركاكة وغموض، إلى السّبك الأدبي الجميل، وإلى الوضوح في التعبير، والبسط الّذي لا يعجز غير الفيلسوف عن فهمه، ومعنى ذلك أنّ التفكير الفلسفي أصبح جزءا راسخا في صميم النسيج الثقافي، وأنّ الثقافة في بغداد أصبحت ذات طابع عالمي، فيها عناصر متشابكة تآلفت من مختلف روافد الأعراق والشعوب والفلسفات، وأنّه لا ضَيْرَ على الأديب أو الكاتب، فضلا عن الفيلسوف أن يرتشف من حكمة الأمم الأخرى، ولذلك ترى أبا حيان حينما نقل لنا حكما يونانية قال :

"هذه نوادر من كلام اليونانيين، وقد مرّ في هذا الكتاب، ويمرّ ما إذا جمعته وأفردته زادك حسنُه، وانثالت عليك فائدته، فَخُذْ منها ومن غيرها كلّ حَسَنٍ بهيج، نفعك الله بالعلم، ويصّرك بالهُدى".

وكان يجتمع في هذه المجالسّ اليهودي والنّصراني والمجوسي والصابئي مع المسلم، ولا ضَيْرَ أن يكون رئيس المجلس نصرانيا أيضا، كما كان يحيى بنُ عديّ شيخا لمجلسه، كما يأخذ المسلم عن النّصراني، والنّصراني عن المسلم وغيره، فنشأ من تفاعل هذه الثقافات كلّها نسيجٌ جديد في عالم حضاري مُتألّق هو الحضارة العربية الإسلامية.

عمار الطالبي. " أفق العقل لدى التّوحيدي" مجلة فصول. ص 75

2- مظاهر الانفتاح العقلي

ومن مظاهر الانفتاح العقلي والاستنارة الفكرية في هذا القرن ، تَسامحُ المسلمين مع أتباع الديانات الأخرى في زمن كانت فيه فكرة التسامح الديني في أنحاء أخرى من الأرض تكاد تكون غريبة. ومن صُور هذا التسامح، أنّ حلقات العلم في بغداد وغيرها من حواضر المشرق الإسلامي، كانت تضمُّ المسلمين وغير المسلمين، ومن هؤلاء الملّحِد والنصراني واليهودي والمجوسي. وقد لاحظ آدمُ مَتْز أنّ تسامح المسلمين هذا مع اليهود والنصارى، هو التسامح الذي لم يسمع بمثله في القرون الوسطى.

محمود إبراهيم. أبو حيان التوحيدي–الدار المتحدة للنشر بيروت (د.ت) ص 27

***Reader: Part 1* (Literature Track), Grade 13, p. 253**

1- Acculturation in the Time of al-Tawhidi
[...] Culture in Baghdad became of a cosmopolitan nature, with intertwining elements composed of various strains of ethnicities, peoples and philosophies. The scholar or scribe, in addition to the Philosopher, is bound to draw from the wisdom of other nations [...]
In such [scholastic] gatherings Muslims met with Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians and Sabians; even Christians would sometimes lead a gathering, like Yahya ibn 'Adi who led a gathering; Muslims would learn from Christians, and Christians from Muslims and others. The cooperation of all these cultures yielded a new fabric in a radiant cultural world – the Arab Islamic culture.
2- Features of Scholastic Openness

Among the features of scholastic openness and intellectual enlightenment of that century is the tolerance of Muslims to other religions, at a time when the idea of religious tolerance was almost foreign in other parts of the world. An example for such tolerance is the learning circles in Baghdad and elsewhere in the cities of the Islamic East, which incorporated Muslims and non-Muslims such as atheists, Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians. Adam Metz has noted that that instance of Muslim tolerance to Jews and Christians was a tolerance like non-other in the Middle Ages.

Other History chapters on early Islamic state and society focus on the great amount of religious tolerance demonstrated toward Christians and Jews who did not convert to Islam.[78] The Treaty of Medina, wherein the Prophet Muhammad guaranteed the rights of the Jewish inhabitants of the settlement after his arrival there with his Muslim followers in 622 AD, is highlighted in several textbooks.[79] While one textbook notes the negative example of Dhu Nuwas, a sixth century Jewish Arabian ruler who attempted to force the inhabitants of Yemen to convert to Judaism, the textbook does not call attention to his Jewish identity nor describe his misdeeds as being the responsibility of Jewish people collectively.[80]

More local examples of such inter-religious and intercultural connections between Muslims, Jews, and Christians are also present across textbooks. To demonstrate the spread of Abrahamic religions in the ancient era, a Torah scroll from the Tunisian island of Djerba and a Church mosaic from the Bardo Museum near Tunis are featured, suggesting that all three major monotheistic faiths are to be found among Tunisian heritage.[81] An example of religious coexistence during the Middle Ages, in what is now Tunisia, was in the city of Kairouan. A History textbook for Grade 10 describes how the city's commerce allowed for clear "cultural cross-pollination" between many people, including Andalusian Arabs, Jews and Christians.

77 See also Anwar – Literary Texts, Grade 9, p. 258.

78 *History (Humanities, Economics and Services Branch)*, Grade 11, p. 140.

79 *Social Subjects*, Grade 5, p. 55; Social Subjects, Grade 7, p. 92; *Islamic Thought (Humanities Track)*, Grade 12, p. 34.

80 *History (Humanities, Economy and Services Track)*, Grade 11, p. 113.

81 *History (Science and Technology Track*), Grade 11, p. 15.

القيروان : أهمية النشاط التجاري

- استفادت القيروان من موقعها الجغرافي وتحولها إلى عاصمة لتبرز في مجال افريقيّة كقطب متميّز سياسيا واقتصادي.
- مثّل النشاط التّجاري أهم مظهر للتطوّر الاقتصادي لمدينة القيروان إذ كانت نقطة إلتقاء لأهم المسالك التّجاريّة:
  - الجادة الكبرى : أي الطريق التّجاريّة البرية الرّابطة بين الشرق والغرب
  - المسالك الصحراويّة الرّابطة بين بلاد السودان وأوروبا والمتوسّط عبر القيروان
- أسهم ازدهار التّجارة بالقيروان في تطوّر التّقنيّات التّجاريّة كالوكالة واعتماد الحوّلات للشراء إضافة إلى توسّع نشاط المحتسب في نطاق تنظيم الأسواق الداخليّة.
- عكس النشاط التجاري التطوّر العمراني لمدينة القيروان وتحسّن المستوى الاجتماعي لسكّانها وخاصّة بروز طبقة ثريّة من التجّار.
- مكّن النّشاط التّجاري من تلاقح حضاري واضح بين عديد الشعوب (تواجد تجار من مناطق مختلفة بالقيروان : عرب أندلسيون – يهود – نصارى).

History, Grade 10, p. 98.

Kairouan: the Importance of Commerce
[...]
Commerce allowed for clear cultural cross-pollination between many peoples (merchants from various areas operated in Kairouan: Andalusian Arabs, Jews, Christians).

Along with these examples of a tolerant approach to Jews, one also finds conspicuous negative depictions, some of which may have a profound impact on how students perceive Jewish people. Drawing on antisemitic tropes of domination over media and the economy, textbooks attribute deception to Jews and Judaism, as well as schemes to expand control and power. A Grade 11 Arabic Language textbook contains a short story by an Egyptian author linking Jews to exploitation and control of the economy. The story presents a greedy Jewish merchant who tries to buy a sheep from a Muslim farmer at an unfair price. The story's introduction explains that Jewish people were generally known traders, associated with exploitation. A Muslim merchant advises the farmer not to be angry, since "the Jews are always like this." The farmer notes that although the British have left Egypt, his people still feel as though a "giant" (*mārid ḍaḵm*) is playing with its fate, likening the Jewish community to a mythical monster. The story ends with the accusation that the Jews' "new plan" is to control the economy as a reimagined form of colonialism, thereby evoking antisemitic tropes of Jewish control over capital as well as identifying Jewish people as responsible for the traumatic experience of European colonialism in Arab countries. The text presents Jews as an enemy, contradicting other examples of Jews and Muslims living side by side.

التمهيد:

في التجارة وفي غيرها من مجالات الكسب أنماط من السلوك كثيرا ما تغيب فيها القيم النبيلة أمام شهوات الربح وسحر المال. ومن الشهير أن اليهود عرفوا بالتجارة واقترن بالاستغلال ذكرهم. ومن الناس من يرى أنّ الإيمان بالله واهبا للرزق وحده يعدّل غلواء التكالب على سبل الإثراء.

صاحب النصّ:

نجيب الكيلاني: أديب مصريّ أصل اختصاصه الطبّ، ولد عام واحد وثلاثين وتسعمائة وألف(1931). كان غزير الإنتاج كتب متنقلا بموضوعاته في كثير من بلاد الإسلام. من مؤلفاته: ليالي تركستان، الطفل الأسود، أرض الأنبياء، نور الله، قائل حمزة، بابليون في الأزهر، آفاق الأدب الإسلاميّ، مدخل في الأدب الإسلاميّ، المسرح الإسلاميّ، لمحات من حياتي، حبيبتي سراييفو. وقد توفي عام خمسة وتسعين وتسعمائة وألف(1995).

Arabic (Sports Track), Grade 11, 2023, pp. 250-253

Introduction:
In trade, as well as other fields of earning money, many times there are types of behavior in which noble values disappear due to the greed to earn [money], and the charm of money. It is well known that the Jews were known as traders, and they were associated with exploitation. Some people believe that the belief that Allah is the only one who provides sustenance can eliminate the endless pursuit of wealth.

أَخْبَرَنِي بِثَمَنِ بَخْسٍ[5] لَمْ أَتَعَوَّدِ الْبَيْعَ بِهِ مِنْ قَبْلُ، فَأَبْدَيْتُ رَفْضِي عَلَى الْفَوْرِ وَأَنَا أَكَادُ أَصْفَعُهُ، غَيْرَ أَنِّي كُنْتُ مُتَمَالِكًا تَمَامًا لِأَعْصَابِي، يَجِبُ أَنْ يَكُونَ التَّاجِرُ صَبُورًا مُتَسَامِحًا، قَالَ وَهُوَ يَزْفِرُ فِي ضِيقٍ:

– لَنْ تَجِدَ ثَمَنًا أَكْثَرَ مِنْهُ.

وَوَجَدْتُنِي أَنْصَرِفُ عَنْهُ، تَرَكْتُ مَائِدَتَهُ ثَائِرًا، وَعُدْتُ أَرْتَجِفُ غَيْظًا إِلَى مَكَانِي الْقَدِيمِ، مَالَ عَلَيَّ التَّاجِرُ الأَوَّلُ الَّذِي أَرْشَدَنِي إِلَيْهِ قَائِلًا:

– لَا تَتَضَايَقْ.

– إِنَّهُ غَرِيبُ الشَّأْنِ.

– هَكَذَا دَائِمًا الْيَهُودُ.

– أَهُوَ يَهُودِيٌّ؟

– أَجَلْ إِسْرَائِيلِيٌّ مُحَنَّكٌ[6] وَصَاحِبُ أَكْبَرِ شَرِكَةٍ لِتِجَارَةِ اللُّحُومِ.

فَقُلْتُ فِي إِصْرَارٍ وَالشَّرَرُ يَتَطَايَرُ مِنْ عَيْنَيَّ:

– لَنْ أَبِيعَهَا لَهُ وَلَوْ نَفِقَتْ[7] كُلُّهَا وَأَكَلَتْهَا الْوُحُوشُ.

وَخَرَجْتُ إِلَى الشَّارِعِ. الْمَدِينَةُ شَدِيدَةُ الرُّطُوبَةِ، وَالْكَآبَةُ تَجْثِمُ عَلَى قَلْبِي، وَهُمُومُ الْقُطْعَانِ الَّتِي لَا بُدَّ مِنْ بَيْعِهَا تَبْعَثُ الضِّيقَ فِي نَفْسِي. وَتَذَكَّرْتُ شَيْخِي عِنْدَ اللهِ، كَثِيرًا مَا كَانَ يُحَدِّثُنَا عَنِ الصَّبْرِ وَالاعْتِمَادِ عَلَى اللهِ، وَأَنَّ أَرْزَاقَنَا فِي السَّمَاءِ، وَهِيَ مَحْسُوبَةٌ بِدِقَّةٍ.

وَمِلْتُ عَلَى أَقْرَبِ مَسْجِدٍ لِأُؤَدِّيَ الْفَرِيضَةَ، وَفِي الْمَسْجِدِ شَعَرْتُ بِبَرْدِ الْيَقِينِ وَالْهُدُوءِ وَالسَّلَامِ وَالطُّمَأْنِينَةِ.

ثُمَّ خَرَجْتُ بَعْدَ سَاعَةٍ إِلَى الشَّارِعِ إِنَّنِي أَمْضِي فِي بِلَادِي كَالْمُطَارِدِ الْغَرِيبِ، هُوَ الشُّعُورُ الَّذِي كُنْتُ أَشْعُرُ بِهِ إِبَّانَ[8] الاحْتِلَالِ الإِنْجِلِيزِيِّ، خُرُوجُ الْعَدُوِّ لَمْ يُغَيِّرْ كَثِيرًا، وَأَجِدُ شَعْبِي فِي قَبْضَةِ مَارِدٍ[9] ضَخْمٍ يَلْعَبُ بِمَصِيرِهِ بِطَرِيقَةٍ غَرِيبَةٍ. الْعَبْءُ هُوَ الْخُطَّةُ الْجَدِيدَةُ، وَالسَّيْطَرَةُ عَلَى مَنَافِذِ الاقْتِصَادِ وَالْمَالِ وَالتِّجَارَةِ تُشَكِّلُ خَطَرًا وَاسْتِعْمَارًا مِنْ جَدِيدٍ.

قَدْ يَكُونُ الْغَرِيبُ أَنِّي اسْتَطَعْتُ فِي الْيَوْمِ التَّالِي بَيْعَ كُلِّ مَا عِنْدِي مِنَ الأَغْنَامِ فِي خِلَالِ بِضْعِ سَاعَاتٍ، فَقَدِ اسْتَطَاعَ أَحَدُ التُّجَّارِ الْعَرَبِ أَنْ يُرْشِدَنِي إِلَى مُتَعَهِّدٍ لِلتَّغْذِيَةِ فِي الْجَيْشِ وَكَانَ الثَّمَنُ ضِعْفَ مَا عَرَضَهُ الْيَهُودِيُّ.

نجيب الكيلاني، عمالقة الشمال
سلسلة روايات إسلامية معاصرة بتصرف، ص 40 – 42.

Arabic (Sports Track), Grade 11, 2023, pp. 250-253

(See the continuation of the example on the following page)

[…]
He offered me a low price… and I immediately refused… I left his table angry… The first trader who guided me to go to him leaned toward me saying:
- Don't get angry.
- It is a strange matter.
- The Jews are always like this.
- Is he Jewish?
- Yes. An experienced Israelite. And the owner of the biggest company for trading meat.
[…]
I walk in my land as a hunted stranger. This is the feeling I felt during the English occupation. The leaving of the enemy didn't change much, and I find my people in the hands of a giant playing with its fate in a strange manner. Manipulation is the new plan, and the control over the gates of the economy, money, and trade constitutes a danger, and a new [form of] colonialism. The strange thing is that in the following day, I managed to sell all my sheep within a few hours… and the price was double the price offered by the Jew.

Another example from a Grade 12 History textbook draws on similar tropes of Jewish control of the economy, attempting to demonstrate the alleged phenomenon of "Jewish control on Algerian trade" through a letter excerpt (sent by the French consul in Algeria in 1798) that accuses them of secretly scheming to "subjugate Tunisia to Algeria, establishing a new regime that will devastate France."[82]

Tunisian textbooks also contain typically Western antisemitic libels associating Jews with control over the economy and the media. One libelous example is an explanation of a literary text by Fyodor Dostoevsky mentioning the Rothschild family, describing them as controlling world capital, which fuels antisemitic tropes.

الهوامش

– روتشيلد : هو أحد أثرياء اليهود الذين عرفهم القرن الثامن عشر، وقد أصبح هذا الاسم دالا فيما بعد وإلى حدود اليوم على العائلة روتشيلد المتحكمة في الثروة العالمية في مختلف المجالات ويمتد وجودها في أوروبا بين فرنسا وألمانيا وروسيا وغيرها.

***Philosophy (Scientific Tracks),* Grade 12, p. 22.**

Rothschild: one of the Jewish philanthropists of the 18th century, a name which came therefore and until today to denote the Rothschild family which controls world capital in various fields, and its existence in Europe spreads from France to Germany, Russia, and elsewhere.

Additionally, in the context of Jewish influence in the diaspora, a Grade 12 Arabic textbook presents a text about defending the freedom of speech, describing how the influence of the Jewish diaspora in New York implicitly enabled academic backlash against the American Palestinian academic and activist Edward Said at Columbia University, who was photographed during his visit to the Palestinian territories throwing a rock toward Israel from the border, doing so "in solidarity with the Intifada." The text describes "Jewish students" at the university taking an active part in harassing Said, taking down his photo and calling for punitive steps against him. The text not only legitimizes rock-throwing and Intifada violence, but also frames the incident within a broader narrative of the powerful and organized "Jewish diaspora." It portrays the academic backlash—led by two professors and students who "bigotedly supported Israel"—as disingenuous, casting their criticism as part of a calculated scheme.

٥ – دفاعًا عن حريّة الرأي

تمهيد :

إدوارد سعيد فلسطينيّ عاش في أمريكا معروف بكتاباته الكثيرة المتعلّقة بالقضيّة الفلسطينيّة وبعدائه للهيمنة الإسرائيليّة على مصير الفلسطينيين ممّا أثار له الكثير من العداء في محيط عمله بجامعة كولومبيا الواقعة بمدينة نيويورك حيث الجالية اليهوديّة كبيرة قويّة منظّمة فعّالة. وفي النصّ التالي يبادر الدكتور فكري اندرواس إلى الدّفاع عن حريّة التعبير عن الرّأي انطلاقا من حادثة حصلت لإدوارد سعيد.

القضيّةُ تتعلّقُ بإدوارد سعيد حين زار الأراضي الفلسطينيّةَ في الصّيف الماضي، ومِنْ نقطة على الحدود مع إسرائيل قذف حجرًا على الأراضي الإسرائيليّة تضامنا مع الانتفاضة. وبسرعة طارت صورةُ إدوارد سعيد وهو يقذفُ الحجر إلى مدينة نيويورك وتلقّفها بعضُ الطّلبة اليهود في جامعة كولومبيا، ونُظّمتْ المظاهراتُ والمحاضراتُ ضدّ ذلك الأستاذ بالجامعة والّتي قادها اثنان من الأساتذة وكثيرٌ من الطّلبة المؤيّدين لإسرائيل بتعصّب. وقد طالبُوا بمعاقبة إدوارد سعيد وإقصائه عن الجامعة.

***Alamat: Arabic Textbook* (Scientific Tracks), Grade 12 pp. 243-245**

5- Defending the Freedom of Speech
Introduction:
Edward Said is a Palestinian who lived in the United States, known for his many works concerning the Palestinian Cause and his animus to the Israeli hegemony on the lives of Palestinians. This instigated against him a great deal of antagonism from his work environment in Columbia University in the city of New York, where the Jewish diaspora is large, strong, organized and active
[…]
1. The issue concerns Edward Said when he visited the Palestinian territories last summer. He threw a rock from a post bordering Israel toward the Israeli territories in solidarity with the Intifada. Soon enough, the photograph of Edward Said throwing the rock reached the city of New York. Some Jewish students in Columbia University snatched the photograph, and organized protests and lectures against that professor at the University, which were led by two professors and many students bigotedly supporting Israel. They demanded to arrest Edward Said and ban him from the University.

82 *History (Literature and Economy and Administration Tracks)*, Grade 12, 2023, p. 178.

Nevertheless, some Tunisian textbooks openly discuss antisemitism and the persecution of Jews. In one such case, this occurs in the context of discussions around the origins of the Zionist movement in nineteenth century Europe, describing its nascence as tied to "colonialism and antisemitism." The textbook argues that France and Britain "tempted" Jews to settle in Palestine, in order to fulfill their colonialist aspirations in a section titled "colonialist greedy ambitions." However, the text also acknowledges the objective role of antisemitism in encouraging Jews to emigrate from Europe. The text focuses on its portrayal of Zionism as a cynical exploitation of antisemitic persecution to colonize Palestine for imperialist interests.

١- الأطماع الاستعمارية : [2-1]

ارتبطت الأطماع الاستعمارية في فلسطين بأهمية موقعها كجزء من المشرق العربي الذي يحتل مكانة استراتيجية نظرا لتوسطه مفارق الطرق بين القارات القديمة (آسيا ـ إفريقيا ـ أوروبا) ولثرواته الطائلة.

وقد سعت القوى الاستعمارية الأوروبية (فرنسا وبريطانيا خاصة) منذ القرن الثامن عشر إلى استغلال أهمية موقع فلسطين لبسط نفوذها على منطقة الشرق العربي والسيطرة عليه فتحول بذلك دون قيام وحدة عربية.

استخدمت الأوساط الاستعمارية يهود أوروبا وذلك بإغرائهم بإقامة وطن لهم بفلسطين ودفعهم إلى التجمع فيها قصد استغلالهم كوسيلة لتحقيق الأطماع الاستعمارية، فكان بروز الفكرة الصهيونية في إطار سياسة التوسع الاستعماري.

٢- الحركة الصهيونية [3]

أ- نشأتها :

نشأت الحركة الصهيونية في أوروبا في النصف الثاني من القرن التاسع عشر، وهي حركة تدعو إلى خلق دولة يهودية بفلسطين، وقد ارتبط ميلادها بعاملين أساسيين : الاستعمار واللاسامية. فلئن كانت الأوساط الاستعمارية الفرنسية والبريطانية خاصة قد شجعت بروز الفكرة الصهيونية خدمة لمصالحها، فإن العامل المباشر الذي دعمها هو بروز تيار اللاسامية المعادي لليهود في المجتمعات الأوروبية مما أدى إلى اضطهادهم في أوروبا الشرقية أولا ثم أوروبا الغربية.

