

**Education for Social Cohesion?
A Gender Analysis of Citizenship Education in Post-war Sri Lanka**

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Thesis submitted to the University of Ottawa
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Doctorate in Philosophy degree in Education

Faculty of Education
University of Ottawa

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Abstract

In conflict-affected and divided societies, citizenship education has gained considerable attention for its potential to promote democratic peace and address issues of identity and societal divisions. This study demonstrates the vital role of gender equality for social cohesion by illustrating how aspects of inclusive democratic citizenship needed for social cohesion are undermined by hierarchical social relations and harmful masculinities fostered through the patriarchal aspects of education and schooling. This inquiry examines if and how policies for social cohesion through education, specifically citizenship education, contribute to peace in conflict-affected Sri Lanka, a county plagued by 30 years of war. Through a document analysis of the grade 6-9 citizenship textbooks, interviews and surveys with teachers and students, and classroom and school observations, this study explores how policies related to education for social cohesion are appropriated and enacted within schools and classrooms and how students consequently understand their role as citizens in a conflict-affected society. The study design is a transformative design mixed methods study of 13 schools across four provinces in post-war Sri Lanka. Using a post-colonial feminist approach, this study draws conclusions on how gender roles and relations intersect with citizenship education and its potential to contribute to gender transformative peacebuilding. Qualitative and quantitative findings reveal that attitudes on gender equality are closely related to attitudes on social cohesion. Many of the factors associated with patriarchy, including harmful masculinities, not only reduced gender equality, but they also undermined the egalitarian foundations of democracy needed for peace and social cohesion. However, when educators were able to engage in practices that fostered the knowledge and skills to empathize across differences (gender, ethnic, and religious) and build egalitarian relationships, they fostered inclusive democratic citizenship among students and contributed to social cohesion. At the same time, results indicate that education's capacity to promote social cohesion, through the formal and informal curriculum, is limited due to a state-centric belligerent approach to citizenship and citizenship education, which is primarily focused on developing a personally responsible citizen.

Acknowledgements

I would like to sincerely thank Dr. Richard Maclure for his guidance and insights on this Ph.D. journey. It was his article on gender equality and conflict that first inspired me to pursue a Ph.D. and this topic. I would also like to note that this ambitious data collection endeavor overseas would not have been possible without the generous support of the Vanier Canada Graduate Scholarship. Next, I would like to acknowledge the countless people in Sri Lanka who supported me in completing my field work there. Many of them opened doors for me that would have remained closed had it not been for their understanding and support. I want to particularly recognize the generosity of my participants who chose to share their stories and experiences. Next, I would like to thank my husband Barrington Levi and my daughter Priya Levi, both of whom appeared in my life while writing this dissertation. They gave me the inspiration and drive to see this through to the end. Last, I would like to acknowledge my late mother, who died only months ago. Her life, cut short, was impacted by many of the challenges noted in this dissertation. Her struggles and resilience gave me cause and strength to tell this story.

For the children of Mullivaikkal. You will not be forgotten.

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List of Acronyms

ADB Asian Development Bank
AL Advanced Level
APA American Psychological Association
BBS Bodu Bala Sena
CPA Centre for Policy Alternatives
EFA Education for All
EPD Education Publication Department
ESCP Education for Social Cohesion and Peace
GCE General Certificate of Education
GDP Gross domestic product
GE Gender Equality
GEC Gender Equitable Citizenship
GIZ The Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit GmbH
LTTE Liberation Tamil Tigers of Eelam
MDGs Millennium Development Goals
MOE Ministry of Education
NIE National Institute for Education
OECD Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OL Ordinary Level
PTA Prevention of Terrorism
SC Social Cohesion
SCPE Social Cohesion and Peace Education
SGBV Sexual and Gendered Based Violence
UN United Nations
UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF United Nations Children's Fund
USAID United States Agency for International Development

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Introduction

Education for social cohesion is a means to promote values of social cohesion in multicultural and multiethnic societies around the world (Kerr, 2012), particularly those affected by conflict. Two aspects of achieving social cohesion noted in policy and research are effective forms of citizenship and gender equality (Haider, 2012; OECD, 2012). These two aspects are linked to social cohesion as societies experiencing major conflict have longstanding patterns of gender inequity and discrimination (Caprioli, 2000). Cultural dynamics and social institutions are at the root of existing power relations that reinforce and perpetuate gender discrimination and other forms of inequality (OECD, 2012). Education is one such institution where the goal of achieving social cohesion is complicated by the paradox of schooling due to its contradictory transformative and utilitarian purposes (Maclure et al., 2009). Furthermore, in conflict-affected contexts, schooling has been shown to contribute to peace and fuel conflict and war through its negative and positive faces (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). Despite the noted relationship between gender inequality and conflict, few studies have examined this interaction within the framework of the negative and positive faces of education in conflict. This study aims to address this gap by examining how gender equality is incorporated into citizenship education in one ¹conflict-affected society, Sri Lanka.

In studying the relationship between gender, education, and conflict, this study introduces the concept of inclusive democratic citizenship to address the inclusion, particularly gender inclusion and democratic components of citizenship required to challenge inequality and foster social cohesion in conflict-affected societies in and through education. Gender and gender equality are approached from a post-colonial feminist perspective through Narayan's (1997) work on gender essentialism and cultural essentialism. Both forms of essentialism are rooted in fixed and bounded notions of culture that exclude and marginalize women and minorities in society. One of the main arguments this study puts forward is that patriarchal cultures, the foundation of gender inequality, weaken a society's capacity for democracy. Hierarchies,

¹ The terms conflict affected and post-conflict are used interchangeably in this paper. Post conflict is a “conflict situation in which open warfare has come to an end. Such situations remain tense for years or decades and can easily relapse into large-scale violence” (Junne & Verkoren, 2005, p. 1). Conflict affected countries are those that are experiencing challenges caused by an ongoing or very recent conflict and the problems associated with a post conflict situation (Strand & Dahl, 2010).

authoritarianism, and harmful masculinities associated with patriarchy are incongruent with inclusive democratic citizenship.

Citizenship education has gained considerable attention for its potential to address issues of identity and societal divisions (Davies, 2003; Niens & Chastenay, 2008). However, although many studies have examined how citizenship education' contributes to peace and social cohesion, few have examined this relationship from a gender perspective. As such, this study investigates how education can contribute to social cohesion in conflict-affected societies through citizenship education using a gendered lens. It examines educators' and students' understanding of the concepts of citizenship and gender (in)equality, if and how the formal and informal curriculum informs it, and how these understandings contribute to social cohesion in a conflict-affected society. In taking a gendered approach to citizenship education and social cohesion, the study brings together Ben-Porath's (2006) share-fated approach to citizenship and Davies' (2003) interruptive democracy to challenge identity-based notions of citizenship. This study argues that identity-based approaches to citizenship and national identity, particularly those rooted in fixed notions of culture (ethnic/religious/race), are intrinsically exclusionary and make societies more prone to conflict.

Sri Lanka has been plagued by conflict for close to 30 years and continues in a state of fragile peace even after the end of the war in 2009. Recognizing the role of education in conflict, the government of Sri Lanka developed the National Policy and a Comprehensive Framework of Actions on Education for Social Cohesion and Peace (ESCP) in 2008 that stressed the importance of democratic citizenship to foster social cohesion. The policy is an extension of education reforms that took place in 1997 focused on “pre-service and in-service education on human values, human rights, national cohesion, democratic principles, gender rights, the environment and language skills in all three languages” (Ministry of Education, 2008, p.1). Despite Sri Lanka's long history of education policy directed at promoting democracy, social cohesion, and gender equality, few studies have examined how these goals are related and manifested in school spaces. As such, there is a need to understand if and how these policies and initiatives for social cohesion through education - in the form of a national citizenship curriculum and training for teachers on citizenship and gender equality - are appropriated and enacted within schools, and how these policies and processes impact students' understanding of their roles as citizens.

This study addresses this gap in knowledge through the research question: To what extent does formal education in Sri Lanka contribute to inclusive democratic citizenship and gender equality in the context of the government's overriding goal of fostering nation-wide social cohesion through education in the aftermath of a bitter civil war? This study addresses this main research question through the following three sub-questions:

1. How are citizenship and gender equality represented in the formal curriculum, as exemplified in the Grades 6 – 9 Civics textbooks?
2. To what extent do interactions among teachers and students in the thirteen diverse school settings reinforce or contradict the two dimensions of social cohesion, inclusive democratic citizenship, and gender equality?
3. What are teachers' and students' perceptions in the thirteen diverse school settings regarding the notion of citizenship and gender equality?

A key aspect underlying these explorations is whether there is a relationship between attitudes on gender equality, including gendered notions of citizenship and social cohesion. Addressing this potential relationship is one key rationale for using a mixed-methods approach. Furthermore, in answering these questions, this study will also reflect on the broader implications of education's capacity to promote social cohesion in conflict-affected societies.

This study's findings strengthen understanding of citizenship education's gendered nature and how it intersects with conflict and social cohesion. The synergistic relationship between gender inequality and societal conflict, including war, helped bring a gender focus to the broader discussion on the negative and positive faces of education in conflict. This dissertation's quantitative and qualitative components demonstrate the inextricable relationship between individual attitudes on gender equality and social cohesion. Education for social cohesion, or what this study refers to as inclusive democratic citizenship education, is severely undermined by patriarchal education systems that contribute to hierarchical, belligerent, and identity-based notions of citizenship. Sri Lanka's state-centric approach to education has resulted in curriculum and school practices that promote obedience, negative peace, apathy and indifference, inequality, and fixed identities. These forms of structural violence are transmitted as a benign status quo and consequently make schools complicit in perpetuating cultural violence. Patriarchal values transmitted through school practices and the curriculum undermine democracy and contribute to harmful masculinities leading to violence in schools and the community. This relationship was

exacerbated by community-level violence, including war and military occupation. These findings suggest that education can do little to contribute to making society more resilient to conflict under state-sponsored violence.

Despite the heavy-handed role of the patriarchal state, some educators and students were able to name and challenge patriarchal structures that contributed to gender inequality and ethnic/religious/linguistic hegemony related to conflict. Most of the study's participants wanted to see changes for peace and social cohesion in and through education, even if it meant they had to have difficult conversations. However, society will have to push the state for these changes as this study will show, the last 12 years of the state-driven rhetoric on "education for social cohesion" has done little for peace and national unity in Sri Lanka.

Rationale for Research

The existing literature, the data, and my identity and consequent experiences contributed to how I located this research in the broader education and conflict field of study. My personal and professional identity informed the development of this research. I have been an elementary school teacher in Canada for the last 14 years. Issues of race, equity, and ability were present daily throughout my practice and led me to question education's role in addressing social inequality. After teaching an integrated curriculum on reconciliation in my grade six class at an inner-city school, I was pushed closer to my research topic. The cross-curricular approach included teaching math, language, and social studies through a social justice lens by focusing on Canada's relationships with Indigenous communities and the impact of residential schools. The discussions on the impact of injustice and trauma with my students over a year inspired me to consider the importance of bringing conflict and controversy into the classroom to facilitate reconciliation through knowledge and empathy. It also showed me that peace was only possible by recognizing injustice and having difficult conversations about the privilege that went with it.

The Sri Lankan context was an obvious choice, given my personal connection to the country. As an ethnic minority Tamil, I was born and raised in Sri Lanka and came to Canada as a child due to the war. War and conflict were impressionable experiences in my early life. As such, it was not surprising that I found myself in graduate school, studying the impact of conflict on children. Though this research was informed by my identity, it was also transformed through my experiences in Sri Lanka. During the development of the proposal and data collection phase, I faced several challenges due to my identity as a woman, Canadian, and ethnic Tamil researcher

in Sri Lanka. These experiences and challenges played a large role in shaping this study. Due to political pressure, I was forced to change the study design focus from ethnic Tamils to include all ethnic groups. In some ways, this change strengthened my study and opened my eyes to the various ways that marginalization occurred in Sri Lanka. Simultaneously, it limited my ability to provide a more in-depth perspective of my participants' experiences. Some of these challenges are further elaborated in the methodology chapter covering my positionality as an insider-outsider researcher.

The focus on gender equality was my attempt to find a neutral entry point so that the study did not appear controversial in Sri Lanka's post-war context. I believed that the goal of gender equality as a topic would be supported by schools, Ministries of Education, and the various ethnic groups. However, I quickly realized that gender (in)equality was deeply complicit in perpetuating conflict and that discussing gender norms sometimes came with the same level of controversy and resistance as discussing the war. Furthermore, despite my privileged status as a Western-trained researcher, Canadian citizen, and all the social capital that it came with it, I found myself on the receiving end of SGBV and at the mercy of the patriarchal state. Thus, the process of conducting this research in Sri Lanka gave me a small taste of what many marginalized women and girls experience on a day to day basis. I had the privilege of leaving these difficult circumstances, but these experiences influenced how this dissertation took shape.

Research Setting and Data Collection Strategy

This research is a mixed methods transformative design (Mertens, 2009) multiple case study (Stake, 2006) of 13 schools, which were selected in consultation with the Ministry of Education and local organizations. The rationale for the mixed method approach is based on the transformative design's utility in conducting research in parts of the world where individuals live in situations where they encounter injustice and marginalization on a day-to-day basis (Creswell, 2015). Further to this, it focuses explicitly on acknowledging and addressing the power and complexity implicit in conducting research in diverse contexts (Mertens, 2007). Central to the transformative design study is taking a critical but pragmatic approach to social injustice and providing a call to action at the end of the study. The critical component of my approach is informed by postcolonial feminist theory (Mohanty, 1988, 2003; U. Narayan, 1998, 2000), which is balanced with a critical-institutional perspective (Cleaver & Koning, 2015; L. Davies, 2011a; Novelli & Lopes Cardozo, 2008) to put forth ways in which educational research can go beyond

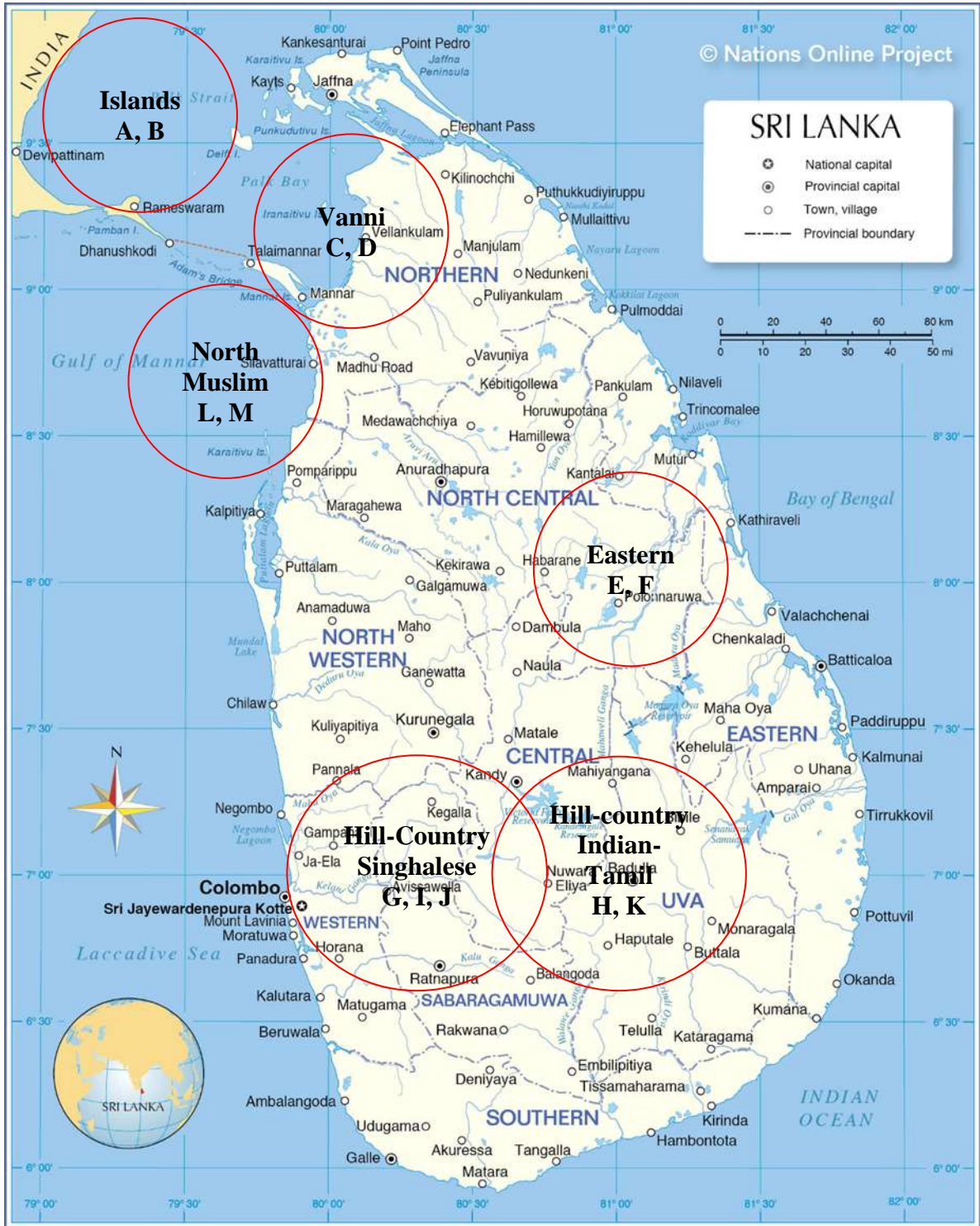
critique and offer practical strategies that can challenge and transform injustice perpetuated by institutions.

This research took place over six months in 13 school sites spread across four provinces and are grouped into six regions (

Figure 1). The aim was to obtain a representation of schools from rural/town, high/low conflict, large/small, provincial/national, and schools going to grade 11/12 to ascertain if and how these factors impacted gender equality and social cohesion. In order to understand the relationship between gender equality and inclusive democratic citizenship, I used both surveys, interviews, and observations to understand participants' views on these two topics. Further to this, I studied them as two separate factors and examined how they were related. As such, the survey data consisted of three scales to measure attitudes on gender equality (GE), social cohesion (SC) and gendered citizenship (GC). Similarly, the analysis of interviews and observations were also separated between gender equality and inclusive democratic citizenship for each school and then compared to see how they were related. This approach is reflected in the presentation of results and analysis to visualize how gender equality, a component of inclusive democratic citizenship, intersects with other aspects of social cohesion such as equal rights related to language, religion, ethnicity, class and how these are impacted by conflict. Although the three constructs are presented separately and in a particular order, the study stresses the overlapping and iterative, rather than hierarchical, relationships between the three constructs.

Figure 1

Six regions and 13 (A-M) school sites



Dissertation Structure

The structure of the dissertation is guided by the mixed methods transformative design (Mertens, 2010b). After the introduction, Chapter 1 provides a review of the literature on education for social cohesion and gender equality and introduces to the concept of inclusive democratic citizenship. It then explores the role of curriculum, teachers, and citizenship education in promoting values of peace and national unity in conflict-affected contexts. Chapter 1 ends by drawing these constructions together through a conceptual framework, which is the lens through which the data are analyzed. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the Sri Lankan context. It includes a brief overview of the history of the conflict and details on education and gender equality in Sri Lanka. The methodology chapter, 3, provides an overview and rationale for the use of the transformative design mixed methods approach (Mertens, 2007, 2009). The chapter also speaks to the epistemology and axiology of using a mixed methodology and how it connects to my positionality as a halfie researcher (Abu-Lughod, 1991). The results are divided into five chapters, Chapters 4-8. Each chapter presents the analysis of a different type of data; this is in accordance with the convergent model in mixed methods research, where different forms of data are analyzed separately and then ‘mixed’ in the last chapter. Chapter 4 presents the findings of the qualitative document analysis of the civics textbooks for grades 6-9. Chapter 5 is dedicated to qualitative findings from the school and classroom observations on gender equality and inclusive citizenship education. Due to a large number of interviews, the qualitative findings on gender equality and inclusive citizenship education are presented in Chapters 6 and 7, respectively. Chapter 8 provides the quantitative analysis of the surveys. Significant findings are contextualized through triangulation with qualitative observation and interview results to make the quantitative accessible to different types of researchers. Last, following the transformative mixed methods design (Mertens, 2009), Chapter 9 mixes and then analyzes the findings of the different data sources on gender equality and inclusive democratic citizenship and how they related to social cohesion through a joint display of themes (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017). The chapter ends by reflecting on the main research question and puts forth a call to action for stakeholders.

CHAPTER 1

The Role of Gender Equality in Education for Social Cohesion

This chapter provides a review of the current literature on social cohesion, conflict, gender equality, and the interface of these constructs with respect to the intended goals of citizenship education and policies for social cohesion through education. The next section begins with an overview of social cohesion by introducing the term inclusive democratic citizenship to illustrate the critical role of gender equality in social cohesion in conflict-affected societies. I then examine how these constructs operate within education spaces and narrow the focus to examine citizenship education's role in promoting social cohesion in conflict-affected societies through a gendered lens. The chapter ends with a presentation of the conceptual framework to demonstrate how these constructs relate. For simplicity and clarity, this study begins with social cohesion as the overarching construct, followed by inclusive democratic citizenship and gender equality; however, this organization does not imply a hierarchical or causal relationship between the three constructs. Rather, this research stresses the iterative relationship between these constructs, which can be conceived as three concentric circles that overlap and whose interactions consequently manifest in different ways depending on the context, which includes curricula, teachers' and students' views, school practices, and culture.

Social Cohesion

The study introduces the concept of inclusive democratic citizenship to address the inclusion and democratic components of citizenship required to challenge inequity and foster social cohesion in conflict-affected societies. The concept of social cohesion is often depicted as the glue that holds a society together (United Nations, 2012). Despite its prolific use in policy and research discourse, social cohesion remains an ambiguous and contentious term. Its advent as a focus of policy and research grew out of socio-economic inequalities compounded by increasing diversity in North America and Western Europe. Social cohesion has since been incorporated into the discourse of international organizations like the World Bank and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and consequently transmitted to countries in the global South. How applicable this construct is for countries in the global South that are experiencing conflict as a result of colonialism remains to be seen. Scholars nonetheless argue that social cohesion highlights values such as social harmony, a sense of community, and a broad-based commitment to working towards a common good despite

differences (Chan et al., 2006; Jenson, 1998; Steans & Tepe, 2012). The OECD defines a cohesive society as one that “works toward the well-being of all of its members, fights exclusion and marginalization, creates a sense of belonging, promotes trust and offers its members the opportunity for upward mobility” (OECD, 2011, p.1), which in essence, can also be regarded as a definition of inclusive citizenship. Citizenship constitutes the civil, political, and social rights that provide status, membership, identity, and opportunity to participate in civic affairs (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; Benhabib, 2004; Enslin, 2000; Osler & Starkey, 2005). Bessell (2001) describes social cohesion as the opposite of conflict but also stresses that a cohesive society is characterized by more than just the absence of conflict. Instead, she suggests that cohesive societies are characterized by four key dimensions: respect for human rights, effective state functioning, wealth distribution, and social capital. These dimensions make socially cohesive societies more resilient when conflict does occur (Ekaju & Siddique, 2014).

Inclusive Democratic Citizenship

Social cohesion necessitates inclusion and, consequently, equal rights for all citizens within a state. When the state fails to represent the interests of all its citizens equally, particularly women, and some citizens are excluded from accessing their rights, the result is often a loss of trust in state institutions. This exclusion of particular members of society ultimately impacts social stability and may result in violent reactions by marginalized groups (Haider, 2012). For example, societies with large disparities in income and education are correlated with violent crime, political unrest, and lower political and social trust (Green et al., 2006; Novelli et al., 2016; Wilkinson, 2009). Furthermore, societies that experience major conflict generally have longstanding patterns of gender inequity and discrimination (Caprioli, 2000; Warriner & Tessler, 1997). A conflict-affected society’s capacity to address inequity among marginalized groups through recognition, redistribution, representation, and reconciliation, determines whether it can move towards social cohesion through peacebuilding or continue in cycles of violence (Novelli et al., 2016, 2017). One of the largest marginalized groups in conflict-affected societies is women and girls. A state’s ability to recognize and provide security for the most vulnerable women and girls in conflict-affected contexts largely determines its ability to address peace and security at the country level (Hudson et al., 2012). As such, in considering the four characteristics of a cohesive society – a functioning state, respect for human rights, distributional equity, and social capital – Bessell (2001) argues that these goals cannot be achieved without

gender equality. Through case studies in South East Asia, she has shown that gender inequality is characteristic of societies with low levels of social cohesion. These characteristics include the inequitable participation of women in state functions, the failure of human rights to achieve economic and social rights for women, income disparities between genders, and the exclusion of women from specific social groups and civic society. Further to this, the exclusion of women from equal citizenship is often linked to the exclusion of other marginalized groups. As such, GE is a good indicator of the level of social cohesion in a society, what Davies (2010) describes as the canary in a mine test.

The democratic component of citizenship speaks to the processes and capacities required in a society to maintain equal rights for all. Social cohesion necessitates an approach to citizenship that fosters the inclusion of all its citizens and democratic processes that help citizens hold each other and the state accountable for maintaining inclusion. In a cohesive society, citizens should have the capacity and means to challenge and transform inequity in society through peaceful means. In this way, social cohesion is intimately linked to social justice and requires societies to address structural, inter-personal, and inter-group issues and inequities, aspects of peacebuilding (Novelli et al., 2016). The concept of social cohesion is frequently used interchangeably with the idea of peacebuilding in conflict-affected societies as the goal of building inclusion, social capital, and social mobility (Novelli et al., 2016; OECD, 2012). This study views social capital and social mobility as central to fostering social cohesion among marginalized individuals and groups.

The role of gender equality in democracy. Hierarchical social relations and harmful masculinities associated with patriarchal societies undermine democracy. States with greater levels of gender equality are more democratic, stable, and prosperous; consequently, democracy stands on the shoulders of gender equality (Hudson et al., 2012). Gender inequality permeates politics and security at the national and international level, as Hudson (2012) argues:

...that efforts to establish greater peace and security throughout the world might be made more effective by also addressing the violence and exploitation that occur in personal relationships between the two halves of humanity, men and women. (p.5)

With respect to democratic citizenship, gender inequality exacerbates aspects of belligerent citizenship by weakening the egalitarian relations between citizens and the state and society. Patriarchal societies and states often engage in gendered discourses that subvert the egalitarian

aspects of democracy by naturalizing hierarchical relationships between the state and its citizens, often through paternalistic tropes (Ugur-Cinar, 2017). Tradition, culture, families, schools, and the media are instrumentalized to accord paternalistic and hierarchical authority to elite men over women and other men, thereby making patriarchy fundamentally inconsistent with democracy (Richards, 2013; Ugur-Cinar, 2017). Violence and aggression are intimately linked to patriarchal societies through hegemonic and harmful forms of masculinities used to maintain the status quo. Repressive violence is employed by those in power to delegitimize opposition, suppress pluralism, and other challenges to the patriarchal gender binary (Richards, 2013; Ugur-Cinar, 2017). The iterative relationship between patriarchy, hierarchy, harmful masculinities, and violence, are significantly exacerbated in conflict-affected societies. In their examination of men and women's socialization in conflict-affected societies, Breines et al. (2000) found close links between patriarchy, hegemonic masculinities, and violence. Although it is crucial to avoid essentialist notions of women as inherently peaceful and men as inherently violent, there is nonetheless substantial evidence concerning the association between hyper-masculine behaviour and multiple forms of violence. Bessell (2001) notes that high levels of male aggression have a negative impact not just on women but on society as a whole, demonstrating the relationship of between gender inequality and social cohesion. Violence and aggression related to harmful masculinities extends beyond state-citizens relations and permeates all levels of society, which is how it is both perpetuated and sustained.

Harmful masculinities. The term harmful masculinity is used by the American Psychological Association (APA) to describe characteristics associated with the “patriarchal ideal masculine construct” (American Psychological Association, 2018) that contribute to and sustain patriarchal cultures of violence and aggression. Boys and men are under intense pressure to perform characteristics associated with ideal masculinities, including “toughness, stoicism, heterosexism, self-sufficient attitudes, and lack of emotional sensitivity,” which can lead to dominant and aggressive behaviours such as bullying, assault, and physical and verbal forms of aggression (American Psychological Association, 2018). Aggression and violence are often the results of men's' relationship and engagement with their gender roles, which include: (1) men performing their gender role, (2) men feeling like they failed to live up to their gender role, and (2) or exposure to trauma related to their gender role (Berke & Zeichner, 2016). Gender-related social norms that perpetuate male dominance and exposure to violence contribute to fostering

harmful masculinities that sustain patriarchy; of particular relevance to this inquiry is the impact of exposure to violence in the home, within relationships, and the community, along with the limited services to help men and boys cope with exposure to trauma and stress (American Psychological Association, 2018). These factors are relevant to the potentially iterative relationship between harmful masculinities and high levels of violence and militarization in societies impacted by war.

Davies (2003) argues that although disparities in gender relations are not the root cause of war, they do make a society more conducive to conflict. However, many studies that entail conflict analysis have ignored or downplayed the role of gender differentiation in conflict (El-Bushra, 2000). When marginalized groups, particularly women, are excluded from citizenship, and democratic processes are weakened through patriarchal approaches to governance and social relations, a society's resilience to conflict is reduced. It becomes trapped in cycles of violence and conflict. Social cohesion can only begin when societies become more inclusive, democratic, and socially just. Given the importance placed on achieving social cohesion, particularly in conflict-affected societies, governments worldwide have relied on education to promote precepts of citizenship and social inclusion (Green et al., 2006; Shuayb, 2012). For this study, harmful masculinities and associated behaviours within schools cannot be analyzed without considering the broader sociopolitical context that education systems operate in (Bantjes & Nieuwoudt, 2014). Given the connection between gender roles, harmful masculinities, and conflict, gender equality must be central in any discussion on achieving social cohesion. The following section will explicate the relationship between social cohesion, inclusive democratic citizenship, and gender equality in the context of education with a specific focus on citizenship education.

Education and Gender Equality

As social cohesion necessitates gender equality in a society, one way of advancing this is by promoting gender equality in and through education (OECD, 2012). The time immediately after a conflict has been cited as an opportunity to use education as the vehicle to challenge and transform existing social inequities such as gender inequality (Maclure & Denov, 2009). However, recognizing that cultural and institutional constraints often limit the types of reforms needed in curricula, pedagogy, and school structures to promote values of gender equality, Maclure & Denov (2009) argue that post-war education reconstruction often reproduces pre-existing norms rather than transforming them. For education to transform gender inequality, it

needs to explicitly acknowledge and challenge structural and cultural forms of violence, such as patriarchy, through the formal and informal curriculum.

Schools are sites for the construction of girls' and women's identities and should ideally contribute to their active role in society (Walkerdine, 1989). Generally, however, education systems reflect and reinforce the state and society's prevailing power arrangements (Arnot, 2009a, 2009b; Chisamya et al., 2012). Accordingly, classrooms and schools are often embedded with gender boundaries that reproduce powerful patriarchal hierarchies. In these circumstances, the curriculum tends to reinforce and transmit conventional gender stereotypes and existing social relations (Durrani, 2008). Education, through curriculum and teacher expectations, plays a crucial role in transmitting public-private distinctions, which in turn influence classroom pedagogy and reproduce civic attitudes (Arnot, 2006). In cases where gender equality is part of the formal curriculum, it is often positioned in education as a means to develop the country versus the transformation of patriarchal structures (Datzberger & Le Mat, 2018; Russell, 2016). Consequently, Shalhoub-Kevorkian (2008) argues that education can not be conceived as a neutral zone that is insulated from the politics of the state and that the gendered nature of education requires close examination in these contexts.

Education has been shown to contribute to gender inequality and exacerbate conflict (Ben-Porath, 2006). It also has the potential to exacerbate gender disparities in conflict-affected context through the militarization of school spaces (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2008) and promotion of hegemonic forms of masculinity (Breines et al., 2000). For example, military occupation has the potential to transform educational spaces into politicized, gendered, and racialized ones (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2008). Similarly, cultural norms around gender roles can negatively impact both boys and girls during conflict (Buvinic et al., 2013). Using the example of decreased school enrolment for boys in contexts with increases in labour supply versus their higher enrollment in contexts where there is a belief of greater economic return for investment in education, Buvinic et al. (2013) argue that gender-differentiated responses to education are specific to the country and type of conflict taking place.

Armed conflict can also create spaces where there is a need to control women's bodies by their families to "preserve and protect a culture from external threat and possible extinction" (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2008, p.195). These messages are transmitted through education, particularly curriculum, both formal and informal. Ben-Porath (2006) argues that schools often

vigorously promote societies' tendency to default to traditional gender roles and labour division during wars and protracted conflicts. For example, curricula that focus on militarized national narratives sideline debate on other social issues; they often present war as heroic and patriotic whereby men fight and women support their men (Ben-Porath, 2006). Given that governments worldwide are looking to education to promote social cohesion, there is a need to challenge the long-established practices within schools that contribute to gender inequality. Although education has historically contributed to gender inequality, schools and public education systems have an essential role in challenging “undemocratic social tendencies” (Ben-Porath, 2006, p. 82), such as gender inequality, that contribute to the breakdown of social cohesion. Consequently, there is a need to analyze societal gender norms and how they intersect with conflict in the context of education to understand if and how education can contribute to social cohesion.

Gender transformative peacebuilding education. El-Bushra & Smith's (2016) work on the intersection of education, conflict, and gender provides evidence that a gender-transformative peacebuilding approach in education has “the potential to influence attitudes, identities and capabilities” to “provide the foundation for a safe and equitable society” (p.23). In their study, transformative practises that addressed curricula, training, and school leadership showed that education can transform gender relations and consequently contribute to social cohesion by equipping people with the knowledge and skills to empathize across differences, challenge stereotypes, and build new relationships (Judy El-Bushra & Smith, 2016). When education addresses structural and cultural violence based on gender, such as traditional masculine stereotypes, they can be transformed to promote positive notions of masculinity and femininity that reduce violence and increase social cohesion. As such, “gender equality, education and peacebuilding can thus be seen as mutually reinforcing goals (El-Bushra & Smith, 2016, p. 24) through the process of naming and addressing some forms of structural violence.

A Post-colonial Feminist Approach

How gender, citizenship, and education are defined and understood has direct implications for both research and practice, and as a result, can facilitate or limit advocacy for gender equality in and through education (Arnot, 2009a, 2009b; Hesse-Biber, 2012; Monkman & Hoffman, 2013; Unterhalter, 2005a; Yuval-Davis, 2019). Notions of citizenship, rights, responsibilities, human rights, and gender equality are often transmitted to the Global South through various Northern organizations and institutions. Knowledge construction and research

about gender equality in low-income countries often have a local focus but are intellectually internal to the Global North, otherwise described as the global metropole, where knowledge is concentrated and theorized (Connell, 2010). The periphery, or the Third World, is the source of data and site for applying theories devised in the metropole (Connell, 2010). Further to this, the process and product of research conducted in post-colonial settings without acknowledging the historical colonizer and colonized relationship is filled with power issues (Silfver, 2010). Post-colonial feminists call for a deconstruction of Western feminist knowledge imposed on the “third world woman” because of the historically hegemonic relationship of these countries to their former colonizers (Mohanty, 1988, 2003; Narayan, 1997, 2000). It is important to note that there is not a singular or homogeneous definition of “post-colonial” as it includes a variety of development paths and cultural contexts; furthermore, the very word “post” is contentious in that many of the countries that experienced colonialism are now experiencing the economic, political, military and cultural hegemony of more powerful nations through globalization (Tikly & Bond, 2013). As such, it is better to conceive of post-colonialism as an ongoing process by which colonized countries disengage from their colonizers (Tikly & Bond, 2013).

While education and schooling play a central role in achieving gender equality and women’s empowerment, post-colonial feminists are generally suspicious of both “development” and education because it has often been used as a tool for colonialism or neo-colonialism (Connell, 2010; Tikly, 2004). The formal schooling process is taken as an unquestioned good for the goal of gender equality (Abu-Lughod, 2009; Silfver, 2010). Large scale, one size fits all projects like Education for All that promoted universal values of gender and education, including those that endorse gender equality, are a means to spread particular values and ideologies that are not always in the interest of liberating women (Unterhalter, 2007). In fact, mass schooling is based on a framework where the goal of education is to facilitate the transition from family to school and then to work, which fails to consider how individual identities are formed and how they come to belong in the traditional cultures and heritages of different communities (Fennell & Arnot, 2008). By not critically engaging with feminist knowledge produced in local contexts, large-scale policies may limit education's potential impact to facilitate gender equality (Abu-Lughod, 2009; Fennell & Arnot, 2008). Education needs to consider the realities of different identities and girls and boys' needs in different contexts, which are impacted by their social, ethnic, linguistic, and economic realities (Aikman et al., 2011).

This study draws on the works of post-colonial feminists Uma Narayan (1997; 2000), and Chandra Mohanty (1988; 2003) and (Yuval-Davis, 1997), who present alternative perspectives to gender equality that take into consideration local realities. These scholars have adopted an intersectional approach to gender equality that emphasizes the differences among women concerning race, class, social positioning, colonialism, and conflict. Intersectionality was first coined by Crenshaw (1989) to describe the additive effect of race and gender discrimination experienced by black women. Since then, it has been used to describe how different social categories such as race, class and gender intersect to amplify marginalization experiences. In applying the intersectional approach to this study, I have drawn from Mohanty's (1988) and Narayan's (1997; 1998; 200) works, which focus on women of the "Global South" and South Asian context. Mohanty (1988; 2003) and Narayan (1997; 2000) have contributed to developing post-colonial approaches to gender equality in low-income countries. Though taking different perspectives, they generally agree that the means, which include knowledge, practices, and epistemologies, to achieve gender equality are not exclusively rooted in Western feminist thought. These feminists argue that gender equality requires a complex understanding of gender relations in context rather than an ethnocentric viewing of all women in the third world as "poor, uneducated, tradition-bound, and victimized" (p. 337) individuals who need to be saved by external actors (Mohanty, 1988; Narayan, 2000). Mohanty (1988) suggests that the feminists rooted in Western thought tend to 'other' women from the Global South through how they are heard and written about. 'Othering' is described as a process by which Western ways of knowing are set as a standard norm; all other knowledge systems are considered inferior and deviations from this norm (Chilisa & Ntseane, 2010). Mohanty (2003) acknowledges that "Western" feminism itself is not monolithic but argues that her definition of Western is based on how these scholars have chosen to represent non-Westerners in reference to themselves. As such, researchers need to approach theorizing citizenship from perspectives that are non-sexist, non-racist, and non-Westerocentric (Yuval-Davis, 2019). Such an approach would "dismantle the identification of the private with the family domain and the political with the public domain" and "construct citizenship as a multi-tier concept and to sever it from an exclusive relation to the state" (Yuval-Davis, 2019, p.22). A post-colonial feminist perspective allows researchers to become more cognizant of power relationships that permeate all aspects of their research and

continually challenge the tendency to depict a society, a gender, or culture through a single narrative.

De-essentializing meta-narratives and avoiding notions of alterity and ‘otherness’ that universalize women’s experiences requires scholars to re-examine concepts of gender, culture, and cultural difference and consider alternative frameworks for understanding human experiences, particularly women’s experiences (Trinh, 1989). Gender equality and, consequently, citizenship need to be examined by not only considering women’s experiences in contrast to men but also their relative relationship to other dominant or subordinate groups such as ethnicity, class, urban/rural (Yuval-Davis, 2019). Narayan (2000) does this by emphasizing the need to avoid the traps of gender essentialism, a singular idea of women’s experiences without considering other factors such as race and class, and cultural essentialism, the fixed dichotomy of Western and Third World women. Narayan (1997, 1998) argues that both gender and cultural essentialism are detrimental to feminist causes because they do not consider the concerns of various groups of women in their national contexts. Feminist researchers who have moved away from gender essentialism to avoid simplifying women's and girls’ experiences have fallen prey to the trap of cultural relativism or assumptions of difference between essentialized versions of Western and Non-Western cultures. However, these essentialized views of culture can be harmful to the agendas of feminists around the world.

...essentialist pictures of "national culture and traditions" often operate to justify the exploitation, domination, and marginalization of religious and ethnic minorities, and members of socially subordinate castes and the poor; and they are used to dismiss a variety of political demands for justice, equality, rights, or democracy as symptoms of the "cultural corruption" wrought by "Western ideas" (Narayan, 1998, p. 91)

Narayan (1997) defines cultural essentialism with the example of a dowry murder in communities of colour being explained away with “culture” but similar forms of domestic violence murders in the West as being seen as a criminal offence and not part of Western culture. Cultural essentialism is also used by local elites and men in communities of the global South to justify practices that harm women, particularly women from vulnerable populations of a lower class or caste and ethnicity. This form of cultural relativism can be as harmful as cultural imperialism, as Narayan (1998) notes:

...representations of particular Third World "cultures" that appeal to relativist notions that "our values and ways of life are distinct from those of Western Others, and constitute our national identity and authenticity" can be at least as detrimental to the interests of many Third World women as any "affirmations of universal sameness. (p. 101)

Narayan (1998) particularly argues against the view that culture is distinct, bounded, and unchanging, a view that is espoused by local elites to attack local feminists as “Westernized cultural traitors” (p. 102). In many cases, cultural essentialism is weaponized by local elites, particularly those with conservative agendas, to keep women and minorities in their place under the guise of preserving and protecting the nation and local culture (Narayan, 1998). Such fixed approaches to culture and identity contribute to conflict and the breakdown of social cohesion through exclusion and marginalization (Davies, 2008). Consequently, there is a need to recognize that equality for all citizens needs to be addressed in both the political and social domains (i.e. culture); as Yuval-Davis (2019) argues, without the right types of social conditions to exercise rights, political rights are at best rhetoric.

A post-colonial perspective allows for a gendered interrogation of citizenship by challenging gender and cultural essentialism. It moves away from a singular experience of women and also allows citizenship to be conceived as something more than just the relationship between the individual and the state. In this approach, marginalized groups can challenge inequality that is endemic to their own group affiliations. Education can not drive this change on its own. However, education can lay the groundwork for this change by teaching about cultural and gender identities from a more open and flexible perspective.

Defining gender and sex. The study recognizes the socially constructed nature of gender that is distinct from sex. Gender is the culturally-based roles and behaviours expected of males and females, which is separate from the biological difference between men and women (UNESCO, 2019). This distinction is critical to understand because “it reveals how women’s subordination (or men’s domination) is socially constructed. As such, the subordination can be changed or ended. It is not biologically predetermined, nor is it fixed” (UNESCO, 2019, p. 1). This study also recognizes that gender is often confused with sex in some contexts and notes the limitations of such a perspective. Other challenges with terminology include equating the term gender with women and girls or separating women/girls and boys/men as fixed unproblematic categories (Humphreys, 2013; Silver, 2010). This terminology puts the onus of gender equality

work on women and girls rather than addressing the structural inequities that perpetuate gender discrimination. These practices contribute to the rhetoric of educating girls for the betterment of their families and their countries rather than recognizing that girls on their own have the right to quality education and equal rights (Foulds, 2014; Unterhalter, 2005b). The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which focused on gender equality by increasing girls' enrollment, is one example of a traditional liberal feminists understanding of gender by equating it with women and girls. These broad definitions and categories are often viewed as being easier to monitor, measure, and evaluate in practice (Foulds, 2014; Smyth, 2007). Mohanty (2003) critiques this broad definition, application, and consequent analysis that perpetuates practices that fail to consider the complex gender dynamics in the Global South.

Reconciling post colonial and institutional perspectives. Critical approaches such as post-colonial feminism have the advantage of putting forth an alternative status quo. However, they are often charged with being abstract and lacking utility for practitioners in the field (Novelli & Lopes Cardozo, 2008). What is needed to bridge the critical research and policy-practice divide is a research agenda that builds on but goes beyond the short term, state-centric problem-solving approaches and facilitates spaces for discussion by developing a “critically informed yet policy-oriented approach” (Novelli &Cardozo, 2008, p. 482). In examining education institutions in fragile contexts, I draw on the critical institutionalism works of Davies (2011) and Novelli & Lopes Cardozo (2008). These researchers successfully incorporate critical perspectives that still function to direct policy towards state capacity development. One of the key arguments that Novelli & Lopes Cardozo (2008) make against traditional problem-solving approaches in education and conflict is that it is often too state-centric and is driven by the international community's interests and agendas. They urge researchers to take into account the “interests of different local and national stakeholders: refugees, civil society movements, oppositional forces who may have very different opinions and agendas to the international organizations, states, and bi-lateral donors that dominate the present focus of the field” (Novelli & Lopes Cardozo, 2008, p. 482). Incorporating perspectives from these stakeholders facilitates recognition and understanding that some of the root causes of conflict are perpetuated by institutions such as education.

In taking a critical approach to education institutions and capacity development, Davies (2011) identifies four main issues in need of analysis (1) Whether the state can increase its

legitimacy by providing mass education; (2) Education's relationship with conflict and security, i.e. whether it is contributing to peace and stability or breakdown in social cohesion; (3) Whether education is redistributive with respect income inequality and gender equality as well as reducing ethnic discrimination; and (4) Governance and levels of corruption within the state as well as education institutions that may undermine efforts to build capacity. This study incorporates these observations and employs a post-colonial feminist approach that seeks to work with government institutions, policies, and schools. This approach will lend a critically informed yet pragmatically oriented perspective to examining the goal of social cohesion in a conflict-affected society through education institutions.

Education for Social Cohesion: Goals and Constraints

Social cohesion is commonly used as a crosscutting theme in education policy and research to achieve a stable society in light of "perceived threats to social integration, including increased pluralism, individualism, multiculturalism, civic apathy, immigration and ethno-religious and civil conflict" (Shuayb, 2012, p. 1). Organizations such as the OECD have stressed the vital role of education in building social cohesion in societies. The OECD stresses that social cohesion requires effective forms of citizenship education that ideally recognize, integrate, and increase all children's participation, particularly those from disadvantaged and minority groups (OECD, 2012). It also requires gender-sensitive school policies that provide equal access and quality education for boys and girls to foster social integration (OECD, 2012). Pedagogy and curricula are essential factors identified as tools to promote diversity and positive perceptions of others within a society (OECD, 2012). However, despite the assumed causal link between education and social cohesion in national and international policies, the theoretical and empirical evidence for such a link, particularly in post-conflict circumstances, is limited (Healy, 2013; Sorensen, 2008). This limitation is mainly because the goal of social cohesion through education is constrained by the often-contradictory roles that education takes depending on how stakeholders engage with the institution of education, what this study refers to as the multiple and intersecting roles of education in conflict.

The Multiple and Intersecting Roles of Education in Conflict

Research on the role of education in conflict has evolved. For many years, education was seen as a benign victim of conflict (Tawil, 1997); however, more recently, these views have been challenged, recognizing that the nature of education is inherently contradictory. It is both a

transformative force that can bring about change and a utilitarian instrument to reinforce the status quo (Maclure et al., 2009). In conflict-affected contexts, education can also be a means to promote peace or war, and, for this reason, has been described by Bush and Saltarelli (2000) as having two faces. In post-conflict states, education is widely regarded as having the capacity to foster reconciliation, peaceful social renewal (Lopes Cardozo & Hoeks, 2015), and reducing social inequities such as gender inequality (Maclure & Denov, 2009). Education can take the role of victim, accomplice, or transformer in conflict, and given the complexity of post-war societies, these roles are often intersecting.

Victim. The victimization of education occurs when access to and the quality of education is reduced as a secondary effect of conflict through violence and destruction (Tawil, 1997). The distinction that Tawil (1997) emphasizes is that the “violence and destruction” against education originates from conflict external to it. These negative impacts include the reduced capacity of MOEs due to governments’ low expenditure on education during war, resulting in fewer resources allocated to schools, teachers, teacher training, textbooks, etc. Additionally, access to education is reduced as it becomes dangerous for teachers and students, particularly female students to attend school (Davies, 2010). In some cases, school spaces and materials including textbooks are caught in the crossfire and destroyed unintentionally.

Accomplice. Tawil (1997) argues that “far from being a casual victim of circumstances, education has been purposely and persistently targeted as an instrument of war as well as an arena for battle” (p. 26). Analogous to Bush & Saltarelli’s (2000) negative face of education, education’s accomplice role occurs when it is deliberately weaponized by stakeholders to create cleavages in society. Underlying both the overt and subtle ways that education acts as an accomplice to conflict is what Galtung (1969, 1990) refers to as structural and cultural violence in society. Galtung (1969) defines structural violence as social injustice through the unequal distribution of resources and power, which is necessary to challenge this injustice. Intimately linked to structural violence is cultural violence, which are aspects of culture that legitimize structural violence by making it look and feel right, or at least less wrong (Galtung, 1990). These aspects of culture could take the form of patriarchy, religious and/or ethnic hegemony, and education is often one of the first places where members of society are inculcated into these structures of violence. In conflict-affected societies, structural and cultural forms of violence are

often intentionally maintained and perpetuated by school systems because they are the establishments of governments and state structures that led to the conflict in the first place.

The content, structure, process, and delivery of schooling may contribute to conflict and erode social cohesion (Tawil, 1997). Education can directly promote hate through a biased curriculum or pedagogy that fosters competition and violence (Davies, 2010). It can fuel conflict through unequal access or quality between groups. The structural aspects of schooling – competitive selection, punishments, nationalism, macho-gender cultures, and cultures of fear, negative teaching of “others” through curriculum and textbooks, and the emphasis on obedience to authority – can cumulatively serve to fuel the outbreak of conflict and violence (L. Davies, 2003). Though schools are often considered peaceful places, in some cases, it is often a form of negative peace. Galtung (1969) defines negative peace as the absence of war without addressing the structural and cultural forms of violence that caused it; further to this, negative peace is often brought about and maintained through unpeaceful means, violence or the threat of violence. Omitting discussions on social inequity, conflict, and the systematic use of corporal punishment to keep the peace are ways schools engage in negative peace or peacekeeping. These examples demonstrate some of the more overt ways that education contributes to conflict. However, a society’s resilience to conflict is subverted in more subtle ways through education’s more socially acceptable goal, its utilitarian purpose.

Education is often championed for its transformative possibilities related to liberation, empowerment, social justice, individual freedoms, and human rights; however, many education reforms focus more on utilitarian goals, such as the transmission of knowledge and skills, to help learners become contributing members of the existing and often hegemonic, political, economic, and social order (Maclure et al., 2009). Three aspects of education potentially work against social cohesion as a result of its utilitarian focus. First, policies that promote mass education to achieve social cohesion do little to destabilize existing power and privilege structures within society and may recreate and reinforce them through inequitable schooling systems (Lynch, 2006). Second, most education systems focus on preparing young people to join the competitive market rather than addressing power structures and inequality in society. Third, both Shuyab (2012) and Gewirtz (2000) question the “compliance-oriented” approach to education in school spaces that are primarily authoritative and hierarchical. Furthermore, the economic focus of education that emphasizes standardization, assessment, and consumerism has the potential to

undermine positive relationships between educators, students, and the community and ultimately works against social cohesion (Gewirtz, 2000; Shuyab, 2012). These factors, which are often perceived to be neutral or benign aspects of education, work in tandem to undermine students' ability to think critically and engage in democratic processes within their school and, after that, society.

Transformer. Post-conflict reconstruction periods can be opportunities for transformation of education systems which in the past may have contributed to conflict through inequitable practices; however, this transformation is largely dependent on whether a government chooses to reconstruct a pre-conflict education system or transform it by addressing the root causes of conflict (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Paulson & Rappleye, 2007; Seitz, 2004). Education can take on the role of a transformer of conflict by meaningfully acknowledging conflict, inequality, and injustice and fostering critical thinking, dialogue, and relationship-building among students to challenge and change the status quo.

The case for positive conflict. Galtung (1976) argues that there is a need to raise the level of insight about conflict throughout the world. He suggests that this can only be done through active conflict participation and its resolution from early childhood onward and within different contexts, including the family, school, and work (Galtung, 1976). This approach to conflict is echoed in Davies' (2006) Birmingham International Security Index, where she argues for greater engagement in *positive conflict* in the classroom through active teaching about conflict at the local, national, and global levels to prepare young people to develop the skills and agency to challenge and hold their governments accountable. Similarly, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) argue against education focused on obedience, loyalty and patriotism, which detract from learning that fosters critical reflection, democratic participation, and the impetus for change necessary for the development of justice-oriented citizens. Thus, education and school must foster democracy, critical thinking, conflict resolution, and social justice for education to be transformative. The alternative would entail education becoming another tool of oppression. For education to transform conflict and contribute to lasting peace requires that it creates spaces where students become critical thinkers who are empowered to challenge the status quo and begin to transform the root causes of society's conflict. Galtung (1969) refers to this as positive peace, whereby the causes of violence, either direct or indirect, are removed through participation, decentralization, and co-decisions. Positive peace, also referred to as social justice,

is the absence of structural violence and the cultural violence that supports it (Galtung, 1969). Galtung (1976) notes positive peace as a critical element to peacebuilding within his three-prong approach to peace and conflict, including peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding. Bickmore (2014) explicates the overlapping goals of his model in the context of education. Peacekeeping often involves establishing immediate security, including direct violence cessation and is facilitated through coercion and surveillance (Bickmore, 2014). In contrast, peacemaking addresses conflict by focusing on negotiation and dialogue between parties to find common ground across differing perspectives (Bickmore, 2014). Peacebuilding is the most comprehensive of the three by transforming conflict and leading to lasting peace. It entails attempting to redress and repair cultural and structural forms of violence in society through democratic processes (Bickmore, 2014). As defined by Galtung (Galtung, 1969, 1976), peacebuilding requires the development of critical thinking and judgment and engagement in democratic processes whereby individuals participate in collaborative decision-making and social justice initiatives that seek to overcome structural and cultural forms of violence (Cremin & Guilherme, 2016). A positive peace approach entails that conflict, which is ever-present in society, is dealt with in a constructive and just manner through democratic structures and relationships (Cremin et al., 2012). How effectively the formal curriculum can contribute to peacebuilding is mainly dependent on its ability to foster ‘conflict consciousness’ (Galtung, 1985).

Addressing and redressing inequity. Education systems must first acknowledge and begin to reflect on cultural and structural forms of violence or exclusionary forms of citizenship to promote critical thinking and conflict resolution among young people. Acknowledgment is the first step towards transformation. Failing to do so is in itself a form of cultural violence or what Davies (2010) and Salmi (2000) refer to as “violence by omission.” The importance of acknowledgment and redressing past wrongs for education to transform conflict is made evident in Novelli, Lopes-Cardozo, and Smith’s (2017) 4Rs framework (Recognition, Redistribution, Representation, and Reconciliation) and its application in South Sudan (Novelli et al., 2016). The first two Rs, *representation and redistribution*, reflect the need to ensure that members of marginalized communities’ voices are heard in decision making and given equitable access to resources within education systems (Novelli et al., 2016). *Recognition*, the 3rd R, addresses respect for and response to diversity, identity, and equity, related to linguistic, cultural, ethnic, religious, ability, and gender differences through policy and curriculum (both formal and

informal), as an essential dimension of social cohesion (Novelli et al., 2016). A key indicator of recognition is how violence based on differences is addressed and responded to (Novelli et al., 2016). Of particular relevance to this study is the fourth R, *reconciliation*, that focuses on how education addresses economic, cultural, and political inequity both historically and in the present day (Novelli et al. 2017) to build trust and social cohesion. The authors suggest that the degree to which the first three Rs are addressed in and through education primarily reflects broader reconciliation processes. Novelli et al. (2016) argue that a failure to do this weakens state-society relations, the government's legitimacy, and thereby has the potential to fuel further conflict. Consequently, how past, and current injustices are recognized and addressed in the formal and informal curriculum reflect the state's commitment to those most heavily impacted by conflict and/or structural violence in society.

Education has the potential to transform societal divisions and conflict into peaceful, sustainable relationships (Gill & Niens, 2014); however, the limitations of education's role in peace must be acknowledged. Many studies have challenged the transformative role of education in conflict, particularly as it relates to gender equality (Datzberger & Le Mat, 2018; L. Davies, 2010; Maclure & Denov, 2009). Recognizing these limitations, I approach education's role of a transformer of conflict from the less lofty goal presented by Davies (2010), which focuses on building resilience that provides people with the agency to survive and oppose further tension and conflict. In their work on gender-transformative peacebuilding, El-Bushra and Smith (2016) define resilience as "building back better," emphasizing not only the ability to survive conflict but to challenge its contributing factors, particularly as it relates to gender inequality and gendered power relations. El-Bushra and Smith (2016) argue that education can contribute to building back better because it "has a wide range of roles to play in influencing gender norms—providing information, generating debate and, importantly, using the power of educational facilities as institutions to bring people together to decide how to change, model different behaviours and thus proactively set trends for transformation" (p. 15). Of note is the emphasis on education setting trends for transformation rather than being the driver of social transformation. Similarly, Maclure (2017) argues that social change takes place in a "series of small small-scale successes" that "gradually coalesce and serve as the impetus for broader societal change" (p. 253) when it comes to building agency among children to engage in social justice. As such, a key focus of this study will be incremental forms of transformation (Maclure,

2017; Shier, 2015), such as fostering resilience and empathy through education to transform conflict and build back better.

Resilience-based practices in education have been criticized for transferring the responsibility of peacebuilding onto students, teachers, and families while ignoring the role of social contexts and institutions (Shah et al., 2020). As such, this study approaches resilience from education's ability to transform conflict as defined by local institutions, in this case, the MoE ESPC policy document on how education can help students understand the root cause of conflict and transform it. Ecological conceptions of education for resilience that create spaces for the analysis of conflict and inequality go beyond "the resilient individual to the resilient school, community or education system" (Shah et al., 2020, p.322). Further, this study also draws on Sri Lankan students' stated desires, as noted in the ESCP policy, to learn about the cause of national conflict, develop skills to tackle racism and discrimination, and better understand democracy and children's rights. This approach reflects local meaning-making of resilience (Hajir et al., 2021), mainly related to youth agency in peacebuilding (Lopes Cardozo et al., 2015). Thus, agency and resilience are approached from the perspective of how schools are able to promote resilience and agency through practices that foster inclusive democratic citizenship. These practices include fostering egalitarian relationships between teachers and principals, and teachers and students, opportunities for students to voice their opinions or take on leadership roles, discuss issues that impact them (conflict, gender inequality, caste/class issues), ability to empathize with those that are different, and opportunities to discuss conflict/inequality and address the root causes of it. While examining these factors, consideration is given to the different structural constraints experienced by each group to achieve these goals to illustrate the limitations of education in fostering agency and resilience.

Citizenship Education

Schools play a significant role in the development of citizens (Lawy & Biesta, 2006); consequently, citizenship education has become a means to maintain unity within diversity and promote values of social cohesion (Geboers et al., 2013). Despite varied approaches to citizenship education, the general goal is to help young people develop the necessary knowledge, skills, and attitudes to become active members of their respective communities (Arthur et al., 2008). Citizenship education has become a focus for many multicultural and/or multiethnic democratic countries worldwide. This shift is mainly due to debates around citizenship and

citizenship education due to increasing diversity, immigration, globalization, and war/conflict in many countries (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006). These changes have resulted in a reevaluation of the traditional notion of citizenship as multicultural and multiethnic countries contend with issues of tolerance, identity, pluralism, and multiculturalism (Niens & Chastenay, 2008). In conflict-affected societies, citizenship education has gained considerable attention for its potential to address issues of identity and societal divisions (L. Davies, 2003; Niens & Chastenay, 2008). How states, and consequently, schools, respond to conflict impacts how citizenship is conceived and determines whether it is a democratic or belligerent form of citizenship promoted through education.

Belligerent citizenship

Despite its potential to contribute to social cohesion, citizenship education is not unproblematic. During and after a conflict, there is a sense of national vulnerability that shifts the balance of power between the state and its citizens with respect to citizens' expectations, commitments, and rights. This power shift may result in efforts by state institutions, such as education, to emphasize social conformity, patriotism, and stark distinctions between them and us (Ben-Porath, 2006). Ben-Porath (2006) refers to this shift in power as belligerent citizenship. Societies impacted by conflict are particularly vulnerable to belligerent forms of citizenship, depending on how they deal with diversity, conflict, marginalization of individual groups, and their ability to foster democratic citizenship through education. Further to this, belligerent forms of citizenship can generate and/or exacerbate outright conflict. It can also continue after the formal cessation of violent conflict, reducing a society's resilience to recover from future conflicts.

Belligerent forms of citizenship often undermine democratic processes in the name of security and national unity. In such cases, education reinforces complacency to the status quo (Shuyab, 2012), promotes national identity through an emphasis on assimilation at the expense of minority cultures, and is often derailed by its utilitarian goals (Bickmore, 2006; Niens et al., 2013). Quaynor (2012) points to the influence of intergovernmental and multilateral organizations such as UNESCO, USAID, and the World Bank on shaping citizenship education through campaigns such as Education for All (EFA). She argues that these organizations' values and ideologies, often based exclusively on a single brand of democratic citizenship, are transmitted to post-conflict countries through funding and reconstruction efforts. One such

ideology is the neo-liberal version of democracy that places value on competitive market-based development (L. Davies, 2004). Furthermore, Faulks (2006) points to the risks associated with citizenship education's potential to promote a national identity at the expense of minority groups' cultures and values. Overly patriotic citizenship education reduces tolerance and promotes less positive attitudes of ethnic others (Green et al., 2006). If imposed or perceived to be imposed from the outside, specific forms of citizenship can face resistance (Haider, 2012), particularly where populations are divided along various ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious lines. Consequently, conflict-affected societies that experience overt ethnic or religious violence are confronted with unique challenges in promoting effective forms of citizenship for social cohesion (Quaynor 2011). The following section will provide an overview of two common approaches to citizenship education, multicultural and global, and argue why an interruptive democratic approach (L. Davies, 2003, 2005a, 2008) is necessary for societies impacted by conflict.

In conflict-affected societies, multicultural perspectives have the potential to promote peace through civic education that recognizes cultural differences in the public sphere (Ben-Porath, 2006). However, there are limitations to an exclusively multicultural approach to citizenship education. Proponents of multicultural approaches to citizenship education have an idealized notion of citizenship where minority groups maintain their cultural identity and are fully included in the nation-state (Banks, 2008). In reality, there are large differences in how ethnic minorities experience citizenship versus the dominant group. Conflict-affected states face distinct challenges when incorporating multicultural perspectives. In many cases, school systems are making the transition from curricula that espoused blatant discrimination or assimilationist curriculum against marginalized groups. Although multicultural approaches to citizenship emphasize deliberation and working across differences, it fails to emphasize the mechanism of conflict resolution competencies essential to dealing with differences, particularly when the differences challenge another group's values or norms. Multiculturalism does not directly address the intrinsic conflict that stems from difference. Niens & Chastenay (2008) argue that education needs to address multiple identities and conflict resolution skills to help individuals navigate differences. Furthermore, the link between citizenship and nationhood is often complicated with the inclusion and exclusion of specific groups (L. Davies, 2004), particularly in counties that have experienced conflict in the form of civil war. The notion that citizenship education based on

an uncritical multicultural approach can promote tolerance and pluralism in conflict-affected societies is simplistic when considering the complicated contexts in which education occurs.

Global citizenship education is premised on promoting a global civic consciousness; it builds on citizenship education, global education, ideas of democracy, and human rights (Banks, 2008; Pike, 2008; Starkey, 2012). It is often considered as a replacement or complement to deal with national approaches to citizenship that exclude minorities and other marginalized groups (Davies, 2005). However, studies in both peaceful and conflict-affected states show that several challenges prevent global citizenship from delivering on its promise of social cohesion based on ideas of global justice and cross-cultural issues (Bickmore, 2007), or its potential for overcoming prejudice and community division in conflict contexts (Davies, 2005). In their study of global citizenship education in Northern Ireland, Niens and Reilly (2012) found that it failed to challenge the engrained cultural divisions among high school students. Furthermore, it perpetuated cultural stereotypes and had the potential to pave the road for further global divisions or conflicts in the future. Global citizenship education that has received criticism on its presupposition of universal ideas of human rights. It is unable to reconcile that some members of a society have full access to human rights and others do not, which ultimately makes them non-citizen (Zembylas, 2011). Kiwan (2008) argues that human rights-based approaches to citizenship education are based on legal conceptions that view everyone as free and possessing equal rights when this is not always the reality for many worldwide. Last, global citizenship education's focus on preparing students with the knowledge, skills, and competencies to compete in a global workforce and contribute to the economic growth of the nation (Evans et al., 2009) often takes away from the justice-oriented aspect of citizenship education (Mannion et al., 2011). This lack of emphasis on social justice prevents students from challenging institutional and structural norms that marginalize minority groups. As a result, it promotes unity through diversity while perpetuating the marginalization of some groups.

Inclusive Democratic Citizenship Education

Citizenship education needs to explicitly address conflict through schooling's content and processes to prevent the marginalization and alienation of minority groups and belligerent forms of citizenship. This section draws on the works of Ben-Porath (2006), Bickmore (2012) Davies (2003, 2008) to recognize that conflict is ever-present in all societies though at varying degrees. Accordingly, this impacts citizenship and citizenship education, which I argue should include

aspects of Davies' (2003) notion of interruptive democracy and positive conflict, which stress the role of positive peace and conflict consciousness noted by Galtung to challenge cultural and structural forms of violence. Thus, school and educations need to embrace rather than stifle conflict talk within the classroom. Davies (2003, 2008) highlights the importance of deliberation and dialogue by defining interruptive democracy as “the process by which people are enabled to break into practices which continue injustice” (L. Davies, 2008). Within schools, interruptive democracy is grounded in rights for all (students & educators), secure but flexible approaches to identity, deliberation and dialogue, creativity, and most importantly, agency through an emphasis on not just participation but also the onus to challenge what is perceived to be unfair (L. Davies, 2008). The interruptive democracy approach to citizenship education facilitates the development of justice-oriented citizens noted by Westheimer & Kahne (2004) rather than the personally responsible or participatory citizen model often used by states to foster complacent citizens.

Inclusive democratic citizenship education allows education to approach the goal of social cohesion as a work in progress by focusing on continual deliberation about access to rights, identity, and knowledge. Such an approach fosters agency among students because it presumes that students must be actively involved in co-creating their classroom, school, and social communities. The deliberation and dialogue aspects of interruptive democracy required for this process are directly aligned with characteristics already outlined in education’s role as a transformer in conflict. Concerning rights, although Davies (2008) notes interruptive democracy presupposes rights for all, there is an implicit assumption within the *interruptive* part of democracy that equal rights for all, at all times, is more of an ideal than a reality and that there are situations when the rights of some people could be threatened; consequently, members of a community must be have the capacity to recognize, deliberate, and act to secure these rights through peaceful means. In her work on the gendered nature of citizenship, Yuval-Davis (2019) also recognizes the continuous nature of the “struggle towards a less sexist, less racist and more democratic society” (p. 22). This implicit recognition that achieving an equal and just society is a work in progress distinguishes inclusive democratic citizenship from multicultural and global approaches. These other approaches often presume equal rights in their identity-based approaches to citizenship and overlook the ever-presence of conflict and injustice in diverse societies.

One of the challenges faced by all diverse societies is reconciling differences in identity with a singular national identity. Citizenship education has the potential to contribute to interruptive democracy when it promotes a multifaceted understanding of identity that moves beyond fixed, nationalistic, and patriotic identities rooted in exclusion (Davies, 2005, 2008). Harmful forms of nationalism and patriotism are ways that education takes on a negative face in conflict (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). Nationalism and patriotism are often rooted in identity-based conceptions of citizenship. Members of a society have multiple identities, but identity-based citizenship requires that national identity trumps all others. Consequently, when one group's interest or survival is not aligned with the national agenda, their commitment/loyalty to the nation-state is questioned by the state and fellow citizens, fueling mistrust and the breakdown of social cohesion (Ben-Porath, 2006). Individuals' multiple affiliations to various identities in society are reduced to a singular emphasis on "we are all fellow nationals" (p.11) during times of conflict, which contribute to belligerent forms of citizenship and fuel conflict (Ben-Porath, 2006). As such, when societies approach citizenship from an exclusively identity-based perspective, they are more susceptible to conflict.

Citizenship education needs to deal with the what Davies (2008) describes as the paradox of identity: the need for secure identity, particularly among marginalized groups/cultures, to reduce resentment and aggression towards members of other groups, but at the same time refrain from essentialized conceptions of citizenship that work against social cohesion. Consequently, national identity needs to be approached from a place of openness and ambiguity, as a work in progress or unfinished knowledge to facilitate inclusion and positive conflict (L. Davies, 2010; Niens & Chastenay, 2008). Such a fluid conceptualization of identity in and through citizenship education facilitates an understanding of the identity aspect of citizenship as something that can be "revised, criticized, reinterpreted, and amended by the individuals and groups that make up the national community" (Ben-Porath, 2006, p.28). A malleable approach to identity and national identity is more conducive for citizens to critique and hold governments, leaders, and state institutions accountable without being seen as attacking the nation (L. Davies, 2011c). As a result, Ben-Porath (2006) suggests the state and, consequently, schools conceptualize citizenship or national membership based on the principle of *shared fate*, which focuses on "ties among the members of the community and the mutual effects of their political choices" (p. 27). It views nationality as a shared project that is continuously reinterpreted by its participants, citizens (S.

Ben-Porath, 2011); it also emphasizes inclusive and flexible linkages based on the deliberation and other democratic processes and is less susceptible to essentialized notions of identity that exclude individuals or groups. Within education, this would require curriculum to move away from fixed notions of identity often presented in multicultural curricula, and move toward discussion on difference, deliberative democracy in the classroom and schools spaces, and an relational approach to learning that stresses the responsibility of learners to each other (L. Davies, 2008).

In conflict-affected societies, interruptive democratic approaches can be used to disrupt historical narratives that reinforce divisions between ethnic groups. In his work in Cyprus, Zembylas (2012) suggests that historical narratives that created divisive relations between ethnic groups need to be disrupted and replaced with ideas of common humanity, compassion and vulnerability, and an understanding of a shared fate between oppositional ethnic groups. Similarly, in his study of Sri Lanka, Orjuela (2003) argues that a critical perspective of history would allow teachers and students to explore the colonial roots of the conflict, such as the divide and conquer strategy of colonizers. These approaches would facilitate a better understanding of history and the ethnic other. Without the opportunity to critically examine their social world and conflict, students cannot acquire the critical thinking skills they need to resolve conflict in peaceful ways or engage in dissent when necessary. For positive peace to occur, education must explicitly address the inevitable conflict that arises from diversity (ethnic, religious, cultural, linguistic, class, gender) in societies through interruptive forms of democratic citizenship education. Conflict talk is the grease for the wheels of society (Bickmore, 2012); it keeps it moving and functional. A fundamental principle for democracy is that there is space for argument, dissent, the possibility for opposition, and conflict (L. Davies, 2008). Schools have an essential role in preparing students for it. Reforms to both the official and hidden curriculum, in the form of learning materials, pedagogy, and the organization of the school, can act as catalysts for transformative change for gender equality (Maclure & Denov, 2009) and social cohesion as a whole. The following sections will focus on content and processes that are often addressed in policies related to education for social cohesion, including curriculum (textbooks), classroom pedagogy, and school environments. These three components are also what will be examined in this study.

The Hidden Curriculum

Education for democratic citizenship is not restricted to a specific subject matter material; it is enacted in the day-to-day practices and relations within the school space, i.e., the hidden curriculum. The informal transmission of the routines, rituals, practices, behaviours, and values rewarded in schools constitutes the hidden curriculum. Cunningham (2014) emphasizes the often-unintended hidden learning that takes place due to the school and school system's organization. Implicit in the analysis of the hidden curriculum is examining how hegemony is manifested through norms, cultures, rules, and activities, and how this collectively shapes the schooling experience and socializes children into the norms of society (Apple, 2012/1982). Schools are microcosms of society, and they often reproduce, rather than erase existing class, racial, and gender relations and stratifications (Arnot, 2006; Giroux, 2001). Thus, classrooms and instruction are powerful socialization tools that can contribute to conflict and/or social cohesion.

Within and through the official and hidden curriculum, both Giroux (2001) and Apple (2012/1982) emphasize teachers' significant role in social reproduction. Teachers are curricular-instructional gatekeepers (Thornton, 2001). They not only deliver (or omit) aspects of the official curriculum and policy, but they also provide their interpretation of it through policy appropriation. With effective training and support, teachers have the potential to become agents of change by mastering processes of critical pedagogy to help students challenge structural inequities in society (Kirk, 2004). Teachers and critical pedagogy play a critical role in facilitating these processes involved in interruptive democratic citizenship education (Niens et al., 2013). Classroom and school spaces that are conducive for positive conflict and deliberation help students develop tools of democratic engagement. However, Osman and Kirk (2001) emphasize that teachers in conflicted-affected contexts face several obstacles: feeling disempowered, lack of training and resources, ongoing violence in the community, and hierarchical management styles in administration. Additionally, many teachers are often criticized for not discussing controversial topics required for positive conflict, due to external political or institutional restrictions and constraints such as in Ireland (Niens & Chastenay, 2008) or Rwanda (Freedman et al., 2004). Teachers' inability to effectively engage different voices, particularly if these opinions create discomfort or controversy, can perpetuate negative peace and indirectly lead to a path of overt violence.