History **(Scientific Tracks), Grade 12, p. 269**

1. Colonialist Greedy Ambitions: (2-1)

Colonial greedy ambitions regarding Palestine are tied to the importance of is location: it is part of the Arab Mashreq which occupies a strategic location, situated in the midst of crossroads between the old continents (Asia, Africa, Europe), and rich with energy resources.

Since the 18th century, European colonial powers (France and Britain in particular) have sought to exploit the importance of Palestine's location to expand their influence in the Arab Orient and seize control of it, as in doing so they would prevent the rise of Arab unity.

Colonialist circles used the Jews of Europe, by tempting them to establish a homeland of their own in Palestine and encourage them to congregate there, with the aim of exploiting them as a means of realizing colonial ambitions. As such, the emergence of Zionist ideology took place in the context of a colonialist, expansionist policy.

2. The Zionist Movement (2)

A. Its establishment:

The Zionist movement was formed in Europe in the second half of the 19th century. It is a movement that calls for the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. Its birth is tied to two fundamental factors: colonialism and antisemitism. It was French and British colonialist circles in particular who encouraged the emergence of Zionist ideology in service of their interests, but the immediate factor that supported it was the emergence of the antisemitic movement, which was hostile to the Jews in European societies, leading to their persecution in eastern Europe at first, and subsequently in western Europe.

In another case, the rise of antisemitism is presented as a leading factor in the rise of Zionism. Some attention is given to early Zionist leaders, and the impact of key examples of antisemitism, such as the late nineteenth century Dreyfus trial in France, on the movement's emergence. The text also mentions that Zionism benefited from the "racist anti-Jewish" Nazi policies, both in the sense that the exacerbated persecution of Jews in Europe pushed more of them to emigrate to Palestine, and that the post-war revelation of "Nazi crimes against the Jews" shaped public opinion in Western countries in the Zionists' favor.

This trend is reflected in another textbook, with the allegation that the Zionist movement used Nazi policies directed against the Jews in order to gain Western support . This may create the impression that the Zionists supported or consented to antisemitic policies, and furthers the portrayal of Jews as fundamentally cynical and opportunistic.[83] At the same time, the textbook authors criticize the Zionist movement for "deftly conflating" Nazism and antisemitism with (Arab) Palestinian anti-Zionist activity, which may prevent Tunisian students from considering whether or not Palestinian nationalism genuinely has exclusionary or antisemitic elements. At any rate, this text is notable for plainly conceding that the Jews faced "crimes" at the hands of the Nazis, and the Arab Palestinian leadership's decision to side with Nazi Germany is stated and left open for criticism.

ب – الحركة الصهيونية :

في نفس الوقت نشأت الحركة الصهيونية بأوروبا كردّ فعل ضدّ تنامي النّزعة اللاسامية المعادية لليهود باعتبارهم عنصرًا غير قابل للاندماج. وقد استفحلت هذه الحركة في ظلّ الأزمة الاقتصادية والاجتماعية التي عاشتها أوروبا في أواخر القرن 19 والثلث الأوّل من القرن 20. فبرزت في روسيا جمعية «عشاق صهيون» سنة 1882 وقد طرحت مسألة استيطان اليهود بفلسطين، بعد أن أصدر اليهودي الروسي "ليون بينسكر" كتابه "التحرير الذاتي" ونادى فيه بضرورة قيام وطن قومي لليهود بفلسطين كردّ فعل ضدّ سياسة القيصر الاسكندر الثالث المعادية للسامية. تأثر الصحفي اليهودي المجري النمساوي تيودور هرتزل بقضية الضابط اليهودي الفرنسي درايفوس الذي اتّهم في ديسمبر 1894 باطلا بالتجسّس لفائدة ألمانيا. فدعا هرتزل في كتابه «الدولة اليهودية» الذي نشره سنة 1896 بضرورة إقامة دولة يهودية تضمّ شتات اليهود في العالم وتحميهم من الاضطهاد، ونظّم المؤتمر الصّهيوني الأوّل بمدينة بازل السويسرية في أوت 1897. فانبثقت عنه "المنظّمة الصّهيونية العالمية" التي ستعمل على تكثيف الهجرة اليهودية وإنشاء وطن قومي لليهود بفلسطين. كما استفادت الحركة الصهيونية من السياسة العنصرية النازية المعادية لليهود في الثلاثينات، إذ تكثّفت الهجرة اليهودية نحو فلسطين من أوروبا الوسطى وخاصة من بولونيا وألمانيا، فمرّ معدّل هجرة اليهود نحو فلسطين من 8000 سنويا بين 1917 و1931 إلى 30000 بين 1932 و1938. وتحوّل عدد اليهود بفلسطين من 174000 سنة 1931 إلى 650000 سنة 1948.

١- قرار التقسيم والحرب العربية الإسرائيلية الأولى 1947-1948

بقدر ما كانت الظّروف المنبثقة عن الحرب العالمية الثانية مواتية للمشروع الصّهيوني، بقدر ما كانت غير ملائمة للحركة الوطنية الفلسطينية. فقد حظيت الحركة الصّهيونية بدعم الرأي العام الغربي وتعاطفه بعد اكتشاف الجرائم النازية المرتكبة في حق اليهود، ونشأت لديه «عقدة الذنب» والرغبة في تقديم تعويضات لليهود بالشرق الأوسط ولكن ذلك كان على حساب الشعب الفلسطيني. فأحكم الصهاينة الخلط بين العداء للسامية ومقاومة الصّهيونية، وبين حركة عنصرية وحركة تحرير وطنية، لإبراز النضال الوطني الفلسطيني في مظهر حركة عنصرية معادية للسامية تمثل امتدادا للنازية. واستغلّت الوكالة اليهودية هذا الدّعم العالمي لتعزيز قوّتها السياسية والعسكرية وخاصّة جناحها العسكري «الهاغانا» الذي زوّدته بأسلحة عصرية وبلغ عدد أفراده 40000 رجل، فضلا عن العصابات الإرهابية الأخرى التي انشقّت عن «الهاغانا» وكانت أكثر تطرّفا مثل «الأرغون» و«شتيرن»، هذا إلى جانب مساندة الحركة الصّهيونية للحلفاء أثناء الحرب العالمية الثانية،و تبعا لذلك وجدت نفسها في صفّ المنتصرين عند إنتهاء الحرب، على عكس الحركة الوطنية الفلسطينية التي تزعّمها أمين الحسيني حليف ألمانيا، والتي

History **(Literature and Economy and Management Tracks), Grade 13, pp. 246–247**

(See the continuation of the example on the following page)

83 *Social Subjects*, Grade 9, p. 76

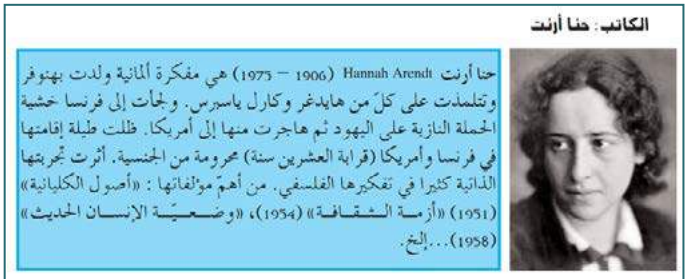
B. The Zionist Movement
At the same time [as the rise of European imperialism] the Zionist Movement emerged in Europe, in response to the growth of the Jew-hating trend of antisemitism, which considers them to be a race that cannot be assimilated. [...] The Russian Jew Leon Pinsker published his book, Auto-Emancipation, where he argued for the necessity of establishing a Jewish national home in Palestine in response to the antisemitic policy of Tsar Alexander III. Austro-Hungarian Jewish journalist Theodor Herzl was influenced by the case of French Jewish officer Dreyfus, who was falsely accused in December 1894 of spying for Germany. In his book published in 1896, The Jewish State, Herzl argued for the need to establish a Jewish state that would gather the Jewish diaspora around the world and protect them from persecution. [...] The Zionist Movement also benefited from the racist, anti-Jewish Nazi policy in the 30s, and thus Jewish immigration to Palestine from central Europe, and particularly from Poland and Germany, intensified [...]
1. The Partition Plan [for Palestine] and the 1947–1948 First Arab-Israeli War
As much as the situation resulting from WWII benefited the Zionist project, it was unsuitable for the Palestinian national movement. The Zionist movement enjoyed the support and sympathy of the Western public opinion after the discovery of Nazi crimes against the Jews, creating a "guilt complex" among [the Westerners] and a desire to compensate the Jews in the Middle East at the expense of the Palestinian people. The Zionists deftly conflated antisemitism with resistance to Zionism – a racist movement with a national liberation movement – in order to highlight the Palestinian national struggle in the form of a racist, antisemitic movement that constitutes an extension to Nazism. […] The Zionist movement supported the Allies in WWII, and consequently found itself among the winners at the end of the war, unlike the Palestinian national movement led by Amin Al-Husayni, Germany's ally. […]

Regarding events leading up to World War II and the Holocaust, analysis of these textbooks reveal particularly negative results. While textbooks include references to the 1933 Nazi book burning, concentration camps for oppositionists,[84] the millions of casualties of the war,[85] and the bombing of Hiroshima, the deliberate Nazi targeting and persecution of Jews is absent from most discussions of that era, and none of the surveyed books include any discussion on the Holocaust. One Grade 13 History textbook illustrates how the war's impact on Jews is ignored, as it presents an image of a massacre perpetrated by the Nazis in Crimea in 1942 without any reference to the fact that the victims shown were Jewish.[86]

History **(Literature and Economy and Management Tracks), Grade 13, p. 77**

Massacres and Human tragedies...
Crimea, Soviet Union, 1942

Textbooks also state that the oppressive policies of the Nazi regime forced famous historical figures, such as Albert Einstein, to leave Germany for fear of persecution, but fail to mention that they are Jewish.[87] The only example referencing the targeting of Jews is a short text about Jewish philosopher Hanna Arendt, which states that she fled Germany because of the "Nazi campaign against the Jews."[88] While this acknowledges Jewish victimhood, it does not specify the scale nor significance of this targeting.



Philosophy **(Scientific Tracks), Grade 12, p. 36**

Author: Hannah Arendt
Hannah Arendt (1906–1975) is a German thinker [...] She fled to France fearing the Nazi campaign against the Jews, after which she immigrated to America [...].

84 *History (Humanities and Economy & Management Branches)*, Grade 13, p. 61.

85 *History (Humanities and Economy & Management Branches)*, Grade 13, pp. 76, 86, 93.

86 The featured photograph is entitled "Grief", taken by Dmitri Baltermants, and depicts the 1942 Nazi massacre of Jews in the Crimean city of Kerch. "Dmitri Baltermants – Grief, 1942," Museum of Modern Art (MOMA). https://www.moma.org/collection/works/135035

87 *Philosophy (Literature Tracks)*, Grade 13, Vol. 1, p. 302; *Philosophy (Literature Tracks)*, Grade 13, Vol. 2, p. 150

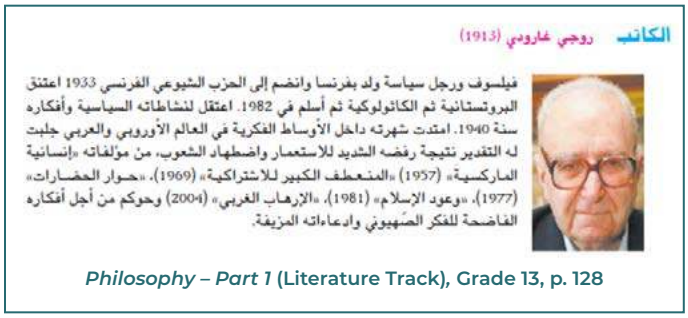
88 Note that another Philosophy textbook which mentions Arendt also omits the fact that she was Jewish, stating she emigrated due to "Nazi oppression": *Philosophy for Literature Branch*, Vol. 2, Grade 13, p. 150.

While some descriptions do mention Nazi extremism and crimes, they too fail to reference their impact on Jews. For instance, a Grade 12 Philosophy textbook criticizes Hitler's racist ideologies, presenting excerpts gleaned from his Mein Kampf, such as the supremacy of the Aryan race, and the use of the goniometer device (used to measure nose and face contours). To critique Nazi ideas, students are encouraged to consider race from a strictly scientific perspective, and Grade 12 students are instructed to prepare a document demonstrating how science disproves the existence of a superior race.[89]

However, despite mentioning the fact that death camps were built under his rule, Hitler is still referenced somewhat favorably, insinuating that his accomplishments overshadow his faults.[90] A Grade 11 Literature textbook presents a short passage about Hitler, which describes him in an almost positive tone, describing him as "one of the most important figures in the fields of politics and warfare in the 20th century" who "turned [Germany] within a short period of time into a great economic and military power." The passage entirely ignores the Holocaust, or any other atrocities committed by Hitler, merely stating that his invasion of Poland ignited World War II. This passage is presented following a story by the Egyptian author Naguib Mahfouz, which takes place in Egypt during World War II, in which some of the characters mention Hitler, viewing him as an ally of Muslim countries against British colonialism.[91]

Even more puzzling is the absence of textbook presentation of Tunisia's own war-time history. Hardly any of the surveyed books referenced the fact that the country was under direct German occupation between November 1942 and May 1943. During that period, anti-Jewish measures were implemented against Tunisian Jews, as part of the initial stages of the Nazi plan to annihilate Jews. The only references to this era were found in a Grade 13 textbook, which maintains that Tunisia remained neutral during the war and later veered toward supporting the Allies.[92] This is an important part of Tunisia's history which is entirely omitted from textbooks.

Beyond History texts, Philosophy textbooks cite texts written by German philosophers who had been Nazi party members, such as Carl Schmitt and Martin Heidegger, without drawing attention to their racist beliefs or involvement in the party.[93] This further reinforces the need for a complete overhaul of textbooks pertaining to this era, as when the Holocaust is not present in textbooks, Holocaust denial is allowed to creep in. Grade 13 students are introduced to French philosopher Roger Garaudy, who rejected colonialism and who textbooks claim was put on trial for allegedly "embarrassingly" exposing the "false claims [of] Zionist thought" without elaborating further. In reality, Garaudy was convicted of Holocaust denial and for claiming that the murder of six million Jews was a myth.[94] This example reinforces the need to completely revisit topics concerning World War II and the Holocaust as they are omitted or presented in Tunisian textbooks.


الكاتب روجي غارودي (1913)

فيلسوف ورجل سياسة ولد بفرنسا وانضم إلى الحزب الشيوعي الفرنسي 1933 اعتنق البروتستانية ثم الكاثولوكية ثم أسلم في 1982. اعتقل لنشاطاته السياسية وأفكاره سنة 1940. امتدت شهرته داخل الأوساط الفكرية في العالم الأوروبي والعربي جلبت له التقدير نتيجة رفضه الشديد للاستعمار واضطهاد الشعوب، من مؤلفاته «إنسانية الماركسية» (1957) «المنعطف الكبير للاشتراكية» (1969)، «حوار الحضارات» (1977)، «وعود الإسلام» (1981)، «الإرهاب الغربي» (2004) وحوكم من أجل أفكاره الفاضحة للفكر الصّهيوني وادعاءاته المزيفة.

Philosophy – Part 1 **(Literature Track), Grade 13, p. 128**

Author: Roger Garaudy [...]
His renown spread widely among thinkers in Europe and the Arab world, which brought him esteem due to his strong rejection of colonialism and oppression of peoples [...] He was tried for his views that embarrassingly expose Zionist thought and its false claims.

89 *Philosophy* (Literature Tracks), Grade 12, pp. 99–100.

90 *Philosophy* (Literature Tracks), Grade 12, pp. 99-100; *History for Science Classes*, Grade 12, pp. 126-127,133.

91 *Springs of Literature*, Part 2, Grade 11, 2023, pp. 166-168

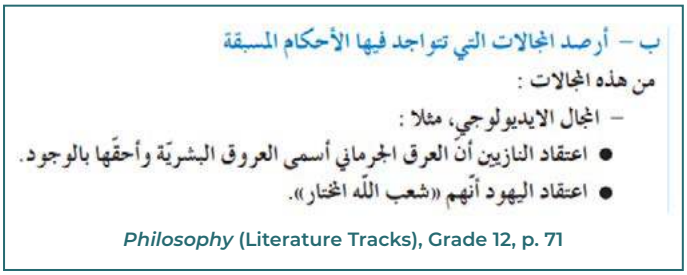
92 See *History* (Literature and Economy and Management Tracks), Grade 13, p. 213. It should be noted that the existence of this content could not be corroborated in the textbook available on the official MoE site, because the bulk of many pages which cover the chapter is missing from the latter.

93 *Philosophy* (Literature Branch), Grade 13, Vol. 2, p. 181; *Philosophy* (Sciences Track), Grade 13, p. 213

94 "Writer fined for Holocaust writings," *BBC News*, February. 27, 1998. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/60742.stm

Aside from Holocaust denial, Tunisian textbooks display narratives that also deny or criticize key beliefs in Judaism, such as the belief that Jews constitute "God's chosen people," and question the very existence of a Jewish people. Grade 12 students learn in a Philosophy textbook chapter on logical fallacies that the statements "the Jewish minorities, scattered around the world before the foundation of the State of Israel, constitute a people" and "these [Jewish] minorities do not belong to [other] peoples" are examples of fallacies, strongly urging Tunisian students to view Jewish peoplehood as fundamentally false.[95]

Textbooks even liken Jewish religious beliefs to Nazi race theory, as the same Philosophy textbook teaches that both the belief in the Jews as "God's chosen people" and the Nazi theory of the supremacy of the German race are two key examples of "prejudice," in a chapter teaching about prejudice as a philosophical concept. The textbook does not attempt to objectively explain the significance of chosen peoplehood in Judaism, nor the fact that no mainstream Jewish denomination accepts the interpretation that it should be understood in racial terms.[96] These notions thus imply that Jews exaggerate their victimhood and abuse their religious beliefs, which some textbooks claims is to fuel Zionist agenda and policies, an idea corroborated by a Grade 12 Arabic text which accuses mass media of spreading "the myth of the oppressed Jew" and "the terrorist Arab."[97]



ب – أرصد المجالات التي تتواجد فيها الأحكام المسبقة
من هذه المجالات :
– المجال الايديولوجي، مثلا :
● اعتقاد النازيين أنّ العرق الجرماني أسمى العروق البشريّة وأحقّها بالوجود.
● اعتقاد اليهود أنّهم «شعب اللّه المختار».

Philosophy **(Literature Tracks), Grade 12, p. 71**

B - I will identify the fields in which prejudices exist.
Among these fields:
- the ideological field, such as:
** The Nazis' belief that the German race is superior and more deserving to exist to other human races*
** The Jews' belief that they are "God's chosen people".*

95 *Philosophy* (Arts Track) Grade 12, p. 83

96 "Chosen People," The Jewish Encyclopedia, (New York: Funk & Wagnalis, 1906), pp. 45-46. https://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/4355-chosen-people

97 *Signs - Arabic* (Sciences track), Grade 12, p. 239. See Emma C. Murphy, "The Foreign Policy of Tunisia," *The Foreign Policy of Middle*

International Relations and Global Perspectives

Tunisia's foreign policy is characterized by a modest, pragmatic, and moderate approach to managing foreign relations, the values of which radiate throughout textbooks addressing those topics, catering mostly to older students.[98] Tunisia's pro-Western orientation, and its focus on the economy rather than politics as the driving force of its foreign policy, results in a generally positive discussion of international relations and global perspectives in surveyed textbooks.

While France's colonial past is treated negatively, the overall approach to France reflects the "special" relationship between the two countries. French political ideals, embodied in the French revolution, along with French culture and art, are favorably presented in various texts. Attention is also given to the European Union's influence, without depicting it as a superpower. The Tunisian view of the United States, as featured in the textbooks, is more complex. The US is recognized as a dominant power, but is not always commended for its role as such, and there is some discussion of new emerging global powers, such as China. Further fluctuations in international affairs may require expanding the coverage given to such countries in textbooks.

Tunisia's immediate North African neighbors are featured in textbooks, with an emphasis on their national movements that fought for independence. Their more recent history, that has been central to regional North African politics in recent decades, is absent, such as Algeria's internal strife between the regime and Islamist groups in the 1990s, or the conflict over control of the Western Sahara region.[99] Tunisia's preference to refrain from these topics is understandable, given that some conflicts have not yet been resolved. However, in the long term, this may be a missed opportunity to provide students with important background and a better understanding of festering regional issues. Overall, regardless of these smaller issues, the presentation of international relations is generally comprehensive.

The Arab Maghreb countries – defined as Algeria, Libya, Mauritania and Morocco, alongside Tunisia itself – are portrayed as sister nations and a point of reference for understanding Tunisia's place in the world. One Islamic Education textbook mentions Tunisia's relations with other Arab Maghreb countries in the context of human fraternity, asking students to consider a union of Maghreb countries.[100] The Grade 9 Geography textbook devotes its entire first half to the geography of the Maghreb, with the five constituent states treated as a single unit and their shared natural and economic characteristics explored; only the second half focuses on Tunisia alone. This approach affirms that students should view Tunisia's regional context as vital for understanding their country and key to facing regional challenges. This attitude is illustrated by multiple maps of the Maghreb region, two of which are seen in examples below, that showcase the various commonalities between nations, such as mineral wealth and exposure to earthquakes, and the Maghreb's place in the world. Note that the maps depict the entirety of the disputed Western Sahara region as part of Morocco, without calling attention to the conflict surrounding the territory.

98 See Emma C. Murphy, "The Foreign Policiy of Tunisia" *The Forgein Policy of Middle East States* (eds. Raymond Hinnebusch and Anoushirvan Ehteshami), (Boulder: Lynne Rienner), 2022, pp. 235–256.

99 Michael J. Willis, Algeria: *Politics and Society From the Dark Decade to the Hirak*, (London: Hurst, 2022); Stephen Zunes and Jacob Mundy, *Western Sahara: War, Nationalism, and Conflict Resolution*, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2010).

100 *Islamic Education*, Grade 6, pp. 119, 122.