Despite the risks involved, questions of identity and identity conflict need to be openly discussed through democratic processes in the classroom (Bickmore, 2008). This approach would provide young people with the tools and political literacy they need to challenge inequity through peaceful democratic dissent (Ruitenberg, 2009; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Further to this, many teachers in conflict-affected contexts require gender-sensitivity training to reduce classroom and school environments that foster a culture of harmful masculinities and violence. A (UNESCO, 2011) report on the hidden crisis of armed conflict in education found that in some cases, teachers held social attitudes and prejudices about students' abilities based on their sex, tolerated violent behaviour by boys, had lower expectations of girls, and gave more significant time and advice to boys. Consequently, transformative initiatives such as promoting peace through education need to incorporate training that addresses changing teachers' existing attitudes about gender and gender equality (UNESCO, 2011). Progressive policies and innovative curricula are essential for transformative change, but the misalignment between teacher capacity with respect to training and resources to carry out these changes cannot be overlooked.

One major challenge to the transformative potential to achieving social cohesion through education is practitioner appropriation of new policies and procedures. Levinson and Sutton (2001) argue that policy formation constitutes the elaboration of charters, often by specialists, circulated to practitioners expecting that they will be implemented in a relatively uniform fashion. On the other hand, policy implementation refers to the application, often in accordance with diverse forms of interpretation or resistance, by different groups of practitioners. These different practitioners, or social actors, tend to interpret received policies through their own learned experiences and conventional practices. As such, as implemented, policies do not always accord to the letter or spirit of policies as initially formulated (Levinson & Sutton, 2001). The disconnect between policy and practice is often exemplified in efforts to reform curriculum and classroom pedagogy. Teachers' knowledge of content and pedagogical methods, combined with personal beliefs, influence their classroom practice (Thornton, 2001). However, few studies have examined the link between teacher knowledge and belief and student learning outcomes in the context of citizenship education. Tourney-Purta, Richardson, and Barber (2005) argue that teachers construct different models of citizenship both within and across cultural contexts, and

these models are not always in line with the official curriculum or policy. Furthermore, how this disconnect impacts educational outcomes and broader social outcomes is also unknown.

The Official Curriculum: Textbooks

Official curricula in the form of textbooks, syllabi, and teacher manuals are critical instruments for organizing and directing classroom teaching and learning. Learning materials are especially critical for the transmission of knowledge and society's social norms (Schissler, 1990). Furthermore, citizenship curricula, in particular, is designed to transmit the norms and conventions of society. What is included and not included, and whose history or story is told or not told, are often sources of contention in countries affected by conflict (Dupuy, 2008). In post-conflict contexts, curriculum reform and renewal hold the potential for transformative change by addressing divisive aspects of the curriculum (Tawil & Harley, 2004). Rosenmund (2000) suggests that the very processes of bargaining or negotiation involved in curriculum development are prerequisites to social cohesion and integration. Collective rewriting allows a society to reflect on their conflicts and move towards transforming curriculum to be more inclusive than what existed during and before what led to the conflict (Tawil & Harvey, 2004).

Textbooks are a critical component of the curriculum and, in some contexts, are the curriculum. In countries where teachers have limited access to teacher training or the quality of training is low, or there is no training at all, textbooks, if they are available, become the predominant source of instruction for teachers. In such cases, textbooks play a decisive role in what and how teachers teach and what students are learning. How marginalized or oppressed groups are represented, if they are represented, and how social inequities are depicted within textbooks has implications in conflict-affected societies. Studies on conflict-affected societies, such as those of Spink (2005) in Afghanistan, Cardozo (2008) in Sri Lanka, Breidlid, (2013) in Sudan, Dupuy (2008) in Nepal, and Stabback (2004) in Bosnia and Herzegovina, have identified how curriculum material in the form of textbooks can oppress, stereotype, and denigrate various groups. Greaney (2006) identified eight categories through which textbooks act as an accomplice to conflict: “narrow nationalism, religious bias, omission, imbalance, historical inaccuracy, treatment of physical force, and militarism, use of persuasive techniques, and artwork” (p. 51). Given this, whether and how school textbooks promote values of social cohesion and peace or contribute to further division in conflict-affected countries is a growing area of research. Ide, Kirchheimer, & Bentrovato (2018) identify three key reasons why school textbooks should be

brought to the forefront. First, textbooks often reflect the dominant and politically sanctioned narrative intended to be reproduced for the masses (Ide et al. 2018). Second, textbooks have a significant influence on the students' political worldviews and identities as it is mandatory to read and comes with a great deal of authority; last, the level of coverage and impact of textbooks in education contexts make them powerful tools to contribute to peace or fuel further conflict (Ide et al. 2018).

There has been substantial research on the role of textbooks in conflict (Fuchs & Bock, 2018; Greaney, 2006; Ide et al., 2018). However, there has been limited exploration of how peace and conflict content has been received and appropriated by students and teachers in conflict-affected countries. As such, there is a gap in research “on the degree to which ruling elites, international actors and local peacebuilders, among others, are able to influence students’(and teachers’) worldviews” (Ide et al., 2018, p. 294). This study addresses this gap through teacher and student reflection on civics textbooks designed to promote social cohesion. Also, it explores the intersection of conflict and gender equality in textbooks. The following section provides an overview of how gender roles are depicted in textbooks and their relation to conflict, focusing on the South Asian context.

Gender in textbooks. The differential representation of men and women in school textbooks is a global phenomenon. To inculcate national unity and characteristics of the ideal citizen, the formal curriculum, sponsored by the state, often promotes narrow forms of a national identity that excludes minority groups, particularly women and girls (Asadullah et al., 2018; Blumberg, 2008; Emerson, 2018; Shreya Ghosh, 2014; Kovinthan Levi, 2019; Nair, 2010; Srivastava, 2006). The impact of gender discrimination through textbooks is far-reaching and long term. Srivastava (2006) argues that textbooks strongly influence how children perceive their roles in society through text and images and consequently mould their attitudes on gender roles and behaviour. She suggests that textbooks need to demystify stereotypical gender roles ascribed to the sexes, such as leadership and decision making with men and sharing and caring with women (Srivastava, 2005). In addition to this, Blumberg (2008) suggests that textbooks need to address gender inequality in society explicitly.

Gender inequality manifests in direct and indirect ways through textbooks and undermines social cohesion. Sadker et al. (2007) identified seven types of gender bias commonly found in curricula. They include:

1. Invisibility: The omission of gender equality, particularly women and girls and their issues, contributions, as well as the inequality faced by them in society
2. Stereotyping: Through text and images, rigid gender roles and gender stereotypes are assigned to the sexes. These depictions often reinforce cultural stereotypes such as presenting men/boys in active, assertive, and curious roles while depicting women/girls as conforming and obedient.
3. Imbalance/selectivity: Selective interpretations of issues, events, or people is presented without alternative possibilities in such a way that representations of males are depicted more frequently and a higher status than their female counterparts.
4. Unreality: Textbooks presenting idealized and sanitized versions of society that avoid controversial topics related to minorities and women's needs contribute to cultural violence.
5. Fragmentation/isolation: When the issues affecting minorities and women are presented as add on curriculum items, their needs and identity are made to be peripheral to mainstream culture.
6. Linguistic bias: Sexist language and the use of the masculine pronoun excludes women, fails to recognize their contributions, and denies them the right to participate.
7. Cosmetic bias: Superficial representations of minority groups and women are sometimes used to create shortcut solutions to the call for more inclusive textbooks rather than a meaningful coverage of the topic.

These seven biases contribute to the transmission of gender inequitable values through the formal curriculum. Globally, there has been some movement towards a more inclusive representation of women in textbooks (Benavot & Jere, 2016); however, change has been slow in the South Asian context (Islam & Asadullah, 2018). This difference is further exacerbated in contexts where state legitimacy is weak due to conflict, which leads to the promotion of nationalism and patriotism at the expense of topics that may be viewed as a threat to state legitimacy (Russell, 2016; Sarvarzade & Wotipka, 2017). State-sponsored textbooks often have references to the concept of human rights and diversity but rarely include or discuss issues on marginalized groups' rights, including women (Sarvarzade & Wotipka, 2017). Post-colonial South Asia has, and in some cases, continues to experience varying degrees of conflict. Nair (2010) and Ghosh (2014) point to the post-colonial partition of the Indian subcontinent and the

subsequent conflicts that arose within and between countries like India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka, as they clamoured to forge national identities, manifesting in school textbooks. Emerson (2018) argues that such essentialist and exclusionary representations of national identity in school textbooks promote direct, structural, and cultural forms of violence against those that do not belong to the dominant group, particularly minorities, women, and girls. As such, in many South Asia countries, the goal of promoting a singular national identity through education has come at the expense of promoting values of gender equality through textbooks (Asadullah et al., 2018; Blumberg, 2008; Emerson, 2018; Shreya Ghosh, 2014; Kovinthan Levi, 2019; Nair, 2010; Srivastava, 2006). Textbooks in South Asia continue to be embedded with content that others and exclude women and girls by (1) promoting gender stereotypes, (2) glorifying the military and narrow forms of masculinity, (3) and underrepresenting women and girls both in frequency and status.

Gender stereotypes. Women are often underrepresented and/or depicted in stereotypical roles based on cultural gender norms that reinforce the false division between the public and the private sphere. For example, contemporary textbooks in Afghanistan represent women in relation to the men in their lives; they are often introduced as mother or sister and engaging in household duties (Sarvarzade & Wotipka, 2017). In instances where women and girls are mentioned, their roles were often relegated to the private sphere (Sarvarzade & Wotipka, 2017). In the Indian context, there has been some progress in representing female figures in both the public and private sphere; however, Bhog and Ghose (2014) argue that these representations fail to challenge cultural norms and expectations of the unequal workload that women take on because they are still mostly responsible for domestic work. Bhog & Ghose (2014) also point to the way that many of the depictions of women in the public sphere reflect middle-class urban women in roles that are, in fact, extensions of their nurturer role, such as teachers and nurses.

In many conflict-affected societies, particularly those in protracted conflict situations, there are stark disparities in how men and women are represented in textbooks. For example, Pakistani social studies textbooks depict men as soldiering masculinities responsible for defending the nation from external threats, while women are idealized as nurturers relegated to the private world (Arnot, 2011; Durrani, 2008). Durrani (2008) argues such idealized representations of men and women in hypermasculine and hyperfeminine roles, respectively, serve the interest of the dominant groups such as the military, religious leaders, and men to

ultimately marginalize and silence women, minorities, and civil society as a whole. Textbooks reflect existing gender norms and stereotypes and can also be used to engrain new norms that promote gender inequality, such as the control of women's bodies. In Afghanistan, Sarvarzade and Wotipka (2017) report that although the Islam Republic Government did not enforce a dress code for women like previous governments, school textbooks clearly defined how women should cover their bodies. The authors argue that the representation of women wearing hijab in the public and private sphere indicates the government's appeal for internal legitimacy from more traditional groups in Afghanistan (Sarvarzade & Wotipka, 2017). This conservative representation of women is in stark contrast to textbooks developed under the Marxist-oriented government, where women and girls were depicted with their heads uncovered and wearing non-traditional clothing. In both cases, the government is driving the citizenry of women, manifested in how they should dress through school textbooks.

Militarization and masculinities. In the South Asian context, post-colonial identity politics, in conjunction with highly patriarchal cultures, have resulted in textbooks that focus on the glorification of the military and exclusive representation of male heroes and leaders. Textbooks in South Asia often exclude women and other minority groups through an overemphasis on militarized and masculine ways of performing active citizenship to protect and preserve the nation from the other. For example, in her examination of textbooks in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, Ghosh (2012) found that education discourses entailed a
...constant state of preparedness to guard frontiers and homogenize notions of national identity... Even if not for an actual war, citizens are expected to be constantly prepared to defend national identities... Test for citizenship is readiness to sacrifice and achieve martyrdom” (p. 138).

This form of civic engagement was exclusive to males. Patriotism and civic duty become highly gendered in times of conflict and infiltrates education through educational materials like textbooks (Ben-Porath, 2006). In conflict-affected societies, belligerent forms of citizenship often foster a hyper-masculine form of civic-virtue to support the notion of the combat soldier as the ideal citizen that men aspire to and that women should support (Ben-Porath, 2006). For example, in her examination of history textbooks in newly independent India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh, Nair (2010) found that textbooks focused on “themes of patriotism, glorification of the nationalist struggle, sacrifices of freedom fighters...” (p. 30). Similarly, in

Afghanistan, the counter communist textbooks focused on presenting stories in which boys aspired to become like their fathers fighting the Soviet army (Sarvarzade & Wotipka, 2017). Interestingly women's roles in the military are often left out. Similarly, in their examination of secondary social studies textbooks in India, Sumalatha and Ramakrishn (2004) found a deliberate exclusion of women's roles as freedom fighters. Thus, the militarization of citizenship intentionally excludes women to keep them out of the national narrative.

Representations of gender. When textbooks are infiltrated with references to nation-building and national narratives based on the glorification of the military and military victories, Ben-Porath (2006) argues that debate and discussion on social issues and the representation of the contribution of women and their role in history declines. There is an imbalanced and selective representation of women and girls and their issues in many South Asian school textbooks. Women are often excluded from historical contexts for which they were present. In Indian primary textbooks, more than half the content depicted only men, whereas only 6% presented only females (Benavot & Jere, 2016). Similarly, in her analysis of social studies textbooks in Bangladesh and Nepal, Srivastava (2006) found that when women were represented, it was an add-on section and not part of the textbooks' running matter. In many cases, efforts to make textbooks more gender-sensitive are often superficial and tokenistic. For example, Nepali textbooks highlight issues faced by women such as HIV and AIDS and exploitation of girls; however, Srivastava (2006) argues that the issues are examined at a surface level and fail to interrogate the causes and impact these challenges have on women and girls. Similarly, in India, Bhog and Ghose (2014) describe the approach to textbook revision for gender equality as an 'add women and stir' approach, where writers affect surface-level changes such as role reversals in traditional jobs and or activities and but never directly address gender inequality in society (Bhog & Ghose, 2014).

Belligerent citizenship through nation-building curriculum. Textbooks have the potential to contribute to structural and cultural forms of violence based on whether minority groups are included and how they are included. Cultural violence could be enacted through the othering of those who are not part of the imagined state intended through textbooks. When textbook writers present content that is biased, subjective, prejudicial, and exclusionary of groups in the interest of forming a singular national identity, it contributes to reinforcing divisions and weakens people's sense of belonging to the nation (Srivastava, 2006). In India,

between 2000-2005, history textbooks that celebrated India's cultural diversity, including Islam's contributions to its rich art and architecture, also depicted Muslim Indians as invaders and destroyers (Bhog & Ghose, 2014). This divisive and assimilative approach to national identity is belligerent citizenship and causes the breakdown of social cohesion and fuels violence within a society (Ben-Porath, 2006).

In an attempt to create the ideal citizen and nation-state, textbooks often purposely omit issues of marginalization of minority groups and ongoing conflicts in the state. Davies (2010) suggest that not learning about conflict in one's own country is 'violence by omission' (Salmi, 2009) and contributes to and reinforces cultural and structural violence. Given that "gender inequality is a form of violence that creates a generalized context of violence and exploitation at the societal level" (Hudson, 2012, p.5), its presence in school textbooks contributes to conflict through the nation-building project. Furthermore, the absence of coverage on gender inequality issues in society normalizes the practice through omission. This normalization of societal violence, particularly gendered violence, in addition to ethnic and religious divisions is an underlying contributor to conflict (Davies, 2010).

Resistance to change. International agencies such as the World Bank have pushed for policies and initiatives to transform gender bias in textbooks within low-income countries, including those in South Asia (Benavot & Jere, 2016). However, despite this push and commitment from these countries, gender bias in textbooks is pervasive. Several factors contribute to the resistance to update textbooks that are linked to perceived threats to nationalism. These include lack of political leadership, weak support from civil society for gender bias initiatives, resistance within institutions responsible for updates, and a lack of knowledge and/training on gender sensitivity among professionals responsible for providing leadership on developing textbooks (Benavot & Jere, 2016). In some cases, resistance to the inclusion of topics related to women, gender equality, and minorities is deemed too controversial by local elites as being an agenda to Westernize women. The preservation of the cultural identity of women is akin to the preservation of national identity. For example, when writers attempted to represent the marginalization of Muslims in Indian schools' textbooks through a gendered perspective, the committee responsible for approving the material removed the content stating it was too controversial and challenging to teach in the classroom for teachers (Bhog & Ghose, 2014). Similarly, their attempts to include a story of a woman navigating the judicial system after

being sexually assaulted in communal riots were also removed because it was deemed too political and undermined Indian democracy's foundations by highlighting its flaws (Bhog & Ghose, 2014). In this way, local women's attempt to exercise their rights as citizens is viewed as controversial, un-cultural, and thus in opposition to the goal of homogenized and cohesive national identity.

Conceptual Framework

The following section summarizes the key theories explored in the literature review that contribute to the conceptual framework presented in Figure 2. This framework will be used to investigate how education can contribute to social cohesion in conflict-affected societies through a gender lens. The figure summarizes the relationship between education for social cohesion, inclusive democratic citizenship, and gender equality. It also demonstrates the processes that promote and constrain education's potential to contribute to social cohesion and provides a set of indicators for social cohesion (evidence of gender equality and inclusive democratic citizenship) that are drawn from the literature review that will be used in the analysis of data. Effective forms of citizenship (OECD, 2012) and gender equality (Bessell, 2001) are critical components for social cohesion. Without gender equality and equal access to citizenship and the rights, benefits, and opportunities that it avails, conflict-affected societies are less able to overcome continuing conflict. Education, and particularly citizenship education, is a means commonly used to promote social cohesion (Green et al., 2006; Shuayb, 2012). However, citizenship education needs to be interruptive and democratic to foster critical thinking so that students are prepared to engage in social justice and challenge the status quo (L. Davies, 2005a). The formal and informal curriculum are powerful tools to foster inclusive democratic citizenship and gender equality. However, education as a tool for social cohesion, citizenship, and gender equality is complicated by the paradoxical nature of education in conflict-affected societies.

Education's relationship with conflict is complicated by its intersecting roles of victim, transformer, or accomplice to conflict; these roles do not always occur in isolation, thus requiring careful consideration of a particular conflict situation. In conflict-affected contexts, the quality of and access to education is often reduced due to decreased funding to education and an overall decline in security, resulting in the victimization of education through conflict. Simultaneously, education in conflict-affected contexts can act as a transformative force that contributes to peacebuilding and addresses social inequities like gender equality (Maclure & Denov, 2009).

However, education can also act as an accomplice to conflict through its negative face (Bush & Saltarelli, 2001; Davies, 2010; Tawil & Harley, 2004). Moreover, though education is often heralded for its transformative potential, its utilitarian purpose, often criticized for its market-oriented, neo-liberal, gendered, and colonial or neo-colonial roots (Connell, 2010; Fennell & Arnot, 2008; Maclure et al., 2009) undermines these goals and can contribute to education's accomplice role in conflict.

The figure's overlapping circles are a critical aspect of this study; that gender equality is inextricable from inclusive democratic citizenship. Furthermore, the relationship between the two is iterative. Inclusive democratic citizenship cannot be fostered without addressing gender equality, and gender equality cannot be promoted without addressing other aspects of citizenship such as race, religion, class, ethnicity, factors that intersect with gender roles and identities. This relationship is demonstrated in the detailed descriptions of indicators (Table 1), which show that many aspects of education that contribute to inclusive democratic citizenship also contribute to gender equality. Positive attitudes to gender equality in education strengthen social cohesion; consequently, there is a need for gender-transformative education for peacebuilding (Judy El-Bushra & Smith, 2016). Gender-transformative education for peacebuilding entails that structural and cultural forms of violence be addressed through representation, redistribution, recognition, reconciliation (Novelli et al., 2017) and the promotion of resilience.

Last, in keeping with the post-colonial feminist approach, informed by an institutional perspective, consideration is given to the formation and appropriation of education policy. How education policy is negotiated in daily life, whether applied, interpreted, and/or contested by different local actors (Levinson & Sutton, 2001), further complicate education's ability to promote effective forms of citizenship gender equality. This study brings these key theories together in the following conceptual framework (Figure 2), which examines the interface between gender, education, and conflict in the context of citizenship education and the goals of social cohesion while considering the intersecting nature of education in conflict using a post-colonial feminist approach. Table 1 provides a description of the indicators in the framework from the literature review and Figure 3 illustrates how the indicators were derived based on the conceptual framework and its relationship with the concept of inclusive democratic citizenship. Figure 3 illustrates the potential outcomes for each indicator based on whether education practices are based on principles of inclusion and democracy or exclusion and authoritarianism.

Figure 2

Conceptual Framework on Education for Social Cohesion

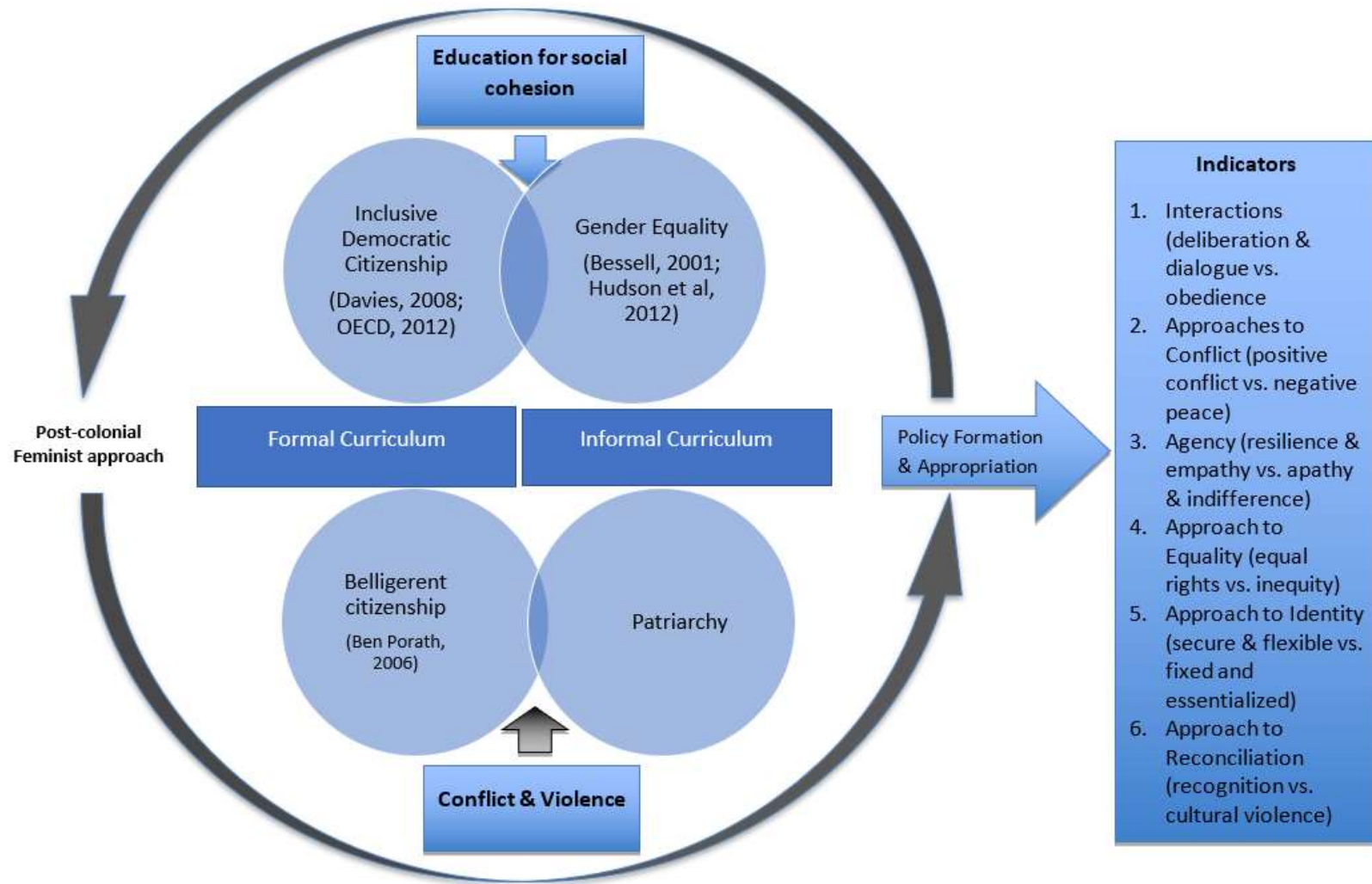


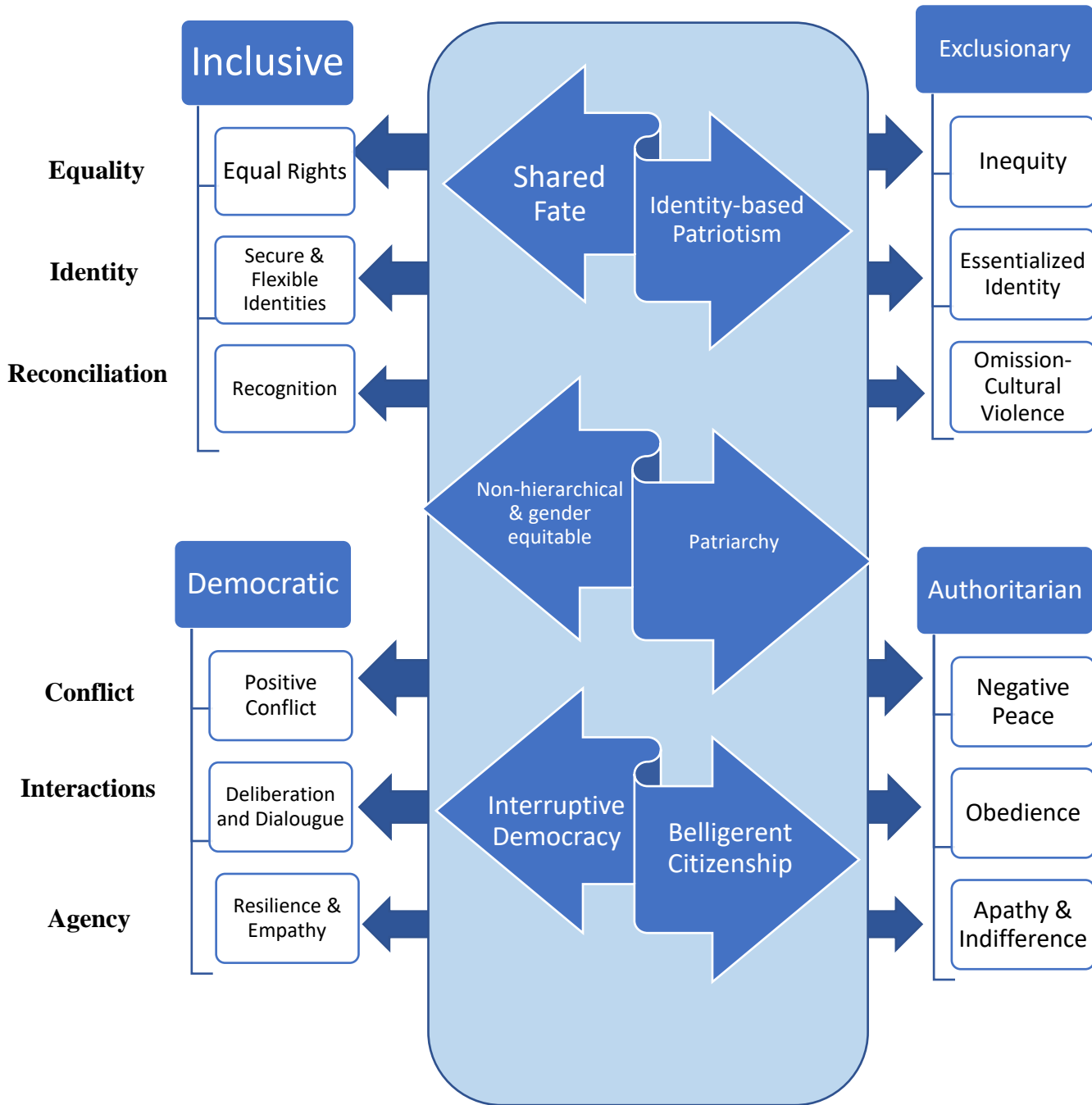
Table 1

Description of Indicators in Conceptual Framework

Indicator	Description
Interactions (deliberation & dialogue vs. obedience)	Democratic engagement necessitates that education and schooling foster a culture of deliberation and dialogue rather than focus on obedience and rule-following (Davies 2003). Education needs to counter patriarchal school cultures that foster authoritarian interactions based on hierarchical relationships, which undermine the egalitarian aspects of democracy. Men and women need to develop mutual understanding and collaboratively work together to improve society (Judy El-Bushra & Smith, 2016).
Approaches to Conflict (positive conflict vs. negative peace)	Education environments that foster positive conflict by actively teaching about conflict at the local, national, and global levels prepare students for democratic engagement to counter negative forms of peace that sustain cultural and structural violence (L. Davies, 2003; Galtung, 1969, 1990).
Agency (resilience & empathy vs. apathy & indifference)	A resilience-based approach to agency recognizes the small shifts in thoughts, actions, and perspectives among students and educators that demonstrate hope, empathy for others, and critical thinking (Maclure, 2017). Resilience provides people with the agency to survive and oppose further conflict (L. Davies, 2010) and challenge its contributing factors, particularly as it relates to gender inequality and gendered power relations (Judy El-Bushra & Smith, 2016)
Approach to Equality (equal rights vs. inequity)	Inclusive democratic citizenship presupposes rights for all (Bessell, 2001; L. Davies, 2008; Green et al., 2006); however, it also recognizes that equal rights for all, at all times, is more of an ideal than a reality. Schools should take an equity approach to ensure that students from marginalized communities are not excluded because of their gender, ethnic, linguistic, religious, class, etc. identities (Bessell, 2001).
Approach to Identity (secure & flexible vs. fixed & essentialized)	Citizenship education should contribute to a multifaceted understanding of identity, both gender and cultural identity, that is secure but flexible so that citizens can work across differences towards a shared fate understanding of national identity (S. R. Ben-Porath, 2006; Davies, 2005a, 2008). Education should counter gender and cultural essentialism rooted in patriarchy and colonialism (U. Narayan, 1997, 1998).
Approach to Reconciliation (recognition vs omission-cultural violence)	Citizenship education should recognize acknowledge experiences of inequality and injustice faced by marginalized groups to ensure that the content, quality, and access to education counters these inequities, through approaches like the 4 Rs framework (Novelli et al., 2016, 2017). A critical aspect of the shared fate approach to citizenship is the importance of acknowledgement and forgiveness of past wrongs through education (Ben-Porath, 2006).

Figure 3

Relationship of indicators to inclusive democratic citizenship



CHAPTER 2

Education for Social Cohesion in Sri Lanka

The following section provides an overview of the Sri Lankan context, focusing on the root causes of the war, present-day/post-war Sri Lanka, education in Sri Lanka, and progress on gender equality. The overview of Sri Lanka's national conflict is not meant to be an exhaustive review of the complex factors contributing to it; rather, it is meant to provide context for this study's specific focus.

The Island Nation of Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka is a small island nation in the Indian ocean. With a and a per capita GDP of \$3 852 USD in 2019, Sri Lanka is a lower middle-income country (World Bank, 2020). Sri Lanka's social indicators are high in South Asia and compared to other middle income countries; however, its relative spending on health, education, and social protection is low (World Bank, 2020).

Sri Lanka is comprised of four predominant ethnic groups: Singhalese (75%), Tamils (11 %), Indian Tamils (4 %) and Moors (9 %) (Department of Census and Statistics, 2012). The population is comprised of 70.1 % Buddhists, 12.6 % Hindus, 9.7 % Muslims, 6.2 % Roman Catholics, and .03 % practicing other Christian religions (Department of Census and Statistics, 2012). There is overlap between ethnicity, religion, and language; most ethnic Singhalese speak Sinhala and practice Buddhism with a small percentage of Catholics and Christians. Ethnic Tamils speak the Tamil language and are predominantly Hindu, with a sizeable Catholic and Christian population. The Muslims, who claim ancestry to Arab traders, speak Tamil and practice Islam and consider themselves a separate ethnic group from ethnic Tamils. The Tamil speaking population is concentrated predominantly in the North and Eastern provinces. The Singhalese comprise the remainder of the island with pockets of Tamil speakers in the urban centres of these areas, including Colombo, the capital. Indian-Tamils also speak Tamil and share cultural and religious similarities to ethnic Tamils; however, they are categorized as a distinct group in Sri Lanka. During the British colonial period in the nineteenth century, many arrived in Sri Lanka to work on tea estates and live in the upcountry regions among a largely Singhalese population (Perera, 2001).

Sri Lanka is a self-described democracy. However, despite its secular status, the constitution of Sri Lanka gives foremost place to Buddhism with the provision of rights to

practice all other religions. As early as 1956, the protection and maintenance of Sinhala Buddhist identity became the state's responsibility and thus privileged one ethnic/linguistic and religious group over all others (Bush, 2003).

History of the conflict

Many studies generally state that Sri Lanka's 30-year civil war between the Liberation Tamil Tigers of Eelam (LTTE) and the Sinhalese majority government had its origins in the post-colonial ethnic tensions between these two groups (Diaz & Murshed, 2013). However, Sri Lanka's conflict is multifaceted and can not be ascribed solely to the impact of colonialism. Before colonization, Sri Lanka was ruled by separate Singhalese and Tamil kingdoms that experienced periods of military confrontation and intermixing and co-existence (Lunn et al., 2009). However, Perera (2001) notes that ethnicity was more a social construction than a political one at the time. Ethnic differences and divisions became more apparent and politicized in Sri Lanka after the British subdued the Kandyan Kingdom in 1817 and unified the country, leading to an increase in population, economic growth and greater access to formal education (Lunn et al., 2009). Colonialism and the post-colonial period amplified existing differences and contributed to divisive discourses that planted the seeds for a protracted ethnic conflict. Perera (2001) argues that many present-day divisions were grounded in mythmaking polemics related to each groups' ethnic origins from ancient civilizations in India to demonstrate racial superiority and claim to Sri Lanka during and immediately after colonialism. A popular belief among the Singhalese, and a cornerstone of the Sinhala mythology that strongly influences Sinhala-Buddhist nationalism, is that they are descendants of Aryans from Northern Indian, and, therefore, racially superior to the Tamils, who are descendants of the Dravidians in India (Perera, 2001). Ethnic Tamils also had their own myths of racial superiority and claims to Sri Lanka (Perera, 2001).

The civil war in Sri Lanka can also be described as a crisis of state-building due to multiple cleavages along the lines of race, class, language, and region (urban/rural) (Lewis, 2019; Uyangoda, 2011). Holt (2011) traces the roots of the animosity between the Tamils and Singhalese back to when Sri Lanka was first colonized by the Portuguese (1505-1658), the Dutch (1658-1795), and finally the British (1795-1948). During the colonial period, privileged access to education from government and missionary schools went to the Tamils in the North, particularly in Jaffna and the Low Country Singhalese leading to discontentment among the majority, mainly

rural Sinhalese. This privilege was inextricably linked to their exposure and connection to Western languages and Christianity (Holt, 2011) and created rifts between and within ethnic groups (Lunn et al., 2009). The consequences of increased access to education for ethnic Tamils during colonial rule led to dissatisfaction among the majority Sinhalese, particularly youth and those that were not part of the English-speaking Sinhalese elite (Sorensen, 2008). As a result of voter pressure from the Sinhalese majority after independence in 1946, changes came into play that slowly eroded the rights of Tamil speakers. One group that was significantly impacted by these changes were Indian-Tamils, who were denied Sri Lankan citizenship. During the British colonial period, the expansion of tea estates and settlement of Indian-Tamil estate workers displaced many Sinhalese families. It fueled resentment towards Indian-Tamils, who were culturally and socially very different from the local population (Perera, 2001). Competition for jobs, land, and the fear of an alliance with ethnic Tamils, led to efforts to repatriate them back to India; when this failed, they were systematically denied citizenship and land rights (Perera, 2001). To date, most Indian Tamils have been given Sri Lankan citizenship; however, denying citizenship rights for decades has had a crippling effect on the Indian-Tamil community, who are disproportionately impacted by poverty, discrimination, and limited access to quality education to this day.

The post-colonial period also saw the rise of language wars. Schooling was changed from English to vernacular languages to stand against English colonialism; however, the impact of this was the segregation of schooling based on linguistic, and consequently, ethnic differences (Sorensen, 2008). The attempt to remove colonial education structures contributed to the deterioration of ethnic relations in Sri Lanka (Sandarasegaram, 2016). Ethnic segregation due to language segregation is a challenge that the Ministry of Education is still trying to address. The change in the medium of instruction was then followed by the 1956 Sinhala Only Act, which made Sinhala the country's official language. The change was brought about to appease the Sinhalese majority and prevented the Tamil speaking population's access public sector jobs, an area that Tamils had dominated before independence. Further restrictions on ethnic Tamils' access to jobs and education came in 1971. Tamils were required to achieve higher grades in national exams to gain entry into universities, under the guise of a district quota system that was implemented to provide better access to education for children in rural areas (Perera, 2001; Sorensen, 2008). These changes led to a drastic reduction in the number of seats available for

Tamils to enter university. Sorenson (2008) states that these changes in education policy contributed significantly to the erosion of the status of Tamils and their prospects and contributed to the development of Tamil identity as a minority group that required self-determination. In fact, Sorenson (2008) argues that exclusionary education policies were the single most reason that led to guerilla warfare. Ethnic Tamils also faced violent communal pogroms in 1983 that led to the deaths of 400-3000 Tamils across the island (Lewis, 2019).

Exclusionary policies, violence against Tamils, and the failure of a political solution to grievances led to the rise of several Tamil militant groups. The most notable group was the LTTE, who created a de facto state in the North from 1990-2009 and engaged in an ongoing conflict with the Sinhalese government for close to 20 years fighting for Tamil autonomy. Despite numerous attempts at peace talks brokered by the international community and some progress towards peace with a ceasefire, a common ground could not be found between a Sinhalese-Buddhist nationalist government and Tamil interests, through LTTE representation (Uyangoda, 2011). The failure of many of these interventions is evidence that Sri Lanka's long ethnic conflict is also the result of the failure of liberal peace, democracy, and economic liberalism (Goodhand, 2010; Holt, 2011; Uyangoda, 2011). The international community's quick-fix approach to responding to violent conflict by prescribing democratic elections and economic liberalization (Holt, 2011) failed to address minority grievances and the ethnocentric and authoritarian aspects of Sri Lanka's democracy.

Postwar Sri Lanka

The 30-year civil war ended with government forces, led by President Mahinda Rajapaksa, defeating the LTTE in May 2009, resulting in what has been described as a 'victor's peace' (Höglund & Orjuela, 2011). Given the complete defeat of the LTTE, the government had little impetus to address Tamil grievances that were the root cause of the conflict. The end of the war continues to be a source of controversy due to allegations of human rights violations and war crimes by government forces and the LTTE (Thiranagama, 2018). A 2014 United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights investigation and report identified numerous credible accounts of human rights violations during 1982-2009, including attacks, killings, enforced disappearances, torture, sexual violence, and attacks on humanitarian assistance (Human Rights Watch, 2020). With Russia and China's support, the Rajapaksa government has denied and rejected all calls to address war crime or human rights violations (DeVotta, 2010; Höglund &

Orjuela, 2011). Despite various commitments by the government for truth and reconciliation, there has been little progress. In some cases, there has been a regression in efforts, including the continued arrests and detention of individuals based on the unrepealed Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA), threats against religious and ethnic minorities and human rights activists, and torture and ill-treatment in police custody (Amnesty International, 2018; Human Rights Watch, 2020a). During and after the war, the Rajapaksa government had been characterized as increasingly authoritarian and corrupt (DeVotta, 2010). As such, his defeat to the more moderate Maithripala Sirisena in 2015 was welcomed by many Sri Lankans as an opportunity for peace and democracy, particularly among minority communities who played a large role in his election as president.

The post-war context saw the rise of Sinhala-Buddhist ultra-nationalism and religious extremism through organizations such as Bodu Bala Sena (BBS), Sihala Ravaya, and Ravana Balaya. Many of these organizations openly extol hate speech to instigate communal violence (CPA, 2014). One of the most notorious campaigns was the Sinhale Le movement, which arose out of fear of the disintegration of Sinhala-Buddhist culture and discontentment with the economy in 2015 (Walko, 2016). The Sinha Le (lions blood) movement orchestrated hate campaigns against Muslims, Christians, Tamils, and the LGTBQ community with the mission to protect the purity of Sri Lanka's Sinhalese Buddhist identity (Walko, 2016). The government has done little to stop these organizations and, in some situations, has been viewed as purposely turning a blind eye or outright condoning them. The Centre for Policy Alternatives notes that the state creates the optics of complicity by doing little to curb hate speech or violence stemming from these movements while at the same time preventing student unions and civil society organizations from taking part in protests under the guise that it would undermine peace (CPA, 2014). Since the end of the war, there have been rising incidences of tension and violence between Muslim and Buddhist communities. On March 7th, 2018, the Sri Lankan government issued a countrywide state of emergency, including the shut down of some social media due to violence between Buddhist and Muslim communities. The Easter bombings in 2019 led to further violence against Muslims and their businesses by Sinhalese nationalists, with little protection from state authorities (Slater & Farisz, 2019).

To date, Sri Lanka continues in a state of fragile peace with high levels of militarization in minority communities and has yet to meaningfully address current and past human rights

violations against minority communities (Amnesty International, 2018; Human Rights Watch, 2020a). Progress made in peace and reconciliation was set back in November 2019 with the election of Mahinda's brother, Gotabaya Rajapaksa, as president. Gotabaya was the wartime defence chief credited with the LTTE's defeat and bringing the 30-year war to an end; he is also accused of war crimes (Human Rights Watch, 2020b). After taking power in November of 2019, he appointed his brother, Mahinda Rajapaksa as prime minister. Gotabaya has also made moves to rescind his predecessor's constitutional amendment that limited the president to two terms. These events, unfolding 11 years after victor's peace, illustrate DeVotta's (2010) characterization of Sri Lanka as an ethnocracy and neopatrimonialism in action.

Education in Sri Lanka

The structure of Sri Lanka's education system is influenced by Christian/Catholic traditions from British, Dutch, and Portuguese colonizers; however, it is also grounded in Buddhist, Hindu, and Islamic education traditions and resistance to colonialism (Aturupane & Little, 2019). Anti-colonial sentiments and Sinhalese-Buddhist nationalism challenged the prominence given to the English language in education and government. These tensions resulted in eliminating free English medium education immediately after independence by Sinhalese-Buddhist nationalists, who felt that it did not serve the needs of the rural masses (Aturupane & Little, 2019). Consequently, schools became stratified based on the vernacular languages, Sinhala and Tamil, and led to an ethnically segregated school system that persists today. Sri Lanka's education system is nationally regulated by the central government, which makes decisions on a standardized curriculum, textbooks, teacher development, exams, and initiatives such as special education (Dundar et al., 2017). After decentralization in 1987, the delivery of education for some schools came under provincial governments' purview and are categorized as provincial schools. However, Pathmarajah & Ethirveerasingam (2017) argue that provinces have limited policy ownership due to low investment in education and the politicization of policymaking by the central government, which is done on an ad hoc basis with the direct intervention of the president at times.

Within South Asia, Sri Lanka is often recognized for its high achievement on basic indicators in education, mainly in primary enrolment and adult literacy; however, a close examination of its progress demonstrates that it faces significant challenges in providing quality education for all. Sri Lanka has achieved universal primary education and gender parity at both

the primary and secondary levels. Its progress is attributed to the state's early investment, since 1945, in education through the provision of free education (Aturupane, 2011). Even with the impact of a 30-year long protracted conflict, Sri Lanka's literacy rate is high, 91.71% (90.8% for females and 92.77 for males) in 2018 (UNESCO, 2020). Despite these achievements, Sri Lanka struggles to provide quality education for all (Dundar et al., 2017). "There are large disparities in the quality of education due to unequal distribution of both human and physical resources" (Institute of policy studies Sri Lanka, 2016). Further to this, a World Bank report notes that Sri Lanka has fallen behind in adapting its education system to society's needs as a result of having the lowest public investment in education compared to other middle-income countries (Aturupane, 2011). Several impacts have been identified as a result of this decline, including low participation/high dropout rates in upper grades; low performance in STEM; unequal distribution of resources, particularly in rural and conflict-affected areas; a densely packed curriculum; limited post-secondary options for students resulting in a highly competitive tertiary admission system; poor school infrastructure, including a lack of water and sanitation; limited professional development for teachers and administrators; and limited access to IT and other teaching and learning materials (Aturupane, 2011; Liyanage, 2014; Lopes Cardozo, 2008). These deficiencies are significantly apparent in the conflict-affected regions of the North and Eastern provinces (Lopes Cardozo, 2008; Sorensen, 2008), demonstrating the politicization of education through uneven resource distribution. The impact of uneven distribution has resulted in lower education achievement among minority communities. Sri Lanka's high literacy rates are not reflective of the war-affected regions; the 30-year conflict has significantly lower literacy and school completion rates in the war-affected regions of the Northern and Eastern provinces (Lopes Cardozo, 2008; Northern Province Ministry of Education, 2014). Though Sri Lanka has considerable high completion rates in secondary education, the survival rate to grade 11 is significantly lower in the war-affected Northern and Eastern provinces (Dundar et al., 2017). As such, although Sri Lanka started with high investments in education during and immediately after independence, economic decline and conflict have resulted in decreasing government expenditures on education. This low investment is now apparent in Sri Lanka's fall from the exceptional status it held compared to other developing countries in education in earlier decades (Aturupane, 2011).

There are four types (1AB, 1C, II, III) of public schools in Sri Lanka, which differ in the grades and subjects (

Table 2).

Table 2

Types of Schools

Type	Grade	Subjects
1AB	Up to 13	Arts, Sciences, Mathematics, Commerce and Technology (greater resource allocation and often National)
1C	Up to 13	Arts and Commerce
II	1-11	
III	1-5	

Most often, type 1AB schools are National schools, which are better resourced than their type 1C, II, and III counterparts that are often under the purview of provincial MoE. There is also an urban-rural divide in accessing the better 1AB schools, which are often in large towns or cities. Both Provincial and National schools follow the same curriculum controlled by the Central Ministry of Education. The curriculum, teaching, school-based tests, and national examinations are closely aligned (Dundar et al., 2017). As a result, Sri Lanka's school system is heavily weighted towards exams. Table 3 summarizes the organization of the school system and main examinations.

Table 3

Education Level and Corresponding Exams in Sri Lanka

Level	Grade	National Exam
Pre-primary		
Primary	1-5	Grade 5 scholarship exam – entry for high ranking schools
Junior	6-9	
Secondary		
Senior Secondary	10-11	General Certificate of Education (GCE) Ordinary (O Level) - directs entry to technical/vocational training or next level
Collegiate	12-13	GCE Advanced-level (A level) -directs entry to university

Examination results determine admission into good secondary schools with scholarships as well as university entrance. Due to schools' limited capacity, students rely heavily on the private tuition system that runs parallel to the government education system. In some cases, students in

grade 13 attend tuition centers during school hours to prepare for exams with schools' consent during examination periods (Pathmarajah & Ethirveerasingam, 2017).

Education for social cohesion policy

In addition to being an instigating factor for conflict, education played a crucial role in fueling conflict in Sri Lanka through a divisive curriculum that demonized the ethnic other and unequal access to education based on ethnicity and class (Colenso, 2005). Recognizing education's potential to contribute to conflict has led to some changes in policy led by the government (Ministry of Education, 2013). Noting OECD's (2012) emphasis that social cohesion is critical for maintaining long term economic growth, the government has emphasized social cohesion in all sectors, including education, to reach its goal of becoming a middle-income country (Aturupane & Wikramanayake, 2011). Consequently, social cohesion has become a common running theme in many Sri Lankan government and donor documents that have been influenced by the five characteristics that Jenson (1998) has argued constitute a cohesive society: belonging, inclusion, participation, recognition, and legitimacy. Sri Lanka's commitment to social cohesion through education is reflected in the establishment of the Social Cohesion and Peace Education (SCPE) unit within the Ministry of Education and policy, the *Education for Social Cohesion and Peace* (ESCP) framework (Ministry of Education, 2008). The *ESCP* policy identifies seven key areas for education as a basis for improving social cohesion: curricula, teacher education, teaching the second national language, whole school culture, integrated schools, co-curricular activities, and research.

The policy itself incorporates elements of Davies (2008) interruptive democracy and positive conflict, but also includes passive approaches that emphasize tolerance and negative peace. The *ESCP* policy places a significant emphasis on the need for teachers to engage in pedagogy that fosters critical exploration of inequity in society and “tackle controversial issues in order to promote critical thinking in their students” (p. 2). Not only is there a strong emphasis on conflict and conflict resolution, but the policy states also explicitly the importance of supporting students to “understanding national conflict” (p.3) and the need to develop citizens who can “transform conflict” (p.4). These messages imply that education should enable students to discuss Sri Lanka's conflict(s) openly and critically to facilitate conflict transformation. At the same time, these positive conflict messages are undermined with an introductory note by the Director of the Social Cohesion and Peace Education Unit cautioning that the recommendations

of the policy should be implemented with care in order to “avoid the possibility of negative backlash” (p. iii) as a result of learning about differences that could facilitate contempt, stereotypes, and ethnocentricity. These contradictory messages within the policy demonstrate that despite the well-intended goal of developing citizens who understand and are equipped to discuss the historical seeds of national conflict, representatives from the MoE are also wary of the risk of contributing to further conflict through these discussions. As such, there is a tension within the policy document between more progressive approaches to attaining peace and those based on continuing the status quo through negative peace.

Both the *ESCP* policy and the *Education Sector Development Framework and Programme 2013–2017*, which focus on promoting social cohesion at the school level, are supported by the German development agency Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) through their Education for Social Cohesion (ESC) projects. GIZ’s ESC projects support conflict transformation at various levels. At the macro level, guidance is provided for the Sri Lankan Ministry of Education and the National Institute of Education on education policy, curriculum development, and teacher training. The project also collaborates with 17 National Colleges of Education and Teacher Training Centres on pre- and in-service teacher training. Departments of education at the provincial level are also supported in five of the nine provinces most impacted by conflict and poverty through projects testing innovative teaching methods in 200 schools. GIZ’s works focus on two areas of intervention (GIZ, 2014). The first is *Learning to live together* comprised of *Peace and value education* (PVE) and *Multilingual education*. These initiatives focus on teacher training and curriculum development to promote peaceful co-existence in multi-ethnic, multicultural, and multilingual societies. The second area of intervention is *Promoting a safe learning environment* comprised of *Psycho-social care* at the school level and *Disaster safety education* (GIZ, 2014). This study focuses on the impacts of the former intervention, and though it is not meant to be an evaluation of the program, many of the policies and school interventions related to social cohesion are informed and influenced by GIZ’s ESC projects are implemented through the MoE.

A limited number of studies have documented the mixed progress in education for social cohesion in Sri Lanka. Some strides have been made with teacher training and improving pedagogy in Sri Lanka. Select groups of teachers have received training to teach the second national language and Peace and Value Education (PVE) training (L. Davies, 2011b). However,

policies that promote social cohesion through education are often contradicted and undermined by educational practices that emphasize high stakes testing, exam-oriented learning, authoritative school environments (Sorensen, 2008), learning that relies heavily on textbooks (Wickrema & Colenso, 2003), a lack critical discussion about the war (Lopes Cardozo, 2008), and the ethnic and linguistic segregation of students (Colenso, 2005; Orjuela, 2003).

The disconnection between policy and practice is most evident in teachers' knowledge and skills. Although the *ESCP* policy recognizes the vital role that teachers play in mediating the curriculum and acting as role models for non-violence, democracy, and the promotion of rights and mediating controversial discussions by promoting critical thinking (Ministry of Education, 2008), in reality, these policies have not been implemented in their entirety (Hoeks, 2012). Regional disparities in teacher training and quality mean that many teachers and principals have not been trained to implement new initiatives (Aturupane & Wikramanayake, 2011; Lopes Cardozo & Hoeks, 2015). Among those that have been trained on peace education, 80% reported they understood the concepts of peace education, with only 24% being able to provide examples (Ministry of Education & National Institute of Education, 2010 as cited in Aturupane and Wikramanayake, 2011). Furthermore, Cardozo (2008) reported that Sri Lankan teachers are often uncomfortable talking about politics, peace, and conflict in classrooms. There is, therefore, a need to understand who is being trained (and who is not), the kinds of training being offered, and why so many teachers are finding it difficult to understand and implement these strategies for social cohesion through education. Teachers are incorporating some of the measures to achieve social cohesion through education. However, more information is needed on how and what aspects are working and what is not. A limited number of studies have examined how these initiatives have been received by teachers and students in Sri Lanka's schools and how they contribute to social cohesion and peacebuilding. This study seeks to address this gap by focusing on four areas noted in the *ESCP* policy, including a revised citizenship curriculum, the promotion of gender equality, classroom pedagogy, and teacher training.

The Citizenship Curriculum and Textbooks

One of the key outcomes of the *ESCP* policy was a new citizenship curriculum in the form of textbooks. This study will use the term citizenship curriculum and citizenship/civics textbooks interchangeably, given that textbooks are the predominant source of teaching and learning. The *ESCP* policy notes that the new curriculum is intended to promote values of peace

through a focus on topics such as a multicultural society, conflict resolution, democracy and human rights, and interpersonal relationships, all elements of international best practices for textbook development and revision to promote peace in conflict-affected societies. The new curriculum's goal is to foster common citizenship among the various ethnic and religious groups in Sri Lanka. It was developed after researching and examining other civics curricula worldwide, including other conflict-affected countries such as Guatemala and South Africa (Aturupane, 2011). The resulting revised citizenship education textbooks, *Life Competences and Citizenship Education* (grades 6-9) started in 2006 as a joint project between Save the Children, the MOE and National Institute for Education (NIE). Save the Children provided both technical expertise and monetary contribution with the intended goal of increasing child participation in education (Save the Children, 2010). The project's aim reflects the goals of the policy on social cohesion, which is to develop a citizen who can live in a multicultural society, respect diversity and individual rights, values or tolerate other cultures, can analyze intercultural conflict and transform it, communicate, solve problems, discover inner peace, possess civic virtues, is empathetic, is democratic, and protects Sri Lankan traditions, cultures, and values (Ministry of Education, 2008). It is important to note that gender equality, though noted as a challenge to address, is not part of the list of characteristics for the desired Sri Lankan citizen in the ESCP policy. It only gained recognition as an issue for social cohesion and peace after a gender analysis was conducted in the first phase of implementing the policy (GiZ, 2010). The lack of a gender focus in the *ESCP* policy invites the need for a gender analysis of the citizenship curriculum, a derivative of the policy, and the educational strategies associated with it.

The citizenship curriculum was developed after research and study of civic education in 89 countries and consultations with 70 grade 10 students. The *ESCP* policy document claims that the content of the new curriculum reflects outcomes of consultations with students. These consultations showed that students wanted to “know about the causes of national conflict; then about racism and discrimination and skills to tackle these; then human rights and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Other important areas for them included: conflict resolution skills; democracy; and critical analysis of media” (p. 8). As such, the curriculum is intended to address Sri Lankan students' desire to learn about the root causes of conflict in their country. The *ESCP* also notes a need to move away from “safe subjects such as environment and heritage” (p. 2) and address controversial issues related to national unity and conflict through education. In addition

to the commitment to include positive conflict in the curriculum, the policy also stresses the need to eliminate biases in textbooks to ensure that they reflect “Sri Lanka’s pluralistic society” (p.8). These positive conflict approaches to the citizenship curriculum and textbooks are intended to address the long-standing criticisms of textbooks' role in contributing to Sri Lanka’s conflict.

Textbooks in Sri Lanka play a significant role in how children are socialized to become citizens because teachers rely on them almost exclusively for content and pedagogy (Wickrema & Colenso, 2003). Textbook content has and continues to be politicized to teach hegemonic forms of national identity (Bentrovato & Nissanka, 2018; Gaul, 2014, 2017; Greaney, 2006; Sánchez Meertens, 2013). Sri Lanka is often cited as the textbook case of the negative face of education due to biased learning material that alienated ethnic minority groups (Bush & Saltarelli, 2001). The state controls the content, publication, and distribution of school textbooks; thus, it is a powerful influencer in constructing national identity (Sánchez Meertens, 2013; Vanner et al., 2017). The state’s monopoly over textbooks has been a contributor to the conflict in Sri Lanka. In addition to severe shortages and delays in printing and distribution, particularly in rural and minority regions (Fazlulhaq, 2018), the MoE has consistently resisted donor assistive initiatives to move to the best practice of a multiple book option for school textbooks (Wickrema & Colenso, 2003). Despite these shortcomings, a few initiatives were put into place by the Education Publication Department (EPD) that included giving textbook writers more guidance, having more representation among the writers, and establishing review panels that ensure that “there is no discrimination or bias in the textbooks with regard to appearance, belief system, religion, race, gender, disability and family structure” (p. 8). Compared to many other conflict-affected countries in the global south, Sri Lanka has a fairly experienced and sophisticated system for textbook writing that is well informed on the negative and positive role of textbooks in building peace. These underlying foundations offer some promise that Sri Lanka’s *ESCP* policy offered the possibility that civic textbooks could serve -a transformative role in students’ understanding of conflict.

The resulting *Life Competences and Citizenship Education* (grades 6-9) textbooks, like other all other subjects, are taught through a national curriculum. The *Citizenship Education and Governance curriculum* for grades 10-11, also developed under the MOE's same policy, are optional subjects. The textbooks are available online in English, Tamil, and Sinhala and provided to students free of charge in schools. Since their development in 2007-2008, the textbooks have

undergone several revisions and updates; Bentreovato & Nissanka (2018) note that changes include greater sensitivity for multiculturalism and gender and the removal of references to Sri Lanka's conflict, leaving only a few references in the grade 10 and 11 textbooks. The removal of content related to Sri Lanka's national conflict in the grade 6-9 textbooks is particularly damaging for positive conflict. Aturupane (2011) notes that although the new curriculum presents a strong foundation to promote democracy and social cohesion, its reach is limited because it is not a compulsory subject after grade 9. Only 20% of students take civics at grade 10-11 level. Given that most students are only exposed to the grade 6-9 textbooks, there is a need to understand how useful these books are in promoting social cohesion. What is even less understood are students' and teachers' views on the representation of conflict in the civics textbooks. This study addresses this gap by examining teachers' and students' views on the *LCCE* textbooks for Grades 6-9 with respect to its coverage, or lack of topics related to the country's conflict. It examines these views in conjunction with a document analysis of the four textbooks from a gendered perspective.

Gender Equality in Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka has often been considered a post-colonial gender equality model compared to its South Asian counterparts due to high literacy rates for men and women, universal franchise for both sexes as early as 1931, and two female state leaders. Sri Lanka's long history of free and compulsory education for boys and girls, which was achieved shortly after independence, and gender parity in all three levels (primary, secondary, and tertiary) of education has been a significant contributing factor to the idea of gender equality having been achieved in Sri Lanka. Despite positive achievements in some areas of education and health, Sri Lanka has significantly underachieved in gender equality with respect to women's labour market and political participation (ADB & GiZ, 2015). Women's labour force participation is less than half that of men, 35.6 % versus 78% (Department of Census and Statistics, 2018). Women continue to be underrepresented in upper-level management and decision-making positions in both the private and public sectors. Sri Lanka's record on the inclusion of women in politics is one of the lowest in the world; furthermore, barriers to their participation persist with the government's resistance to any form of quota system focused exclusively on the inclusion of women (Kodikara, 2014). Women have been historically underrepresented in all three government levels, with less than 5.8% at Parliament, 4.1 % at the Provincial level, and 2.03 % at local levels (ADB & GiZ, 2015).

Kodikara (2014) notes three key drivers that derail progress: (1) the state's resistance to modernity that comes with high levels of engagement by women; (2) a local women's movement that has limited political influence; and (3) the state's resistance to international influences that would have commonly led to an increase in women's political representation during the peacebuilding process at the end of a war. The manifestation of this is patronage politics and targeted violence against women, including character assassinations, which keep women out of politics (Hernandez, 2013).

Sexual and gender-based violence

Sexual and gender-based violence is a significant consequence and contributor to gender inequality in Sri Lanka (ADB & GiZ, 2015; WHO, 2018). Sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) is defined as:

Any act that is perpetrated against a person's will and is based on gender norms and unequal power relationships. It encompasses threats of violence and coercion. It can be physical, emotional, psychological, or sexual in nature, and can take the form of a denial of resources or access to services. It inflicts harm on women, girls, men and boys.

(UNHCR, 2020)

SGBV is highly prevalent in everyday aspects of life in Sri Lanka and is reported to be on the rise (Jayasundere, 2009). Ninety percent of women in Sri Lanka report experiencing sexual harassment on public buses (UNFPA, 2017). Despite its prevalence and growing trend, systematic data gathering has been challenging due to underreporting as a result of social stigma, cultural norms that view violence against women as a personal issue to be dealt with in the family, and a culture of impunity for perpetrators within the justice system (Fisher, 2010). In 2016, the government developed a national action plan to combat SGBV, focusing on prevention, intervention, and policy advocacy (Ministry of Women and Child Affairs, 2016). Though the policy is a step in the right direction, it lacks specificity, particularly in the education sector; this is not surprising given that the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict's note that it has yet to be adequately resourced and implemented (United Nations, 2019).

Sri Lanka's high prevalence of SGBV has been exacerbated due to the impact of conflict (Fisher, 2010; Ward, 2019). Sexual violence was used as a weapon of war through the rape and violation of ethnic Tamil men and women (Kodikara & Emmanuel, 2016; Ward, 2019).

Traunmüller et al. (2019) report a systematic use of sexual violence against ethnic Tamil and Muslim women, children, and men in the 2009 conflict. They note that a high percentage of men, close to 21 percent, experienced sexual violence during detention. Since 2009, high levels of SGBV continue to persist in the conflict-affected regions (Nikalou, 2016). Three decades of conflict have impacted communities leading to what Jayasundere (2009) describes as a culture of violence and impunity from violence. Since the end of the war, there have been growing rates of gender-based violence in the war-affected regions (International Crisis Group, 2017; Nikalou, 2016). Armed conflict, continued militarization, a culture of sexual exploitation, harassment, intimidation, and fear have contributed to higher levels of insecurity for women in the North and East provinces (International Crisis Group, 2017). The differential experience of Sri Lanka's violent conflict on women and girls has made them more vulnerable to SGBV as a result of displacement, lost family members, becoming heads of households, unequal access to resources including jobs, time spent in internal displacement camps, and the militarization of communities (International Crisis Group, 2011; Jayasundere, 2009). Women and girls experience high levels of violence and low levels of state protection, preventing them from achieving their full potential as citizens (Fisher, 2010). All of these factors contribute to lower levels of gender equality in the war-affected regions.

Though women's and girls' experience is a critical area of study for gender equality in conflict-affected contexts, one area that is often overlooked is experiences of SGBV among men and boys, and their consequent relationship to masculinity. Traunmüller et al. (2019) note that gender stereotypes that exclusively view men as perpetrators and women/girls as victims of SGBV can have harmful impacts. They note that men are already likely to underreport their experiences, out of fear of social and legal persecution, and consequently not receive support. High levels of militarization and the tight security situation in war-affected areas have resulted in men's disempowerment in their roles as the breadwinner in the family, along with their diminished role in the public sphere (Hrdlickova, 2011). The APA (2018) notes that feelings of failing to live up to gender roles among men are often associated with harmful masculinities. As such, understanding the role of conflict on how men and boys experience masculinity is particularly salient in contexts where men/boys have experienced high levels of sexual violence and ongoing militarization. A 2013 study in Sri Lanka on masculinities found a need to understand better masculine norms that act as key drivers in men's and boys' participation in

SGBV against women/girls and other men/boys (Mel et al., 2013). Further lacking is research on education and schools' role in perpetuating SGBV and harmful masculinities that contribute to conflict and violence.

Gender equality and education

Due to parity in participation, retention, and performance by girls in Sri Lanka, there has been a perception among Sri Lankan policymakers that there is no gender-based inequality within education (L. Davies, 2011c; Jayaweera & Gunawardena, 2007). According to a UNICEF report, this has led to complacency among Sri Lankan officials who fail to consider that the content of education perpetuates harmful gender norms and stereotypes that adversely impact the development of girls and women (Jayaweera et al., 2007). The report has strongly recommended that this complacency be addressed to ensure that curriculum, teaching, educational content, and the social climate of schools promote values of gender equality (Jayaweera et al., 2007). More recent studies have noted the impact of gender inequality on the differential performance of boys and girls. Men and boys significantly underperform at all three levels of education in Sri Lanka; this trend is particularly significant in survival rate to grade 9 in the conflict-affected Northern and Eastern provinces and Indian-Tamils in the plantation sector (Aturupane et al., 2018). Two factors identified by a World Bank study on the gender dimensions of education access and achievement in Sri Lanka are 1) the social and cultural norms that contribute to boys' lower participation and performance and 2) the disconnect between girls' education achievements and limited labour market participation (Aturupane et al., 2018). Thus, there is a need to understand better the cultural and social norms that are barriers to boys' and girls' access to and achievement in education.

The Sri Lankan government has made small steps to address gender inequality within education through policies targeting gender-responsive training for teachers and administrators (GiZ, 2014; Ministry of Education, 2013; Ministry of Women and Child Affairs, 2016) and policy on eliminating gender discrimination and biases in textbooks (Ministry of Education, 2008). What remains to be seen is how these initiatives have impacted students' day-to-day experiences in Sri Lankan schools, particularly those living in the war-affected regions where conflict has exacerbated gender inequality. Although a few studies have looked at social cohesion and education in Sri Lanka (Aturupane & Wikramanayake, 2011; Colenso, 2005; Lopes Cardozo, 2008; Lopes Cardozo & Hoeks, 2015; Sorensen, 2008; Wickrema & Colenso, 2003),

there are no current studies on this new emphasis on the role of gender equality in promoting social cohesion in education.

In light of this gap, this study seeks to address the unique interface between education, conflict, and gender in the context of schools through the research question: **To what extent does formal education in Sri Lanka contribute to inclusive democratic citizenship and gender equality in the context of the government's overriding goal of fostering nation-wide social cohesion through education in the aftermath of a bitter civil war?** This study addresses the main research question through the following three sub-questions:

1. How are citizenship and gender equality represented in the formal curriculum, exemplified in the Grades 6 – 9 Civics textbooks?
2. To what extent do interactions among teachers and students in thirteen diverse school settings reinforce or contradict the two dimensions of social cohesion, inclusive democratic citizenship, and gender equality?
3. What are teachers' and students' perceptions in these thirteen diverse school settings regarding the notion of citizenship and gender equality?

CHAPTER 3

This chapter explicates the transformative paradigm (Mertens, 2007, 2010a), including the epistemology behind transformative mixed methodology. The epistemology section is a central component of this chapter. It examines my positionality through the postcolonial construct of the halfie researcher (Abu-Lughod, 1991) to illustrate how this study was shaped. I then provide an overview of mixed methods examining its strengths and weaknesses for the Sri Lankan context. The next section presents the research design, a comparative case study (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017) that employs the convergent model for mixing data. The chapter ends with details on the methods used for data collection and analysis and consideration of limitations.

Methodology

Research in conflict-affected societies necessitates the use of theories and approaches that are sensitive to fragile social and political climates. In this study, I was not only working with potentially marginalized research participants who had experienced war and continue to experience conflict, but I also had to contend with navigating a complex post-war environment that had limited freedom of speech on the topic of war or ethnic/religious conflict. My own identity further complicated these challenges as a Western-trained researcher, ethnic Tamil minority, foreigner, and female in a highly patriarchal and Sinhalese majority country. My approach to addressing some of these complexities was the methodology I employed, a transformative design (Mertens, 2010a), mixed methods, comparative case study (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017).

The Transformative Paradigm

The post-war, conflict-affected, global South context of Sri Lanka and my own identity as a Western-trained researcher working with marginalized communities necessitated a methodology that was grounded in postcolonial perspective and social justice. Mertens (2009) defines the transformative paradigm as a meta-physical framework that “directly engages the complexity encountered by researchers and evaluators in culturally diverse communities when their work is focused on increasing social justice” p. 10). The transformative paradigm is characterized by placing importance on recognizing marginalized groups' lived experiences, exploring and analyzing unequal power relationships, connecting research inquiry to action, and utilizing transformative based theories to inform the inquiry approach and process (Mertens,

2009). As such, the transformative paradigm's philosophical assumptions on axiology, ontology, epistemology, and methodology are informed by emphasizing the promotion of social justice, human rights, and respect for cultural norms Mertens (2007, 2010). The following sections explicate how I engaged with the four assumptions throughout the research process of this study.

Axiology

In addressing axiology, "beliefs about the meaning of ethics and moral behaviour" (Guba & Lincoln, 2005 as cited in Mertens 2012), researchers must respect the cultural histories and norms within their interactions to effectively identify and address issues of social justice. Mertens (2012) suggests that the researcher should be aware of and understand patterns of discrimination and oppression within the community they are working with and attempt to challenge the status quo through their research. Sri Lanka has a long history of oppression and discrimination, starting from colonialism to the ethnic conflict of the present day. Patterns of inequity cut across racial, religious, linguistic, caste, class, and urban/rural divides. This study emphasized taking an intersectional approach in examining how inter/intra differences manifest within the classroom and school spaces and their impact on social cohesion.

Ontology

Recognizing that in research there are multiple realities and that they are socially constructed, Mertens (2007, 2012) argues that ontological assumptions should be framed in a way that interrogates power structures in society (social, political, cultural, economic, racial, gender, age, and ability) to question whose privileged reality is accepted. Consequently, Mertens (2012) urges researchers to challenge cultural relativism in society. Cultural relativism is addressed through the study's postcolonial feminist approach. Narayan (1997, 1998) stresses the importance of interrogating selective labelling, a powerful method used by local elites and socially powerful groups to cherry-pick which cultural changes could be ignored and which should be deemed threats to cultural preservation. I employed Narayan's interrogation of selective labelling by contextualizing my participants' lived experiences in all my interactions. I also ensured that Sri Lanka's complex hierarchies of race, gender, class, language, religion, and caste informed my analysis to challenge dominant versions of reality that oppresses marginalized groups.

Epistemology

The transformative paradigm approaches epistemology by emphasizing the importance of recognizing the power-laden and iterative relationship between the researcher and participants on the constructions of reality and how they are impacted by complex cultural contexts (Mertens, 2007). Consequently, constructions of reality, truths, and findings necessitate interrogation by the researcher of her unearned privileges based on dimensions of gender, race, ethnicity, class, and age (Mertens, 2010b). The postcolonial feminist construct of the ‘halfie’ (Abu-Lughod, 1991) or insider-outsider researcher facilitated this examination of my positionality and privilege. The following section on positionality explores how I negotiated the philosophical challenges of epistemology.

The halfie researcher. I am a Western-trained researcher who shares national, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, and experiential commonalities with some of my research participants. These commonalities and differences with my participants accorded me a halfie or insider-outsider positionality status within my research. The term halfie was first coined by Abu-Lughod (1991, 2008) to describe feminist researchers' identities and experiences with hybrid national and/or cultural identities due to overseas educational experiences, migration, or parentage. Abu-Lughod (2008) argues that as a result of their “split selves, feminist and halfie” researchers must critically navigate the divide “between speaking for and speaking from” (Abu-Lughod, 2008, p. 54). This experience enables halfie researchers to become cognizant of harmful practices that perpetuate inequality, such as naturalizing or conflating differences by essentializing participants' experiences, be it through gender or culture (Abu-Lughod, 2008). The insider status of the halfie researcher brings many strengths to a research context; however, halfie researchers cannot presume that their once native status will always position them as insiders (Jacobs-Huey, 2002; K. Narayan, 1993).

An insider's halfie status is often conditional and unstable because they are often trained in Western education to carry out research reflective of Western values. Consequently, they must contend with reevaluating the politics of their knowledge and how they have been taught to research and write about the other; thus, misrepresenting participants is a significant issue for the halfie researcher (Subedi, 2006). I addressed this challenge by engaging in ongoing reflexivity on my identity and its impact on my interpretation of reality. Reflexive approaches provide an avenue in exploring how the researcher is positioned in the text and thus enables a halfie to

confront some of the challenges of being an insider and outsider. It allows the researcher to be open to critical analysis and accountable for conducting research and producing knowledge (C. A. Davies, 1999).