Social Subjects, Grade 9, p. 134

Activity 1: I will discover the advantages and pressures of the geographical location of the Arab Maghreb
Document 1: geographical location of the Arab Maghreb
[Map legend:] trade flows – ports – petroleum [shipping] route […] earthquake zone – earthquake[-prone] cities

Social Subjects, Grade 9, p. 148

Document 8: Map of mineral resources in the Arab Maghreb
[Map legend:] copper – iron – phosphate – lead and zinc – manganese – fluorite – key cities

The shared regional history of the Maghreb region, particularly in reference to the colonial period, is also explored in the Tunisian curriculum. Students are given a sympathetic view of nationalist movements and the anti-colonial struggle in neighboring countries (see below). However, recent regional contentions are absent from the surveyed textbooks, including the Western Sahara conflict. Here, there is room to introduce new themes related to the study of the current North African region.

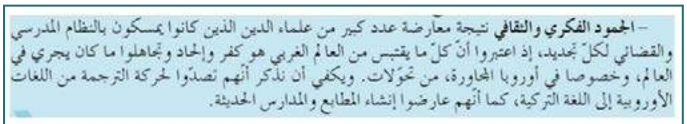
Meanwhile, the depiction of Europe, or Western civilization, is ambivalent. Western inspired innovation is viewed as a force to be embraced, countering intellectual and cultural stagnation. When teaching about Western and European enlightenment, the French Revolution is presented as a seminal event in the history of mankind. Learning about France, and by extension Europe and Western countries, is understood to be crucial for understanding the modern world.

خاتمة :
قطعت الثورة الفرنسية مع «النظام القديم» ومثّلت منعرجا حاسما لا في تاريخ فرنسا فحسب بل في تاريخ البشرية. فقد أرست تنظيمات سياسية واجتماعية جديدة تستند إلى مبادئ فكر التنوير، كان لها تأثير كبير في أنحاء مختلفة من العالم.

History (Scientific Tracks), Grade 12, p.32

Conclusion
The French Revolution marked a decisive break with the "Old Regime" and represented a critical turning point not only in the history of France but also in the history of humanity. It established new political and social structures based on the principles of Enlightenment thought, which had a profound impact across various parts of the world.

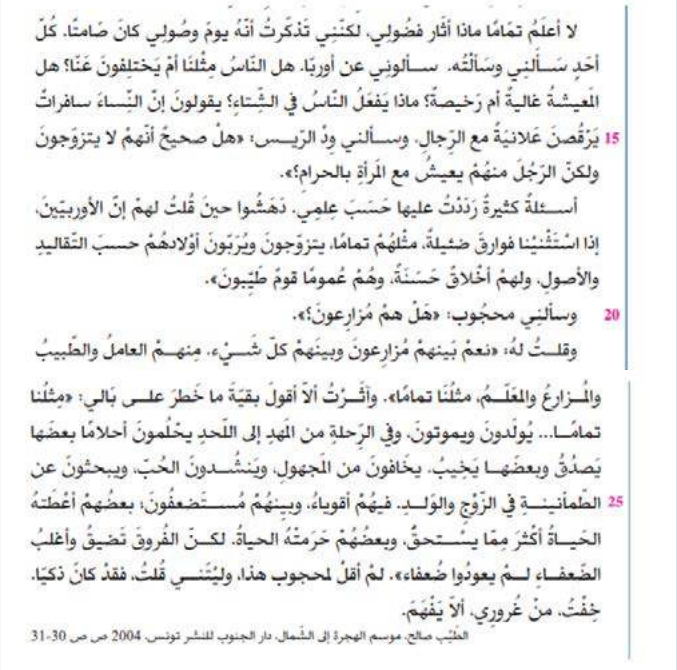
As part of the discussion on the French Revolution, History students are taught that the French religious establishment created a "stagnation" to the progress of enlightenment, resisting any form of renewal and positive transformation. In a religious society like Tunisia, this may guide students toward a critical discussion on the role of religious institutions in the facilitation of social progress. However, this discussion can also be interpreted as a singular accusation against Christianity and its role in societal development that does not apply to Islam.


– **الجمود الفكري والثقافي** نتيجة معارضة عدد كبير من علماء الدين الذين كانوا يمسكون بالنظام المدرسي والقضائي لكلّ تجديد، إذ اعتبروا أنّ كلّ ما يقتبس من العالم الغربي هو كفر وإلحاد وتجاهلوا ما كان يجري في العالم، وخصوصا في أوروبا المجاورة، من تحوّلات. ويكفي أن نذكر أنّهم تصدّوا لحركة الترجمة من اللغات الأوروبية إلى اللغة التركية، كما أنّهم عارضوا إنشاء المطابع والمدارس الحديثة.

History (Literature and Economy and Management Tracks), Grade 12, 2023, p. 165.

Intellectual and cultural stagnation: resulted from the opposition of a significant number of religious scholars who controlled the educational and judicial systems and resisted any form of renewal. They considered everything borrowed from the Western world as heresy and atheism, ignoring the transformations taking place globally, particularly in neighboring Europe. It is enough to note that they opposed the movement of translation from European languages into Turkish, as well as the establishment of modern printing presses and schools.

Some textbooks raise awareness of the need for intercultural dialogue. Students are introduced to Tayeb Salih's seminal 1966 novel Season of Migration to the North, the story of an Arab Sudanese student who visits the West and adopts the values of British society; he is then faced with the challenge of introducing these values to his home society when he returns to his homeland. One such example is introduced to the students when the character urges his prejudiced family that Europeans are "exactly like them" and are generally good people. The example may prompt Tunisian students to consider the human commonalities that transcend cultural and religious boundaries, specifically between Arab Muslims and Europeans.


لا أعلَمُ تمامًا ماذا أثار فضولي. لكنّني تذكّرتُ أنّهُ يومَ وُصولي كانَ صامتًا. كُلّ أحَدٍ سَـألَني وسَألتُه. سـألوني عن أوربّا. هل النّاسُ مِثلَنا أمْ يَختلِفونَ عَنّا؟ هل المَعيشَةُ غاليةٌ أم رَخيصةٌ؟ ماذا يَفعَلُ النّاسُ في الشّتاءِ؟ يقولونَ إنّ النِّساءَ سافراتٌ يَرقُصنَ عَلانيَةً مع الرِّجالِ. وسـألني وِدّ الرّيـس: «هلْ صحيحٌ أنّهمْ لا يتزوّجونَ ولكنّ الرّجُلَ منهُمْ يعيشُ مع المَرأةِ بالحرام؟».

أسـئلةٌ كثيرةٌ رَدَدْتُ عليها حَسَبَ عِلمي. دَهَشُوا حينَ قُلتُ لهمْ إنّ الأوربيّينَ، إذا اسْتَثْنَيْنا فوارقَ ضئيلةً، مِثلُهُمْ تمامًا. يتزوّجونَ ويُربّونَ أوْلادهُمْ حسبَ التّقاليدِ والأصولِ. ولهمْ أخْلاقٌ حَسَنَةٌ. وهُمْ عُمومًا قومٌ طيّبونَ».

وسألَني محجُوب: «هَلْ همْ مُزارِعونَ؟».

وقلتُ لهُ: «نعمْ بَينهمْ مُزارِعونَ وبينَهُمْ كلّ شَـيْءٍ. منهـمُ العاملُ والطّبيبُ والمُـزارعُ والمعلّـمُ، مِثلُنا تمامًا». وأثـرْتُ ألاّ أقولَ بقيّةَ ما خَطرَ علـى بَالي: «مِثلُنا تمامًـا... يُولَدونَ ويموتونَ. وفي الرِّحلةِ من المَهدِ إلى اللّحدِ يحْلُمونَ أحلامًا بعضُها يَصدُقُ وبعضُهـا يَخيبُ. يخافونَ من المَجهولِ. ويَنشُـدونَ الحُبّ، ويبحثونَ عن الطّمأنينـةِ في الزّوْجِ والوَلـدِ. فيهُمْ أقوياءُ، وبينَهُمْ مُسـتَضعفُونَ؛ بعضُهمْ أعْطَتهُ الحَيـاةُ أكثرَ ممّا يسـتحقُّ، وبعضُهُمْ حَرمَتْهُ الحياةُ. لكـنّ الفُروقَ تَضيقُ وأغلبُ الضّعفـاءِ لـمْ يعودُوا ضُعفاء». لمْ أقلْ لمحجوب هذا. وليْتَنـي قُلتُ. فقدْ كانَ ذكيًا. خِفْتُ. منْ غُروري. ألاّ يَفْهَمَ.

الطّيّب صالح. موسم الهجرة إلى الشّمال. دار الجنوب للنشر تونس. 2004 ص ص 30-31

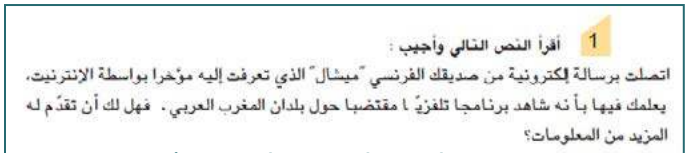
***Ru'a – Reader* (Scientific Tracks), Grade 13, pp. 186–187.**

I do not know what exactly aroused my curiosity but I remembered that the day of my arrival was silent. Everyone put questions to me and I to them. They asked me about Europe. Were the people there like us or were they different? Was life expensive or cheap? What did people do in winter? They say that the women are unveiled and dance openly with men. "Is it true," Wad Rayyes asked me, "that they don't marry but that a man lives with a woman in sin?"

There were many questions, and I answered them to the best of my knowledge. They were surprised when I told them that Europeans were, with minor differences, exactly like them, marrying and bringing up their children in accordance with principles and traditions, that they had good morals and were in general good people. […]

I preferred not to say the rest that had come to my mind: that just like us they are born and die, and in the journey from the cradle to the grave they dream dreams some of which come true and some of which are frustrated; that they fear the unknown, search for love and seek contentment in wife and child; that some are strong and some are weak […] I did not say this to Mahjoub, though I wish I had done so, for he was intelligent; in my conceit I was afraid he would not understand. […]

Individual French people are also portrayed favorably as people worthy of befriending, exchanging information with and to host as guests. One Grade 6 Arabic Language textbook introduces a scenario where a Tunisian school is in correspondence with an equivalent institution in France, and suggests that students write a letter to their "French friends" describing Tunisia and its tourist industry.[101] Depictions of interactions of this nature are routine in French language textbooks, where one example features a dialogue between a French person and an Algerian, suggesting a high degree of affinity and identification between Tunisians and Algerians.[102] Another exercise from History and Geography textbook, seen below, tasks students with composing a letter to "your French friend Michel." These examples normalize personal friendships between individual Tunisians and French.


1 اقرأ النص التالي وأجب :

اتصلت برسالة إلكترونية من صديقك الفرنسي "ميشال" الذي تعرفت إليه مؤخرا بواسطة الإنترنيت. يعلمك فيها بأنه شاهد برنامجا تلفزيّا مقتضبا حول بلدان المغرب العربي. فهل لك أن تقدّم له المزيد من المعلومات؟

***History and Geography*, Grade 6, p. 73.**

Read the following text and respond:
Your French friend Michel, whom you recently met online, sent you a message informing you that he is watching a short television program about the states of the Arab Maghreb countries. Can you provide him with more information?

101 *Social Subjects*, Grade 6, p. 173.

102 *Lire et écrire en français*, Grade 8, p. 13.

As a country, France is depicted to students as a model of a free and advanced country, perhaps one Tunisia should aspire to resemble. Paris is presented as an example of a modern, developed city.[103] One Tunisian writer is quoted praising another French city, Marseilles, as a place where men and women can associate freely and dress however they please.[104] The same textbook features the famous 1830 French romantic painting Liberty Leading the People by Eugène Delacroix, exemplifying both the artistic achievements of French culture as well as French society's value for liberty.

Arabic (Scientific Tracks) Grade 12, p.79.

The painting Liberty Leading the People by Delacroix was painted in 1830 and is now preserved in the Louvre Museum in Paris.

While European enlightenment is presented in a largely positive tone, the discussion of European colonialism and imperialism—particularly relevant to Tunisia's own experience—is framed in starkly negative terms. As seen in the chapter on Tunisian history and identity, French colonization from 1881 to 1956 is perceived to have had profound negative consequences for Tunisia. As such, French and European colonialism in other countries is represented negatively as well, strongly contrasting to other presentations of France as a positive influence worthy of emulation. The Grade 9 Social Studies textbook dedicates a chapter to the anti-colonial struggles of Tunisia's neighbors in the Maghreb region – Algeria, Libya and Morocco. The chapter presents European colonialism in a uniformly negative fashion, focusing on the various ways in which colonial powers oppressed the native population. One page presents a collection of images representing the French mistreatment of the Algerians during the colonial period, including images of prisoners, explosions and human corpses.

Social Subjects, Grade 9, p. 107

Document 16: some of the manifestations of French oppression of the Algerian national resistance

103 *Social Subjects: History, Geography, Civics*, Grade 5, pp. 139-141.

104 *Signs: Arabic* (Science Track), Grade 12, p. 289.

The strongly anti-colonial attitude is not limited to the context of the Maghreb or Arab countries. Other non-European countries' experience of European colonialism is also conveyed to Tunisian students, with the idea that it was deeply oppressive and that students should identify with those who were colonized. On occasion, this anti-colonial solidarity slips into over-generalization, fostering hate and resentment toward European, Western or Christian countries as a whole. A Grade 12 History textbook includes a poem by nineteenth century Hausa poet Al-Hajj Umaru Krachi (1858–1934), used to illustrate the global impact of European colonialism. The poem describes colonialists as a "Christian catastrophe" (*al-nakbah al-masīḥīyah*) and the "sun of disaster (*kāriṯah*)rising from the West," accusing them of deceiving non-European peoples with promises of ideals and prosperity only to subjugate them. The poem presents the woes of colonialism as an unnatural and unique development in history, one intrinsically related to the Christian faith.

الوثيقة 20 . من قصيدة كتبها الشاعر الغاني الحاج عمر سنة 1875 :

«إن شمس الكارثة قد بزغت من الغرب،
تحتضن البشر والأراضي المسكونة.
إن النكبة المسيحية قد أصابتنا
مثل غيم من الأتربة.
في البداية قدموا.
سلميا، وبكلام معسول وحلو.
"جئنا للتجارة، يقولون،
لإصلاح معتقدات السّكان،
للقضاء على القمع و السرقة في هذا العالم،
لهزم الفساد و القضاء عليه".
و لم نفهم كلنا نواياهم.
وها نحن الآن أتباعهم.
فقد أغرونا بهدايا صغيرة.
ولقد غذونا بأشياء طيبة
إلاّ أنهم قد غيروا لهجتهم».

ورد في كتاب القرن XIX و جذوره لجاك بروين و معاونوه، التاريخ2، بوردّاس، باريس 1981 ص 347

معطيات مكثفة

حزب المؤتمر : حزب نشأ بالهند سنة 1885 وقد قاد النّضال الوطني ضدّ الاستعمار البريطاني.

History **(Literature and Economy and Management Tracks), Grade 12, 2023, p. 262.**

Document 20: A poem written by the Ghanaian poet Al-Hajj Umaru in 1875:
"The Sun of disaster has risen from the West,
Embracing both people and inhabited lands.
The Christian catastrophe struck us like a cloud of dust.
At first, they arrived
Peacefully, with sweet and charming words.
'We have come for trade,' they say,
'To reform the beliefs of the population,
To eliminate oppression and theft in this world,
To defeat corruption and eradicate it.'
And we did not fully understand their intentions.
Now, here we are, their followers.
They lured us with small gifts.
They fed us with good things,
But then they changed their tone."
Cited in Le XIXe siècle et ses racines by Jacques Bouillon et al., Histoire 2, Bordas, Paris, 1981, p. 347.
Additional Information:
The Indian National Congress was established in 1885 and led the national struggle against British colonialism in India.

The motivations of European colonialism are usually presented as cynical and inhumane. Colonialism as a historic phenomenon is defined in explicitly Marxist terms, where European colonial expansion is primarily driven by the capitalist class's pursuit of increasing wealth, and this wealth is achieved by promoting a predatory exploitation of weaker nations by European powers.[105] European Colonialism is thus understood to be unprecedented in history, not just in scale but also in immorality. Colonial voyages supported by Western European countries are likewise presented by a Grade 12 History textbook as being primarily intended to "subject vast areas of the world to their hegemony" and dominate the world economy, rather than more relatable causes such as a genuine spirit of exploration and curiosity.

3 – دعم قوة أوروبا الغربية ومكانتها العالمية : الوثائق : 17 . 18 . 19

حققت الرحلات الكبرى الكثير من أهدافها إذ ساهم تدفق الثروات على أوروبا الغربية في تنشيط الدورة الاقتصادية بصفة عامة والتجارة بصفة خاصة . كما تطورت المعاملات النقدية بفضل ما توفر لأوروبا من معادن ثمينة، إذ برزت بها أشكال جديدة للدفع والقرض والتأمين. فظهرت بذلك الرأسمالية التجارية. وأتاح هذا الثراء المتنامي تحسن الوضع الصّحّي للسكان فتزايد عددهم. كما برزت البرجوازية التجارية، وقامت المراكز الحضرية الضخمة. وتدعمت القوة العسكرية فعمل الأوروبيون على تثبيت حضورهم في الخارج وإخضاع مناطق واسعة من العالم لهيمنتهم وتوظيفها لصالحهم. وتشكلت بذلك الخطوط الأولى لنظام "اقتصادالعالم" الذي سيطرت عليه أوروبا الغربية.

History **(Literature and Economy and Management Tracks), Grade 12, 2023, p. 19**

3 – What supported the power of Western Europe and its global position
The great voyages achieved many goals, and flowed wealth into Western Europe that contributed stimulating the economic cycle in general and trade in particular. Monetary transactions were also developed thanks to the availability of precious metals in Europe, as new forms of payment, loans and insurance emerged. Thus, commercial capitalism appeared. The growing wealth allowed an improvement of healthcare, and increased population. The commercial bourgeoisie and huge urban centers also emerged. Military power was strengthened, and Europeans acted to consolidate their presence abroad, and subject vast areas of the world to their hegemony and exploit them for their benefit. The first outlines of the "world economy" system that was dominated by Western Europe were formed.

105 *History* (Sciences Track), Grade 12, pp. 66, 74.

This approach to colonialism carries over to the presentation of contemporary world politics, where students are taught that developed countries – a category that includes former colonial powers such as France and Britain, as well as the US – control world trade and disregard the interests of developing countries. In some cases, the textbooks use examples on this subject as an opportunity to raise awareness and concern among students for global wealth inequality[106] and extreme poverty in areas such as sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia,[107] thus inculcating the values of global citizenship. However, in other instances, discussions of global issues bleed into conspiratorial and incendiary narratives. In the example below from a Grade 12 Geography textbook, students are taught that market liberalization is a scheme by developed countries to "consolidate their control of global trade" at the expense of poorer nations, and that the World Trade Organization is the framework which allows them to accomplish this distinctly nefarious goal. Tunisian students are made to understand that the international economy is primarily defined by one-sided exploitation and deception, and are led to fear the integration of their country within this system.

١ – سيطرة البلدان المتقدّمة وخاصّة الثالوث على التجارة العالميّة

استغلّت الشركات عبر القطريّة المتنمية بالأساس إلى البلدان المتقدّمة تحكّمها في الاستثمار الأجنبي المباشر لتصبح أحد الأطراف الرئيسيّة في المبادلات التجاريّة في العالم [9].كما وظّفت البلدان المتقدّمة ضخامة إنتاجها ونجاعة شركاتها التجاريّة ومؤسّساتها البنكيّة وبورصاتها لتحتكر جانبا كبيرا من المبادلات التجاريّة في العالم. وتستأثر رغم بعض التراجع بأكثر من ثلثي الصادرات وثلاثة أرباع الواردات العالميّة سنة 2004. ويسيطر **الثالوث*** ضمن هذه البلدان سيطرة واضحة على مبادلات السلع والخدمات في العالم [10] فهو يضمّ أكبر مجال للمبادلات ضمن الإقليميّة يمثّله الاتّحاد الأوروبي كما تتبادل بلدانه أكبر نسبة من صادرات العالم وواردانه[12]. وتظلّ مجموعة البلدان العشرة الأولى المصدّرة والموردة للسلع والخدمات تضمّ في أغلبيّتها بلدانا متقدمة [11 و13] تبرز ضمنها الولايات المتّحدة الأمريكيّة كأهمّ مصدّري العالم للسلع وأكبر مستقطب لوارداته [14].

وتمارس البلدان المتقدّمة في إطار المنظّمة العالميّة للتجارة ضغوطا على البلدان النامية لحملها على مزيد فتح أسواقها وتحرير مبادلات الخدمات بغية إحكام سيطرتها على التجارة العالميّة، لكنّها ترفض في الآن نفسه إلغاء الدعم لصادراتها الفلاحيّة كما تفرض **حواجز غير جمركيّة*** على وارداتها من البلدان النامية. وتمثّل جولات مفاوضات المنظّمة العالميّة للتجارة تبعا لذلك إطار للتعاون بين الشركات عبر القطريّة والبلدان المتقدّمة لحماية مصالحها[14]، ولا تراعي الاتّفاقيّات المبرمة دوما مصالح البلدان النامية ولا سيّما الفقيرة منها [15].

The World Stage – Geography Textbook **(Scientific Tracks), Grade 12, 2023, p. 16.**

1. The control of the developed countries, and especially of the Triad [US, EU and Japan], in global trade

International companies, which fundamentally belong to developed countries, have taken advantage of their control of foreign direct investment to become the most influential factors in trade exchanges around the world […]

Developed countries exert pressure on developing countries within the framework of the World Trade Organization, in order to force them to open more of their markets and liberalize the exchange of services, with the aim of consolidating their control over global trade […] The agreements signed do not always take into account the interests of the developing countries, especially the poor ones.