Legitimacy. All researchers must contend with negotiating legitimacy while conducting fieldwork. Halfie researchers should be cautious of overemphasizing their association with a community at the expense of negotiating identity and legitimacy the way other researchers must do (Narayan, 1993). Several factors are involved in negotiating this perceived legitimacy. They include knowledge of community histories and experiences, commitment to assist community needs, and language (Subedi, 2006). Both Jacobs-Huey (2002) and Subedi (2006) highlight the centrality of language and communicative competence in negotiating legitimacy in the field and gaining acceptance as a researcher and community member. Communication competence includes an understanding of cultural rules and verbal and non-verbal communication. Halfie researchers are often held to a higher level of accountability regarding cultural and language competencies, irrespective of how local they may be or feel. Though I am familiar with Sri Lanka customs and fluent in Tamil, the language spoken by some of my participants, I had to continually negotiate identity and legitimacy with my participants who were often from a different class, caste, age, religion, and region. I was guided by a translator's expertise to decipher complex social and political interactions with Sinhalese participants and engaged in continued interrogation of my own thinking when interviewing members of different castes, class, and gender. Further to this, the interview questions and survey instruments used in this study were reviewed for relevancy and sensitivity to the local contexts by two local experts, Dr. Mario Gomez, director of the International Institute for Ethnic Studies, and Dr. Swarna Jayaweera, director of the Centre for Women's Research and a prominent gender education specialist in Sri Lanka.

Ethics: accountability, reciprocity, and honesty. A postcolonial lens notes that halfie researchers are faced with complex ethical dilemmas due to their often contradictory and transnational identities and because they are reporting to at least two very different communities (Subedi, 2006). Halfie researchers are required to rethink the politics of how they have been indoctrinated into the Western modes of conducting research and writing, which are predominantly white-on-white or white-on-non-white types of research (Subedi, 2006). Halfie researchers, addressing local and non-local audiences, must be explicit about where they come

from and take a rigorous interpretation of reflexivity to clarify that all speech, acts, and views originate from the researcher's particular positionality (Abu-Lughod, 1991; Subedi, 2006). Furthermore, this rigour in reflexivity should seek to challenge social structures that perpetuate oppression (Jackson, 2004; Subedi, 2006).

Balancing respect for local cultures and customs without being complicit in perpetuating oppressive practices justified as culture was a challenge that I negotiated daily during my six months in Sri Lanka. A telling incident was a principal's request that I wear a saree, the traditional dress worn by ethnic Tamil, Indian Tamil, Singhalese, and some Muslim women, whenever I was on the school grounds. I chose to push back on what I knew to be a highly patriarchal, middle class, and upper caste normed expectation for women. I wanted to take a stand on the national and regional debate taking place at the time on women being forced to wear traditional sarees in public spaces, while men were free to dress as they wanted. Mothers of children in schools were not allowed to step into the school grounds if they were not wearing a saree. Most women in Sri Lanka, particularly the region that this school was in, did not wear sarees daily because it was not conducive to farming or manual labour. Sarees were often worn by women in the middle class, who did not work or held 'white-collared' jobs. Though it was a small gesture of resistance, it was vital for me to insist on wearing a shalwar, another type of traditional clothing, instead of reinforcing this particular status quo being challenged by local women and girls.

The element of reciprocity is a particular concern for halfie researchers, particularly when they originate from underprivileged communities (Subedi, 2006). Popkewitz (1998) suggests (as cited by Subedi, 2006) that researchers should avoid redemptive agendas for their research because, ultimately, the researcher is not the agent of change. Taking this position would be to privilege the researchers' knowledge above that of the community. Pulling apart what the community needs and what the researcher perceives the community needs is a complex interplay of power. Both Jackson (2004) and Subedi (2006) ask what happens when what the researcher is providing the community, in this case, the research, is not wanted, is not needed or effectively utilized by the community. An ethical approach that considers the complexities of negotiating reciprocity in a meaningful way for the researcher and the community is needed (Jacobs-Huey, 2002; Subedi, 2006). Transparency on my positionality helped me build trust and be honest about my research goals and what it could and could not do for my participants. Further to this,

when asked by participants, I was open about aspects of my life that were incongruent with their values, beliefs, and practices, such as my status as an unmarried woman at the time. This honesty is essential to avoid making false claims to insider status and what Subedi (2006) describes as uneven exchange with participants leading to complicity in exploitative research.

Power. Issues of power change within the shifting contexts and relationships between the halfie researcher, the research participants and the academic or research community. Halfie researchers disrupt typical debates of power and difference between subject and object but recognize that they are still engaged in a hierarchical relationship between the observed and observer (Jacobs-Huey, 2002). Visweswaran (1994) suggests (as cited by Subedi, 2006) that halfie researchers are in a unique position to oppose dominant discourses and traditional structures of power, though this is not always by choice. My positionality allowed me to disrupt the dominant narrative about education in Sri Lanka, which often reflects the upper class, caste, and Sinhalese majority community's views. For example, the high literacy rates ascribed to Sri Lanka's education system do not include the war-impacted regions of the North (UNICEF Sri Lanka, 2013). Similarly, stories from the war-impacted regions often reflect the narrative of upper caste and upper-class ethnic Tamils from Jaffna. By strategically including schools from rural and war-affected communities, I included participants whose views are generally excluded from education and peace discourses in Sri Lanka.

I also had to navigate situations of my own powerlessness, as a woman and ethnic Tamil, with gatekeepers such as MoE officials who at first refused to grant me access to schools because my original research design focused on conflict and ethnic Tamils, topics generally perceived to be contentious and off-limits to foreigners. I balanced the MoE's directive to include all the ethnic groups of Sri Lanka with the on-the-ground experience of NGOs and local organizations that had detailed information on marginalized communities and schools. Working with local experts from community-based organizations allowed me to expand my study to include experiences of marginalized groups in Sri Lanka, such as Muslims, members from the lower class and caste, those living in the Eastern province, and Indian Tamils from the estate communities, who are often entirely left out of the narrative of Sri Lanka's conflict. These negotiations and collaboration allowed me to maintain my research's equity focus while working within the constraints set out by the MoE, the ultimate gatekeeper to my study.

Subedi (2006) highlights the unequal power dynamics in halfie researchers due to the legacy of colonialism and new forms of colonialism based on cultural, economic and political relationships. Due to the disproportionate influence of Western knowledge and ways of knowing, Western affiliated researchers cannot avoid the role their research plays in perpetuating cycles of power and hegemony. Both Subedi (2006) and Narayan (1993) stress the importance of considering the influence of the local-global dialectic, politics, trade, media etc. when situating themselves and their research agenda. Negotiating this complexity is one of the pragmatic reasons for choosing mixed methods for my study. Like other aspects of Sri Lanka, the Sri Lanka research community is highly influenced by the positivist traditions that came out of colonialism. For this study's findings to be accepted by the local mainstream research community and institutions, it needed to include a quantitative component. At the same time, this study contributes to challenging colonialism's positivist influences by including a substantial qualitative component. The qualitative section focuses on providing opportunities for marginalized groups, particularly those impacted by war and poverty, to document their experiences in a country where the state is making every effort to systematically erase and hide these experiences under the pretext that they threaten national unity. Thus, a mixed-methods approach complements this study's pragmatic goal of working with institutions like the MoE but from a critical perspective.

The issue of power does not end with the completion of research and writing. When researchers return to the academe and begin the process of representing their fieldwork, they must negotiate a different sort of power relationship. Mainstream academia is often averse to giving recognition to reflexive accounts as a critical lens to theorize social discourse (Subedi, 2006). Often, when women and people of colour incorporate their stories in their research, their work is not seen as valid forms of research that will stand the test of rigour and objectivity (Subedi, 2006). Some researchers censor the native reflexive aspect of their research due to their marginalization in the academic world (Ryang, 2005). Thus, the halfie researcher must negotiate these various levels of power and decide if and how they will include their identity in their research. I choose to make my identity central to this study because my positionality is inextricably linked to this entire research process. However, although my identity played a significant role in informing and shaping this study from beginning to end, I also engaged in a certain level of censoring. This censoring was the result of two limitations to my study. The first

was to ensure my participants' and my safety and security after publishing my findings in Sri Lanka. Second was to ensure that my research found a balance between critique and constructive feedback of the education system, so it could be used to potentially inform local stakeholders and not be viewed exclusively as hostile critique. Striking this balance through the research process was a challenge and could be viewed as both a strength and limitation of this study.

Mixed Methods

In employing a mixed methods approach, I negotiated the tension between constructivist views of qualitative research and positivist views of quantitative research by firmly grounding myself in Mertens' (2009) transformative paradigm. A mixed methods approach allowed me to draw on the strengths of qualitative and quantitative tools to address my research questions while working within the constraints of a post-war context. Qualitative interviews provided insight on participants' experiences and perspectives, while quantitative surveys provided participants opportunities to participate in my research with greater anonymity. This approach was particularly relevant in a war-affected country with considerable limitations on freedom of speech on topics such as gender equality and conflict. During my time in the schools, some participants were eager to have their experiences heard by a foreign researcher, while others preferred to do the survey or not participate. This flexibility in participation, or option for anonymous non-participation, was an essential aspect of doing ethical research in conflict-affected contexts. Creswell & Plano Clark (2018) suggest that researchers consider fitting methods to different types of research questions rather than focusing on fitting a method to specific content topics. The collection of multiple forms of data is one way for a researcher to obtain a more comprehensive view and more data on the research question (Creswell, 2015). Mixed methods research was a useful tool for data collection while navigating the complex socio-political realities in a war-affected country.

Transformative Design

Following the transformative paradigm, I used the transformative design mixed methods approach (Mertens, 2007, 2009) with a multiple case study (Stake, 2006). The transformative design, also referred to as the social justice design by Creswell (2015), includes culturally competent mixed method strategies that highlight the power and complexity of researching culturally diverse groups (Mertens, 2007). Creswell (2015) notes that the social justice design's advantage is that the study outcomes aim to support marginalized populations or disadvantaged

groups. A critical aspect of the transformative design is that it is theory driven. The social justice focused theory that is determined at the beginning of the study “informs the type of research questions asked, shapes the types of participants, finds presence in both data collection and the reporting of themes and prompts a call to action -a change- at the end of the study” (Creswell, 2015, p. 44). In this study, quantitative and qualitative tools, such as the survey and interview questions, are informed by a postcolonial feminist lens.

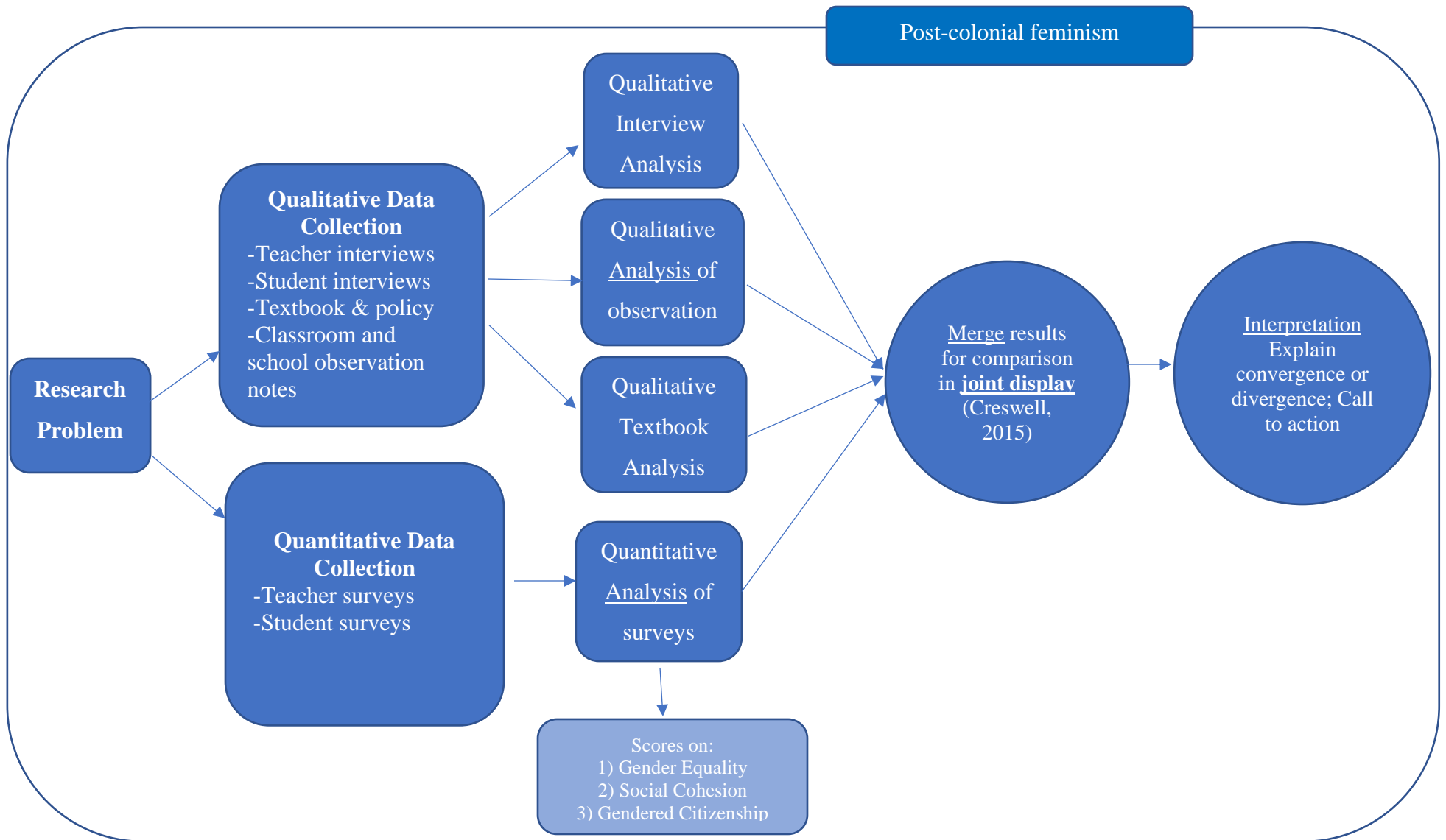
In a transformative mixed methods design, qualitative dimensions are employed to gather community members' perspectives throughout the research process and “a quantitative dimension provides the opportunity to demonstrate outcomes that have credibility for community members and scholars” (Mertens, 2007, p. 212). Even though I was working within the constraints of overseas data collection, local stakeholder perspectives played an essential role in the study's design. Incorporating local stakeholders and gatekeepers' feedback, I employed a multiple case study (Stake, 2006) of 13 school sites using qualitative and quantitative tools. I worked with the MoE and local organizations to determine the number and types of schools selected. The process significantly altered the research study but in a way that reconciled my research goals, local government agendas, and the needs of marginalized communities.

Convergent Model of Mixing Data

There are many ways qualitative and quantitative data can be combined in a mixed methods study. I employed the convergent model, where quantitative and qualitative data are collected and analyzed independently and mixed during the interpretation phase. In this study, the two types of data approach the overall research question in different ways. The components, process, and order of data collection and analysis for this study are outlined in Figure 4.

Figure 4

Social Justice/Transformative Design



Negotiated Entry into Fieldwork

This mixed methods multiple case study included 13 school sites/cases across ten towns within four provinces. This study was initially proposed as an examination of two Tamil urban schools, one in the city of Colombo and the other in Jaffna. However, after consultation with the Ministry of Education, I was only allowed to carry out my study if I expanded it to include all the major ethnic groups in Sri Lanka. Getting the MoE's approval to carry out my research in schools was very challenging. My identity as a foreigner, Canadian, ethnic Tamil minority, and female were significant disadvantages in the male and Sinhalese dominated MoE known for its resistance to foreigner interference or influence. In addition to this, my research also covered sensitive topics related to war, conflict, gender, and citizenship in a country with a long history of limited freedom of speech and still recovering from 30-years of conflict. Due to these factors, my proposal, including surveys and interview questions, was repeatedly vetted by various officials at the MoE. I was questioned on my intention with some of my survey items, such as the question, "Are you proud to be a Sri Lankan." After the initial consultation, my study was refused because it was deemed to be too controversial. I was told that I would have to seek higher approval from someone with greater authority to sanction it.

After numerous visits to the Ministry of Education and meeting with various officials and offering to change or reword aspects of the study that were not acceptable to the MoE, I was brought to one high ranking minister's office who looked at my file and rejected the study. I immediately burst into tears, stating that I could not complete my Ph.D. without his help. This performance of femininity seemed to do the trick after weeks of visiting the MoE. I was immediately whisked away by his aids and taken to an office where I was granted permission by one individual who took a paternalistic air in sanctioning my study to be carried out in four provinces. Initially, it was five, but I negotiated it to four, given the time limitations of my six-month student/research visa. This is when I was asked to include all the different ethnic groups in my study for equal representation. The equality over equity approach has generally been the stance and expectation of aid and research conducted in Sri Lanka. He also recommended that I examine the different types of schools, national, provincial, type II (grades 1-11) and type 1A/B (6-12). Last, he left me with the message that he was putting himself at risk by sanctioning this study and that he was placing his trust in me not to write anything inappropriate. I negotiated these words throughout my data collection, analysis, write, and dissemination of this research.

After approval from the Central MoE, the research design was changed from an in-depth case study of two sites (Jaffna and Colombo) to 13 schools. The 13 schools were chosen in consultation with the Ministry of Education and GIZ, a key stakeholder in the Education for Social Cohesion and Peace national strategy, and local organizations. Although it was not my aim to conduct a broad study that encompassed all the different ethnic groups, I took the constraint as an opportunity to enrich my study on social cohesion from a multi-ethnic perspective. The experience at the Central MoE was a stark contrast with the approval process at the provincial MoE in the ethnic-Tamil Northern province. I met the Minister of Education on my first visit and was given a letter of approval on the same day. In this case, my ethnic Tamil identity, ability to speak Tamil, and privilege as a Western-trained researcher worked in my favour.

I made several adjustments to the study and ethical protocols after arriving in Sri Lanka and developing an understanding of the security situation and local community needs. I discovered that sending home letters with content that not all parents could understand to provide informed consent was unethical. There were also security risks to participants and me in having these letters floating around in highly militarized communities. As a result, I increased the student interviews' age requirement in my study to 16. The local legal age of consent in Sri Lanka is 16. Students who are 16 and older and were often more informed and able to understand the nature and topic of the research on citizenship and gender equality than their parents. They were better positioned to understand the purpose, risks, and benefits than their parents, who were often unfamiliar with the new citizenship curriculum or components of the consent letter. For example, students were better able to understand the consent letter's content related to data storage, deletion, privacy, etc. than many of their parents who come from rural communities with limited access to information technology and consequently were unfamiliar with terms, such as cloud storage, password-protected, and encrypted.

Data Collection and Analysis

In order to examine both the formal and informal/hidden curriculum's role in fostering values of social cohesion, I collected data that incorporated elements of both. Data collection procedures included document analysis, interviews, observations, and surveys. In addition to the formal data collection detailed below, this study was also informed by informal conversations with organizational personnel involved in developing and implementing the citizenship

curriculum, training of pre-service teachers, and other social cohesion initiatives to obtain a broader perspective of the policy-practice context. See Table 4 for a summary of data collected across the 13 school sites and their key descriptors.

Table 4

School Sites and Demographic Information

ID.	Province	Urban/rural	Type	Size	Language Medium	# Teacher Interview	# Student Interview	# Teacher Surveys	# Student Surveys Grade 11	# Student Surveys Grade 11
A	North - Island	Rural	1AB	Large	Tamil	7	14	24	25	32
B	North - Island	Rural	II	Small	Tamil	3	2	4	11	NA
C	North	Town	1AB	Large	Tamil	6	12	38	32	28
D	North	Rural	II	Small	Tamil	5	4	9	18	NA
E	East	Rural	II	Small	Tamil	4	11	8	13	NA
F	East	Town	1AB	Large	Tamil	6	12	25	58	28
G	Uva	Town	1AB	Small	Sinhala	4	8	18	10	12
H	Uva	Town	1AB	Large	Indian Tamil	7	10	28	23	56
I	Uva	Rural	1C	Small	Sinhala	2	5	10	12	NA
J	Central	Town	1AB	Large	Sinhala	4	7	23	43	NA
K	Central	Rural	II	Small	Indian Tamil	3	6	10	8	NA
L	North-Mannar	Town	1AB	Large	Tamil-Muslim	5	4	22	12	NA
M	North-Mannar	Rural	1AB	Small	Tamil-Muslim	2	6	13	12	NA
						58	101	232	433	

Qualitative Data

In order to account for the complex social factors of the Sri Lankan context and the limited research on these issues, this study placed a greater emphasis on qualitative data, denoted as (QUAL). Three types of qualitative data collected were collected.

Document analysis of textbooks. In order to understand how values associated with inclusive democratic citizenship and gender equality were incorporated and promoted within the formal curriculum, I conducted a document analysis of the civics textbooks for grades 6-9. The civics textbooks are the exclusive drivers of teaching and learning within the civics classes. As such, they are the civics curriculum. The textbooks are readily available in all three languages online for free. As such, they were analyzed first in Canada.

Classroom and school observations. To ascertain participants' understanding of inclusive democratic citizenship and gender equality and how they were articulated and manifested in practice, I observed school and classroom practices. Observations included day-to-day teacher-student and student-student interactions. I wrote field notes to record my observations in a notebook. These were then typed up daily and paper copies were destroyed. Classroom observations were undertaken in civics classrooms from grades six to nine with teachers who expressed interest in the study. To protect teachers' identities and potential reprisal from administrators and other authorities, I avoided extensive time observing any one classroom or teacher, and I collated observations in the write-up. Consequently, classroom observations were done on an informal basis with teachers who expressed interest in the study and were teaching the citizenship course at the time. This approach was an additional measure, recommended by the Ethics Review Committee for Social Sciences and Humanities, Faculty of Arts, the University of Colombo in Sri Lanka, to protect teachers from reprisal.

Observations of interactions among and between students and educators outside classrooms took place in each school property's common areas, such as the school entrance, morning assembly areas, canteens, and walkways around the school space. My role in the 13 schools was limited to a visiting researcher, with the exception of one school where I was requested to assist in coaching a small group of students for an English poetry contest. Restricting my role to a researcher ensured that I did not confuse or mislead participants during their informal interactions with me. This approach provided them with an informed choice of what they wanted to share during these informal interactions.

Teacher & student interviews. To gain insight into teachers' perspectives on gender equality and citizenship and how they interpreted the curriculum and any training they had received on these topics, I conducted semi-structured one-to-one interviews with civics teachers.
See

Appendix A for interview questions. With the school principals' permission, I met with the school's citizenship teachers individually during their breaks to ask if they would be willing to participate in the classroom observations and interview portion of the study. The consent form,

Appendix B, Teacher Interview Consent Form, was used to explain the study and obtain consent.

For students, I conducted interviews with students in grades 11 and 12 (2 years), who were 16 years of age or older. They had completed the mandatory years of citizenship education in grades 6-9. They were recruited using the script from Appendix C, with the permission of the classroom teacher. The teacher was asked to leave the classroom during recruitment when the study was explained to the students using the Student Interview Consent Form in Appendix D. Students were told that if they were interested in participating in the study, they could come and speak to me directly during break time or another free period. Students in grades 11 and 12 were writing exams during my time in the schools; as such, little instruction took place during the significant number of free periods that occurred. This facilitated student interviews without compromising learning time. Interviews were done on a first-come, first-serve basis, and all interested participants were interviewed.

Both teacher and student interviews were approximately 25-40 minutes long and took place in private spaces on school property such as empty classrooms or offices. While interviewing students, particularly males, I ensured the door was always open to respect local cultural norms. All interviews were conducted in Tamil by me, and with a translator for Sinhalese participants. Interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed, and then translated into English before coding. I transcribed interview recordings with the assistance from a trilingual translator (English, Tamil, and Sinhalese), who did all the Sinhalese interviews and some of the Tamil ones.

Qualitative analysis. All three forms of qualitative data (interviews, observations, and textbooks) were analyzed using Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis, which facilitates inductive data-driven development of themes with the acknowledgment that data is not coded in a theoretical or epistemological vacuum. Thematic analysis can be used to describe patterns across qualitative data without being theoretically bounded like grounded theory. It contributes to theory development but is also informed and builds on existing theories (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Another advantage of thematic analysis is that it is commensurate with a range of theoretical and epistemological approaches (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This flexibility makes it an ideal fit for a mixed methods study that compares themes and relationships across quantitative and qualitative data. Most importantly, it reflects the epistemological assumption about reality in the transformative paradigm in that it acknowledges:

...the ways individuals make meaning of their experience, and, in turn, the ways the broader social context impinges on those meanings, while retaining focus on the material and other limits of ‘reality’. Therefore, thematic analysis can be a method that works both to reflect reality and to unpick or unravel the surface of ‘reality’ (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 81)

The analysis began with first-level semantic coding focused on the data's explicit or surface meaning and then moved to the second, latent level, to examine underlying ideas, assumptions, and ideologies (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The conceptual framework of the study guided this secondary level of analysis. Table 5 explicates the details of how Braun & Clarke's (2006) six phases of thematic analysis were adapted for this study.

Table 5

Phases of Thematic Analysis for this Study

Phase	Description
Familiarizing yourself with your data:	Listening to and transcribing interviews, observation notes, and reading LECE textbooks for grades 6-9.
Generating initial codes:	A codebook was developed through the analysis of the LECE textbooks, which set the foundation for most of the codes used in the study; this codebook was further refined throughout the initial phase of coding of interviews and observation notes.
Searching for themes:	Codes were grouped into child and parent codes. Parent codes became themes that were overarching across the different data sets.
Reviewing themes:	Some themes were deleted as they were absorbed into parent codes to consolidate overlap and redundancies among themes and codes.
Defining and naming themes:	A final list of themes was developed based on collated data that was extracted for a particular theme. These themes were examined for relationships with other themes and the overall story that the associated data told.
Producing the report:	The analysis and discussion section demonstrates the prevalence of themes and explicates the narrative of how they relate to the research questions. At this stage, themes were also compared with the pre-established quantitative themes for triangulation.

Appendix E provides the final codebook, which is the list of themes and corresponding codes used to analyze interviews, observations, and textbooks.

Quantitative Data

To get a broader perspective of teachers’ and students’ views on inclusive democratic citizenship and gender equality, I utilized student and teacher surveys. All classroom teachers (grades 6-12) at each school were given a copy of the survey (Appendix F) and a corresponding

consent form (Appendix G) and asked to complete it at their leisure if they chose to or discard it if they chose not to. They were able to drop off the survey anonymously in a sealed box in the staff room/office area. Teacher surveys were translated in Tamil and Sinhalese.

Student surveys were administered during free class periods in grades 11 and 12 with classroom teachers who consented to have me visit their class. The teacher was asked to leave the classroom during the administration of the survey. All students were given a copy of the student survey (Appendix H) and the implied consent form (Appendix I). I explained the research study and the implied consent form. Students were reminded not to put their names on the survey. They were given the option to complete the survey if they wanted to or work on another task if they did not wish to participate. When returning the surveys, I asked students to turn them upside so that there was no indication of who completed the survey and who did not. Student surveys were translated into Tamil and Sinhalese.

Survey Components. The teacher and student surveys consisted of a series of Likert questions on a (1-5) scale. The questions were used to ascertain scores on three scales, described below, related to the following three concepts. The same questions appeared on teacher and student surveys. Question numbers are referenced using the teacher survey. Given the shift in the size of the study, the analysis was narrowed and not all of the question items in the survey were used. I had intended to compare teacher training and access to resources (from questions in the first part of the survey) between schools; however, as the size of the study grew, I choose to omit this aspect of the research because I would have had to triangulate and discuss it with the qualitative data from interviews. As the number of schools increased, the amount of qualitative data to analyze and present for each topic expanded, which is why I narrowed my research focus on the surveys. Questions 57, 58, 61, 62, 70, 71 were intended for stand alone use using descriptive statistics. These were also omitted to simplify the study.

The analysis focused on questions that examined participants views and feelings. These question numbers are indicated below in the scores and highlighted on the survey (Appendix F) in yellow, orange, blue, and purple. The questions on actual state of being of participants' experiences, highlighted in grey, green, and red (Appendix F) were not used in the analysis.

Gender Equality (GE) Score. Participants' attitudes about gender and (in)equality were explored through the adaptation of Prasad and Baron (1996) questionnaire on gender-role attitudes, beliefs, and principles. The survey includes questions related to policy about gender

equality and beliefs about male and female roles in society. The survey has been successfully used in the past with South Asian participants, including Muslim and Hindu participants, and thus was culturally relevant to the Sri Lankan context. There was a total of 32 Likert questions. Answers for questions 19-50 and 52 from Appendix F were totaled to develop a score out of 160. The Likert score for questions 19-27, 29-37 and 52 were reversed before being totaled. Question 38 was removed after receiving feedback from participants that it was difficult to understand.

Gender Equitable Citizenship (GEC) Score. The Gender Equitable Citizenship Score was developed to understand women's role in society, focusing on their political engagement and opportunities for leadership. Ten questions were developed based on the literature review to examine participants' perceptions of women's participation in politics, equity measures to increase women's engagement, the importance of gender equality for peacebuilding and women's role in peacebuilding. They include question numbers 55-56, 59-60, and 63-68 from Appendix F. These questions were developed to understand participants' views on gender equality with respect to women's political engagement, an issue specific to the Sri Lankan context. There was a total of ten items on both teachers and student surveys; all items were reversed before being totaled.

Social Cohesion (SC) Score. The Social Cohesion score was developed to ascertain students' and teachers' attitudes on aspects of social cohesion highlighted in the literature review and policy documents in Sri Lanka. Questions focused on the importance of learning the second national language, perceptions on the possibility of living in peace with others, equal citizenship, whether participants had greater affinity to local or regional identities, and whether it was important to learn about peace. There was a total of 7 items on this scale for teachers and students. The seven questions included 53-54, 72-75 in Appendix F. All items except 69 were reversed before being totaled.

Quantitative Data Analysis. To understand broad patterns about teachers' and students' perspectives on gender equality and social cohesion and how they were related within schools and between schools and regions, I employed a combination of descriptive statistics and multiple regression analysis. To explore the role of specific factors such as gender or region on GE, GEC, and SC scores, I conducted ANOVA-two-way tests. Given that this was an exploratory study with no a priori predictions on the role of gender or region, I employed post hoc tests, consisting of pairwise comparisons designed to compare all different combinations of regions (Fields,

2009) and interaction effects with gender. Last, I conducted independent t-tests between students' and teachers' scores for GE, GEC, and SC at each school to ascertain if students' attitudes about gender equality and social cohesion reflected their teachers. The specific parameters of each test are outlined in the Quantitative Results section in Chapter 8.

Ethical Considerations

The issues of power, consent, confidentiality, trust, benefits, and risks to the researcher and potential harm to participants are complicated when working in different cultures from the researcher's own. These issues are further magnified in conflict-affected settings (Campbell, 2010, 2017; Zwi et al., 2006). Awareness and sensitivity to a post-war situation's cultural, political, and social reality was an essential aspect of ensuring an ethical approach to my research. One way I addressed some of these challenges was obtaining local ethical approval. In addition to obtaining ethical approval from the University of Ottawa's Research Ethics Board, I also obtained ethical approval from the Ethics Review Committee (ERC) of the University of Colombo, where I was registered as a visiting student during the field work for this study. Feedback from the ethics committee in Sri Lanka provided additional participant anonymity required for this study to be safely conducted.

Because the focus of my research - gender equality, social cohesion, and citizenship relates – to conflict, I was particularly vigilant in maintaining the anonymity of everyone I spoke to and the names of institutions visited. For these reasons, I did not use video recordings (Wood, 2006) or focus group discussions. All audio recorded interviews were uploaded to a secure internet location (Campbell, 2010). Handwritten field notes were digitized, hard copies were destroyed immediately after that, and a coding system was used for names of participants and locations. I incorporated recommendations by Goodhand (2000) on conducting research in conflict-affected environments. Goodhand (2000) stresses the importance of confidentiality while researching conflict-affected contexts.

The politicization of information means that communities seeking to avoid risk often adopt a strategy of silence. Militarized violence, including demonstration killings and ethnic cleansing, are employed in order to cow populations and enforce a culture of silence. Keeping a low profile and 'minding one's own business may become an essential survival strategy. (p. 13)

This description is an accurate reflection of everyday life in post-war Sri Lanka. As such, for my safety and the safety and anonymity of my participants, I did not stay in any one community for extended periods to avoid unwanted attention from security forces that were often close to schools in the Northern and Eastern provinces. Goodhand (2000) recommends that researchers keep a low profile and blend in with their local environment. My efforts to do this included dressing like local women, staying at family homes, churches, and community organizations rather than hotels. I also avoided engaging in tourism activities in the areas I was conducting my research.

One of the most challenging aspects of keeping a low profile was avoiding personal relationships with my participants. In one instance, a teacher in the Vanni region asked me if I would come with her to visit the Mullivaikkal memorial site. This was the location where security forces massacred tens of thousands of Tamil civilians during the last phase of the 2009 war. The government denies this genocide, and the area is under high surveillance by government security forces. As an ethnic Tamil, Mullivaikkal is of great personal importance; however, I had already decided not to visit this place during my time in Sri Lanka to avoid compromising any aspect of my research. Visiting the site with a teacher participant, who also had avoided seeing it out of fear, was unconscionable. On another occasion, I was invited to attend an English poetry competition outside of the school on the weekend. At the teacher's request, I had been coaching the students over two weeks, and the teacher and students wanted me to be there. I declined to attend the competition, which was being held in the main town with the largest military presence in Sri Lanka. Other times I was invited to places outside of the school with my participants, which I had to decline to maintain their anonymity, and our safety. Further to this, I also had to contend with the reality that due to language barriers, I could not develop the same personal relationships with my Sinhalese participants. Therefore, avoiding them all together was how I navigated these challenges.

In conflict-affected settings, researchers should make informed decisions about identifying appropriate subjects to discuss with participants and avoid topics that are too sensitive or controversial in particular social or political climates (Dixit, 2012; Goodhand, 2000). By focusing on gender equality and social cohesion, my research questions provided participants with the option to address conflict and/or war without directly speaking about the war if they choose not to. Further to this, I always started each interaction by explaining that they should not

speak about anything they felt unsafe discussing. To address the challenge of obtaining informed consent in conflict-affected environments (Campbell, 2010), I communicated my research goals, findings, and dissemination process with my participants throughout the project. I highlighted their authority to decline to answer specific questions, withdraw at any point, and choose how they wanted their views shared (Wood, 2006). I used oral consent, a practice recommended for research in conflict-affected environments, because it provides a higher degree of anonymity than written consent and reduces potential risks (Thomson, 2009). A central aspect of the consent conversation was full disclosure that the only potential benefit to participants was an opportunity to share their experience, perspectives, and make recommendations to key stakeholders involved in education and the broader international research and policy community. I also avoided asking participants direct questions about their experience during the war, which could have been traumatic. Verbalization of the past and conflict experience is not always an appropriate cultural practice and consequently should not be initiated by the researcher as this may cause harm (Dixit, 2012; Shaw, 2005). The research can switch to silent listening if participants choose to talk about politically sensitive or traumatic events (Campbell, 2010). Many participants did choose to talk about their personal experiences with the war, and some became emotional. In these cases, I switched to silent listening and asked them if I should stop recording or wanted their story to be heard.

Goodhand (2000) also stresses avoiding the dangers of conflict fetish, which are researchers' assumptions that lead to interpreting all aspects of their participants' experiences using war as a reference point. This recommendation was particularly salient because my personal memories in Sri Lanka were often related to my experience of the war there. Thus, I actively listened to participants and reflected on my own interpretation of what they were saying and was cognizant of how much my own experience filtered what I choose to hear and not hear. Thus, my personal relationship with Sri Lanka is both a strength and a limitation in this study.

Limitations

Despite the strengths of the transformative design mixed method approach outlined, this study has several limitations. Although methods of triangulation were used between quantitative data and qualitative data along with an extensive literature review for internal validity (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015), it is acknowledged that:

...the researcher brings a construction of reality to the research situation, which interacts with other people's constructions or interpretations of the phenomenon being studied.

The final product of this type of study is yet another interpretation by the researcher of others' views filtered through his or her own. (Merriam, 1998, p. 22)

This interpretation is both a strength and a limitation of this study as my insider-outsider status privileged me to understandings that may not have been accessible to another researcher. At the same time, my interpretation was informed by a particular lens that reflected my construction of reality. Some of these limitations I have already addressed in the positionality section. The following section examines additional limitations in the qualitative and quantitative components of this study. Last, although the study takes a mixed method approach and infers relationships between certain constructs using qualitative and quantitative findings, it should be noted that causality is a possibility but cannot be confirmed based only on the data obtained in this study.

Qualitative Limitations

Research on gender equality issues, including gender relations and culture, often benefit from extensive and focused observations in the field of one or two contexts. However, given the time limitation, security risks, and mandate from the MoE to include additional study sites, I did not spend more than 2-3 weeks at any school. This limitation in time has considerable drawbacks on building rapport with participants to gain a more in-depth understanding of their perspectives on the research topics. Further to this, cultural restrictions on interactions between the opposite sex, particularly among young people, were a significant barrier to connecting and building rapport with some male participants. Besides a few exceptional cases, most of the ethnic Tamil male students who did volunteer for an interview were often quite shy. Although they opened up a bit more once we started talking, the conversations were never the same as those I had with female students. This difference added to the existing barriers to boys' engagement in schools that I found in my study. These cultural norms were a little more relaxed with male students from the Sinhalese and Indian Tamil community. In future research, it may help to have a local male interviewer to overcome these challenges.

My inability to speak Sinhala fluently impacted the quality of my interviews and observations in the Sinhala medium schools. The use of a local translator was helpful during interviews. However, my classroom observations were limited by asking the translator to explain specific interactions that I had made notes on only after leaving the classroom. In addition to this,

I did not have a high turnout of volunteers for interviews in Sinhalese schools. I was not always warmly welcomed at all the schools, either. My identity as an ethnic Tamil significantly impacted how my participants in Sinhalese schools perceived me. There is a possibility that there was self-selection among participants for those who had more amicable views towards ethnic minorities by the simple act of choosing to talk to an ethnic Tamil researcher on citizenship. As such, building rapport with participants who are on opposite sides of an ethnic conflict was an additional limitation to my insider-outsider status.

Last, one of the central aspects of the transformative design mixed methods approach is gaining community input throughout the research process. Though local input was incorporated in redesigning the study once I was in Sri Lanka, I was limited in accessing key stakeholders such as teachers and students while developing the study in Canada. Without having my study sanctioned by the MoE in Sri Lanka, which required my presence there, it was challenging to engage stakeholders ethically. Future studies may benefit from a preliminary visit where these issues can be addressed before the data collection visit.

Quantitative Limitations

This study is constrained by its ability to generalize beyond the cases (schools) that were studied. Furthermore, levels of statistical power were compromised to gain a more in-depth understanding of participants' perspectives by allocating research time to qualitative data collection. This is a general weakness of mixed method studies that prioritize the collection of qualitative data within a constrained time (Creswell, 2003). Further to this, below are specific limitations of the quantitative methods used. Specific limitations of statistical tests are also noted in the Quantitative Results chapter.

Survey instrument. Survey data collection, particularly Likert scales, have limited capacity to provide a full picture of participants' perspective on a particular issue. Further to this, although the Gender Equality (GE) questions were validated through a prior study, the Gender Equitable Citizenship (GEC) and Social Cohesion (SC) questions were not validated through previous studies because they were designed specifically for the Sri Lankan context and the goals of this study. Although the GE scale had a high reliability with Chronbach's α of .75, GEC was not strong with α of .59. The SC scale had the lowest reliability with α .47. The question "*I feel more affinity to my local community than my nation*" reduced the alpha level. It appears that a strong agreement with this statement does not necessarily reflect a lack of social

cohesion/national unity. The Cronbach alpha was calculated after the analysis. By then, I had already completed the analysis and triangulated the findings with qualitative data so the question could not be removed. These limitations should be taken into consideration when interpreting the results of their analysis. Last, the surveys did not collect information on participants' ethnicities when they were first designed for a single ethnic group. By the time the study had been approved by the MoE, and the research design had been changed, the surveys had already been translated and received ethical approval. There was limited time to redo the surveys to include ethnicity. Although most schools are ethnically homogeneous, some were not. As such, the results from particular regions or schools should not be ascribed to represent a particular ethnic group's views, nor was that the study's intention. For example, a Tamil medium Muslim school would have had ethnic Tamil and Muslim students who participated in the survey. Consequently, the survey findings can only be generalized to that school population or region (cluster of schools).

Sample size. There were several restrictions in obtaining large and equal sample sizes across all the schools. Small rural schools always had lower numbers of participants compared to larger schools in urban centers. Examining schools of different sizes, usually reflective of urban and rural differences, was an important part of this study. Statistical controls were used when comparing schools and/or regions with significant differences in size and variance. These controls are outlined in the Quantitative Results chapter. However, they often led to a loss of power, and statistically significant results that were present before applying these controls were often lost. As such, statistically significant results may have been missed due to this limitation. Unequal sample sizes and variance across the schools also prevented the use of more complex statistical tests.

Environment. Controlling the environment during the administration of the survey was difficult. Although it was easy to administer surveys in classrooms and provide anonymity of participation by giving all students a survey and allowing them to return blank surveys, when students chose to participate but missed questions or did not note their gender, their survey could not be used in the full analysis. These information gaps contributed to reducing the sample size in some cases.

Previous studies. There were limited studies on Sri Lanka related to the research questions posed in this study's quantitative section. As such, many of the differences between

school, region, and gender were ascertained through post-hoc analysis, which reduced statistical power and the potential to identify significant relationships.

Methodology Summary

In conclusion, the mixed methodology approach of this study was shaped by the research context, my positionality, and the need to conduct research that could lead to practical solutions while engaging in critical perspectives through a post-colonial feminist approach. The collection of different types of data (interviews, observations, surveys, document analysis) was also conducive to conducting research across borders and in a conflict-affected society safely and ethically. This study also illustrates how the transformative paradigm can be used to conduct research in politically challenging contexts to contribute to policy changes focused on social justice. The following chapters, 4-8, will present the analysis of the different types of data collected. The findings will be mixed and further analyzed in Chapter 9.

CHAPTER 4

Textbook Contradictions - Positive Conflict or Negative Peace

This section provides the results of the document analysis of the grade 6, 7, 8, and 9 *Civic Education* textbooks. The term curriculum and textbooks are used interchangeably here as the textbooks are a direct reflection of the curriculum and the primary source for teaching and learning for teachers and students, respectively. The grades 6 and 7 textbooks are divided into three chapters, and grade 8 and 9 textbooks are divided into the section outlined in Table 6. *Note:* spelling errors in quotations are from the original text and have not been altered to illustrate the quality of translation work within the Department of Publication.

Table 6

Chapter Headings for Civic Textbooks

Grade 6 (2016)	Grade 7 (2016)	Grade 8 (2017)	Grade 9 (n.d.)
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Our School• The Region We Live In• Qualities that Should be Inculcated as a Good Citizen	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Our Family• Our Society• Our Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Public Services• Democratic Society• Multicultural Society• Contemporary Issues• Let's Overcome Challenges by Solving Problems• Let's Enter the World of Work	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Social Security• Contemporary Changes• Democratic Governance• Local Government Institutions• Conflict Resolution• World of Work

Overall, all four textbooks gradually build towards teaching students about important concepts, starting with living peacefully in the family, school, community, and national state. The textbooks aim to encourage students to be proud of their Sri Lankan identity and history while repeatedly stating the importance of diversity and tolerance for differences, often described as *Sri Lankan consciousness*. Students are presented with messages on how they could contribute to their society as citizens within their own family, community, and school. The textbooks' content, layout, and exercises are more student-centred than textbooks from other subjects.

Despite its positive elements, the four textbooks fall short of effectively promoting values of social cohesion that are relevant to the context of post-war Sri Lanka. Close examination shows that there are three messages conveyed by the textbooks that undermine social cohesion. They include (1) The ideal of an inclusive and democratic society, (2) Adherence to a benign status quo, and (3) Militarization and hegemonic identities. The latter two messages undermine

gender equality and inclusive democratic citizenship by subtly and, in some cases, overtly excluding minorities and marginalized groups. These exclusions are transmitted to students through a normative idea of the Sri Lanka citizen as male, hyper-masculine, Sinhalese, and Buddhist. Specifically, gender inequality is perpetuated through (1) unequal representation, (2) gender stereotypes, and (3) militarization and promotion of harmful masculinities. Likewise, barriers to inclusive democratic citizenship include: (1) A focus on developing citizens to be obedient workers, (2) the promotion of majoritarianism through pluralism, and (3) the omission of Sri Lanka's National conflict. The following section will explain how these normative messages are transmitted to students in the four textbooks and highlight their strengths.

Civic Education – Grade 6

The grade 6 Civic Education textbook is divided into three main chapters: (1) *Our School*, (2) *The Region We Live In*, and (3) *Qualities that Should be Inculcated as a Good Citizen*. These headings reflect the civics textbooks' overall pattern, which is to start from the personal and extend to the public sphere for students' civic engagement. The textbook addresses inclusive citizenship through the message of identifying personal strengths and weaknesses and using the school as a means to prepare to contribute to society in the future. A strength of the textbook is that it approaches citizenship by making connections to students' lived experiences. The idea of a good citizen is introduced to students with what they are most familiar with, the school's structure, and their roles and relationships within it. This idea is then extended to the local community and the nation. There is also a section dedicated to the responsibilities and the rights students should have within the school (p. 31). The textbook allocates considerable content to personal development; students are encouraged to reflect on their talents and weaknesses and find ways to best contribute to society through their education. Besides teaching students about self-reflection, the textbook layout facilitates student-centred learning with colourful pictures and questions that facilitate text to text/self/world connections. From the level of the individual to the world, the theme of cooperation is also highlighted to achieve personal and national goals. The textbook encourages students to take pride in Sri Lanka by showing appreciation for locally made products and Sri Lanka's historical achievements. National identity and national pride are central messages espoused in the grade 6 textbook.

Multicultural Ideals versus Hegemonic Realities

The textbook's focus on identity-based citizenship largely undermines its goal of social cohesion due to the bias towards a Sinhalese-Buddhist national identity and consequent exclusion of minority groups. The poems, songs, important historical figures, and even the number of pages allocated to describe the different groups are biased favouring Sinhalese culture and/or the Buddhist religion. For example, the National Flower description, the Blue Water lily, speaks only to its importance in Buddhist literature, arts, poetry, and lore. Minority ethnic groups are shown only to highlight Sri Lanka's diversity, thus positioning Sinhalese identity as the norm. The Muslim ethnic group is least represented in the images on culture and ethnicity. Whether it is related to monuments, family, or roads, the images presented are predominantly related to the Sinhalese people and culture and, consequently, convey the message that Sri Lankan identity is very much Sinhalese, and all others exist on the periphery.

Language is another way that the textbook promotes a superficial pluralism while espousing majoritarianism. Many of the images of words or signs in the textbook are only in the Sinhala language (Grade 6 p. 56). Thus, although the value of multilingualism is celebrated as part of Sri Lankan diversity, in day-to-day practice, the Sinhala language and corresponding culture and content are given precedence in the content and layout of the English version of the textbook. These findings suggest that the textbook addresses the ESCP policy's commitment to promoting multilingualism at the surface level by repeatedly stating that the country is multilingual but fails to show this through a meaningful change in the textbook content biased to the Sinhala language.

The textbook frequently notes Sri Lanka's religious diversity with the intended message for peaceful religious coexistence. However, this is undermined by Buddhism's precedence, which is consistently presented first and set as the norm. For example, only specific Buddhist terminology "Provide knowledge of the Dhamma" (Grade 6, Chapter 2, p. 57) is referenced when describing services provided by places of religious worship. When describing different types of leaders, reference is made to the chief incumbent of the temple and other monks/lay devotees in Buddhism. These references are made in the exclusion of the other major religions in Sri Lanka. In addition to bias in representation of the different religious groups, the textbook presents a sanitized version of Sri Lanka's multi-religious reality by stating that "Religious co-existence has been well maintained" (Grade 6, p. 83). This statement omits and denies religious conflicts,

historical and those currently taking place in Sri Lanka, particularly between Buddhists and Muslims. Riots, property damage of Muslim stores, the state-sanctioned raising of mosques, the colonization of the North and East with Buddhist temples are realities faced by minority religious groups. The claim of peaceful co-existence of the different religious groups is an erasure of the violation of rights and a form of gaslighting that undermines trust in the government and institutions such as education that espouse these messages to foster complacency. The disconnection between the content of the textbooks and students' realities is a form of cultural violence.

Singhalizing and Masculinizing Citizenship

While occasionally presenting boys and girls in non-gender-conforming roles, the grade 6 textbook, on the whole, contributes to reinforcing the subordinate status of women and girls and omitting their contributions to Sri Lanka society. Images and content of men/boys and women/girls in school and society reflect traditional perceptions of gendered roles and stereotypes propounded through the textbook's images, poems, songs, and historical figures relevant to Sri Lankan identity. Images of student achievement are gendered by presenting boys excelling in sports and girls achieving academics (Table 7). Further to this, the textbook's representation of the school community espouses a benign status quo of gendered hierarchies by disproportionately depicting teachers as female and principals/administrators as male (Table 7). In addition to gendered hierarchies, the textbook also omits equal representation of women and their achievements and contributions to Sri Lankan society. Women are entirely excluded from the grade 6 textbook's coverage of historical figures and their contributions to nation building; this includes fictional characters. The figures included are not only just male, but they are also all Sinhalese. The omission of the contributions made by women and ethnic minorities to Sri Lanka's national identity normalizes the hegemonic narrative of Sri Lanka as a country that was founded on the victories and achievements of Sinhalese men.

Table 7

Visual Representation of Gender Roles Across Four Textbooks

Grade	Gender and Role	Page and Figure
6	Women as teachers	Page 1 Figure 1.1 Page 3 Figure 1.2 Page 21 Figure 1.11, 1.13 Page 38 Figure 1.17
	Male Principal	Page 3 Figure 1.2 Page 12 Figure 1.3
	Male historical figures	Page 14 Figure 1.8 Page 19 Figure 1.9
	Female student - scholarly achievement	Page 12 Fig 1.3
	Male student – athletic achievement	Page 12 Figure 1.4
	7	Men as head of the household
8	Men as professors	Page 2
	Men as soldiers	Page 2, 22, 77, 118
	Women as nurses	Page 8, 118
	Men in vocation training	Page 13
	Women as musicians and doctors	Page 13
	Men as farmers, lawyers, pilots, businessmen, engineer	Page 118, 121
9	Men as police officers/protectors	Page 14
	Men as soldiers (Navy, Army)	Page 17, 18, 24
	Male in officer in a regulation role	Page 23
	Female officer in a caring role	Page 23
	Men in the automotive industry	Page 38
	Men as firefighters	Page 109
	Women as water fetchers/carriers	Page 109, 114
	Women as nurses	Page 110
	Women as a hairdresser, sewing machine operator	Page 131
	Men as officer or construction worker	Page 131
Men engaged in carpentry and farming with son	Page 134	

In addition to the underrepresentation of women, the textbook also portrays narrow forms of masculinity and femininity, and thereby further contributes to gender inequality. A popular Sinhalese song, meant to evoke pride in the nation, espouses harmful masculinities through depictions of violent and self-sacrificing men who shed blood for the motherland. Section 4.3 of

the textbook, *Let us preserve the local identity with pride*, highlights the victory of past wars and fallen Sinhalese soldiers through a popular Sinhala song.

...this is our noble mother country, It is the noble mother
country which was fertilized, from the blood shed by our
heroic ancestors nurished.
The precious stones that were
buried under ground are the bloods of our ancestors who
dedicated their lives at the war front.
Rivers, blooming silvery flowers
are retreating and splashing sings the song of fame of those
ancient heroes... (p. 87)

The song's focus on militarization, violence, and strength presents an exclusionary and harmful form of masculinity for students. Further to this, by only highlighting women's reproductive contributions in nation building, the poem also limits girls' roles as citizens. Consequently, students' citizenship engagement is gendered due to the textbook's narrow representation of masculinity and femininity for boys and girls.

The song's promotion of harmful masculinities also intersects with ethnic exclusion through the glorification of the military, which is exclusively Sinhalese and predominantly male. It perpetuates a culture of militarization and Sinhalese nationalism built on the victory and glory of historical and mythical battles. The reference to the blood of soldiers as the source of Sri Lanka's precious stones ascribes hereditary ownership of wealth to the Sinhalese. The song and sections dedicated to describing the military celebrate Sinhalese culture and mythology, thereby excluding the identities and histories of other ethnic groups in Sri Lanka. It particularly alienates both ethnic and Indian Tamils, as most of these past wars were fought against the Tamil kingdoms in Sri Lanka and India. Furthermore, given the context of Sri Lanka today, where Tamils are restricted from commemorating family members who were fallen LTTE soldiers, and where the graves of LTTE soldiers have been raised and demolished, this song overtly contradicts and undermines national unity, social cohesion, and common citizenship by antagonizing ethnic Tamils. The title of the section "*Let us preserve the local identity with pride*" speaks to an identity that is exclusively Sinhalese, not the multicultural Sri Lankan identity that is promoted in the *ESCP* policy or other parts of the textbook. Thus, not only does the grade 6 textbook present a highly violent and gendered form of citizenship, but it also presents Sri Lankan citizenship as one based on a singular ethnic identity, Sinhalese-Buddhist.

Civic Education – Grade 7

The grade 7 textbook is also divided into three key sections: (1) Our Family, (2) Our Society, and (3) Our Culture. It also starts with what is familiar to students - the family unit, relationships, and responsibilities - and extends this learning to students' role in society. The section on the family provides extensive coverage on practical ways to avoid harmful influences and choose a correct path in life, including content on being an intelligent consumer and managing one's emotions during personal conflicts. Many of the prescriptive strategies provided in the grade 6 textbook on being a good citizen are repeated in the *Our Family* section of the grade 7 textbook. It also introduces the notion of interrelationships and interdependence of people, highlighting values associated with social cohesion. The textbook provides detailed lists of the rights and responsibilities introduced in the grade 6 textbook, emphasizing civil and political rights.

Aspects of inclusive democratic citizenship are most apparent in the last section of the grade 7 textbook, which has significant coverage on the multicultural aspects of Sri Lankan identity. Culture is defined (p. 81), and examples are provided on how the different languages, religions, ethnicities, and types of occupations contribute to Sri Lanka's diversity. The grade 7 textbook promotes social cohesion by introducing cultural differences and positing them as an essential and positive aspect of Sri Lankan identity. Emphasis is placed on safeguarding one's own culture while respecting the culture of others. The word "Sri Lankan consciousness" (p. 93) is introduced to describe the united way that different social groups can work together to build a tolerant multi-cultural national identity. The presentation of strategies that encourage tolerance is intended to foster national harmony and co-existence with those who are different.

Despite the multicultural and multilingual message espoused by the textbook, there is a strong bias for the Sinhala language throughout the grade 7 textbook, much like the grade 6 book. Minority languages are rarely presented, and when they are, they are always presented after a Sinhala translation. Sinhala's precedence is evident in how the Sinhala version is always presented first, followed by the Tamil, then finally English in the English version of the textbook. In the section on Family, the terminology for relatives is presented in English transliteration of the Sinhala words (p. 40). Furthermore, many of the poems and songs used in the English version of the textbooks are historical or traditional Sinhala songs. Thus, although

the textbooks state that multilingualism is a positive aspect of Sri Lankan identity, it also conveys that the Sinhala language is the standard norm.

The Elephant in the Room: Sri Lanka's Conflict

The grade 7 textbook takes an elephant in the room approach to Sri Lanka's conflict by offering prescriptive instructions for peace rather than recognizing and naming conflict in a way that could contribute to peacebuilding through positive conflict. The textbook sends contradicting messages to students by frequently mentioning diversity in conjunction with minimizing conflicts without actually admitting that conflicts exist among the different groups in Sri Lanka. The following passage is an example of an attempt to promote ethnic harmony among the different cultures without acknowledging the ethnic tension that the content is attempting to ameliorate.

It is essential to identify this cultural identity when we live in a multi – cultural society. Identifying cultural features and respecting them and not condemning them should be of paramount importance in such a society. It will build a strong inter relationship among cultures. It will make a good society and minimize conflicts in the society (Grade 7, p. 83)

By omitting any reference to Sri Lanka's national conflict in the textbook, significant pedagogical opportunities to connect learning to students' lived experiences are lost. As a result, the messages on tolerance, diversity, and harmony, without context or opportunities for critical reflection and thinking, become rhetoric.

There is a strong focus on protecting and safeguarding culture, implying that culture needs to be protected from something. However, the textbook is vague about what these threats are because of the overall omission approach to conflict. The vague reference to external threats may appear benign on the surface; however, if misunderstood or misconstrued, it could contribute to extremist views about other cultures due to the numerous cleavages in society along ethnic, religious, and linguistic lines in Sri Lanka. An example of this is the Sinhalese double minority complex and extremist Buddhist groups that propound that Sinhalese-Buddhist culture is under threat and must be protected at all costs. The following paragraph illustrates how the celebration of cultural diversity is often linked to minimizing conflict but without talking about the conflict through the use of these vague references.

It is important to safeguard one's own culture without making harm to others' cultures. We should not left down, criticize, blame or ignore the others' cultures. As one protects and honours the features of own culture, those of the others should also be protected and

respected. It is the duty and responsibility of all good citizens. It creates mutual faith, dignity and coexistence among all cultural groups. Then a conflict free social environment evolves. (Grade 7, p. 108)

This passage is also one of the few that explicitly addresses conflict between the different ethnic, cultural, and religious groups; however, it speaks to a hypothetical and potential conflict, not the past and current conflicts. This negative peace approach based on doing no harm and maintaining the status quo erases minority groups' experiences whose religious and linguistic rights are violated daily and is a form of violence by omission through the formal curriculum.

The Patriarchal Family

Like the grade 6 textbook, images in the grade 7 textbook promote stereotypical gender roles for men and women (Table 7). Specifically, there is a disproportionate representation of men in positions of power and/or leadership. Stereotypical gender roles are reinforced by representing the traditional family structure with fixed gender roles for men/boys and women/girls. Images of families often depict a mother, father, and children in gender roles influenced by patriarchy. The father is always seated in the middle, in a position of power, while other family members are situated in the periphery. An image of a Sinhalese family (Figure 1.2, p. 3) has the father sitting in the centre with a newspaper while the mother stands next to him. The children are engaged in gendered play; the boys are depicted playing with cars and a cricket bat, and the girl is playing with a doll while her mother combs her hair. In depicting the male-led nuclear family as a benign status quo, the textbooks promote an exclusionary representation of family intermixed with fixed gender roles based on patriarchal norms. The peripheral role ascribed to women and gendered play for children contributes to gender inequality by diminishing women's contributions and perpetuating gender stereotypes for boys and girls.

Furthermore, the image represents an idealized family based on middle-class gender norms and fails to reflect the diverse families in Sri Lanka. Although the text recognizes single-parent homes as a result of families supported by overseas domestic workers, it ignores those impacted by war, poverty, and female-headed households. There are also no visual representations of single-parent families, suggesting it is a periphery of the norm. As such, the textbooks are inherently contradictory – on the one hand, referring to ideas of diversity and inclusion, but depicting images of gender roles and family structures that fail to reflect the reality of marginalized members of society.

Civic Education – Grade 8

The grade 8 textbook is divided into six sections and focuses on topics related to the public sphere traditionally associated with civic education. Given that students will have received two years of civic education in grades 6 and 7 to understand civic responsibilities within the family and school contexts, the grade 8 textbook jumps straight into the public domain. This book's strength is that it takes an anti-colonial approach by beginning the discussion on public services focusing on Sri Lanka's historical kings. After noting the importance of education and schooling, the textbooks emphasize how religious institutions provided education and schooling long before Western colonization. These messages are intended to assert Sri Lanka's rich history and achievements as independent of colonial influences. The textbook then moves to the idea of inclusive democratic citizenship in a section entitled *Democratic Society* in which the word democracy is defined for students. Like the earlier grades, the textbook draws on family and school as foundations for introducing the concept of democracy and students' role in it. There is also a section on human rights, with a specific reference to the UN Conventions on Child Rights.

The grade 8 textbook makes the most significant contribution to promoting inclusive democratic citizenship with a section entitled *Multicultural Society*. Unlike the grade 7 textbook that mainly focuses on aspects of different cultures, the grade 8 textbook goes one step further to focus on how different cultures can co-exist without conflict. This chapter takes a cosmopolitan approach, with images of children from various races in multicultural societies worldwide. It compares Sri Lanka's multicultural identity with that of other countries such as the USA and Britain. Although conflict is not directly mentioned, there is a repeated emphasis on citizens living in harmony. The focus on diversity and co-existence further builds on the notion of Sri Lankan consciousness developed across the four textbooks.

The Obedient Worker

Learning opportunities for interruptive democracy, dissent, and social justice are limited due to the textbook's emphasis on the personally responsible citizen who is obedient and contributes to the economy. A frequently highlighted characteristic of being a good citizen was contributing to the development of the nation through work - becoming an "effective individual for your country" (p. 34) and making a "contribution to social progress" (p. 38). The grade 8 textbook starts with a personal message from the Minister of Education to students stating that "This book is given to you with the solemn expectation that you would acquire strong

foundations to become a citizen useful for the country and for this era" (p. v). It goes on to link the development of the nation to citizens who are good workers. This emphasis on contributing to the nation's development through work as a primary role of a good citizen is reinforced in the section titled, *Let us enter the world of work*.

The development of a country rests heavily on its labour force. Hence, presence of a labour force, with better characteristics is an asset to a country. Due to the development of better qualities in a worker, attitude, dedication, and contribution towards labour can be maintained at a higher level. (p. 129)

What is omitted is how students can contribute through other means such as social action and addressing inequities in society. Though preparing students for labour market participation through the civics curriculum is not problematic on its own, the importance and coverage given to the utilitarian goal of education over other aspects of education, such as critical thinking and social justice, is. The textbook limits students' citizenship engagement to the personally responsible citizen by deliberately undermining their ability to challenge inequity in society.

The textbook's extensive coverage of democracy and multicultural societies misses the mark of social cohesion due to an over-emphasis on obedience, difference, and bias. Obedience is conflated with democracy in the grade 8 textbook's explanation of a democratic way of living through a significant focus on adherence to the "will of the majority." The introduction describes a democratic society as a "self-disciplining and consensual society in which people act in cooperation with one another based on freedom and equality and being respectful to the opinions of the majority" (p. 32). The idea of tolerating and honouring the majority's view is espoused by equating the relationships to the family and the role of the father. This relationship is then extended to the school system. Within the school system, students are encouraged to be "...inquisitive and compromise on the will of the majority" (p. 36). Equating democratic society to the patriarchal family unit or the hierarchical school system is problematic, given that both these institutions are authoritarian regimes in Sri Lanka. These hierarchical relationships are intended to inculcate students to acquiesce to the majority's will and not challenge the status quo to keep the peace.

Democracy is presented as an ideal that needs to be followed uncritically to keep the peace. At the society level, "respecting the will of the majority" (p. 49) is equated to minimizing conflict. The textbook suggests that the democratic way of living contributes to ensuring that all

people have their needs met and access to their rights, particularly when different community groups are respected and treated equally. Although the section on democracy does note the importance of providing opportunities for minority representation, it is only mentioned with a single bullet. There is no discussion on what students can do if the majority's will is incongruent with their needs or rights of a particular group or individual. The inability to critically examine the pros and cons of democracy ignores the current reality in Sri Lanka, where many marginalized communities are living without access to fundamental rights, even though they live in a democracy. Instead, the section's emphasis on democracy is unquestioning adherence to the will of the majority. Students are repeatedly presented with what appears to be a benign message to compromise to contribute to peace. In reality, what the textbook is doing is ensuring that students are not given the tools to challenge the status quo when their rights are infringed upon by implying that they will compromise the country's peace if they do not acquiesce to the will of the majority.

Although the textbook connects conflict resolution with a democratic way of living, demonstrating some understanding that conflict is innately part of democracy, the emphasis is on interpersonal conflict, inner control, rather than addressing social inequality. The personal focus undermines any potential to approach democracy from a positive conflict perspective. For example, a democratic way of living is described as: "respect others, tolerate their views and act in a fair manner. Then, conflicts and disputes can be minimized" (Grade 8, p. 48). Throughout the textbook, there is a frequent emphasis on establishing democracy by managing emotions positively, what the textbook refers to as "inner peace." Thus, democracy becomes confounded with learning to be complacent with one's grievances by managing one's feelings and emotions to avoid conflict. Though learning to manage one's emotions during conflict is beneficial, the textbooks' discussion ends there. The textbook's selective coverage suggests that there are no other types of conflict, thereby removing students' opportunity to learn about and address structural inequality and societal conflict. This emphasis on addressing conflict at the personal level further illustrates how the textbook aims to foster a personally responsible citizen over a justice-oriented one.

Like its grade 6 and 7 predecessors, the grade 8 textbook also contradicts its inclusion and equality message with significant bias in content for Sinhalese culture. In a discussion on different religious cultures, Buddhism is presented first and allocated a page while the remaining

religions are presented on half a page or less each. Islam is often the most underrepresented, often receiving the least coverage, despite the growing number of Muslims in Sri Lanka. These subtle differences appear innocuous but contribute to reinforcing the precedence given to Singhalese-Buddhist culture and fail to provide minority groups with a secure identity. The textbook reconciles the hegemonic precedence given to Singhalese-Buddhist identity with the assimilationist messages to set aside differences for peace. The tension between national unity and individual cultural identity is addressed by suggesting that students should safeguard their cultural identity but, at the same time, "work with a sense of nationality from your childhood disregarding all ethnic, religious and language divisions" (Grade 8, p. 67). The call to disregard differences targets minority groups' access to a secure identity because Sri Lankan identity, as has been shown, is very much a Singhalese Buddhist identity. Thus, it always comes down to minority communities having to acquiesce aspects of their ethnic, religious, and language rights in exchange for national unity and peace.

The Benevolent Father and the Patriarchal State

The grade 8 textbook's explicit support for patriarchy, while espousing values of equality, illustrates Sri Lanka's contradictory understanding of gender equality and democracy. The disconnection is apparent in the textbook's assertion that the father is the family leader and then equates his relationship with the family to that of state leaders with their citizens (Figure 5). This parallel is problematic given that the family is rarely a democratic institution in Sri Lanka and most parts of the world. In fact, students are repeatedly presented with messages of unconditional deference to parents, including worshipping them, particularly the father, throughout all of the four textbooks. The egalitarian relation between citizens and state leaders in democratic societies is undermined by equating it to the relationship between individuals and their fathers. Not only is the relationship gendered, but it is also personalized and consequently more reflective of governance systems based on patriarchalism or patrimonialism than democracy. By equating the state leader to a benevolent father figure, students' capacity to engage in critical thinking to stand up against injustice and challenge the status quo as citizens are severely limited. The textbook not only presents an uncritical representation of families based on patriarchy, but it also extends these patriarchal and authoritarian relations to that between the citizens and the state.

Figure 5

Relationship Between Father and Family Equated to President and Citizens

Situations in which leadership and fellowships are visible in the society

The family, the school and the society are formed by a number of groups consisting of leaders and followers. Some examples are given below:

Leader	Follower
Father	- other members of the family
Principal	- staff, students
Chief Incumbent of the temple	- other monks/lay devotees
Member of Parliament	- voters
President	- citizens of the country

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In looking closely at the list of other examples of leaders and followers presented on page 47 (Figure 5), almost all are male and command unquestioning obedience in Sri Lankan society, such as a Buddhist monk, politician, and principal. This table further illustrates how the textbook undermines the egalitarian aspects of democracy through its endorsement of patriarchal relationships in all aspects of a citizen's life.

Civic Education – Grade 9

The grade 9 textbook starts with a focus on social security in the country. Like the other textbooks, it uses the family and school as a starting point to define social security before moving to government institutions such as the legal system, security forces, and government services. There is a section on the Human Rights Commission, which briefly touches on making complaints when rights are violated. The textbook also addresses the importance of co-existence, particularly among those who are different socio-culturally. These values are highlighted as foundational to Sri Lankan society. Aspects of inclusive democratic citizenship are highlighted in the section titled *Democratic Governance* (p. 72). This section extends students' understanding of democracy, which was explored in the grade 8 textbook and addresses students' roles in democracy systems. The rights of marginalized and caste-based groups are highlighted, a reference is made to gender equality with a note on women obtaining the right to vote in Sri Lanka in 1931. A section entitled *Nation Building* emphasizes that individuals should overlook ethnic, religious, and caste-based differences to ensure social harmony and development. Another notable section, *Conflict Resolution*, centres on the significance of conflict resolution to

contribute to social cohesion. Different types of conflicts are introduced, and strategies are provided to deal with feelings resulting from interpersonal conflict. By promoting diversity, highlighting marginalized groups, and addressing interpersonal conflict, the grade 9 textbook addresses a few aspects of positive conflict required for peacebuilding.

The Erasure of Minorities and Conflict Resolution Rhetoric

Despite touching on a few topics important to social cohesion, the grade 9 textbook continues in the same vein as the other three textbooks by omitting reference to Sri Lanka's national conflict, excluding the contributions of women and minority groups, and promoting the Sinhalese narrative of Sri Lanka. Gender and ethnic biases actually become more apparent in this upper-grade textbook. For example, despite including the achievements of Sinhalese and Western men such as Abraham Lincoln, Thomas Edison, and Robert Owen, the contributions of ethnic Tamils, Indian-Tamils, and Muslims remain absent in the 162-page document. It is difficult to reconcile the continual exclusion of women and minorities in the context of a policy and textbook revision committee dedicated to addressing these very issues.

The consistent disconnect between policy and practice is indicative of an intentional minimization of women and minorities to maintain the Sinhalese narrative of Sri Lanka's identity. This underlying message is further illustrated in the section on culture, which misleads and misrepresents who the indigenous people of Sri Lanka are. The Veddas, the indigenous inhabitants of Sri Lanka, are mentioned once across all four grades in the grade 9 textbook. Though the textbook uses the term, indigenous people to describe them, their name "Vedda" is omitted. Further to this, it is unclear whether all the ethnic groups are being presented as part of the indigenous culture of Sri Lanka or if they are referring to the Vedda as the first people of Sri Lanka. This distinction is left vague as Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims, and Burghers are also listed in the section on Indigenous culture, suggesting that they too are indigenous to Sri Lanka.

Indigenous culture

All the countries in the world possess specific cultures inherited to each of them. That is the indigenous culture of those countries. Sri Lanka too is a multi-cultural country since the past. As well as indigenous people, different ethnic groups like Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims, and Burghers live in Sri Lanka. They believe in different religions like Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Catholicism. There are identical cultures inherited to these ethnic groups. Various different cultural features can be seen in them. (Grade 9, Appreciate indigenousness meaningfully, p. 64)

In placing Singhalese, Tamils, Muslims, and Burghers alongside the indigenous people under the section *Indigenous culture* and omitting their name, the textbook engages in a powerful erasure of the Vedda people's identity and place in Sri Lanka's history and identity. In addition to omitting their name, they are stereotypically represented. Unlike their Singhalese, Tamil, and Muslim, who are presented in modern-day attire reflective of their respective cultures, the Vedda people are pictured wearing leaf skirts and carrying bow and arrows, a depiction unreflective of modern-day Veddas (Figure 6).

Figure 6

Ethnic groups in Sri Lanka. Indigenous people (Vedda) bottom right



The implication of representing them in a historical context next to modern-day images of the other ethnic groups lends the reader to believe the Veddas are no longer present or relevant. The omission and misrepresentation contribute to undermining the rich culture and place of the Vedda people in Sri Lanka who today are a highly marginalized group but whose existence also disrupts the narrative of Singhalese ownership of the island.

The conflict resolution section continues the status quo established in previous textbooks, focusing on personal conflict and inner peace. Many of the examples of conflict are associated with personal characteristics such as impatience, the influence of others, doubts, disrespect, desire for power, anger, jealousy, being uneducated, not being socialized, selfishness, being highly sensitive, being aggressive, etc. (Grade 9, p. 118). Though students are introduced to the concept of societal level conflict, this is done through examples from other parts of the world

while omitting conflicts in Sri Lanka. This omission forgoes the opportunity of engaging in positive conflict and interruptive democracy and contributes to cultural violence as students are at an age when they are aware of Sri Lanka's reality, which is denied by the textbook. The only instance where war is mentioned in reference to Sri Lanka is in the section on Sri Lanka's security forces and extensive coverage of the "massive" services rendered by them. The nine-page section is adulating and uncritical of the security forces and stresses students' role in honouring and complying with them. The lack of recognition of human rights violations by the Sri Lankan security forces, locally and internationally, not only fails to contribute to positive conflict, but it also directly undercuts the state's legitimacy in the eyes of civilians impacted by military violence.

Even while using the term "positive conflict" with reconciliation and freedom, the textbook refrains from recognizing Sri Lanka's conflict. Instead, the textbook misconstrues the concept of positive conflict with conflict-avoidance by telling children to forget disagreements for national unity rather than resolving them.