Moreover, regarding current developments, the EU's prominent international position is outlined as well as its significant role in global affairs, while emphasizing its limitations. In one textbook, the EU is acknowledged for its economic strength, suggesting that its financial and trade influence is considerable; this economic prominence contributes to the EU's political leverage on the world stage. However, the textbook points out that despite these strengths, the EU falls short of being classified as a superpower, describing it as an "incomplete power" as it lacks the military capabilities of nations such as the US (or China). The text is ambivalent as to whether or not this should be considered negatively: given the oppressive presentation of European global influence in the context of colonialism, the EU's lack of success in this regard can be seen as a commendable form of self-limitation.

المحور الثاني الإتحاد الأوروبي : تكتّل اقتصادي قويّ

المقدمة

يمثّل الاتحاد الأوروبي تكتّلا اقتصاديا يتمتع بقوّة إنتاجية هامة بوأته مكانة بارزة في الاقتصاد العالمي ومنحته القدرة على الإسهام في تنظيم المجال العالمي والتحكم فيه. إلا أن نفوذه السياسي وقدراته العسكرية ظلاّ محدودين مقارنة بالولايات المتّحدة الأمريكيّة وهو يُعدّ – لهذا السّبب – قوّة غير مكتملة. وتستند هذه القوة الإنتاجيّة خاصة إلى السّعي المتواصل إلى إدماج اقتصاديات الأقطار الأعضاء بواسطة سياسات مشتركة ما انفكّت ميادينها تتنوع وتتّسع علاوة على الإمكانيات المادية والبشرية المتنامية نتيجة عمليات التوسع المتعاقبة. غير أن هذه **الدّعائم** تحمل في طياتها ما يعيق اكتمال هذه القوة ويحد من النفوذ الأوروبي في العالم. وتتركز القوة البشرية والاقتصادية للاتحاد الأوروبي في مجال مركزي هو **الميغالوبوليس**.

The World Stage – Geography Textbook **(Scientific Tracks), Grade 12, 2023, p. 126**

The European Union: A Strong Economic Bloc

The European Union represents an economic bloc with significant productive power, earning it a prominent position in the global economy and granting it the ability to contribute to and influence the organization of global affairs. However, its political influence and military capabilities have remained limited compared to the United States, making it – for this reason – an incomplete power. This productive power is primarily based on the continuous pursuit of integrating the economies of member states through joint policies, whose scope continues to diversify and expand, in addition to the growing material and human resources resulting from successive expansion processes. […]

106 *Geography for Science Track*, Grade 12, 2023, pp. 42-43.

107 *Geography for Science Track*, Grade 12, 2023, p. 57.

Tunisian educational materials portray the United States in a mix of negative and positive terms, focusing largely on its power and global influence while giving far less attention to its foundational values or contributions to global progress. This dichotomy has broader implications of how the US is framed for students. On one hand, certain negative examples dominate the discourse. Textbooks frequently describe America as a self-interested global hegemon, aiming to "extend its military influence and protect its interests," emphasizing its military dominance, economic control and cultural penetration at the expense of other nations. For instance, the US is portrayed as the "[world's] policeman" leveraging its influence to expand military reach in whichever way it sees fit. The EU is commended in this context for contesting US hegemony.

* النفوذ العسكري :

– بعد سقوط الاتّحاد السّوفياتي سنة 1991 أصبحت الولايات المتّحدة القوّة العظمى الوحيدة في العالم : تقوم بدور الشرطي، تكثّفت تدخّلاتها في العالم بعد أحداث 11 سبتمبر 2001 (أفغانستان– العراق) وانتشرت قواعدها في كلّ القارات والمحيطات لبسط نفوذها العسكري ولحماية مصالحها كما أصبح البيت الأبيض مصدر القرارات الّتي تؤثّر في العالم بأسره.

هذه القوّة الهائلة بدأت تلقى منافسة جديّة من قبل الإتّحاد الأوروبي لا سيّما في الميدان الاقتصادي.

Social Subjects, Grade 8, p. 163.

Military Influence:
After the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, the United States became the world's sole superpower, acting as its policeman. Its interventions around the world intensified following the events of September 11 (Afghanistan - Iraq), and its military bases spread across all continents and oceans to extend its military influence and protect its interests. The White House also became the source of decisions that affect the entire world.
This immense power began to face serious competition from the European Union, particularly in the economic field.

In the same vein, various manifestations of US power and its global consequences are explored in the Grade 12 Geography textbook. In one page, students are shown a map of US military alliances, installations and deployments around the world, conveying the message that US military power is omnipresent and inescapable.[108] In another example, students are tasked with describing the success of US intelligence agencies at conducting surveillance against various countries.[109] In the examples below, the US dominance over global markets and control of the internet are highlighted as mechanisms of influence and control. The omnipresence of corporate symbols like McDonald's further reinforce the perception of an overbearing superpower that prioritizes its interests at the expense of others. Here, too, the EU is positively presented as attempting to limit American influence. These narratives, while grounded in observable realities, risk presenting a one-dimensional view of the US as a force primarily associated with dominance and exploitation.

الوثيقة 25 : من يدير شبكة الأنترنات ؟

"صرّح ممثّل البرازيل في مؤتمر جنيف سنة 2003، حيث يصاغ مستقبل مجتمع الإعلام أنّه "لا يحقّ لأيّ بلد أن يحتكر حقّ القرار بالنسبة إلى الآخرين ضمن كون رقمي"، واعتبر ممثّل الولايات المتّحدة الأمريكيّة في نفس المؤتمر هذا التصريح تجسيدا لسعي الاتّحاد الأوروبي وحلفائه لتجريد بلاده من التصرّف في الشبكة ذلك لأنّ الولايات المتّحدة التي ابتكرت الأنترنات... ظلّت منذ البداية "حارس الشبكة" عن طريق جمعيّة أنترنات كربوريشن للأسماء والأرقام (ICANN) التي تشرف عليها وزارة التجارة الأمريكيّة والتي تتولّى إسناد عناوين الميادين (com.org.int) المستعملة على شبكة الأنترنات. وتعدّ ممارسة هذا النفوذ ...، الصيغة الأكثر اكتمالا للهيمنة الأمريكيّة على عالم أصبح فيه هذا "الجهاز العصبي" ضروريّا في مستوى الإنتاج والتوزيع... [وأمام هذا الوضع دعا] الاتّحاد الأوروبي بدعم من بعض البلدان كالبرازيل وإيران... إلى تفويض مراقبة شبكة الأنترنات وتسييرها إلى هيئة دوليّة تحت رعاية منظّمة الأمم المتّحدة.."

المصدر : Le Nouvel Observateur L'Europe se rebiffe, J-G.E.
عدد 690، أكتوبر 2005، ص 29، بتصرّف

التعليمات

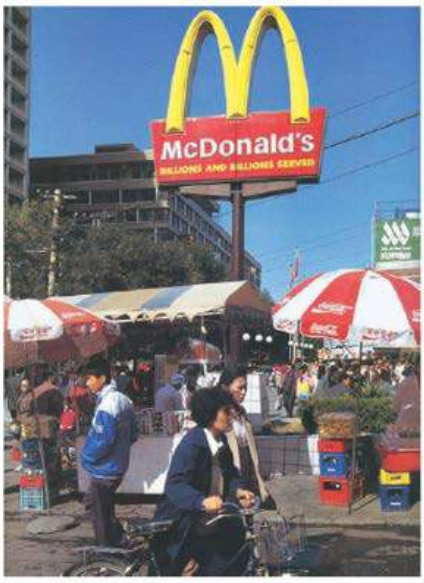
1 . أتبيّن مظاهر سيطرة بلدان العالم المتقدّم على الإعلام في العالم.
2 . أتبيّن سعي بعض بلدان العالم النامي للإسهام في إنتاج الإعلام.

The World Stage – Geography Textbook **(Scientific Tracks), Grade 12, 2023, pp. 38-39**

Document 25: Who Controls the Internet?
At the 2003 Geneva conference, where the future of the information society was being shaped, Brazil's representative stated that no country has the right to monopolize decision-making for others in the digital realm. The U.S. representative at the same conference viewed this statement as a reflection of the European Union and its allies' efforts to strip the U.S. of its control over the network. Since the U.S. invented the internet, it has acted as the "guardian of the network" from the outset through the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN), overseen by the U.S. Department of Commerce, which assigns domain addresses used on the internet. This exercise of influence represents the most complete form of American dominance over a world where this vital nerve system is essential for production and expansion.
In response, the European Union, supported by countries such as Brazil and Iran, called for the transfer of internet oversight and management to an international body under the auspices of United Nations organizations.
Instructions:
1. Identify examples of developed countries' control over global media.
2. Identify efforts by some developing countries to contribute to media production.

108 *Geography* (Science Track), Grade 12, 2023, p. 90.
109 *Geography* (Science Track), Grade 12, 2023, p. 91

الوثيقة 16 : فرع شركة مالك دونالد بالعاصمة الصينية بيكين



The World Stage – Geography Textbook **(Scientific Tracks), Grade 12, 2023, p. 88.**

Document 16: A branch of McDonald's in the capital of China, Beijing

On the other hand, Tunisian textbooks present positive aspects of American identity and contributions, however sparse. The emphasis on liberty and equality in the US Declaration of Independence offers a rare counterpoint, illustrating the ideals of justice and freedom as well as their importance for Americans.[110] Another positive aspect of the US shown in Tunisian textbooks is its ethnic diversity and willingness to accept immigrants of various backgrounds. One textbook presents this accommodation and empowerment of immigrants as key to the US's success and prosperity, as each group of immigrants are said to have brought their own unique contributions and skills, which the US was then able to take advantage of in its interactions with other parts of the world. While portraying these characteristics of American society as positive, the textbook also candidly notes that they are not without their challenges, as each constituent community struggles to maintain its unique identity and place within American society.[111] In another example from the same textbook, seen below, immigrants' contributions to US technological superiority and diplomatic influence are highlighted, and students are shown a photo of diverse immigrants holding American flags upon receiving US citizenship, visually demonstrating to students the US's openness and attractiveness for immigrants.

الوثيقة 9 : إسهام المهاجرين في بعث المؤسّسات بالولايات المتحدة الأمريكية

"...ترتفع نسبة المؤسّسات المحدثة من قبل المهاجرين بكامل الولايات المتحدة في قطاع التكنولوجيا العالية إلى 40%، من بينها مؤسّسات شهيرة حققت نجاحا باهرا على غرار غوغل Google وياهو Yahoo وإيباي ebay ويمثّل الهنود أكثر المهاجرين المقاولين عددا بالولايات المتحدة بنسبة 28% يليهم الإ نقليز بنسبة 11% والصينيون بحوالي 5%. كما يفد كثير من المقاولين من الأقطار الأوروبية مثل ألمانيا وايطاليا وفرنسا. وينشط 87% من مؤسّسات هؤ لاء المهاجرين المقاولين في قطاعات التجديد التكنولوجي مثل تكنولوجيات الاتصال وعلوم الحياة. ولذا كان من الضرورة ترك باب الهجرة مفتوحا."

المصدر: بعثة السّفارة الفرنسيّة بالولايات المتحدة الأمريكية، 2007/02/23

مهاجرون يؤدّون يمين الولاء بمناسبة حصولهم على الجنسية الأمريكية

الوثيقة 10 : من مزايا التنوّع العرقي بالولايات المتّحدة الأمريكيّة

"انظروا إلى أمّتنا، أمّة المهاجرين وفكّروا في العالم الذي نتّجه إليه. لاحظوا كم نحن متنوّعون ومتعدّدة أعراقنا ولغاتنا، كلّ هذا في كون أصبحت ضمنه القدرة على فهم مختلف الشعوب والتّواصل معها أمرا محتّما."

المصدر: بيل كلينتن،
من خطاب في الجامعة الأمريكية،
26 فيفري 1993

Geography **(Literature and Economy and Management Tracks), Grade 13 p. 117**

Document 9: Immigrants' Participation in Reviving Institutions in the United States
The percentage of establishments created by immigrants across the United States in the high-tech sector reaches 40%, including famous companies that have achieved remarkable success, such as Google, Yahoo, and eBay. Indians represent the largest group of immigrant entrepreneurs in the US at 28%, followed by the English at 11%, and the Chinese at approximately 5%. Many entrepreneurs also come from European countries like Germany, Italy, and France. About 87% of the institutions founded by these immigrant entrepreneurs operate in innovation-driven sectors such as communication technologies and life sciences. Therefore, keeping the door open to immigration has been deemed necessary.
Source: French Embassy in the United States, 23 February 2007

Document 10: The Merits of Racial Diversity in the United States
"Look at our nation – a nation of immigrants – and think about the world we are moving toward. Notice how diverse we are, how varied our races and languages are. All of this makes it possible to understand and communicate with different peoples around the world."
Source: Bill Clinton, from a speech at American University, 26 February 1993
[Photo caption:] Immigrants taking the Oath of Allegiance upon receiving US citizenship

110 *History* (Science Track), Grade 12, p. 13.

111 *Geography* (Literature and Economy and Management Tracks) Grade 13, p, 122.

However, the examples above, which convey a nuanced if not praiseworthy image of the US, are overshadowed by the curriculum's broader focus on power dynamics as defining morality, meaning that the US's position of strength renders it inherently oppressive. By omitting America's role in advancing human rights, driving economic development, and contributing to scientific and technological innovation—while focusing heavily on critiques of its military, economic, and cultural dominance—Tunisian textbooks miss the opportunity to present a more balanced view of the United States. Such omissions risk depriving students of a nuanced understanding of the multifaceted nature of American influence. A more balanced approach could incorporate both the critical and constructive dimensions of American history and policies, highlighting its struggles and achievements in areas like civil rights, innovation, and international humanitarian efforts, thereby fostering critical thinking while acknowledging the complexities of a global superpower like the US.

Some attention is also given to emerging world powers like China and its economy. The presentation is largely factual, without much analysis, and focuses on China's economic and political competition with the US. The cartoon seen below is an example of this approach. As Chinese interests in North Africa continue to expand, it may be advisable to deepen the discussion on China in Tunisian textbooks.

***Social Subjects*, Grade 8, p. 210**

Document 26: China transforming into a global power
Source: Danziger, Courier International […]

Israel, Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict

Tunisia's strong governmental support and public solidarity with the Palestinian cause is well-established and evident in numerous textbooks. However, this strong support results in inaccurate, hostile, and at times inciteful presentations of Israel in the discussions. Opposing Israeli policies does not have to come at the expense of describing and analyzing its history and actions. Beyond the negative portrayal of Israel, one often finds a blatant rejection of its very existence, including its omission from maps. There are some attempts to offer a more neutral discussion of Israel, but they often contain factual mistakes, inaccurate allegations, or lack full explanations. On the other hand, there is surprisingly little focus on Tunisia's role in the conflict, including the fact that it hosted Palestinian leadership for much of the 1980s.

Most Tunisian content about Israel and the Arab-Israeli conflict is found in dedicated lessons on the Palestinian issue in three history textbooks: one for the Grade 9, and one for each of the humanities and science tracks of high school.[112] Additional references are found sporadically in reading texts for Arabic language textbooks,[113] and in at least one French language exercise.[114] For the most part, Israel and Jewish nationalism/Zionism are presented very negatively in the surveyed textbooks. Zionism is not taught in association with Jewish historic and religious ties to their ancient homeland, nor is there any discussion about Jewish claims to the territory. Zionism is defined as an "ally of European colonial powers",[115] as "settler colonialism"[116] and as a movement based on getting rid of the Palestinians.[117] There are examples of a more objective definition of Zionism, some of which are displayed below, which could be adopted into other textbooks.

An introductory lesson to Zionism in a Grade 9 textbook showcases a typical textbook approach toward the subject. It highlights Palestine's strategic importance and contact between Zionism and colonial powers, conspicuously omitting any acknowledgement of Jewish historical and religious ties to the Holy Land, while linking Zionism to colonialist endeavors, through titling a section "The Roots of Zionist Colonialism in Palestine." Zionism is thus taught as a cynical cover for imperialist expansion, rather than a natural and self-emanating national movement. As seen below, important documents pertaining to the conflict, such as the Balfour Declaration, are presented without any explanation or analysis, leaving many unanswered questions about the context in which they were written, their real-world historical impact, and their significance to either side of the conflict.

Social Subjects, Grade 9, pp. 67-68

(See the continuation of the example on the following page)

112 *Social Subjects*, Grade 9, pp. 67–79; *History* (Science Tracks), Grade 12, pp. 257-274; *History* (Literature and Economy and Management Tracks) Grade 13, pp. 250–269.

113 *Alamat: Arabic Textbook* (Scientific Tracks), Grade 12, pp. 108-110, 301-305.

114 *Français*, Grade 12, p. 170.

115 *Social Subjects*, Grade 9, p. 76

116 *Social Subjects*, Grade 9, pp. 67–69, 73.

117 *Alamat: Arabic Textbook* (Scientific Tracks), Grade 12, pp. 216–219.

الوثيقة عدد 2 : من مقررات المؤتمر الصهيوني الأوّل ببزلBasel سنة 1897

وضع هذا المؤتمر برنامجا شاملا حدّد فيه أهداف الحركة الصهيونيّة* كما يلي «إن غاية الصهيونيّة هي خلق وطن للشعب اليهودي في فلسطين يضمنه القانون العام». أمّا كيفيّة تحقيق هذه الأهداف فقد حدّدها المؤتمر على النّحو التالي :

العمل على استعمار فلسطين بواسطة الزراعيين والحرفيين والعمّال اليهود.

تغذية الوعي القومي لدى اليهود لتيسير هجرتهم إلى فلسطين.

كسب ثقة الدول الكبرى حتى توافق على تنفيذ هدف الصهيونيّة.

علي المحجوبي : جذور الاستعمار الصهيوني بفلسطين، دار سيراس للنشر، ص27–28

* هي حركة قوميّة يهوديّة نشأت في أ وروبا في النصف الثاني من القرن 19. اقترن اسمها بلفظ صهيون وهو جبل يقع شرق القدس تستهدف جمع اليهود المنتشرين في أرجاء العالم في وطن قومي وتمّ الاختيار على فلسطين.

الوثيقة عدد 3 : مقتطفات من وعد بلفور"2 نوفمبر1917

« إنّ حكومة جلالة الملك تنظر بعين العطف إلى تأ سيس وطن قومي للشعب اليهودي في فلسطين و ستبذل مساعيها لتسهيل تحقيق هذه الغاية ...»

علي المحجوبي : المصدر السابق ص 49

" وزير خارجية بريطانيا بين 1916 و 1919

الوثيقة عدد 4 : المادّة الثانية من صكّ الانتداب* على فلسطين الصّادر عن جمعيّة الأمم في 24 جويلية 1922

« تكون الدولة المنتدبة مسؤ ولة عن وضع البلاد في أحوال سياسيّة وإداريّة واقتصاديّة تضمن إنشاء الوطن القومي اليهودي وفقا لما جاء ببيانه في ديباجة هذا الصك»

المصدر السابق ص123

* الانتداب هو نظام أقرته جمعية الأمم طبقا للمادة 22 من ميثاقها ويقضي بتمكين الدول الكبرى المنتصرة في الحرب العالميّة الأولى من السيطرة على بعض المناطق مثل المشرق العربي بدعوى أن شعوب هذه المناطق غير مؤهلة بعد لتسيير شؤونها بنفسها.

التعليمات :

– عرّف من خلال الوثيقة (2) بالحركة الصهيونيّة وأبرز أهدافها.

– بيّن بالاعتماد على الوثيقتين (3–4) كيف استفادت هذه الحركة من السياسة الاستعماريّة للدول الأوروبيّة الكبرى.

***Social Subjects*, Grade 9, pp. 67-68**

Activity 1: I will examine the roots of the Palestinian Issue.
Resources:
[Map key: green arrow:] Strategic axis
[Red icon:] Oil field
Learning:
Based on the map, identify Palestine's location and its key strategic importance.
Document no. 2: One of the resolutions of the First Zionist Congress, Basel 1897
This conference laid out a comprehensive program where it identified the goals of Zionist Movement as follows: "The goal of Zionism is the creation of a homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine, guaranteed by common law." As for how to achieve these goals, these were laid out in the conference as follows:*
[...]
- Ali Al-Mahjubi, The Roots of Zionist Colonialism in Palestine, Cérès éditions, pp. 27-28.
** [Zionism] is a Jewish national movement established in Europe in the second half of the 19th century. Its name is derived from "Zion", a mountain east of Jerusalem. It seeks to gather the Jews spread around the world, and Palestine was chosen.*
Document No. 3: Excerpts from Balfour's Promise, 2 November 1917
[...]
Document No. 4: Article 2 of the Mandate on Palestine published by the League of Nations, 24 July 1922
[...]

Learning:
- Using Document no. 2, define what the Zionist Movement is and what are its key goals.
- Citing Documents 3 and 4, how did this movement benefit from the colonialist policy of the European great powers?

Across these textbooks, Zionism is consistently framed as a colonial and imperialist project, portrayed as a threat to Arab unity and regional stability, while omitting Israel's history of concessions for peace. In one textbook, Palestine is described as "a goal for imperialist and Zionist greedy ambitions" (note the use of the word "greedy," *aṭmā'*).[118] The textbook focuses on the "alliance" between Zionism and imperialism, and argues that Britain's goal in supporting Zionism was to prevent Arab unity.[119] The "Zionist Entity," as Israel is often referred to in this text, is presented as a "colonial imperialist expansionist entity," suggesting that Israel's main goal is perpetual expansion and that it therefore poses a threat the whole region, and ignoring its history of territorial concessions for peace.[120] Yet another textbook argues that the British Mandate for Palestine encouraged Jewish emigration and the seizure of agricultural territory for Jews.[121]

That said, the curriculum does contain a small number of instances in which Zionism is presented in a relatively neutral and descriptive manner where it is defined as a Jewish political or national movement that emerged in Europe, to solve Jewish persecution by establishment of a state of their own.[122]

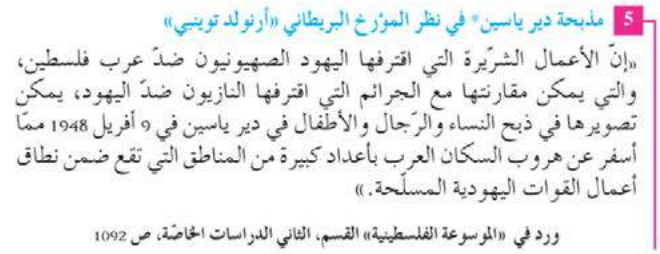
Moving away from accusations against European powers, the establishment of the State of Israel is attributed to the "International Zionist Movement," with the connotation of a global, nebulous force. "American imperialism" is also accused of sponsoring Jewish settler colonialism in Palestine.[123] There is little discussion of Palestinian politics during this period, presenting Palestinians as passive victims who suffered from European and Zionist aggression. At the end of one textbook discussing the Palestinian national movement, a comment mentions that it supported Nazi Germany under the leadership of the Jerusalem Mufti, Hajj Amin Al-Husayni, but this is not elaborated upon[124]

118 *History* (Literature and Economy and Management Tracks), Grade 13, pp. 236–237.
119 *History* (Literature and Economy and Management Tracks), Grade 13, pp. 246–247.
120 *History* (Literature and Economy and Management Tracks), Grade 13, p. 241.
121 *History* (Scientific Tracks), Grade 12, pp. 269–270.
122 *History* (Science and Technology track), Grade 11, p. 258, 269; *Social Subjects*, Grade 9, pp. 67-68.
123 *History* (Literature and Economy and Management Tracks), Grade 13, p. 236.
124 *History* (Literature and Economy and Management Tracks), Grade 13, p. 320.

(see also chapter on Jews and antisemitism). These examples construct a narrative in which Palestinian agency and opposition to Jews is erased, presenting Palestinians solely as passive victims.

The 1948 Arab-Israeli war, which accompanied Israel's establishment, is presented as an outcome of the actions of foreign powers. Israel's victory in that war is linked to the support it received from world powers, which allegedly encouraged the Israelis to expel Palestinians; much attention is given to the Palestinian Arab refugees who lost their homes in that war.[125] The 1947 UN Partition Plan of Palestine is portrayed as unrepresentative of all UN members, and is framed as the first UN strike against the Palestinian people, without providing detail or background information.[126] In another reference, the Partition Plan is implied to be an unfair decision,[127] In an apparent contradiction, the same textbook also accuses Israel of refusing to accept UN resolutions.[128] The 1948 war is framed within the common Arab narrative, but unusually notes that the Arabs rejected the UN Partition Plan and initiated hostilities, highlighting their violation of international agreements.[129]

According to textbooks, the Zionists reportedly embraced terrorism in order to change the demographics of Palestine in their favor. They are described as carrying out massacres in Deir Yassin, Haifa, and the Qastel village outside Jerusalem, and implemented a policy of extermination.[130] One History textbook, exemplified below, compares the massacre at Deir Yassin to Nazi crimes against Jews—a striking analogy, given that Tunisian materials otherwise avoid addressing such crimes (see chapter on Jews and Judaism). Since this comparison does little to help Tunisian students grasp the severity of the incident itself, it likely serves another purpose—perhaps to diminish the uniqueness of the Jewish experience of the Holocaust by placing Jews on equal moral footing with the Nazis—and may therefore be considered antisemitic.[131]


5 مذبحة دير ياسين» في نظر المؤرخ البريطاني «أرنولد توينبي»

«إنّ الأعمال الشرّيرة التي اقترفها اليهود الصهيونيون ضدّ عرب فلسطين، والتي يمكن مقارنتها مع الجرائم التي اقترفها النازيون ضدّ اليهود، يمكن تصويرها في ذبح النساء والرّجال والأطفال في دير ياسين في 9 أفريل 1948 ممّا أسفر عن هروب السكان العرب بأعداد كبيرة من المناطق التي تقع ضمن نطاق أعمال القوات اليهودية المسلّحة.»

ورد في «الموسوعة الفلسطينية» القسم، الثاني الدراسات الخاصّة، ص 1092

History **(Literature and Economy and Management Tracks) Grade 13, p. 241).**

The Deir Yassin Massacre in the Eyes of British Historian Arnold Toynbee*

"The evil acts perpetrated by the Zionist Jews against the Arabs of Palestine, which are comparable to the crimes perpetrated by the Nazis against the Jews, may be illustrated by the massacring of women, men and children in Deir Yassin on 9 April 1948, which led to the flight of Arab residents in great numbers from the areas within the armed Jewish forces' range of operations."

Cited in The Palestinian Encyclopedia, Vol. 2, Private Studies, p. 1092

Numerous maps in various textbooks do not mention Israel at all or refer to it as the "Zionist Entity" rejecting the nation's self-identification and defying international consensus on its legitimacy.[132] This may impede students' understanding of the geopolitical reality of the region and the conflict surrounding it. One textbook lesson on the aftermath of the 1948 war features maps describing all territories controlled by Israel as "Palestinian territories taken by Jews".[133]

However, some conflict-related maps and texts do acknowledge Israel by name (Usually in the map key rather than on the image itself), and even identify Jewish cities such as Tel Aviv, an approach scarcely seen elsewhere in educational materials in Arab countries. In the example below, teaching Tunisian students about the early stages of the Arab-Israeli conflict, one textbook quotes Israel's Declaration of Independence almost verbatim—including references to "the State of Israel," "the Land of Israel," and "the Jewish people."

125 *Social Subjects*, Grade 9, p. 76.

126 *History* (Scientific Tracks), Grade 12, p. 271; *History* (Literature and Economy and Management Tracks), Grade 13, pp. 247–248.

127 *Social Subjects*, Grade 9, p. 76.

128 *Social Subjects*, Grade 9, pp. ,73, 76–77.

129 *Social Subjects*, Grade 9, p. 69.

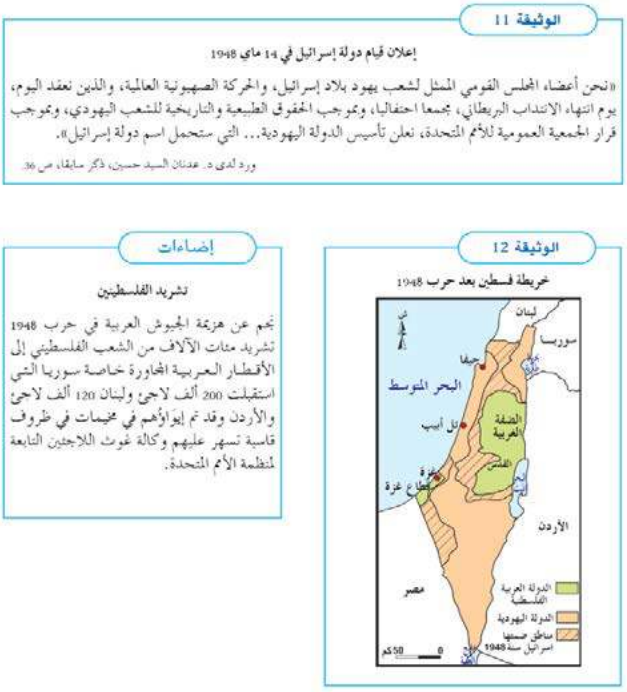
130 *Al-Anis: Reader*, Grade 7, pp. 158–159; *History* (Scientific Tracks), Grade 12, p. 271.

131 The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) lists "drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis" as an example of antisemitism. IHRA, Non-Legally Binding Working Definition of Antisemitism. https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/resources/working-definitions-charters/working-definition-antisemitism

132 *History* (Scientific Tracks), Grade 12, pp. 257, 263, 272; *History* (Literature and Economy and Management Tracks), Grade 13, p. 241.

133 *History* (Literature and Economy and Management Tracks), Grade 13, pp. 236–237.

Yet these terms, rarely encountered elsewhere in the curriculum, are presented without context or explanation of their significance to Jewish identity. The map beneath it – which purports to present the state of affairs in the former British territory of Palestine in the aftermath of the 1948 war – is titled "map of Palestine," while the map key labels (by now, sovereign) Israeli territory as "the Jewish state" and "areas annexed by Israel." The map erroneously labels the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as "the Arab Palestinian state," when in reality these territories were seized by neighboring states Jordan and Egypt, respectively, before such a state could be realized.


الوثيقة 11

إعلان قيام دولة إسرائيل في 14 ماي 1948

«نحن أعضاء المجلس القومي الممثل لشعب يهود بلاد إسرائيل، والحركة الصهيونية العالمية، والذين نعقد اليوم، يوم انتهاء الانتداب البريطاني، مجمعا احتفاليا، وبموجب الحقوق الطبيعية والتاريخية للشعب اليهودي، وبموجب قرار الجمعية العمومية للأمم المتحدة، نعلن تأسيس الدولة اليهودية... التي ستحمل اسم دولة إسرائيل».

ورد لدى د. عدنان السيد حسين، ذكر سابقا، ص 36.

إضاءات

تشريد الفلسطينيين

نجم عن هزيمة الجيوش العربية في حرب 1948 تشريد مئات الآلاف من الشعب الفلسطيني إلى الأقطار العربية المجاورة خاصة سوريا التي استقبلت 200 ألف لاجئ ولبنان 120 ألف لاجئ والأردن وقد تم إيواؤهم في مخيمات في ظروف قاسية تسهر عليهم وكالة غوث اللاجئين التابعة لمنظمة الأمم المتحدة.

الوثيقة 12

خريطة فلسطين بعد حرب 1948

History **(Science Tracks), Grade 12, p. 257**

Document 11
Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel, 14 May 1948
"We, members of the National Council, representing the people of the Jews of the Land of Israel [bilād isrā'īl] and the global Zionist Movement, constitute here today, the day of the termination of the British Mandate, a ceremonial assembly, and by virtue of the natural and historic rights of the Jewish people, and on the strength of the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly, we declare the establishment of the Jewish state... which will bear the name of the State of Israel."
Cited in Dr. Adnan Sayyed Hussein, previously cited, p. 36

[Right:]
Document 12
Map of Palestine after 1948 War
[Map key:]
Arab state in Palestine
Jewish state
Areas annexed by Israel in 1948

[Left:]
The Displacement of the Palestinians
One result of the Arab armies' defeat in the 1948 War was the displacement of hundreds of thousands of the Palestinian people into neighboring Arab countries […]

In descriptions of later events and developments, Palestinian armed resistance is legitimized in various ways. For instance, it is emphasized that the Palestine Liberation Organization does not fight Judaism, only "Zionist Occupation."[134] In another example, a French language textbook embeds the ambiguous statement "the Palestinians have a duty […] to free all their lands stolen by the Zionists […] [from] the yoke of tyranny" in a composition exercise, seemingly opening the door to legitimizing nationalist violence in the process of politicizing a language subject.[135]

In an outline of the history of the Palestinian national movement for Grade 9 students, the PLO's adoption of "armed struggle" as the only way to free Palestine and destroy Israel is highlighted, as the achievements associated with this phase of Palestinian history are noted, such as international resolutions condemning Israel. While the textbook concedes that the PLO later renounced this militant-exclusive position in favor of diplomatic efforts and implicit recognition of Israel, it is emphasized that the Palestinians were forced to change their methods only because of geopolitical circumstances outside their control, such as the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, and that they never gave up "confrontation" (*muwājahah*) with Israel. As an example of this "confrontation" the textbook makes note of the 1987 Intifada, which is glowingly described in poetic language as having "transformed the stones of the Palestinian soil into weapons in her sons' hands." The structure of this narrative suggests that the lesson portrays violence as a legitimate means to achieve political goals, with non-violent conflict resolution framed as a secondary option to be pursued only if other methods fail.

134 *History* (Scientific Tracks), Grade 12, pp. 265–267.

135 *Français*, Grade 12, p. 170.

II- المقاومة الفلسطينيّة للكيان الصهيوني من 1948 إلى الثمانينات من القرن العشرين :

2 – المقاومة من منتصف الخمسينات إلى أواخر السبعينات:
تميّزت بخاصيتين أساسيتين:
* تأسيس الهياكل المشرفة على المقاومة

* اعتماد الكفاح المسلّح:
انطلقت الثورة المسلّحة المنظمة سنة1965 و تمثلت في عمليات فدائيّة داخل إسرائيل انطلاقا من قواعد الفدائيين بالأردن ولبنان وكذلك خارج فلسطين المحتلّة. وقد تبلور هذا التوجه من خلال الميثاق الوطني لسنة 1968 الذي أكّد أن هدف المقاومة هو تحرير كامل فلسطين والتصدي لوجود دولة إسرائيل وأن الوسيلة الوحيدة لتحقيق ذلك هي الكفاح المسلّح.

3 – الحصيلة السياسيّة لهذه المرحلة :
* نجحت منظمة التحرير الفلسطينيّة في التعريف بقضيتها وكسب عطف العديد من الدول الافريقية والآسيوية والأوروبيّة التي مكّنتها من فتح مكاتب لها في عواصمها.
* أصدرت منظمة الأمم المتحدة عدة لوائح تندد بالسياسة التوسعيّة الإسرائيليّة وتطالبها بتطبيق القرار 242 الصادر في 22 نوفمبر سنة 1967 الذي ينص على ضرورة الانسحاب من الأراضي المحتلّة سنة 1967
* اعترفت المنظمة الأمميّة بمنظمة التحرير بصفتها الممثل الوحيد للشعب الفلسطيني ومنحتها مركز ملاحظ بالجمعيّة العامّة و دعت ياسر عرفات لإلقاء خطاب على منبرها في نوفمبر 1974
تحولت القضيّة الفلسطينيّة من مجرد قضيّة لاجئين إلى قضيّة شعب له الحقّ في تقرير مصيره.

III- تطوّر المقاومة منذ الثمانينات من القرن العشرين إلى مطلع التسعينات

1 – اختلال ميزان القوى بين المقاومة و الكيان الصهيوني : شهدت منطقة الشرق الأوسط في نهاية السبعينات و بداية الثمانينات أحداثا هامّة أثرت بشكل كبير على المقاومة ومن بينها :
* احتلال إسرائيل لجنوب لبنان سنة 1978
* إبرام معاهدة الصلح المنفردة بين مصر و إسرائيل مقابل انسحاب هذه الأخيرة من سيناء
* الخروج الاضطراري لعناصر المقاومة و قيادتها من لبنان سنة 1982 بعد الغزو الإسرائيلي له.
فقدت المقاومة الفلسطينيّة بذلك مواقع انطلاقها لضرب العدو الصهيوني وتدعّم اختلال ميزان القوى بانهيار الاتحاد السوفياتي سنة 1991 وانفراد الولايات المتحدة الأمريكيّة حليفة إسرائيل الأولي بالزعامة العالمية.

2 – تعديل الأهداف و طرق النضال: قامت منظمة التحرير الفلسطينيّة سنة 1988 بإدخال تعديلات على ميثاق سنة 1968 و أعلنت قبولها بالتسوية السياسيّة لقضيّة فلسطين على أساس قرارات منظمة الأمم المتحدة وخاصة القرار242 لسنة 1967 الذي يلزم إسرائيل بالانسحاب من الأراضي التي احتلتها إثر حرب 1967 أي الضفة الغربيّة وقطاع غزة ويعدّ ذلك اعترافا ضمنيّا بدولة إسرائيل. كما أعلنت المنظمة سنة 1988 عن تأسيس دولة فلسطين في المهجر التي قبلت إقامتها على الأراضي المحتلّة عام 1967 فحسب. من جهة ثانية غيّرت المقاومة طرق نضالها بالتركيز على النضال السياسي الدبلوماسي بهدف كسب تأييد الرأي العام العالمي دون التخلي عن المواجهة للضغط على إسرائيل بواسطة الانتفاضة التي اندلعت سنة 1987 والتي حوّلت حجارة الأرض الفلسطينيّة إلى سلاح بأيدي أبنائها.

***Social Subjects*, Grade 9, pp. 76–77**

II. The Palestinian Resistance to the Zionist Entity from 1948 to the 1980s:
[…]
2. The Resistance from the mid-1950s until the late 1970s:
Was characterized by two fundamental features:
** Establishing the supervisory bodies of the Resistance […]*
** Reliance on armed struggle: the organized, armed Revolution was launched in 1956 […] This attitude was crystalized in the 1968 National Charter, which affirmed that the goal of the Resistance is the liberation of the entirety of Palestine and to oppose the existence of the State of Israel, and that the only way to achieve this is armed struggle.*
3. The political success of this stage:
** The PLO succeeded in making its cause known and gaining the support of many African, Asian and European states […]*
** The UN adopted several resolutions criticizing the Israeli expansionist policy […]*
** The international order recognized the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people […]*
** The Palestinian Cause transformed from a refugee cause to a cause of a people with the right to self-determination.*

III. Development of the Resistance from the 1980s to the Early 1990s:
1. The upset of the power balance between the Resistance and the Zionist Entity: the Middle East region saw key events in the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s which had a great impact on the Resistance, including:
** Israel's 1978 occupation of southern Lebanon*
** The signing of a separate peace agreement between Egypt and Israel […]*
** The 1982 forced exodus of Resistance members and leaders from Lebanon after it was attacked by Israel*
Thus the Palestinian Resistance lost its excursion bases to strike at the Zionist Enemy. The upset in the power balance was aided by the 1991 collapse of the Soviet Union […]
2. Amending the goals and methods of the struggle: in 1988, the PLO introduced amendments to the 1968 Charter, proclaiming it acceptance of a political resolution to the Issue of Palestine, […] This is considered to be an implicit recognition of the State of Israel. […] On the other hand, the Resistance changed the methods of its struggle by focusing on the political, diplomatic struggle, with the goal of gaining the global public opinion – without forgoing confrontation [al-muwājahah] to pressure Israel, in the form of the Intifada which broke out in 1987 and transformed the stones of the Palestinian soil into weapons in her sons' hands.

Palestinian nationalist violence against Israel is also justified through artistic means. In one instance, a poem by Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish glorifies martyrdom and speaks indirectly of expelling Israeli Jews from Palestine,[136] followed by another poem by Palestinian poet Tawfiq Ziyad which pledges to "give pure blood copiously" for the liberation of "Lydda, Ramla and the Galilee," referring to locations in Israel proper as in need of violent liberation from Israeli control.[137] Juxtaposing these two poems is a cartoon which shows the map of greater Palestine (including the entirety of Israel) covered with sharp thorns, stabbing an Israeli soldier, with the caption "no rest to the colonizer over occupied land." This is ostensibly a reference to Palestinian nationalist violence against Israelis.

136 Alamat: Arabic Textbook (Scientific Tracks), Grade 12, pp. 301–302.

137 Alamat: Arabic Textbook (Scientific Tracks), Grade 12, pp. 304–305.

"لا راحة للمستعمر فوق الأرض المُحتلّة"
عن مجلّة الوحدة ديسمبر 1990، عدد 75
ص145

Alamat: Arabic Textbook (Scientific Tracks), Grade 12, p. 305

"No rest to the colonizer over occupied land"
From Al-Wahdah magazine, December 1990, vol. 75, p. 145

Examples of specific violence in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict are abundant. In such depictions, the instigators of violence are usually Israeli actors, who are portrayed as cruel and lacking in human motivations. One Arabic textbook devotes a short lesson to what it terms "the murder" of Muhammad Al-Durrah, referring to a 12-year-old Gaza Strip resident who was infamously filmed in 2000 being caught in a crossfire between the Israeli military and Palestinian gunmen that reportedly ended with his death. The lesson features photos and a poem by Palestinian writer Mahmoud Darwish, depicting the child's distress in his final moments, and focuses on their emotional impact. The lesson not only holds Israeli soldiers as exclusively culpable for Al-Durrah's death, but strongly implies that it was premeditated murder, with Darwish's poem mentioning his "cold-blooded hunter."[138] Elsewhere in the same textbook, Israel is mentioned in the context of massacres, expulsions, arrests, house demolitions, torture, and execution. Israel is accused of humiliating Palestinian children at security checkpoints, and preventing them from meeting their families.[139] Textbooks do not present any comparable examples of Palestinian actions against Israeli civilians, such as suicide bombings, plane hijackings or rocket attacks.

One Arabic textbook features a 1983 poem by Palestinian writer Harun Hashim Rashid that focuses on children in Gaza fighting against Israeli forces and their death as martyrs for the liberation of Palestine. Israel's image in this presentation is completely negative to the point of being demonized, described as "Usurpers" and "the Aggressor," or "filth" to be "purified" with "gushing blood" – apparently of the Palestinians' self-sacrifice. The poem ends with the poet's hope that Israel – or in a more charitable interpretation, the Israeli occupation of the Gaza Strip (although the textbook does not seem to support this interpretation, see below) – which is likened to "ravens," disappears.

The textbook highlights the theme of Palestinian suffering, but is seemingly cautious to avoid naming Israel as the obvious antagonist in the poem. Nevertheless, a map of Greater Palestine, which erases Israel from existence, accompanies the poem, and the textbook asks students to describe the poet's vision for his country's future– which can be interpreted to be one where Israel does not exist.

المحور الخامس : الأطفال في العالم

5 - «أَطْفَالُ غَزَّةَ»

هارون هاشم رشيد « يوميّات الصمود والحزن» الطبعة الأولى
– تونس 1983 – ص 83 – 85 (دار النشر لم تُذكر)

١ مِنْ غَزَّةَ الآنَ قَبْلَ الآنِ قَدْ وَثَبُوا
أَمَا سَمِعْتُمْ بِهِمْ يَـا أَيُّهَـا الْعَـرَبُ
أَطْفَالُ فِي عُمُرِ الأَزْهَارِ مَا عَرَفُوا
لَهْوَ الصِّغَارِ وَلا أَغْرَاهُـمُ اللَّعِـبُ
مِنَ الْخِيَامِ الَّتِي فِي الرِّيحِ نَازِفَةً
جِرَاحُهَا، طَلَعَ الأَطْفَـالُ وَانْتَصَبُـوا
يُوَاجِهُونَ رَصَاصَ الْغَاصِبِينَ، فَمَا
لَدَيْهِمُو مِنْ سِلاحٍ غَيْرَ مَا احْتَسَبُوا(١)
5 فَبِالْحِجَارَةِ رَجْمًا، بِالْعِصِيِّ قَنًا
يُقَاتِلُونَ، وَمَا ارْتَـدُّوا وَمَـا هَرَبُـوا
أَطْفَالُ غَزَّةَ، يَدْرِي الْمُعْتَدِي أَبَدًا
مَاذَا لَدَيْهِمْ وَمَا فِي الصَّدْرِ يَضْطَخِبُ
يُقَاتِلُونَ فَمَـا كَلَّـتْ سَوَاعِدُهُـمْ
يَوْمًا، وَلا دَبَّ فِيهَا الْيَـأْسُ وَالتَّعَـبُ

(١) احتسب الأمر: عدّه وظنّه، ومن معانيها كذلك: قدّمه و نوى به وجه الله.