Positive conflict resolution causes for social peace and harmony not only that it helps to develop social co-existence, reconciliation, brotherhood and freedom. By means of that, the way is paved for the entire social peace. Children, let's forget all the disagreements and stand for peace. That is our duty today. (Grade 9, p. 125)

The call to "forget all the disagreements" contradicts the goal of "positive conflict resolution" in this passage. Students are given the message that it is their patriotic duty to give up their grievances for peace. This call for everyone to fall into line reflects belligerent citizenship, not the peacebuilding democratic one intended in the *ESCP* policy. By exclusively focusing on inner control and management of feelings and individual actions, along with tolerance and the need to minimize conflicts, the textbook fails to prepare students with the critical thinking skills or tools to address the root cause of society's conflicts. Furthermore, the textbooks give a false impression that conflict resolution is being taught through the superficial use of words like "positive conflict" without a genuine commitment to addressing structural violence in society.

Gendering and Militarizing Civic Engagement

Although most images depicting men and women at work conform to traditional gender roles (Table 7) in the grade 9 textbook, there are a few instances where these stereotypes are challenged. Most of this is done through gender role reversals in images of men and women related to occupations. In the careers section of the grade 9 textbook (Appendix J), there are male

primary school teachers, two women who are surveyors, men and women working in office environments, male and female police officers, and men and women training to become chefs. These images counter traditional gendered stereotypes associated with occupation and work in Sri Lanka. However, the textbook never acknowledges gender inequality in a chapter dedicated to social security and rights issues, demonstrating the tokenistic approach to gender equality through superficial efforts. Further to this, the challenges to traditional gender norms do not extend to the representation of men/boys and women/girls in the home, where patriarchal structures are strongly upheld. Challenging gender norms in the world of work while espousing the patriarchal status quo within the home and family reflect a liberal feminist approach to gender equality. Liberal approaches that advocate for women's rights with an economic rationale rather than social justice often fail to address inequality and rights violations experienced by women and girls within the home and workplace. The textbook is also mute on the topic of challenges women and girls face even though it notes that children's rights and women's rights are the outcomes of positive conflict resolution with no details on how these factors are related.

The other significant way that the grade 9 textbook contributes to gender inequality is by glorifying the military and gendering citizenship engagement for men and women. Men are often presented as military heroes and rulers valorized for their bravery and sacrifices for the *motherland*. The textbook depicts the military and armed forces as essential contributors to society and national identity, equating them with gods whom students are encouraged to venerate through song. The text goes on to state that because of these services, "they have been subjected to the frequent honor as the guardian deities of the land' (p. 24). This reverence is particularly problematic for ethnic Tamils, given the lengthy list of human rights violations, missing person incidences, enforced territorial occupation, and land appropriation visited upon them by the military.

Like the grade 6 textbook, conventional gendered roles intersect with the frequent theme of militarization by promoting hypermasculine and hyperfeminine roles for men and women, respectively. These gender divisions are typified in a Sinhala song, which reads:

The sons who were brought up by holding at the bosom are now in the battle field armed with weapons. Fathers, seeing the deeds of bravery committed by them in battle fields intoxicated with moral and belligerent, honour them by keeping the hands on their heads. When they sacrifice their lives for the sake of motherland, breast of every mother in three parts of the island is welled with milk in their names.

Hail, Heroic boys! We have reborn here today by receiving a new lease of life from you as you were born not from mother's womb but from the womb of the mother earth of Sri Lanka. You are never been isolated in the battle field as all your relatives, brothers, sons and daughters are with you in the battle fields in their hearts. (MoE, Grade 9, p. 19)

The song glorifies war and violence and promotes harmful representations of masculinity. It espouses feminine gender norms by referring to Sri Lanka as the motherland and emphasizes soldiers' active role versus the passive role of mothers and daughters. The song limits the role of women in nation-building to mothers who produce sons for the war front. The military's hypermasculine culture is most evident in its motto, "For the Fatherland" (p. 17), which is a significant departure from other sections where Sri Lanka is always referred to as the motherland. Sri Lankan identity becomes masculinized in the context of war. Women are directly linked to the need to be protected in their reproductive and domestic motherly roles, while men enact their role as fighters and protectors of the land. In this way, men are central characters in the nation-building narrative, while women play peripheral roles as mothers, daughters, children, and wives whose duties are to support their men. These tropes gender and thereby limit how students, both boys, and girls, can engage as citizens and contribute to a culture of militarization and harmful masculinities through education.

Conclusion

In thinking about how gender (in)equality and inclusive democratic citizenship are represented, it is evident that the four textbooks espouse a form of citizenship that is both exclusive and authoritarian. At the surface level, ideas of democracy, inclusion, and equality are espoused. However, what is said and how it is said, as well as what is omitted, demonstrate that the four textbooks' approach to citizenship is hegemonic and belligerent, cloaked under the guise of multiculturalism and equality to prevent resistance to the status quo – a very male-dominated, militaristic, Sinhalese, and Buddhist Sri Lanka. Though at times these exclusionary messages are overt, most often, they are presented as a benign status quo, making the textbooks a powerful weapon for cultural violence.

Adherence to this benign status quo is supported by the textbooks' inordinate emphasis on hierarchies and obedience. Instilling values of obedience is a predominant theme across the four textbooks, which undermines fostering critical thinking and student agency. Despite the focus on democracy throughout the four books, when examining relationships and levels of engagement between individual, state, society, school, and family, there is a persistent emphasis on

hierarchies and unquestioning obedience and respect to those in positions of power. The relationship between the state and the individual is equated to the relationship between the individual and the family and between the student and school. All three relationships are cemented with the theme of culture, traditions, laws, rules, obedience, and the ideal of upholding democracy. Obedience is presented in several ways that touch on various aspects of a students' lives, ranging from being obedient towards elders, following rules and regulations in school/community, adhering to traditions, respecting the law and safeguarding all of these practices. Table 8 summarizes the number of times words related to obedience appear across the four textbooks.

Table 8

Count of Obedience Themed References in Textbooks

Word/Phrase	Grade 6	Grade 7	Grade 8	Grade 9
Rule(s)	29	13	18	19
regulations	23	9	10	21
law	11	17	28	78
Respect(ing) or respectfully	38	24	32	31
traditions	25	22	15	2
Safeguard(ing)	28	31	24	8
Duty/duties	35	35	65	89

The frequency at which these words are repeated provides a broad overview of how much of each textbook's content is focused on prescriptive content that emphasizes developing personally responsible citizens that follow the rules rather than justice-oriented citizens capable of critical thinking. Contrastingly, there were very few references to deliberation, dialogue, and dissent related to the justice oriented citizen. As such, contrary to the policy goal of developing students' critical thinking skills, the four textbooks are predominantly prescriptive and subtly reiterate the message that students should refrain from disrupting the status quo to avoid upsetting fellow citizens or Sri Lanka's harmonious way of life.

Though there are moments when the textbooks move towards the transformation of conflict, through an emphasis on diversity and plurality, these messages reflect a surface level multiculturalism approach to diversity. Furthermore, rhetoric on national unity and Sri Lankan "consciousnesses" are pressed on students through a conflicting emphasis on multiculturalism and safeguarding their own cultures. These messages, the omission of Sri Lanka's conflict, and the consequent expectation that minority groups overlook grievances undermine the secure identity

needed in diverse societies to foster inclusive democratic citizenship. Furthermore, although recognition of injustice is the first step towards the transformation of conflict, the four textbooks, whose purported aim is to foster social cohesion, fail to do this. It is difficult to reconcile the amount of space allocated to multiculturalism, diversity, peace, conflict resolution, and democracy with the complete omission of Sri Lanka's 30-year war and ongoing ethnic and religious conflicts and inequities. The textbooks omit Sri Lanka's reality to promote an idealized and sanitized version of Sri Lankan society. In the end, this omission works against the intended goal of peacebuilding and inclusive democratic citizenship by contributing to cultural violence.

The civics textbooks' heavy emphasis on the military and gendered portrayal of the violent male soldier as the ideal citizen demonstrates the unique intersection of gender, conflict, and education. The books promote values of harmful masculinities for men and boys that contribute to violence by focusing on militarism and war. Gender equality is given the nod with the tokenistic inclusion of images of women engaging in non-traditional work and no real acknowledgment of women's and girls' challenges or contributions as citizens. This exclusion highlights Sri Lanka's economic or utilitarian agenda for challenging gender stereotypes rather than social justice. The topic of women's rights is covered briefly in the optional grade 11 course, in which the textbook has a section dedicated to Sri Lanka's achievements on gender equality. A focus on achievements while omitting challenges demonstrates the selective interpretation and sanitization of gender (in)equality in education. The exclusion of women's and girls' issues and contributions in Sri Lanka and conservative roles ascribed to them throughout the textbooks demonstrate the deliberate suppression of gender equality through education in times of conflict.

Blind allegiance to the patriarchal state and the armed forces is the underlying message of citizenship education in Sri Lanka. The textbooks adulate the narrative of the heroic male soldier and the benevolent male state leader who require the unquestioning loyalty from all citizens. The state and the armed forces take on the role of masculinized protector and, consequently, the feminization of citizens, who must align themselves with the state to be protected. Unquestioning loyalty to the state and armed forces undermines democratic citizenship. However, it is particularly problematic following a protracted civil conflict where the state and military have oppressed citizens, particularly minority groups. Marginalized communities, including women, are unable to critique and challenge inequities without becoming enemies of the state and consequently unpatriotic or deemed national security threats. Much like a woman who cannot

challenge her husband or father, the textbooks purport the hidden message that citizens cannot challenge the status quo without losing the state's protection and being branded as unpatriotic or terrorists. These messages of harmful masculinities, patriarchalism, and militarism demonstrate the unique relationship and synergies between gender, education, and conflict and how these processes contribute to belligerent citizenship.

Despite the ESCP policy's aim to eliminate all forms of bias from textbooks, the findings of this analysis demonstrate that textbooks in Sri Lanka continue in their role as an accomplice to conflict. The continual disconnect between the rhetoric of policy as formulated and the policy's actual implementation suggests there is resistance within the education system to meaningful change to the status quo. This resistance was evident in the ESCP policy's tension between a positive conflict versus a peacekeeping approach to social cohesion. The peacekeeping approach to social cohesion has contributed to the civics textbooks' failure to acknowledge that Sri Lanka is a deeply divided society. Further to this, in purporting false messages of tolerance and peaceful co-existence, the textbooks weaken the possibility of meaningfully recognizing or acknowledging Sri Lanka's ethnic/linguistic/religious complexities and the role of gender inequality that underline Sri Lanka's national conflict. Without this recognition, there is little hope for peace through citizenship education in post-war Sri Lanka.

CHAPTER 5

Dimension of Gender Equality and Inclusive Democratic Citizenship

This chapter provides the findings from observations at the 13 schools on how values of inclusive democratic citizenship, including gender equality, were incorporated and promoted within the school spaces and classrooms. The results for the 13 schools are organized into six sections according to region. Given the significant overlap in themes between schools and regions, some sections discuss commonalities and differences across schools and regions. Table 9 provides information on school identifiers (A-L), the region, type 1/2, the predominant ethnic group, the language of instruction, and the level of exposure to war and conflict.

Table 9

Region and School Demographics

Region	School	Town or Rural	Type*	Size	Predominant ethnic group**	Language of instruction	Exposure to war & conflict
Hill-Country Singhalese	G	Town	1AB	Small	Singhalese (Indian-Tamils & Muslims)	Sinhala	Low
	J	Town	1AB	Large	Singhalese (small # Muslims)	Tamil	Low
	I	Rural	1C	Small	Singhalese (small # Indian-Tamils)	Sinhala	Low
Hill-Country Indian-Tamil	H	Town	1AB	Large	Indian-Tamil (some Muslims)	Sinhala	Low
	K	Rural	2	Small	Indian-Tamil	Tamil	Low
Island	A	Town & Rural	1AB	Large	Ethnic Tamil (some Muslims)	Tamil	High
	B	Town	II	Small	Ethnic Tamil	Tamil	High
Vanni	C	Rural	1AB	Large	Ethnic Tamil	Tamil	High
	D	Town	II	Small	Ethnic Tamil	Tamil	High
Eastern Province	E	Rural	II	Small	Ethnic Tamil	Tamil	High
	F	Town	1AB	Large	Ethnic Tamil (some Muslims)	Tamil	High
North Muslim	L	Town	1	Mid	Muslim/Moor (Ethnic Tamils)	Tamil	High
	M	Rural	1	Small	Muslim/Moor (Ethnic Tamils)	Tamil	High

*Type: 1 – up to grade 12; II – up to grade 11; **brackets indicate the smaller ethnic group in school

Each section begins with a brief overview of the region and schools, followed by an analysis of observations on inclusive democratic citizenship and gender equality. Observations for inclusive democratic citizenship were recorded on school activities such as the level of democratic engagement by students and teachers, the daily morning assembly, singing of the national anthem, religious accommodations for minority faiths, and school attire to understand whether school routines and rituals were inclusive of all students and fostered democratic citizenship. Appendix K summarizes the key findings across the 13 schools that are explored in this chapter. Observations on gender equality focused on gender interactions, gender roles, corporal punishment, manifestations of masculinity and femininity, attendance and gender ratios, student engagement, and teacher pedagogy. The table of themes used to compare observation findings across the schools on gender equality can be found in Appendix L.

Hill-Country Sinhalese Region

Schools G, I, and J are in the Hill-Country Sinhalese region, also known as Up-Country, for its rolling hills of tea estates. The three schools were grouped based on commonalities in language, Sinhala medium, exposure to war, low, and religion, Buddhist. Data was collected across two provinces, Central and Uva. The region is predominantly Sinhalese with small communities of Indian-Tamils and Muslims. The predominant language spoken is Sinhala; most minorities are usually bilingual, speaking Sinhala and Tamil. Since the end of the war, there have been several incidences of communal violence between Sinhalese and Muslim communities.

School G is a small Sinhala medium school of approximately 120 students. The school is predominantly Sinhalese, but there were several Indian-Tamils and Muslim students in attendance, making this one of the most mixed schools in the study. Many Indian-Tamil students' parents work in the tea estates as pickers and families live in the tea estates. School practices are based predominantly on Buddhist culture and religion. This school is categorized as low conflict, given that Uva province has had very little exposure to direct war. School G is within walking distance to a small town that thrives on the tea and tourism industry. The town is demographically mixed with a sizeable Sinhalese population along with Indian-Tamils, and Muslims. School G goes from grade 6 to grade 12. Despite its small population of students, School G's infrastructure is adequate compared to other the schools visited. Classrooms are well equipped with furniture and resources, including instructional aids and material posted on the walls. There is a surplus of teachers, 35 in total, in relation to the number of students. Poverty is

a significant challenge for the students and families of the school. Parents who work on tea estates are underpaid. Children often drop out of school to help parents work on the tea estates. The school staff generally felt that it was a challenge to keep children in school due to poverty and early marriages among girls.

School I is located in a remote farming village in the Hill Country region. It is 15 km from the main road, and there is one bus that travels to the school in the morning. Students usually arrive by bus in the morning and go home on foot. School I is a Sinhala medium school, and most of the students and staff are Sinhalese. Unlike some of the previous schools visited, this school goes from grades 1-12 and is relatively small, with 212 students. Approximately 15-20 of these students are Indian-Tamils; there are no ethnic Tamil or Muslim students. There is a total of 25 staff assigned to the school; however, only ten were present because some were on leave and others on holiday. The school structure was modest but in good condition. Classrooms were protected from the elements with glass windows. Floors were tiled, and there was a modest four cabinet library. Many of the students who attended the school came from the neighbouring farming community. Their parents were predominantly farmers or labourers who worked in the rubber, tea, timber industry, or road development. Poverty was reported as a significant challenge in the community and sometimes contributed to school absences among children who stayed home to look after younger siblings while parents went to work. In some cases, predominantly among Indian-Tamil families, teachers reported that children of mothers who went abroad were often neglected. School I was not observed due to its remote location and limited accessibility.

School J is in a large tourist town in the Up Country region. It is a National level, thus overseen by the Central Ministry of Education and provides both Sinhala and English medium streams. The school is a large type 1AB school with 62 teachers and goes up to grade 12. It is considered a high ranking school in the area and thus attracted Tamil speaking Muslim students even though it was predominantly Sinhalese. The infrastructure is good, with a new technology centre being constructed to develop a technical stream. The student body is socio-economically mixed. One of the challenges faced by the school was a shortage of teachers for commerce and English subjects. There are no Indian-Tamils at the school. Both the school principal and vice-principal were female.

Exclusionary School Practices

Despite a diverse student population, the three schools' daily practices only promoted Sinhalese Buddhist culture, religion, and language. The morning prayer assembly, during which time some form of prayer was conducted, was an essential part of the school day. Students assembled in the school grounds, and it was during this time, the principal/vice principal provided updates to students and set the tone for the school day. The type(s) of prayer included in these assemblies was an accurate reflection of the patterns of inclusion and/or exclusion of students from minority groups at any school. The three schools always adhered to Buddhist prayers in the morning. No other prayers from the different faiths were included as part of the morning assembly. The following is an observation of the morning prayer routine at school G.

At school G, there were children from a variety of faiths. Each day started with a Buddhist prayer ritual at the large shrine of the Buddha in the school playground. Students stood in rows with their class facing the shrine every morning. The prayer was led by the Buddhist monk, who was also the Sinhala language teacher in the school. While reciting prayers, students offered fresh flowers and burned incense as offerings. The monk, a young man, arranged the students and kept them in order while walking around with a stick in his hand that was occasionally used to whip students into place. One teacher explained, with pride, that all the students (Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Buddhist) took part in the prayers. No other types (religious) of prayers were observed during my time at the school. A similar but longer prayer was held on a Friday. This prayer was also led by the monk who sat at the front, crossed legged near the raised Buddhist shrine. Students stood in grade lines with hands in prayer position; however, some students notably did not have their hands in this position. One girl stood with her hands crossed across her body, a boy stood with his hands firmly crossed behind him, and another stood with his hands by his side. They all appeared to be demonstrating a silent resistance to what was taking place. The students were not reprimanded for this demonstration. After prayers, a teacher clarified that these students were not Buddhist and, therefore, were permitted not to pray.

In a multireligious school, Muslim, Hindu, and Christian students' participation in a Buddhist prayer is not entirely problematic. However, the requirement for them to be present for prayer every day and the fact that they were not provided with any other time or space to engage in their religious prayers is a form of religious hegemony. The practice could breed resentment and contribute to conflict. This resentment was evident in the faces of the students who stood silently but sternly as they used a variety of gestures to demonstrate their resistance to being forced to attend the Buddhist prayer every day. There was an expectation among staff that non-Buddhist students did not need to engage in their respective religious prayers within the school space

because they were attending a Sinhala Buddhist school and, therefore, should conform to the values and practices promoted in the school. As such, schools G, I, and J fell significantly short in ensuring the religious rights of minority students were respected. A teacher from school G expressed pride that students from all faiths participated in the Buddhist prayer, implying that the practice demonstrated unity and religious harmony. The participation of others in a religious ceremony is not problematic on its own; however, when it is done at the complete exclusion of all other religious practices, it is a form of hegemony.

Like the morning prayer, school uniforms were also indicative of the level of religious inclusion in a school, particularly as it pertained to female Muslim students. Minority (Indian-Tamil, Tamil, and Muslim) schools allowed Muslim students to wear school uniforms inclusive of their religious attire, even when the school was not a designated Muslim school. At schools G and J, Muslim students did not wear their head coverings. When I asked Muslim participants if they could wear their head coverings, they responded that they did not feel comfortable wearing it out of fear from being singled out and discriminated against. It was unclear whether there was a formal rule against religious head coverings. However, students had been taught that there were negative consequences to wearing their religious attire. Many Muslim families in the Up-Country region choose to send their children to Sinhala schools because the quality of education was better. These schools were often higher ranking than Tamil medium schools; however, the price to pay was that their children grew up disconnected from their religious identity in the school. Educators at schools G and J did not seem to be aware of or recognize students' grievances or view these practices as exclusionary. Thus, not only was there religious inequality in the schools between students of different faiths, but it was also normalized as the status quo and consequently contributed to cultural violence.

Egalitarian Relationships and Low Levels of Violence

A positive contributor to inclusive democratic citizenship at school G and J was the more egalitarian relationships and interactions in school and classroom spaces. The two schools were less hierarchical, and authoritarian compared to schools in the war-affected regions. This contrast was apparent in interactions between principals and teachers as well as between educators and students. The teachers at school G spoke positively about their principal and expressed considerable support for the way he managed the school. There was also evidence of deliberation and dialogue in how the school was run. Teachers were observed making decisions in the daily

running of the school, including morning assemblies and special events. In some instances, students led the assemblies. Teachers took on leadership roles and responsibilities outside of the classroom because they had time to do so. The school was adequately resourced with a surplus of teachers giving them time for preparation and rest. Another significant difference at school G was that although exams influenced teaching and learning practices, it did not drive the school culture like other schools. Thus, teachers having more time and resources, the principal's trust in and respect for teachers, and a school culture that was not driven by exam competition facilitated egalitarian interactions that contributed to the more democratic culture at school G.

There was also a marked difference in teacher pedagogy at schools in the Hill-Country region, both the Sinhala medium and Tamil (Indian-Tamil,) compared to schools in the war-impacted regions. Though the lecture-style teacher-centred approach was the norm across the 13 schools, there were more instances of student-centred and inquiry-based approaches to instruction in the Hill-Country. At school G, teachers employed approaches to pedagogy that required students to engage more independently with the content of the textbook compared to their counterparts in the war-affected regions.

At school G, the grade six class students took part in a drama activity where three students were sitting upfront in what appeared to be a make-shift government office. They were demonstrating how to lodge a complaint and acquire signatures from government officials. During the drama activity, the students appeared to have a great deal of input in how the activity was organized. They had decorated props, set up space, and took turns being the complaint maker. The students actively used the textbook to look for information and answers. During this activity, children worked in mixed-gender groups. Their behaviour was self-directed, and both boys and girls seemed confident in their movements in the class and during the presentation with minimal interference or support from the teacher.

These practices were different from schools in the war-affected region, where learning was more teacher-centred. There, teachers did more lecturing, which was often followed by dictating questions rather than using the more student-centred activities in the textbooks.

Across all three schools, there were no observed instances of violence, which included corporal punishment against students and administrators yelling at or belittling teachers. Although one of the teachers did walk around with a small stick to line students up for the morning assembly at school G, I never witnessed him use the stick to hit students. Violence was present at the three schools; however, the absence of overt incidents during my time suggests that occurrences may be less frequent than schools in other regions where corporal punishment and

the verbal abuse of teachers and students occurred more frequently in my presence. These findings suggest that aspects of the three schools, including the smaller size of school G and I, less hierarchical relationships, sufficient levels of human and material resources, and lower levels of community violence, contributed to more egalitarian relationships between administrators and teachers and between educators and students.

School Size and Harmful Masculinities

Egalitarian relationships within schools were also associated with slightly more positive attitudes about gender relations and interactions. Negative beliefs about interactions between the opposite sexes were present, but to a lower degree in Sinhala medium schools and smaller schools in the other regions. Overall, schools in the Hill-Country region, which included Singhalese and Indian-Tamil schools, had more frequent interactions between the sexes at the student and staff level. These interactions were in stark contrast to the North-Island, Vanni, and Eastern regions, all ethnic Tamil schools with highly conservative attitudes about interactions between the sexes. Collaboration between the sexes was linked to safer learning spaces, lower levels of harmful masculinities, and less violence. At schools G and J, there were collegial relationships between teachers of the opposite sex. There was also mixed gender seating in the class among students. Smaller rural schools, G and I, also had more relaxed environments about interactions between the opposite sex as classes were smaller, and there were lower levels of behaviour associated with harmful masculinities. Lower levels of harmful masculinities among male students also allowed female students to engage with their male peers without feeling threatened or judged. These observations suggest that notions of masculinity and femininity were more positive and less fixed in the low conflict Hill-Country schools compared to schools in the war-affected regions.

Though the three schools exhibited slightly more positive interactions between the sexes, this difference did not limit the effect of school size on levels of harmful masculinities. Among the three schools, the largest school, J, had the highest levels of harmful masculinities. This trend was not specific to the Hill-Country Singhalese region. Although boys at all the schools exhibited some behaviours associated with harmful masculinities, these behaviours were more frequent at the five large schools (Table 10).

Table 10

Examples of School Level Violence Related to Harmful Masculinities

School	Interaction
F	-A physical fight between two grade 11 boys broke during transition time while I was conducting interviews -Fight during Christian prayer on Friday
A	Physical aggression between boys in informal school spaces, like bathroom areas
J	-Throwing paper and not listening to teachers during instruction -Engaging in aggressive “horseplay” with other male students in class before, during, and after class in school hallways
C	-Gang violence among boys between schools -Sexual harassment of female teachers
L	-Sexual harassment of female teachers

These larger schools all went to grade 12 and offered more subjects, particularly in science and commerce, while the smaller schools often only had Arts subjects and went to grade 11. Larger schools had more students overall, and classes had equal numbers of male and female students, while the smaller rural schools had a more significant number of female students in the higher grades. The higher ratio of male students in the large schools occurred in tandem with higher levels of observed violence. This violence included physical and verbal violence between male students in hallways, classes, and playground areas. Violence between boys usually centered around interactions to demonstrate dominance over peers through hitting, shoving, slaps to the back of the head, verbal threats and insults, and yelling. These forms of low-level violence were ongoing and a daily part of the school life that often went unchecked by teachers because it was considered the norm of expected behaviour for boys. This pattern among boys across regions suggests that large school size, irrespective of region, contribute to higher levels of harmful masculinities. However, it should be noted that the degree of violence in this region was lower compared to schools in the war-affected regions.

Despite the high level of violence among male students at school J, there were no observed incidences of physical violence against female students from male students; this was true for all 13 schools. The absence of physical violence was not a surprising finding, given the taboos surrounding interactions between the opposite sex in Sri Lanka’s cultures. However, the atmosphere of harmful masculinities created by boys did impact female students’ behaviours and contributed to gender inequality in the larger schools. Female students reacted to the boys’

performance of hyper-masculine behaviour in informal school spaces by regulating their movements to avoid what they referred to as “eve-teasing” – unwanted comments or general stares from groups of boys who loitered in school walkways. In schools A, C, F, J, and L, female students in grades 11 and 12 were rarely seen outside of the class during break time, whereas male students were often found standing and talking with peers in the walkways and engaging in aggressive play and talk near the bathroom areas behind the school. It should also be noted that boys who did not perform similar forms of masculinity also avoided these spaces. These boys and girls often went out of their way to decrease contact with aggressive boys engaged in these behaviours for their safety. These patterns of hypermasculine behaviour in the informal school spaces (i.e., hallways, playgrounds, common areas) were apparent in all the larger schools with higher ratios of boys to girls in the upper grades. Many teachers and some female students noted that even when the bell rang, the boys would not come in without being asked to do by the teacher. This behaviour was tolerated by teachers because there was a general understanding and acceptance among students and teachers alike that boys were naughty, and girls were well-behaved and followed instructions. Thus, gendered expectations of students among educators perpetuated the norms that allowed harmful masculinities to flourish. Boys’ enactment of harmful masculinities severely limited girls’ and some boys’ movements, sense of safety, and ownership of the school space. The relationship between harmful masculinities, large schools, and limitations on girls was present across regions, but to a lower degree in this region. These findings suggest that large schools contribute to higher levels of harmful masculinities; however, conflict exacerbated this relationship.

Hill-Country Indian (Estate) Tamils

School H and K are grouped in the Hill-Country Indian-Tamil region. Though the areas of these schools directly overlap with the Up-Country Singhalese region, the two groups are very distinct. Given the historical and current marginalization of the Indian-Tamils, also referred to as Estate Tamils, and the difference in language, Indian-Tamils often attend separate schools. It is important to note that not all Indian-Tamils are tea estate workers, despite the common use of the term, Estate Tamil. This study will use the term Indian-Tamil to avoid this generalization.

The Tamil mediums school in the Hill-Country region were often lower ranking and under-resourced. They often had lower access to qualified teachers, compared to their Singhalese counterparts. Many of the teachers came from the local community and had only completed high

school education. They were part of the Ministry of Education's program to address the teacher shortage in Tamil medium schools within the Estate community. Tamil high school graduates were offered teaching-positions for a small stipend while they earned a teaching degree. The school and teachers were faced with several challenges in providing quality education for their students. Years of disenfranchisement had led to lower levels of literacy in the community, high levels of poverty, and disengagement from education and formal schooling. Families did not always prioritize sending children to school, given the challenges of balancing long working hours working below minimum wage as tea pickers. Thus, though Estate Tamils lived in a low conflict region, their access to quality education was much lower than their Tamil counterparts in the North from even the hardest-hit areas of the war. Indian-Tamils also lived in large Singhalese communities and faced discrimination and marginalization daily due to race, religion, language, and socioeconomic status.

School H is a large provincial school in the Up-Country Indian-Tamil region. It is a Tamil medium school with approximately 64 teachers and 947 students and goes from grades 6 - 12. The school is predominantly Indian-Tamil; however, several Muslim students attended. Being located in the middle of town, the school received students from various socioeconomic levels. The schools' infrastructure is good with newly built classrooms spaces; however, there is a shortage of teachers, particularly in the science subjects. The school is part of the government's initiative to improve school infrastructure. There were no Singhalese students enrolled at the school but were Singhalese teachers to teach Sinhala. The school staff, leadership, and students have benefited from training on peace education and supporting students and families from various international NGOs.

School K is a small Tamil medium provincial school located in a rural part of the Hill-Country region. It has grades 1-11 and approximately 12 teachers, including the principal who teaches classes. There are 129 primary students and 110 secondary students. The school is located in the middle of a tea estate and serves Estate Tamils predominantly. The infrastructure is extremely poor with several classes, grades 3-5, using a temporary shed as a classroom. Given the cold and wet climate of the Hill-country region, this is a particular challenge for teachers and students in addition to high levels of poverty and absenteeism among students. Several teachers are members of the local community and have completed their teacher training while teaching through the government program. The school is isolated, about 20 minutes by bus from the

closest town. The principal noted that when students finish grade 11, they have considerable challenges entering school for grade 12 in the town due to discrimination against Estate Tamils, requirements of mandatory donations, and the bus fare to get to school. These are some of the reasons that Estate Tamils are not present at the high ranking school J, which is in the same city. School K has also received training on peace education from NGOs.

Agency for Inclusion from Empathy

In contrast to the Sinhalese schools, the Tamil medium schools in the Hill-Country Indian-Tamil region were more inclusive and accommodating of students' cultural and religious identities. At school H and K, the principals, both Indian-Tamils, explicitly stated that their experiences of marginalization had made them more aware of needing to ensure that religious and cultural differences were reflected in school practices and rights were respected. Thus, even though both principals were Tamil Hindus, in predominantly Tamil Hindu schools, the morning assembly included prayers from all the faith groups represented in the school. School H had a Hindu, Christian, and Islamic prayer daily in the morning despite only have a small Muslim student population. The principal of the school noted that when he was first appointed, there was only a Hindu prayer and had made a point to change the practice. He also demonstrated a significant understanding of the needs and challenges of the Estate community, having faced similar challenges himself. He was highly instrumental in raising the status of the school and bringing it to a better level than when he first arrived. He was well respected by students and spoken highly about by teachers. Thus, in both schools, the school leaderships' personal experiences and consequent understanding of students' needs had fostered agency to change the status quo. The pattern of greater levels of inclusion in the minority schools was not restricted to the Indian-Tamil schools in the Hill-Country region. All the Tamil medium schools in the war-affected regions, both ethnic Tamil and Muslim, provided several accommodations for students that were not part of the dominant religious group in the school. For example, Muslim students in ethnic Tamil schools wore their religious attire. Girls were permitted to wear pants under their school dress, and Friday mornings were allocated to separate prayers for the different religions. Thus, minority status and experiences of marginalization were related to greater levels of inclusion and respect for the cultural and religious rights of other groups.

Positive Conflict in Safe Spaces

Teachers at schools H and K were more often able to create safe spaces and consequently discuss controversial topics about their minority status and experiences of marginalization compared to their counterparts in the war-affected region. At school H, educators fostered safer classroom spaces by employing student-centered approaches to pedagogy, which facilitated equality and inclusion and increased student voice in the classroom. Despite large class sizes where some students had to share desks, teachers made the most of the limited resources. In a grade 9 class, a male teacher made an explicit effort to ensure boys and girls were chosen to answer questions during discussions. The discussion topic was on changes that students wanted to see in society. Students were highly engaged and brought up topics related to reducing pollution, language barriers, and religious harmony. The teacher had created a safe classroom environment where students felt comfortable bringing up these issues.

In another grade 9 citizenship class, students were learning about rights. The teacher asked students to suggest the different kinds of rights people should have, which led to a student-initiated discussion on women's rights and inequalities. Although the lesson was conducted in a lecture style, the topic of discussion was student selected and went beyond the textbook content. The teacher facilitated a space for students to talk about issues that were meaningful to them rather than restricting the class to the examples from the textbook. These practices were a marked difference from Tamil classrooms in the war-affected regions where teachers talked about Sri Lanka as a multilingual nation but never about some of the challenges associated with language barriers for minorities in a multilingual society. There was generally a sense of fear of addressing controversial topics by teachers in the war-affected regions due to high militarization and consequent surveillance of schools and the community by security forces. Thus, safe spaces were created not only through student-centered pedagogy, but it was also facilitated by the relatively lower levels of violence, in the form of militarization and surveillance, in the Hill-Country region compared to the war-affected regions.

The Impact of Educator Training on GE

The explicit effort to promote more gender equality through small changes in school and classroom practices at school H and K was evidence that training on GE issues does contribute to greater levels of social cohesion. Both schools had received extensive training on student-centered approaches from NGO's. This training had included gender equality as an aspect of

student-centered approaches to pedagogy. Teachers at school H made a point to use assigned seating to create mixed-gender groups and ability groups so that students could learn from each other. Some teachers at school H even encouraged group discussion, a rare occurrence in any of the schools observed. These practices contrasted with Tamils schools in the conflict-affected regions that limited and or denigrated interactions between the opposite sexes. These schools are also more strongly prescribed to traditional gender roles and patriarchal values. Taboos around interactions between the opposite sex in Sri Lanka exists among all the ethnic groups; however, the degree to which these taboos are held varied based on factors related to levels of patriarchy and harmful masculinities in the school. Thus, positive attitudes on students/teachers interacting with the opposite sex were associated with greater levels of gender equality and lower levels of school violence and conflict.

An exception to the trend of large schools having more traditional gender roles and responsibilities for students and higher levels of harmful masculinities was school H. What was unique about this school was the leadership that actively challenged the status quo on gendered roles and responsibilities. The principal personally ensured that school responsibilities were shared equally between boys and girls by overseeing them each morning.

When I arrived at school H on my first day, I witnessed what looked like an organized form of chaos as children ran around in all directions cleaning, planting, carrying buckets of water, watering, sweeping, managing the gate to the school for cars to enter, and lining up younger students for the morning assembly. Everyone had something to do, and amid this, there was a male principal, who was overseeing the students as they attended to their duties. He was the first principal I had encountered that was not sitting in his office at his desk. His hands-on approach to leadership reflected his commitment to the school and his community.

A more active gender-equitable approach by the principal at school H curbed the lack of engagement that was commonly present among boys in large schools. The principal's approach created fewer opportunities for boys to engage in behaviours that contributed to harmful masculinities. They were meaningfully engaged in school activities and consequently had a greater sense of agency in their place within the school. School activities that challenged fixed gender roles also contributed to positive interactions between boys and girls and created a more cohesive school environment. These observations illustrate that school leadership and training on gender equality were contributing factors in promoting gender equality and inclusive democratic citizenship through education.

Islands Region

The Island region is in the war-affected Northern province. Both schools A and B are on the small islands off the mainland near the Jaffna peninsula. Though the two schools were in a rural area, they had the advantage of being close to Jaffna town, the economic and political hub of the Northern Province. The region is predominantly ethnic Tamil, which includes Christians and Hindus. There are small pockets of Muslim communities in this region. Most of the inhabitants are farmers. There is limited inter-religious/ethnic conflict in the region; however, caste issues and poverty are significant challenges. A large percentage of the students come from homes impacted by poverty and war. The area has been under military occupation for decades.

School A is a large Tamil medium school with grades 6–12. There are approximately 700 students registered and 50 teachers, making this the largest school in the area and a mid-size school overall. Class sizes are between 25-30. The infrastructure is adequate to low, with some classrooms that are open and exposed to the elements. The school has improved some of its infrastructures through donations from past graduates. At the time of research fieldwork, a government-funded technology centre was being built. There was a teacher shortage for some classes, particularly in the STEM subjects. The students are predominantly ethnic Tamil, Hindus, and Christians, and a small number of Muslim students. Most of the teachers commute from Jaffna. Consequently, school A is not considered a desirable posting, mainly due to its mid-level ranking compared to the top-ranking schools in Jaffna town nearby.

School B is located approximately 20 minutes walking distance from school A and is also a Tamil medium school. It is a much smaller school with grades 1-11; older students share the space with younger students from the primary grades. There are approximately 180 students and 15 teachers, 9 of which teach at grades six and higher. The classes are small, with less than 15 students per class. School B is a provincial school and is among the lower-ranking schools in the country. The infrastructure is lacking; there is limited access to technology resources and a proper school ground. The student body is comprised of ethnic Tamils, both Christians and Hindus. School B was the school I attended as a child, and the Island region was my birthplace in Sri Lanka.

Hierarchical School Structures and Exam Culture

Schools that were driven by a strong exam culture were more hierarchical and teacher-centered. School A was an illustrative example of how the strong school exam culture, shared

across all schools, was exacerbated in communities with limited social mobility due to low socio-economic development due to decades of war. At school A, within classrooms, assemblies, and informal conversations, the general message was that the only way out of poverty, war, and hardship was by studying hard, getting good grades, and obtaining a spot in Sri Lanka's competitive university system to get a job. Despite the good intentions of educators who focused on the utilitarian goals of education for students, this approach severely limited opportunities for inclusive democratic citizenship in school and classroom spaces.

At school A, the principal's approach to exams and school ranking impacted both teacher and student agency and opportunities for inclusive democratic citizenship. Teachers at school A had limited agency about what and how they taught. The principal placed a great deal of pressure on teachers to ensure students were well prepared for national exams, and consequently, teachers spent most of their class time reviewing old exam papers and teaching to the test. The principal at school A started each morning lecturing students and teachers about exam preparation, getting extra help from teachers, and improving the school's ranking. Decisions around how the school was run were often determined based on fixed hierarchies between the principal and teachers, including distinctions between more experienced teachers versus less experienced teachers and male versus female teachers. These fixed hierarchical relationships and consequent interactions were witnessed by students and contributed to the overall exam-based hierarchical school culture. Exam results were so important that the principal, with the help of past graduates, paid for a tutor to provide extra classes for grade 11 and 12 students after school in the math and science subjects to ensure their students did well. This initiative prevented students from having to travel to Jaffna for private tutoring and also supported students who could not afford these expensive classes. Getting well-qualified teachers in math and science was challenging for many rural schools in the war-affected regions. The administration at school A was challenged with retaining good teachers and students, who often opted to go to the high ranking, semi-private schools in Jaffna. The shortage of teachers meant that they were often teaching subjects they were not qualified for and were overburdened and consequently had limited time to engage in learning that went beyond exam preparation. Thus, limited opportunities for economic development, hierarchical approaches to school governance, exam culture, and a shortage of qualified teachers all contributed to reducing teacher agency.

Exam-based hierarchical school cultures contributed to teacher-centered classrooms that limited student agency and limited students' civic engagement to the personally responsible model of citizenship. At school A and other schools in the war-affected regions, classroom instruction was predominantly teacher-centered through a lecture-based approach, even in the lower grades, where typically more student-centered approaches are used, and even with small class sizes. During citizenship classes, the general message that students repeatedly received was that the only way to contribute to society and be a good citizen was to be obedient and respectful to elders, study hard, and get a good job. The firm belief that the only way "out" was particular to war-affected communities where there were fewer economic opportunities, and everyone was vying for stable government jobs that required university education. As such, student-agency was centered almost exclusively on academic success.

Although students demonstrated a strong sense of agency in obtaining good grades, they had little to say in what they were learning, how they were learning, and even further limited opportunities to learn about enacting social change in their lives and society. By focusing on academic success alone, students rarely had opportunities to engage in creative or critical thinking activities that would allow them to imagine something beyond the status quo. Moreover, for those few students who did want to enact social change, there were limited opportunities in the schools to engage in these activities. For example, many schools were required to have a school parliament through a government and NGO led partnership program that promoted peace and social cohesion to make schools more democratic. These programs were meant to be ongoing and part of the school culture to promote democratic practices by giving students a voice in how the school was run; however, across all the schools, students and teachers talked about the student parliament as something that had happened in the past. A teacher at School A noted that they had not had time to reconvene again because they were overburdened with exam preparation. Hierarchical school cultures, limited resources in the form of teacher time, and a focus on exams were barriers to enacting democratic processes through programs like the student parliament based on the *ESCP* policy.

Despite the challenges to student-centered practices, some educators in the war-affected regions were able to foster democratic and cohesive school and classroom spaces. The principal at school B took a more democratic approach to how she ran the school. School B did not have the same pressure of maintaining school standings because it was not a high-ranking school.

Consequently, educators did not experience the same pressure as their counterparts at school A to teach to the test. The principal was highly collegial with her staff and sought input from some of her senior teachers when making decisions for the school. These democratic practices were common across all the schools in which principals exhibited respectful behaviour towards teachers and were open to their opinions and suggestions in the daily running of the school. Furthermore, the more egalitarian relationship and interaction between administrators and teachers trickled down to how teachers treated students and how students treated each other.

Across all the regions, principals at smaller schools were less prone to hierarchical leadership styles. Training also had an impact on more democratic approaches to school governance and teaching. The teachers at school B had received training on social cohesion and student-centered approaches through an international NGO. They were familiar with issues related to working with students impacted by conflict and trauma and differentiated instruction. For example, a female teacher in school B made accommodations for a student who had a learning disability by allowing him to copy of a peer during the dictation part of the lesson. Students in her classroom sat in groups and worked together, often with stronger students assisting their peers. It was apparent that this was the way they were used to working based on the minimal directions given by the teacher and the self-directed approach to group work. Students were less competitive and more collaborative in the way they interacted with each other in the classroom. The more egalitarian interactions among educators and between educators and students at school B illustrate the role of school leadership in challenging hierarchical and authoritative approaches to school governance by respecting teachers' and students' voices in how their school should be run.

Patriarchal Leadership and Violence

Patriarchal leadership styles linked to violent and aggressive behaviours contributed to a school culture of harmful masculinities and fear. These patterns of behaviour were then replicated between teachers and students and, in some cases, among students. Teachers in large schools with strong patriarchal and hierarchical school cultures experienced bullying and aggression from administrators. Administrators use of humiliation with teachers as a means of controlling the staff was also evidence that harmful masculinities is not just a trait performed by an individual but rather a form of governance grounded in patriarchy that contributes to a culture of violence within schools. This culture of violence directly impeded teachers' and students'

rights and agency within the school. Across all schools, but particularly large schools, authoritarian approaches to governance among principals, who were usually male, was linked to patriarchal school cultures that fostered harmful masculinities.

The principal at school A spent a considerable part of the daily morning assembly encouraging students to study hard and berating teachers for not being in the classroom on time, not reviewing old exam papers and even yelling at teachers in the assembly in front of students if they were caught talking to a colleague. These tactics to humiliate teachers in front of colleagues and students created a culture of fear and mistrust in the school. Similar incidents were observed at the other large schools C, F, and L. These principals resorted to an aggressive style of leadership to manage large numbers of students, particularly the aggressive behaviours of older male students. Their aggressive approach was accepted as a norm and, in some cases, valued because it was viewed as the role of a man to keep everyone in line through dominance and aggression. However, it contributed to creating a culture of fear among teachers and increased aggressive behaviours among older male students. Principals that governed the school using a heavy top-down approach more frequently engaged in different forms of violence against students, including physical assault, humiliating/belittling students, and frequent yelling at students and their teachers, often in front of their students. This approach often resulted in boys resisting and performing their own versions of masculinity that was often harmful. One example of this tension is illustrated in the following vignette at school A.

Four boys in grade 12 entered the principal's office on an errand. The principal was in the process of doing an interviewing with me and spoke to them rather abruptly. Before addressing their request, he scolded them for walking around the school with their uniform shirt sleeves rolled up and for wearing their shirts too tight. Revealing muscular shape and breaking the school's strict rules around the dress code were ways to perform their preferred version of masculinity. However, this was countered by the principal's performance of domination. The principal was quick to point out the infraction and demanded to know what the boys were thinking, walking around the school in this manner. He asked who they thought they were and spoke for a few minutes with a clear intention to humiliate and suppress the boys' performance of masculinity and keep them in their place as boys rather than young men. The boys listened quietly and respectfully and answered the principal in one-word responses in a state of fear with their hands crossed across the front of the bodies in submission. The act was particularly humiliating because it was done in my presence, a woman, and an outsider. They were asked to roll down their sleeves and told not to return to school unless their shirts were fitted appropriately. The reason for their visit to the office was not addressed.

The principal's response was unnecessarily hostile and exemplified how adult males, in their attempts to control boys through violence and domination, further contribute to a culture of harmful masculinities by teaching boys that aggression, in this case, humiliation, was an effective means to control others. Behaviours associated with harmful masculinities from the principal contributed to teachers' engagement in physical violence against students, thereby contributing to a school culture of violence against children, particularly boys.

Humiliation was also used by male teachers, with similar inclinations of power and dominance, to control students. The following vignette from school A demonstrates how class and poverty compound violence against boys within schools and fosters harmful masculinities.

A male teacher asked a young boy to stand up during Parents' Day at the school in front of the more than 60 parents and all the students from grades 6 to 8. The teacher pointed to the boy's dirty shirt, ripped pants, and dishevelled hair as an example of a student whose parents were not involved in their child's education. The boy's parents were not present, and it was obvious he came from difficult circumstances. The boy listened with a vacant look in his eyes as the teacher spoke about him to the parents and students in the room. It was clear that this was not the first time he had experienced this form of humiliation. The same headteacher also addressed the unacceptable way boys were wearing their ties, comparing it to the way men wore their ties to the pub after a long day's work. The comparison to older men and disparaging comments was meant to target and undermine boys' engagement in masculinity. He also targeted girls for stepping outside of their boundaries as females by having their shirt collars popped. The girls were doing this seemed to be the greater offence because he noted that they had no other responsibility other than to maintain a proper physical appearance.

These highly gendered microaggressions by the male teacher did not go unchallenged. In a surprising act of subtle resistance, a young female teacher, who was visibly distressed by her male colleague's humiliation of the boy, redirected the conversation by opening the floor to parents' comments and questions. The subtle redirection ended the tirade of humiliating comments towards the targeted students and gave voice to the parents. These examples demonstrate how teachers and principals use humiliation to control the behaviour of students and consequently reinforced traditional gender roles for male and female students. It also shows that some teachers and principals were able to challenge the status quo and find alternate ways of engagement that did not rely on patriarchal forms of governance rooted in violence and aggression.

Vanni Region

Schools C and D are located in the Vanni area on the mainland of the war-affected Northern Province. The LTTE controlled the region for decades in the capital town of Kilinochchi. It was also their last stronghold during the war in 2009 when thousands were killed before the government's victory. To date, the area remains highly impacted by the war. Homes and buildings have been decimated by shelling and bombing, and the area is also heavily mined. Many residents have not been able to return to their homes as a result of detainment by security forces. In many cases, their homes were raised or confiscated by the military. Vanni is the most militarized region in Sri Lanka, with a 1:2 ratio of soldiers to civilians (STP, 2018). The military continues to hold onto civilian land for various purposes, including economic, which has impeded both the social and economic development of the region (STP, 2018). The students at schools C and D are all ethnic Tamils. Many of them were caught in the last days of fighting between the government and LTTE forces. The grade 11 and 12 students I interviewed were 9 and 10 years old, respectively, during the heavy fighting. Some had been displaced while others had spent substantial time in internally displaced person (IDP) camps. Many of them came from female-headed households due to the high number of deaths or disappearance of men in the region. Most children came from homes where either the father or mother or both had been killed, and they were cared for by extended family.

School C is a large national school located in the town. There are approximately 1400 students from grade 6-12 and 73 teachers in the school. It occupies a large stretch of land and has good infrastructure due to being a national school. The school shares its playing field with the military. While I was there, I often saw soldiers conducting daily exercises and other military activities on the school playing field. Class sizes range from medium to large. While the school principal is male, the vice-principal, who is actively involved in the daily running of the school, is female. The students at school C live in the town as well as the surrounding rural areas. As a result, the student body is economically mixed. Most of the teachers come from Jaffna, a one and half hour bus ride distance. To retain teachers, the school provides a bus for teachers to make the daily commute.

School D is approximately 20 minutes away from the town by bus and is in a highly rural community. A type 2 provincial school that goes up to grade 11, its infrastructure is extremely poor, with insufficient classroom space, large holes in the floors, and broken desks and chairs.

Because the school is located between two districts, I was told that it received insufficient funding. As a result, at the time of field research, the school was heavily dependent on donations to meet basic needs such as tables and chairs for students. When I arrived on the first day, the school was closed due to flooding from heavy rains in the area and inadequate drainage systems. School D is in an area that was highly affected by the conflict. Approximately 60-70 percent of the students come from families in which at least one parent was lost in the war. Most students lived with grandparents, aunts, and uncles, or had step-parents. Despite the extreme hardships, a participant described the local families as coming from “strong stock” because they were descendants of the people who fled the 1983 anti-Tamil riots and gave birth to the LTTE. The principal was female and lived in the region; she was personally invested in supporting students and improving the school.

Multilingualism and Linguistic Hegemony

Multilingualism and singing of the national anthem were indicators of national unity and Sri Lankan patriotism within the schools. There was a definitive difference between the schools that included the national anthem as part of their morning routine and those that did not. Both schools C and D, and all the schools in the war-affected regions, did not sing the national anthem during the morning assembly. These schools had school songs that were sung by students as part of the morning routine. In some of these cases, the anthem was sung at the end of the day. Each school song was different and was used in place of the national anthem, which according to the Sri Lankan constitution, can only be sung in Sinhala. Attempts to sing the national anthem in Tamil had faced significant controversy from both Sinhala hardliners Sinhala and Tamil separatists. In 2010, the Rajapaksa government made an unofficial decree that prevented the anthem from being sung in the Tamil language at schools and government institutions. And, despite a reconciliatory gesture by President Sirisena in 2016 to unofficially allow the anthem to be sung in Tamil, a move met by resistance from Sinhalese hardliners, the uptake has been low in Tamil schools, particularly in the war-affected regions. These schools choose to sing a school song rather than the anthem, which was not in their mother tongue. Thus, not only did Tamil participants resist singing the anthem due to feelings of exclusion, but many Sinhalese did not want them singing the anthem in Tamil. Policies that deliberately excluded Tamil speakers from nationalism through Sinhala language hegemony undermined opportunities for national unity and social cohesion through education.

Learning the two national languages, Tamil and Sinhala, and the linking language, English, is a central component of the ESCP policy; however, there were several barriers to supporting students and teachers to learn additional languages. One of the main barriers was access to qualified language teachers. There was a shortage of trained teachers to teach the Sinhala classes in the war-affected regions. For example, there was no qualified Sinhala speaking teacher at school D. Sinhala language teachers in the Northern and Eastern province were often Tamil teachers who had received language training to teach Sinhala but were not fluent speakers. Due to this shortage, students had fewer opportunities to learn the language than their Indian-Tamil counterparts in Sinhalese regions who were often bilingual. Most ethnic Tamils in the war-affected regions were more motivated to learn English. Despite this preference, teachers and students recognized the importance of learning Sinhalese, but this was often based on utilitarian goals such as higher-paid jobs or accessing essential services at government offices, such as filing a complaint at the local police station, which was often staffed with Sinhala speaking officers. There was limited motivation from a social cohesion perspective to learn Sinhala; in fact, participants were more resentful that essential government services were not offered in Tamil.

Community Violence and School Violence

The use of corporal punishment in schools and classrooms was higher in the war-affected communities; it created a culture of fear of adults and significantly undermined students' agency and ability to engage as active citizens in school. Although student interviews in Chapter 6 indicate that corporal punishment was practiced at some level in all the schools, it was only in the war-affected regions that physical violence against children was observed. Some of the highest levels of violence were observed in the areas impacted by recent conflicts. School C and D had the highest level of observable violence against students. Not surprisingly, the region also had the highest levels of community violence, including militarization, surveillance of civilians by security forces, gang violence, and SGBV. If students were observed doing something unacceptable, they were questioned, and before even being able to respond, they were beaten senselessly. Although schools A and C shared similar profiles, both being large, semi-rural, ethnic Tamil schools in the North, school C had more frequent incidences of observed physical violence against students. Teachers and principals at the school reported that although it was not meant to be used, it was very much still in practice. It was a recent change in practice and not

heavily enforced; furthermore, teachers had not been given much training on classroom management techniques that did not use corporal punishment. In observing the instances of violence, they were often painful to watch because they were done so that students were not given a chance to advocate or explain the situation before they were beaten. Beatings often occurred suddenly and indiscriminately, like the vice-principal at school D whipping students with a stick as she ushered them into their class after the bell had rung. Such practices instilled a sense of helplessness among students and reduced their agency in challenging the injustice done to them. Students also learned to regulate their behaviours only to avoid punishment and often engaged in similar forms of violence with each other and thereby increased the level of school violence overall.

One factor that contributed to harmful masculinities at all the schools, irrespective of size, was the gendered nature of corporal punishment. The use of corporal punishment was more frequently used by adults towards male students to exert control and dominance. The violence itself was also gendered, with boys often being beaten indiscriminately with a teacher's hand or any object lying around while for girls it was ritualized – usually with a stick – and done below the knees or on the hand. Several factors contributed to the gendering of school violence against students by teachers. One was that male teachers were generally not allowed to touch female students and therefore used a stick when hitting them. The differences were also dependent on the gendered expectations for boys and girls. Boys were expected to misbehave and be tough, while girls were expected to behave well and were considered fragile. Thus, boys experienced higher levels of violence while being allowed to act violently, and girls experienced less violence and were expected to act peacefully. These hypermasculine and hyperfeminine expectations placed on boys and girls, respectively, contributed to harmful masculinities that harmed boys and girls. An illustrative example of this took place at school C. The following incident demonstrates how a culture of violence in war-affected and highly militarized communities is compounded by boys' engagement in violence and how this was further exacerbated by adults' attempts to ameliorate violence through violence.

It was early in the morning at the office. A boy arrived after classes had started. He was delayed because he had gotten into a fight with boys from another school. When the boy arrived in the office, the principal, a man in his 50s who had already been informed about what had taken place, started to question him. Before allowing the boy to answer, the principal slapped the boy across the face, right in the middle of the school office. The open-handed slap was so unexpected and strong that the boy fell into the chairs set out

for visitors nearby. The principal continued to hit him indiscriminately after he had fallen. The principal yelled that he was particularly upset because the fight had been associated with “gangs.” Shortly after, the boy’s parents, poor farmers from the local community, were called in, and he was expelled from the school despite their pleas for him to get a second chance.

The growing issue among young men living in the war-affected and militarized communities, such as the Vanni, illustrates a different aspect of gender inequality common to communities impacted by protracted conflicts. In the Vanni region, male students often got entangled with local street gangs, comprised of young men who are out of school and unemployed, for a sense of security and belonging. Both groups of males had very little power or agency in their highly militarized communities where they are under constant surveillance by security forces for being potential terrorists. Gang affiliation and violence were ways to perform masculinity to gain a sense of control and safety in a space where Tamil boys had few opportunities to experience a secure ethnic and/or gender identity. The incident described above demonstrates how the violence at the community and state level finds its way into the school. The principal’s reaction demonstrates how a culture of violence is created when violence is used to control violence. The presence of a male principal that espoused strong patriarchal and hierarchal values contributed to a school culture of harmful masculinities and violence. However, it is difficult to say whether patriarchal male principals were placed in these large schools to control aggressive and violent behaviour, or whether the principals’ patriarchal approach to governance contributed to male students acting aggressively, or perhaps a combination of the two. The way that corporal punishment was used exemplifies the role that harmful masculinities plays in the iterative relationship between gender inequality and conflict.

The use of physical violence in the war-affected communities also intersected with the social status/class of students and their parents. For example, school F had a large urban population that was predominantly middle class. However, despite the high levels of violence among students, teachers and principals were not observed engaging in corporal punishment. There was reservation among educators on using corporal punishment, a practice that is officially prohibited, out of fear from getting push back from parents. Contrastingly, in schools, both large and small, that serviced students from predominantly rural communities where parents had less social capital, physical violence against students was a daily occurrence. It was often used indiscriminately by teachers and administrators in the classroom and school areas. Poverty,

parents' limited education and agency, unemployment among youth, corporal punishment, and militarization were factors that contributed to violence against boys, which in turn contributed to increased levels of community-level violence and violence against women and girls.

Boys, Violence, and Harmful Masculinities

Gendered expectations based on hypermasculine and hyperfeminine norms for students contributed to a school culture of harmful masculinities and gender inequality. Teachers' expectations, seating, attention, and interactions with students were crucial factors in how gender (in)equality was fostered in classrooms. In many of the classrooms, across all the schools, the teacher-centered classroom often reinforced gendered differences in student engagement that contributed to gender inequality. In the younger grades (6-8), boys were more engaged in the classroom discussion, in part, because the teacher responded to students who were the loudest and shouted out answers, which happened to be the boys. This behaviour was typical in many schools and grades and reinforced the widely held belief that girls followed the rules, were quiet, good at memorizing facts and getting their work done. In contrast, boys were viewed as loud, misbehaved, good problem solvers, and not always good at getting their work done. Even if girls knew the answers and wanted to respond to the discussion questions, it was often the boys' voices that were heard because it was considered improper for girls to shout out answers. The practice, viewed as a benign status quo, normalized aggressive participation by boys and passive engagement by girls. Thus, schools were complicit in the perpetuation of fixed and, in some cases, harmful notions of masculinity and femininity for boys and girls, respectively.

A classroom practice that hurt boys and contributed to harmful masculinities in the older grades was teachers' targeted instruction to students responded well to a teacher-centered approach to pedagogy. In classrooms at school D, I observed students sleeping and talking off-topic; the teacher did not address these students, who were often boys, and continued to teach to those students who were engaged in the lesson. In addition to negatively impacting students who learned in alternative ways, this approach had a gendered effect on student success, particularly for boys in rural communities. Keeping boys in school as they got older was a significant challenge that was further exacerbated by approaches to teaching and classroom management. Given the more violent discipline experienced by boys, higher suspension rates, and high expectations and exam culture in the older grades, many boys found thriving in a traditional school environment difficult. Subsequently, this led to higher levels of dropouts in the older

grades among boys. With limited economic opportunities in the Vanni region and no prospects to further develop their skills through education, these boys often ended up disengaged and more prone to participating in the growing levels of youth violence, including the sexual harassment of young women in the community.

Although boys at all the schools exhibited behaviours that reflected harmful masculinities, these behaviours were more frequent in the larger schools in the war-affected regions. Larger schools had a greater number of students overall, and classes had equal numbers of male and female students, while the smaller rural schools had a greater number of female students in the higher grades. The greater number of male students in the large schools occurred in tandem with higher levels of observed violence. This violence included physical and verbal violence between male students in hallways, classes, and playground areas. Violence between boys usually centered around interactions to demonstrate dominance over peers through hitting, shoving, slaps to the back of the head, verbal threats and insults, and yelling. These forms of low-level violence were ongoing, and a daily part of the school. It often went unchecked by teachers because it was considered within the norm of expected behaviour for boys.

School cultures with high levels of harmful masculinities impacted interactions between young female teachers and older male students. Although boys rarely engaged in aggressive or violent behaviour towards their female peers, given the harsh discipline around interacting with the opposite sex, some boys did push boundaries with their female teachers to exert sexual dominance. Boys in the higher grades often engaged in sexually charged microaggressions against their female teachers. The supremacy of patriarchy was evident in the shift of power from the teacher to the student when it came to older boys and their female teachers. After boys reached a certain age, the status that came with being a man in society overrode their status as students when it came to interactions with their female teachers resulting in incidences of SGBV against female teachers. I witnessed a number of these incidents, the first one being at school C.

I was walking on the grounds of school C with a young female teacher on her break. We talked through the walkway of two buildings and were interrupted by two boys from the grade 12 class who remarked as they walked past that she should not laugh so much because her teeth were showing, and they were crooked. The teacher laughed nervously and told them to get to class. I was shocked by the comment and her casual response as I had never seen such a blatant show of disrespect towards a teacher during my time at the schools. Sri Lankan schools are very hierarchical as such teacher-student relationships were often based on a high degree of respect and regard for authority. However, in

speaking with her more, I learned that this type of treatment from older male students was reserved for new, young, female teachers.

The boys' behaviour mirrored their male teachers' and principals' treatment of the young female teachers, who were often viewed as one step up from a grade 12 student within the school hierarchy. The female teachers rarely reported these issues because they were embarrassed and feared being blamed for drawing the students' attention to themselves based on how they looked, dressed, or something they had said that could have been taken the wrong way. In examining instances of violence directed at teachers, school size was a determinant of the level of aggression and harmful masculinities exhibited by male students towards teachers, particularly unmarried female teachers. The acceptance and normalization of the shift in power from female teachers to their male students demonstrate the influential role of patriarchy and its contribution to harmful masculinities through boys' engagement in SGBV within school spaces.

Eastern Province

Schools E and F are in the northern part of the Eastern province, which consists of ethnic Tamils, Muslims, and small pockets of the Vedda ethnic group, many of whom are mixed with ethnic Tamils. Further south in the Eastern province, there are large Sinhala communities. The Tamil region was highly impacted by both the war and the 2004 tsunami. Large sections of the population were displaced to IDP camps due to the conflict, and some have now resettled. Though some families have returned to their homes, most have lost access to their livelihoods due to restricted access to the coast and agricultural land from military occupation.

School E is located in a rural fishing community, 1.5 hours by bus from the closest town. It is a small Tamil medium provincial school with a predominantly ethnic Tamil student population and goes from grade 1-11. There is a sizeable Hindu and Christian population at the school. The infrastructure of the school is adequate to low with some access to technology but significant teacher shortages. The school itself was an LTTE stronghold during the 2006-2007 war. Parts of the school infrastructure still have holes from heavy shelling. Many of the parents of the students are ex LTTE combatants. All of the teachers at the school commute from the large towns, and consequently, the school is not a desirable posting for teachers. Military restrictions to land and sea access have resulted in a loss of livelihood, and many families have turned to employment overseas. Female family members, usually mothers, work as domestic workers in the Middle East. They are gone for several years, and children often do not see them

during this time. Children, particularly boys, often miss school to participate in seasonal work, and the child marriage rate is high.

School F is located in a town within the Eastern region. It is a Tamil medium provincial school. The school goes from grades 1-12 with a separate wing for the primary grades. There are over 1500 students and 64 teachers, making it one of the largest schools in the study. Classes are large, with close to 40 students in some classes. The infrastructure is adequate, with most classes having shelter from the weather. The school is predominantly ethnic Tamil, but there is a handful of Muslim boys. The school is in a community where Hindu and Muslim families live in close proximity to each other, and there have been instances of communal violence in the neighbourhood. The students at the school come from predominantly middle-class homes.

The Limitation of Tolerance to Prevent Exclusion

Although schools in the minority regions had more inclusive school practices related to religious diversity, the tolerance based approach to difference limited their ability to contribute to social cohesion. All the observed ethnic Tamil, Muslim, and Indian-Tamil schools provided some space for minority religions to practice their faith. However, there was room for improvement in how effectively minority schools were including other minority religious practices in the school.

School F was predominantly Hindu but had a sizeable Christian population. On Fridays, Christian students were given a separate space to conduct prayers; however, the number of students exceeded the space provided for them. Due to the limited space in the classroom, older boys remained outside of the prayer area with no role to play and caused disruptions. Crowding and lack of supervision contributed to conflicts and increased behaviours associated with harmful masculinities, thereby making the school space unsafe. The teachers provided limited guidance to students and failed to address the boys' behaviour in a meaningful way. Meanwhile, Hindu students participated in a prayer led by a priest at the temple attached to the school and were supervised appropriately by teachers. The stark difference between the two groups demonstrates how practices based on tolerating differences often led to superficial gestures of inclusion rather than meaningful recognition of the needs of minority groups in a school.

A focus on tolerance rather than acceptance of difference was also apparent at School E. At the smaller school, teachers frowned upon students whose families had converted from Hinduism to Christianity and/or attended switched the prayer they attended on a particular week.

Rather than viewing this fluidity of movement between prayers as a positive act, teachers scolded the students and spoke negatively about them with each other. A tolerance based approach to difference also contributed to a failure to challenge the growing levels of Islamophobia among educators. School F limited the number of Muslim students from attending to prevent religious conflicts between students. Thus, although ethnic Tamil schools facilitated Muslim students' religious identities, this was not without controversy or resistance.

Teacher-centered Classrooms and Student Agency

Teacher-centered classroom practices acted as a barrier to promoting student agency and democratic citizenship. Overall, most teachers across the 13 sites were aware of best practices such as student-centered pedagogy and its benefits; however, they rarely employed them in their daily classroom teaching. Approaches to teaching differed slightly based on factors such as region, exam culture, resource and time limitations, a lack of practice with child-centered pedagogy, and personal preferences in teaching style. Overall, in the war impacted regions, a lecture-style approach was most common, even in the younger grades. Many of these schools also had access to fewer resources compared to the schools in the Up-Country region. Teachers using a lecture-style approach often began a lesson with a brief introduction of the topic and a discussion question. This discussion question was usually the most engaging part of the lesson when the teacher attempted to hook the students' interests with a question that linked the content of the civics textbook to the students' lives. Students would respond to the question, followed by a reading of a section of the textbook as a class. After this, students were assigned questions that were dictated by the teacher. They were then given time to complete these questions independently. Even though some teachers chose to seat students in groups rather than in rows, students were rarely allowed to engage in any group work. The configuration of the desk was often aesthetic or meant to give the illusion of group work, which was a well known student-centered approach. Classes usually ended with students who finished their work, having it checked by the teacher. This template of instruction was consistent across all the schools in the war-affected regions. Teachers rarely veered from the textbook.

In some instances, teachers did attempt to employ student-centered practices, but they were done inconsistently and with a lack of understanding of inclusion. For example, the civics teacher at school E used a group drama activity to cover the topic of preparing for natural disasters. Students had to work in groups and present their final piece to the class, followed by

questions and comments from the audience. Allowing students to work in small groups encouraged students to collaborate and think beyond the content of the textbook; however, despite the student-centered nature of the activity, the teacher split the groups based on gender, and the female students were extremely shy and withdrawn during the presentation, one group did not present because they were so scared. Despite the student-centered nature of the activity, it did not go far enough to disrupt the gender dynamics in the class to support girls' participation. Furthermore, the lack of familiarity of using drama as a tool for learning by the students suggests that its use by the teacher may have been influenced by my presence as an observer in the classroom rather than a regular practice that the students were familiar with.

One contributing factor to students' agency was an engagement in extracurricular activities such as drama and debate competitions that facilitated student voice in the school. Students at school E, particularly upper-grade female students, demonstrated high levels of leadership through their involvement in school activities such as using the electronic PA system to conduct the afternoon school routines, something usually done by male students in all the other schools. Furthermore, despite the challenges faced in the community related to poverty, the students demonstrated resilience and strong morale. One source of this resilience was students' pride from their achievements in sports and drama competitions. Many of these activities were conducted under the leadership of a young female vice-principal. The female vice-principal at the school, who also taught classes, was an important role model for female students. She, like the principal at school B, had received training on promoting democratic approaches to build social cohesion and peace. The school staff, leadership, and students had benefited from training on GE issues and supporting students and families through an NGO. The more student-centred practices of the school, led by the vice-principal, demonstrate the effectiveness of training for educators. It also highlights the differential uptake of training, as some educators were more open to integrating student-centered practices, while others pretend to engage in them.

Gendered Interactions and Engagement

Male and female students' roles and responsibilities within the school were often based on fixed cultural gender norms and consequently contributed to gender inequality. Students across all the schools engaged in various duties to help run the school. These responsibilities included keeping the school clean (e.g. sweeping, washing, arranging desks, etc.), conducting the morning announcements, setting up sound equipment for assemblies, singing the school

song/anthem, and acting as monitors during assemblies. In most cases, students' engagement in these duties was reflective of traditional gender roles. School size and leadership were determining factors of whether responsibilities were gendered within the school. The larger schools in more urbanized communities, which had a greater portion of students coming from middle-class families, had more frequent instances of traditional gender roles in school duties compared to schools in rural areas. The gendering of school responsibilities disproportionately impacted boys. A larger percentage of school responsibilities were female-oriented, and boys were not encouraged to take on these roles, something that was probably true for their home life as well. Consequently, there were fewer meaningful ways for boys to participate in school. However, at school, the boys were sometimes punished for their disengagement or the behaviour resulting from their disengagement. The relationship between the gendering of school responsibilities and the consequent disengagement of boys often contributed to a culture of harmful masculinities among older male students; this was the case at school F as illustrated in the following vignette.

On Friday mornings, the school split up to do prayers. The Christian prayer was student-led and overseen by three Christian teachers. There were more than 100 Christian students in the school, and they were all crammed into regular classroom space. Due to the limited space, some students and teachers had to stand outside of the classroom and look in from the back window that was left open. A group of female students led the prayer. Most of the boys in grades 11 and 12 stood outside the classroom by the window laughing, talking, and making sarcastic comments. A few female teachers who stood next to them looked the other way. At one point, the noise got so disruptive that a male teacher walked out in frustration to tell the older boys that he was not interested in refereeing their behaviour and that they should not be attending prayer if they could not be respectful and set a proper example for younger students.

Though the boys' behaviour was disrespectful and violent, asking them not to attend prayer at all only worked to exclude them from engagement in the school further. The lack of space and gender expectations and opportunities to be part of the ceremony was what had led them to stand outside and misbehave in the first place. Not allowing them to be in the prayer area at all would mean that they would end up in the common areas, unsupervised, and get into further trouble. Thus, the gendered exclusion of boys in school activities exacerbated an existing culture of harmful masculinities and related levels of school violence.

Schools that had strong patriarchal and hierarchal school cultures demonstrated more negative attitudes towards interactions between the sexes and thereby prevented students from

learning to work across differences to achieve a common goal. Across all the schools, most educators perceived interactions between boys and girls as a source of distraction, negatively impacting student performance. This perspective had influenced the practice of separating the grade 11 class by gender in school F. The decision to separate students was made by the principal to curb behavioural issues between boys and girls and to help their academic performance. These behavioural issues were also referred to as “love” issues and were founded on notions that interactions between the opposite sex could only be romantic. Students were discouraged from speaking with, sitting next to, or working with peers of the opposite sex by segregation and the humiliation of transgressors. The practice of segregating or shaming older students for interacting with the opposite sex worked to undermine students’ ability to work with peers of the opposite sex. The segregation resulted in boys becoming more aggressive, and girls becoming more timid when they did come into contact with boys. A teacher noted that in the separated class of boys, it was almost impossible to control them due to an increase in disruptive and aggressive behaviour. Thus, segregating boys increased levels of harmful masculinity in the classroom.

Limited physical contributed to increased behaviours linked to harmful masculinities among boys in large schools. In examining the different incidents of violence between male students and frequency at larger schools, School F had the highest level of harmful masculinities and observable incidences of violence. Examples included a physical fight between two grade 11 boys broke during transition time while conducting interviews and a fight during Christian prayer on Friday. The older boys at the school actively broke the rules and pushed barriers in a way that was uncommon across any of the other larger schools. One factor that was unique to school F was the limited space available for students. School F, located in a more urban town, had a smaller physical space than most other schools but a substantial student population. Compared to school C, which had massive school grounds and violence between boys was more common in the community than within the school, school F had large class sizes and limited free space. The limited space and school buildings that were close together created narrow walkways where boys loitered unsupervised. These activities increased opportunities for conflict between male students. Teachers and other adults did little to intervene consistently in these incidences of violence due to limits on their own time, apathy, and in some instances, fear of the students and their parents. Many male students who engaged in behaviours that reflected harmful

masculinities came from middle-class families with high social capital that often exceeded their teachers'. The difference in status was in stark contrast to male students in rural schools that came from families with lower social status (caste and class) and thus often held teachers in high regard. This difference in class, in conjunction with a school culture of harmful masculinities, also contributed to male student violence against female teachers. Much like school C, some boys at school F made similar attempts to exert dominance over their female teachers through gender-based microaggressions. Compared to school in other regions, School F had more relaxed and casual interactions between some older male students and their female teachers. At first observation, it appeared that the hierarchical relationship between teachers and students was changing. However, when male students made disparaging remarks about their female teachers' age and appearance, it quickly became apparent that the difference in the interaction was driven by patriarchal notions of male superiority and not the democratization of student-teacher relationships

Students' participation in the classrooms was also gendered based on various factors, including pedagogy, class size, gender ratios, age, and gender segregation. Student participation included attendance, how students participated in class and demonstrated learning externally, which included speaking up during classroom discussion, actively participating in teacher or student-driven activities like drama skits, volunteering to answer a question in class, or reading aloud. Overall, boys dominated classroom discussions in both higher and lower grades. This pattern of engagement observed at school F was common at most of the large schools. Contrastingly, in the smaller school E, the girls ran the school because there were only three boys in the upper grades. Smaller class sizes and a high ratio of girls disrupted the traditional dominance of males in-class participation. Higher female to male ratios in the upper grades in many of the small schools was related to the increased leadership roles of girls in responsibilities that were traditionally taken on by boys. This pattern was most common in smaller type II schools that went to grade 11 in rural communities. Type II schools usually did not have as many options for classes in the STEM subjects; consequently, there were fewer boys than girls in the older grades. Boys doing well in school would generally be allowed to travel outside of the community to attend higher ranking Type 1 schools; girls did not always have this option.

Boy's disengagement from school and consequent involvement in SGBV and other forms of violence were more common in rural areas. School E was an example of this unique gendered

phenomenon in which the male student population progressively decreased in the higher grades as boys dropped out. The grade 11 class had three boys, all of whom were extremely quiet and never spoke during class. Boys in rural communities faced several challenges to staying in school. It was socially and culturally acceptable for a boy to drop out of school and begin working to support himself and/or his family; this was not the case for girls, who had no option but to attend school. Given fixed gendered roles for men on providing for their family in conjunction with extreme poverty in rural regions, boys often dropped out of school to take on seasonal work, like fishing or harvesting. Teachers often did not question a boy's absence from school the same way they would if a girl had missed school. Furthermore, teaching practices and opportunities for school engagement were not conducive to boys' learning needs. These practices included various forms of violence, including violent forms of corporal punishment and the previously described humiliation tactics often employed by educators engaging in behaviours associated with harmful masculinities. The disengagement of boys from school contributed to community-level violence. The gendered expectations of boys that led to their dropping out also contributed to gender-based violence in the community as many of these boys would end up on the streets and get involved in drugs and alcohol and end up harassing girls, who were once their classmates, as they walked to and from school.

Northern – Muslim

Schools L and M are Muslim schools in the war-affected Northern province. Though the two schools are Tamil-medium, they are designated Muslim schools. A large percentage of the students are Muslim, and the daily practices of the school are based on Islam. Muslim boys and girls must cover their heads as part of their uniform, and girls wear pants under their dress for modesty; however, students of other faiths, Hindus and Christians, wear their uniform without head coverings. The Muslim population in this region is distinct from those in the Up-Country region because they were directly impacted by the war. Targeted by government forces and the LTTE, at one point, many Muslims were forcibly displaced from their homes in 1990. The LTTE expelled them from the Northern province even though some Muslim men supported and played an active role in the LTTE as combatants. In 1994, leaders of the LTTE apologized for their treatment of the Tamil Muslims and asked them to return to the North. Since then, some Muslims have come back to reclaim their lost land. As such, many of the Muslim students in school L and

M had two homes, one within the school community and another in the Southern regions where their families established themselves after the LTTE expulsion.

School M is a large National school in the town. It is considered a well-ranking school and attracts Tamil speaking students from all faiths but is predominantly made up of Muslim students. The school goes from grades 6-12 and provides upper-level classes in all subjects. The male Muslim principal runs the school based on the principles of Islam. The infrastructure is moderate to good, with adequate space and desks for all students. Though the school is Muslim, many teachers are ethnic Tamils, both Hindu and Christian. The school is in the town and consequently has a large middle-class population. Many non-Muslim students attend because it is considered a good ranking school in the area.

School M is a small school located in a rural community, approximately 1.5 hours by bus from the closest town. There are just over 100 students from grades 1-12; classes are small, with as few as five students in some subjects. The school only recently became designated as a Muslim school after a Tamil school was built close by. The principal is an ethnic Tamil male, and there is a mix of Muslim and ethnic Tamil teachers. There is a teacher shortage at the school; though the school has a science stream, there are no science classes because there is no teacher. Students who want to study science must travel into the town for private classes. Some of the teachers who work at the school are provided with onsite boarding, given most of them come from larger towns, and the school is too far and remote for safe daily commutes. The school infrastructure is adequate. There is a technology centre well used by students; however, all the classrooms are open and exposed to the elements.

Religious Identities and Challenges to Shared-Fate Citizenship

Analysis of how the two Muslim schools made accommodations for their non-Muslim students was consistent with practices in ethnic Tamil and Indian-Tamil schools. Both school L and M provided accommodations for non-Muslim students. School L allowed Hindu, Christian, and Catholic students to be in a separate space during the daily morning Islamic prayer. School M had a Christian, Hindu, and Islamic prayers in their morning assembly. The two schools provide further evidence that levels of inclusion are higher in the minority (ethnic Tamil, Indian, Tamil, and Muslim) schools than the majority Singhalese schools, who rarely made any accommodations for students who were not Buddhist. Whether it was the Muslim school that allowed Hindu and Christian students to abstain from the morning prayer or the Hindu schools

from the other regions that provided space and time for Muslim and Christian students to pray, both reflect that commitment to tolerance and respect for the religious beliefs of others. These practices of inclusion mirror the tolerance approach promoted in the Civics textbooks on religious plurality and tolerance. However, much like school F, the practices based on the tolerance of differences were too dependent on fixed notions of religious or ethnic identity that prevented participants from working across differences. Students still experienced exclusion and marginalization from various school practices at the two Muslim schools, more so at the larger school. School L exempted non-Muslim students from prayer but did not give them a space to conduct regular prayers for themselves. A Hindu student reported that they were not always allowed to celebrate all their religious holidays and were sometimes made uncomfortable practicing aspects of their religion. On the flip side, a Muslim student noted that when their Hindu teachers made special foods for religious holidays, they only shared it with the Hindu children. The focus on respecting and tolerating religious differences sometimes prevented members from looking past fixed religious identities to see commonalities. Thus, although minority schools were more respectful of the religious rights of others compared to the Sinhalese majority schools, there was still more than could be done to ensure that religious differences were not barriers to a more collective and shared fate approach to citizenship that is necessary for social cohesion.

The Impact of School Size on Gender Equality

Differences in student engagement, interactions, and levels of harmful masculinities between the larger school L and smaller school M, reflected similar patterns in other regions with respect to the influence of school size on these factors. In contrast to the larger schools, smaller schools had lower levels of harmful masculinities exhibited by male staff and students. Small, and often rural, schools overall had smaller class sizes (i.e. students received more attention from teachers). The grades 11 and 12 class at the smaller schools in all regions had fewer than 20 students. As a result, teachers knew their students well and had more egalitarian and trusting relationships with their students. The positive relationship between teachers and students was also related to more positive interactions between boys and girls. Unlike the larger schools, interactions between boys and girls were not perceived as sexual or romantic by adults. At school M, during free periods, boys and girls remained in the classroom chatting with each other, including with the opposite sex, and girls were more likely to move unreservedly around the

perimeter of the class and informal school spaces because they felt less threatened by the boys. Lower levels of harmful masculinities were also related to a higher degree of respect for female teachers at school M than school L. At school L, the microaggressions against female teachers sometimes became physical as older male students used informal classroom spaces, like sports meets, to assert sexual dominance over young female teachers by standing too close or calling them by their first name, both serious taboos in all of Sri Lanka's cultures. Analysis of these observations demonstrates that small/rural, ethnically mixed, and schools with lower levels of harmful masculinities are linked to increased positive interactions between the sexes at both the staff and student level and thereby contributed to higher levels of gender equality.

Student participation in school activities was also less gendered at smaller schools allowing more opportunities for boys' engagement. At school, the older boys took initiatives to stay after school to help clean the grounds and assist with other small projects to improve the school. They were valued for their contribution and were spoken highly of by the school staff. This practice contrasted with larger schools where opportunities for boys' participation were highly gendered and consequently low. In larger schools, boys were often called on to move furniture and set up audio equipment for the announcements while girls were responsible for cleaning classrooms, singing the school song, or organizing teachers' papers. These schools were also the same ones that had strong patriarchal and hierarchical school cultures. Contrastingly, in smaller schools, such as B, D, E, and M in the rural communities, it was more common for boys and girls to take on roles that did not conform to traditional responsibilities ascribed by local cultural norms. For example, in school B, both boys and girls would pick flowers for the Friday morning offering for the Hindu prayer; this is a practice that is usually taken on by women and girls in the home. In school D, there was a large school garden where boys and girls were engaged in digging, planting, watering, and taking care of plants during their recess time; men and boys usually do these activities outside of school. In these schools, boys and girls helped clean the classroom after lessons by picking up scraps of paper and sweeping the floor. These observations demonstrate that small schools not only have lower levels of harmful masculinities, they also challenge fixed norms on how boys and girls participate in school.

A factor that significantly increased behaviours associated with harmful masculinities and reduced gender-equitable engagement by students in the classroom was teacher absenteeism. Teacher absenteeism – when there is no adult to teach or supervise students during a scheduled

class – caused a significant change in classroom dynamics. Teachers would be absent for various reasons, including illness, administrative duties, tardiness, and even teaching in other locations while collecting salaries at the school. For anonymity, the schools where this occurred are not disclosed, but overall, most schools had daily instances of teacher absenteeism, particularly those in the war-affected regions. In many cases, students could be found sitting in classes unsupervised, waiting for the teacher to arrive for the entire period. Sometimes the teacher arrived late and would conduct a 15-20-minute lesson, and other times the teacher did not arrive. I sat in these classrooms with the students, the majority of whom sat patiently and quietly at their desks for the entire period, even when they knew the teacher was not going to attend the class that day. When the teacher was not present, students, most often boys, became disruptive, got into fights, or left the classroom to wander the school grounds.

Behaviours that reflected harmful masculinities increased significantly among the boys in the absence of teachers. Teacher absenteeism also impacted the behaviours of girls, who often became withdrawn and quiet in their seats while they remained in the classroom. Not surprisingly, this gender-based change in behaviour was more prevalent in schools with higher levels of harmful masculinities. Girls who were vocal during class and actively engaged in the classroom activities became withdrawn in the absence of a teacher. Boys who were quiet and did not embody or perform hypermasculine behaviours were sometimes bullied. Their peers would throw paper at them or smack them on the back of the head. Teacher absenteeism was also related to the increased number of boys loitering on the school grounds, including empty classrooms, walkways between buildings, bathroom areas, and eating areas. These areas were also locations of increased levels of violence between male students and harassment (*eve-teasing*) of female students or, in some cases, young female teachers. The lack of adult supervision through teacher absenteeism contributed significantly to gender inequality. Both girls and some boys were impacted by the violent and hypermasculine behaviour that became more prevalent when children were not supervised. It also impacted all students' learning, as it left even less time to learn a very heavy curriculum. Though it was more common in the war-affected regions, it was a universal issue across all the schools. Teacher absenteeism was a barrier to student safety, particularly girls, as it acted prevented reduced their engagement and movement within the classroom and the school space.

Conclusions

Analysis of classroom and school observations show that there are several challenges to incorporating values of inclusive democratic citizenship and gender equality in schools. Furthermore, many of the factors that reduced gender equality also weakened inclusive democratic citizenship. In many instances, citizenship was approached from an exclusionary, hegemonic, and hierarchical perspectives. Some members were entitled to more belonging than others, and relationships within school spaces often hinged on power and obedience.

Essentialized identities. Citizenship identity based on a fixed understanding of culture and gender roles worked in tandem to undermine education's potential to help students develop skills to work across difference. Sinhalese-Buddhist hegemony, underpinned by the need to preserve an essentialized notion of culture, contributed to similar inflexible notions of identity based on culture among minority groups. School practices resulting from this tension were almost always exclusionary. Exclusionary practices like a Sinhala only anthem or restrictions on religious attire on school uniforms led minority groups to cling deeper to identities that were under threat by the majority groups. Despite the challenges to their identities, many minority students/educators/schools demonstrated resilience and resistance, such as the young Muslim girl who stood at the Buddhist prayer with her arms crossed across her chest or the Tamil schools who choose to sing a school song rather than the Sinhala national anthem; however, this resistance came at the cost of social cohesion and national unity. Thus, education often focused on identity-based citizenship rather than supporting the development of collective identities needed for a shared-fate approach to citizenship. These practices severely undermined the practice of inclusive democratic citizenship in school and classroom spaces. There were some hopeful elements. Schools comprised of highly marginalized communities, such as the Indian-Tamil schools, demonstrated higher levels of inclusion of other minority students, demonstrating that empathy and understanding of marginalization is an essential factor in supporting practices that foster inclusive democratic citizenship through education.

Schools prided themselves on multilingualism and multiculturalism and the subsequent contributions to unity and cohesion; however, this unity was dependent on minority groups forgoing their religious and cultural rights in the form of assimilative citizenship. This hegemony was more apparent in Sinhala medium schools and, to a lesser extent, in Tamil and Muslim schools. The secure identity required to be less aggressive to other groups was lacking in most

schools as minority students had to forgo aspects of their religious, cultural, and linguistic identities to access the benefits of education. Religion and language were two areas where minorities were excluded and lost their fundamental rights daily. The exclusionary practices across most schools, based on religion, point to a significant gap between the *ESCP* policy and practices for social cohesion through education. What is further problematic for social cohesion is both the overt and subtle forms of Islamophobia apparent at all the schools. The limiting of Muslim students at school F or the deliberate racism experienced by Muslim students at Sinhala schools suggests that Islamophobia is a growing divisive factor in Sri Lanka.

Gender essentialism, often informed by fixed notions of culture, also undermined inclusive democratic citizenship. Students were directly and indirectly presented with norms of masculinity and femininity that contributed to gender inequality and limited how they engaged as citizens. In analyzing the differences between gender roles and responsibilities across the 13 schools, school size was a critical factor in determining the types of roles and responsibilities taken on by students or assigned to them. The higher levels of harmful masculinities common in larger schools made them more conducive to perpetuating traditional gender norms, both local and colonial. Educators' school and classroom practices groomed boys to take on hypermasculine norms and girls to embody hyperfeminine norms that negatively impacted students' ability to learn and interact with the opposite sex. Furthermore, school cultures that fostered these gendered norms for boys and girls, by keeping them segregated, reinforced the narrow perspective of women and girls as sexual objects that needed to be controlled to reduce the temptation for boys. These were the same schools that espoused values of harmful masculinities such as "boys will be boys" and expected girls to follow the rules and work around boys' violent and aggressive behaviours to protect themselves. Negative attitudes about interacting with the opposite sex prevented students from learning to work across differences. Sex segregation disproportionately impacted girls because they were prevented from developing the social skills and confidence to work with men/boys, thereby limiting their capacity as citizens.

Patriarchal hierarchies. In addition to exclusionary practices that undermined the development of democratic engagement, the day-to-day enactment of citizenship in school and classroom spaces were patriarchal and authoritative, hinging on various forms of power relations based on status, age, gender, class, and ethnicity. These relationships fostered the personally

responsible model of citizen engagement rather than a justice-oriented one capable of challenging the status quo. School hierarchies demanded unquestioning obedience to those in power, most often male, and consequently created a sense of apathy among students and educators in question or challenging injustice. A strong exam culture, which was influenced by school size and ranking, contributed to hierarchical and authoritarian school and classroom spaces. Patriarchal principals amplified the effects of exam culture through power relationships with teachers, who were often bullied to teach-to-the test. Consequently, student agency was undermined by teacher-centered classrooms, a textbook dependent approach to teaching, and corporal punishment.

Schools in the war impacted communities were particularly susceptible to hierarchical school structures and violence against students and teachers, illustrating the positive relationship between long term exposure to conflict and violence and the breakdown of egalitarian relationships and increased levels of violence in schools. Furthermore, fear and the lack of safe spaces prevented both teachers and students from acknowledging the social injustice they experienced in the classroom. Students and teachers in the war-affected communities rarely veered from the textbook during teaching and learning. They demonstrated lower levels of critical discussion in the classroom than their peers in low conflict regions. War-affected regions had more teacher-centered classrooms that reduced student agency and provided limited opportunities for debate and deliberation required for an interruptive approach to classroom teaching. Contrastingly, schools in the Hill-Country regions had more egalitarian relationships among and between students and educators. In these schools, teachers employed student-centered practices such as drama activities and group work; students were more autonomous in their learning. They were more likely to initiate discussions on social justice and controversial issues like language and gender inequality. These differences illustrate that exposure to conflict directly impacted interruptive democratic processes in classrooms and limited students' and educators' engagement in critical thinking and discussion to the status quo.

Harmful masculinities and violence. The patriarchal culture underpinning hierarchical and authoritarian relationships that undermined democratic engagement in schools also contributed to gender inequality. Observations of routines and rituals at the 13 schools across the six regions showed that, in most cases, teachers and principals were complicit in contributing to patterns of gender inequality. Many of the innocuous practices by school systems and educators

made education an accomplice to fostering harmful masculinities and thereby violence and conflict. Observations showed that students, teachers, and principals frequently engaged in behaviours that reflected harmful masculinities. Behaviours associated with harmful masculinities included attitudes and behaviours that were authoritative, aggressive, violent, and competitive. These behaviours were more common in large schools (School A, C, F, and J), irrespective of region, language medium, or ethnicity. Larger schools, with competitive exam cultures and gender ratios that favoured boys had higher levels of harmful masculinities and violence. Principals at larger schools and/or those in the war-affected regions were more prone to patriarchal leadership styles, which permeated all other relationships and interactions in the school, further illustrating how factors that negatively impact democratic engagement also negatively impact gender equality.

Both male and female students were impacted in their ability to learn to critically engage as citizens in their school and community due to fear and intimidation created by those responsible for their learning and sometimes their peers. Poverty, low teacher expectations, and high levels of corporal punishment experienced by boys increased behaviours associated with harmful masculinities. These factors also contributed to boys dropping out of school and engaging in community-level violence, including SGBV against their female peers. High levels of harmful masculinities reduced girls' abilities to engage as leaders in classroom spaces and increased experiences of SGBV in their community. Thus, corporal punishment, particularly in the war-affected regions, contributed to boys' engagement in violence amongst each other and against women/girls and thereby decreased levels of safety in the community. Gender divisions created by schooling undermined gender equality, but it also restricted boys/men and girls/women's full engagement as citizens and contributed to increased levels of violence in society. Furthermore, these divisions were magnified in war-affected regions due to militarization and higher levels of community violence that had an iterative relationship with school-level violence.

In examining the structures that facilitate violence in schools, a factor that can not be ignored in contributing to the use of violence and cultures of patriarchy within schools is the vestiges of British colonial schooling passed down for generations in Sri Lanka. The focus on school uniforms, decorum, authoritarian rule, and hierarchies are remnants of the colonial project of formal schooling in Sri Lanka's long history. However, what must also be considered is that

Sri Lanka's major cultural groups values and practices are consistent with the formal schooling project and are strongly aligned with values of patriarchy, hierarchy, and fixed gender roles. For example, extended periods spent in the role of student are endemic to both Muslim, Buddhist, and Hindu religions and culture with particular rules around behaviour and propriety for the different genders. Corporal punishment is commonly used as a form of discipline in many homes in Sri Lanka. Thus, though it is important to recognize the contribution of colonial influences that perpetuate harmful masculinity, violence, and patriarchy in schools, it can not be ignored that these practices have been retained and amplified so effectively years later due to their synergies with local Sri Lankan cultures.

Though teachers and administrators were contributors to the culture of harmful masculinities in schools, there were exceptions such as the principal at school H and the teacher at school A who did challenge the status quo. The male principal, from the marginalized Estate community, used the traditional dominance he was afforded as a man to push values of gender equality into daily school routines actively. The female teacher who did not have the same power and authority as the principal or her male colleague used a more subtle approach by redirecting the humiliation of a student by her male colleague to give voice to parents during a school meeting. These acts demonstrate that some individuals can challenge the status quo and stand against oppressive practices and policies. Why some educators choose to actively promote practices that reflect gender equality and inclusive democratic citizenship while others maintain the status quo is an important question to consider. The following chapters, 6 and 7, explores teachers' and students' views on gender equality and inclusive democratic citizenship to better understand the motivation for practices observed in this chapter.

CHAPTER 6

The Making of the Personally Responsible Citizen

This section consolidates findings from interviews with students and educators at the 13 schools school sites with respect to educators' and students' understanding of citizenship and how it relates to social cohesion. Results were analyzed using six key themes: (1) understanding of citizenship, (2) access to rights, (2) inclusion, (4) national unity, (5) citizenship textbooks, and (6) the role of education. The findings for each are summarized for each of the 13 schools in Appendix M and N for teachers and students, respectively. Participants can be identified based on a unique alphanumeric coding system used for identification XXX-000. The first letter denotes the school (A-M); the second letter denotes the type of participant: T- teacher, S-student, and P-principal. The last letter denotes the participant's gender (M-male and F- female). The number after the dash denotes the order in which the participant was interviewed at a particular school. In cases where anonymity is difficult to maintain, one or more of the letters or numbers are replaced with an X.

The findings of this chapter are organized according to the six regions, including discussions on similarities and differences between regions within each section. Participants' responses on citizenship and how to be a good citizen predominantly focused on three key areas: responsibilities, rights, and patriotism. The different ways groups experienced these factors impacted their views on how they were represented in the civics textbooks and their perspectives on social cohesion. As such, the analysis for each region is presented according to participants' perspectives on responsibilities, rights, patriotism, and textbook reflections.

Hill-Country Sinhalese

Responsibilities

The personally responsible approach to citizenship was the most prevalent theme in participants' responses across all the regions. Among students and teachers, there was a strong belief that being a good person by regulating one's behaviour was the best way to make the country a better place. A Sinhalese student, GSF-006, summed up the predominant view of citizenship in the study with the response, "*If I correct myself, the country will change too.*" Irrespective of their region, ethnicity, or exposure to conflict, individual goodness, through the guidance of culture and the law, was the most common theme in participants' responses on what citizenship meant to them. Having good habits, talking nicely to everyone, getting along with

others, listening to the teachers are some ways that students identified that they could be good citizens. Tradition and culture were central aspects of teachers’ understanding of citizenship. Teachers strongly believed that it was their responsibility as educators to transmit cultural norms to their students. At the large town Sinhala medium school, teacher JTF-002 explained that people have different responsibilities and culture provided the guidance people need to understand these responsibilities. Teachers also viewed culture and tradition exclusively as positive contributors to citizenship. A Sinhala male teacher, GTM-003, highlighted the importance of respecting specific aspects of culture by noting that to be a good citizen, one must “*study well and respect, religion, race and the country.*” The emphasis on race here speaks to the importance of following the respective traditions of each of the different ethnic groups. Thus, citizenship engagement was based on cultural identity. Table 11 demonstrates the relationship between the personally responsible approach to citizenship and the focus on adherence to cultural and legal rules among Sinhalese participants.

Table 11
Sinhalese Responses to Citizenship Responsibilities

ID	Response
GSF-004	Follow our religion and live according to the culture and according to the situation of our society.
JTF-002	...things that we have obtained from the culture. If we can learn good things and work accordingly, it is worth it.
JTF-001	We have traditions and cultures in Sri Lanka. I think by following the traditions and culture, we could become a good person. If we go in that way, we can become a good citizen
GSM-002	mainly one should respect the laws of the country and apart from that, live according to culture and live with the support of other countries
GSM-004	...live according to our culture.

In all these responses, culture was viewed as a prescriptive guide and something that was fixed and needed to be safeguarded from change. Almost all the ethnic groups reported a need to respect and preserve their respective culture from change, particularly from the impact of Westernization and globalization. What was often left unsaid in most of these discussions was the implied threat to culture from other ethnic and cultural groups in Sri Lanka. For the Sinhalese participants, this fear was driven by the Sinhala-Buddhist minority complex.

Despite the focus on obedience and rule-following, Sinhalese and Indian-Tamil participants, who did not live in the war-affected regions, were more open to critiquing the government and challenging the status quo than ethnic Tamils when it came to citizenship engagement. For example, Sinhalese student, ISM-004, emphasized that citizens should have the right to *“To live, to talk about the country’s problems.”* Similarly, Indian Tamils in the Up Country region were more vocal about needed to change political representation to bring about change on various issues. An Indian-Tamil student at school H was able to critique the status of women’s rights in Sri Lanka and felt that women’s rights could be improved through political change. She argued, *“The political side should take action to give equal rights to women. There should be a person who will be represented to bring out the issues. If they are given the opportunity, the hardship faced by women can be brought forward”*. These findings show that participants who had limited exposure to direct war and conflict were more open to critique the government and viewed challenging the status quo as an essential aspect of citizenship engagement. They demonstrated a greater sense of agency to challenge injustice or inequality than those living in the war-affected regions.

Rights

An almost universal definition of citizenship provided by participants across all regions was a focus on rights. Students and educators described citizenship as the right to live in a country with all the benefits and protections that it afforded. The tables in appendix M and N outline some of the keywords used by teachers and students, respectively, to define citizenship associated with rights. Despite the similarity among participants in identifying rights as a critical aspect of citizenship, their access to rights and how it impacted their sense of belonging differed greatly depending on whether they were part of the majority (Sinhalese) or minority (Indian-Tamil, Tamil, or Muslim) communities.

Overall Sinhalese participants in the Hill-Country region reported that they had access to all their rights and believed the same for others across the country. Educators, in particular, were quick to note that all Sri Lankans had equal rights. After noting that she had access to all her rights, teacher JTF-001 explained that this was the same for everyone in Sri Lanka. She explained, *“But in some societies, there are ethnic problems. But in our environment, we all live united”*. Similarly, the Sinhalese principal at school G also reported that all his students had access to their rights. However, when asked if there were options for the Muslim students at his

school to pray during the day like the Buddhist students, the principal responded, " *If there were more children, and we had space, we could organize some space for them.*" This stance did not appear to him as a loss of rights for Muslim students at his school. He did not recognize that by expecting Muslim students to give up aspects of their religious practices to conform to the Buddhist culture of the school, he was infringing on their religious rights. The principal and teachers at school G felt that having different types of students, i.e., the admission for Muslim students at a predominantly Singhalese-Buddhist school, was a sufficient indicator of inclusion and equality.

Singhalese teachers also held culturally hegemonic views that lacked understanding of minority cultures resulting in racist and xenophobic attitudes towards students and minority teachers. For example, a female Singhalese teacher noted with pride that Muslim girls were not allowed to wear their hijabs at her school. A lack of understanding of Muslim culture and religion led her to believe that she was promoting values of gender equality by forbidding them from covering their heads. Also, most Singhalese teachers demonstrated a lack of knowledge and/or resistance to acknowledging the marginalization experienced by minority groups. In some cases, teachers did not want to acknowledge the marginalization of others because it would mean they would have to recognize their own privilege, which was out of step with the Singhalese minority complex. For example, teacher ITF-001 would not acknowledge that there could be people in Sri Lanka who did not have access to all their fundamental rights. When asked about those impacted by the war, she responded by pointing to the Indian-Tamils in her community, whom she believed were more privileged than her.

They are more blessed than us. When we go to (town name) we see beautiful quarters given to Tamils. They are freer. We have to be highly educated to get a job. For Tamils, if they pass the ordinary level with English, they get jobs. We don't have such easy job opportunities. If we go behind politicians and do a degree, we get jobs.

Her response demonstrates her unwillingness to acknowledge the impact of the war on Tamils in the North and East and an inability to differentiate between the two Tamil groups.

Her response also illustrates the lack of empathy and understanding of the challenges faced by the Indian-Tamil community in the Hill Country region. As a result of decades of disenfranchisement and marginalization, there was a limited number of Indian-Tamils who made it through the school system to become teachers, resulting in a shortage of Tamil speaking teachers in the Up Country region. For example, at teacher ITF-001's school, Tamil speaking

students were unable to learn to read and write Tamil because, for many years, there had been no Tamil language teacher. The government had put in measures to facilitate increasing Indian-Tamils' access to education by allowing high school graduates to volunteer as teachers for a small stipend while they earned their teaching degrees. Teacher ITF-001 viewed these equity measures as jobs that were unfairly given to Tamils and felt that it was a form of discrimination by the government against the Sinhalese. Teacher ITF-001's response is one example of the manifestation of the Sinhalese majority with a minority complex. She perceived small gains for marginalized groups as a threat to her own group status.

Educators from the schools in the Sinhalese region spoke strongly about treating all children equally to achieve unity and peace; however, this view was often based on a lack of understanding and/or empathy for minority issues and the influence of Sinhalese-Buddhist hegemony. Educators saw mixed schools as a place to promote peace and unity and firmly believed that they treated their students equally. However, what was missed by many educators was that equality and peace was also still a work in progress at the school level, just like it was at the national level. A Sinhalese principal explained that he could not understand why people in the North were fighting when in his community, people from different ethnic groups were living harmoniously.

In Sri Lanka, we have Tamil, Muslim, Sinhala, and Burger living in this area. In Jaffna also there are people like that. But we are living peacefully. We don't fight. You can see how co-operative we are. We all eat together; jobs are the same, only our races are different... But we eat together. In upcountry and down south, we live peacefully. But in the North, there are terrorists. It's not an ethnic problem. We travel in the same bus; we eat together. If we can live together, why can't they in Jaffna? It's a small country. You can't go beyond that. One country, one government.

The principal valued ethnic diversity and strongly believed in living in peace with others; however, his myopic view of peace is evident in his claim that the conflict was not an ethnic problem. He did not seem to be aware that ethnic minorities in his community, and even in his school, faced challenges daily as a result of their religion, language, and culture and that many of them were only able to live among the Sinhalese majority community by compromising aspects of their identities. He also did not acknowledge that the root causes of conflict in Sri Lanka were due to the inability of minorities to obtain fundamental rights. The principal's inability to see inequality within his community resulted from cultural hegemony, the expectation that

minorities should adapt and make do with ethnic, linguistic, and religious norms of a Sinhalese-Buddhist state. The principal also spoke highly of mixed schools and pointed out that religious and linguistic divisions in schools were a recent phenomenon. He pointed to the divisive politics of minority leaders as the source of conflict in Sri Lanka:

It's good (mixed schools). Sinhala children can learn Tamil. Tamil can learn Sinhala. They know about the culture. During school festivals, they share Sinhala things. These types of schools are good. Our leaders are responsible for this (division). They started Tamil schools, Muslim Schools. Tamil leaders and Muslim leaders did this. They divided us.

The role of Sinhalese-Buddhist hegemony was most apparent when asked about the potential challenges for Muslim students to participate in the school's daily Buddhist prayer with no opportunity to conduct their own prayers. To this, he responded, “*Muslims are very arrogant all over the world.*” His suggestion for the challenge was to have “*One way, one country. This school has only one language and one religion*”. This statement contradicted his first statement on the value of mixed schools, thus illustrating that for some educators, mixed schools were simply spaces where minority students could attend as long as they conformed to Buddhist-Sinhalese norms.

Not all Sinhalese educators were insensitive to or unaware of the reality of minorities' limited access to rights. A few teachers with more critical perspectives demonstrated an understanding that some groups in Sri Lanka did not have access to all their rights. Unlike her colleague at school J, teacher JTF-002 had a more nuanced understanding of equal rights. “*Not everybody gets their rights. Some don't get them. Education. In this area, there are cases where the estate people (Indian-Tamils) lose their rights. That's what I have seen*”. She understood the economic and racial barriers faced by Indian-Tamils in the Hill-Country region in accessing essential services like quality education. Later in the interview, her colleague, teacher JT-001, asked to go back to the rights question and added that “*But I have to speak about rights. Some people have lost their rights. It's due to politics*”. Though both teachers were hesitant to speak on the topic of rights at first, after some dialogue, they showed understanding and empathy to recognize that although they had access to their rights, many people, due to race, poverty, and politics, did not. This shift reflected the fact that many Sinhalese participants did not readily want to acknowledge the loss of rights of others but were willing to change their perspectives through the process of dialogue. Similarly, a male Sinhalese teacher at school J described the

need for more inclusive forms of citizenship for all people in Sri Lanka. “*All of Sri Lanka should have equal citizenship. Without race and religion. Sri Lankans should have a Sri Lankan citizenship.*” His use of “should” suggests that this is something that is an ideal that has not yet been achieved. These examples demonstrate that despite systemic racism and discriminatory practices in most schools, some educators’ practices were informed by empathy. However, very few Sinhalese participants were willing to openly acknowledge the lack of equal rights for all people in Sri Lanka during interviews. When they did, it was often indirectly. This indirectness may be due to the social and political climate of Sri Lanka, which is not always conducive to discussion on the loss of rights, particularly minority group rights.

Analysis of these findings demonstrates that some Sinhalese educators had little understanding or refused to acknowledge the marginalization of minorities in their school, community, and country. Three factors contributed to the lack of understanding and empathy towards their fellow citizens’ experiences: (1) participants were unaware of the facts due to limited discussions on the topic of war and inequality in Sri Lanka as a result of a lack of freedom of speech and restrictions on what is covered in the media, (2) Sinhalese participants refused to acknowledge the marginalization of minorities because it would mean that they would have to acknowledge their own privilege and could no longer justify the policies and practices that excluded minorities in the name of preserving Sinhalese-Buddhist culture, and (3) Sinhala-Buddhist hegemony, the expectation that although Sri Lanka is a multicultural society, it is a Sinhalese-Buddhist nation as such everyone should fall in line with these cultural norms and expectations. Through these three factors, educators’ practices promoted an assimilative form of citizenship resulting in minority students and sometimes teachers experiencing high levels of racism and discrimination through education.

Sinhalese teachers’ belief that everyone had equal rights was echoed by Sinhalese and some minority students from the Hill-Country Sinhalese region. Students’ responses reflected the content of the civics textbooks and their teachers’ official narrative in classrooms. Besides some economic challenges, overall, Sinhalese students reported that all Sri Lankan citizens had access to most basic rights. Contrastingly, most minority students in the very same schools in the Sinhalese Hill-Country region did not always feel included. Despite teachers’ claim of viewing their students equally, Muslim students reported very contrasting views to their Sinhalese teachers. Muslim students were frequently excluded from participating in school life due to

various exclusions based on their religion and race. A female Muslim student, JSF-002, reported that she experienced racism and exclusion from both teachers and fellow students daily. She felt that racism at the country level was very much manifested in the school.

Sri Lanka has many religions. Sinhala, Tamil, Muslim. I'm a Muslim. There are conflicts among religions, Muslims, and Sinhalese in the country. It manifests in school. That is a barrier to our education. This is a mixed school. There are Sinhalese, Muslims, and Burger. The Sinhalese see them as separate, being backward. Due to the religious conflicts in the country, there are problems in the school. The school children also talk about Sinha-le (Lions' Blood) to us.

Given that Sinhalese students were talking about Lion's Blood, a term introduced by a racist, homophobic, and ultra-nationalist movement in Sri Lanka, suggests that the level of racism is relatively high and very overt in the school. However, this student's experience with racism did not stop with her peers; her response pointed to hegemonic practices on the part of teachers and the school system, mainly related to participating in religious rituals at school.

In our school, we have pirith (recitation of Buddhist religious verses). We can't participate in it. So, during that time, they (teachers) act a bit harshly. But we don't take any notice. Then they ask why did you come to a Sinhala School if you don't want to participate in the pirith?

The best schools in the area were often Sinhala medium schools. It was common for Muslim families to send their children to Sinhala medium schools for a better quality of education. In addition to dealing with pressure to participate in Buddhist religious ceremonies, she also reported that Muslim girls did not wear their hijabs out of fear of causing problems or being viewed differently.

In this school, this is the uniform. Here although there are many Muslims, they wear this uniform. When we start wearing a new thing, it will be a problem. I'm used to it. I'm in this school from grade one. Those who come from other schools find it difficult, but our schoolgirls don't find it odd. They wear their frocks a bit longer. They don't take off the jerseys. They create their safety.

The latter part of her response indicates a form of resistance and resilience that the Muslim girls in the school engaged in. By wearing their clothes larger and with greater coverage, they were able to cope with the challenges of the exclusionary practices of the school and create "their safety" to access better quality education. She also spoke to the gendered nature of religious allowances for Muslim boys. Muslim boys could leave school to attend the mosque on Fridays;

however, there was no space provided in the school for the girls to pray. As such, religious exclusion intersected with gender exclusion for Muslim girls in the school.

Language rights. In addition to religion, minority participants also had limited access to language rights and consequently lost the ability to read and write in their first language, Tamil. The impact of Sinhala hegemony was most apparent in schools within the Up-Country region among Tamil speaking students (Indian Tamil and Muslim) who lived in communities made up of predominantly Sinhala speakers. In some situations, Tamil speaking students could not read and write in their first language due to a lack of access to teachers and courses in their school. However, due to internalizing language hegemony, Indian-Tamil students did not always view this as a problem. For example, school I did not have a qualified teacher to provide a Tamil language class. However, the Indian-Tamil student, ISF-002, did not equate the lack of a qualified teacher as a barrier to accessing her language rights. She explained that it was her lack of time that prevented her from learning Tamil and not a loss of her language rights. Not only was she unable to access her rights to learn in her first language, but she also did not know she had these rights. When asked if she faced any challenges as a result of being a minority in the school, she explained proudly that many people thought she was Sinhalese. *“Wherever I go, I speak to everyone. Because I speak in Sinhala, many don’t say I’m a Tamil. Even if I say it, they don’t believe it”*. She was proud that she was viewed as a member of the ethnic majority, demonstrating the deep internalization of the hegemonic role of the Sinhala language. Her Sinhala peer, ISM-005, echoed the positive relationship between Indian-Tamils and the Sinhalese, noting, *“They are all treated as friends. They know Sinhala better than Tamil”*. Thus, friendship or social cohesion between students from the majority and minority community was based on minorities assimilating into the majority community by giving up aspects of their own ethnic identity, in this case, their first language. As such, Indian-Tamils, who often lived in Sinhalese areas, experienced a unique form of assimilative citizenship, where they were valued and included if they conformed to the dominant culture, which came at the cost of their own linguistic identity at times.

Analysis of student responses demonstrates that schools play a role in contributing to ethnic division and the mistrust between groups. Schools G, I, and J had conflicting practices on language, uniforms, and religious accommodations that conflicted with policies on social cohesion. The disconnect between policy and practice put significant power in the hands of

educators who sometimes held racist views or lacked an understanding of the challenges faced by minority students. Students experiencing exclusion and discrimination were mistrustful of their educators and peers, while others conformed to the dominant culture to be included at the expense of their own culture. Experiences between different ethnic groups within school spaces lay the foundation for students' exposure to living in a multicultural society. The findings of these interviews show that the racist, exclusionary, and hegemonic practices of educators and school systems contributed to perpetuating division and mistrust between the different ethnic groups from an early age.

Textbook Reflections

Students and educators across all the schools were unanimous in their perspective that the citizenship books made positive contributions to helping students understand their roles and responsibilities as citizens. Participants felt that it was practical and relevant to students' lives, and many teachers reported that the content was easy to understand for students and easy to teach. Students felt that it was good for both them and society as a whole because it taught them about aspects about how to live cohesively in society through topics such as respecting values, understanding people, resolving conflicts, improving one's perceptions, behaving in a way that would benefit society, respecting different cultures, and respecting elders.

Participants valued the textbooks for content on how to contribute to the development of the country; however, this perspective was mainly based on the utilitarian goals of education rather than social justice ones. For the most part, students highlighted content related to job skills, contributing to the development of the country through work, prescriptive information on the right way to behave in certain situations, and information on the structure of the government and how to vote. Though this information valuable and relevant to students' understanding of their role as citizens, very few students reported that the information they learned from the civics textbooks helped them address challenges they faced in society. None of the students reported that it helped them understand the conflict in Sri Lanka, despite an extensive chapter on conflict resolution and policy goals intended to make students more informed about Sri Lanka's national conflict. Student responses showed that the grade 6-9 textbooks were mostly ineffective at teaching about Sri Lanka's national conflict and at promoting values of social justice as intended in the *ESCP* policy. The main message on citizenship received by students was primarily focused

on the personally responsible citizen and how to contribute to the economic development of the country effectively.

Despite the positive review of the civics textbooks by teachers in the Hill-Country Singhalese region, many noted that the textbooks were not all that effective due to the low priority given to civics subjects in schools. Limited teacher preparation and the lack of importance given to social studies subjects were barriers to delivering the civics content. Teachers felt that civics teachers were not always adequately prepared to teach the subject in a way that critically engaged students. A Singhalese teacher, JTM-003, explained the challenges they faced in teaching their subjects.

...they don't give much importance to this subject like they do to the main subjects. Although the syllabus is good, the concept doesn't reach the children. The new syllabus for grade 10 we had a training program. But it's not successful. We get two-day training. They think that civics is a subject anybody can do. They give this subject to the teachers without a timetable. They just teach it like a lesson; then it's not successful. Up to grade 9, it is okay, but 10, 11, the children need to learn it seriously. During that period, they should hand it over to an experienced teacher.

Civics teachers were frustrated with the low resources allocated to training on the new curriculum based on the belief that anyone could teach the subject. Students in the social science and arts stream echoed their teachers' views. A Singhalese student at school G noted that sometimes there was no proper classroom for social studies subjects because science was given priority. Thus, even though students and teachers felt that the textbook content was useful, they did not see this materialize in the classroom due to limited resources and the second class status of the subject. The emphasis on the utilitarian goals of education in Sri Lankan schools meant that civics and other social studies subjects were not given the same priority as STEM subjects, which were perceived to offer more work opportunities.

Conflict Recognition. Most participants, both minorities and Singhalese, felt that the Sri Lankan conflict should be covered in 6-9 civics textbooks. Their reasons differed depending on their ethnic identity and levels of empathy for others' experiences. Most participants from all groups felt that Sri Lanka's conflict should be included in the curriculum for more peacebuilding reasons related to learning from the past, preventing future conflict, understanding causes of conflict, recognizing those that suffered, and knowing Sri Lanka's history. Overall, Singhalese participants' responses focused on conflict prevention (Table 12).

Table 12

Conflict Prevention Rationale for Including Sri Lankan Conflict among Sinhalese

ID	Comment
ISM-004	We should know about it then we can prevent a similar incident from happening in the future
JSM-005	why did the war happen? What did they want? People have something to learn by knowing about it; we can avoid such problems from occurring again. When a similar situation starts, we will know where it will lead. So, we can stop it before it's too late. It's good to know.
GTF-002	It's good if they talk about it. Children will know what happened to prevent problems in the future. It's good to know."
GS-007	I don't know how to talk about it. I don't really know why and how they fought. I don't know if it is good to know because it will make us sad. But if we study it, it will be helpful for the future and to decide who we should vote for in parliament and to understand the feelings of others

These responses illustrate that many teachers and students were ready to discuss Sri Lanka's war through the official curriculum, which has been put off for many years out of fear that it would cause more conflict. These responses focus on learning about Sri Lanka's national conflict to develop a thorough understanding of its causes, so lessons learned could be used to prevent future conflicts. Many of the students reported that the only place they learned about the conflict was through the news, which is often very one-sided and controlled by the government.

There was a strong relationship between wanting to officially recognize the conflict through the curriculum and higher levels of empathy towards other groups and/or the ability of individuals to reflect on their own community's role in the conflict. A Sinhalese teacher, JTM-003, acknowledged the contribution of everyone, including himself, to the conflict in his statement, "*The war didn't start suddenly. Due to these reasons, due to what we did*". This response demonstrates the understanding that there were wrongs done on both sides. A female student, JSF-006, noted that learning about the conflict would allow people to understand how their views contributed to the conflict. She suggested, "*It is better to learn about the war so we can know about it. War stems from a way of thinking, if we can understand it, we can change it*". Similarly, in response to the common concern of whether learning about the war could fuel more conflict, a male Sinhalese student JSM-005 highlighted that it was critical to understand the causes of conflict to prevent future occurrences. He argued:

Why did the war happen? What did they want? People have something to learn by knowing about it. We can avoid such problems from occurring again. When a similar situation starts, we will know where it will lead. So, we can stop it before it's too late. It's good to know.

Of note is his use of “they” in “What did they want.” He is referring to the Tamil minority and possibly the LTTE. These responses illustrate some level of desire for understanding and the beginning stages of empathy for the others. The Muslim student, JSF-002, echoed her Sinhalese peer's response by noting, *“It's better to learn. If we know the reasons our country will develop and will refrain from problems like this”*.

Despite the genuine risks associated with discussing Sri Lanka's conflict, many Sinhalese teachers recognized the importance of it for their students and the future of the country. Some teachers demonstrated considerable agency and bravery by acknowledging that it was their duty to help children understand the conflict. A Sinhalese JTM-003 explained, *“Due to different opinions, the teachers are afraid to talk about it. But we are at fault here. If we talk about politics and create politics according to the way we want, then it is successful”*. Some Sinhalese teachers even noted that discussing Sri Lanka's conflict increased student engagement. A female Sinhalese teacher, who struggled with getting students to take her class seriously, felt that by having students learn about their own conflict rather than arbitrary ones from the around the world would help students to take the subject seriously. Similarly, teachers from the different ethnic groups across the six regions agreed that including Sri Lanka's conflict in the conflict section would make the curriculum more relevant to students' lives and increase student engagement in the classroom.

A few Sinhalese participants felt that the war should be recognized to affirm their group's experiences and accomplishments to feel proud of their ethnic identity. A small group of Sinhalese students felt that war should be included in textbooks to demonstrate Sri Lanka's might over defectors and terrorists. A female student, ISF-001, felt that Sri Lanka's war with the LTTE should *“because even before that we had war. We must learn how we saved the country from them. Then when we know about it, we can prevent a similar thing from happening again”*. The “them” in this answer is referring to Tamils, which included the defeated LTTE from the most recent war as well as historical conflicts that took place between Sinhalese and Tamils. Thus, her emphasis was on remembering and learning about Sinhalese military might rather

than understanding the cause of the conflict. Similarly, student JSM-004 demonstrated limited critical understanding of empathy of the conflict as he argued,

We must learn it without causing a conflict. We must teach them that ethnicity is not good. We can go forward only if we work together. We can tell them that we beat the terrorists. We can speak about it proudly.

His response speaks to the omission of parts of the war to prevent hostile feelings, homogenization of ethnicity when it is convenient for national unity, and a lack of understanding that the conflict was more than an issue of terrorism. The reference to being proud of how the war ended demonstrates a lack of empathy and understanding for the thousands who died and their families. In both cases, participants were focused on remembering the strength and power of their respective armed forces as an essential part of their identity. Though remembering soldiers who gave their lives for a particular cause is not entirely problematic, the inability to understand the other side's perspective or the lack of motivation to understand the cause of the conflict demonstrates that some participants lacked empathy and the ability to think critically about the war. Also, the focus on militarization, including battles and defeating the other, contributed to a culture of violence and undermined participants' ability to empathize with others' experiences.

Some Sinhalese participants refused to acknowledge the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka to deny recognition that minorities faced considerable inequality. They challenged the notion that the war was caused by grievances over ethnic inequality and insisted it resulted from terrorists or a few individuals. Refusing to acknowledge wrongdoing on the part of the government against minorities, despite considerable evidence, these participants vehemently denied that minorities had been negatively impacted by the conflict and often spoke to their own groups' challenges when minority issues were brought up. A teacher at a small rural Sinhalese school held many of these perspectives. She did not feel that the Sri Lankan conflict should be addressed in the textbooks. She feared that if Tamil students learned about what happened to their people during the conflict, it would incite more conflict and violence and, as such preferred omission of the topic in the formal curriculum. "*Not necessary. When we talk about history, the Tamils have a heritage. It has improved. If they know about it, they could be influenced to cause conflicts*". She also spoke about the war as something that happened among a few ignorant people and did not require particular attention in the curriculum.

I can't think about it. It is something that happened among stupid people. The biggest problem came when they burned the Jaffna library. Foolish people did it. Lots of people live with Tamils. Lots of Singhalese live with Tamils. Foolish people. Educated people don't fight.

When asked if learning about the conflict could prevent future occurrences, she responded, “*An intelligent person can think that this country is equal to all,*” suggesting that the peace and the solution to the conflict were intuitive and not something that needed to be taught or learned because there was equality in Sri Lanka. Though she agreed that talking about the war could help people understand the cause of the war, she did not feel that it was necessary given that the war was now over, and the country was at peace. This sentiment was echoed by several Singhalese teachers, who felt that because the issue of terrorism had been dealt with, there was no reason to discuss the conflict or the causes of it. A similar response was provided by a Singhalese teacher, JTF-002, at the large school, who preferred a surface level acknowledgment of the conflict to protect the current state of ‘peace.’ “*If they can provide some sort of knowledge without affecting the country's peace and safety. Because misunderstandings can occur*”. The term ‘misunderstanding’ is a loaded word here. It reflects many of the atrocities that were committed by both parties in the war that, if learned about, could fester old wounds. These views were echoed by some Singhalese students who felt that discussion of the war would contribute to racism. Student JSM-001 noted, “*It's better that they don't talk about it because if they talk about it, then it will create racism.*” The underlying problem with these responses is that there is a lack of understanding that recognition and restitution, factors needed for peace, can not be had by omitting the harm done by one group to another. Their omission approach to dealing with Sri Lanka's conflict was motivated by keeping the peace through violence rather than building peace through recognition, restitution, and reconciliation.

Hill-Country Tamil

Responsibilities

Participants at school H and K in the Hill-Country Tamil region also held a predominantly personally responsible understanding of citizenship, similar to participants in the Hill-Country Singhalese region (Table 13Table 13).

Table 13

Understanding of Citizenship among Participants at school H and K

ID	Ethnicity	Response
HSF-002	Indian-Tamil	We should not think of ourselves only; we should think about well being of the other also. And we should think about cleanliness, and other than that, we should help our country in any way we can... We should be loyal to our country.
HSM-001	Indian-Tamil	We should have good manners. We should come to school and study obediently. Respect elders. No matter how high we rise, we should always be respect teachers, our teachers. We should respect our parents.
KTF-001	Indian-Tamil	Citizenship means facing life and doing our best to face challenges. We must be good before we tell other people what to do.
HTM-004	Indian-Tamil	We must understand certain things, must not get involved in crimes; our intentions should be good. We must think about the future. We must live as a good role model for future generations. That is how a good citizen should be.

Responses indicate a focus on personal development, discipline, and obedience to school and societal hierarchies. One small difference observed was the lower emphasis on adhering and safeguarding cultural rules and traditions. Indian-Tamil participants demonstrated the most flexible and open understanding of cultural identity compared to all groups. As such, they approached national identity from a more shared fate approach than participants from other ethnic groups because their citizenship identity was not tied to fixed notions of cultural identity and claims to the land.

Rights

There was a significant difference between Indian-Tamils and Sinhalese participants from the two Hill-Country regions with respect to how they experienced citizenship rights, even though geographically, they occupied the same region. The participants from school H and K were predominantly Indian-Tamils. They reported having access to fewer rights as citizens, which led to the common perception of themselves as pseudo citizens of Sri Lanka. Their lack of engagement with Sri Lanka's national identity illustrated how unequal rights for minorities directly undermined national unity and thereby social cohesion. Indian-Tamil participants noted that they faced barriers in their day to day life as a result of not being able to speak and/or write Sinhalese, which impacted their ability to access their rights as citizens. They also expressed

experiencing considerable racism from the Sinhalese in their communities. One student, HSM-001, noted that *“People should not look down on others,”* speaking about how the Sinhalese treated Indian-Tamils in his community. Because Indian Tamils in the Up-Country region lived in predominantly Sinhalese communities, they experienced far more racism and discrimination than ethnic Tamils. The latter was often the dominant group in their communities in the North and Eastern provinces.

Indian-Tamil students at schools H and K faced several challenges in accessing quality education due to racism, poverty, and language barriers. An Indian-Tamil student who was very athletic and interested in competitive sports noted that Sinhala schools and students were given preferences in competitions. She felt that Indian-Tamils were sidelined, observing that, *“In divisional and zonal, the priority is given to the Sinhala students. They get the training. We get training once a month. They get it throughout the month”*. She demonstrated a sense of apathy that little could be done to change the unfairness of the situation, stating, *“We can’t do anything from our side.”* Thus, although Indian-Tamil students did not experience daily racism in their Tamil medium schools, they felt they had fewer opportunities at the regional level because resource allocations favoured Sinhala medium schools.

The right to quality education was frequently undermined by Sinhala language hegemony for teachers and students. The lack of language rights in the local community was also present in the education system. Educators noted that training and workshops for educators by the MoE were often conducted in Sinhala with no translators to ensure that Tamil speaking educators could access the information presented. Teacher KTF-002 explained:

Sometimes because of language, we don’t have our rights. Like in the area I use to work, if we go to a government office and we have to fill out a form or write something, they would ask for it in Sinhala, so we have to get a translator to write. Most of the training is done in Sinhala, like the psychology training, they ask us if they understand, and generally, people say they understand, but it is not always the case.

Another Indian-Tamil educator noted that not only was the content inaccessible to Tamil speakers, but Tamil speaking participants were also made to feel inferior and uncomfortable by their Sinhalese colleagues. *“Generally, when there are zonal meetings, they are conducted in Sinhala. Sometimes the terms they use can be offensive. Their behaviour and all...in such a situation we feel a bit sad”*. The failure of the implementation of bilingual policies meant that Tamil educators were not able to access training content, which directly impacted their ability to

support their students and put them at a pedagogical disadvantage compared to their Sinhala speaking colleagues within the same community. Furthermore, educators felt excluded and discriminated against during these professional development sessions.

Sinhala language hegemony often meant that Singhalese teachers were rarely fluent in Tamil, even when teaching in Tamil medium schools. A teacher, HTF-003, noted that Tamil students in the school experience discrimination and poor-quality education from Singhalese language teachers who were not bilingual like their Tamil counterparts. Singhalese teachers were unable and often unwilling to explain concepts to students in their first language when they had difficulties. She noted a similar issue with English classes. Within a Tamil medium school, Singhalese teachers would use Sinhala to explain concepts in an English class for Tamil students, who were not fluent in Sinhala. As a result, schools predominantly comprised of Indian-Tamils had lower grades for English and Sinhala subjects. These results illustrate the hegemonic role of the Sinhala language in education for Tamil speakers in the Hill Country region.

Poverty intersected with and amplified the racial discrimination experienced by Indian-Tamil students, many of whom were unable to attend better quality schools in the town due to the mandatory donations required to obtain admission. Some Indian-Tamils students felt that their teachers were insensitive to the economic hardship they faced at home. An Indian-Tamil student, KSM-005, in an estate community, explained:

I think poor people should be supported in schools. Schools should not see differences between poor and rich children. There are many very poor children here. So it causes differences and divisions between students. Like some families don't have electricity, so they are not able to study. As a result, the teacher yells at the student, and the other students ostracize the student. Even if the teachers try to treat them equally, poor children feel the difference and exclude themselves.

Thus, even in ethnically homogenous schools such as school K, students faced considerable challenges through violent practices grounded in harmful masculinities such as humiliation and ostracization. Boys, in particular, were the target of excessive and unexpected beatings by male teachers. At school H, an Indian-Tamil student, who identified a teacher that was the most abusive, noted that it was the boys who were hit with anything and everything indiscriminately. Triggers for beatings included not understanding material or even asking questions for clarification after the teacher had explained something. Student HSF-005 explained, “*They don't understand maths properly. They don't ask doubts because they are scared of getting hit. When*

sir asks a question, and they don't answer, they get hit". She also explained that these students did not misbehave. She wished that they could have teachers who were more qualified, experienced, and patient:

First, for some subjects, we don't have good teachers. Change some of the teachers and bring teachers who can explain well, teachers with experience... There are teachers who don't explain well. When we ask doubts, they hit us and blame us, saying that we didn't pay attention.

Although Indian-Tamil students faced considerable challenges in schools, many valued the role of education in their lives. They viewed it as their only way out of their second class citizenship status. One student noted that education was the only means to overcome the oppression faced by the Indian-Tamil community noting, *"Because we are the minority community, we can't do anything. We will be punished. We can only come to a good place through education"*. The importance and value placed on education by the Indian-Tamil participants made access to quality education a crucial for social cohesion. Consequently, the system barriers Indian-Tamils faced in accessing quality education were viewed as an effort to undermine their social mobility and keep them as second class citizens by the majority Sinhalese community and the state.

Like their Sinhalese counterparts, Indian-Tamil participants also viewed schooling as a means to build peace and social cohesion. Many participants highly valued mixed schools where they were exposed to different languages, religions, and cultures. Students reported that mixed schools were the best way to create unity in the country because they could learn to interact and understand those different from them from an early age. An Indian-Tamil student, HSF-002, argued that mixed schools would reduce discrimination among the different groups in Sri Lanka:

It's good when it is mixed. Then only there is unity in the country. If we can be unified here, then only when we go to other places. We can mix with others in society and be supportive and live together. If the discrimination starts here, then that's how we will behave in the society. Hence, we won't be able to fulfill our needs.

She firmly believed that schools were the right place to learn to live with those that were different. Despite these claims from students and the commitment and efforts of the principal at school H to promote equality amongst the different ethnic and religious groups, there were still instances of exclusion and discrimination. A Muslim student, HSF-005, reported that she was refused membership in the school band because a teacher felt that the student's fardhah (headscarf) and inability to wear a short skirt for the band uniform would stand out. She reported that despite getting permission from her community to participate, the specific teacher and

school prevented her participation. “*Everyone said it was ok, my family, in my mosque... but the school refused to let me wear the fardha and take part (in school band)*”. She also explained that other schools made uniform accommodations for students so that Muslim students could participate in the band. Thus, although the Indian-Tamil school was more inclusive than the Sinhalese schools by ensuring Muslim girls could wear their headscarf with their school uniform, school H limited Muslim girls’ full participation in school activities with arbitrary restrictions inconsistent with regional practices as well as national policies on inclusion.

Patriotism and National Unity

The lack of rights and daily threats to their identity resulted in lower levels of affiliation with the state among Indian-Tamil participants at school H and K. They expressed that it was hard to be proud as a Sri Lankan because they had fewer opportunities in all aspects of life compared to other groups. Indian Tamil students experienced a high level of exclusion daily due to a variety of factors, caste, and class, in addition to ethnicity, which acted as barriers to their sense of belonging. They felt discriminated against by many groups in Sri Lanka. Students KSM-005 explained that their exclusion was perpetuated not only by the majority Sinhalese community but also by the ethnic Tamils from the North who looked down on them.

I am proud to be Sri Lankan, but I also have some difficult feelings... When I participated in a school cricket match with Sinhalese people, I was not chosen because of language barriers, because I did not have money, or the right clothes, even though I was a skilled player... like people look at us like we are peasants from the town, it is hard emotionally. No matter how well we go, when we go to school competitions with other schools, they push us aside saying we will go nowhere, we are badly behaved, we are poor, not good students. The reason is we are Tamil and also a low-ranking school... our language is different from Jaffna Tamil; they look down on us. Also, Tamils, view us as lower because we are of a different caste.

Despite the discrimination from ethnic Tamils, Indian Tamils still held a strong affinity to Tamil cause during the conflict. They were hopeful that ethnic Tamils’ fight for rights would benefit them as Tamil speakers. A participant noted, “*At that time, we also felt that we are also Tamils. If they won, the war we too felt that we would get a better future. We had the same expectations*”. Indian Tamil participants also spoke of considerable discrimination in the upcountry region from the Sinhalese. Structural inequality in school mirrored what was taking place in society. A male student, HSM-001, from school H expressed the difficulties of being Tamil in Sri Lanka and why it was hard for him to be proud to be a Sri Lankan:

It's a bit difficult in this country. Because it's difficult to find a job. Sinhalese get more, Tamils get less. There are difficulties in studies also. Because they prefer Sinhala medium more in colleges. There are many courses, but they are conducted in Sinhala. Tamil courses are not conducted much at the college level. Another thing is, in most jobs, Sinhalese are given priority.

These perspectives demonstrate that Indian-Tamils of the Up-Country region faced the most significant challenges to expressing patriotism because they experienced higher degrees of marginalization daily as minorities in Sri Lanka but also as a minority community living in a predominantly Sinhalese area, unlike Northern and Eastern Tamils. The latter often lived in predominantly Tamil areas. Their lack of affiliation to the state was also compounded by the fact that they had been denied citizenship for many years. To date, there are still many Indian-Tamils who have not received Sri Lankan citizenship.

Textbook Reflections

The omission of contributions made by minority communities to Sri Lanka in the civics textbooks was perceived as a form of bias and bad faith, on the part of the government, in promoting peace and national unity for many minority teachers and students. Participants felt that their history and contribution to the development of the country were purposefully omitted to promote an image of Sri Lanka that was exclusively Sinhalese-Buddhist. Teachers from all the minority regions noted that the absence of Tamils, Indian Tamils, and Muslim rulers from the past.

From school H and K, Indian Tamil students pointed to the absence of their group's role in the large tea industry that was an essential part of Sri Lanka's contribution to the world and a source of pride for the country. Student KSM-005 from the small school in an estate felt that the omission of their contributions was intentional as he noted, "*Indian Tamils have contributed a great deal to bringing the country to where it is; we worked hard to build this area, but the Sinhalese people have hidden this to keep us (Indian Tamils) down.*" Student KSF-001 insisted that "*Our history and contribution (Indian Tamil) should be written about in the textbooks.*" The failure of the government to include the contributions of minority communities was viewed as an indication of the state's reticence to acknowledge minority groups' ownership and belonging to the land. The exclusion was a way to prevent the disruption of the Sinhalese-Buddhist narrative of the Sri Lanka state identity. This sentiment was particularly strong among Indian Tamils, many of whom are still in the process of obtaining citizenship after generations of working and

building Sri Lanka's tea industry through plantation work but remain landless. As such, excluding the contributions of minorities reinforced the Sinhalese-Buddhist identity of Sri Lanka. It also undermined national unity and social cohesion by portraying the government as biased and untrustworthy among minority communities.

Conflict Recognition. Overall, Indian-Tamil participants expressed that Sri Lanka's national conflict and war should be included in the civics textbooks and discussed in class (Table 14). Teachers at both schools noted that the topic should be discussed to prevent future conflicts. However, some felt that it should be excluded to avoid fueling more conflict.

Table 14

Indian-Tamil Responses to Recognizing Conflict

ID	Response
HPM-001	Sometimes when we include them in the schoolbooks, it could arise conflict among the races. There are good and bad sides to both... it is better if they don't know about it. In the future, in this country, if we tell that there were issues among races, the future generation also will start thinking down that line. They will think that the Tamils are our enemies. So, the chances of these races living together are lost. It is better if our children don't know about the war in our country
HTF-002	Now children don't know what war is; if you teach only that, it is enough, but when we teach how the war happened, it could be a reason to encourage children... When they grow up, there is a chance to create violence again.
KTF-001	It is good if the conflict is included. Our children should know what happened in our land.
KTF-002	I am not scared to talk about it, because I am speaking about what happened, what is truth
HTF-005	No, I do not have any fear of teaching the students about it. We should teach the students about this. Earlier, we have been told not to talk about politics, but when the child comes to learn, we must tell about it.
HSM-003	Yes, they should know about it. The people's suffering should be known. Then the next generation will not go into it.
HSF-009	I think they should know. Then there won't be another war. We can prevent it.

Educators HPM-001 and HTF-002 at the larger school H expressed concerns about contributing to further divisions if race issues were brought. Much like their Sinhalese colleagues, these two educators took a negative peace approach for violence prevention. Contrastingly, most other teachers not only recognized the importance of their students learning about the war, but they also expressed considerable bravery in discussing the topic in class. Student HSF-009 noted that

though the war was not included in the curriculum and she did not know much about the war, what she did know was from her teachers who choose to talk about the topic from their own experience. She appreciated the teacher talking to her about the war and wanted to learn more. Moreover, unlike their teachers, students at school H and K generally agreed that the conflict should be included in the textbooks to learn and prevent future occurrences.

North – Islands

Responsibilities

Like Sinhalese and Indian Tamil participants from the Hill-Country regions, the ethnic Tamil participants in the North-Island region also ascribed to the personally responsible citizenship type. Similar to the Hill-Country Sinhalese participants, there was a focus on obedience and rule-following, both of which were grounded in cultural rules and tradition. Culture was viewed as a fixed and permanent system of rules based on tradition and culture and central to students' understanding of citizenship responsibilities. “*Living according to one’s culture,*” “*respecting culture,*” and “*respecting values*” were ways students described citizenship and how to be a good citizen. Moreover, like their Sinhalese counterparts, there was also a strong emphasis on safeguarding and protecting culture from external threats. Responses such as “*Each of us has a specific culture*” by student ASF-002 and “*We should act according to our culture*” by student ASF-011, both ethnic Tamils, illustrate the focus on differences resulting from the linkage of citizenship and cultural identity. This focus on cultural identity and difference led some participants to believe that it would be challenging to live cohesively with individuals from other cultures. For example, the dance teacher at school A, who also taught civics, explained that during a training workshop on the new dance curriculum, she was forced to learn and teach traditional Sinhalese dances. She explained that the dance was inappropriate in Tamil culture, and this is one of the many reasons that the two groups could not live together. This incident illustrates two aspects of identity that undermine social cohesion. One, the threat to this teacher’s Tamil identity by being forced to learn and teach a Sinhalese dance rather than offering it as an option fails to provide a secure identity needed for inclusive democratic citizenship. The second issue is the teacher's fixed and essentialized conceptualization of her Tamil cultural identity that prevented her from participating in dance from a different culture. Sinhalese cultural hegemony, in conjunction with essentialized notions of Tamil cultural

identity, worked in tandem to fuel division and prevent people from working across differences to foster mutual understanding.

Rights

Exposure to war and ongoing militarization influenced ethnic Tamil participants' conceptualization of citizenship at school A and B. Understanding that access to fundamental rights was central to citizenship, ethnic Tamil participants more often spoke about rights as a theoretical construct of citizenship rather than something they were experiencing. A female teacher, ATF-002, defined citizenship as when “*everybody accepts that we all have our rights... We all feel that we should be respected as equals in this country and should have access to all our rights*”. The element of something a person “should” have also was present in the response from teacher ATM-001, who stated that “*we all should have been given our rights*” in her definitions of citizenship. This absence of rights impacted Tamil minority teachers' sense of belonging to Sri Lanka. Teacher ATF-002 noted that she did not feel like a Sri Lankan citizen even though the war was over because “*we didn't get all our rights, but we would like to have all our rights.*” In addition to limited rights, many of the participants also felt that their structural inequality and systemic racism prevented them from ever obtaining full access to their rights as citizens. A female teacher, ATF-002, stated that “*in all aspects mostly, ethnic wise, we are still referred as minorities, and there is a majority*” and argued that as an ethnic minority, she would never really be able to access all of her rights. Similarly, an educator, BPF-001, at school B echoed teacher ATF-002's sentiments pointing to the failure of language policies and lack of equity:

Discrimination exists between Tamils and Sinhalese. They said Tamil is a second language, but they do not give equal importance. For example, formats and seculars for filling up identity card applications have been issued in Sinhala. That is a language barrier for us... Equity should be there to change this country. Unity among ethnic groups should be promoted. We should be allowed to practice our culture and beliefs... We can live together without problems. But they should give all the rights equally just like what they have.

This response and many like it show that many ethnic Tamils felt that the Sinhalese majority government was withholding their rights. This perspective was particularly common on the issue of land rights. Many of the educators noted their right to live in their homes, the basis of citizenship for them, was violated due to past and ongoing conflicts and the current occupation of Tamil land.

Students expressed similar views as their teachers with respect to accessing their rights; however, some that had faced considerable challenges during the war demonstrated high levels of resiliency. Education was an essential source of resiliency for some students who had experienced human rights violations during the war. An ethnic Tamil student, ASF-003, felt that education was her only means to change her circumstances concerning the injustices committed during the war and the challenges her family faced due to poverty. Unlike her teachers, she demonstrated a high level of agency to challenge the status quo and was even aware of the challenges she was going face and had a plan to overcome them. She explained how she was going to get justice for her father's murder.

I want to get into politics. I want to help my people. I want to get justice for my father, who was killed by the EPDP (a pro-government group in the North), but I know I can't do this as a woman. I would make my little brother a politician, and I will provide support and advice for him. I will become a lawyer. I will put my brother in front because when I go to another family (marriage) it will become a problem.

She explained that there were many challenges for women to become politicians in Sri Lanka. This approach was her way of overcoming this challenge and achieving her goals. Student ASF-003's desire for social justice, civic engagement, and tenacity stemmed from the extreme hardships she experienced due to the conflict and injustice. She viewed education as her only way out of these calamities. Although this perspective was echoed by her peers at school A and B and by other students from schools in the war-affected region, her response was particularly unique in its clarity and focus on structural change rather than the more generic responses by her peers focused on living peacefully, working hard, and contributing to the nation. Her personal experience with ethnic and political conflict played a crucial role in her determination for change. She was also supported by her teachers, who viewed her as a leader in the school and valued for her contributions. Student ASF-003's experience illustrates that teachers can contribute to social cohesion and peacebuilding among conflict-affected children by fostering student agency through more democratic engagement with them.

Patriotism

Participants from schools A and B, as well as most ethnic Tamil participants in the North and Eastern provinces, expressed mixed feelings when it came to pride in their Sri Lankan identity as a result of exclusion and threats to their ethnic and/or cultural identity from the Sinhalese majority. Though most participants noted that they wanted to be proud of being Sri

Lankan, many of the rights violations noted above contributed to mixed feelings in claiming or feeling pride in a Sri Lankan identity. Past and ongoing human rights violations, loss of self-governance, inequality, occupation of their land, lack of trust in politicians and the political system, and threats to their culture were reasons that were noted by participants as to why it was hard to feel patriotic despite their desire for peace and unity (Table 15Table 15).

Table 15

Ethnic Tamil Participants Responses on Patriotism and National Unity

ID	Response
ATF-002	For her, it's okay to learn other dances, but for me, it's not okay, and there are some others who agree with me. By introducing this, I feel like our own arts are being held back. Nowadays, they are trying to force their cultures on us. If we take all that, this is how our history changes.
ASF003	We, Tamil and Muslims, are just a few people, and what they are doing is taking care of the people who are in the majority. What the Sri Lankan government should do is assist the people in areas that are in lower positions. For example, developed countries around the world like America, Switzerland, they developed because they assisted people in lower positions to come up that is how they developed.
ATF-002	We experienced a lot, from childhood we spent most of our lives in war. We are still fearful of planes and all that. We have the old memories and fear... our cultures are different. Their habits, food, and everything is different from ours. There are no chances we can live together...No one likes war, we accept peace, for that we should take non-violent ways. No war, we lost a lot.

These responses illustrate that teachers feared violence, cultural assimilation and felt that the Sinhalese majority state generally overlooked their needs. Because Sri Lanka was a Buddhist state, many participants believed that they could never achieve full inclusion and equality as their religious identities essentially made them second class citizens. Furthermore, participants' sense of belonging and inclusion to the notion of a Sri Lankan national identity was significantly weakened due to land occupation and militarization of their ancestral homes. This relationship between occupation and/or militarization and land loss was typical among participants from schools A and B as well as the other war-affected regions. An educator from school B explained the challenges she had in identifying as a Sri Lanka citizen because she did not have access to some of her most basic rights, such as visiting the place of birth.

Being a Tamil, I still have some issues identifying myself as a Sri Lankan citizen. Though we are all Sri Lankan citizens, indirectly, our rights have been and being ignored. Ethnical differences between us do affect the meaning of being a Sri Lankan citizen.

Sometimes we are not even allowed to visit our native places. Though I am a Sri Lankan citizen, I could not be able to visit my native place. If we look into it, I am not treated as a Sri Lankan citizen truly. Then what is the meaning of this citizenship? I am not asking to visit another country or another community. I am asking to visit my very own native place. If I do not have the rights to visit my own land and own home, then how well does this citizenship work? A country is where we should be able to live peacefully without any corruption, problems, and without anyone forcefully occupying our lands.

Student and teacher responses illustrate that structural inequality, in the form of a Sinhalese government that was unresponsive to the needs of ethnic Tamils' or, in some cases, deliberately undermining Tamil communities and their culture through colonization and occupation, was the underlying reason for participants inability to identify as Sri Lankan. The lack of trust in the government, whose actions often antagonized ethnic Tamils leading to insecure identities, further alienated them from Sri Lankan identity. A few participants went so far as to state they preferred living under the LTTE and hoped that one day they would have self-governance.

Ethnic Tamils rarely mentioned any instances where they were able to advocate through government institutions for their rights. The systemic racism and structural inequality that prevented participants from using their language and/or living in their own homes in conjunction with decades of war and ongoing militarization contributed to a sense of apathy to challenge the injustices they were experiencing. The lack of agency resulting from structural inequality was similar to that demonstrated by Indian-Tamils participants in the Hill-Country region. Like Indian Tamils, the removal of agency among ethnic Tamils had a destabilizing impact on their affinity to a Sri Lankan national identity.

Textbook Reflections

Educators and students at school A and B were unanimous in their feedback on the civics textbook. Teachers enjoyed teaching the subject and appreciated that the subject was more focused than in the past. Students noted that the material was easy to understand and taught them how to behave in society. A commonality between school J and A grade 12 STEM students was that they had very little memory of what they had been taught in grade 9. These students had not taken civics after grade 9 and were often unable to recall much of the content and, in some cases, were less capable of expressing their ideas on what citizenship meant to them. These findings and teachers' observations that civics needed to be mandatory beyond grade 9 illustrate that

students need a more extended period engaging with civics content to make a meaningful difference in their understanding of citizenship and consequent civic engagement.