معجمي
ما معنى كل من: نازفة، قنا
تساؤل؟

... تَسَائَلَ الأُمّ :«أَيْنَ الْعَزْمُ يَا وَلَدِي ؟
وَأَيْنَ تَمْضِي(2)، وَهَذَا الْهَوْلُ يَلْتَهِبُ ؟»
يَقُولُ :« أَيْنَ يَـا أُمّ أَيْـنَ أَخْـــي ؟»
وَأَيْنَ أَهْلِي وَأَحْبَابِي تُرَى ذَهَبُـــوا ؟
10 مَضَوْا عَلَى الدَّرْبِ لِلتَّحْرِيرِ غَايَتُهُـمْ
وَاسْتُشْهِـدُوا، وَأَنَـا لِلأَهْـلِ أَنْتَسِـبُ
فَإِنْ تَخَاذَلَـتِ الدُّنْيَـا بِأَجْمَعِهَـا
عَنِ الطَّرِيقِ فَإِنِّـي الْيَـوْمَ أَقْتَـرِبُ
قَدْ لا أَرَاكِ مَسَـاءَ الْيَـوْمِ، ذَا قَدَرِي
فَكَيْفَ عَنْ قَـدَرِي يَـا أُمُّ أَحْتَجِـبُ ؟
مِنْ «خَانِ يُونِسَ» نَأْتِيهِمْ وَمِنْ «رَفَحٍ»
مِنَ «الْبُرَيْجِ»(3) يَسِيلُ الـدَّمُ يَنْسَكِـبُ
يُطَهِّـرُ الأَرْضَ مِنْ رِجْـسٍ يُدَنِّسُـهَا
فَيُنْبِتُ الزَّهْرَ وَالْحَنُّونُ(4) وَالْعُشُـبُ
15 وَتُشْرِقُ الشَّمْسُ يَـا أُمَّـاهُ بَاسِمَـةً
وَتَخْتَفِي هَـذِهِ الْغِرْبَـانُ تَنْسَحِـبُ

Al-Anis: Reader Grade 7, pp. 158-159

(See the continuation of the example on the following page)

138 *Alamat: Arabic Textbook* (Scientific Tracks), Grade 12, pp. 108–111.

139 *Alamat: Arabic Textbook* (Scientific Tracks), Grade 12, pp. 163–165.

Axis 5: Children around the World
5. "The Children of Gaza"

Harun Hashem Rashid
[…]

From Gaza now, before now they dashed
Did you not hear them, O Arabs?
Children in the age of blossoming, who never knew
The play of youngsters, nor interest in games
Out of the camp, with its bleeding
Wound, the children rose and stood up
Facing the bullets of the Usurpers, for they had no
Weapons except that which they did for the sake of God
So they used stones for throwing and sticks as spears
They fight, they do not hesitate nor run away
The Children of Gaza, the Aggressor always knows
What they hold and what rages in their heart
They fight and their arms do not tire
For a single day, and despair and exhaustion have not crept into them
The mother asks: "Where from is your resolve, O son of mine?
And where are you going, seeing this horror ablaze?"
And he would reply: "Where, mother, oh where is my brother?"
I wonder where my family and loved ones went?
They went on the path to liberate their object of desire
And died as martyrs – and I am a part of my family.
Even if the whole world has abandoned
This road, today, I will draw closer
I may not see you by this evening. That is my fate
And how can I, mother, hide from destiny?
From Khan Yunis we will come to them, and from Rafah.
From Bureij [refugee camp in Gaza] the blood flows and gushes
Purifying the land from the Filth that desecrates it
And flowers, blossoms and grass will sprout
And the sun will rise, O mother, smiling
And these Ravens will disappear and withdraw

استكشف

1- في النص وحدة للوصف و أخرى للحوار، إضبط حدّي كلّ وحدة منهما واختر لها عنوانا.
2- استخدم الشاعر في الوحدة الأولى أسلوب النفي لرسم أطفال غزة في صورة مخالفة لما يعرف عن حياة الأطفال عامة.
أ. هات مثالاً لهذا الأسلوب.
ب. انقل الجدول الآتي على كرّاسك، واملأه ببعض ما يوضح مظاهر اختلاف حياة هؤلاء الأطفال عن حياتك وحياة أمثالك من الأطفال

ما حرم منه أطفال غزة	مالا يناسب طفولتهم

3- تقوم الوحدة الثانية على حوار بين الأم وابنها، استخرج علاماته واستخلص منه حالة كلّ منهما.
4- بدا الطفل في الوحدة الثانية مصرا على تحقيق غايته، اذكر القرائن الدالة على ذلك.
5- رسم الشاعر على لسان الطفل صورة جميلة لمستقبل وطنه في البيتين الأخيرين، وضح عناصرها، وما تدلّ كلّ عنصر منها

استثمر

التقيت بصديق لم يفهم دواعي تعرض الأطفال الفلسطينيين للخطر، فحاولت أن تصور له جوانب من معاناتهم و حاجتهم إلى تضامن أطفال العالم معهم في ضوء ما فهمت من القصيدة، اكتب الحوار الذي دار بينكما، واقرأه على زملائك.

***Al-Anis: Reader* Grade 7, pp. 158-159**

Discover
[...]
2. The poet used in the first unit the mode of negation to illustrate the image of the children of Gaza as different from the life of children in general.
A. Give an example of this mode.
B. Copy the following table into your notebook, and fill it with examples which show how the life of those children differs from your life and that of children like you.
[Table:]
Things that the children of Gaza are denied – Things that are unsuitable for their childhood
[...]
4. The child in the second unit appears resolved to realize his goals, write the evidence which indicates this.
5. The poet illustrated in the mouth of the child a beautiful image of the future of his country in the last two lines. Explain what the elements of this image are, and what each element indicates.

Invest
You met a friend who does not understand the circumstances in which Palestinian children are exposed to danger, so you tried to illustrate to him some of their suffering, and their need for solidarity with the children of the world. In light of what you understood from the poem, write the dialogue between the two of you and read it to your classmates.

A lengthy overview of the conflict presents the establishment of the Fatah movement and its first attack against Israel in 1965, discusses the 1968 Palestinian Charter, and the impact of the 1973 war that ended the "myth" of Israeli invincibility. As part of this narrative, the Palestinian massacre of Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympics is presented as a "*fedayeen* (self-sacrifice) operation," simultaneously glorifying the event and sidestepping any debate about its morality. At the same time, the lesson also acknowledges Palestinian organizations' conflict with the Jordanian government in the form of Black September (1970), introducing a more nuanced perspective of the complexities of Arab unity.

7 مراحل الكفاح المسلّح الفلسطيني

1965	انطلاق الكفاح المسلح في شكل حرب عصابات قصد كسر الجمود الذي أصاب القضية الفلسطينية.
1968-1967	المشاركة في العمليات الحربية (حرب 1967) ومواصلة الكفاح بعد وقف إطلاق النار والدّخول في اشتباكات مع العدوّ في معركة «الكرامة» مارس 1968 .
1970	أزمة «أيلول الأسود» في الأردن وتعرّض القوات الفلسطينية إلى هجوم الجيش الأردني واضطرارها إلى الانسحاب من الأردن نحو سوريا وجنوب لبنان.
1973	نشوب الحرب العربية الإسرائيلية وتواصل العمليات الفدائية حتى بعد فصل القوات على الجبهتين.
1974 إلى 1982	تصعيد العمل المسلّح (عمليات فدائية مثل عملية ميونيخ) للفت انتباه الرأي العام للقضية الفلسطينية.
بعد 1975	بدأ العمل المسلّح مرحلة الدفاع الاستراتيجي وخاصّة بعد إمضاء اتفاقية كامب ديفيد وانسحاب مصر من ساحة الصّراع العربي الإسرائيلي منذ 1978.
سنة 1982	الغزو الإسرائيلي للبنان : انهزام المقاومة وتعرّض المدنيين في صبرا وشاتيلا إلى أبشع أعمال التقتيل واضطرار المقاومة إلى مغادرة لبنان نحو تونس البعيدة عن الجبهة. فأدّى ذلك إلى انحسار العمل المسلّح.

History **(Literature and Economy and Management Tracks), Grade 13, p. 243.**

> *Phases of the Palestinian Armed Struggle*
> *1965 – Outbreak of the armed struggle, in the form of gang warfare, to break the freeze which plagued the Palestinian Cause.*
> *[...]*
> *1970 – The "Black September" crisis in Jordan; the Palestinian forces face an attack by the Jordanian army, forcing them to withdraw from Jordan toward Syria and southern Lebanon.*
> *[...]*
> *1974 to 1982 – Escalation of armed activity (fedayeen operations like the Munich Operation) to divert public opinion toward the Palestinian Cause.*
> *[...]*

In discussing the peace process, textbooks introduce the 1982 Arab Summit in Fez, Morocco, which called for a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, effectively recognizing Israel and a two-state solution, alongside accounts of the First Intifada and Israel's repression of it. This is followed by the Palestinian Declaration of Independence in 1988 of a state within the 1967 territories, the 1993 Oslo accords of mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO and the establishment of the Palestinian Authority. However, this presentation, is not preceded by a discussion of the 1967 war and its territorial consequences, once again leaving students without appropriate context to understand the conflict and its territorial dimensions.

Israel's peace treaty with Egypt is taught as an example of an event that "weakened Arab solidarity" and compelled the PLO to change its positions, conforming to the international view that recognizes Israel. Note that this "international view" is largely absent from the way Israel is treated in Tunisian textbooks and omitted from maps in those publications. Peaceful conflict resolution is thus taught to Tunisian students as a less-than-ideal, potentially even undesirable course of action, one that may come at the price of honor and core principles. Notably, Tunisia's hosting of the PLO leadership after their 1982 expulsion from Lebanon is described in minimal, matter-of-fact terms, without being framed as a particularly significant event.

1 اتفاقيّة "كامب ديفيد" وتداعياتها على الصراع العربي الاسرائيلي

من اليسار إلى اليمين : أنور السادات وجيمي كارتر ومناحيم بيڤن يمضون اتفاقيات كامب ديفيد (في مارس 1979) كمدخل لتوقيع معاهدة سلام منفردة.

6 حول ظرفية «عملية السلام»

إمضاء «إعلان المبادئ» الموطّرة لاتفاقيات أوسلو بين عرفات وإسحاق رابين رئيس مجلس الوزراء الإسرائيلي بحضور الرئيس الأمريكي كلينتون بواشنطن في سبتمبر 1993

إلاّ أنّ اتفاقيات الصّلح المنفردة بين مصر وإسرائيل (26 مارس 1979) التي استرجعت بمقتضاها مصر سيناء، زعزعت التضامن العربي، ومكّنت إسرائيل من توجيه آلتها العسكرية ضدّ القوات الفلسطينية في لبنان، فتغيّر ميزان القوى لفائدة الكيان الصهيوني الذي أقدم في جوان 1982 على غزو لبنان ودخول بيروت وإجبار منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية وقواتها على مغادرة لبنان. فتحوّلت قيادتها إلى تونس بعيدا عن ساحة الصّراع. فمالت منظمّة التحرير الفلسطينية إلى تعديل برامجها وفقا للشرعية الدولية التي تقرّ بوجود إسرائيل.

History **(Literature and Economy and Management Tracks), Grade 13, pp. 244, 245, 249**

(See the continuation of the example on the following page)

"Camp David" Agreement and its Consequences for the Arab-Israeli Conflict
From left to write: Anwar Sadat, Jimmy Carter and Menachem Begin signing the Camp David agreements (March 1979) as a prelude to signing a separate peace agreement
[...]
6. About the Circumstances of "the Peace Process"
[Photo]
Signing the framework "declaration of principles" to the Oslo Accords between Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin, the Israeli Prime Minister, in the presence of US President Clinton, in Washington, September 1993
[...]
Yet the separate peace agreements signed between Egypt and Israel (26 March 1979), in which Egypt recovered the Sinai, undermined Arab solidarity and allowed Israel to direct its military apparatus against Palestinian forces in Lebanon. Thus, the balance of power shifted in favor of the Zionist Entity, which went ahead in June 1982 and invaded Lebanon, marched into Beirut and forced the PLO and its forces to leave Lebanon. Its leadership moved to Tunis, far from the field of conflict. The PLO was inclined to modify its agenda, in accordance with international legitimacy which supports Israel's existence.

Throughout the surveyed textbooks are some examples of factual errors concerning the conflict. The village of Karameh, attacked by Israeli forces in 1968 is in Jordan, rather than the West Bank as was stated in textbooks;[140] the Palestine National Council called on Israel in 1988 to withdraw from Arab Jerusalem, not West Jerusalem;[141] and as seen above, a map of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in 1948 mislabels these territories as the "Arab Palestinian state." Addressing these errors and clarifying the contradictions and inconsistencies found in texts and maps across various textbooks would allow for a more accurate and informed study of this topic.

Indeed, a more accurate presentation could help to create more nuance in Tunisia's approach to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, steering students away from uncritical repetition of nationalist talking points and narrative. In other topics presented in this report, such as gender relations or Islam, Tunisian textbooks offer nuanced and complex discussions. However, this sophisticated approach, is largely absent in the discussion of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Violent conduct and patterns of behavior, such as embracing jihad or praising violence, which are frowned upon (if not fully condemned) in other surveyed topics are positively presented in this context without hesitation. In other words, what is deemed unacceptable in other con texts is, in this case, tolerated. Much work remains in addressing how Israel, Palestine, and the conflict are treated in Tunisian textbooks, to raise the discussion to a level appropriate for a country like Tunisia. Importantly, such improvements need not compromise Tunisia's position on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

140 *History* (Literature and Economy and Management Tracks), Grade 13, p. 242.

141 *Social Subjects*, Grade 9, p. 74.

Women and Gender Equality

Securing women's rights and equality has been a foundational principle of modern Tunisia since independence. Tunisia's first president and "founding father," Habib Bourguiba promoted progressive legislation and policies that placed Tunisia at the forefront of pioneering gender equality in the Arab Middle East and North Africa region. These efforts became part of his legacy, as is evident at the entrance to his mausoleum in his hometown of Monastir, which among other qualities describes the former president as the "liberator of women."[142]

Tunisia's Personal Status Code, enacted in 1956, regulated marriage and divorce laws and embraced progressive positions that were unusual for an Arab country. This legislative code banned polygamy, established a minimum marriage age of 17, and stipulated that a woman cannot be married off against their will. It also abolished the practice of unilateral divorce, which had been a major disadvantage to women.[143] Tunisia actively expanded educational opportunities for women, and encouraged their participation in government and society. Bourguiba also initiated a bold family planning program, which successfully lowered the country's birth rate and helped further advance the status of women. This approach was explained as a crucial part of Tunisia's efforts to build the nation-state and modernize society, and embraced progressive positions that were unusual for an Arab country.[144]

Over the following decades, Tunisian women secured a prominent role in society and politics. While not all sectors of Tunisian society supported these policies, they became prominent fixtures of the country's public life. For example, even Tunisia's leading Islamist movement, *Al-Nahda*, did not reject women's equality after the 2011 revolution, instead voicing its support for maintaining women's rights, and promoted female candidates in politics.[145] The revolutionary constitution also reflected the country's commitment to women's equality, further enshrining these values as fundamental to society.[146] Tunisia's progress in this regard is both notable and commendable.

Against this backdrop, it is unsurprising that Tunisian textbooks largely promote, praise, and openly discuss women's rights. The majority of the surveyed textbooks highlight Tunisia's special status in promoting women's rights. References in numerous textbooks offer many examples of how Tunisian women enjoy equality, have successfully broken glass ceilings that previously impeded their advancement, and continue to be a model for other countries in the region to emulate. Women are encouraged to enter new fields, with textbooks highlighting examples of women pursuing careers traditionally dominated by men.

Illustrations of women typically portray them without veils, and in some cases even wearing bikini bathing suits, a far cry from traditional modest norms. However, despite these texts and images, other references subtly reflect a more socially conservative approach to the place of women in society (particularly at home, where they are presented as the main caregivers to children and as those responsible for maintaining the household). At the same time, some textbooks criticize Western feminism and portray women's decision-making as a barrier to happiness. These positions, in contrast to the legislation and official government approach to women's rights, indicate that beneath the apparent positive surface, there is still work to be done in addressing gender equality.

The general overview of women's status in Tunisia, as presented in the example below, highlights the Personal Status Code, and notes its goal of promoting equality

142 Mounira M. Charrad, *States and Women's Rights: The Making of Postcolonial Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001);
Kenneth Perkins, *A History of Modern Tunisia, Second Edition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 207–211.

143 Mark Tessler, Janet Rogers and Daniel Schneider, "Women's Emancipation in Tunisia," in Lois Back and Nikki Keddie (eds.), *Women in the Muslim World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), pp. 141–158.

144 Mounira M. Charrad, *States and Women's Rights: The Making of Postcolonial Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

145 Rory McCarthy, "The Politics of Consensus: Al-Nahda and the Stability of the Tunisian Transition," Middle Eastern Studies, vol. 55, no. 2 (2019), pp. 261–275;
Caitlin Murline, "Women's Organizations in Tunisia: Transforming Feminist Discourse in a Transitioning State," Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection, no. 1136 (fall 2011); https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection/1136/
Shazia Arshad, "The Arab Spring: What Did it Do for Women?", Middle East Monitor, 24 January 2014.
https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20140124-the-arab-spring-what-did-it-do-for-women/

146 Constitution of the Tunisian Republic, 2014, Preamble, Articles 21, 34, 40, 46, 74.
https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Tunisia_2014

between men and women. It emphasizes that the status of women prior to the country's independence was far lower.[147] The same textbook then goes on to explain that the improved social status of women in Tunisia meant that more women were educated, participated in economic life and married at an older age than before, contributing to a lower birthrate.[148] This example acknowledges that Tunisia has a deep historical heritage of gender inequality, one that cannot easily be blamed on outside factors such as colonialism. It also encourages students to take pride in the national progress achieved in this matter, and to ensure that it continues.

النشاط الثاني: أتبين أهم الانجازات لتحديث المجتمع التونسي

الوثيقة عدد 8 : المرأة التونسية قبل الاستقلال.

«...إن المرأة عندنا تزف إ لى بيت الزوجية وهي ذاهلة مبهوتة جاهلة ما عسى أ ن يكون ، تنتظر نتيجة المغامرة التي وقعت بحياتها ... أما إذا أراد الرجال طلاق زوجاتهم ولو فجأة دون أن يعلمن بالأمر ، فذلك حلال ميسور في كل وقت. وليكن أ ن الزواج مر عليه عشرون سنة هلك فيها شباب المرأة في خدمة الزوج وطاعته ... فإن ذلك لا يفيد من حريته ما دام يريد أ ن يجدد حظه ويتوع في أذته بزواج جديد والقضاء الشرعي لا ينازعه في ذلك ...»

الطاهر الحداد : امرأتنا في الشريعة والمجتمع ،الدار التونسية للنشر تونس 1984 ص ص 143 - 144

الوثيقة عدد 9 : مقتطفات من مجلة الأحوال الشخصية (13 أوت 1956)

الفصل الثالث : لا يعقد الزواج إلا برضا الزوجين .
الفصل الرابع : لا يثبت الزواج إلا بحجة رسمية يضبطها قانون خاص .
الفصل الخامس : يجب أ ن يكون كل من الزوجين خلوا من الموانع الشرعية وزيادة على ذلك فكل من لم يبلغ عشرين سنة كاملة من الرجال وسبع عشرة سنة كاملة من النساء لا يمكنه أن يبرم عقد الزواج ...
الفصل الثامن عشر : تعدد الزوجات ممنوع .
الفصل الثلاثون : لا يقع الطلاق إلا لدى المحكمة .
مجلة الأحوال الشخصية .

التعليمة :

باعتماد الوثيقتين (8–9) :
بين وضع المرأة التونسية قبل الاستقلال وأبرز المكاسب التي تحققت لها بفضل التشريعات الجديدة.

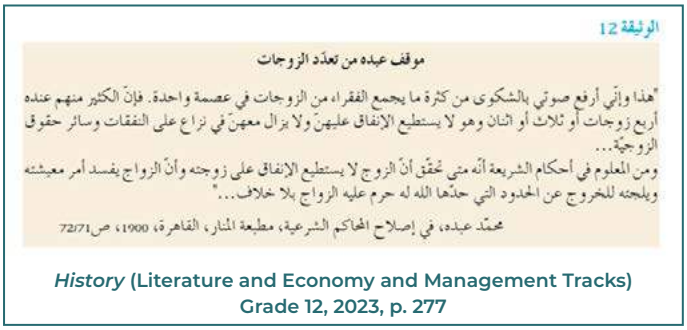
Social Subjects, Grade 9, p. 94

Activity 2: I will examine the key achievements in the modernization of Tunisian society
Document no. 8: Tunisian women pre-independence
"In our society, the woman proceeds solemnly to her marriage home, in a trance, in shock, ignorant of what is to come. She awaits the outcome of the hazardous journey which has befallen her life… whereas if men wish to divorce their wives, even on a whim, without them knowing it – that is permitted and easily accomplished at any time. It is possible for marriage to go on for twenty years, during which the woman's youth is wasted while serving and obeying her husband… yet that does not limit his liberty, should he wish, to renew his luck and diversify his lust with a new marriage, and shariah jurisprudence will not oppose him in doing so…"
Tahar Haddad, Our Woman in Shariah and Society (Tunis: Al-Dar Al-Tunisiyah lil-Nashr, 1984), pp. 143–144
Document 9: excerpts from the Code of Personal Status (13 August 1956)
Article 3: Marriage will not be contracted except with the consent of both partners.
Article 4: Marriage will not be affirmed except with an official certificate, as stipulated by a special law.Article 5: Each partner in marriage must be free of shariah-prescribed preclusions. In addition, whosoever has yet to reach twenty years of age for a man, or seventeen years of age for a woman, will not be able to contract marriage…
Article 18: Polygyny is prohibited.
Article 30: Divorce will not be performed except through the court of law.
Code of Personal Status
Learning:
On the basis of Documents 8 and 9:
Explain the status of Tunisian women before independence, and major gains attained for them thanks to new acts of legislation.