Teachers at school A and B echoed many of the challenges noted by their Sinhalese peers concerning the lack of importance given to civic and arts subjects compared to the STEM subjects. Teachers at school A reported that the subject was often given to teachers who needed additional courses to fill their timetable but had no training in teaching civics. Many of the teachers interviewed reported teaching the subject with little to no training in the subject and/or no training on the new syllabus. A dance teacher in the North noted that she could manage the course without training but could not teach the upper-level courses. Her perspective echoed the Sinhalese civics teacher from school J, who argued that subject specialists should teach the upper-level civics courses. These similarities across regions show that despite differences in levels of exposure to war or ethnicity, teachers shared similar concerns on the challenges of effectively teaching the civics curriculum due to the second class status of the course in relation to more instrumental subjects such as the STEM subjects.

Recognition of Conflict. Teachers' and students' views on whether Sri Lanka's conflict should be included in the textbooks was influenced by long term military occupation of the Island region compared to the Vanni or Eastern regions, which had been under LTTE control more recently. All the students who were interviewed were born and raised under military occupation and, unlike their peers in the Vanni or Eastern provinces, had limited knowledge of the war due to restrictions on freedom of speech and political activity for Tamil rights under military occupation. Most children noted that they did not know much about the conflict, only what their parents had told them. These students were more likely to echo statements from the textbook on not harming others and not disrupting the peace when asked about citizenship. They also demonstrate higher levels of apathy about challenging the status quo when discussing rights for minorities. It should be noted that these students may have chosen not to share their actual views with me, given that many people in the North abstained from expressing views on the conflict that could be perceived as supporting separatism or 'terrorism.'

Contrastingly, students who did know about the conflict due to personal experience or had migrated to the Island region from the Vanni demonstrated greater levels of conflict consciousness. For example, the student who wanted to become a lawyer to enact political change and find justice for her father's death demonstrated a much higher level of agency than

her peers who had limited knowledge of the war. Her response was similar to her teachers, who had lived through various bouts of conflict in the Island region when the LTTE ruled it. Teachers were more critical of the textbooks and noted the absence of Tamil contributions and content on the Sri Lankan conflict. Teacher ATM-001 linked the low quality of the textbooks, including inadequate translation and bias for Sinhalese kings, as a critical aspect of the root cause of the conflict. *“When it comes to their kings... They will be biased. When they translate carelessly as it is in Sinhala to Tamil, there is a conflict. It should be changed step by step; it cannot be changed in a day”*. Despite his criticisms, he was hopeful that things would change slowly. Similarly, an educator from school B was also hopeful and expressed some resiliency and agency. Despite the limitations on freedom of speech and omission in textbooks, she argued:

They forget to include what is most needed for our children. But I think we can teach them. Our new generation of children do not know about the history behind the war or the impacts of war. They do not even know what Mullivaaikal is. They do not know what had happened in Mullivaaikaal. They do not know about the war or the causes of the war. As a Tamil teacher, I feel the urge to tell them the history. Children do not know. Yesterday I taught them about the Dudley Silva constitution and Banda Silva Constitution. They were asking why we need a constitution. Foreigners ruled our country in the past. They handed us over the authority when they left the country. We, Tamils and Sinhalese, fought against foreigners to send them out of the country. Students replied to me saying they were crazy; they could have divided the country by that time itself to avoid this war later. Students think in that way. So, they do not know why this all happened and why we needed a constitution. Sometimes, we could cover some topics indirectly while teaching some topics. We need to make sure of our safety as well... Yeah, some students even ask me what LTTE is. Grade four five kids have been asking us why this war happens and what they fought for. We do not have the courage to teach everything in detail to those kids. We are still living under all threats and limitations.

Her response illustrates that although many of the students had a limited understanding of the Sri Lankan conflict, they did have some knowledge and wanted to understand it better. Teachers’ and students’ responses also indicate that long term military occupation was a significant impediment to students’ learning about their history and developing a critical understanding of Sri Lanka’s national conflict.

Another difference between teachers and students was that among the students who knew about the conflict and wanted it included in the textbook, most were motivated by a peacebuilding rationale for preventing future conflict or obtaining justice. However, a small group of teachers noted that the war should be taught about to demonstrate the power of the

LTTE in almost defeating the military and how this should be a source of pride for Tamils.

Teacher ATM-003 explained,

...we will have something to be proud of too. Whether it's right or wrong is another thing, but it is history... our children will learn that our ethnicity also had a flag, own song, military, our own rules, and someone to guide us.

This response indicates that some ethnic Tamil teachers felt that it was important to learn about the contributions of the LTTE to Tamil history in Sri Lanka. Though learning about the LTTE is not problematic on its own, teacher ATM-003's note, "*Whether it's right or wrong is another thing,*" suggests that the discussion would be uncritical and one-sided, much like the Sinhalese participants. The latter was focused on the might of the Sinhalese army and their victories with no mention of the destruction and pain caused by military violence. Though the number of Tamil participants that shared this view was relatively small compared to the Sinhalese region, both cases illustrate how citizenship and identity rooted in ethnic affiliation adulated military violence. The focus on war victors prevented a critical understanding of conflict and reduced participants' ability to empathize with others and work across differences.

North – Vanni

Responsibilities and Rights

There was a strong relationship between exposure to direct war and a more personally responsible approach to citizenship among the ethnic Tamil participants at schools C and D in the highly war-affected Vanni region. The focus on a personally responsible approach to citizenship was related to school and community level violence, surveillance, and a lack of faith in the state for a political solution to injustice. These factors exacerbated the impact of culture and authoritative schools and classrooms that fostered the personally responsible approach to citizenship common across the regions. Most students and teachers demonstrated a reserved disposition that, at times, alluded to dissatisfaction with the way things were being done but also with a sense of apathy. Many felt that little they could do to change the system other than to focus on personal development. Teacher, DTF-002, noted that she did not "*even have 1% belief in a political*" way for Tamil people to uplift themselves. She believed that the only way Tamils could achieve anything was "*If every individual looks after their own family's well-being and improve the family that will gradually improve society as well. We will not get any answer if we protest or fight for the truth*". The apathy and lack of trust in the state apparent in her response

reflect the sentiments of many ethnic Tamils' in the Vanni region, who personally experienced the atrocities of the 2009 war and the state's subsequent denial of what took place. The high level of apathy compared to participants from schools in other war-affected regions was most apparent in a response from a teacher at school D, which was in the most war-affected, rural, and impoverished community of the study. Teacher DTF-003 argued, "*Our people are well educated.... There are doctors, engineers, pilots, etc... But still, we are downtrodden... Whatever we do, I think we will get blocked somewhere*". A student from the same school expressed that she had no idea what young Tamil people could do in the face of an unjust government as she noted, "*At this point, we can not do anything, they (Sinhalese) must think about what they did and do something. We can not do anything now*". Her response did not indicate that she had any hope that "they" would do anything and is further evidence of how war and structural violence contribute to apathy.

Teachers noted that children were deeply affected by the 2009 war in the Vanni region. Teacher CTF-003 noted that there was a marked difference between children who had been impacted by the war and those that had managed to escape exposure to direct fighting. She explained that many children came from single-parent homes and that the loss of family members resulted in learned helplessness among children. She reported that they were distant and behaved differently than other students because many of their physical and emotional needs were not met. Students living in the areas impacted by the war spoke to how the conflict directly impacted their right to education and the lifelong impact. The impact of the conflict was particularly damaging on the cohort of children who were displaced during the 2009 conflict as they sat their grade 5 scholarship entrance exams, a test that in many ways determined their future opportunities in and through formal education. These were the students I interviewed; they were now doing their ALs (grade 12). A student, CSF-003, noted the impact of the war on her health and, consequently, her right to education, "*Our education was disrupted; we were studying for grade 5 exams, so we had to deal with many illnesses*". This experience was echoed by teachers who had experienced countless outbreaks of fighting since the 1983 riots that displaced them and disrupted their education. Teachers also spoke about that the hardships they experienced in trying to complete their schooling to obtain a spot in Sri Lanka's highly competitive university system while they were experiencing school bombings and security

checkpoints. Teacher CTF-002 noted the challenges she faced accessing education as a result of war but also explained how the experience had motivated her to work harder to improve herself.

We could not attend classes for around one year during ordinary level exam time. We struggled a lot to study. The army used to capture people during that time. They do not even allow us to go out. Later on, we did work hard to improve ourselves.

Thus, despite the challenges noted, a few participants' responses did indicate high levels of resilience and motivation to persevere, and education was a source of hope to better their lives.

Many of the challenges associated with hierarchical school cultures, such as teacher-centered classrooms or corporal punishment, were often amplified by exposure to direct conflict. In addition to challenges from exposure to war, students in the Vanni region also faced various other impediments to democratic citizenship through education. Teachers' perspectives on the use of corporal punishment ran contrary to the practice of inclusive democratic citizenship. Teachers felt that the use of corporal punishment was needed to control and teach students. Despite training and knowledge on the children's rights, teachers had difficulty moving away from corporal punishment as a classroom management strategy. Some teachers viewed children knowing their rights as an impediment to their teaching because they could not punish them with physical violence. These teachers felt that a non-violent approach to teaching only worked in Western countries and that it was not useful, or that children were not yet ready for a non-violent approach. Even when teachers were aware that the misbehaviour of students was often due to the trauma of war, they firmly believed the violence was an effective tool to set these students straight. Teacher CTF-002 explained:

Here, each and every student has their own problem in the family. Sometimes, those problems are even bigger than we expect. If a student is punished for his wrongdoings, then the teacher has to face the consequences. There are so many cases like this exist. Students know that they can complain in case if they get punished. So, they go to complain easily every time they get punished. It happens always. Parents do not believe that their kids could do wrongdoings. They believe that their kids are always good. There is this problem.

Despite understanding that the students had unprecedented challenges due to the impact of war in this particular community, teacher CTF-002 felt that physical violence was the only way to deal with children who were misbehaving. Student and parent advocacy against corporal punishment was viewed as an impediment to learning, not as a child advocating for his/her rights. Although

teachers lacked an understanding of the role of corporal punishment in undermining democratic practices and student agency, they did recognize the crippling impact of exam culture on students. Teachers noted that the focus on exams in Sri Lankan schools was a significant impediment to students developing other essential skills. Teacher CTF-002 argued that it was a source of stress and anxiety for students, “*Students study their books. They sit for exams. They always care about exams and exams only. Examinations become stressful for students. They should change this trend of making the exam stressful.* In addition to a strong exam culture, access to quality education was also limited through mandatory donations from families. A principal from another region noted:

You probably went there and saw. In Vanni, there are very limited schools. In schools, there is the concept of donation. It would be impossible for an impoverished child to become very good at school and get into a bigger school because they ask for too much donation, which the families can't afford. Those rights...

Higher levels of corporal punishment, exam culture, poverty, in conjunction with an area that had been exposed to decades of violence, militarization, surveillance by the armed forces and LTTE, and continual acts of violence against those who spoke against the government had led to a culture of fear and silence. These factors worked undermined teachers’ and students’ abilities to challenge injustice and inequity, thereby excluding them from the process of democratic citizenship.

Patriotism and National Unity

The level of exposure to war and consequent experiences with access to rights was directly related to participants’ sense of belonging and pride in their Sri Lankan identity at schools C and D. Many participants reported that they loved their country and were generally proud to be Sri Lanka; however, the impact of the war and how Tamils were dealt with during and after the war had left them with some bitter feelings. Students and teachers spoke to the mixed emotions of feeling pride but also not being able to reconcile the fact that they lived in a country where their own government was a threat to their identity and right to live. There was significant discontentment among teachers with accessing their land rights. Their inability to return to homes lost during the war and/or the resettlement into less desirable areas while their homes were used for military purposes was particularly damaging to their sense of belonging to

Sri Lanka. Teacher CTF-002 noted the challenges faced by Tamils living in the Vanni region due to military occupation.

They attacked our home and captured it and turned it into a camp. They kept it as a camp. They only gave our home back last year itself. We went there last year... the Military had been told to leave the captured homes. So we could get our homes back. When we did not have a place to stay, we struggled a lot. We had to displace here and there. My mother and father got injured by a shell. Now they have left our native place.

Regaining the right to her land had given this teacher some hope and agency in changing her circumstances. As such, she went on to express that, “*We have been struggling from the beginning. Regardless of the struggles, I am also proud of being a Sri Lankan*”.

Teachers who felt that they would never have access to the same rights as the Sinhalese majority were less likely to express any affiliation with the Sri Lanka state. Teacher DTF-005 explained why she did not feel included in a Sri Lankan national identity. “*No matter what they say, we still are not treated equally like the Sinhalese. There is a difference between the majority and the minority. In everything like studies and all. We don't have the same education opportunities ...*”. For her, the lack of opportunities through education for Tamils weakened her pride in the country. Similarly, students who underwent traumatic experiences during the war were reticent to express any sentiments related to a Sri Lankan national identity. A young girl, CSF-003, who lived through the last days of the war, spoke about the inhumane treatment she experienced at the hands of the army when she was captured and kept in an internment camp:

The things that happened to us in those last days is what creates the feeling that Sri Lanka is not our country because of the massive struggles we experienced... We had to struggle even for food. We went through the last stages of the war, right till the end, then we went over the army side. Under the army, we did not have food for three days, and when they did finally give us food, they would throw the food at us. They would throw the rice at us, so there was no guarantee that everyone would get food.

Many students from both schools indicated that they could not make sense of the dissonance between the rights that should be afforded to a citizen of a state, the message they received in school, and what they and their families had experienced during and after the war. These experiences included extreme levels of violence, exposure to traumatic events, constant displacement, extended periods of hunger/starvation, IDP camp experiences, constant airstrikes, the disappearance and/or abduction of family members, and SGBV. These experiences

contributed to the sense that they were not Sri Lankan citizens, irrespective of whether they wanted to be or not.

Textbook Reflections

Educators and students at school C and D expressed similar views as participants in other regions concerning the importance of introducing a course focused on civics and the effectiveness of the textbooks on providing a prescriptive and easy to understand guide on how students should live and contribute in society. Like their Indian-Tamil counterparts, many teachers at school C and D noted the omission of their groups' role in Sri Lanka's history and development. Teacher DTF-002 noted that there was little content on Tamil culture in the civics textbooks, and the only reason students studied so hard was to do well on tests and exams. He also noted that the chance that the government would ever include any content on the conflict was low, given that there was a deliberate effort to censor Tamil contributions to Sri Lanka's historical identity. *"If they include it (war), it will be good. There isn't any information about ancient Tamil kings, so we cannot expect them to put details about the war"*. Overall, most participants felt that the war should be included in the textbook for reasons related to preventing future conflicts and ensuring the hardships experienced by the Tamils were recognized and not forgotten in history. These responses were similar to participants' responses from other regions who felt the war should be included in the textbooks based on a peacebuilding rationale.

A small number of participants in school C and D noted that the conflict should be omitted using a peacekeeping rationale. Participants who were significantly impacted by the war felt that it was better to leave things in the past to avoid inciting hate among young people and contributing to another conflict. A civics teacher, CTM-001, that experienced the last days of the war noted that if children learned about the details of what happened, anyone, including the children, would want to retaliate.

If they include this in detail, then people cannot easily get rid of their bitter memories, such as deaths and all which they experienced during the war. It will continue to be a bitter memory for them...But, if students read those histories as children, they might get interested in forming a group. It will bring more problems in the future. They will definitely get that kind of mindset. If the ministry teaches something like that, even we will get that kind of mindset to do something like that. When children get that kind of mindset and try to carry that out, then they might have to experience the worst. It's better not to include that.

Teacher CTM-001’s emphasis that “*even we will get that mindset*” illustrates how damaging the atrocities against Tamil people were during the war. He feared that learning about them could lead to students and teachers to form groups, like the LTTE, to challenge the injustices carried out by the government. Seeing what had happened to Tamils and the LTTE over the years at the hands of the government, the teacher CTM-001 felt that students would be better off ignorant of details of the war. Thus, despite the ongoing hardships among ethnic Tamils in the Vanni region, this teacher felt it was safer to collectively forget what happened to protect the future generation from potentially experiencing the same treatment from the government. For many ethnic Tamil participants, the horrific ending of the 2009 war was a harsh reminder of what could happen if they choose to challenge the government the way the LTTE or other groups and individuals had. Thus, though for differing reasons, some ethnic Tamil participants, like their Sinhalese counterparts, felt that the conflict or aspects of it should be omitted to keep the prevailing form of peace. In both cases, the fear of violence prevented engagement in positive conflict needed for peacebuilding and social justice through education.

Eastern Province

Responsibilities and Rights

Participants’ conceptualization of citizenship at school E and F in the Eastern region was consistent with their counterparts in other regions with a predominantly personally responsible approach to citizenship responsibilities. Students’ responses at school E and F generally focused on self-regulation, following the rule of law, respect, and good behaviour (Table 16).

Table 16

Students from School E and F on Citizenship Responsibilities

ID	Ethnicity	Response
ESF-004	Ethnic Tamil	If we follow the government rules and laws, the country will come to a good place.
ESF-001	Ethnic Tamil	In order to be a good citizen of Sri Lanka, you need to respect and act according to the laws and regulations imposed by the government...
FSM-002	Ethnic Tamil	We shouldn’t do bad things. We should live properly
FSF-003	Ethnic Tamil	To be a good citizen, we must follow the rules and laws; we should be someone that is helpful and well-liked by others in society

The aspects of citizenship focused on following rules and regulations noted in Table 16 were often reinforced through school cultures based on violence through corporal punishment. The

excessive use of corporal punishment created a culture of fear and a sense of apathy among students that there was nothing they could do to stand up against injustice. Most students were very aware of their rights and understood the negative impact of abusive teachers on students. Students wanted teachers who were good at teaching their subjects and understanding of students' learning needs. Student FSF-003 noted that the importance of a compassionate teacher for having a better society.

Whether a person becomes good or bad is dependent on schools. If teachers are harsh, yelling, hitting, they contribute to students becoming bad. If teachers could be more patient and understanding with students, it will help make people better and thus society better. In this school, teachers are quite harsh. Sometimes they even fight amongst each other.

Student FSF-003 recognized that how students were treated in schools by adults impacted how they developed as citizens. This understanding was the result of NGO based initiatives to help students understand their rights. Students' understanding and extension of their learning to their own school experiences suggest that initiatives on children's rights were making a difference for students. However, teachers were receiving these messages in a very different way. Much like their counterparts in the Vanni region, some educators from both schools felt that NGOs and other outside organizations were impeding their ability to teach well because they could not use corporal punishment as a tool for learning and classroom management. A teacher, FTM-002, from the larger town school, explained how international organizations were impeding her teaching practice:

For example, our aim is to ensure discipline among students. [Organization name] says that we shouldn't practice corporal punishment. A case will be filed if we use such punishments. It wasn't like that when we were students. Now NGO's are controlling these things.

The use and advocacy for corporal punishment were more common among Tamil speaking teachers, and most prominent in the war-affected regions. Teachers' reliance on the use of corporal punishment and challenges with finding alternative methods of managing students significantly impacted student agency and their ability to develop the tools needed for interruptive democratic practices.

In addition to a lack of agency to challenge injustice, exam culture, and mismatch between education and the job market rendered students with limited opportunities to contribute to society as citizens. Teachers noted that an exam-based school culture fostered students with a

very narrow set of skills that did not match the needs of society and was resulting in many students leaving school and not being able to contribute to society in a meaningful way. Furthermore, students that could not pass O level exams (grade 11) had few options. A male teacher, FTM-002, from the Eastern province noted that it was a countrywide issue that needed to be changed:

Sri Lanka has examination-centered education. The ones who pass the examination, for example, the O/L, gets out to find many jobs. But the education does not develop the required skills...Here if they fail the exam, they don't have many alternatives...They don't work. Technical skills should be introduced... We don't have a school education system to nurture other job skills for the rest of the students.

Furthermore, students who did not make the cut in the highly competitive A level exams to enter university felt defeated and inept. They believed that the only way to contribute to society was to study hard, go to university, and get a good job.

An exclusively personally responsible understanding of citizenship took away from students' and teachers' ability to discuss injustice they experienced personally or as a group. For example, teachers who ascribed and promoted a personally responsible approach to citizenship engagement were less likely to speak about the conflict or critique the government. These teachers had deeply internalized the message of self-regulation and avoiding conflict topics. Teacher FTF-003's reflection on Sri Lanka's conflict illustrates the link between conflict avoidance and the personally responsible citizenship type. "*There's nothing like that. The mind is the reason for everything. If everyone understands it and function, there won't be any issues...as long as we don't get into other's business, there's won't be any troubles*". The same teacher also did not want to discuss rights in Sri Lanka. Her response was not surprising, given the fear of reprisals by security forces for discussing human rights issues. During interviews, many ethnic Tamil teachers chose not to talk about rights or rights violations due to high levels of surveillance in the war-affected regions by the government and military. When asked access to rights, they often stopped and stared for a few seconds and retreated into themselves. This reaction was often my cue to not push any further. Thus, irrespective of participants' actual understanding of civic engagement, the personally responsible approach to citizenship was often the only possible way to be a citizen in societies where there are limited opportunities for freedom of speech and the real and present threat of danger for those who challenged the status quo.

Cultural barriers to shared-fate. Like their counterparts in the Hill-Country Singhalese, Island, and Vanni, participants had a strong cultural identity-based understanding of citizenship responsibilities that impeded participants from developing a mutual understanding of with others. Members of the majority and minority communities felt that their identities were under threat. In all these cases, there was an underlying conceptualizing of culture as fixed, complete, and needed to be preserved in its original form. An ethnic Tamil student, ESF-004, from the Eastern province noted that “*We should conduct ourselves according to the rules and regulations in place and ensure cultural values don’t disintegrate ... We should protect our culture from the current cultural disintegration*”. This static approach to identity prevented participants from understanding themselves through categories outside of their cultural, religious, and ethnic group identities, making it harder to find common ground with their fellow citizens. Thus, participants’ fixed approach to culture in their understanding of citizenship undermined social cohesion. It othered fellow Sri Lankas and made it difficult for groups to develop a shared-fate approach to citizenship because they did not understand each other to focus on mutual goals that they could work towards together.

This focus on cultural differences contributed to higher levels of ethnic tension in mixed communities where school F was located. The large Singhalese population in the Eastern province contributed to tension around language and land rights, similar to the challenges faced by participants in Vanni, Island, and Hill-Country Tamil regions. However, a sizeable ethnic Tamil and Muslim population, in conjunction with limited land resources, contributed to ethnic conflict between the two minority groups. This phenomenon was unique to the Eastern region. Conflicts over land were not restricted to the Singhalese occupation of Tamil land; some ethnic Tamil participants felt that Muslims were encroaching into their communities. Both cases were believed to be systemic and with the intent to dilute the predominantly homogenous ethnic Tamil communities.

Table 17 summarizes ethnic Tamil participants’ reflections on the impact of internal displacement, military occupation, and resettlement and how these experiences contribute to ethnic division.

Table 17

Eastern Region Ethnic Tamil Responses on Land Rights

ID	Comment
FSM-001	Recently there have been conflicts between Tamils and Muslims over land, that there were many Muslims coming into Tamil areas and building homes. The problem was that they took the Tamil areas (village name) and made it a Muslim area
FSM-012	What we want is to stop struggling and get back our land rights. There are so many Sinhalese families that are moving here. There is a chance that soon, this area will become a Sinhalese area. So we need land rights and police rights; if we had these two rights, that is enough. These two rights need to come in the hands of Tamils... They are taking Tamil land and settling Sinhala families on it. Like in the nearby villages (name), there are now mostly Sinhala people. Also, as a result of poverty, many Tamils are forced into selling their ancestral lands to Sinhalese and Muslim people. As a result, the Sinhalese population is growing in numbers in Tamil areas.
EPF-001	First, they didn't have a place to live, and even if the government gave them land for resettlement, they did not give them land with facilities; they gave them land that is unsuitable for living. You may have heard of a place called (village name). Every year, for so many years, they lived in shacks, in the rain etc. They only resettled them last year but did not give them a suitable place to settle into.

In mixed ethnic communities such as the Eastern region, where Tamils and Muslim communities lived in proximity, there was fear that the “Muslims” were encroaching into their communities, leading to an increase in existing communal tensions between Muslims and Tamils. The loss of rights to live in their homes not only decreased their affinity to the nation, but it also fueled xenophobic attitudes towards Muslims, through competition for limited resources such as economic opportunities and land. An ethnic Tamil female student, FSM-002, described how this rising tension between Hindus and Muslims in her community impacted her.

There are ethnic problems at the country level. Like if you are Tamil and you have to walk through a Muslim area, you have to go in fear. It is mostly young men who hang around these areas. They intimidate people walking through. They feel the same way when they come into our areas.

Her response indicates the tension went both ways, with Muslims feeling threatened as well. This phenomenon illustrates how land appropriation and occupation by the state contributed to ethnic

conflict within mixed Hindu-Muslim communities that had generally co-existed in peace in the past. Furthermore, the shift from a relatively peaceful community to greater levels of communal violence and ethnic tension demonstrates that contact and exposure to different groups do not on their own promote social cohesion; an argument has been used to break up large swaths of ethnic Tamil communities with the placement of Muslim and or Singhalese families. Access to secure identity, equal rights and access to resources promotes social cohesion.

Much like other participants from war-affected or impoverished regions, the right to quality education was viewed with high importance by participants at school E and F. Similar to their counterparts in the Vanni, participants at school E and F viewed education as a source of resilience to overcome the disruption and devastation of war. An ethnic Tamil educator, EPF-001, who had experienced countless bouts of heavy fighting throughout her life, explained the importance that her schoolbooks had for her and the continual pursuit of her studies despite the numerous disruptions from war. She also explained that this was the message she gave her students.

During the war, our teachers would tell us that no matter what falls down, a bomb, etc. our teachers would tell us to always take our books and nothing else. When I was studying in Jaffna, I got my AL in 2003. Even in that period, I changed schools about ten times.

Many teachers held this view, and it was clear that the message was internalized up by students who echoed their teachers' sentiments that education was the only way out. For ethnic Tamils living in the war-affected regions, education was also a source of protection from forced conscription into combat. A teacher, FTF-001, noted the LTTE spared her family because she and her siblings were enrolled in higher education. *"My mother somehow managed to keep us safe by hiding us here and there. I am the eldest. Since we all studied, two entered university, one in college... Hence we were not taken"*. Students studying in university were less likely to be forcefully taken to fight by the LTTE, who believed that an educated Tamil population would be stronger to challenge the Singhalese government.

School and education were also identified as spaces to overcome racism and build unity among the different groups. Mixed schools and contact trips to meet students from different ethnic groups were seen as a way to interact and build trust between different ethnic others. Student ESF-002 reported that *"Through the school, we have attended many meetings in different places like Batticaloa. There, there are many Muslims and Singhalese, and they come and talk to*

us in friendship, and we too talk to them". Based on this experience, participant ESF-002 expressed that there should be more opportunities to interact with other ethnic groups to overcome differences and work towards unity. Tamil teachers frequently mentioned that the lack of contact and exposure to Sinhalese people contributed to racism towards and fear of the ethnic other. This perspective also contradicted some of their racist views about other groups, including ethnically different students in their own schools. Although teachers from school E and F reported that they treated their students equally and the school was a safe, inclusive space where all students got along, this was not always the case from students' perspectives. For the most part, most students reported that their teachers treated them equally and did not discriminate based on their ethnicity. However, there were a handful of students who felt comfortable enough to speak to some of the challenges they faced in the school. A Malay student, a small minority group in Sri Lanka, spoke of the exclusions he experienced. He noted that both teachers and students often looked down on him, and he got into fights with other boys who targeted him when he first arrived because he was different.

Like land, education was also a limited resource that contributed to ethnic division and segregation. Limited access to quality education in the form of admissions to high ranking schools pitted students, teachers, and schools against each other. An ethnic Tamil student FSM-012's response about citizenship hints at the competitive attitude towards the Muslim community on education.

To be a good citizen, we must be educated. This is an issue in our community (Tamil community). If you look at the Muslim community, you see that they are very educated and rising up and developing their community. It is not the same among our people. They are not as interested in getting in an education. There are many people in the villages who are not educated. So for them to become good citizens, they must get educated.

Though this response may not appear divisive; however, it was echoed by other students', who lamented at the rapid growth and development of Muslim schools in the area and the progress that Muslims had made in education compared to ethnic Tamils. The limited spots in Sri Lanka's higher education system fueled competition and ethnic division. Limited access to quality education also contributed to exclusionary practices by educators. A principal limited the number of Muslim students he admitted to his school out of fear that they would take over, noting "*they wouldn't compromise on their culture. If we ask to wear a uniform like our students, they won't listen*". The fear that "*they*" would take over was a common sentiment expressed by Tamil,

Indian Tamil, and Sinhala participants when it came to the progress of Muslims. This fear was indicative of the growing levels of Islamophobia across Sri Lanka. Whether it was in the war-affected ethnic Tamil regions in the North or the Sinhala Up-Country region, many non-Muslim educators and students viewed the academic and economic success of Muslims in the country as a threat to their respective group and livelihood.

Patriotism and National Unity

Ethnic Tamil participants from school E and F were the most explicit in linking the lack of affiliation with a Sri Lankan identity and their experiences with rights violations or war-related trauma. Students talked about their experiences with previous wars and how it continued to interfere with their Sri Lankan identity (Table 18). Student ESF-002 described her experience of displacement and family separation due to heavy fighting and the imprisonment of her father in the Vavuniya region as the source of her disconnection from a Sri Lankan national identity. She felt that the hardship she had endured because of the war had left her with mixed perspectives. Similarly, student ESF-001 expressed mixed emotions as a result of having to witness grotesque levels of violence and the loss of rights for Tamils. In addition to the impact of war, these responses also illustrate that participants felt excluded from Sri Lankan citizenship because they had little faith the government would ever allow them to have the same rights as the Singhalese majority.

Table 18

Eastern Region Ethnic Tamil Responses on Sri Lankan Identity

ID	Response
FTF-001	We always feel proud to be Tamils. However, you know the problems... ethnic conflict... we feel sad for not getting our own country. Other than that, we are proud to be Sri Lankan Tamils... So I am hopeful that we will win our rights back and we will have our own country one day
ETF-001	There is nothing sad about being a Sri Lankan. I don't feel sad about saying that I am a Sri Lankan. However, when we think about the war and the scars it has left... I don't think the scars will go away in our generation. It could go away for future generations.
ESF001	I am proud to be a Sri Lankan citizen. Nevertheless, because of the war, Tamil people have lost a lot of their rights. So, when I think of that, I feel sad...A lot of people were killed during the war period and in the most gruesome manner. I feel that another war like that will not occur because of the war, Tamil people have lost a lot of their rights. So, when I think of that, I feel sad.
ETF-001	I have very little faith that we can live equally alongside one another. I feel that we have to give up something to live here

FSM-012	I have pride but also difficult feelings. There are so many people struggling in the North without arms and legs. Like why can't the government do something for them? There were recent mudslides in the South, and the government has done so much for the people to help them, but the same thing happened to the among the Indian-Tamil people, and they did not get the same support.
ETM-002	I don't believe that we will ever be able to live alongside Sinhalese people without any issues and that the rights afforded to them will also be given to us, and the development and support they receive will be the same sort of development that Tamil people see. I don't completely believe it.
FSM-001	I can't say I am 100 % proud, but maybe 90-95 percent proud because there are no equal rights between Tamils and Sinhalese. There are problems at the government level in (village name).
ETF-003	It means, they think that they should rule the country, that people should be under their rule...as long as politicians who think like that exist, there would be no unification [of the country]

Student FSM-012's note on the lack of support for Indian Tamils demonstrates that he was keenly aware of the biased policies of the government for the Sinhalese majority and explained the reason for this.

The problem is that Sri Lanka is the Sinhalese people's only land. For Tamils, we are all over the world, Singapore, India, etc. but for them, this is their only land. That is why they are holding on to it so strong and not giving us our rights.

Student FSM-012 recognition of the minority complex of the Sinhalese majority demonstrates that he was able to critically examine why the government was systematically preventing Tamils from accessing their rights through a historical and political lens. At the same time, he felt there was little he could do about the systemic discrimination against Tamils, leading to a sense of apathy.

Textbooks Reflections

Although teachers and students from school E and F echoed many of the positive benefits of the citizenship textbooks noted by their counterparts in the other regions, they were the most vocal on the omission of Tamil contributions and Sri Lanka's conflict. Student FSM-012 explained, "Across all of the curriculum, history, particularly Tamil history is being erased. If you look at history, only Sinhalese people's history is being included, Tamils history is not there". He also argued that the war needed to be acknowledged to recognize the mass level of suffering endured by Tamils.

It is absolutely necessary that we know about the war, every Tamil person, the reason people before us underwent such great suffering, like why our parents struggled. It should be a mandatory part of the civics subjects. The government does not put it in because they only want to show their history and how they came here first while the rest of us came later.

His response and the response of other students indicate that students did not trust the government and believed that the conflict was purposely omitted to avoid recognizing their suffering and maintaining an image of Sri Lanka as a peaceful Sinhalese-Buddhist nation. They viewed the Singhalization of Sri Lanka and false claims of peace as a direct threat to their identity. Consequently, the omission of Sri Lanka’s national conflict had the exact opposite effect intended; it undermined social cohesion by fueling mistrust of the government among ethnic Tamil students at school E and F.

Teachers at school E and F shared their students' views on including content on the Sri Lankan conflict (Table 19). Despite their peacebuilding approach to Sri Lanka’s national conflict, they faced similar challenges as teachers in other war-affected regions due to the higher levels of surveillance, violence, and militarization in their region that prevented them from engaging in critical discussions.

Table 19

Ethnic Tamils Teachers from School E and F on Conflict Recognition

ID	Comment
FTM-002	Students should be aware of the conflicts here. Since the subject covers human rights, they should have mentioned about what rights have been refused. Why is there a conflict? What happened? What can be done? They should be taught. Maybe they skipped it due to not want to remind the pains of the past. Even though if we could teach them about these, we can prevent these from happening in the future.
FTF-003	History is something people should know. The conflict in our country should be taught. But it should be written without any faults as to how it really was because we should not create a wrongful community by feeding in the wrong information. When they incorporate true information about the war into the syllabus, it will be useful to the students. History should be written without any bias... If it’s left to be forgotten without learning about it, there is a chance that the same mistakes will be made again. In my opinion, no matter whatever it is, if we get to know it and understand it’s good and bad, we won’t make the same mistake again. So, if students are unaware of it, there is a chance for another war.

Even when teachers wanted to share their knowledge of the conflict, they were afraid to do so. An educator school E lamented that the children from the current generation had no idea what their parents had endured because parents and teachers alike were scared to discuss anything related to the war due to mistrust in the community.

They don't realize that something like that happened at all. We don't talk about either. Sometimes we will talk about certain things during lessons, really just skimming the surface [of the topic]. Some children take that back to their parents. And parents understand these things differently, and quickly go report it somewhere.

At school E, educators feared that their own students would report them. Years of high levels of surveillance, kidnappings, arrests, and violence had minorities in the war-affected regions silenced on the topic of Sri Lanka's conflict. Many teachers were hesitant to express any type of discontentment or disagreement about the government or their rights out of fear of reprisal. As such military occupation and secret service surveillance contributed to the breakdown of trust and cohesion between teacher-student and teacher-parent relationships. Despite these challenges, one teacher at school E rallied against these fears and reported discussing issues when students brought them up.

Yes, without any fear. I tell the child that it doesn't matter if they snitch on me. When certain examples come...like the economic hardships, I compare Mathiri's government with another government, and I would say this is Mahinda's government and this is Maithiri's government, and say how fake he is...I say a lot of things.

This teacher took a personal risk because he believed it was his duty to speak about the conflict when his students showed interest and engagement. Despite the limitations of the civics textbooks and fear of persecution, he, like his Sinhalese and Tamil counterparts in the other regions, resisted the status quo by discussing the war with his students to foster student engagement and peace for the future.

North Muslim

Responsibilities

Although the personally responsible approach to citizenship engagement was most common among participants in the North Muslim region, those impacted by the conflict and many Muslim participants demonstrated some elements of a social justice approach. Students' responses generally centered on following rules, with a particular focus on the law. A Muslim

boy, LSM-004, explained the importance of “*living under government rules and working with government rules*” as central aspects of a citizen’s responsibilities. Similarly, a Muslim girl, LSF-001, emphasized adhering to family rules, “*we should be right by our parents, our country, do our duty, and follow the laws.*” The ethnic-Tamil students’, Christians, Catholics, and Hindus, responses at school L and M were consistent with their Muslim peers' focus on adhering to rules and duties.

One area where Muslim participants differed from ethnic Tamil and Singhalese counterparts was the lower emphasis placed on the cultural/ethnic/religious identity aspects of citizenship. Overall, Muslim participants reported less frequently the need to protect or safeguard their culture. Although Islam was an essential aspect of Muslim participants’ lives, their views on citizenship responsibilities were predominantly secular compared to Hindu and Buddhist participants. Muslim participants were also more likely to focus on the social change in their responses related to citizenship responsibility. At both schools, Muslim teachers discussed their responsibility to change society rather than exclusively focusing on changing themselves to make the country a better place. Teacher LTF-004 explained, “*we need to do what we can to uplift the country... Another thing is, whatever good values we have, it should reach the others. That is important. Also, learn good values from others.*” Her response contrasted significantly from an ethnic Tamil Hindu teacher LTM-003’s at the same school who noted, “*People should obey the basic rules. At the same time, we must have self-control. We must follow our religious guidelines. Then that is enough, follow our religion, be self-conscious, follow the law. We can avoid most problems*”. The secular and social development aspects of the Muslim teacher’s response reflect the shared-fate approach to citizenship versus the Hindu teacher’s identity and personally responsible based conceptualization of citizenship responsibilities.

Rights

All participants highlighted the critical role of rights in their understanding of citizenship and the challenges they faced in obtaining them as members of minority groups; however, Muslim participants demonstrated greater levels of agency in obtaining rights compared to ethnic Tamils.

Ethnic Tamil students’ responses focused on the impact of the war on their right to education. Student MSF-005, who was displaced to the Vanni region, lost the opportunity to attend a high ranking school due to heavy fighting. As a result, she attended the smaller school in

her village, which did not have the subjects she wanted to pursue. Furthermore, she reported that the disruptions had severely impacted her prospects because she had not been able to do well in her grade 11 exams. Despite this, education and schooling were a source of resiliency and hope for her and her mother during repeated displacement from heavy fighting:

I remember the conflict very well. It was the time I was in grade five studying for the grade six scholarship that we had to leave. As a result, my studies got thrown off, but thanks to the tenacity of my mother, no matter where we got displaced, my mother always found a school to send me. Just in the last days of the war, two or three months, the shelling was so bad, children could not go to school, we could not come out. But my mother never let us go without school or drop out.

Like student MSF-005, many of the ethnic Tamil students at school M had only recently returned to their ancestral homes in the North Muslim region after spending most of their lives displaced in the Vanni region. Another ethnic Tamil student, MSF-003, noted that her two brothers who did well in school avoided LTTE conscription because they had gotten into good schools and were able to leave the village. Her third brother did not have this advantage and was one of 25 young men who were forcefully conscripted from her village. Despite fears of conscription, frequent displacement, experiencing heavy fighting, violence, hunger, and setbacks in studies, school and education protected students and facilitated resiliency among ethnic Tamils.

Although Muslim students did not report experiencing the same loss of rights to education due to war, they frequently experienced exclusion within schools when Islamophobic views made their way into the school and classroom practices. Many Muslim students at school L, particularly girls, reported that they faced racism and discrimination daily in their school. One student, LSF-001, noted that although the school was Muslim, the ethnic Tamil teachers did not always treat them equally.

Teachers should try to see us as the same, not whether we are Tamil or Muslim, and they should talk with all of us the same. For example, there are some Tamil teachers who only call Tamil students and talk to them on certain things. They should talk to everyone. Like they will give specific food only to the Tamil students in the younger grades (like Pongal).

Pongal is a food that is eaten during a Hindu holiday by ethnic Tamils. The teacher's failure to share the food with all of her students illustrates the divisions that culture can create when it is viewed as a fixed and binding boundary. The ethnic Tamil teachers believed that Muslims could not or would not eat their food or, in some cases, should not be included in their cultural

celebrations. Ethnic Tamil participants also noted that they were forbidden to wear flowers in their hair or bindis on their forehead because they were at a Muslim school. Although these exclusions appear small on the surface, it contributed to a less cohesive culture at school L, one of the few mixed schools in the study. These exclusions were not present at the same degree at the smaller rural Muslim school M, where teachers and students reported greater cohesion and understanding between Muslims and ethnic Tamils. These two examples illustrate that mixed schools do not automatically contribute to social cohesion, as participants commonly believed it, but rather policies and practices that support, respect, and include differences.

Despite facing discrimination and exclusion, Muslim participants demonstrated considerable agency in advocating for their rights compared to ethnic Tamils. There was a marked difference in the way ethnic Tamil and Muslim teachers spoke about rights. Ethnic Tamil teachers noted a loss of rights around language, cultural hegemony, land appropriation, and caste discrimination at school L (Table 20). Many of them were not able to fill out government forms in their first language to access services or advocate for themselves when being charged for a traffic violation.

Table 20

Ethnic Tamil Teachers Responses on Rights

ID	Response
LTM-001	As a Tamil, I have lost my rights. Like traffic police, if he gets you, they write up everything in Sinhala, and we are unable to understand. Most of the police with power are Sinhala in this area... It would be good to have a secular state, not a Buddhist state, but a state that recognizes all religions and languages.
LTF-002	I am proud, but I feel sad about the people. The Sinhalese have gone to our places. When I go there now, I feel sad. Like Nainatheevu. When they have brought their culture into our Jaffna, we feel a bit odd. They are doing this on our land, but we cannot do anything about it. So, I feel very sad about it.
LTM-003	But about caste, people speak of it right in front of me.

Participant LTM-001's note that the most powerful police officers in the area were Sinhala speaking points to the hegemonic role of the Sinhala language in the war-affected Tamil regions, where most of the population is exclusively Tamil speaking. In most of the ethnic Tamil teachers' responses in the North Muslim region and across all the war-affected regions, the loss

of rights was often spoken about without hope for change and a sense of apathy that nothing could be done to challenge the status quo.

Ethnic Tamil participants’ views differed significantly from Muslim participants who spoke of lost rights in conjunction with what they had done or hoped to do to obtain those rights (Table 21).

Table 21

Muslim Teachers’ Perspectives on Citizenship Rights

ID	Response
MTF-002	Our situation is a little better politically; the government is doing a few things.
MTM-001	When I was living in a predominantly Sinhala area and working, I never felt like I had lost my rights; however, I know that in some cases, Muslim women are discriminated against...I have seen in the Vanni region (Tamil area) where some women were not allowed to wear their hijabs, but they took it to people higher up and fought for their rights and were able to get their rights; so many of these issues can be resolved by talking them out
LSF-001	They are giving back the homes that were taken during the LTTE expulsion.

Muslim participants demonstrated a greater sense of agency on reclaiming land that was lost during the Muslim expulsion in the North by the LTTE or advocating for religious accommodations by effectively navigating social institutions. One teacher, MTF-002, noted the benefits for the Muslim community in leaving the area during the war. *“In 2000, we had to leave this area due to the LTTE...so I went to Puthulam, that is where I got my education; we actually had more access to education, and this was an advantage. Leaving here helped us improve”*. Similarly, student LSF-001 also noted, *“They are giving back the homes that were taken during the LTTE expulsion. One good thing that came out of it was many families went to better places”*. Many of the Muslim participants reported having access to better quality education and the opportunity to become bilingual as well as new economic opportunities after being displaced by the LTTE. Another Muslim, MSF-004, noted that by leaving, they had avoided many of the atrocities of the war.

We were displaced. My mom and father’s family left when the fighting started. They were shelled, and they got scared. So many of them gathered, got a vehicle, and left. So actually, it was the Tamils who stayed here and experienced suffering, the Muslims left. So we don’t really know too much about the war. Children here will tell you that they suffered. Many people don’t have arms, legs. There are a lot of people like this. Many of

their relatives are dead. Like a friend of mine, she doesn't have a sister, and her husband, and her father, they all died at the same time. It is their mother that takes care of her sister's children and her. It is hard for them. They have one brother that works.

As such, the Muslim participants at the school who had returned from these regions often had greater social capital, which increased their capacity to advocate for themselves in acquiring lost land and obtaining other rights. These responses should not be taken to suggest that the war in this region did not severely impact Muslims. Rather, they illustrate how differing experiences in exposure to war, access to economic opportunities, and quality education are directly linked to participants' sense of agency. The lower levels of agency among the ethnic Tamils in this region are consistent with the low levels of agency demonstrated by ethnic Tamils in the Vanni region. The time spent in war-affected regions, war-related trauma, repeated displacement, internment camp experience, poverty, and interrupted schooling played a role in how participants experienced rights violations and the agency to navigate social systems to advocate for their rights.

Patriotism and National Unity

Minority participants' affiliation to a sense of national unity or Sri Lankan national identity depended on levels of agency experienced in their communities. Muslim participants exhibited the strongest connection to a Sri Lankan national identity, with some even stating they were Sri Lankans first than Muslims (Table 22).

Table 22

Muslim Participants Perspectives on Sri Lankan Identity

ID	Response
MSF-004	Sri Lankan Muslim, but my pride comes mostly from being a Muslim.
MTF-002	No matter where we live, we must give precedence to the motherland. Our situation is a little better politically. The government is doing a few things. I think there will always be some issues with a majority (Sinhala) and minority (Tamil and Muslims).
LTF-004	Taking it as a religion, I am Muslim, but we live in Sri Lanka. As a Muslim, we have respect and follow our religion. That is a must.

Though Muslim participants identified challenges to national unity, such as the rising levels of Islamophobia and discrimination by ethnic Tamils and the Singhalese, their responses indicated that they were often able to advocate for themselves to obtain their rights. A male teacher, MTM-001 explained why he was a Sri Lankan first before he was a Muslim:

I am first a Sri Lankan first...we have the right to live according to our religion; the rights are being given accordingly...like since the end of the war, things have gotten better. We have been able to come back. We left in 2000, and we never thought we would come back. But here we are back. We have been given our land back.

Similarly, a female teacher noted that by advocating for herself, she was able to dress according to her religious rules while studying at a Hindu college. *“I went to teachers college that was predominantly Hindu, we had some issues with dress initially, but that changed and we were able to access our rights.”* Both teachers and students demonstrated a strong affiliation to their Muslim identity and living according to their religious traditions. As such, their agency to overcome challenges was related to their greater affinity to their Sri Lankan national identity even though they experience considerable discrimination. When the government and related institutions supported Muslims in living according to their religious and cultural identities, it strengthened their relationship with the state.

Contrastingly, Tamil participants in the North Muslim region had mixed feelings, much like their counterparts in other regions, when it came to pride or affiliation with a Sri Lankan national identity (Table 23).

Table 23

Ethnic Tamils from North Muslim Region on Sri Lankan National Identity

ID	Response
LTM-001	Truly we get pride from saying we are Sri Lankan, but because of the conflict and because there are some rights that we have still not gotten, there are some difficult feelings. Like as a result of religion, we have some challenges...It would be good to have a secular state, not a Buddhist state, but a state that recognizes all religions and languages.
LTF-002	When the government changes, people get what they want. But still, somewhere they will be creating problems. Even now, they say that the LTTE is there and create a problem. When there is a problem, they say that this is happening with the support of the LTTE. The problem that happened in Jaffna university also. There will always be problems... So even if the country becomes united when there is a problem, they say that this was created by them (<i>LTTE</i>).
MSF-003	It was the intention to bring something better for Tamils that caused this war. As a result, much of the loss was endured by the Tamils.

Losses endured from war, divisive politics and challenges to accessing rights noted in these responses indicate that ethnic Tamil participants generally had limited trust in government and social institutions. Furthermore, they also had a general sense that nothing could be done to

change this status quo. Thus, agency to obtain rights and a secure identity were essential factors contributing to social cohesion and an affinity to a Sri Lankan national identity.

Reflections on Textbooks

Educators and students in the North Muslim region also had positive views on the new civic textbooks with respect to its focus and relevance to helping students learn about the practical aspects of living in a society. Teachers at school L and M also had the same concerns as civics teachers from other regions, that students did not receive the subject long enough for it to have a real impact. A Tamil teacher, LTM-001, argued that the civics subject should be mandatory beyond grade nine, so students had the opportunity to engage in more critical topics that were present in the grade 10 and 11 textbooks. This sentiment was echoed by a Muslim teacher at school M who noted, *“It is a good course, but they made it optional; either civics or geography after grade 9. I think they should make it mandatory all the way up because it teaches important things about how to live here.* Teachers also echoed the concern of minority participants across the regions on the lack of recognition given to the contributions of minorities in the textbooks. The Muslim civics teacher, MTM-001, from school M explained:

If you look at history in Sri Lanka, there is a lot that is not written. Like the contribution of Tamil kings, even Muslim kings, it has been hidden. They usually write about Buddhist history. Even today, it is like that.

Of particular note in this response is the view that the contributions of minorities to Sri Lanka, both past and present, were deliberately “hidden.” This perspective was similar to participants from ethnic Tamil and Indian Tamil communities across the regions. It provides further evidence that not only are the textbooks biased towards a Sinhalese-Buddhist narrative of Sri Lanka but that minority participants recognized this bias as cultural hegemony. It contributed to mistrust and cynicism of government institutions such as the MoE among educators and students.

The same mistrust was also apparent in some ethnic Tamil participants' views on the omission of the conflict. Speaking on the intent of the MoE in omitting Sri Lanka's national conflict in the textbooks, Tamil teacher LTF-002 noted, *“They haven't mentioned about the Sri Lankan war. They are trying to portray that there are no issues in Sri Lanka”.* Teacher LTF-002 response draws a parallel between what is covered in the textbooks and the government's official narrative on the war to the country and the world, that it was over, there is peace, and there were no human rights violations on the part of the state. It also illustrates that many ethnic Tamil

participants believed that the conflict was purposefully omitted from the official curriculum by the government in order to ensure that their experiences and the truth about the cause of the war did not become known to others in Sri Lanka or the world. Furthermore, teachers recognized that their contributions and experiences in Sri Lanka would never be part of the curriculum because it was controlled by the majority Sinhalese government. An ethnic Tamil educator, XXM-XXX, candidly summarized his perspective on the issue.

This is the syllabus. The Ministry is part of the government, right. They don't talk about this war at all. They don't refer to it as part of our history. They used other wars as examples in History and Civics...Because the history we have, the one in the books and the one in the papers, is written by the government of Sri Lanka. But you can't agree that that is the real history.

These views among Muslims and ethnic Tamils demonstrate the deep sense of mistrust of the MoE and the government and limited hope that the Sinhalese government would ever recognize minorities in Sri Lanka in the official curriculum. The omissions and minority participants' views of them illustrate the divisive nature of the official curriculum in Sri Lanka.

Most participants from school L and M had preventative views based on a peacebuilding rationale for learning about the conflict. However, ethnic Tamils felt that it was also essential to learn about Sri Lanka's conflict to have their experiences from their war officially recognized. Table 24 summarizes the responses from Muslim and ethnic Tamil participants on the importance of learning about Sri Lanka's national conflict.

Table 24

Participants from North Muslim on Recognizing Conflict in Curriculum

ID	Ethnicity	Response
MTM-001	Muslim	The conflict is written about very generally at the A levels. It should be written about why people went to war, related to asking for rights. It is necessary for students to know the history.
MSF-003	Muslim	What happened, some people don't know it happened. It must be shown to people. If things are talked about, it may be difficult for the people who experienced the war, for those that lost people, to see again, but it must be taken and shown to people. That is the only way it will be known the suffering and struggles that were experienced.
LTF-004	Tamil	If there was a problem, we need to know why it happened and how it happened. Then only we can know how to avoid it from happening again. Then we will know that if we do certain things that the problem will not arise. If we can write about wars in other

countries, why we can't write about the war in our country? It will avoid happening again. Cover it up is not going to do any good.

These responses demonstrate that students and teachers wanted the textbooks to recognize that the war was caused by people asking for rights, the suffering endured, and how learning about it could prevent it from happening again.

Ethnic Tamil participants' responses were particularly focused on the need for official recognition of their experiences, which they believed had been largely ignored by the country. These experiences included the inequalities that they believed were the root causes of the war, the suffering endured by Tamils during wartime, and the ongoing challenges faced by communities in the North and East provinces due to decades of conflict. For example, a female student, MSF-003, felt strongly that the conflict should be included in the formal curriculum (civic textbooks) because she attributed the lack of acknowledgment of the war in the text to the lack of progress in the ongoing human rights violations investigations. She stressed the need for what happened during the last days of the war to be written down so that it would not be forgotten.

They should write about it. Like the problem with Mullivaikal has been going on for a long time. People from Human rights organizations come and come, and still, there is no decision on it. They come and look, and they go. They come and talk and interview, but there is still no decision for the Tamil people. Many people were killed in Mullivaikal. The people in the future will not know what happened. Tamils, like generally what happened over here, no one will know. If it is written, it will be known. Like we know what happened before us because it was written.

She believed that by ensuring people learned about the suffering and sacrifices endured by ethnic Tamils through the official curriculum could ultimately lead to justice. Similarly, an ethnic Tamil student, MSF-003, felt that learning about the war in school would allow people to critically reflect on both sides of the conflict. She was one of the few ethnic Tamil participants who examined the role of the Sinhalese and Tamils in perpetuating conflict.

It can't be said that it was caused by them (Sinhala). Tamils also created this situation for Tamils. It was the intention to bring something better for Tamils that caused this war. As a result, much of the loss was endured by the Tamils.

Student MSF-003 response is indicative of a more critical understanding of the conflict that goes beyond victimization or blaming others but rather a desire to understand the conflict and its

aftermath with an eye to her own community's role in it as well as compassion for those who were most impacted. She approached the conflict with understanding, recognition, empathy, and compassion. Unfortunately, her perspective was not influenced through her education but rather her personal experiences and thus limited to her, leaving many others falling short of a meaningful and constructive understanding of the conflict.

Participants, predominantly ethnic Tamils, who experienced direct conflict, were more likely to cite the prevention of re-traumatization as a reason to minimize how much was revealed about the conflict in textbooks. For them, it was too painful to relive, such as student MSF-005, who was trapped in the heavy fighting during the last days of the 2009 war. She felt that it might be better if the horrifying details she experienced during the war were left unknown:

Some things they should know, and some things are better left unknown. Like it is important to know the war happened but not what happened to people, because they might think it might happen again. Even if people talk about another war, like I hear the sound of a helicopter, I get so scared. That is how it was, it would spin from above and the strikes, the shells would come and fall, and the only thing you see is smoke in the sky and fire in the ground. That fear comes immediately when I hear the sound of a helicopter now. That kind of information will not be good for the future, but it would be important to know the war happened and which places it happened in.

Her experience was too triggering and traumatic for her to have to relive through a textbook. Though she stressed that it was important to know that a war happened, student MSF-005 did not feel that anything positive could come from learning about the things that happened during the conflict. For those most closely impacted by the conflict, the omission of conflict was a way to avoid re-traumatization. Other participants from both ethnic groups shared MSF-005's sentiment that the war could be acknowledged, but the details of who did what and how was best left out (

Table 25).

Table 25

Rationale for a Measured Approach to Including Conflict in Textbooks

ID	Ethnicity	Response
LTM-003	Tamil	But it is difficult to state the truth. Because there were wrongdoings by the government as well as the terrorists, so, it is difficult to state the truth. If the truths were known, the children's opinion of our country would be negative...It will demean the country's value... some unforgivable crimes.
LSF-001	Muslim	If they don't write about the conflict, the next generation will not know about it; but they should be careful about how deep they write about it. If they write everything that happened, there is a chance that it can fuel anger and cause another war. So they can just mention there was a war but not go too deep into all that happened
LTM-001	Tamil	We can write about it so that students understand that war causes destruction; it does not solve problems. It might be good to write about it in a few years. It is still fresh so it might entice people to start again.

Given that there has been little done in the way of reconciliation and restitution for those impacted by the war, teachers felt that talking about the details of the conflict that expose children and youth to the atrocities that were committed against their respective ethnic/religious groups that could lead to retaliation and restart the cycle of violence. These responses illustrate that participants recognized the importance of learning about the war for peace but also called for a measured and sensitive approach to acknowledging the war by omitting certain aspects of it.

These findings provide further evidence that educators and students have the capacity to reconcile the risks and benefits of learning about Sri Lanka's national conflict and that it should be included in the formal curriculum.

Conclusion

In returning to the research question on perceptions of teachers and students in the thirteen schools on the notion of citizenship, the findings indicate that conceptualizations and experiences of citizenship in and through education often work against the goals of inclusive democratic citizenship and thereby undermine social cohesion. Participants' interview responses show that key abilities required for inclusive democratic citizenship such as critical thinking, agency, dissent, and a secure and flexible identity were not present in the curriculum, school spaces, or the classroom. These limitations were made worse by exposure to war and poverty, which severely limited participants' social mobility and thereby their agency to challenge injustice.

The personally responsible citizen. Participants from all regions expressed a conceptualization of citizenship based on the personally responsible citizen type. Their understanding focused on individual actions based on various rules set out by law, culture, tradition, and religion. Participants from all regions strongly believed that regulating their own behaviour would fulfill their roles as citizens and improve their lives even when the challenges they faced were due to structural inequality. As a result, they were less likely to discuss challenges in society, including controversial issues based on the belief that all problems should be resolved by looking inward. The focus on rule-following and self-regulation were grounded in hierarchical relationships and an emphasis on obedience as a virtue. The obedience aspect of citizenship was reinforced through fear and violence within the school in the form of corporal punishment, and the community through military occupation, both of which contributed to a culture of fear and mistrust. Consequently, there were few opportunities for teachers and students to engage in teaching and learning that incorporated elements of positive conflict such as critical thinking or learning how to demonstrate dissent in peaceful ways to challenge the status quo. Exposure to war increased the likelihood of affiliation with the personally responsible citizenship type. These participants, predominantly ethnic Tamils, were even less likely to critique political leaders or government structures out of fear of reprisal from security forces. As such, although the curriculum and pedagogy espoused the personally responsible citizen type for most

participants, for ethnic Tamils, factors outside of education, such as political persecution, made it the only option or citizenship engagement.

Second class citizenship. The status quo in Sri Lanka is a two-tier citizenship system, where members who were not part of the Sinhalese-Buddhist majority saw themselves as second class citizens. A lack of recognition, loss of rights, and frequent experiences with exclusion and discrimination that were fostered by Sinhalese-Buddhist hegemony, actively worked to undermine minority participants' access to a secure identity required for inclusive democratic citizenship. Although some participants were able to face these challenges, many demonstrated apathy in overcoming the injustice they experienced. Their understanding of citizenship through education had not provided them with the tools to challenge the cultural violence that perpetuated their second class status. Thus, agency was a critical factor in how minority participants experienced citizenship and their connection to the nation. The less agency participants had to overcome challenges related to exclusion, discrimination, poverty, or the impact of war, the lower levels of trust they had in the government and the Sinhalese majority community.

Many participants identified loving one's country and patriotism as a central aspect of citizenship. Whether participants expressed a sense of belonging and pride in their identity as a Sri Lankan largely depended on their ethnic identity and/or their experiences with marginalization or war. Sinhala participants always reported that they were proud to be Sri Lankan without hesitation. Minority groups expressed mixed feelings about their sense of belonging to the country. Marginalization and inequity impacted all the minority groups; however, their level of patriotism differed based on their level of agency to change their circumstances. Ethnic Tamils and even more so, Indian Tamils, experienced more significant structural barriers to address the discrimination and inequality they faced. Their feelings of helplessness and inability to overcome the impact of poverty, systemic discrimination, disenfranchisement, and exposure to high levels of violence were related to lower levels of patriotism. Contrastingly Muslim participants demonstrated greater affinity to a Sri Lankan identity despite having experienced marginalization and war. This difference was linked to their group's higher level of social capital and the ability to advocate and obtain rights.

Education's divisive role. Education's role as a victim of conflict, due to years of war, overlapped with its accomplice role as minorities viewed the years of poor educational

infrastructure in their communities as part of the Sinhalese majority government's agenda to keep them disempowered. Indian Tamils and some ethnic Tamil and Muslim teachers in the war-affected regions felt that access to quality education was limited in their communities compare to Sinhalese areas. Participants from minority communities were more likely to identify education as a source of resilience for overcoming extreme poverty or addressing social injustice. For many, it was the only way to hold onto rights and regain those that had been lost. Consequently, access to quality education was a high-stakes and divisive issue. Both Indian Tamils and Ethnic Tamils reported more significant economic challenges to access quality education. They felt that the Muslims and Sinhalese had access to better quality schools than they did. This difference was echoed in interviews with students from Muslim and Sinhalese schools who were generally happy with the state of their schools.

Many educators took pride in the diversity of Sri Lanka; however, in most cases, multicultural perspectives did not go far enough to challenge racist, xenophobic, or colour-blind approaches to ethnic diversity, and in some cases, it was used to mask these views to maintain the status quo. Racism and discriminatory views were often present in conjunction with rhetoric on diversity and equality, suggesting that some participants were unaware of inequality in society or were unwilling to acknowledge it to maintain the status quo. Both minority teachers and students reported experiencing racism and discrimination that posed challenges to teaching or learning. Racism and discrimination took place at the system level as well as within schools and classrooms. Racist views were not specific to any one ethnic group. Participants from all the ethnic groups expressed racist or xenophobic views of each other, suggesting that there was a profound lack of trust between ethnic groups in Sri Lanka as a result of decades of violence, structural inequality, and approaches to citizenship based on fixed cultural identities that prevented participants from finding common ground needed for a shared-fate approach to citizenship.

Muslims faced considerable racism, both overt and systemic, even though they did not always report instances of discrimination. All participants generally attempted to soften or hide racist views during interviews; however, when talking about Muslims, they were more open to expressing and justifying racism. This sentiment was reflective of the rising levels of Islamophobia in Sri Lanka. Many teachers, ethnic Tamil, Indian Tamils, and Sinhalese openly expressed concerns about the Muslim schools excelling beyond their schools and the Muslim

communities' economic success. They did not trust Muslims and viewed the academic and economic accomplishments of Muslims as a threat to their success.

Textbooks. Educators and students viewed the civics textbooks as a positive addition to classrooms for their ease and practicality for teaching and learning. There was also a strong consensus among teachers from all regions that civic education was a low priority subject and required more resources to ensure that it was a mandatory subject in the upper grades and that teachers were sufficiently qualified to teach it. The utilitarian goals of the Sri Lankan education system focused on education for jobs rather than education for critical thinking and civic engagement. As a result, civics subjects were often relegated to the lower grades and taught by unqualified teachers. A lack of teacher training to discuss complex issues and the optional nature of the course after grade nine made it difficult for students to explore topics that could foster inclusive democratic citizenship.

How Sri Lanka's national conflict was dealt with in the curriculum was extremely important for all the participants concerning national unity. The motivation for recognizing or excluding the conflict in the textbooks was based on either a peacebuilding or peacekeeping approach to conflict. Whether participants' views reflected a peacekeeping or peacebuilding approach depended on their ability to reflect on the conflict and their level of exposure to war critically. One perspective was not mutually exclusive of another. Many students and teachers debated within themselves the risks and benefits of learning about Sri Lanka's conflict, which continues to impact many of their lives directly and indirectly. Many recognized the challenges and complex implications of discussing the conflict, but most participants felt that the risks were worth the benefits for ensuring lasting peace. Most participants with a peacebuilding rationale felt that learning about the conflict was an essential aspect of preventing future conflicts and achieving peace and social cohesion in Sri Lanka. For minorities, recognition and acknowledgement of the impact of conflict on their communities were directly tied to their affiliation with Sri Lanka citizenship and their relationship with the state.

A small but substantial number of were motivated by peacekeeping rationales to include or exclude Sri Lanka's conflict. A few Sinhalese participants felt the conflict should be included to show how the military defeated the terrorists to deter future instigators. This approach is based on keeping the peace with the threat of violence. The peacekeeping rationale for omitting Sri Lanka's national conflict from textbooks fell into three categories. It was based

on either accepting, tolerating, or promoting some level of societal violence to prevent all-out war. They included (1) avoiding the re-traumatization of victims, (2) avoiding fueling more hate, and (3) denying ethnic conflict to maintain the status quo. This first was more common among minorities impacted by the war, while the second was common across all groups. Denying the conflict to maintain the status quo was exclusive to Sinhalese participants. A lack of critical understanding of the conflict among some members of the Sinhalese majority was related to their inability to reflect critically on their privilege, perpetuating inequality, the root cause of Sri Lanka's conflict. Furthermore, the omission reinforced barriers to engagement in empathy and compassion required to move in the direction of a common understanding. Among minority participants, there was a strong consensus that the textbooks' omission of the conflict and minority groups' place in Sri Lanka's identity as a nation was deliberately done to maintain a Sinhalese-Buddhist narrative of Sri Lanka. Including or excluding Sri Lanka's conflict based on peacekeeping rationales or peace through violence undermined social cohesion.

Despite the failure of citizenship education to foster individuals who were critical, compassionate, and empowered to engage in dissent, education did serve as a beacon of hope for many minority communities. Furthermore, schools occasionally acted as spaces where students and teachers challenged the status quo despite the many barriers they faced to engage in a justice-oriented approach to citizenship. One of the most positive findings in the interviews was the readiness of some students and teachers to engage in positive conflict talk in the classroom about the ethnic/religious/linguistic tensions in Sri Lanka, even though it was not yet a reality at the country level. Furthermore, participants were actively negotiating the pros and cons of having these discussions for peace and national unity, suggesting that they were aware of the associated risks and were ready to face them to change society to prevent future conflicts.

CHAPTER 7

Gender Equality: Realities Distorted by an Ideal

This section consolidates findings from interviews with students and educators at the 13 schools school sites with respect to educators' and students' understanding of gender equality and how it relates to social cohesion. Results were analyzed using three key themes: (1) Understanding of GE, (2) Gender roles and interactions, and (3) SGBV for which findings have been summarized for each of the 13 schools in Appendix O and P for students and teachers, respectively. The analysis of themes is organized into six sections, according to the six regions, including discussions on similarities and differences between regions. Within each section, common themes across regions are discussed first, followed by a detailed analysis of specific characteristics of the region and/or school in the region.

Hill-Country Singhalese Region

Understanding of GE

Across all the schools, many educators and students believed that gender equality had been achieved in Sri Lanka because Sri Lanka had made significant progress compared to its neighbours in South Asia. This notion was predicated on women's increased access to education and working outside of the home. The view that gender equality had been achieved was held in conjunction with gender stereotypes and patriarchal beliefs by many teachers and principals, predominantly males across all schools in the six regions. Culture was often cited by students and teachers to reconcile the disconnect between the ideal of the achievement of GE in Sri Lanka versus participants' realities. Furthermore, participants viewed culture as systems of beliefs and practices that could not be altered or comprised for greater levels of GE in society even though participants stated that GE was something that should exist in Sri Lanka.

In the Hill-Country Singhalese region, the disconnect between ideal and reality was apparent in responses that espoused support and pride for Sri Lanka's accomplishments in GE while asserting the dominant role of men in Sri Lankan culture. A Singhalese principal at school G provided conflicting responses to whether GE had been achieved by citing the progress of women in Sri Lankan politics but also stressing the importance of the role of men in society as the head of the family.

Women have come to higher positions in Sri Lanka. Like Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunge (the first women president in Sri Lanka), women are doing well...Father is the chief member in the family. Sri Lanka has a male-oriented background. Father is

always the first person. Father is ruling, so in Sri Lanka, the father is the head person. He does everything.

Access to education and the political success of one or two privileged women were cited by participants who believed Sri Lanka had achieved GE. Most teachers and students from schools across all regions knee jerk response was that GE had been attained in Sri Lanka; however, further discussions often led to contradicting responses from participants. The principal's response is indicative of a common belief that Sri Lanka's patriarchal culture was not a barrier to GE. A fixed understanding of culture, in conjunction with a narrow definition of GE, contributed to the idea that GE and patriarchy were not mutually exclusive constructs. Furthermore, when inconsistencies between ideal and realities arose, participants from all regions generally agreed that although GE was a positive thing, they were not willing to compromise aspects of their culture for it.

Like the principal at school G, most Sinhala teachers from schools G, I, and J felt that Sri Lanka had achieved gender equality. Although this was the consensus, there were a few teachers who took a more critical perspective. Teacher JTM-001 was quick to acknowledge that gender equality was a work in progress in Sri Lanka and noted that it varied based on family and educational backgrounds. *"In Sri Lanka, it's limited. We must work towards it. In some families, we have less gender equality; in some families, they have gender equality. It depends on the society they belong to and their level of intelligence"*. He also noted that although many Sri Lankans felt that gender equality was a Western or outsider concept, it was also intrinsic to Sri Lankan history and culture. He explained that people *"don't learn much history, so it seems like it doesn't suit the present society."* His perspective on gender equality was also aligned with his understanding of gender roles, particularly within the family. He felt that men and women had an important role to play in child-rearing, *"Father's affection is also essential, but most important is mother's love to get a good citizen."* His responses indicate that some men in Sri Lanka recognize that gender equality is a work in progress and that it is not exclusively a Western concept but also part of Sri Lankan's various cultures. This recognition gave them a more critical understanding of the dynamics of gender inequality in Sri Lanka; consequently, they were more open to discussing it as a challenge that needed to be addressed.

Some female students were also more able to think critically about their rights in relation to the patriarchal power structures within their community. However, they were only able to do

this after reflecting on their personal experiences, which often contradicted their initial response that GE had been achieved in Sri Lanka. After reflection, girls were more likely to acknowledge the lack of GE due to Sri Lanka's patriarchal culture, and a few even expressed that the status quo should be changed. A Sinhalese student, JSF-006, noted that the importance accorded to men through culture contributed to gender inequality. She explained, "*The cultural side, the man is more important than the women. He is higher than the woman. But this must be changed*". Like student JSF-006, other female students also expressed the desire to change the status quo.

Areas that students identified as needing change included education, work, and family. A Muslim student, JSF-002, spoke about early marriage for young girls in her community. She argued, "*In some families when the girl finishes her ALs, she's given in marriage. Without doing that, if they let the girl study further, she will go to a good position*". She also questioned the prominent role given to men in her community. She explained that gender equality existed at some level in Sri Lanka; however, people still hung on to the notion of men being superior to women. Her Sinhalese peer, JSF-006, also addressed the need for equality at work and family life. "*In work, men and women should be able to do the same work, equal opportunities. In family, it should not be that the father is higher and the mother is lower. It should be the same*". A third female student, JSF-007, also echoed the lack of equality for women and girls due to restrictions on their freedom compared to boys. She spoke to the role of culture, noting that "*our culture has many traditions. Women have more rules than men*". These responses illustrate that there was no distinction between the public and private sphere regarding equal rights for these students. They understood the role culture played in perpetuating the subordinate role of women and that GE meant equal rights in the different spheres, work, home, and society. They also demonstrated some agency believing that change was needed and possible.

Male students generally agreed that GE was necessary, but unlike their female peers, they believed it had been achieved in Sri Lanka because women were permitted to work outside of the home. Student ISM-004 felt that it was important for men and women to work together for the "benefit" of society. Similarly, student ISM-005 stated that men and women had equal rights and were treated the same within their community and the school. He argued, "*There's no difference between men and women. It's not good to have different jobs for women. Women should not be at home. Sometimes the main breadwinner in the family is the woman. Rights should be equal*". Referring to the female principal and teachers in his school and women in the air force, he

believed that women had the same rights as men. His response was similar to other Sinhalese boys and illustrated how their understanding of GE generally focused on women's right to work outside of the home, which they believed had been achieved in Sri Lanka. Contrastingly, a small minority of students did not feel women had a place in the public sphere but still claimed they had rights. Student GSM-002 approached GE from a human rights perspective stating that women and men should have equal rights because "*All are human.*" Despite this assertion of rights for all, student GSM-002 also felt that society was not the right place for women. He stated that "*It's not good for the women to go out into the society so they must stay home. The husband is the main leader. He should work. He should control everything in the household*". Though this student's extreme view was not reflective of most Sinhalese males, it reflected how participants held idealistic views that GE had been achieved in Sri Lanka while espousing fixed gender roles for men and women.

Analysis of these responses indicates several barriers to GE in Sri Lanka but also possibilities for hope. Sri Lanka's highly patriarchal culture disadvantaged women and girls in all aspects of their lives, irrespective of ethnicity or region. Liberal feminist attitudes that focused exclusively on access to economic opportunities contributed to false perceptions that GE had been achieved, particularly among male participants and some female participants. Aspects of Sri Lankan culture that were patriarchal was generalized and used to rationalize the gender inequitable values and practices. Given the importance placed on protecting and upholding culture in and through education, its reinforcement of gender inequitable views and practices made it a significant barrier to GE. Participants who acknowledged aspects of culture and history that supported GE and those who took a more flexible approach to culture were able to identify gaps in GE and also demonstrated an impetus for change.