One notable area of change regarding women's rights concerns polygamy (or polygyny, the practice of one man having multiple wives).The importance of abolishing polygamy and raising the marriage age of women is discussed in one textbook, where it is plainly stated that "Tunisia realized that it cannot achieve growth without liberating women."[149] Older students are exposed to the efforts of President Habib Bouguiba, lauded as "the Liberator of Tunisian Women,"[150] to promote gender-equal legislation, as part of building the nation state and modernizing society. A 1957 speech of his is quoted, where he explains his rationale for banning polygamy, stating that national interest dictates that women should not have to compete for their spouse's attention.[151] Another interesting take on the issue comes from Islamic sources; as an example of modernism in Islamic societies, one History textbook quotes Egyptian-born Islamic jurist and reformer Muhammad Abduh (1849–1905), where he lays out his shariah-informed rationale for opposing polygamy. In selecting this quote in particular, the textbook deconstructs and directly censures polygamy as a practice both proscribed by Islamic teaching and fundamentally antithetical to modernity. However, the fact that this practice persists in some parts of the Islamic world is not discussed.

(See the continuation of the example on the following page)

147 A similar argument appears in *History*, Grade 10, p. 115.
148 *Social Subjects*, Grade 9, p. 190.
149 *Geography* (Arts, Economics, Administration Track), Grade 12, p. 165
150 *History* (Humanities and Economy & Management Branches), Grade 13, p. 273.
151 *History* (Literature and Economy and Management Tracks), Grade 13, p. 278.


الوثيقة 12

موقف عبده من تعدّد الزوجات

"هذا وإنّي أرفع صوتي بالشكوى من كثرة ما يجمع الفقراء من الزوجات في عصمة واحدة. فإنّ الكثير منهم عنده أربع زوجات أو ثلاث أو اثنان وهو لا يستطيع الإنفاق عليهنّ ولا يزال معهنّ في نزاع على النفقات وسائر حقوق الزوجيّة...

ومن المعلوم في أحكام الشريعة أنّه متى تحقّق أنّ الزوج لا يستطيع الإنفاق على زوجته وأنّ الزواج يفسد أمر معيشته ويلجئه للخروج عن الحدود التي حدّها الله له حرم عليه الزواج بلا خلاف..."

محمّد عبده، في إصلاح المحاكم الشرعية، مطبعة المنار، القاهرة، 1900، ص72/71

History **(Literature and Economy and Management Tracks) Grade 12, 2023, p. 277**

Document 12: Abduh's position on polygyny

"I hereby raise my voice in complaint about the large number of poor people who take many wives in one bond. Many of them have four or three or two wives, and they are not able to support them. They remain in dispute with them over expenses and other marriage rights…

It is known in the provisions of shariah law that when the husband is unable to support his wife, and the marriage ruins his livelihood and forces him to exceed the boundaries which God has laid out for him – marriage is indisputably forbidden to him …"

Muhammad Abduh, On the Reform of Shariah Courts, Al-Manar Press, Cairo, 1900, pp. 71-72

A major theme of the Tunisian curriculum's approach to female representation is the issue of female employment. Students are consistently taught that women should be free to choose from any career path and that Tunisian society benefits from the integration of women in a variety of occupations. This message is well-illustrated in a collage of images titled "Tunisian women participating in the building of modern civilization," shown in a Grade 12 Arabic textbook. The images depict a female scientist using a microscope, female factory workers producing electronics and textiles, and women placing ballots at a voting booth. This signals that Tunisian women should be recognized for contributing to society in a variety of ways, and that young female students are able to aspire to do so themselves. Importantly, women are depicted in the photos in both Islamic and Western attire, recognizing and celebrating the diversity of Tunisian women.

مظاهر من إسهام المرأة التونسية في بناء المدنية الحديثة

Alamat: **Arabic Textbook (Scientific Tracks), Grade 12, p. 152**

Views of Tunisian women participating in the building of modern civilization

Textbooks especially highlight female participation in spaces and occupations traditionally occupied by men. Such depictions challenge gender stereotypes of feminine occupations and capabilities, sometimes explicitly. For instance, Tunisian women's involvement in political institutions and local government is celebrated, and it is stressed that women are no less capable than men in leadership roles.[152] In the context of political leadership, male students are implored not to impede female progress by doubting women's competence.[153] Female sports are also promoted, with illustrations of girls playing on a sports team,[154] and examples of individual women are included, such as Moroccan hurdler Nawal El Moutawakel (born 1962), who became in 1984 the first Arab Muslim woman to win an Olympic gold medal,[155] Tunisian runner and Olympic medalist Habiba Ghribi (born 1984) and Tunisian tennis player Ons Jabeur (born 1994).[156]

Another celebrated role model is Rose al Yusuf (1898–1958), Egypt's first female journalist, who is provided as an example of a woman succeeding in an area traditionally dominated by men.[157] In Arabic reading texts for elementary school, engineering and management are presented as other non-traditional areas where women are encouraged to participate.[158] In the example below, Grade 3 students are taught a story about a woman who became a

152 *Social Subjects*, Grade 8, pp. 245-255, 281

153 *Anwar*: Reader, Grade 9, p. 12.

154 *Springs*: Reader, Grade 3, p. 43.

155 *The Joy of Reading: Reader*, Grade 8, pp. 206-207; *Arabic Sports Branch*, Grade 13, pp. 44-47.

156 *Arabic* (Sports Track), Grade 12, pp. 79, 85.

157 *The Joy of Reading*, Grade 8, pp. 202-204

158 *Paths of Dialogue*: *Reader*, Grade 4, p. 39.

space engineer and flew to space as an astronaut. The story stresses the protagonist's hard work to realize her aspirations, in the form of studies and physical training, indicating that women are capable of overcoming such difficulties. The example does not call particular attention to the protagonist's gender (beyond the fact that the grammar of the Arabic language requires her gender to be specified at all times) nor does it present her choice to pursue a career in space engineering as unusual, thus effectively normalizing it. On the other hand, women's historic difficulty entering the field is not acknowledged here.

وَتَحَقَّقَ الحُلْمُ.

كُنْتُ طِفْلَةً صَغِيرَةً أَحْلُمُ بِالْفَضَاءِ وَبِرُكُوبِ الصَّوَارِيخِ لِاكْتِشَافِ الْقَمَرِ...
مَرَّتْ الْأَيَّامُ وَأَنَا أَدْرُسُ بِكَدٍّ وَنَجَاحٍ لِأُحَقِّقَ حُلْمِي وَصِرْتُ مُهَنْدِسَةً مُخْتَصَّةً فِي عِلْمِ الْفَضَاءِ أَعْمَلُ ضِمْنَ فَرِيقٍ مُتَكَوِّنٍ مِنْ عُلَمَاءَ وَ فَلَكِيِّينَ.
وَكَانَتْ الْمُفَاجَأَةُ إِذْ عُيِّنْتُ ضِمْنَ فَرِيقِ رُوَّادِ الْفَضَاءِ الَّذِينَ سَتُقِلُّهُمْ الْمَرْكَبَةُ الْفَضَائِيَّةُ فِي رِحْلَتِهَا الْقَادِمَةِ.
تَدَرَّبْتُ طَوِيلًا عَلَى السُّرْعَةِ الْمُفْرِطَةِ، وَالدَّوَرَانِ، وَالْحَرَارَةِ الشَّدِيدَةِ
وَأُلْبِسْتُ مَعَ رَفِيقَيَّ الْمُصَاحِبَيْنِ لِي فِي الرِّحْلَةِ أَزْيَاءً خَاصَّةً تَحْمِينَا مِنَ الْحَرَارَةِ وَالْأَشِعَّةِ الْمُضِرَّةِ وَتُزَوِّدُنَا بِالْهَوَاءِ الصَّالِحِ لِلتَّنَفُّسِ.
وَحَانَ مَوْعِدُ الْإِقْلَاعِ الْمَرْكَبَةِ فَدَخَلْتُ جَوْفَ الصَّارُوخِ، وَأُغْلِقَتْ أَبْوَابُهُ وَأُشْعِلَتْ مُحَرِّكَاتُهُ الْخَمْسَةُ، فَأَخَذَ يُزَمْجِرُ وَيُدَمْدِمُ وَفِي لَحْظَةٍ وَاحِدَةٍ لَفَّتْهُ سُحُبٌ وَالدَفَعَ نَحْوَ الْفَضَاءِ سَرِيعًا.

159

Springs of Writing, Grade 3, pp. 159-160

The Dream Came True
I was a little girl who dreamed of space and riding rockets to explore the moon… days have passed, and I am diligently and successfully studying to make my dream come true. I became an engineer who specializes in astronomy, and work in a team of scientists and astronomers.
I was surprised when I was selected for a team of astronauts who will travel on a spacecraft during its next journey.
I underwent long training in excessive speed, spin and extreme heat […]
The time came for launching the spacecraft. I stepped into the belly of the rocket […]

As seen above, women are diversely depicted in traditional or Islamic, and Western or modern garb, suggesting that women have the freedom to choose their preferred appearance: with or without a headscarf, with more revealing or less revealing clothing. Generally, Western appearances seem to be more common in Tunisian textbooks. Some textbooks go a step further; one textbook teaches a story by Palestinian writer Fadwa Tuqan (1917–2003) where she describes her mother taking off the *hijab* headscarf as a moment of "freedom" from "the chains of the antique, abhorrent prison."[159] Another presents illustrations of women in scenes that are atypical in Arab-Muslim settings, such as women on the beach in bikini bathing suites. Together, these depictions highlight a broader narrative of women's autonomy and evolving social roles in Tunisia, framing choice of appearance as a marker of personal freedom.

وَصَلْنَا إِلَى جَزِيرَةِ جِرْبَةَ فَسَحَرَنَا جَمَالُهَا. نَصَبْنَا خِيَامَنَا عَلَى ٱلشَّاطِئِ وَ جَلَسْنَا عَلَى ٱلرَّمْلِ يَمْلَأُ ٱلنَّسِيمُ صُدُورَنَا وَ يُلَاعِبُ شُعُورَنَا، ثُمَّ أَخَذْنَا نَصِيبًا مِنَ ٱلرَّاحَةِ.

My Friend: Reader, Grade 1, p. 104

At the Summer Resort
We reached the island of Djerba, and its beauty enchanted us. We set up our tents on the beach and sat on the sand, as the breeze filled our hearts and played with our hair. Then we had some measure of rest.

159 *Arabic Grammar*, Grade 7, Vol. 2, p. 97.

Gender roles within the family unit are also discussed in Tunisian textbooks. To convey to students the importance of the topic, a Grade 11 textbook teaches that "democratic households" (usrah dīmuqrāṭīyah) are a key foundation to a democratic society, whereas households characterized by "coercive sultanic rule" (*ḥukm sulṭānī qahrī*) – a subtle allusion to domestic violence and inequality – will shape government accordingly.[160] Other textbooks are more explicit in their advocacy for equal roles within the family; one offers the phrase "domestic work pertains to women" as an example of prejudice which can have "dangerous" consequences.[161] An even sharper example is found in an Arabic textbook for Grade 12 students, which contains multiple reading texts penned by women discussing gender issues. In one of these, seen below, Lebanese writer Layla Baalbaki (1936–2023) rejects a married life where she has to cook while her husband rests on the couch reading the news. She describes her feelings of inferiority as a wife in such a household in stark terms: "I am the slave and he is the master to be obeyed." She concludes by proclaiming that "[a woman] wants sharing: her husband to share the life she lives." The text uses strong language to convey to students a distinctly feminist point of view, one that rejects traditional marriage and gender roles, and urges male students to consider how such a domestic arrangement would be negatively experienced by women.

١ – تريد المشاركة

تمهيد: تحلم المرأة قبل الزواج برجلٍ يشاركها حياتها مشاركةً تقوم على التكافؤ، ولكنّها قد تصطدم بواقع يخيّب آمالها. فإلى أيّ مدى يصوّر النصّ التالي هذه الوضعيّة؟

سألني بهاءُ باهتمام: لماذا لا تتزوّجين؟

ـ أنا؟

كان منذ هنيهات بطلاً أمامي. وإذا به الآن رجلٌ، رجلٌ عاديٌّ ككلّ الّذين أصطدمُ بهم في مقرّ عملي، في البناية الّتي أسكُنُها، في الشّارع.. في كلّ مكان! كنت منذ هنيهات معجبةً ثمّ مُشفقةً وإذا أنا امرأةٌ: أنا أنثى! أحرّك سؤالُهُ في نفسي عاطفةً غير العاطفة الّتي خلقَها منذ أيّام في تلك النّفس. هذه العاطفةُ تتحرّكُ في جسدي: أنا زوجةٌ! معناها: إنّ الزّوج يذهبُ ليُمارس معاً، في الظّلمة، صناعةَ الأطفال! ومعناها: إنّي ذابلةٌ بعد أن أمضيتُ ساعاتٍ ضجر في المطبخ وقد نحتُ في إعداد طبق زوجي المفضّل، والتهمَ الزّوجُ الطّعامَ الفاخرَ، ومدّدَ على المقعد يُصغي لنشرة الأخبار، وأنا، بعد أن استيقظتْ على شفتي رغبةٌ في التّقبيل أُراقبُهُ بذُلّ، وأدعوه بصمت، وأزحفُ إليه على ركبتيّ، أستنجدُهُ أنْ كُفَّ لحظةً عن إهمالي، فلا يكُفّ. وتنتهي النّشرةُ الإخباريّةُ فيحملُ صحيفةَ المساء، والرّغبةُ المقتولةُ على أناملي تبني بيني وبينَهُ حجرا فوق حجر! معناها إذن: أنا العبدةُ، وهو السّيّدُ المطاعُ، لي الثّلبيةُ، وله الطّلَبُ، لي الخوعُ وله الشّبَعُ، لي الانتظارُ وله ساعةُ التّنفيذ! ولها معانٍ كثيرةٌ غيرُها، حاولتُ تجسيمَها فانتزعني بهاءُ من شرودي مبديا: أمّا أنا فككلّ شابٍ مثقّف، إذا لم يجدْ المرأةَ الّتي تفهمُهُ تبدأ مأساتُه. فقلتُ حانقةً: أمّا مأساةُ المرأة فتبدأ حين يعتقدُ الرّجلُ أنّ المرأةَ قبلتْهُ زوجا لأنّه سيُلبسُها سوارا، وسيُسكنُها بيتا... فقاطعني: وماذا تُريدُ المرأةُ أكثرَ من ذلك؟ فشرحتُ متحمّسةً: تُريدُ مشاركةً: أن يشاركَها زوجُها الحياةَ الّتي يحياها، في سماع نشرة الأخبار، في قراءة كتابٍ مُعيّن، في الذّهاب إلى السّينما، في ردّ الزّيارات، ثمّ في إعداد المائدة... في كلّ ما يدخل في حياتهما المشتركة.

ليلى بعلبكي

أنا أحيا، ط بيروت 1963، صص 180 ـ 182

***Alamat: Arabic Textbook* (Scientific Tracks), Grade 12, p. 139**

1. She Wants Sharing

Synposis: women dream before marriage of a man who will share their life together on the basis of equality. Yet, she may clash with a reality that frustrates her hopes. To what extent does the following text illustrate this situation?

[Text:]

Bahaa asked me with concern: "Why won't you marry me?"

- "Me?"

Moments ago he was a hero facing me. Suddenly he was now a man, a regular man like all those I come across in my workplace, in the building I live in, in the street… everywhere! Moments ago, I was full of admiration, then pity. Now I was a woman: I am female! His question stirred an emotion in my soul, one different from what he created days ago in that same soul. This emotion moved about my body: me, a wife!

Meaning: my husband is prepared for us to get together, in the dark, and make children!

Meaning: I languish, having spent hours of irritation in the kitchen, and once I succeeded in preparing my husband's preferred dish, he devours the sumptuous food and spreads out on the couch listening to the news; and I, with a desire on my lips to kiss him, watch him in humiliation, call out to him in silence, and crawl toward him on my knees, begging him to cease ignoring me for one moment, yet he does not cease. The newscast ends and he picks up the evening paper. The extinguished desire on my fingertips builds a wall between the two of us, one brick at a time. Therefore, meaning: I am the slave, and he is the master to be obeyed; I comply, and he demands; I am hungry, and he is full; I wait, and he has the time to do!

There are other meanings as well, and I tried to embody them, but Bahaa tore me out of my wandering thoughts. "As for me," he confided in me, "I'm like any educated young man: if he doesn't find a woman who understands him, there begins his tragedy."

"A woman's tragedy," I replied angrily, "begins when her man thinks she received him as husband because he dresses her in bangles and houses her in a home –"

"What more does a woman want?" he interrupted me.

"She wants sharing," I explained with fervor. "Her husband to share the life she lives. In listening to the news, in reading a certain book, in going to the cinema, in exchanging visits, in setting the table… in anything that pertains to their shared life."

Layla Baalbaki

SS, Beirut, 1963, pp. 180–182

160 *Civics*, Grade 11, p. 7.

161 *Philosophy* (Literature Tracks), Grade 12, p. 71.

Textbooks begin challenging gender roles at an early age. In a lesson on family roles for Grade 5, an illustration demonstrates shared labor across genders, with the mother cooking and father washing dishes beside her. A female child is depicted studying while a male child sets the table, further suggesting a subversion of traditional roles. At the same time, the lesson requires students to assign specific roles to each gendered member of the family – mother, fathers, brothers and sisters – implying that gender roles can and should exist, though it does not prescribe what these are. Non-traditional families, meanwhile, such as those with one parent, same-sex parents, multiple parents or no siblings, do not easily fit into this paradigm.

الدّرس الأوّل : الطفل في العائلة

توزيع الأدوار وتبادلها داخل العائلة

أتصوّر وأتحاور :

السّند : 3 مشاهد مصوّرة:

أسرة العمّ سليم :

التّعليمة :

أمعن الصّور أعلاه، وأعمّر الجدول الموالي على كرّاسي معتمدًا على المنوال الوارد أسفله.

عائلة العمّ سليم	عائلتي
الأب	أبي
الأم	أمّي
الابن	أنا / أخي
البنت	أنا / أختي

• أتّفق مع مجموعتي على إسناد دور أو أدوار لكلّ فرد من أفراد العائلة وأكتبه على كرّاسي.

العائلة خليّة اجتماعيّة، يتحمّل فيها كلّ فرد مسؤوليّة

أبي .....

أمّي .....

أخي / أختي .....

أنا .....

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Social Subjects, Grade 5, p. 157

Lesson 1: The Child in the Family
Division and Exchange of Roles in the Family
I imagine and discuss:
Evidence: 3 illustrated scenes:
The family of Mr. Selim:
Learning:
I will look closely at the images above, and construct the accompanying table in my notebook based on the form below.
Mr. Selim's family: Father…… Mother…… The son…… The daughter……
My family: My father…… My mother…… I/my brother…… I/my sister……
I will reach an agreement with my group to ascribe a role or roles for every family member and write them down in my notebook.
The family is a social unit, each member of which carries responsibilities
My father……
My mother……
My brother/sister……
I……

Positive though these examples are, there are also conflicting opinions and more socially conservative examples concerning women that appear in other textbooks. The Grade 12 Arabic textbook, cited above for containing some vociferous and strongly-worded feminist texts, also contains a text criticizing Arab women for wearing revealing clothing as an "imitation" (*taqlīd*) of Western feminism. The text derides these women as dressing in a way that potentially arouses "lust" (*šahwah*), yet: "they cannot stand a single touch, or even one flirtatious word from a male stranger." The text concludes by arguing Arab feminism must take a different approach to achieve gender equality, one in line with Arab social norms.[162] Not all illustrations of women break or deconstruct gender roles, either; one example for Grade 2 students presents women as nurses and seamstresses, as opposed to male carpenters and blacksmiths.[163] None of the textbooks make any mention of homosexuality or transgender identity, reflecting how these remain taboo topics even in a relatively progressive society like Tunisia.

Most often, conservative views are found in Islamic education textbooks. One such book for Grade 10 students, seen below, offers students a collection of selected texts about family relations in Islam. One of these texts states that it is "especially incumbent upon mothers" to make sacrifices for the family, "even to the point of self-denial", and that a woman "fulfills herself through her husband and children;" men are not attributed similar limitations, nor are they said to be required to make similar sacrifices.

162 *Arabic* (Science Track), Grade 12, pp. 184-185

163 *My ways - Reading*, Grade 2, pp. 14-15.

This view is stated by the textbook to be "the view of Islam on family and family relations," giving it a distinct air of authority.

Another text, also presented below, criticizes the decline in men's domestic status, arguing that "mothers, sons and daughters" bicker endlessly and display an inability to manage home affairs as effectively as fathers. The writer concludes that this new anarchy comes at the "sacrifice" of "the happiness of the home, its peace and tranquility." Here, it is plainly understood that women are less competent than men and that it is preferable (though, perhaps, not ideal) that fathers dictate family matters alone. Finally, the lesson ends with two illustrations which seemingly depict sub-optimal relations between men and women. In one, a woman in modern clothing points scornfully at her husband cooking in the kitchen. In another, a man and a woman in traditional clothing look at each other disdainfully, with the wife behind her husband and holding a child's hand. The lesson's critical framing of both implies that they are to be considered equally undesirable, yet the negative framing of a man cooking may lead students to adopt the view that subverting gender roles harms family relations.