Gender Roles

Teachers' and students' perspectives on gender roles were strongly linked to their attitudes about gender (in)equality at schools across all six regions. The ascribed roles and responsibilities for men and women in a family and the community were reoccurring topics that informed participants' views on GE. Participants whose views on gender roles were strongly informed by fixed notions of culture and tradition or gender stereotypes were more likely to express views reflective of harmful masculinities and violence.

Educators had strong stereotypical beliefs about the abilities of boys and girls that forced boys and girls into traditional gender roles and reinforced behaviours associated with harmful masculinities and violence amongst boys. The principal at school G noted that girls often did better in school because they were more focused and hard-working while boys had other responsibilities, “*Girls are hard workers. My daughter wants to be the first in class. She achieves her target. Boys don’t have targets. For them, just passing is enough. They have many jobs*”. Misconceptions about abilities, based on gender, were often used to justify differences in the educational performance of students. Boys were perceived as rebellious, intelligent, and problem solvers, while girls were viewed as rule-abiding, patient, and rote memorizers with limited critical thinking skills. These views were echoed by students who often held more fixed ideas about gender roles than their teachers. One such gendered expectation was around restrictions on how women could engage as citizens in the public sphere, as noted by student ISM-005 who felt, “*Women can’t become grama niladari (village officer... A woman can’t do that. It’s not good to put women in such jobs*”. Many students also believed that the role of mothering superseded any other form of contribution a woman could make as a citizen. Patriarchal values strongly influenced gender norms related to parenting. For example, a Sinhala male student, GSM-002, argued that “*The man should be the leader of the family. He should work. The wife should look after the children*”. Similarly, a female student, GSF-005, noted that a mother’s responsibility as a citizen is “*educating the children, teach them to work at a higher level in society.*” Though most participants agreed that a father could raise children and that it was a part of his role as a citizen, the importance of a mother was viewed as essential, particularly for raising girls. This perspective was particularly evident among students who supported Sri Lanka’s restrictions on women working abroad if they had young children.

Gender role expectations, informed by gender stereotypes, also fostered hyper-masculine and hyperfeminine characteristics for boys and girls, respectively. These divisions were often reinforced through school patterns of violence. Student ISM-004 reported that boys in school experienced more violent punishments in comparison to girls. He explained this was the case because girls were shyer and quieter, while boys “*talked too much and were mischievous.*” Across all three schools, students reported that boys experienced higher levels of violence from adults and their peers. Most participants held the view that girls were expected to be patient, quiet, and well behaved. Contrastingly, boys were expected to misbehave, take heavy beatings,

and manage the violence they experienced within schools without complaint. Although students and teachers agreed that boys were more violent and badly behaved than girls, little consideration was given to understand whether this difference resulted from being treated violently and with fewer expectations to follow the rules. Thus, gendered practices contributed to higher levels of physical violence against boys based on hyper-masculine norms while also contributing to the development of harmful masculinities.

SGBV

Despite assertions of supporting values of GE, participants' understanding of SGBV in their community and school was often informed by gender inequitable views. SGBV was often attributed to women enticing men by dressing inappropriately as a result of Western influences. This view was held by most participants across all the regions and contributed to the normalization of SGBV.

In the Hill-Country Sinhalese schools, participants from the three groups, Sinhalese, Muslim, and Indian-Tamil, reported fewer personal experiences with SGBV than their war-affected counterparts. However, when they did identify instances of violence, like participants in the war-affected regions, there was an element of victim-blaming in that it was always the responsibility of women and girls to protect themselves. A Muslim student, GSF-008, emphasized the responsibility of women and girls in preventing sexual violence and harassment by controlling how they presented their bodies in public, particularly spaces occupied by men. She identified tight clothes, denim, belly revealing t-shirts, low cut sari blouses, including those worn by her teachers, as problematic because they gave men the wrong impression and tempted them.

First, girls should take care of the kinds of clothes they wear so that they wear appropriate clothes, and then the men will not speak inappropriately. If we come across men, we should respectfully change our behaviour and avoid them. If we show our bodies, they will think differently.

This student felt a woman could protect herself by dressing and behaving conservatively around men. In addition to clothing, entrenched norms of patriarchy were also evident in the way participants believed that women needed to be controlled by men, sometimes through violence, for their protection. While discussing rights, a Sinhalese student, ISF-001, noted that alcohol-intoxicated men, who beat their wives, caused women to lose their rights. However, it was only a loss of rights if there was no fault with the woman. *“The woman gets beaten when the husband*

comes home drunk. At that point, the woman loses her rights. But if the husband beats the wife due to some mistake, no rights are violated there". The belief that a woman could do something to warrant being physically punished by her husband demonstrates the influential role of patriarchy and harmful masculinities in student ISF-001 understanding of gender equality. She believed that it was a man's role to control and protect women and that sometimes physical violence against women was necessary to do this.

Most students were not able to make the connection between SGBV and gender inequality. The Muslim student GSF-008 mentioned that although she felt safe at school, she knew that the workplace was unsafe for women. She mentioned this as a challenge for why men and women have different roles in society. Though she believed that women should be allowed to work like men and wanted to work herself one day, she pointed to the high levels of gender bias and harassment women faced. She explained that "*in public places, men make fun of women. When a woman walks alone, they make degrading comments. Men should not be like that. They should respect women*". Despite these observations, she strongly felt that there was gender equality in Sri Lanka. These contradictory views on GE resulted from the normalization of violence against women because of patriarchy and harmful masculinities. Overall, many students had a normalized understanding of SGBV in their lives and did not see it as a form of gender inequality. Not only was SGBV normalized in the public and private sphere, but the onus was also placed on women and girls to protect themselves from it. Citizenship responsibilities for women, according to one Sinhalese boy, ISM-004, was to protect her self-respect. He explained, "*Women have different perceptions and are more disciplined. Men don't have that. With time, whatever they do will be forgotten. A woman has to protect her self respect from her a young age*". He is implying that men can get away with questionable social behaviour because it will be forgotten while women are and must be more disciplined to protect their reputations, i.e., their chastity. The protection of a girls' reputation was often viewed as the sole responsibility of her mother. Teachers and students from all ethnic groups noted that sexual violence against children resulted from mothers working abroad to support families. A female student, GSF-008, explained her reasoning by linking a mothers' absence to higher risks of gender-based violence for children speaking to the current climate of growing sexual attacks against children.

When the mother leaves and the father goes to work, there is no one to take care of the child. And we live in a time when we can not trust an uncle to be with the child alone. Because of that, there is fear. So, the mother must be there to protect the children.

This perspective was echoed by many teachers, who often attributed the lack of security for girls to the absence of their mothers. Not surprisingly, this view was reinforced at the state level with a government ban on women's travel abroad for work purposes if they had young children. Requiring mothers to stay home to protect their daughters from SGBV exemplifies how SGBV works to reinforce traditional gender roles for women and girls and perpetuates the cycle of gender inequality by limiting their full engagement as citizens. Rather than viewing SGBV as an issue that requires the attention of men and women, SGBV was normalized and viewed as something outside of the purview of gender equality, placing the onus on women to protect themselves and their daughters. These views on SGBV demonstrate the firmly entrenched patriarchal norms held by educators and students that normalized harmful masculinities and violence for boys and men.

Hill-Country Indian-Tamil Region

Understanding of GE

Although participants from the Tamil medium schools H and K also shared views on GE that was informed by cultural essentialism, they were more likely to view GE as a work in progress in Sri Lanka. Some training on GE and the impact of poverty, which magnified experiences of gender inequality, contributed to more critical perspectives. Both schools H and K had received external supports through international organizations on training for educators. More teachers responded that they had been exposed to some GE content though none reported attending any specific workshops on GE. Teacher KTF-001 noted trainers had “*lightly touched on GE topic during another workshop,*” had a more complex understanding of GE. She explained,

GE is low and dependent on different cultures. In some other groups, it is getting better but still needs to improve; maybe in 30 years...There is a lack of equality in the workplace, women are seen as not being as knowledgeable.

Similarly, teachers at school H were particularly motivated to challenge the status quo on GE issues through education. Teacher HTM-001 explained how she integrated aspects of GE in the civics curriculum.

When we teach history or civics, it is our duty to look at the boys and girls equally. We ask them to find details about national leaders. So how men were during that period and how women are during this period. We ask who did what?

Teacher HTF-005 at school H not only noted the importance of raising children with values of gender equality, but she also pointed to differences between communities in Sri Lanka:

We should treat girls in the way a girl should be treated to prevent child abuse. From a young age, when we teach them, we must create a good attitude towards them. Should teach them courage...No, there isn't equality in all over the country. For example, if we take Sinhala ladies, they are allowed to do night duties with the support from their society and family, whereas Tamil ladies aren't allowed to do night shifts. Tamil parents do not give freedom to their children. There was an article in the newspaper about a Muslim lady pilot, which was published a year ago. After so many struggles with the support of her father, she became a pilot. We are human too.

Her note on restrictions on women doing night shifts illustrates how gender inequality was often magnified in jobs held by women living in poverty who faced numerous abuses and restrictions. These jobs included estate workers (tea pickers), overseas domestic workers, and those in the garment industry, low paying occupations held predominantly by Indian Tamils. Her response illustrates the intersection of poverty and GE and the perceived difference between ethnic groups, which had more to do with socioeconomic differences than actual differences between ethnic groups.

Several other male and female teachers at school H noted that GE existed in some spaces and was absent in others. There was the frequent use of the word “*should*” when talking about the presence of GE. A male teacher, HTM-004, explained, “*men and women should be equal*” but also recognized that this equality only existed in some areas of life. Teachers at school H and K also pointed to the restrictive role of culture in implementing GE practices and drew distinctions between GE in the public and private sphere. Teacher HTF-003 explained the need to comprise aspects of GE within the family to preserve culture.

When we say men and women should be equal...in dress and behaviour, we try to be equal to men. Then our culture gets affected. We can't be like them. They cannot be like us. We cannot be like them; the culture gets affected...Definitely, gender equality should be there, but sometimes we have to sacrifice a bit. A job at this place, I should not give up my place for a man. When it comes to a job, it should be equal, but in personal life, we need to compromise.

Although teacher HTF-003 recognized the importance of GE, she was unwilling to comprise aspects of her culture for these rights, particularly in her home life. The arbitrary distinction between the public and private sphere also contributed to contradictory views on GE. These

views were consistent with her Singhalese counterparts who held fixed notions of culture and viewed the preservation of traditional practices as more important than equal rights of men and women.

Indian-Tamil students were more likely to express nuanced views of GE without the probing questions because they were more readily able to draw on personal experiences. Their responses contrasted with ethnic Tamil, Singhalese, and Muslim participants, who often had a knee jerk response that GE had been achieved and then would go onto speak about all the ways that did not exist in their life. The contrast was most apparent among male students who were able to speak to the challenges faced by women in the Estate community. Student KSM-005 felt that GE should exist but noted that in reality, many aspects of life were unfair to women. He pointed to the role of gender inequality in forcing women to have to take jobs overseas.

I think there should be gender equality. It would be good, but there are some differences, like in pay. The situation forces women to work abroad, and this is hard on the family... Men and women have the same responsibilities, like in a house. If there is no woman, it does not mean a man can get away with not doing that work, same if there is no man for a woman. In this way, we ultimately have the same responsibilities.

His perspective on GE and gender roles does not draw distinctions between the public and private sphere. His female peer, KSF-001, echoed his sentiments by noting the need for men and women to work together, “*there should be gender equality; if men and women worked together, they could do more...GE exists in some places*”. Her response is also consistent with her teachers, who recognized that GE was not fully present in all areas of life. Personal experience with poverty among students from the Estate community amplified the GE challenges they faced. Student HSF-004 spoke to the intersection of poverty and gender inequality.

Yes, they (women) have hardship. They are sent abroad. In tea estates, it's mostly girls, ladies. Very few gents so because of that...! They are treated as slaves...The political side should take action to give equal rights to women. There should be a person who will be represented to bring out the issues. If they are given the opportunity, the hardship faced by women can be brought forward.

Not only was student HSF-004 able to identify the challenges faced by women living in poverty, but she also demonstrated agency by noting the need to take political action against the ongoing subordination of women in Sri Lanka. Contrastingly an Indian-Tamil student, HSM-006, from a more affluent background compared to his Estate household peers, exclaimed that “*the times*

when women are restricted within their homes are now gone. Women are achieving in many industries. Today we see women contributing everywhere. There is no perception today where they believe that only the men should earn”. Like his counterparts in the Sinhalese region, he focused on the achievements of a few women, who were often from the upper class. He generalized their experiences to all women in Sri Lanka, illustrating how participants from higher socioeconomic classes were more prone to gender essentialism.

Gender Roles and Interactions

Despite the more nuanced perspectives on GE demonstrated by Indian Tamil participants, they held similar stereotypes on gender roles and abilities that contributed to gendered forms of citizenship. Educators held fixed views on the cultural role of women in child-rearing and noted how the absence of a mother at home was often the reason students were not doing well in school. Teacher KTF-001, who taught in an Estate school, felt the challenges she faced in helping her students learn was the result of mothers going abroad.

The mother should remain with her children. Otherwise, children face many challenges. The father gets married to another woman, and the children are abandoned...the children at this school study well, but then suddenly they fall off, and it is always because there is a problem at home. The mother went abroad.

Teacher KTF-001’s response is reflective of the most Indian Tamil teachers’ emphasis on the role of child-rearing for women as well as the lack of accountability on the part of men to their children and families. Student KSF-001 echoed her teacher's response by explaining that “*raising a child is a mother’s job, a woman has something that is different to make her appropriate for child-rearing.*” These perspectives were based on stereotypical views on the abilities of the two sexes, including the belief that men were incapable of raising children, particularly female children. As a result of stereotypical views on the innate capacities of the sexes, students had a gendered understanding of citizenship and often exclusively focused on mothering as an aspect of good citizenship for women and failed to recognize the father’s role.

Students also held stereotypical beliefs on the cognitive abilities of boys and girls as it related to learning in school. These views were deeply internalized by boys and girls and impacted the subjects they chose to study and, consequently, their career choices. A male student, HSM-003, explained why boys were better in the STEM subjects:

Girls are always studying, but I think listening skills are less for them than the boys. Maths & science, you need to understand first. However, for the girls, the ability to listen

is very low, but they learn it by heart... When some things are explained, girls don't get it. Even when they go home, they won't know what it is. But for boys, when something is explained, they understand it in their minds.

Student HSM-003's view that girls had a lower capacity for STEM subjects due to their lower ability to understand information was similar to participants in schools across all the regions. It was so deeply ingrained that women and girls also believed this deficit perspective about themselves as noted by student KSF-001, "*There are differences between boys and girls, like boys are good at math. I am not good at math, so I ask for help from the boys, and I help them with history, which I am good at*". Participants' gendered beliefs on learning contributed to the streaming of girls into the Arts and humanities subjects after grade nine, which accounted for the disproportionately high number of women at the tertiary level in these areas of study.

SGBV

Participants from the Up-Country India-Tamil region experienced higher levels of SGBV compared to their Sinhalese counterparts who occupied in the same geographical area. Poverty was again a factor in amplifying gender inequality. Girls from the estate school K reported more frequent experiences of SGBV on their way to school than girls at the larger town school H. Perpetrators were often young men from their community, as noted by Student KSF-001.

When we go to school, there are many problems, like they (boys out of school) come behind us and tease us, ask for our phone numbers. I told my parents, and they came to the school and talked to the principals. Since I told them, it has not happened.

A distinguishing factor in student KSF-001's response is her openness to discuss the issues and the agency she demonstrated in reporting the abuse to an adult to regain her safety. Her agency on the issue contrasted significantly from her ethnic Tamil counterparts in the war-affected region who were less likely to discuss personal experiences with SGBV and even less likely to report and seek out help. Thus, although poverty increased SGBV among Indian-Tamil participants, it did not significantly reduce girls' agency to seek out help.

Among Indian-Tamil participants, SGBV was often perceived to be caused exclusively by external factors such as alcohol, the internet, or absent mothers. Teacher KTF-002 attributed the lack of safety for girls to information learned by men and boys on the internet. "*There is a lack of safety in the estate area, especially among young girls; it is often motivated by what people see on the internet.*" This perception was often based on the idea that globalization and

access to information and social media were the root causes of SGBV against women and girls rather than their subordinate status or the behaviours associated with harmful masculinities among men and boys. Indian Tamil participants shared the views of their Sinhalese counterparts on the role of absent mothers in sexual violence against children, particularly young girls. Educators from both schools spoke at length about students who faced significant hardship when their mother went abroad to work as domestic workers. They explained that in addition to being neglected by the remaining family, some children experienced sexual abuse by family members, including the father. They also noted that young girls from the Estate communities were more prone to leave school in grades 10, 11, and 12 to work in the garment and hotel industry, where they also faced sexual violence, early marriage, domestic abuse, and abandonment by their husbands. Most of these women are unable to return to their Estate communities due to stigma. Alcohol abuse was often used as an explanatory factor for violence against women in the home. Though all of these factors identified by teachers certainly exasperated SGBV against women and girls, the exclusive focus on them over conversations on the subordinate status of women illustrates that Indian-Tamil participants, like their Sinhalese counterparts, often overlooked the connection between gender inequality and SGBB.

Island Region

The long-term impact of conflict in the war-affected communities amplified many factors, such as fixed notions of culture, harmful masculinities, and patriarchal hierarchies, that contributed to gender inequality.

Understanding of GE

Participants at school A and B in the Island region demonstrated conflicting understanding of GE ideals versus realities, much like their Indian-Tamil and Sinhalese region counterparts. However, misconceptions about GE and the consequent impact on participant's lives were more extreme at the two schools because of higher levels of conflict in the school and community. Gendered expectations fostered higher levels of harmful masculinities for boys and contributed to the misconception that girls did not face any barriers in education. A Tamil headteacher, ATM-001, in the Island region felt that gender equality was present in Sri Lanka because female students were outdoing boys in school. He pointed to the different characteristics of girls and boys and societal expectations that favoured girls as a rationale for why women and girls were moving ahead in school and society.

...generally, girls can be controlled easily. They are an example of patience. Furthermore, in Sri Lanka, we have free education; free education is enough for girls. Free education is the reason why they do well. ... After that, women got more opportunities to study, and we also have a lot of opportunities to encourage them. For men, communication is a problem. The view is... you know boys are a little naughty. So, their thoughts are scattered everywhere. Their economic situation at home, the effects of war, the effects of Tsunami, the need to take care of their family, the need to find work, and the social degeneration are some of the reasons why boys are a little out of sight. Girls are not like that. They grow up in a much-disciplined setup and have all the facilities in Sri Lanka, so they are doing a little better than boys.

Although teacher ATM-001 highlighted some critical needs for boys in the war-affected regions, his response is laden with gender stereotypes, gendered expectations of boys and girls, and the misconception that girls had access to everything they needed to succeed in school and society. Further to this, the attributing characteristics of patience and discipline to girls while rationalizing boys' bad behaviour and lack of communication normalized and promoted harmful masculinities and violence for boys. Teacher ATM-001's view minimized the impact of war on women and girls and did not accurately reflect the experiences of girls at his school. Many female students, particularly those impacted by war and poverty, at school A expressed frustration over not being able to commit enough time to their studies due to household chores. An exclusive focus on free education for girls was the underlying reason for ignoring the realities and challenges faced by women and girls in Sri Lanka.

The lack of access to a secure ethnic/cultural/religious identity among participants in the war-affected regions due to war, military occupation, surveillance, and the hegemonic role of Sinhalese culture exaggerated the impact of cultural essentialism on gender inequality. Participants from schools across all the regions felt that it would be difficult to achieve gender equality because it challenged cultural norms in Sri Lanka. This view was stronger among teachers in the war-affected regions who felt that their cultural identity was always under threat. This sense of cultural persecution exaggerated their need to hold onto traditional ways by controlling the bodies and behaviours of women and girls who were viewed as the vessels of culture. Many participants in the Island region also viewed GE as a Western construct imposed on them. Teachers and students at schools A and B, particularly males, argued that gender equality was problematic to Sri Lanka culture because allowing men and women to have equal rights could lead to problems. A teacher from the war-affected Island region reported that

Western notions of gender equality could be problematic if applied to Sri Lanka without sensitivity to the local culture. Teacher ATM-001 noted:

...our culture has a long history such as Hindu culture, Muslim culture, Sinhalese culture, and Tamil culture... However, we have a culture that dated way back in history. It's hard to bring a change... They adopted the education system from other countries and following them, but some of the ideas like gender equality- if we try to adapt that, then there will be problems.

Teacher ATM-001's view was reflective of most participants from all the regions, who often overlooked aspects of Sri Lanka's history aligned with GE values. Contrastingly, the small number of participants who were able to identify aspects of GE in Sri Lanka's history demonstrated a more critical understanding of the status of GE in Sri Lanka and its mixed progress. There were a few teachers who took a more critical approach to the general perception that gender equality had been achieved in Sri Lanka. A young male Tamil teacher, ATM-003, was open to the idea of gender equality but acknowledged the reality of the situation at school. He noted that "*we have gender equality, but not that much. When it comes to gender equality, we always prioritize boys at school*". He acknowledged that there were aspects of GE in Sri Lanka but explained that the shift to patriarchy was so engrained in the culture that achieving full gender equality would be a challenge:

I think we are still following patriarchy in families. We still haven't broken out of that system. Historically we worshipped mothers and then fathers, and in time we only started to focus on men and became patriarchal... If we talk about gender equality in Sri Lanka, that's the case most of the time. We have gender equality, but we don't have 100% gender equality in practice.

Citing his own family, he explained that even though he believed in gender equality and understood the pitfalls of patriarchy, as a man, he was pressured by society to act in a way that was often incongruent with values and practices associated with gender equality. His experience illustrates how even when men can understand the negative impact of patriarchy, social structures made it difficult for them to break free of practices that were gender inequitable. These responses indicate the influential role of culture in sustaining gender inequitable practices due to a selective and stagnant understanding of culture.

Gender Roles and Interactions

The relationship between educators' gendered expectations and the fostering of hyper-masculine and hyper-feminine norms for boys and girls, respectively, in other regions, was

amplified at schools A and B due to higher levels of school and community violence. Boys and girls were often restricted from engaging in particular activities, behaviours, and learnings due to gendered roles in the school space. The citizenship class teacher who also happened to be the dance teacher at School A spoke about why boys never continued with their dance class in the older grades.

They like to dance, but because they are boys... I don't know the society is that way, so they change their preference. But they are interested when they are in grade 6 and 7. Now he is in grade 8, so he is interested now, but when he comes to grade 10, he will change. Because he will be matured when he comes to grade 10 and maybe because he thinks about what girls think or I don't know, but he will quit.

Her response illustrates how gender role expectations were slow to change for boys and the lack of support within the school to help boys challenge social pressures that imposed hyper-masculine norms on them. Thus, in addition to experience greater levels of corporal punishment, boys at school A were also not supported in taking courses that challenged norms on masculinity. These findings also show that the streaming of boys and girls into specific subject areas was an issue faced by students in school across all the regions.

A distinguishing aspect of large schools in the war-affected regions was the lower levels of tolerance for interactions between the opposite sexes, which severely impacted the participants' ability to work together and develop empathy and understanding of each other's experiences. Interview results showed that teachers were both perpetrators and victims of social taboos on interactions between the sexes based on beliefs that relationships between the sexes would always become romantic or sexual. Classroom teachers often divided students based on sex in the classroom, restricted their interactions, and publicly shamed transgressors. Several students, particularly girls, noted that they wished their teachers did not judge, shame, and sexualize their interactions with their male peers when they spoke in class or on the school grounds. Girls, in particular, were targeted for shaming by teachers because it was considered unfeminine to initiate conversations with a boy, whereas boys had a bit more leeway. Students, particularly girls, noted that one of the benefits of coming to a mixed-gender school was learning how to live in a society where men and women had to work together all the time. However, they noted that when their teachers prevented them from doing this, it severely undermined their opportunity to learn these essential skills that they wanted to have to face the many challenges they would encounter in society. Many reported feeling shy and uncomfortable speaking in class

because they were not accustomed to speaking with or in front of men or boys in the older grades. Participants who were most impacted by these practices were young girls who had strong leadership qualities and were more vocal than their quieter peers. Thus, teachers' cultural beliefs about gender roles and interactions between the opposite sex often silenced the leadership abilities of girls in school. The lack of interaction and the taboos perpetuated a culture in which and further contributed to exaggerating differences between boys and girls through hyper-masculine and feminine norms for girls and boys, respectively.

Most teachers at the larger school A approached interactions between the opposite sex from a similar perspective. They viewed these interactions as distracting for boys and girls and believed that they were at risk of developing romantic relationships. However, some teachers did question these views noting that it was both inconvenient for learning and contributed to gender inequality. The principal at school B criticized the challenges of gender divisions in her school and how it started from a very early age. She reported that even in the grade one class, the previous teacher had boys and girls sitting separately and personally stopped the practice. At the larger school A, Teacher ATM-003 observed that restrictions and taboos around interactions between sexes hindered progress in gender equality. He felt that it was Tamil culture that was more like this compared to the Sinhalese, who he believed did not have this issue.

You and I are talking here – it is fine, but if we do the same somewhere else, that is not acceptable. People will think of something else... If we talk outside, people will always think about you and me, and when we have people like that, it is hard to maintain gender equality. But, it is not the case with Sinhalese. If we are taking the students on a trip, we have to be extremely watchful of them. Sometimes, the students will complain to their parents that we stared at them.

Social taboos around interacting with the opposite sex made it difficult for this teacher to do his job out of fear that he may be accused of doing something inappropriate with a female student. Thus, not only were students prevented from interacting with each other, but teachers were also unable to work with other teachers or students of the opposite sex to teach and learn effectively. Teacher ATM-003's perspective that the Sinhalese had more GE because they did not have the same restrictions on interactions between the sexes was not wholly untrue. The restrictions on interactions between the opposite sex, though present, was not as extreme in the Hill-Country Sinhalese or Indian-Tamil regions as it was in the four war-affected regions. However, these communities also had higher levels of security for girls and lower emphasis on preserving

cultural identity through the control of women's bodies and behaviours compared to the war-affected regions. Further, within all regions, students in smaller schools reported that teachers knew them well and were more trusting of them when interacting with peers of the opposite sex. These differences suggest that exposure to conflict and large schools were limiting factors to members of the opposite sex working constructively together, rather than differences in ethnicity or cultural groups.

SGBV

SGBV was a significant issue in all war-affected regions, for both teachers and students. The amplifying effect of war and militarization on gender inequality was evident in the disproportionate experience of sexual violence against women and girls and sometimes young men in the war-affected regions. Teachers from these regions reported that it was unsafe for young women, particularly young girls, to be on their own in public spaces due to ongoing and increasing incidences of sexual harassment and rape. Despite differences in levels of SGBV, participants in the war-affected region held similar views as their counterparts in the Hill-Country regions; however, they too rarely made the connection that SGBV was rooted in gender inequality.

Security for young girls was a prominent theme in interviews in the Island region. Teachers from school A and B stressed the severity of the epidemic they felt was a post-war phenomenon. Women and girls generally restricted their movement and rarely left their homes unaccompanied after 6 PM in the North. Many pointed to the inequity in reporting, victim-blaming, and lack of security provided by the government forces and police that perpetuated the problem. All the girls at school A and B reported experiencing sexual harassment on buses and walking on roads in the town where they travelled for their tutoring classes. This form of gender-based violence was a barrier to their academic success because they could not be competitive in the national exams without these private tutoring classes. The most prominent example referenced by teachers and students was the case of Vidhya, a young ethnic Tamil schoolgirl who had been gang-raped and murdered on her way home from school by a group of men that were known to her. This case and others like it across the Northern province had received significant attention for the way authorities had mishandled it. In talking about a loss of rights, participant ASF-002 reported the lack of justice in the North, citing the Vidhya case. *“Like the Vidhya murder. The government, or people with money, prevented the culprits from being prosecuted.*

Even though the government knew who did it, they used the money to influence people and not give proper punishment". Not only were Sinhalese government authorities seen as failing to provide essential protection for women and girls, in some cases, but they also blamed the victims, including children, for SGBV or were perpetrators themselves. Principal, BPF-001, pointed to the unfair practices of the Sinhalese dominated police force.

You might have seen it in yesterday's newspaper. A senior police officer has said that sexual harassment, mainly for the children at age 13, has increased. He also mentioned that children are willingly going into this. He gave a false statement on this.

Due to victim-blaming, the principal explained that many people did not report these issues because they knew they would not get any form of justice and face stigma from their community. This lack of safety and justice limited girls' ability to engage in school and society in the war-affected regions. Furthermore, these practices also severely undermined ethnic Tamil educators' and students' trust in the state.

The state's failure to protect women and girls and provide justice severely weakened their legitimacy in the eyes of ethnic Tamil participants. The lack of security under the state was often compared with the absolute security provided under the LTTE. Most teachers remembered a time under LTTE control when everyone, particularly women and girls, walked the streets with absolute security. The principal at school explained, *"It was safe during LTTE time. Now women do not feel safe. Homicides, thefts, harassments, and abuses have been increased day by day in Jaffna.* Like the principal, many participants reminisced on LTTE's zero-tolerance policy on sexual harassment, inappropriate sexual relations, and even sexual movies and television shows. The LTTE regulated how women dressed and doled out brutal punishments for men who engaged in SGBV. These regulations and punishments afforded women and girls a level of security that is no longer present in the North and Eastern province. As a result, in the eyes of many ethnic Tamils participants, it gave the LTTE a legitimacy that the state had yet to earn. The positive impact of LTTE governance on women's safety and freedom of movement was not unproblematic. It was based on violence and the control of women's bodies, not gender equality. It was only an extension of the current views of fixed cultural norms for men and women, including severe restrictions on their interactions that were currently enforced in the school. The protection from SGBV for women and girls was not based on mutually understanding, respect, and equal rights. Further, it was enforced with the threat of ruthless violence, demonstrating that

a peacekeeping approach to GE ultimately fails when the threat of violence is removed for perpetrators.

Vanni Region

The effects of gender inequality associated with conflict in the war-affected regions were the most magnified in the Vanni, given that participants had experienced the most recent war in 2009 and were still under heavy military occupation.

Understanding of GE

Consistent with participants from schools in all the regions, there were many contradictions in responses among participants from schools C and D on Sri Lanka's track record on gender equality. Moreover, like these other regions, teachers, students, and principals were unfamiliar with the term *gender equality* in Tamil, suggesting that awareness and training on the issue were limited. Many teachers were unable to define what they thought gender equality was; they were unfamiliar with the terminology. This lack of familiarity was apparent among teachers and principals across all 13 schools, indicating that awareness of gender equality-related issues was low, as was training for teachers and principals.

In the Vanni region, some educators confused gender equality with sex education and were uncomfortable talking about the issue. In these situations, I had to explain that I was referring to the rights and opportunities for men and women, after which they were more open to discussing the topic. The lack of familiarity with the term in the local language is in alignment with the finding that most teachers reported never having received any form of training on gender equality at the in-service or pre-service level. Teacher CTM-004 reported that "*Normally, they do not cover much about gender equality in our seminars. It is not practiced among students and teachers. Society has been developed in a way that we cannot even discuss these topics*". In cases where there was training provided by the Ministry, the focus was often on equal access over equity. Teacher DTF-003 reported that she had received gender equality training as part of her counselling training to support war-affected children. In describing her training on how to ensure boys and girls had equal opportunities, she stated, "*We can't say that only girls study or only boys study. We have to keep competition and then only select the correct students, without bias or favouritism*". From her description, it was apparent that GE initiatives by the MoE were focused on parity rather than equity, which was necessary to address the specific needs of boys and girls. Another teacher, DTF-001, reported receiving training on how to help

girls respond to harassment from boys and how to ensure boys and girls were treated equally. Although it is important to help girls respond to SGBV, teacher DTF-001's did not report any training to help boys address behaviours associated with harmful masculinities that contributed to them harassing girls.

Like their counterparts in other regions, due to a narrow understanding of gender equality, most teachers espoused ideals that directly contradicted their realities. Teachers at school C and D that were quick to state that gender equality existed in the school also spoke about personal experiences where they faced significant discrimination due to their sex. A young female Tamil teacher, CTF-002, who reported being sexually harassed by her older male students, reported that she had access to all her rights as a woman. She did not recognize that the male students' harassment was due to gender inequality due to a patriarchal culture. She stated, *"Women are treated equally in this society. If you see, women take part in everything nowadays. Girls are forward in everything now"*. This teacher viewed the right to access and participation as gender equality but did not recognize that this participation also needed to be safe and inclusive. Related to safe classroom spaces for women and girls, some teachers felt gender equality existed in the school, but girls did not take advantage of it. The same Tamil teacher, CTF-002, mentioned that girls were not taking advantage of the equality provided to them because they were shy. There was a lack of understanding that the *"shyness"* exhibited by girls at her school was the result of classrooms that were not safe spaces for girls to express themselves. This shyness was no different from what she felt when she faced the older male students who harassed her. The strong culture of harmful masculinities prevalent at the larger school C was a direct impediment to girls' active engagement in classrooms; however, teachers were often unable to make this connection.

Despite the lack of training, some teachers were able to draw on their personal experiences and knowledge from living and working in war-affected communities to address GE issues in the classroom. Teacher DTF-003 explained how she helped students identify the impact of gender inequality at home on their learning at school.

As teachers, there is a lot we can do. Every day, when the class starts, we can discuss gender equality. For example, physical abuse by men, where the father hits the mother after getting drunk. We take little examples like this and discuss it with the children. Who gets affected by such behaviour, you, the child is affected, then the mother is affected, your studies are affected, and eventually, your life is affected. After that, you will lose interest in your studies. You come to school; you learn something. Only if you have the

proper environment at home you will be able to study. In most cases, the fathers must cooperate because still, the women are subject to obey. It is our culture, isn't it?

The last few lines on the challenges faced by students at home speak to the uphill battle that many teachers faced in promoting values of gender equality in a highly patriarchal culture, particularly in communities that have been ravaged by war. It also demonstrates how this teacher had made the connection between harmful masculinities at home and the negative impact on gender equality and, consequently, student learning.

Students from schools C and D were more likely to identify aspects of gender inequality in their personal lives and local community than their teachers or students from other war-affected regions. At the same time, many students mirrored their teachers' perspective on GE at the society level in their responses to GE in the school. They were quick to report that although there was no GE in society, it was present in school and then provided experiences that contradicted their response. Boys rarely associated the higher levels of violence they experienced in school with gender inequality. Their lack of understanding was apparent in student CSB-002's response that *"boys and girls are treated the same in school, but girls get beaten less than boys."* Gender equality was often viewed as an issue impacting girls, and little consideration was given to the violence experienced by boys, which contributed to the harmful masculinities that perpetuated gender inequality.

Like their counterparts in other regions, when discussing instances of gender inequality, participants often attributed the cause to external factors such as drugs or alcohol. Student DSB-002, from the smaller rural school, noted the high levels of violence in the region against women and its relationship to drug use. *"Lots of violence for women here; when something happens, the army comes and takes the man, and then they let him out in bail; drug use is the main issue that is leading to this behaviour."* However, although drug and alcohol abuse certainly exasperated domestic violence, participants exclusive focus contributed to overlooking other factors such as gender inequality. Participants often focused on personal level causes of conflict and violence between men and women and consequently overlooked systemic issues such as patriarchy, war, and militarization.

One system-level challenge to GE that a few students were able to identify was the role of culture and the need to get past the fixed and closed approach to it. Student CSG-003

highlighted the difference between the ideal of GE and her reality and also noted the importance of traversing cultural barriers to achieving GE in Sri Lanka.

It should be equal, but it is not... there is a belief that boys should be given priority for many things; many boys believe that girls are incapable of doing things, but it is not true... gender inequality comes from the feeling that we are inferior... even if GE does not go with culture, it would still be good to have GE. Culture could change to accommodate GE.

A male student, CSB-006, echoed her view on the need to take a more flexible approach to culture by being open to the idea that certain practices related to GE could be intrinsic to the culture.

People in Sri Lanka have become enslaved to the idea of culture. For example, in some homes, women wear a sari or shalwar, and men wear vesti, that is their culture, and that is how they have been trained by those before them. Because of this, they are trying to do the same to us by preventing us from adapting to new cultures, and they are not allowing us to enter into globalization. The thing is, these cultures could have existed in our country already, but we just don't know about them. We can't say that gender equality came from other countries; it could have also existed in our country and culture in the past...I don't think people should be told how to dress. As long as they are not destroying the culture, it is fine.

Girls were more likely to identify aspects of culture that promoted the subordinate status of women and girls as the cause of gender inequality. Student DSG-003 explained,

There should not be gender inequality; women should not be oppressed; it starts at home. Like when a father gives too many rules and prevents them from doing anything, they cannot go out and make something of themselves... Men sometimes feel like their pride is affected if their wife is working; that is not fair. If a woman wants to work, she should.

The more fluid understanding of culture among these three students was markedly different from students across all the schools, including those in the war-affected region. This difference resulted from their more extreme experiences with gender inequality in their region due to the impact of war. Many of the symptoms of gender inequality, such as the need to preserve culture, security for women and girls, and the second-class status of women, were significantly magnified in the Vanni region and had pushed these students to question the status quo that culture reinforced.

Gender Roles and Interactions

Although teachers and students demonstrated similar views on gender roles and interactions as their counterparts in other regions, some participants were beginning to challenge the status quo by critically reflecting on their experiences. At the larger school C, teachers generally held gendered notions of civic engagement in the school spaces, much like teachers from other regions. When asked about the observed differences of responsibilities assigned to students in the school, teacher CTF-003 confirmed that this was based on gender norms for boys and girls. She explained, “*If it is outside work, teachers call boys to help. If the work is related to written work, they call girls to help them out*”. Though this was generally the view held by most teachers, it did not go unchallenged. A Tamil teacher, CTF-005, in the Vanni region, noted that the education system and culture were complicit in perpetuating arbitrary differences among boys and girls and made a connection to the role of exam culture in perpetuating these differences:

Girls stay within a small circle as we instruct and study because our education system expects them to be like that. We should blame our education system for that. Our education system is not suitable for improving our life. It aims only at exams. Girls study within their limited circle. Since boys have chances to explore the outside world, they are careless about their studies. They gain more advantages too.

The *advantage* identified by the teacher was that boys were allowed more space and time to be adventurous and explorative and make mistakes and learn from them. Teacher expectations and practices often afforded boys more opportunities for inquiry-based, while girls were expected to learn through rote memorization. Thus, teachers were instrumental in reinforcing gender stereotypes on students’ learning abilities. A teacher, CTF-003, from the Vanni region, drew on her personal experience to explain why girls and boys were suited for particular subjects:

As a past Arts student, I am sharing my experiences. We are girls. We have patience enough to sit and write down all the notes. We memorize all the stuff. Boys are not like that. At first, boys understand the concept, and later they apply the concept in solving problems. That is why they are more interested in those subjects. In my perspective, girls can spend enough time on study Arts related subjects with patience.

Her views illustrate how, from a very early age, students are inculcated into fixed gender roles by teachers’ expectations, which had long-lasting impacts on their engagement as citizens in the classroom and society. Student responses at school C and D echoed their teachers’ views and showed how they had internalized society’s and teachers’ expectations on masculinity and

femininity concerning their learning. The belief that it was natural for boys to break the rules and engage in violence or miss school hurt boys who were not academically inclined because they were not provided with the right supports to do well in school, resulting in disengagement. These very same boys often went on to drop out of school and became victims and perpetrators of community-level violence. Thus, teachers' expectations of male students contributed to the development of behaviours associated with harmful masculinities.

Teachers' emphasis on the differences between boys and girls also contributed to reducing their ability to work with each other effectively. A citizenship teacher from the Vanni region noted that students' inability to work with the opposite sex made it more challenging to do group work. When asked why students were not able to work together, teacher CTF-006 explained, "*In homes, boys are taught in such a way to avoid girls so that they can avoid unnecessary problems. Maybe because of this, boys do behave in a certain way*". What was missed here was that schools, particularly teachers, also taught boys and girls to avoid each other. The lack of interaction was a barrier to developing an understanding of each other's experiences, particularly at larger schools like school C. Contrastingly, students and teachers from school D expressed more flexible approaches to gender roles and consequently had more frequent interactions. These patterns illustrate that smaller schools, with less patriarchal relationships, had more flexible approaches to gender roles and, consequently, greater collaboration between the sexes.

SGBV

Participants in the Vanni region, like their counterparts in the Island schools, reported high levels of SGBV; however, their experiences were more pervasive and far-reaching within the community and school. Furthermore, students' experiences with school and community level violence were linked to fostering hypermasculine and hyperfeminine norms and increased instances of SGBV. However, consistent with those in other regions, participants still attributed SGBV to external factors such as social media or substance abuse.

The role of patriarchy in perpetuating SGBV was most apparent in the sexual harassment of female teachers by older male students. Schools that harbored a culture of harmful masculinities were also the spaces where young men learned to engage in SGBV, their earliest targets, young female teachers. A young female teacher, CTF-002, at school C, explained how her older male students made it uncomfortable for her to teach because she was a woman.

They always think about double meanings for whatever we tell them. They talk with double meaning words. They call us by names. Even if we dress decently and stand in front of them, they have different thoughts about us. They think we are of the same age; they treat us like classmates... It happens to young teachers. It may depend on the student's attitude towards a teacher. It is all right if a student considers a teacher as a sister or brother. But they create different thoughts due to the bad influence of movies. They get information from movies.

Teacher CTF-002 attributing sexual harassment stemming from behaviours associated with harmful masculinities solely to movies was reflective of the standard view on the issue among most participants in the North and Eastern provinces. They strongly felt that the sudden increase in access to social media after the war was the cause of SGBV. Though it may very well be a factor, it overshadowed more pervasive contributors to SGBV, such as the patriarchal notion held by most students and teachers, that once a man got to a certain age, he did not have to listen to a woman. Such culturally entrenched gender role norms were sometimes so profoundly internalized that some teachers felt that women could not teach young men because they required a more aggressive approach that could only be provided by a male teacher. Teacher, CTF-006, from the same school, explained that *“a lady teacher cannot be able to control advanced level students. It will be difficult to stand up to those students. If it is a man, he will work with steadiness”*. Her belief that as a woman, she was not owed the respect required for a teacher from her male students, speaks to the influential role of patriarchy in normalizing gender-based microaggressions from male students against female teachers. This form of violence from male students and teachers' inability to understand its causes or agency to stop it illustrates education's role in fostering and condoning harmful masculinities that contribute to SGBV.

While attempts were made to protect girls from violence, mostly sexual violence, by controlling their bodies and movements, the violence faced by boys was often overlooked based on expectations that boys were tough and innately conditioned to manage violence. Like schools in other regions, boys were more likely to experience corporal punishment at school C and D. However, the type and severity noted by the boys at school C were particularly harsh. The severity was often based on the expectation that boys could handle more violence, which forced them out of school and onto the streets where they experienced more violence and often became perpetrators of violence themselves, particularly towards women and girls. The implications of these expectations were evident in war impacted areas of the North and East, particularly the

Vanni region, where community-level violence was high due to militarization, crime, and growing levels of gang violence among youth, mainly young, disengaged men. Gang violence was often the result of boys who were out of school and unemployed. They had few opportunities to engage as citizens due to marginalization and high levels of unemployment in war-affected communities. Boys were not safe in the school or community from violence as a student noted, *“In the news, we hear boys being killed in fights. It’s a trend now. In that sense, boys lack protection”*. As such, how much physical violence boys and girls were exposed to was related to gender role expectations based on hyper-masculine and feminine norms.

Some participants pointed to the role of the military in perpetuating SGBV against men and women. Men in the war impacted regions lived in fear of violence from the military due to their gender. A male student, DSB-002, from the Vanni region who had experienced the last days of the war, including living in an IDP camp for two years, noted that Tamils still did not have the right to live freely without fear from violence.

We should have freedom. Like for example, the people who were impacted by the war, who were in the camps, the army continually comes and takes them away. You know the white van kidnappings. If this would stop and people can be free, that would be good.

Most boys in the Vanni lived with the fear of being accused of terrorist activity and being abducted by security or military forces. Military occupation also impacted the girls' sense of security and ability to access quality education. Student DSG-003 reported on the restrictions she experienced in walking around in her community to access education, noting that the gap between the rights she should have versus her reality:

When I walk on the road, even if though I have the right to, now there are so many problems. Like in the evening, when we walk to tuition classes, there are men on the street who are drunk. The army soldiers sometimes try to talk to us; they laugh and try to joke with us. They might be doing it for fun, but it is very scary for us because we are walking by ourselves.

Her experience illustrates the link between militarization, SGBV, and limited access to education for women and girls in the Vanni region. This student also pointed to the challenges in awareness and taboos around discussing SGBV. She explained that *“sometimes women don’t talk about what happens to them; this prevents others from learning about what is happening.”* Her experience demonstrates how a lack of discussion within the home or school on these issues contributes to putting girls at greater risk for SGBV. Another female student, CSG-003, from

school C, also noted the restrictions on the movement of women and girls caused by military occupation and community-level violence.

I can't go outside on my own at seven due to the problems of the country (army). At night the army is on the streets. There are bad people on the streets. The army does not do anything, but there is a fear of what happened before.

The 'before' noted by student CSG-003 is in reference to the sexual violence against women and girls perpetrated by the Sri Lankan armed forces through the 30 years of conflict but particularly during the last days of the 2009 war. Both boys and girls experienced different forms of violence because of military occupation in their community.

Similar to their counterparts in the Island region, most participants in the Vanni region felt that the government, legal institutions, military, and the police, all of whom are predominantly Sinhalese, had failed to provide necessary protection women and girls. A female teacher, CTF-002, explained the culture of impunity for perpetrators of violence against women, which contributed to the current situation in which men openly harassed and/or raped women without fear. She explained, "*Now they do not have rules and Laws. They don't have a barrier. They are not afraid to commit a crime. They know that they can easily come out of prison...by bribing the police*". Consequently, participants in the Vanni region, like their Island counterparts, reminisced about the LTTE days. Male and female participants reported that under the LTTE regime, men suspected of rape were often executed; even harassment on buses and streets was often dealt with violent public beatings. A female teacher in the Vanni region, CTF-002, felt that the restrictions were worth the personal security she enjoyed at that time:

Our situation was under control in the past. We had strict rules on our clothing style for women according to our culture. We were not allowed to wear a short skirt. We could not wear short skirts during LTTE time. Now everything has been changed... It was under control. At that time, we did not have any problems. Girls were safe during that time. They were always there when we faced any kind of problem in the street. We did not have any kind of street harassment like stalking and abusing... It was a pleasant period.

Her response reiterates two key observations already made from responses in the Island region. One is the protective role of the LTTE that legitimized its governance in contrast to the Sinhalese state that was viewed as complicit in the violence against ethnic Tamil women. The second observation was that the security afforded to women by the LTTE was done through the control of women's bodies and behaviours. Both illustrate a society with limited gender equality

perpetuated by patriarchal and hierarchical relationships between men and women based on violence and control rather than one focused on building egalitarian relationships common to both democracy and gender equality.

Eastern Region

School E and F occupied areas impacted by direct conflict during the 2006-2007 war between the LTTE and the Sinhalese armed forces. Consequently, some of the relationships between GE and conflict apparent in the Vanni region were also present in some parts of the Eastern region.

Understanding of GE

Discussion on GE at schools E and F followed the same trajectory identified in other regions, initial claims that GE had been achieved, followed by reflections on personal experiences that contradicted initial claims. Discussions also focused on the restrictive role of culture in making a full commitment to GE. Educators at both schools, but particularly teachers from the smaller school E, were more likely to identify challenges to GE compared to their students (Table 26Table 26).

Table 26

Views on GE among Ethnic Tamils in Eastern Region

ID	Response
ETM-002	No. It doesn't exist. Women...even if you look at it from a political perspective, even if you look at the percentage of women in parliament, it is still extremely low. If you look at other organizations and the number of women who work there, you will understand the situation of women here...In terms of this particular village, it doesn't exist. Women must be subservient here. Even in terms of work, women can't go.
ETF-003	I think in the city, there is equality to an extent, but in the area where our school is, women are seen and treated like slaves (dominated by men).
FTM-002	Like that, when they try to bring out gender equality, people may fear cultural degradation. Muslim culture... Buddhist culture... there are different cultures, right? When these organizations try to influence... they won't compromise on their culture in villages. Their traditions will fall apart. The people live in town. When they socialize with others, they will understand. Villagers wouldn't like it. They are stubborn about their traditions... Gender equality is... there is something called tradition, right? In earlier days, if you look at the history, importance was given to... most of the poets were men. Hence their poetry reflects patriarchal undertones.
FTF-001	Rights... they should be there for sure, right? Now it is there... whether it is home or in school... Earlier equality was not there. In families as well. Now for both men and women,...equality is there... Not much in the villages. Even now, women are being treated as slaves. They are being harmed, yes. But in my family, equality is there.

Although these responses demonstrate teachers' greater awareness of GE issues and critical perspectives, they also illustrate the role of class/caste in masking gender inequality among the middle class and/or upper caste. All four teachers viewed gender inequality as something external to themselves, a feature of rural communities or "villages." This view was particularly common at school E, where teachers were not part of the local community and travelled by bus from larger cities or towns. Though they held many patriarchal views, they often saw themselves as more gender equitable because they came from households where women were permitted to work in jobs deemed gender appropriate, like teaching. As such, they viewed rural women who were often engaged in less formal work, including farming, harvesting, and temporary work, as homemakers who were not permitted to work by their husbands as subservient to men. Though this may have been true for some households, it was not an accurate reflection of the realities of both rural women or the middle-class teachers themselves. In many cases, teachers held more entrenched norms around gender roles and interactions, which will be discussed in the next section than their students from rural communities. These teachers also overlooked the high levels of SGBV they experienced in the towns and cities where they lived. A liberal feminist understanding predominantly informed the teachers of GE that focused on women working outside of the home as the main qualifier of GE.

There was some evidence of training and support in promoting values of gender equality with an equity focus; however, many of these initiatives were led by NGOs often working in war-affected and rural regions. The principal at school E talked about the dramatic changes he had seen in his rural school community since his arrival and the role of NGOs in supporting this change.

I came here in 2009. For about two years, the women were like slaves. You couldn't see them around. It was always the men who went first for everything. After that, we ran so many workshops with the support of NGOs...also at the time that I came, the circular that came through the Ministry was around increased success rates in subjects, it was really the NGOs that focused on gender equality and decreasing child marriages. They came and did those good things.

The training had visibly positive effects in the school where many girls were in leadership roles, and mothers and fathers were seen on the school grounds contributing to maintaining the school. This engagement of parents, particularly mothers, on the school grounds was in stark contrast to school A in the Island region, where women were forbidden to enter the school grounds if they

were not wearing traditional clothing. The positive change in GE noted by the principal illustrates the importance of schools working with parents through community organizations to promote the values of GE in the home and school.

Students at schools E and F felt that gender equality was present in their school even when practices did not reflect this view. When asked why there were only two boys in the grade 11 class at school E, the female students explained that when teachers yelled at boys for not keeping up in school, they often did not want to return to school. Students from both schools E and F spoke to how boys did not receive the same encouragement, support, or regulations to stay in school by their teachers or principals. Many of the older boys in school left for seasonal work opportunities, such as harvesting fruit, or got involved in drugs or alcohol. They also noted that it was these very same boys that sexually harassed the girls when they travelled alone on the roads. Despite these claims, many students held firmly to the notion that there was GE in the school. They did not view the differential treatment of boys or sexual harassment of girls their way to school as forms of gender inequality but instead viewed them as a status quo aspect of their reality. Students' responses mirrored their teachers in overlooking aspects of GE in their own lives by focusing on the access aspect of education.

Although levels of harmful masculinities were high at school F, Boys who demonstrated fewer traits associated with harmful masculinities during observations were more likely to express critical and nuanced views on gender equality. They challenged culturally essentialist views that GE was incongruent with their culture and also noted their responsibility in achieving GE in Sri Lanka. At school F, student FSM-012 argued that many aspects of Sri Lanka culture were conducive to GE practices by explaining that "*a society cannot live without the contribution of man or woman, this is written in our Hindu religion.*" Unlike most of his peers and teachers, he challenged the notion that GE was a Western construct that could not align with Sri Lankan culture. Similarly, student FSM-001 not only noted that GE was lacking but also demonstrated agency in to challenge the status quo. "*I think GE is good, but we don't have it in the country or our village. But I think it is up to our generation to change this.*" These two students displayed lower levels of violence and behaviours associated with harmful masculinities both in their sex-segregated civics class and on the school grounds. Although other male students also expressed positive values about GE, they did demonstrate the same agency or awareness. Thus, it was not surprising that the same two boys were also able to identify challenges to GE within the school

for boys (Table 27), a perspective commonly overlooked by most participants across all the regions.

Table 27

GE Challenges for ethnic Tamil Boys in Eastern Region

ID	Response
FSM-012	Boys have less interest in school, so they leave; sometimes, the teachers are constantly nagging on the boys on all of their mistakes or hitting them, this forces them to leave. If teachers would encourage them and not put them down and treat them friendly with patience, they will study.
FSM-001	Usually, when boys get results at grade 11, like a fail, they go to work; but girls usually stick around, that is why there are more girls in the upper grades...boys get bored sometimes, and they leave because want to make money

Their insights on the challenges faced by boys were consistent with school observations and other students’ perspectives on the contributing role of corporal punishment, teacher-centered classrooms, and poverty as contributing factors to boys' higher dropout rates. These findings illustrate that a more nuanced understanding of GE issues facilitated critical perspectives and was also linked to lower levels of harmful masculinities among the boys at school F.

Gender Roles and Interactions

Educators and students at school E and F shared similarly fixed views on gender roles and responsibilities for men and women as their counterparts in other war-affected regions. A pattern across all regions that became most apparent in the Eastern regions was the more positive perceptions of interactions between the sexes in smaller schools, which were often in rural communities in the region. This difference demonstrated that school size impacted practices associated with GE. Moreover, contrary to the common belief that there was less GE in villages, teachers, and students from smaller schools in rural communities often expressed more tolerant attitudes about interactions between the sexes. Students from small schools D, E, I, K, and L, often reported that they faced less stigma from educators when interacting with the opposite sex because they had more trusting relationships with their teachers than students at larger schools. This perspective was echoed by teachers' responses in the Eastern region. There was a stark difference between how educators viewed interactions between students of the opposite sex at school E and F. A teacher, ETF-003, from the rural school E viewed interactions between the boys and girls in a more positive light as she explained:

The children treat each other equally. There isn't much of a difference. I'm not sure if it's because they are all from the same village, and it's also in the rural side, so they have no problem treating and talking to each other as equals.

She also argued that schools should not separate children by sex, noting that, “*When they are separated and suddenly come face to face they could be shocked or be infatuated.*” She believed early, and ongoing interaction would allow boys and girls to treat each other as equals. Teacher EFT-003, like a few of her counterparts in other war-affected regions, recognized the value and importance of students being able to learn and work with the opposite sex in school.

Contrastingly, at the larger town school F, educators held to strict cultural rules on interactions between the opposite sexes and actively prevented boys and girls from working and learning together. They also encouraged competition between them. Fear of romantic relationships between students was often the motivating factor, as illustrated by an educator’s explanation of why the school had chosen to split the grade 11 class by sex. “*They didn’t study well. They were full of playfulness. Didn’t study well. We separated them to create a competitive mindset among them. Parents welcomed it and asked us to keep it this way*”. Parents' support for the practice was not surprising as it was common practice to prevent girls from having any contact with boys once they became teenagers. However, the impact of this separation increased behaviours associated with harmful masculinities and SGBV among boys (Table 28).

Table 28

Increase in Harmful masculinities in Sex-segregated Classes at School F

ID	Response
FSF-002	When girls are in the class, the boys are not as rowdy because they are embarrassed. They will wear their uniforms cleaner, but now, because there are not girls, everyone is a mess.
FSM-001	They separated our batch (girls and boys) in grades 10 and 11 because there were many love problems in grade 9. Because some people talked to the opposite sex, so they separated the boys and girls. But I think it's better to stay together so we can share and learn together. Also, the boys are rowdier when they are alone. The boys are pretty badly behaved. They don’t listen to the teacher.
FTF-001	Because there were many love cases. Even after they separated it, there are problems. When they were together, it was a little better. Now they started again. Love and all. There are many love cases even after the separation... They became a little problematic. Near the canteen... if girls go that way... teasing them and all... Yes. But there are girls like that too, right? Talking with boys and all...

Despite the pronounced increase in harmful masculinities and violence among boys after the separation, many teachers still believed that school and their practices promoted gender equality. A male teacher, FTM-002, noted that gender equality was already present in school and that schools were effectively preparing boys and girls to work together in society.

It is already being followed in schools. For students, socialization happens at home at first. The second place is school. When they come here, we guide them to follow equality. We not only teach but also guide. We teach them how men and women should socialize, how to compromise and all. Through such guidance, we bring out equality.

Teacher FTM-002's belief that school contributed to helping boys and girls socialize with each other contrasted directly with the practices in his school. Not all teachers at school F supported segregating students by sex. The civics teacher who demonstrated a more comprehensive and critical understanding of GE noted how it would impact boys and girls from understanding each other to work across differences. *"Mixed together. You can identify the issues and resolve them in the classroom. If you keep them separated, girls wouldn't know what the issues of boys are. Even the small issues..."* As such, some teachers were able to identify that school was the only place that boys and girls had could learn to interact with each other. Removing this opportunity reduced their capacity to work with each other and develop a shared understanding.

Separating students by sex contributed to promoting hypermasculine and hyperfeminine characteristics for boys and girls and reinforced the view that interactions between boys and girls could only be romantic among teachers and students. These practices impacted students' engagement in school and, eventually, their roles in society. Like school A, teachers at school F were afraid to talk to colleagues of the opposite sex out of fear that a sexual relationship may be suspected. These barriers prevented them from effectively working together in school as they had to limit their interactions to maintain appearances. Thus, the inability to work together to teach or learn in school and classroom spaces translated directly to a society that remains fractured by gender inequality and high levels of SGBV, which fueled mistrust among men and women and between them.

One factor that dramatically altered ethnic Tamil participants' perceptions of gender roles for women was exposure to war. War altered the role of women in their communities, and, in some cases, it increased their status. Participants in the war-affected schools reported that displacement, widowhood, fighting for fundamental rights, and, in some cases, combat had

disproportionately impacted women and girls; however, they also pointed out that it had temporarily strengthened women's roles in society. A male student used the impact of the war on Tamil women as an example of why he thought women were just as strong as men. Student FSM-012 noted:

In looking at our community, men do have more responsibilities, but women fought in the war valiantly. We can never forget that or take that away from them. So just as much freedom and rights we give men, women should have that too. In our country, it is there a little, but in some other countries like India, it is low. But our Tamil history tells us that during the war, women went and fought, like in the most recent battle, so many women went and fought and died for our country. Even now, there are so women living without arms and legs, widows without their husbands are struggling to live. How many females headed households there are now in the North.

Similar views were expressed by students from the Vanni region who noted the elite combat positions held by young women in the LTTE forces as a sign of the strength of women. It was clear from their responses that they admired the female fighters' bravery and ability to break through gender barriers. Student FSM-012 response also illustrates that despite the contributions and achievements of the war, they still did not have the same rights and opportunities as men. The change in the status of women during the war was temporary due to Sri Lanka's conservative and patriarchal culture. Many of the gains made for the status of women had been lost since the end of the war. Ex-female combatants were often ostracized in their communities and faced many challenges when reintegrating into patriarchal Tamil society. Civilian women also lost their status because of war when they became widows. They often experienced higher levels of SGBV from men in their own community and the military. As such, although during high levels of conflict, women were sometimes able to traverse gender barriers, during the return to lower levels of conflict, the same women lost their standing as traditional social norms returned to restrict women's engagement. Despite this shift back to the status quo, women's important role in the LTTE had effectively altered many ethnic Tamil participants' views on the capacity of women and girls.

SGBV

SGBV was again a significant issue for participants at school E and F when discussing challenges faced by women and girls; however, consistent with other regions, SGBV was not always linked to gender inequality. Students' and educators' responses mirrored many of the challenges noted in the Vanni region, demonstrating the parallel impact of conflict on GE in both

regions. A relationship common to both regions was the higher levels of harmful masculinities at the larger schools (C and F) and the consequent sexual harassment of female teachers by older male students. A teacher, FTF-001, at the larger school F in the Eastern region, noted that male students were more challenging to control and often used sexual bullying to undermine female teachers' authority. She explained, "*they won't listen. They would call teachers by nicknames. Talk different things about teachers...*". Like their counterparts in the Vanni, they faced challenges in the classroom with the behaviour management of boys, particularly those in the all-boys class in grade 11. They also experienced other forms of microaggressions that constituted SGBV but were not viewed as such by teachers. Furthermore, SGBV from older boys was once again attributed to the growing influence and access to social media. These parallel findings in the Eastern and Vanni regions further illustrate the gap in knowledge among most teachers on the relationship between patriarchal cultures, violence, harmful masculinities, gender inequality, and SGBV. The exception to this trend was the civics teacher, who pointed to more intrinsic reasons for why SGBV was on the rise in her community. Teacher ETF-003 strongly felt that SGBV in all forms was rooted in gender inequality.

When you look at a family, usually it is the woman who does all the housework, and if they go to work, and still do all the housework work. But for men, it isn't like that. Their job is their primary preoccupation. In that regard, there is little equality. And on buses, more of them [men] participate in asavu kariyam [harassment], and it usually happens to the women more.

Unlike her colleagues, teacher ETF-003 made a direct connection between the low levels of gender equality, with no distinctions between the public and private sphere, and SGBV. She noted that these types of behaviours from older male students were more common in town schools, case in example, school F. Though teacher ETF-003 did not experience any form of harassment from the older boys in her current rural school E, she noted that while teaching in the Jaffna region, she did witness and experienced harassment from older male students. Teacher ETF-003 believed that family upbringing had a lot to do with why these boys behaved this way. She further explained that exposure to gender-based violence and the inequitable treatment of male and female children contributed to harmful forms of masculinities that led to the sexual harassment of teachers by male students.

At home, if there is a problem between the parents, they shouldn't fight about it in front of the child. They should resolve it away from them. If a child sees his father hitting his

mother, the child will think that men have the upper hand in everything. In some houses, boy children are favoured and given more rights than girl children.

Her observations illustrate how the social upbringing of young men in Sri Lanka fostered forms of harmful masculinities from an early age. Though her response focused mainly on the home, what was missed was how schools and educators reinforced the development of harmful masculinities among boys.

Like their counterparts in the other war-affected regions, participants from both schools highlighted the importance of the security of women and girls as central to the development of the nation. Most ethnic Tamils girls from all regions reported experiencing sexual harassment on buses and walking on roads in the town where they travelled for their private tutoring classes. These experiences directly impeded their academic success because they could not be competitive in the national exams without these private tutoring classes, which made up for the low capacity of their schools. They lacked the agency to stop the violence because it was so pervasive and not discussed. Furthermore, they were afraid to speak up because frequently, the perpetrator would blame the victim for doing something to entice them and/or the incident would impact their reputation in the community. Consequently, most students, both boys and girls, from the Island, Vanni, Eastern, and North Muslim regions, identified violence against women and girls as one of the main issues they wanted dealt with at the national level.

The security of girls was a focal theme in the development of the country for most participants in the Eastern region. Girls at school E noted that they had less freedom of movement due to both fixed gender norms for girls' behaviours and movement and restrictions due to SGBV in their community. Student ESF-002 who noted:

In this country, first, there need to be restrictions placed on the use of alcohol. Next, the destruction of culture, like the rape that took place in Jaffna, in Vavuniya, all over the place, many rapes are happening. It is even happening to small children. If all of this was stopped, then the country will be a good country. Like everything, like girls should be able to walk around freely without fear on their own, it should change to a country like that.

Although student ESF-002 understood the importance of security for women as a central aspect of social cohesion at the national level, she did not make the connection between SGBV and gender inequality, which was intrinsic to Sri Lanka's cultures. Her perspective was reflective of her teachers' views that saw SGBV as the result of outside influences. Many female students

were not able to make the connection between their daily personal experience of SGBV on streets and buses with a more severe case such as Vidya. To them, the violent attack on Vidhya was something that happened in other places compared to their normalized day-to-day experience of SGBV, which they referred to as just “eve-teasing.” These views were further reinforced by victim-blaming and placing the onus on women and girls to prevent acts of SGBV against them by using culture as a guiding principle. Such views were deeply internalized by students such as Student ESF-006, who explained why gender roles differed in society and standards that would protect women.

There is a difference (in gender roles and responsibilities). For example, a girl, there is a certain standard of how a girl should be. Because of the influence of outside culture, there is change. For example, the clothes that men wear women are now wearing them, not knowing the difference. Because girls are like this, there many unnecessary problems arising (such as rape). Also, people become victims/enslaved to alcohol. For example, if we go to a new place, dressed modern, we don't know what that village is like. So we can get into many problems because of that. It is a woman's responsibility to dress accordingly in our society. We should comprise and respect people and try to go with society. Just because something is right for us, we should not do it if others do not approve of it. We have to adjust ourselves because when men see us, they don't all look at us with the same eye. Some may have bad feelings towards us, and in order to compromise, we must adjust ourselves.

Her response echoes her Muslim counterpart from the Singhalese region, who believed that it was ultimately the work of women to prevent SGBV. These perspectives further illustrate how fixed gender roles for men and women in a society based on stagnant views of culture contribute to and condone SGBV against women. Both male and female participants placed the onus on the victim, rather than the oppressor to prevent SGBV. This view is reflective of participants' low capacity to address gender-based conflict at the system level and thereby defaulting to addressing it at the individual level by controlling women's bodies and behaviours.

The belief that SGBV could be prevented by controlling and regulating individuals was also why many participants at school E and F were strongly supportive of the LTTE's measures on SGBV. A teacher, FTM-002, in the Eastern province provided a much more detailed explanation that spoke to the control aspect of women's bodies during LTTE rule.

They had those controls. They did not allow revealing clothes. They also did not allow a man and a woman to be together for long. Like to give a lift in a bicycle... they would stop and ask who she is, is she your sister? Since men can harm women, they did that. So, you should show evidence. They were controlling. Can't say it's wrong. They didn't take

our freedom. They wanted to make sure that women are protected. They did it as a measure to control the women.

Teacher FTM-002's supposition that men were harmful, and women needed protection points to how deeply normalized harmful masculinities had become in these regions. These patriarchal views about women and girls reflected educators' attitudes about how their students should dress and behave with each other. The LTTE's presence in the war-affected regions for decades had contributed to perpetuating fixed gender roles for men and women and reduced their ability to interact with each other. These findings in the Eastern region further illustrate that although the LTTE provided greater levels of security for women, it was not due to gender equality but rather the control of women's bodies and access to it. That being said, this distinction made little difference to the average ethnic Tamil living in the war-affected regions like student FSM-001 who noted, "The *Vidhya case is a reflection of the government; this would not have happened during LTTE times, they would have given a punishment immediately.*" For him and most other ethnic Tamils, the security of women was of prime importance. The state's failure to protect women weakened its legitimacy in the eyes of citizens living in the war-affected regions.

North Muslim Region

A combination of three factors impacted approaches to GE in the North Muslim region, exposure to war, poverty, and mixed religious communities. Though both schools L and M were designated Islamic schools, there was a substantial mix of Hindus and Christians in both schools.

Understanding of GE

The restrictive aspects of religion and culture were most apparent in participants' understanding of gender equality at school L and M. Participants were less likely to make blanket statements that GE existed in Sri Lanka. An ethnic Tamil Christian teacher at school the large school L explained:

We cannot give 50 – 50. If we give, there can be other problems in the country... Sri Lanka is a religious country. When you take Buddhism, Tamil culture, Muslim culture, all these are male dominated. In Sri Lanka, they give more importance to men.

Though his response indicates a clear understanding that gender inequality is limited due to Sri Lanka's patriarchal cultures, it also is an affirmation and acceptance of the status quo. Similarly, a female Muslim teacher, MTF-002, from the smaller rural school, also agreed that although gender equality was necessary, some aspects were not always congruent with Islamic culture,

where men are given precedence. She cited the example of the requirement of women needing a male escort in Islam as a barrier to women doing the same things as men. She rationalized that this was the way it was for women in her community. Muslim teachers and students were more likely to identify the subordinate status of women and the role of religion and culture as reasons for practices associated with gender inequality (Table 29).

Table 29

Muslim Participants Perspectives on GE

ID	Response
MTF-001	Men and women have rights, but how we use it or implement it is different depending on the country; like if we look at religion, for example, Islam, it is not always equal.
MTF-002	Women and men should be equal, particularly in education, but in daily happenings and even at home, in society, men are more in front. So we tell them it should be equal, but it is not always like that. I think it will eventually change. It can't be totally equal. Like in Islamic culture, men have a higher position, so with religion, the idea of GE does not necessarily go. We need to adhere to our religious culture as well...I think the religious rules are important, and there is some improvement in GE across the country...Man and woman should be equal. However, it won't be suitable for all situations. Gender equality is something we talk about, but here it is very low. They look at men in another way and woman a different way. Women are treated lower than men.
LSF-001	Our religion says there are equal rights, but there are some issues that do not align with our religion, like the clothes we wear, talking to the opposite sex. So when all the rights are given to girls, they exceed these rules. It impacts everyone in the family.
LSM-004	Men and women equal...there should be equal rights...husband should be the leader of the family...mother provides love; father provides rules and leadership.
LSM-005	Women should study and go into society, but I would prefer for a wife to stay at home or go into education.

These responses illustrate how female Muslim participants from both schools were more likely to note that GE did not exist due to religious rules. Though they certainly wanted access to equal rights, they demonstrated little agency to challenge the perceived entrenched norms of their culture. Their views contrasted with Muslim male participants such as LSM 004 and 005 who professed GE ideals and then went onto describe the different roles and expectations for men and women that contradicted the very same ideals. Male educators at school L spoke about the

special status and rights afforded to Muslim women, including their protection from SGBV as evidence of equal rights. However, these discussions often overlooked many of the concerns expressed by Muslim women and girls themselves, particularly on the issue of child marriages. Participants from other groups had similar blind spots in their perceived notion of GE being achieved within their community. An ethnic Tamil Christian teacher, LTF-002, explained how the status of women in the Christian community had changed. *“In our religion, we have gender equality, but earlier, we didn’t have it. Women were treated as slaves. It is not like that now. Now women are allowed to work.”* Her exclusive focus on being allowed to work as evidence of GE echoes a predominantly Liberal Feminist understanding of GE prevalent among participants in school across all the regions.

Poverty and war had an amplifying effect on gender inequality, particularly among ethnic-Tamils, as participants affected were more likely to identify barriers to GE based on personal experiences. Teachers in the war-affected regions and female students more frequently reported instances where women and girls had fewer rights compared to men and boys. An ethnic Tamil student, MSF-005, from a war-affected rural community in the Muslim region, demonstrated an understanding of gender equality that went beyond access to education and work. She identified inequality in her village and in the day-to-day practices at home, which were unfair for girls:

In our village, there is no such thing as gender equality, mainly because this is a rural village. Women are always in a lower position, and men are in a higher position. For example, in our house, my mother will serve my father and little brother food first and then ask me to eat... So, in a rural village, it will always be unequal between men and women.

In addition to facing gender inequality, student MSF-005 also expressed frustration in not being allowed to discuss these issues in her community or school. Displaced from the Vanni region and impoverished by the conflict in 2009, student MSF-005 felt a strong need to address the challenges but felt helpless at home and school. Her story, one of many, illustrates that there were very few opportunities for girls in the war-affected regions to discuss the challenges they face and advocate for their rights.

Gender Roles and Interactions

Both Muslim and ethnic Tamil female participants noted that restrictive gender roles prevented women and girls from achieving gender equality. Muslim teacher MTF-002 identified the lack of GE within the home as the source of lack of GE in society.

If we look at the country, women still have not achieved the same rights as men. Looking at the government, there is still not enough women in government even though there are more women in Sri Lanka; only a few women are there are advocating for this, and it is not enough...The reason women are not going into politics is because of family, culture, traditions. Society does not allow women to come to the front; they don't get the support from their parents. We see it even starting at the school level. A student who wants to attend higher studies outside may not have the chance because their parents don't allow it.

Teacher MTF-002 recognized the cyclical and self-perpetuating aspect of gender inequality in Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka's slow progress in GE was due to the limited number of women in government. This lack of political engagement by women resulted from women and girls being discouraged or prohibited from participating in government by their families, which maintained their lack of rights in the public and private sphere. Students had deeply internalized many of the restrictions placed on women and girls from engaging in politics, as evidenced in student MSF-004's response, "*In that, men are better suited than girls. They will have the experience for it*". Despite these views, some Muslim female students demonstrated resiliency and agency to change the status quo, particularly around their right to work. Student LSF-001 noted that she "*wants to work, even if my husband wants me to stay at home, I will convince him.*" The same student also challenged norms on interactions between the opposite sex, citing the support of her teacher, who did not view her talking to her male peers negatively.