2 يشير مصطلح العائلة (من عال يعيل) إلى علاقات الإعالة والاعتماد المتبادل بين أفراد الأسرة الذين يهتمّون معا بانجازاتها وإخفاقاتها، بانتصارها وفشلها، بأفراحها وأتراحها، بشرفها وعارها، ... فكلّ عمل مشرّف يقوم به أيّ فرد من العائلة يصبح شرفا لجميع أفراد العائلة، وكلّ عمل مشين يقوم به أحدهم، يصبح عملا مشينا للجميع...

هذا الالتزام الشامل هو الذي يمنح الأفراد في الأسرة الشعور الراسخ بالاطمئنان والاستقرار العاطفي، إذ بإمكان الفرد أن يعتمد دائما على عائلته مهما كانت الظروف...

وقد يتطلّبُ الالتزامُ تضحيات جمّة حتّى درجة نكران الذات، وهذا ما يُفترض في الأمّ خاصّة، لأنّها تشعر أنّ مصدر سعادتها هو سعادة عائلتها وأولادها وأنّها تحقّق ذاتها من خلال زوجها وأولادها.

د. حلمي بركات، المجتمع العربي المعاصر، ص 175 – 176، بتصرّف

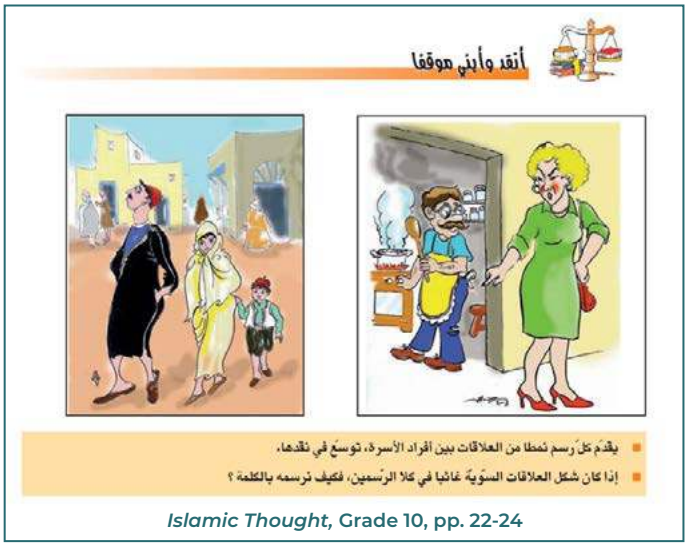
1. حدّد ملامح نظرة الإسلام للأسرة والعلاقات الأسرية.
2. توفّر الأسرةُ للفرد المودّة والطمأنينة وتحمّله مسؤولية المساهمة في تماسكها.
   - فيم يتمثّل دورك في المحافظة على استقرار العائلة وارتباط أفرادها ؟
3. استعن بزملائك لتحديد الحاجات النفسية والمادية التي توفّرها الأسرة لأعضائها ؟
4. ما هي الشروط الضرورية لتحقيق التواصل الإيجابي بين أفراد الأسرة في نظرك ؟

6 ما أكثر ما فعل الزمان بالعائلة، لقد عشت حتى رأيت سلطة الآباء تنهار، وتحلّ محلها سلطة الأمهات والأبناء والبنات برلمانا صغيرا، ولكنّه برلمان غير منظّم ولا عادل، فلا تؤخذ فيه الأصوات ولا تتحكّم فيه الأغلبية، ولكن يتبادلُ فيه الاستبدادُ، فأحيانا تستبدّ الأمّ، وأحيانا تستبدّ البنتُ أو الابنُ، وقلّما يستبدّ الأبُ، وكانت ميزانية البيت في يد صرّاف واحد فتلاعبت بها أيدي صرّافين، وكثرت مطالب الحياة لكلّ فرد وتنوّعت، وتصادمت الآراءُ وتحاربت وتخاصمت، وكانت ضحيتها سعادةُ البيت وهدوؤه وطمأنينته.

أحمد أمين، حياتي، ص 46، بتصرّف

- ماذا يحدث في هذا النوع من الأسر حتّى يفقد البيت هدوءه واستقراره ؟
- كيف تستعيد الأسرة سعادتها وطمأنينتها في نظر الكاتب ؟

Islamic Thought, Grade 10, pp. 22-24



أنقد وأبني موقفا

يقدّم كلّ رسم نمطا من العلاقات بين أفراد الأسرة، توسّع في نقدها.

إذا كان شكل العلاقات السوّية غائبا في كلا الرسمين، فكيف نرسمه بالكلمة ؟

Islamic Thought, Grade 10, pp. 22-24

2. […]
This comprehensive commitment is what gives the family members the deep-rooted feeling of peace of mind and emotional stability, as the individual is always able to rely on their family, no matter the circumstances…
This commitment may require plentiful sacrifices, even to the point of self-denial, and that is especially incumbent on the mother, since she feels that the source of her happiness is the happiness of her family and children, and that she fulfills herself through her husband and children.
Dr. Hilmi Barakat, Modern Arab Society, pp. 175–176, with permission
1. Define the features of Islam's view on family and family relations.
[…]

6. Time has wrought so much to the family. I have lived to see the collapse of the rule of fathers, and its replacement by the rule of mothers, sons and daughters, like a small parliament. Yet it is a disorganized, unjust parliament. No votes are taken and the majority do not govern. Instead, tyranny changes hands, so that sometimes the mother rules as a tyrant, and sometimes the daughter or the son; rarely does the father rule as a tyrant. The house budget is in the hands of one treasurer, yet it is played with by the hands of many treasurers. Life requirements for each member have grown many and diverse, and opinions clash, conflict and battle. Their sacrifice is the happiness of the home, its peace and tranquility.
Ahmad Amin, My Life, p. 46, with permission
- What happens in this type of family, so much so that the house loses its peace and stability?
- How can a family restore its happiness and peace, in the eyes of the writer?
[…]
I Criticize and Take a Stance
- Each illustration presents an example of relationships among family members. Expand on criticizing it.
- If the form of healthy relations is lacking in both illustrations, how shall we portray it with one word?

Overall, Tunisian textbooks offer students progressive perspectives on gender relations, much in tandem with societal norms, official policies, and legislation. There are nevertheless examples of socially conservative approaches that are at odds with the official approach to gender equality, or dismissive, critical attitudes to Western inspired feminist thought. This duality may reflect differing positions within Tunisian society concerning these matters, but also suggest that there is more work to be done in the realm of gender education.

Conclusion

Tunisia is widely regarded as a moderate, pro-Western, and stable country. Its strategic location in the volatile Middle East and North Africa region further enhances its international standing, while its political and social achievements have earned broad recognition and appreciation over the years. Its success in over-throwing Zayn al-Abidine Ben Ali's authoritarian regime in early 2011, and its ability to weather the transition to a democratic political order is also noteworthy. As such, expectations of Tunisia's educational and other systems remain high.

As this survey reveals, in some areas Tunisia's textbooks meet those expectations, broadly adhering to some UNESCO-derived standards of peace and tolerance education. Tunisian textbooks offer impressive presentations and lessons that could serve as a model for other countries. This is true of its treatment of gender relations, where women's rights are presented as key foundations of public life. Gender equality is unequivocally encouraged, and students are exposed to nearly unlimited possibilities for women in all realms of life and the importance of their contributions to society.

A similar, praiseworthy approach is featured in textbooks discussing foreign relations and international perspectives. For the most part, Western countries and societies are presented positively, fostering respect for the "Other," without denying troubled earlier eras, such as colonialism. Importantly, these nuanced depictions of the European, Christian or Western "Other" also include humanizing portrayals of individuals interacting positively with Tunisians, as well as expressions of ongoing cooperation. This paves the way for sustainable and meaningful prosperity with these countries, as well as with Tunisia's neighbors in the Maghreb region. Equally crucial is the fact that Tunisian textbooks strive to imbue the values of tolerance, peaceful conflict resolution, equality, freedom and non-violence from young ages and offer a variety of situations in which they can be applied or derived from, including Islamic teaching.

However, not all elements of the Tunisian curriculum adhere to the standards of tolerance and peace. For example, while these values are celebrated in principle, content advocating for gender equality does not show an inclusive attitude toward gender and sexual minorities. Some depictions of Europeans, whether in the context of colonial history or present-day racism, carry the risk of encouraging one-sided hate if they are not coupled with equivalent discussions of imperialism and racism in Tunisia's own history and society.

Moreover, while chapters of Tunisian history are openly discussed, reflecting the country's confident national identity and sense of self, more recent events, including discussion of the Ben Ali regime, are absent. It may still be too early to address that era, though one hopes it will soon be incorporated into the teaching of Tunisian history.

The especially concerning topics revealed in this survey pertain to the Tunisian's curriculum's treatment of Jews and Judaism, and the Arab-Israeli conflict. The values of peace, dialogue, tolerance and non-violence, which are otherwise ubiquitous in Tunisian textbooks, are conspicuously absent when these topics are discussed. While Muslim attitudes of tolerance to Jews are prominently displayed, along with some recognition of Jewish history in Tunisia, textbooks at times resort to antisemitic stereotypes and tropes when portraying Jewish people. This is especially true when Jewish peoplehood is concerned, as Jewish self-determination is rejected as an imperialist conspiracy motivated by perpetual expansionism.

Notwithstanding Tunisia's geopolitical position and strong support for the Palestinian cause, the discussion of Zionism and the State of Israel is a far cry from the level one might expect in Tunisian education, given its demonstrable commitment to principles of tolerance. There are many inaccuracies and factual errors, as well as celebration of violence, denunciation of peacemaking and hateful portrayals of Israel and Zionism. Unlike its treatment of French people or Americans, the Tunisian curriculum does not expose students to humanizing portrayals of Israelis or even non-Israeli Jews that may balance this one-sided narrative. Equally notable is the absence of a candid discussion of the Holocaust and Jewish persecution during World War II, especially since Tunisia was directly occupied by Nazi Germany during the war.

As a result, Tunisian students are likely to be confused or poorly informed about events and developments that relate to Jews and Israel, and may even develop feelings of hate and resentment. It is unbecoming for a country like Tunisia, which offers commendable studies of gender relations and other subjects to embrace a low-level approach in this case. A more sophisticated discussion of these topics could be developed without compromising Tunisia's positions, and doing so would bring its curriculum closer to that expected of a modern 21st-century nation.

List of Analyzed Textbooks

The following list contains all textbooks reviewed by IMPACT-se for the purposes of this study. Not all are quoted in the body of the report. The sources are presented in both their original (Arabic language) title as well as their translated English title. French titles are presented as is with no translation. For the purposes of convenience, either the English or French title alone is quoted throughout the report. Due to the fact that Tunisian textbooks do not bear a label indicating year of printing or year of edition, other information is supplemented here.

These textbooks are verifiably published by the Tunisian Republic's Ministry of Education in digital editions freely available in the official website of the National Pedagogical Center (*Centre National Pédagogique*, CNP) of the Tunisian Ministry of Education, as of 4 August, 2025). IMPACT-se versions of these textbooks can be made available on request.[164]

#	Grade	Original Title	English Translation of the Title	Author(s)	CNP Ref. No.
1	1	أنيسي كتاب القراءة	My Friend: Reader	بلعيد، بن شوق، الزواوي	101110
2	1	أنيسي كتاب التمارين	My Friend: Workbook	بلعيد، بن شوق، الزواوي	101111
3	2	Mon cahier d'activités		Atelier Glibett	121209
4	2	مساراتي كتاب القراءة	My Pathways: Reader	بنعثمان، بلغيث، الرقاد، عنان، بوذينة	101215
5	2	مساراتي كتاب التمارين	My Pathways: Workbook	بنعثمان، بلغيث، الرقاد، عنان، بوذينة	101216
6	3	J'apprends le français - Manuel de lecture		Bejaoui El Benna, Neji, Daoud, Mbarki Dani, Belhaj Ahmed	121322
7	3	ينابيع كتاب القراءة	Springs: Reader	عبد الخالق، بلغيث، الحبيبي، داود	101315
8	3	ينابيع الكتابة	Springs of Writing	عبد الخالق، بلغيث، الحبيبي، داود	101316
9	4	Au rythme des projets - Manuel de lecture		Dridi, Benslimane, Khanfir, Bouazizi, Bougrine	121410
10	4	Au rythme des projets - Cahier d'activités		Dridi, Benslimane, Khanfir, Bouazizi, Bougrine	121411
11	4	أدوات التواصل كتاب التمارين	Means of Communication: Workbook	الرزقي، الحبيبي، بن السويسي	101411
12	4	دروب الحوار كتاب القراءة	Paths of Dialogue: Reader	الرزقي، الحبيبي، بن السويسي	101410
13	5	Le français un pas de plus - Manuel de lecture		Horchani Ben Abdallah, Bouaouaja, Ferchichi	121511
14	5	Le français un pas de plus - Cahier d'activités		Horchani, Ben Abdallah, Bouaouaja, Ferchichi	121512

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15	5	المواد الاجتماعية	Social Subjects	اللبوزي، الحزامي، الهاني، الحنفي، الشايب، التليلي، المرواني، بن مصطفى، بن سوسية	111512
16	5	مسالك القراءة: كتاب النصوص	Ways of Reading: Reader	الزايدي، الفريخة، بن شعبان، عبود	101509
17	5	مسالك الكتابة: كتاب التمارين	Ways of Writing: Workbook	الزايدي، الفريخة، بن شعبان، عبود	101510
18	6	التاريخ والجغرافيا	History and Geography	الشطي، الميساوي، بن فرح، بن عمر، المولهي، الأقديري، خير الله	111612
19	6	Un pas de plus vers le collège - Manuel de Lecture		Benslimane, Bouaouaja, Belakhel	121614
20	6	Un pas de plus vers le collège - Cahier d'activités		Benslimane, Bouaouaja, Belakhel	121615
21	6	عالم القراءة – كتاب النصوص	World of Reading: Reader	بلعيد، بنعبادة، الجازي، التمزرطي، العبدلي	101611
22	6	عالم الكتابة – كتاب التمارين	World of Writing: Workbook	بلعيد، بنعبادة، الجازي، التمزرطي، العبدلي	101612
23	7	الأنيس – كتاب النصوص	Al-Anis: Reader	البحري، حريوب، كردي، الرقيقي	101708
24	7	النحو العربي – كتاب اللغة	Arabic Grammar: Language Textbook	صولة، بن يوسف، المبخوت، الريفي	101710
25	7	التربية الاسلامية	Islamic Education	سخانة، عدالة، عبد اللاوي، الجليدي	111706
26	7	Je communique en français		Bouazizi, Dimassi, Riahi, Karoui	121707
27	7	المواد الاجتماعية	Social Subjects	عبادة، الوشام، خوالدية	111707
28	8	النحو العربي – كتاب اللغة	Arabic Grammar: Language Textbook	كباني، بنور، الميساوي، الشاوش	101808
29	8	التربية الاسلامية	Islamic Education	المناعي، التليلي، الربيعي، قويسم	111807
30	8	نزهة القراءة – كتاب النصوص	The Joy of Reading: Reader	الظاهري، زروق، بن عثمان، عمارة	101806
31	8	Lire et écrire en français		Hannachi, Ghazouani, Labidi	121804
32	8	المواد الاجتماعية	Social Subjects	انڤزو، الشطي، الميساوي، بنخميس، ڤدورة، زلاق، المكي، عطية، الرزقي	111809
33	9	أنوار– كتاب النصوص	Anwar: Reader	السعداوي، بن حميدة، النيفر، جبلون	101909
34	9	النحو العربي – كتاب اللغة	Arabic Grammar: Language Textbook	بية، بنور، الزناد، ميلاد	101908
35	9	التربية الاسلامية	Islamic Education	الزين، المعلول، العباسي، بن عائشة	111909
36	9	Pratique du français		Amayed, Baklouti, Elyousfi, Maâtar, Hani	121905
37	9	المواد الاجتماعية	Social Subjects	التليلي، بن صالح، الزغل، الحامدي، شعبوني، بوعفيف، الطرابلسي، بن محفوظ، بنيونس	111911

38	10	العربية (شعبة الرياضة)	Arabic (Sports Track)	شورية، البحري، النكاعي، العرفاوي	201104
39	10	التربية المدنية	Civic Education	حسن، المكي، عبد الجواد، خالد	211107
40	10	Communiquer en français		Abroug, Nouicer, Othmani, Ben Salah	221104
41	10	الجغرافيا	Geography	الشريف، بورڤو، بوغزالة، الفرشيشي، العريبي	206103
42	10	التاريخ	History	حميدة، العثمني، ممو	207103
43	10	التفكير الاسلامي	Islamic Thought	الميساوي، سخانة، حسين، بوعلاقي	211105
44	10	آفاق أدبية	Literary Horizons	بن صالح، بسباس، الجربي، شقرون، بنحمودة	201103
45	11	العربية (شعبة الرياضة)	Arabic (Sports Track)	الزغلامي، عبيد، الشتوي، بعكة	201281
46	11	التربية المدنية	Civic Education	الطرابلسي، التونسي، بن محفوظ، الغالي	211203
47	11	الجغرافيا (شعبتا الآداب والاقتصاد والخدمات)	Geography (Literature and Economy and Services Tracks)	العيوني، الغالي، البناني، الميساوي	206203
48	11	الجغرافيا (شعبتا العلوم والتكنولوجيا)	Geography (Sciences and Technology Tracks)	التونسي، حامدي، داود، بوعرادة، الرقيق	206271
49	11	التاريخ (شعبتا الآداب والاقتصاد والخدمات)	History (Literature and Economy and Services Tracks)	الرقيق، انڤزو، المحضي، ڤريبع	207202
50	11	التاريخ (شعبتا العلوم والتكنولوجيا)	History (Sciences and Technology Tracks)	التليلي، واردة، الطنباري، السقجي	207271
51	11	التفكير الاسلامي	Islamic Thought	الزين، العلاني، بدر الدين، العلاني	211204
52	11	Le français en situation		Mansouri, Souab, Ben Zineb-Zitouni, Kheder-Ben Salem	221203
53	11	عيون الأدب – الجزء الأول	Springs of Literature: Part One	بيبان، الرحموني، الشارني، المومني	201202
54	11	عيون الأدب – الجزء الثاني	Springs of Literature: Part Two	بيبان، الرحموني، الشارني، المومني	201203
55	12	علامات – كتاب العربية (الشعب العلمية)	Alamat: Arabic Textbook (Scientific Tracks)	إدريس، بن سعيد، بن عمر، النيفر	201302
56	12	العربية (شعبة الرياضة)	Arabic (Sports Track)	فارس، الشتوي، هنيد، الدشراوي	201381
57	12	التربية المدنية (شعبة الآداب)	Civic Education (Literature Track)	الحشايشي، بالراشد، الأسود، العودي	211322
58	12	Français		Zerria, Haraimi, Hazel, Berrajah	221302
59	12	الجغرافيا (شعبتا الآداب والاقتصاد والتعرف)	Geography (Literature and Economy and Management Tracks)	الشريف، الغالي، العيوني، البناني، الزين	206321
60	12	التاريخ (شعبتا الآداب والاقتصاد والتعرف)	History (Literature and Economy and Management Tracks)	بن حسين، حميدة، العايدي، بن مسعود	207321
61	12	التاريخ (الشعب العلمية)	History (Scientific Tracks)	ليسير، حمدي، الجراية، العفاس، نعماني	207331
62	12	التفكير الإسلامي (الشعب العلمية)	Islamic Thought (Scientific Tracks)	بوشحيمة، المدنيني، الجوادي، الصغير	211306

63	12	التفكير الإسلامي (شعبة الآداب)	Islamic Thought (Literature Track)	بالسرور، الجوادي، بن يحي، البكوش	211321
64	12	Monde singulier Voix plurielles		Idani, Ghodbane, Zmerli	221321
65	12	الفلسفة (الشعب العلمية)	Philosophy (Scientific Tracks)	بوعلي، تواتي، الكلاعي، الشابي	210301
66	12	الفلسفة (شعبة الآداب)	Philosophy (Literature Tracks)	القماطي، كتيته، شبشوب، مليكة، العموري	210322
67	12	النصوص (شعبة الآداب)	Reader (Literature Track)	بن عمران، عكاز، العرضاوي، الوغلاني	201321
68	12	المجال العالمي – كتاب الجغرافيا (الشعب العلمية)	The World Stage – Geography Textbook (Scientific Tracks)	سالم، طياشي، بوغزالة، الحامدي، البحري	206331
69	13	العربية (شعبة الرياضة)	Arabic (Sports Track)	زروان، السلامي، بوصباط	201481
70	13	Au gré des textes		Bouazizi, Nouicer, Riahi, Ben Amor	221402
71	13	الجغرافيا (شعبتا الآداب والاقتصاد والتعرف)	Geography (Literature and Economy and Management Tracks)	طياشي، بوغزالة، الحامدي، البحري	206422
72	13	التاريخ (شعبتا الآداب والاقتصاد والتعرف)	History (Literature and Economy and Management Tracks)	بن عبد الله، واردة، حميدة، السقجي، المزوغي	207422
73	13	التفكير الإسلامي (شعبة الآداب)	Islamic Thought (Literature Track)	عمران، الجوادي، بوشحيمة، المنيف	211421
74	13	Partage		Idani	221421
75	13	الفلسفة – الجزء الأول (شعبة الآداب)	Philosophy – Part 1 (Literature Track)	عبد المولى، السافي، سعد الله، الرقيق، المدنيني	210422
76	13	الفلسفة – الجزء الثاني (شعبة الآداب)	Philosophy – Part 2 (Literature Track)	عبد المولى، السافي، سعد الله، الرقيق، المدنيني	210423
77	13	الفلسفة (الشعب العلمية)	Philosophy (Scientific Tracks)	الحداد، الملولي، البراهمي، بن علي، اليعقوبي	210402
78	13	النصوص – الجزء الأول (شعبة الآداب)	Reader: Part 1 (Literature Track)	بنور، بن صالح، بوحوش، بسباس، ساسي	201421
79	13	النصوص – الجزء الثاني (شعبة الآداب)	Reader: Part 2 (Literature Track)	بنور، بن صالح، بوحوش، بسباس، ساسي	201422
80	13	رؤى – كتاب النصوص (الشعب العلمية)	Ru'a – Reader (Scientific Tracks)	الكشتبان، شبوح	201403