Here it is not like that. Why should they (teachers) think that if we talk? When they do view it that way, it puts ideas in children's heads. We don't know what is in people's minds. You can't assume the worse. If we just let people interact on their own, there will not be problems, and the children too understand that it is possible to be friends. Like in class, we sit in mixed seating.

Her response is further evidence of the impact of trusting relationships between students and teachers as a contributing factor to gender equality, a phenomenon more prevalent in smaller schools with fewer students. Additionally, students with a more neutral understanding of gender roles were less likely to prescribe to hypermasculine or hyperfeminine norms that contributed to

sexualizing their interactions with the opposite sex, which allowed them to be more open and understanding of working with the opposite sex.

SGBV

Like other war-affected regions, SGBV was a prevalent theme among participants at both schools; however, the North Muslim region participants were unique in their higher emphasis on placing blame on women and girls compared to participants from other regions.

The view that it was up to women and girls to protect themselves was not specific to any particular religious or ethnic group in the Muslim region. All participants expressed some level of victim blaming in their understanding of SGBV. For example, a male Christian teacher at school M noted that if a woman was going to wear tights under her shalwar kameez instead of looser pants, she was asking to be raped. Similarly, a female Muslim student, MSF-004, noted that “*When women dress provocatively, then it incites men. So, the blame is on both*”. Even female teachers, LTF-004, who were able to link gender inequality, patriarchy, the subordinate status of women and SGBV, still placed blame on girls and their families for becoming victims of sexual violence.

Gender equality needs to be understood by the majority of people in society at all social levels. There is a lot of rape. It even happens to school children. It would not happen if everyone understood that...They think, “because I am a man, I can do what I want” they want to dominate the women. This is what I think...According to me... the girls have to be blamed a little. The parents are also at fault. If the daughter is dressing poorly, they should tell her. The upbringing of the girl is totally in the parents’ hands. It is up to the parents to ensure that the child takes the right path. They should tell her not to wear tight-fitting clothes and these leggings. We should not act as bait for the men.

These views were significantly more extreme in placing responsibility on women and girls while speaking very little about the responsibilities of men and boys to prevent SGBV or the responsibility of parents in raising sons that did not engage in SGBV.

Normalizing behaviours associated with harmful masculinities for men and boys put both girls and female teachers at greater risk for SGBV. This pattern of SGBV was evident at the larger school L, which had higher levels of harmful masculinities. A Muslim student, LSF-001, pointed to the challenges she faced getting to school.

Like boys on the roads, they say things to us. It is mostly boys from the all-boys school who are not used to being around girls. Or older boys who have failed OL level, and they are just hanging around on the street harassing girls. But even if they harass me, I am not going to give up my goals because of them.

Despite the challenges, student LSF-001 demonstrated considerable resiliency in not allowing her experiences with SGBV from accessing her right to education, even though she received very little support to face these challenges from educators and other adults in her life. Like other large schools in the war-affected region, teachers themselves were not able to protect themselves from SGBV. The female Christian teacher, LTF-002, at the large school L school noted she was not able to teach grade 11 and AL classes because the students, particularly male students, did not treat her respectfully.

I don't take A/L classes. Sometimes during sports meet time, they get close, but they treat us like their own classmates. Even when they say good morning, it is different. Not like the good morning greeting we get from (younger) students.

Teacher LTF-002's experience, like her counterparts in other larger schools in the war-affected regions, points to a link between school size, higher levels of harmful masculinity, and incidents of SGBV against female teachers. Large schools like school L did not provide the same opportunities for teachers to interact and develop trusting relationships with students. The lack of trusting relationships between students and teachers, coupled with overall higher levels of violence, high male-female ratios, and the consequent cultures of harmful masculinities that ensured were underlying contributors to the sexual intimidation of female teachers by older male students.

Militarization and SGBV. The high number of military posts near schools put children at significant risk of sexual violence. Students and teachers from the North Muslim region reported incidents in which soldiers had exposed students to pornographic material on a cell phone while on a bus. A large number of soldiers in the Northern and Eastern province and their proximity to and in some cases, engagement with schools, by providing transport for excursions and food delivery, was a growing phenomenon in the war-affected regions. Some students noted that initially, they had feared the soldiers, but this changed when they started helping them attend activities and events or deliver resources for the school. Despite this student's positive outlook, the engagement of the military in school spaces is problematic at many levels. Given the lack of acknowledgement and justice for the numerous acts of sexual violence by the Sinhalese armed forces against ethnic Tamils, including children, during and after the war made their presence intrusive and source of fear. Further to this, the presence of soldiers in schools normalizes the

militarization and occupation of ethnic Tamil communities by the Sinhalese state. It is a form of cultural violence that contributes to obedience and rule-following out of fear and mistrust and thereby reduces education's potential for social cohesion.

Conclusion

Although educators and students had some understanding of aspects of GE, their views were often informed by liberal notions of GE that did little to challenge personal and systemic forms of gender inequality present in the school and community, particularly SGBV. Cultural and gender essentialism contributed to patterns of structural violence related to gender inequality, which was strongly reinforced in schools. Teachers' and students' perspectives on gender roles and interactions emphasized differences that not only gendered citizenship engagement, but it also prevented members of the opposite sex from understanding each other to work across these divisions.

Knowledge of GE. Educators' and students' understanding of gender equality varied across regions, gender, and between roles (student or teacher). There were no significant differences in participants' understanding of GE between the four major ethnic groups. Exposure to war, poverty, gender, and school size impacted how participants experienced gender equality and, consequently, their understanding of it. Female participants, those exposed to high levels of conflict in the war-affected regions, and those living in extreme levels of poverty more frequently identified instances of gender inequality. As a result, they also often had a more comprehensive understanding of GE issues compared to participants that were not facing these challenges associated with extreme poverty, war, and patriarchy. Overall, teachers generally had a greater understanding of issues on gender equality compared to students. Three factors contribute to lower levels of GE knowledge among students including (1) The repeated message in the formal and informal curriculum GE had been achieved in Sri Lanka, (2) The limited number of opportunities for students to learn about or discuss gender equality issues in school spaces, and (3) The limited interactions students had with the opposite sex which prevented them from learning about and developing empathy and understanding of each others' experiences.

The perception that GE had been achieved perpetuated gender inequitable views and practices. Educators and students frequently emphasized Sri Lanka's' achievements in access to education, completion rates, literacy levels, women working outside of the home, and the tokenism of having the first elected female state leader. The focus on these achievements

illustrated a liberal feminist understanding of gender equality among participants across all regions. Participants believed that access to education would automatically lead to a more socially just society without addressing equity issues. This focus on access and parity prevented participants from identifying the day to day practices such as gendered corporal punishment, gendered expectations, and fixed gender roles in school that contributed to a culture of harmful masculinities and gender inequality. Furthermore, factors related to gender inequality, such as SGBV, the low political representation of women, and high unemployment rates, were not central to most participants' understanding of GE, even when these issues personally impacted them.

Overall, GE was not a topic that was addressed in the education system for teachers or students. Among teachers, there were limited reports of any form of in-service training on GE and, consequently, a lack of knowledge and understanding of how GE issues impacted students in and through education. When teachers did receive training, it was limited in scope and failed to address the root cause of gender inequality in society. Many participants lacked a critical understanding of gender equality and the role of patriarchy in perpetuating it, often blaming external factors such as the influence of Western media, alcoholism, and drugs. Alcohol abuse was often used as a crux in discussions, particularly among middle-class women (teachers) talking about lower-class women (parents), around abuse, and inequity to avoid challenging the role of patriarchy in sustaining gender inequality. Most teachers also did not discuss gender inequitable practices in school because it was a culturally taboo topic incongruent with Sri Lanka's patriarchal norms. The lack of familiarity with the GE term and discomfort talking about the issue with students is indicative of the gap in policy and practice with respect to mainstreaming GE as an aspect of democratic citizenship. Despite these shortcomings and challenges, there were a few participants (principals, teachers, and students) that identified the role of patriarchy and culture in perpetuating gender inequality and harmful masculinities. Most often, they had received some form of training and/or were able to reflect on their personal experiences critically. Thus, training did have a positive impact on educators' understanding of GE issues and some of their classroom practices. Training based on school and NGO partnerships were particularly effective as they also worked with parents to address GE from a school and community perspective.

Gender roles and interactions. School spaces and educators contributed to gendered forms of citizenship by espousing fixed gender roles for men/boys and women/girls based on essentialized notions of tradition and culture. Educators' beliefs and practices contributed to confining boys and girls into hyper-masculine and feminine roles and responsibilities. Teacher expectations and, consequently, student self-perception, impacted the subjects and career paths students choose. Girls did not believe that they could excel in STEM subjects, and boys were forced into them based on misconceptions about the learning capacities of boys and girls. Such practices worked to gender their engagement in school and society, thereby contributing to gendered forms of citizenship. High levels of gendered citizenship were also linked to low levels of collaboration between boys and girls and men and women in school spaces. Students had few opportunities to learn and interact with the opposite sex. As such, they were ill-prepared to work together to build a socially cohesive society due to fear, mistrust, and lack of empathy and understanding of each others' experiences.

SGBV. Participants' responses indicated that SGBV was prevalent across all regions but exceptionally high in war-affected regions, demonstrating the inextricable linkage between conflict and gender inequality. There was an iterative relationship between violence (school and community) and SGBV due to increased levels of behaviours associated with harmful masculinities. Large schools with smaller spaces with a high density of students were more prone to violence and higher levels of harmful masculinities associated with SGBV. SGBV impacted girls and boys in different ways. As a result of gendered expectations based on hypermasculine norms that men should tolerate physical violence, boys experienced higher levels of violence in schools and the community, particularly in the war-affected regions. Students noted that corporal punishment, low expectations, and teacher-centred classrooms alienated boys and contributed to their disengagement from school. These experiences, in turn, contributed to their increased performance of behaviours associated with harmful masculinities, including SGBV, in the school and community. Thus, gender inequality was a catalyst in the iterative relationship between school violence and community violence.

Harmful masculinities in school and the community contributed to creating unsafe spaces for women, girls, and other boys. Across all regions, the prevention or avoidance of SGBV was placed on women and girls. SGBV severely restricted girls' control of their bodies and behaviours. These restrictions, in turn, acted as a barrier to accessing quality education and their

engagement as citizens, particularly their ability to interact and work with men and boys. Minority status, poverty, and/or war were factors that exacerbated the challenges of gender inequality. The disproportionate experience of SGBV by women and girls living in conflict and poverty speaks to how these two factors amplify harmful masculinities and violence rooted in gender inequality and the subordinate status of women. However, the majority of participants believed that external influences caused SGBV. Few participants believed that the behaviours leading to SGBV could be intrinsic to aspects of Sri Lankan culture. Much like the personal focus on resolving Sri Lanka's national conflict, participants focused on regulating individual behaviour to prevent SGBV. The inability to identify the role of patriarchy and harmful masculinities in perpetuating SGBV prevented participants from understanding how it was fostered and manifest in day-to-day school practices. Teachers did not consider the increased violence faced by boys or the harassment of young female teachers by male students as forms of SGBV rooted in patriarchal norms. A lack of knowledge on gender equality also contributed to participants engaging in victim-blaming, including women and girls themselves, making it more difficult to report or discuss these issues.

The centrality of gender equality for social cohesion was evident in the importance placed by participants from across all regions, but particularly the war-affected regions, on ending SGBV as a critical aspect of developing the nation. However, the state's (police, military, judicial system) inability to curtail SGBV or provide justice undermined its legitimacy in the eyes of minority participants, particularly ethnic Tamils. Furthermore, in some cases, the state, through the military and security forces, was the cause of SGBV against minority populations. These findings further illustrate the urgent need to transform gender inequitable values and practices in and through education to increase trust in the state and to reduce overall levels of conflict and violence in society.

CHAPTER 8

Quantitative Results

This section provides the quantitative findings of the teacher and student surveys completed across the 13 schools. The quantitative research questions guide the presentation and ordering of results divided into sections for teachers and students. Each section starts with descriptive and inferential statistics on the scores for Gender Equity (GE), Gendered Equitable Citizenship (GEC), Social Cohesion (SC), and the relationship between them, which is followed by an inferential analysis. At the end of each sub-section, quantitative findings are contextualized with qualitative findings, which is the first phase of the mixing of quantitative and qualitative data in this study.

For the quantitative analysis, the 13 school sites, or cases, were collapsed into six groups based on region and language medium of the school (Table 30). The six regions attempt to capture the different types of communities in Sri Lanka based on linguistic, ethnic, and religious similarities. Collapsing schools with similar linguistic, ethnic, and religious similarities also increased the sample size to facilitate more complex techniques of statistical analysis. At the same time, it also increased the level of variance within each group as the qualitative data showed that there were substantial differences between attitudes on gender equality and social cohesion between small and large schools. School size was not anticipated to be a factor when developing the quantitative research questions; this is a limitation of this study.

Table 30

Schools Grouped Based on Region

No.	Region	Schools	Medium	Predominant Ethnic Group	Exposure to direct conflict
1	Islands	A, B	Tamil	Ethnic Tamil majority Muslim minority	High
2	Vanni	C, D	Tamil	Ethnic Tamil	Very High
3	Eastern	E, F	Tamil	Ethnic Tamil majority Muslim minority	High
4	North_Muslim	L, M	Tamil	Muslim majority Ethnic Tamil minority	High
5	Hill Country- Sinhala	G, I, J	Sinhala	Singhalese majority Indian Tamil and Muslim Minority	Low
6	Hill Country – Indian Tamil	H, K	Tamil	Indian Tamil	Low

Teacher Scores

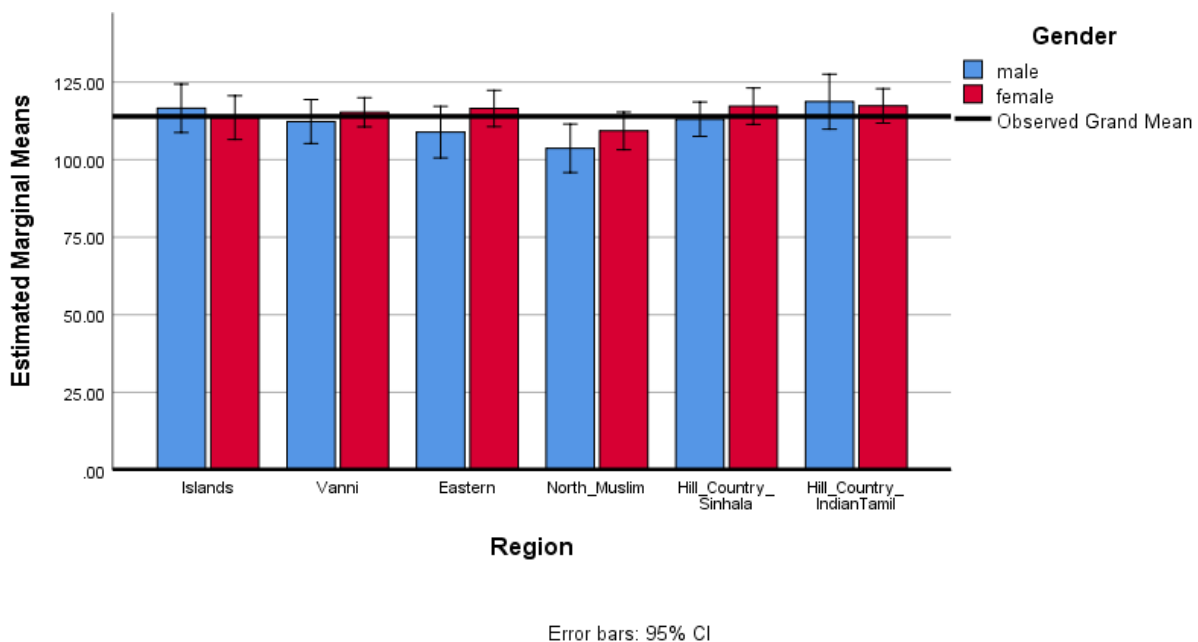
The following section includes the ANOVA and regression results for teachers' scores on the Gender Equality (GE), Gendered citizenship (GC), and Social Cohesion (SC) surveys.

Teachers' Attitudes on Gender Equality

The survey examined teachers' attitudes towards gender equality through a score calculated from 32 Likert questions (1-5 scale). The highest score achievable for positive attitudes on gender equality was 160. After accounting for surveys with incomplete items, a total of 163 surveys were used in the analysis. The mean GE_Score for the 163 surveys was 113.96 (SD=12.06), a 71% rating. Figure 7 and Appendix Q show the mean scores for male and female teachers at each of the schools in relation to the grand mean for all the surveys.

Figure 7

Estimated Marginal Means for Gender Equality Scores in Regions by Gender



To what extent are Gender Equality Scores related to teachers' gender and region?

The null hypothesis was that the variables region and gender do not impact Gender Equality scores. A two-way analysis of variance was conducted on the influence of the two independent variables (gender, region) on Gender Equity Scores for teachers (Table 31). Gender included two levels (male and female), and school consisted of 6 levels to reflect each of the six regions. The main effect for gender yielded an F ratio of $(1, 151) = 1.80, p > .05$, indicating that the effect of

gender was not significant for teachers, males ($M=112.16$, $SD=11.93$) and females ($M=115.07$, $SD=12.06$). The main effect for region yielded an F ratio of $F(5, 151) = 2.39$, $p < .05$, indicating that the effect of region was significant. The interaction effect between region and gender was not significant, $F(5, 151) = .62$, $P > .05$.

Post hoc analyses were conducted given the statistically significant omnibus ANOVA F test for region. Specifically, Hochberg GT2 tests were conducted on all pairwise contrasts. The Hochberg test was used because it is a conservative test that controls for the unequal sample sizes across the six regions. There was one statistically significant pair. Teachers in the Hill Country Indian Tamil region ($M=117.72$, $SD=9.87$) had significantly greater GE scores than teachers in the North_Muslim region ($M=107.17$, $SD=9.32$) ($p < .05$). Thus, although North Muslim teachers had the lowest GE scores among all the regions, it was only significantly lower than the Hill Country Indian Tamil teachers.

Table 31

Teacher Gender Equity Score: two-way ANOVA (region, gender)

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	2282.426 ^b	11	207.493	1.473	.147	.097
Intercept	1829060.767	1	1829060.767	12984.044	.000	.989
Gender	253.423	1	253.423	1.799	.182	.012
Region	1681.388	5	336.278	2.387	.041	.073
Gender * Region	439.575	5	87.915	.624	.682	.020
Error	21271.353	151	140.870			
Total	2140534.000	163				
Corrected Total	23553.779	162				

a. Type = Teachers

b. R Squared = .097 (Adjusted R Squared = .031)

Summary of GE results for teachers. For teachers, there were no significant differences between males and females on Gender Equity scores. This finding is consistent with responses from teachers interview where male and female teachers expressed very similar attitudes about gender roles and responsibilities that were primarily informed by culture. Teachers' scores did differ between regions. Teachers in the Hill Country Indian-Tamil region had significantly higher GE scores than teachers in the North_Muslim region, who had the lowest GE Scores from

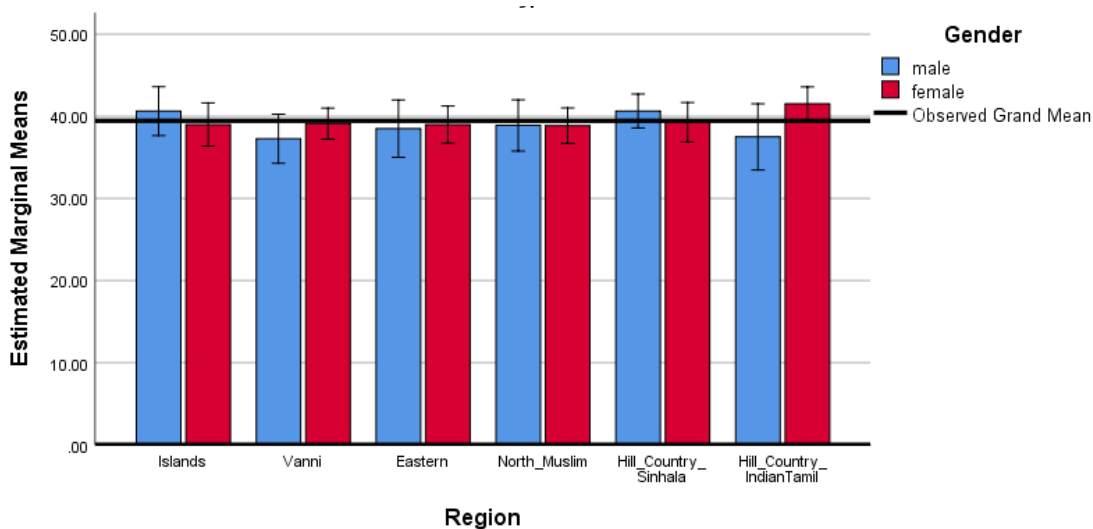
all the regions. Interviews with teachers in the two Muslim schools did find that teachers, both Muslim and non-Muslim, had highly restrictive attitudes about women, including how they dressed and their freedom of movement. These gender inequitable views were particularly strong among teachers in the larger urban Muslim school L. Indian-Tamil teachers from school H and K generally expressed more critical perspectives on gender equality by questioning the role of culture. These teachers had been exposed to some GE issues through NGO based training. Contrastingly, schools L and M had not received any training, and teachers were less likely to challenge the status quo set by cultural and religious constraints to GE. These findings provided triangulated evidence of the positive impact of even small amounts of training on GE. It also further illustrates the relationship between flexible attitudes towards culture and more critical perspectives on GE.

Teachers' attitudes on Gender Equitable Citizenship

The survey examined teachers' attitudes towards Gender Equitable Citizenship through a score calculated from 10 Likert questions (1-5 scale). The highest score achievable for positive attitudes on gender equitable citizenship was 50. After accounting for surveys with incomplete items, 190 teacher surveys were used in the analysis. The mean GEC_Score for the 190 surveys was 39.45 ($SD=4.99$), a 79 % rating. Figure 8 and Appendix R show the mean scores for male and female teachers in each region in relation to the grand mean for all the surveys.

Figure 8

Estimated marginal means for Teachers of GEC Score in Regions by Gender



Error bars: 95% CI

To what extent are Gender Equitable Citizenship Scores related to teachers' gender and region? The null hypothesis was that the variables *region* and *gender* did not impact Gender Equitable Citizenship scores. A two-way analysis of variance was conducted on the influence of the two independent variables (gender, region) on Gender Equitable Citizenship Scores for teachers (

Table 32

Table 32). Gender included two levels (male and female), and region consisted of 6 levels to reflect each of the six regions. The main effect for gender yielded an F ratio of $(1, 178) = .48$, $p > .05$, indicating that the effect of gender was not significant, males ($M=39.33$, $SD=5.27$) and females ($M=39.52$, $SD=4.85$). The main effect for region yielded an F ratio of $F(5, 178) = .59$, $p > .05$, indicating that the effect of region was not significant. The interaction effect between region and gender was also not significant, $F(5, 178) = 1.08$, $P > .05$.

Table 32

Teachers' Gender Equitable Citizenship Scores: two-way ANOVA (region, gender)

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	250.222 ^b	11	22.747	.908	.534	.053
Intercept	238292.251	1	238292.251	9512.769	.000	.982
Gender	11.898	1	11.898	.475	.492	.003
Region	73.751	5	14.750	.589	.709	.016
Gender * Region	135.398	5	27.080	1.081	.372	.029
Error	4458.851	178	25.050			
Total	300446.000	190				
Corrected Total	4709.074	189				

a. Type = Teachers

b. R Squared = .053 (Adjusted R Squared = -.005)

Summary of GEC results for teachers. The non-significant findings suggest no differences between gender or region among teachers for attitudes on gender equitable approaches to citizenship. This relationship is consistent with qualitative findings on teachers' attitudes about the role of men and women in society across all the regions. Except for a few individuals, teachers from all regions made arbitrary distinctions between rights in the public and private sphere for women. Liberal feminist notions informed most teachers' understanding of

GE. Culture was often cited as the reason for the gendering of citizenship engagement. Across all regions, there was a consistent emphasis on the critical role of mothering for women to be good citizens. The same emphasis on parenting was rarely stressed for men to be good citizens. These findings illustrate that participants had a limited understanding of gender equitable approaches to citizenship.

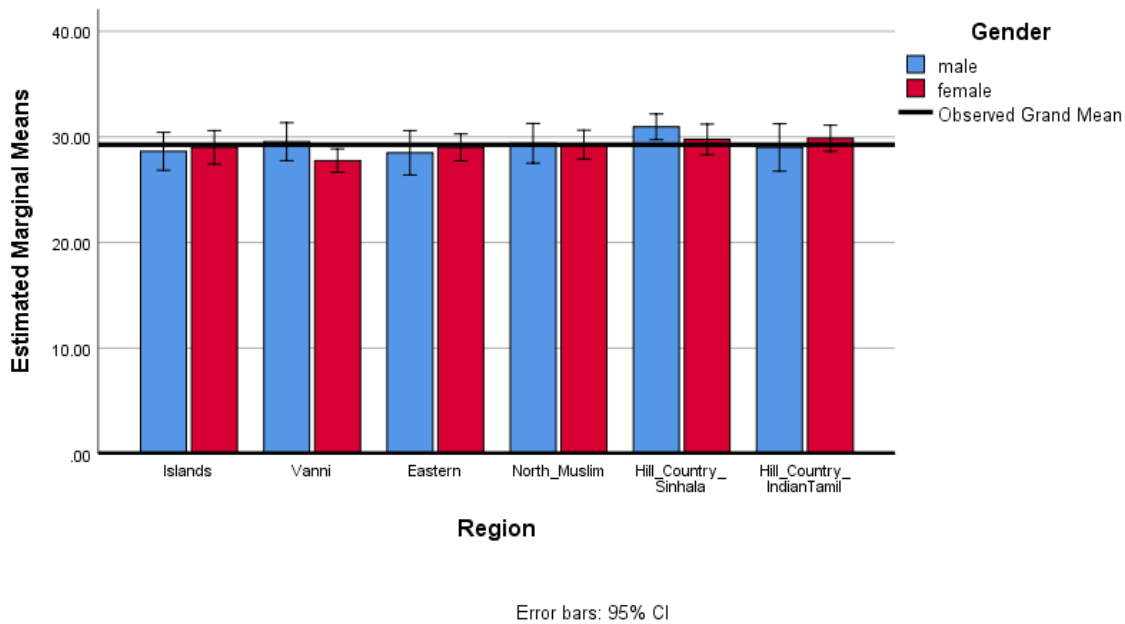
Teachers' Attitudes on Social Cohesion

The survey examined teachers' attitudes towards social cohesion through a score calculated from 7 Likert questions (1-5 scale). The highest score achievable for positive attitudes on social cohesion was 35. After accounting for surveys with incomplete items, a total of 195 surveys were used in the analysis. The mean SC_Score for the 195 surveys was 29.26 (SD=3.07), an 84 % rating.

Figure 9 and Appendix S show the mean scores for male and female teachers in each region in relation to the grand mean for all the surveys.

Figure 9

Estimated Marginal Means of SC Scores by Region and Gender for Teachers



To what extent are Social Cohesion Scores related to teachers' gender and region?

The null hypothesis was that the variables *region* and *gender* do not impact Social Cohesion scores for teachers. A two-way analysis of variance was conducted on the influence of the two

independent variables (gender, region) on Social Cohesion Scores for teachers (Table 33). Gender included two levels (male and female), and school consisted of 6 levels to reflect each of the six regions. The main effect for gender yielded an F ratio of $(1, 183) = .23, p > .05$, indicating that the effect of gender was not significant, males ($M=29.69, SD=3.01$) and females ($M=29.02, SD=3.08$). The main effect for region yielded an F ratio of $F(5, 183) = 1.57, p > .05$, indicating it was not significant. The interaction effect between region and gender was also not significant, $F(5, 183) = .86, P > .05$.

Table 33

Teacher Social Cohesion Score: two-way ANOVA (region, gender)

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	160.368 ^b	11	14.579	1.600	.102	.088
Intercept	137012.228	1	137012.228	15038.290	.000	.988
Gender	2.134	1	2.134	.234	.629	.001
Region	71.480	5	14.296	1.569	.171	.041
Gender * Region	39.049	5	7.810	.857	.511	.023
Error	1667.293	183	9.111			
Total	168794.000	195				
Corrected Total	1827.662	194				

a. Type = Teachers

b. R Squared = .088 (Adjusted R Squared = .033)

To what extent does exposure to conflict impact teachers' social cohesion scores. In order to discern whether exposure to direct conflict impacted social cohesion scores, planned T-tests were conducted on SC scores between teachers at schools in war-affected regions and those at schools in areas that had not experienced direct conflict to understand the relationship between conflict levels and Social Cohesion scores. The null hypothesis was that there is no difference between SC scores for teachers at schools in the war-affected regions (Schools A, B, C, D, E, F, L, and M) and school in regions that have been generally remained conflict free (Schools G, H, I, J, K). In comparing means scores for Social Cohesion between teachers, results showed that teachers at schools within the war-affected regions ($M=28.77, SD=3.26$) had significantly lower SC scores than those living conflict free areas ($M=30.13, SD=2.51$); $t(176)=-3.26, p < .01$.

Summary of Social Cohesion results for teachers. Although, there were no significant differences between teachers' social cohesion scores at the region level, there were differences between teachers' scores from high and low conflict areas. T-test results showed that teachers from the war-affected areas in schools A, B, C, D, E, F, L, and M had significantly lower levels of SC compared to those in low conflict areas, schools G, H, I, J, K. These differences are consistent with qualitative interviews with teachers. Many teachers from the low conflict schools, particularly Sinhalese teachers, had very little understanding of Sri Lanka's conflict. Consequently, they believed that Sri Lanka could achieve peace and social cohesion because the war was over or because minorities in their community lived in peace with them. Contrastingly, teachers in the war-affected regions, experienced high levels of violence, not only during the last days of the 2009 war but throughout their lives. They had lost opportunities and experienced a loss of various rights daily and worked with students who had been impacted by the war, both psychologically and physically. They expressed lower levels of agency in achieving their rights or hope of ever being recognized as equal citizens in Sri Lanka.

There were no differences between male and female teachers on SC scores. Similarly, qualitative findings also found no significant differences between male and female teachers in their attitudes on social cohesion, national unity, and peace. Although male educators were more violent than their female counterparts in schools and the classroom, female teachers still conformed to hierarchical approaches to classroom management. They also used other forms of violence, such as humiliation, to punish students, particularly female students. In the Vanni region, female educators from the region frequently and indiscriminately used corporal punishment against students. These results show that there is no evidence to suggest that women are more peace-oriented than men.

Relationships Between GE, GEC, and SC for Teachers

To what extent are teachers' attitudes on gender equality and gender equitable citizenship related to social cohesion? To explore the relationship between Social Cohesion with Gender Equity and Gender Equitable Citizenship, a multiple regression analysis was conducted between Social Cohesion scores (dependent variable) with Gender Equality and Gender Equitable Citizenship (independent variables) score for teachers (Appendix T). The null hypothesis was that Gender Equity and Gender Equitable Citizenship scores do not predict Social Cohesion scores for teachers. A significant regression equation was found

($F(2,143)=10.23$, $p<.000$), with an R^2 of .13. The Social Cohesion score is equal to $16.46 + .04GE + .20GEC$. Social Cohesion scores increased by .04 for each score in Gender Equity and .20 for each score in Gender Equitable Citizenship. Both Gender Equity and Gender Equitable Citizenship scores were significant predictors of Social Cohesion Scores.

Summary of the relationship between GE, GEC, and SC for teachers. Qualitative results from interviews and observations triangulated the positive relationship between GE, GEC, and SC scores. Teachers who demonstrated positive attitudes towards GE also expressed more inclusive perspectives about other ethnic groups and the potential to work towards peace, even those heavily impacted by conflict. For example, participants who had a critical understanding of patriarchy and gender equality often expressed ideas that reflected a more peacebuilding approach to conflict, including the responsibilities of their group members' role in the conflict and what they could do to contribute to peace. Observations of educators who espoused values of GE through their practice were often more peaceful and democratic in the way they ran their schools or classrooms. The few teachers who expressed positive attitudes on GE were often less hierarchical, used more student-centered practices, had more trusting relationships with students, and were less likely to engage in corporal punishment. These qualitative and quantitative findings provide evidence for the critical role of gender equality in social cohesion. However, these results do not show if positive attitudes on gender equality contribute to higher levels of social cohesion, vice-versa, or if there is an iterative relationship.

Student Scores

The following section includes the ANOVA and regression results for students' scores on the Gender Equality (GE), Gendered citizenship (GC), and Social Cohesion (SC) surveys.

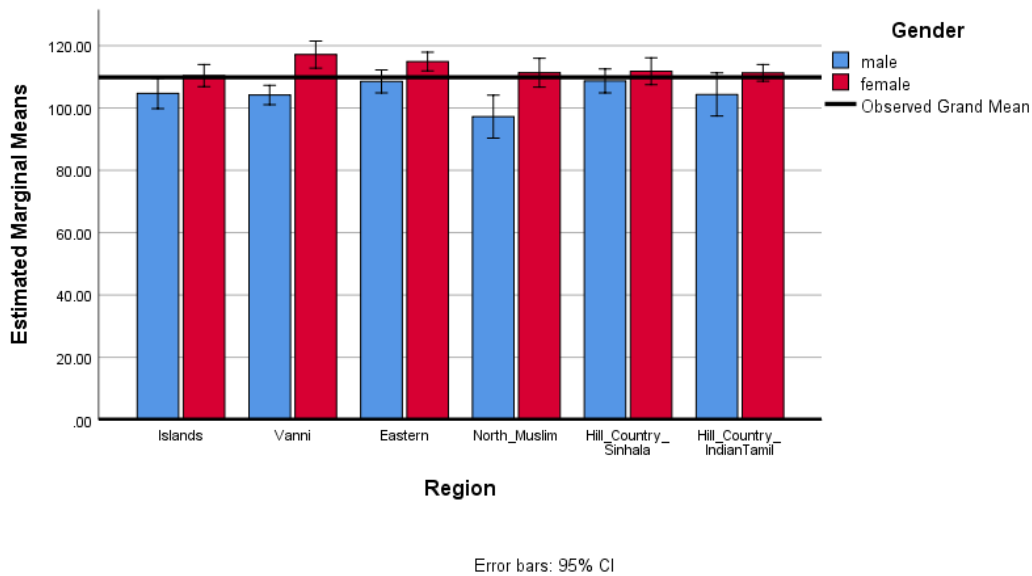
Students' Attitudes on Gender Equality

The survey examined attitudes towards gender equality through a score calculated from 32 Likert questions (1-5 scale). The highest score achievable for positive attitudes on gender equality was 160. After accounting for surveys with incomplete items, a total of 349 surveys were used in the analysis.

Figure 10 and Appendix U display the mean scores for the 13 school sites divided by gender at each school. The overall GE_Score for students across the 13 sites was 109.84 (SD=11.23), a 69 % rating.

Figure 10

Estimated Marginal Means for GE Scores by Region and Gender for Students



To what extent are Gender Equality Scores related to students' gender and region? The null hypothesis was that the variables of school and gender did not impact Gender Equality scores. A two-way analysis of variance was conducted on the influence of the two independent variables (gender, region) on Gender Equity Scores for teachers (

Table 34). Gender included two levels (male and female), and school consisted of 6 levels to reflect each of the six regions. The main effect for gender yielded an F ratio of $(1, 337) = 38.14$, $p < .01$, indicating that the effect of gender was significant for students, males ($M=105.70$, $SD=11.55$) and females ($M=112.68$, $SD=10.01$). The main effect for region yielded an F ratio of $F(5, 337) = 2.59$, $p < .05$, indicating that the effect of region was significant. The interaction effect between region and gender was not significant, $F(5, 337) = 1.86$, $P > .05$.

Post hoc analyses were conducted given the statistically significant omnibus ANOVA F test for region. Hochberg GT2 tests were conducted on all pairwise contrasts. None of the pairs were statistically different; however, these findings should be interpreted with caution given the conservative nature of the Hochberg test and because the omnibus test did find that region was a statistically significant factor in determining GE scores. Thus, there were differences among students from different regions for GE scores; however, the unequal sample size and variance reduced the ability to detect which groups were different.

Table 34

Student Gender Equity Score: two-way ANOVA (region, gender)

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	6444.481 ^b	11	585.862	5.269	.000	.147
Intercept	2985448.402	1	2985448.402	26847.462	.000	.988
Gender	4241.345	1	4241.345	38.141	.000	.102
Region	1438.806	5	287.761	2.588	.026	.037
Gender * Region	1032.876	5	206.575	1.858	.101	.027
Error	37474.534	337	111.200			
Total	4254508.000	349				
Corrected Total	43919.014	348				

a. Type = Students

b. R Squared = .147 (Adjusted R Squared = .119)

Summary of Gender Equality scores for students. The significantly higher GE scores among females in the quantitative analysis are consistent with qualitative findings, which generally showed that most female students, across all schools, were more cognizant of gender inequality and wanted to see changes, suggesting that they had higher levels of GE than male students. Girls' personal experiences often informed these perspectives because women and girls were disproportionately impacted by gender inequality. Region was also a significant factor in GE scores for students, but the quantitative post-hoc analysis was not sensitive enough to pick up which region(s) were significantly different. However, qualitative findings showed that students in the North_Muslim region at schools L and M held strong patriarchal views informed by fixed notions of culture. Muslim students' responses, in particular, indicated restrictions on women's

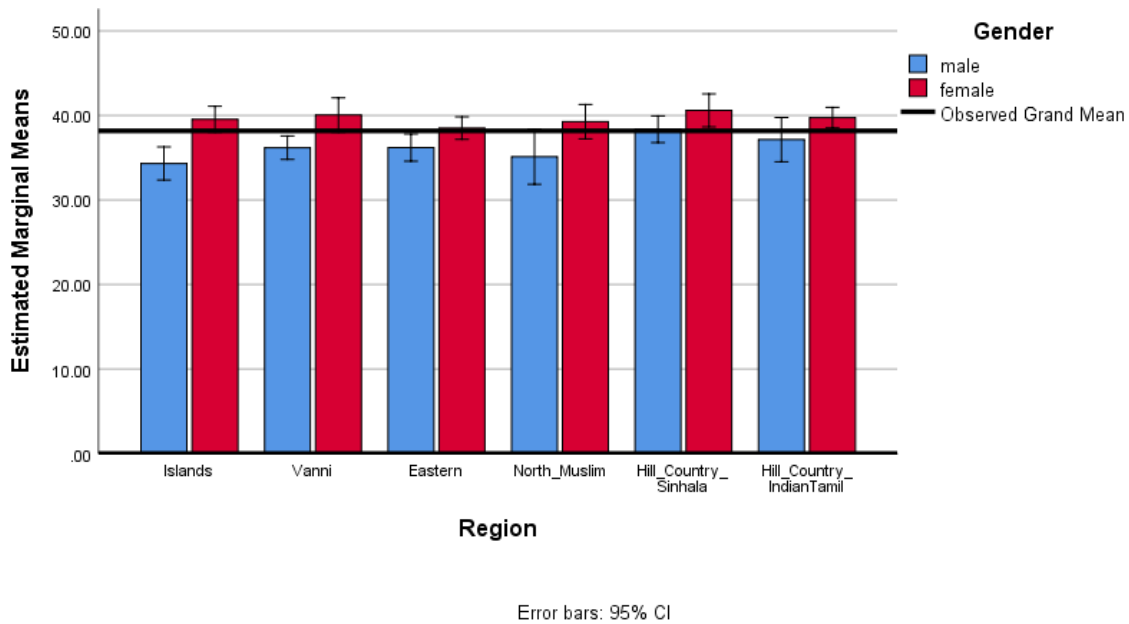
movements, dress, behaviour, and ability to work outside of the home. Although there were no interaction effects between region and gender in the quantitative analysis, the qualitative findings showed that Muslim girls demonstrated a more critical understanding of gender equality than their male counterparts.

Students' Attitudes on Gendered Equitable Citizenship

The survey examined students' attitudes towards Gender Equitable Citizenship through a score calculated from 10 Likert questions (1-5 scale). The highest score achievable for positive attitudes on gender equitable citizenship was 50. Figure 11 and Appendix V show the mean scores for male and female students in each region in relation to the grand mean for all the surveys. After accounting for surveys with incomplete items, 403 student surveys were used in the analysis. The mean GEC_Score for the 403 surveys was 38.17 (*SD*=5.22), 76 % rating.

Figure 11

Estimated Marginal Means for GEC Score by Gender and Region for Students



To what extent are Gender Equitable Citizenship Scores related to students' gender and region? The null hypothesis was that the variables *region* and *gender* did not impact Gender Equitable Citizenship scores. A two-way analysis of variance was conducted on the influence of the two independent variables (gender, region) on Gender Equitable Citizenship Scores for students (

Table 35). Gender included two levels (male and female), and region consisted of 6 levels to reflect each of the six regions. The main effect for gender yielded an F ratio of (1, 391) = 34.93, $p < .01$, indicating that the effect of gender was significant for students GEC scores. Males had significantly lower GEC scores ($M=36.42$, $SD=5.17$) than females ($M=39.49$, $SD=4.87$). The main effect for region yielded an F ratio of $F(5, 391) = 2.15$, $p = .059$, indicating that the effect of region was marginally significant. The interaction effect between region and gender was not significant, $F(5, 391) = .90$, $P > .05$.

Table 35

Students' Gender Equitable Citizenship Score: two-way ANOVA (region, gender)

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	1311.900 ^b	11	119.264	4.831	.000	.120
Intercept	429750.627	1	429750.627	17406.766	.000	.978
Gender	862.276	1	862.276	34.926	.000	.082
Region	265.114	5	53.023	2.148	.059	.027
Gender * Region	111.351	5	22.270	.902	.480	.011
Error	9653.286	391	24.689			
Total	598153.000	403				
Corrected Total	10965.186	402				

a. Type = Students

b. R Squared = .120 (Adjusted R Squared = .095)

Summary of Gender Equitable Citizenship results for students. For students, there were statistically significant differences between males and females on GEC scores; female students scored higher than male students. The higher level of Gender Equitable Citizenship among girls is consistent with qualitative observations and interviews, which showed that girls from all regions could identify barriers to their engagement within school and society and wanted to see changes. This contrasted with most boys who rarely recognized challenges faced by girls

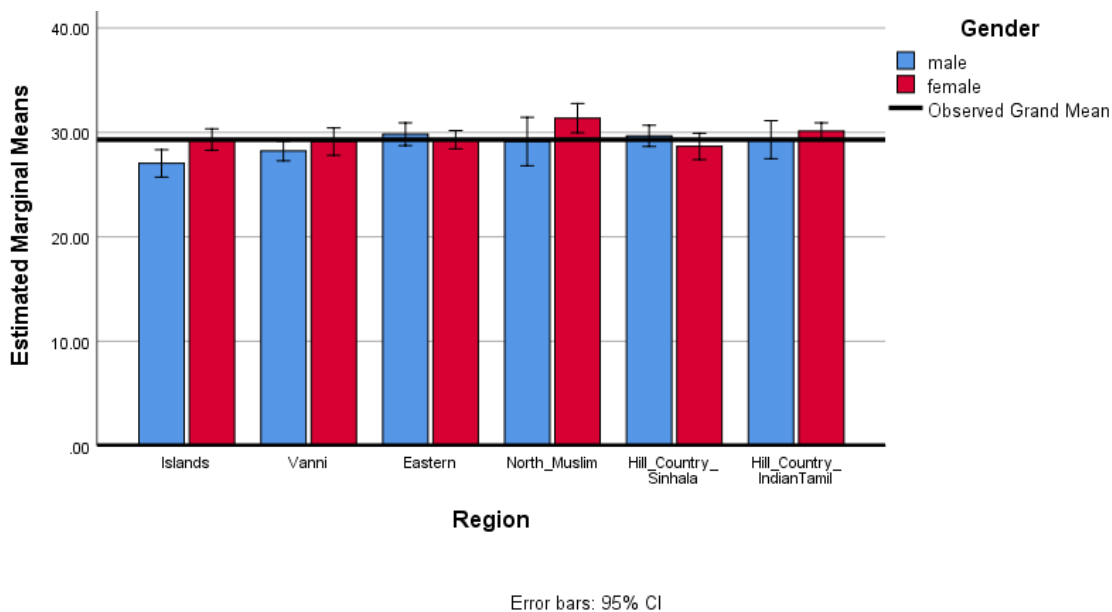
based on Liberal feminist notions that women and girls had access to all their rights because they were able to attend school and work outside of the home. Boys also lacked awareness of how gender inequality impacted them, particularly as it related to violence in the school. Other boys were more influenced by gender norms based on culture and felt that civic engagement should be different for men and women.

Students' Attitudes on Social Cohesion

The survey examined students' attitudes on social cohesion through a score calculated from 7 Likert questions (1-5 scale). The highest score achievable for positive attitudes on social cohesion was 35. After accounting for surveys with incomplete items, a total of 403 surveys were used in the analysis. The mean SC_Score for the 403 surveys was 29.30 ($SD=3.42$), an 84 % rating. Figure 12 and Appendix W show the mean scores for male and female students in each region in relation to the grand mean for all the surveys.

Figure 12

Estimated Marginal Means for SC Scores by Gender and Region for Students



To what extent are Social Cohesion Scores related to participants' gender and region? The null hypothesis was that the variables *region* and *gender* did not impact Social Cohesion scores for students. A two-way analysis of variance was conducted on the influence of the two independent variables (gender, region) on Social Cohesion Scores for students (

Table 36). Gender included two levels (male and female), and school consisted of 6 levels to reflect each of the six regions. The main effect for gender yielded an F ratio of (1, 398) = 4.00, $p < .05$, indicating that the effect of gender was significant. Males ($M=28.86$, $SD=4.04$) had lower social cohesion scores than females ($M=29.63$, $SD=2.85$). The main effect for region yielded an F ratio of $F(5, 398) = 2.35$, $p < .05$, indicating it was significant. The interaction effect (Figure 13) between region and gender was also significant, $F(5, 398) = 2.35$, $P < .05$.

Table 36

Student Social Cohesion Score: two-way ANOVA (region, gender)

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	350.331 ^b	11	31.848	2.858	.001	.073
Intercept	249618.212	1	249618.212	22401.182	.000	.983
Gender	44.638	1	44.638	4.006	.046	.010
Region	131.004	5	26.201	2.351	.040	.029
Gender * Region	130.647	5	26.129	2.345	.041	.029
Error	4434.947	398	11.143			
Total	356942.000	410				
Corrected Total	4785.278	409				

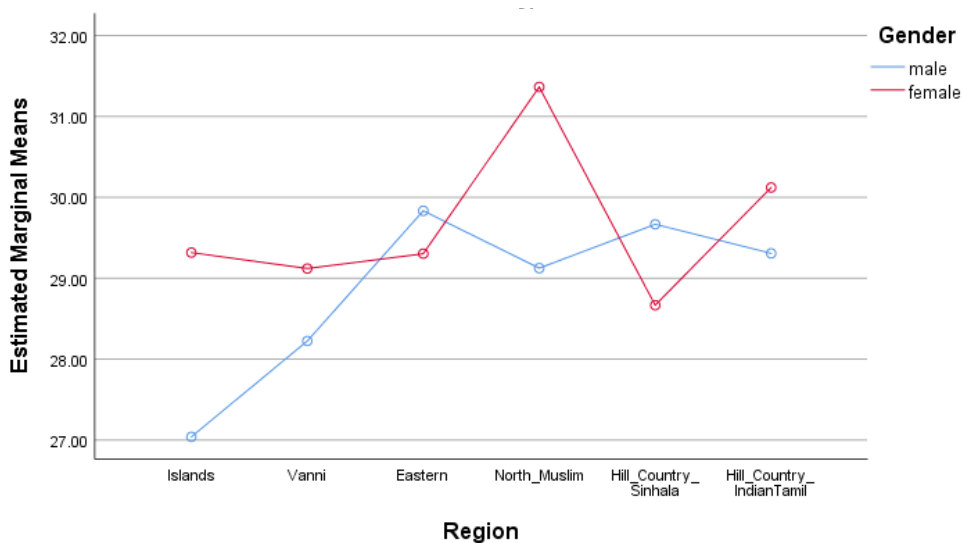
a. Type = Students

b. R Squared = .073 (Adjusted R Squared = .048)

Post hoc analyses were conducted given the statistically significant omnibus ANOVA F test for region. Specifically, Hochberg GT2 tests were conducted on all pairwise contrasts. There was one statistically significant pair; all other pairwise comparisons were not significant. Students in the North Muslim region ($M=30.77$, $SD=2.70$) had significantly greater SC scores than students in both the Vanni region ($M=28.53$, $SD=4.23$) and the Islands ($M=28.45$, $SD=3.08$) $p<.05$. These differences were present even when accounting for the error variance in the data sets through the Games-Howell post-hoc test.

Given that there was a statistically significant interaction effect between gender and region (Figure 13), a simple-effect analysis was conducted. In the Island region, female students ($M=29.31$, $SD=1.91$) had significantly higher SC scores than male students ($M=27.04$, $SD=4.04$) $p<.01$. Similarly, in the North Muslim region, female students ($M=31.36$, $SD=2.52$) had significantly greater SC scores than male students ($M=29.13$, $SD=2.64$) $p<.05$.

Figure 13
Interaction Effect (Gender & Region) for Student SC Scores



To what extent does exposure to conflict impact Social Cohesion for students. In order to discern whether exposure to direct conflict impacted social cohesion scores, planned T-tests were conducted on Social Cohesion scores between students at schools in the war-affected regions and those in schools that had not experienced direct conflict to understand the relationship between overt conflict (war) and Social Cohesion scores. The null hypothesis was that there was no difference between Social Cohesion scores for students from schools in the war-affected areas (Schools A, B, C, D, E, F, L, and M) and schools in areas that were conflict free (Schools G, H, I, J, K). Results showed that students living in war-affected regions ($M=29.11$, $SD=3.54$) had lower Social Cohesion scores compared to their peers living in conflict free zones ($M=29.66$, $SD=3.1$); however, these differences were not significant $t(408)=-1.56$, $p<.05$.

Summary of Social Cohesion results for students. The lack of significance of conflict on social cohesion among students points to more complex factors associated with students' attitudes on social cohesion. The statistically higher SC score among girls than boys was consistent with findings from the qualitative data, which showed that girls generally had more positive attitudes about bringing about social change in society and demonstrated higher levels of agency. Ethnic Tamil girls impacted by war and conflict were particularly interested in engaging in social justice to achieve peace. Boys generally expressed less agency, particularly ethnic Tamil boys, or held more exclusionary attitudes. For example, some Sinhalese boys could not understand why it was important to have the right to sing the anthem in Tamil and Sinhala. They were also more likely to express attitudes influenced by harmful masculinities related to military might by focusing on the defeat of the LTTE and Sinhalese nationalism. Ethnic Tamil boys impacted by the war were often less hopeful of achieving equal rights and having a unified country. The impact of military occupation, economic hardship, community, and school-level violence impacted their sense of agency and trust in the state.

Region had a significant effect on Social Cohesion scores. Students in the North Muslim region had significantly higher SC scores than students in both the Vanni region and the Island region. These results complement the qualitative differences between the regions with respect to students' level of agency in obtaining rights and greater affinity to a Sri Lankan identity. Muslim students from the North_Muslim region reported having access to most of their rights, demonstrated higher levels of agency, and were more likely to identify as Sri Lankan citizens.

Contrasting, ethnic Tamils from the Vanni and Island regions demonstrated less agency in obtaining rights and felt excluded from Sri Lankan citizenship. There was also a significant interaction effect between gender and region. Girls from the Island and North-Muslim regions had significantly higher SC scores than male students, which speaks to the gender differences in social cohesion among students. Agency was an important aspect of social cohesion. All three regions were impacted by conflict, but only students in the North Muslim region expressed higher levels of social cohesion. The interaction effects related to gender and region within the war-affected regions points to why the t-test on exposure to conflict did not find a significant difference in students' level of SC. Exposure to war was one of many factors that contributed to lower levels of social cohesion among students.

Relationships Between GE, GEC, and SC for Students

To what extent are students' attitudes on gender equality and gender equitable citizenship related to social cohesion? In order to understand the relationship between Social Cohesion with Gender Equality and Gender Equitable Citizenship, a multiple regression analysis was conducted between Social Cohesion scores (dependent variable) with Gender Equality and Gender Equitable Citizenship (independent variables) scores for students (Appendix T). The null hypothesis was that Gender Equity and Gender Equitable Citizenship scores do not predict Social Cohesion scores for students. A significant regression equation was found ($F(2,)=35.72$, $p<.000$), with an R^2 of .18. Social cohesion scores are equal to $15.03 + .04GE + .25GEC$. Social cohesion scores increased by .04 for each score in Gender Equity and .25 for each score in Gender Equitable Citizenship. Both Gender Equity and Gender Equitable Citizenship scores were significant predictors of Social Cohesion Scores for students.

Summary of the relationship between GE, GEC, and SC for students. The positive relationship between GE, GEC, and SC scores among teachers was also present among students. Furthermore, qualitative findings strongly supported the predictive factors of GE and GEC of SC among students. Students who had a more critical and nuanced understanding of GE expressed more social justice perspectives related to social cohesion. Contrastingly, students who demonstrated less critical perspectives on GE were more likely to engage in behaviours associated with harmful masculinities, express lower levels of empathy for others, and were more likely to take a peacekeeping approach to social cohesion and national unity.

Relationship Between Teachers' and Students' SC, GE, GEC Scores

In order to understand if students' perspectives on gender equality and social cohesion reflect their teachers' perspectives, independent t-tests were conducted for each school between teachers' and students' scores. The null hypothesis is that there are no differences in the mean scores of GE, GEC, and SC between teachers and students at each of the 13 schools.

Students' and Teachers' GE Scores

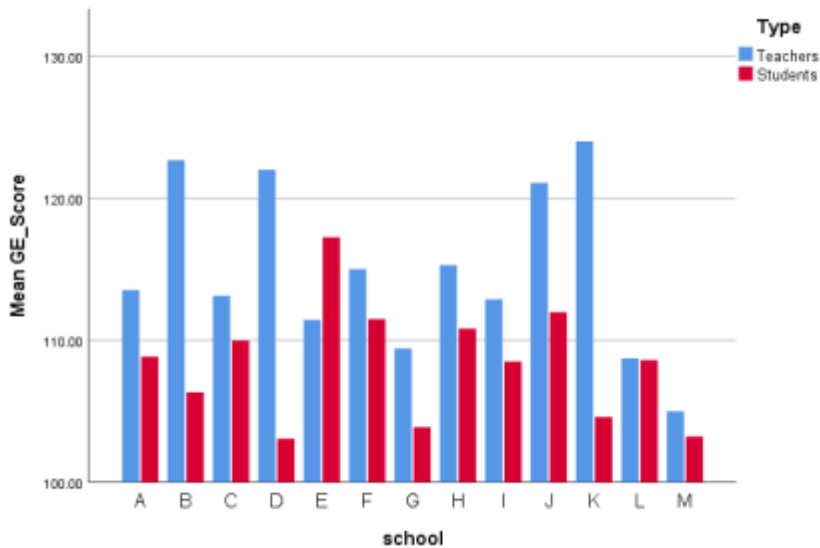
In comparing mean GE scores between all teachers and all students, teachers ($M=113.96$, $SD=12.06$) had significantly higher levels than students ($M=109.84$, $SD=11.23$); $t(510)=3.78$, $p<.01$ (

Figure 14

Figure 14 and Appendix X). In the following schools, these differences were statistically significant: At the smaller school B in the Island region, teachers ($M=122.67$, $SD=14.74$) scored higher than students ($M=106.33$, $SD=6.76$); $t(10)=2.74$, $p<.05$. At the small school D in the Vanni region, teachers ($M=122.00$, $SD=14.78$) scored higher than students ($M=103.07$, $SD=11.50$); $t(17)=2.94$, $p<.01$. At the large Sinhala medium school J in the Up Country region, teachers ($M=121.07$, $SD=17.92$) scored higher than students ($M=111.97$, $SD=10.03$); $t(46)=2.25$, $p<.05$. In school K, teachers ($M=124.00$, $SD=10.46$) had higher GE scores than students ($M=104.6$, $SD=6.11$), $t(10)=3.70$, $p<.01$.

Figure 14

GE Means for students and teachers at 13 school sites



Summary of the relationship between teachers' and students' GE scores. Overall, teachers had significantly higher Gender Equity scores than students. These findings reflect overall patterns in the qualitative data, which showed that teachers were generally able to speak more critically about GE roles and relationships from both their education and life experiences. Teachers' scores, which were significantly higher than students', at schools B, D, and K. These schools had received training on GE issues from NGOs. These findings suggest that training does impact attitudes about GE among teachers. Education and training on GE issues also impacted students. School E, a rural school that had received training on GE issues at the school and community level through an NGO, was the only school where students had higher GE scores than their teachers. Though this difference was not significant, the slight difference could reflect the extensive work done by an NGO on gender equality for students and families in the community over several years. The high ratio of female students in the grade 11 class and the influence of a highly empowering female vice principal, who had received significant training from the NGO and boarded at the school, could have contributed to higher GE levels among students. These results indicate that training is related to more critical perspectives on GE, particularly among female students.

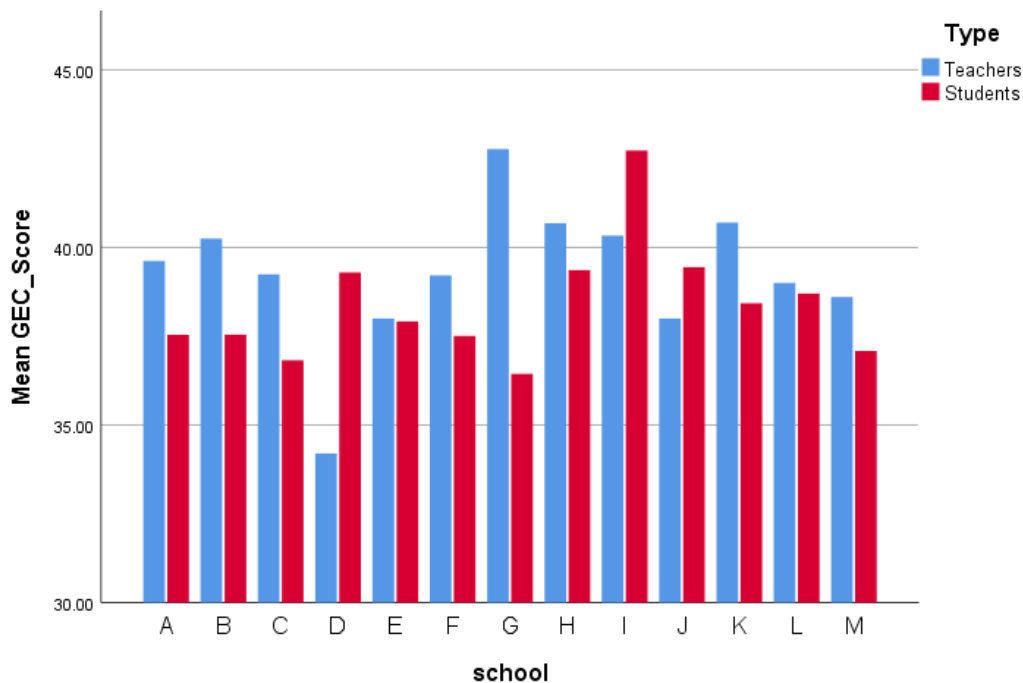
Students' and Teachers' GEC Scores

In comparing mean GEC scores between all teachers and all students, teachers (M=39.45, SD=5.00) had significantly higher levels than students (M=38.17, SD=5.22); $t(591)=2.83, p<.01$ (Figure 15 and Appendix Y). Thus, teachers demonstrated higher levels of Gender Equitable

Citizenship than students overall. When looking at specific schools, the differences varied, with only the following having statistically significant results. At the large school in the Vanni region, school C, teachers ($M=39.24$, $SD=3.65$) had significantly higher GEC scores than students ($M=36.82$, $SD=.488$); $t(87)=2.47$, $p<.05$. Contrastingly at the smaller school in the Vanni region, school D, teachers ($M=34.20$, $SD=3.42$) had significantly lower GEC scores than students ($M=39.29$, $SD=4.57$); $t(20)=-2.30$, $p<.05$. Last, at the Sinhala medium school in the Up Country region, School G, teachers ($M=42.77$, $SD=4.66$) had significantly higher GEC scores than students ($M=36.43$, $SD=3.83$); $t(27)=4.02$, $p<.00$.

Figure 15

GEC Score Means for students and teachers at 13 school sites



Summary of the relationship between teachers' and students' GEC scores. Teachers' significantly higher GEC scores than students across the regions reflect patterns in GE between students and teachers. Teachers had statistically higher levels of GEC than students in the schools C. The school had a large number of teachers who were bussed in from outside of the region due to a shortage of local teachers. This difference between participants may explain the significant difference between teachers and students. Qualitative interviews and observations also found that students in school C faced several challenges, including high levels of poverty, trauma from war, lack of safety in their communities, lack of adequate housing, militarization,

high levels of corporal punishment, and low social mobility. The lack of security for women and girls, military occupation, and low levels of social mobility severely impacted the ability of women and girls to engage as citizens safely. The higher GEC score among students compared to their teachers at school D could not be explained by qualitative findings, other than the fact that most of the teachers were from the Vanni region had experienced many of the challenges the students at school C and D faced.

Teachers at Sinhalese medium school G also had significantly higher GEC scores than students. Like the Vanni region, there was a significant demographic difference between teachers and students at school G. All the teachers from school G were middle class and Sinhalese, except the Tamil language teacher, who was also from the middle class. Contrastingly, the student population came from predominantly working-class families that lived and worked on the tea estates. Thus, similar to their peers in the Vanni region, they did not have access to the same levels of social mobility that could support their full engagement as citizens.

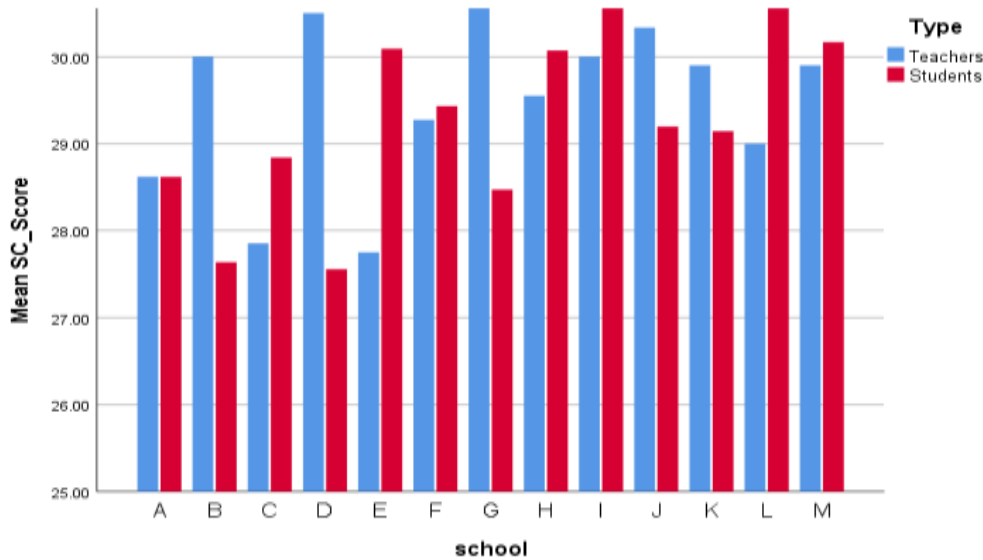
Students' and Teachers' SC Scores

In comparing mean SC scores between all teachers and all students, there was no statistically significant difference between teachers' ($M=29.26$, $SD=3.07$) and students' ($M=29.31$, $SD=3.42$) Social Cohesion scores (Figure 16

Figure 16 and Appendix Z). As such, teachers and students generally demonstrated similar levels of social cohesion across all the schools. Looking within schools, schools D, G, and L had significant differences between teachers and students. At the smaller school in the Vanni region, school D, teachers ($M=30.0$, $SD=1.76$) had significantly higher SC scores than students ($M=27.56$, $SD=4.14$); $t(20)= 1.67$, $p<.05$. Similarly, at the small Sinhala school G in the Up Country region, teachers ($M=30.93$, $SD=1.00$) had significantly higher SC scores than students ($M=28.47$, $SD=3.41$); $t(19)= 2.83$, $p<.05$. Contrastingly, at the large school L in the Muslim region, teachers ($M=29.00$, $SD=2.89$) had significantly lower SC scores than students ($M=31.17$, $SD=3.11$); $t(35)= -2.20$ $p<.05$.

Figure 16

SC Score Means for Students and Teachers at 13 School Sites



Summary of the relationship between teachers' and students' SC scores. Overall, teachers and students demonstrated similar levels on the Social Cohesion scale. At the school level, there were significant differences between teachers and students at D, L, and G. Qualitative findings showed similar patterns of difference in attitudes on social cohesion at the three schools. At school D, even though both teachers and students had experienced high levels of conflict in the Vanni region, students predominantly came from highly impoverished families. Their teachers were often from middle-class households. Consequently, poverty and war worked in tandem to reduce the sense of agency students had about social mobility and achieving peace. Contrastingly, at school L, students had significantly higher SC scores than teachers. Qualitative findings reflect this difference in agency among a largely Muslim student body versus a diverse teaching faculty with a substantial percentage of ethnic Tamils, who generally demonstrated lower levels of agency and, consequently, social cohesion. Ethnic and economic differences between teachers and students also impacted social cohesion scores at School G, where teachers' SC scores were significantly higher than students. Teachers at school G were predominantly middle to upper-class, and Singhalese and students were either Singhalese, Indian-Tamil, Muslim, or mixed race. For the most part, students came from working-class homes of estate workers. These quantitative differences further confirm the qualitative observations of the negative impact of exposure to war and poverty on participants' levels of social cohesion.

CHAPTER 9

Discussion, Conclusions, and Call to Action

This chapter brings together the qualitative and quantitative findings of this study in a joint display of themes (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017) (Table 37) to answer the research questions: To what extent does formal education in Sri Lanka contribute to inclusive democratic citizenship and gender equality in the context of the government's overriding goal of fostering nation-wide social cohesion through education in the aftermath of a bitter civil war? This study addresses this main research question through the following three sub-questions:

1. How are citizenship and gender equality represented in the formal curriculum, as exemplified in the Grades 6 – 9 Civics textbooks?
2. To what extent do interactions among teachers and students in the thirteen diverse school settings reinforce or contradict the two dimensions of social cohesion, inclusive democratic citizenship, and gender equality?
3. What are teachers' and students' perceptions in the thirteen diverse school settings regarding the notion of citizenship and gender equality?

The findings are organized along the six indicators identified in the conceptual framework: social interactions and relations, approaches to conflict, agency, approach to equality, approach to identity, and approach to reconciliation. This discussion draws on the list of indicators elucidated from the literature review which uses the relationship between the of inclusion and democratic components of “Inclusive Democratic Citizenship”. The inclusion and democratic components act as the meta themes, the first serving to examine what inclusive citizenship entails and the latter examining the processes that uphold inclusive citizenship.

By triangulating the different sources of analyzed data, this chapter shows that although there has been some movement towards promoting values of social cohesion through citizenship education in Sri Lanka, patriarchy, belligerent citizenship, and identity-based nationalism counter these efforts through educational practices that foster exclusion and authoritarianism. The patriarchal aspects of education and schooling that contribute to violence and how this violence further reinforces gender divisions and contributes to more violence is evidence of the iterative and synergistic relationship between gender inequality and other forms of societal conflict. Note, (+) means increased/high and (-) means decreased/low in Table 37.

In bringing together the qualitative and quantitative data, it is important to note that the scores reported on all the scales (GE, GEC and SC) were generally positive in the sense that the means were above the mid-point on the Likert scale. The positive scores on the scales do reflect at some level participants' responses on interviews. Participants generally had favorable initial (knee jerk) responses about GE, SC, GEC. However, it is often when follow up questions came that underlying ideologies became more apparent; these discrepancies will be explored in detail in the following sections. The next section will also highlight how patterns and relationships between scores and within scores (gender, region, role, conflict level etc.) mirrored qualitative results.

Table 37 Joint Display of Themes to Merge of Qualitative and Quantitative Data

Indicators	Quantitative Surveys	Qualitative- Observations	Qualitative - Interviews	Qualitative -Textbook
Interactions (deliberation & dialogue vs. obedience)	No difference between male and female teachers on GE and GEC	Hierarchical & patriarchal; Limited interaction between sexes; Punitive; Exam & competition culture;	The personally responsible citizen; Authoritative leadership; Patriarchy; GE based on obedience; Corporal punishment	Hierarchical relationships; Patriarchal culture; Will of the majority; Culture a barrier to deliberation; hegemonic relationships; Prescriptive
Approaches to Conflict (positive conflict vs. negative peace)	Girls have higher levels of GE, GEC, and SC; Girls in Island and North Muslim region had greater SC levels than boys	Exam & competition culture; Teacher-centered pedagogy; omission of conflict; negative peace approach to gender relations; marginalization; exposure to war/militarization reduced conflict talk;	Limited critical thinking; conflict avoidance; utilitarian goal of education; limited discussion of GE; control to prevent SGBV; girls more likely to recognize and talk about inequity in schools	Inner peace & interpersonal conflict resolution; prescriptive instructions on peacekeeping; tolerance of difference; omission of conflict; limited opportunities for critical discussion/analysis
Agency (resilience & empathy vs. apathy & indifference)	North Muslim region students have higher SC than Vanni and Islands; Participants in high conflict areas have lower SC	Agency related to national identity; exposure to war/violence (-); marginalization linked to empathy; lack of knowledge of equity (-); militarization	Education (+); Muslim participants (+); trauma & learned helplessness (-); limited empathy for minorities; critical reflection +); cultural essentialism (-); girls-higher levels of agency	Status quo; no way to challenge structural violence; maintain the peace; no representation of marginalization; agency limited to utilitarian goal of education; will of majority
Approach to Equality (equal rights vs. inequity and injustice)	GE and GEC levels can be used to predict SC levels	Minority schools more inclusive; patriarchal culture barrier to GE; SGBV; corporal punishment	Sinhala Buddhist hegemony; Islamophobia; minorities second class citizens; child rights; limited knowledge of GE; equal access over equity	Exclusion of minority groups and their contributions; positive representation of diversity; tokenism; false representation of equality
Approach to Identity (secure & flexible vs. fixed & essentialized)	Teachers in North Muslim schools have lower GE levels than Indian Tamil schools	Fixed cultural/gender identity linked to lower SC; insecure identity; assimilative citizenship; hypermasculine/feminine roles;	Culture fixed & prescriptive; Singhalese Buddhist hegemony; patriotism; lack of secure identity; cultural/gender essentialism; flexible identity increase SC;	Fixed & essentialized cultural/gender identities; ethnic/linguistic/religious hegemony; masculine/feminine gender roles; safeguarding identity;
Approach to Reconciliation (social justice vs cultural violence)	Teachers at school D & G have greater SC than students; Participants in high conflict areas have lower SC	Low recognition of marginalized experiences; GE training improved equity; understanding of inequity increased social justice; no discussion of conflict/war	Cultural violence; state legitimacy & SGBV; no acknowledgement of privilege; unequal resource distribution; exam culture; inequality not acknowledged	False claims of peace and equality; omission of war and gender inequality; multiculturalism masks inequality; militarization

Exclusionary Citizenship - Insecure, Essentialized, and Hegemonic Identities

Exclusionary forms of citizenship, including gender inequality, in education, exacerbate many of the factors that contribute to weakening a society's resilience to conflict. This study's findings confirm the critical role of gender equality for social cohesion noted by other researchers. The exclusion of particular members of society, particularly women and girls, leads to social instability, violence, low levels of social trust, and, consequently, high levels of conflict (Caprioli, 2000; Green et al., 2006; Haider, 2012; Novelli et al., 2016). Results show that patriarchal school cultures contributed to fostering exclusionary forms of citizenship with respect to how they addressed 1) equality, 2) citizenship identity, and 3) inequity through the formal and informal curriculum.

Approaches to Identity

Identity-based patriotism, fixed gender roles, and cultural and gender essentialism contributed to a hegemonic form of Sri Lankan citizenship identity, which was often male, militaristic, Sinhalese, and Buddhist. The document analysis, interviews, and observations show that when the curriculum, both formal and informal, fails to foster secure and flexible citizenship identity, particularly cultural and gender identity, education's ability to contribute to democratic peace and social cohesion is severely limited.

The government's efforts to retain the special status accorded to the Buddhist religion, Sinhalese ethnicity, and the Sinhala language, while attempting to promote a superordinate Sri Lankan national identity through the LCCE textbooks, excludes minorities and contributes to harmful forms of nationalism. The Sinhalese-Buddhist hegemony in the curriculum contributed to antagonizing minority groups' ethnic, religious, and linguistic identities. The textbooks' tokenistic nod to minorities through multiculturalism fails to foster the secure identity needed for minority groups. Niens & Chastenay (2008) argue that attempts to promote superordinate national identities in culturally diverse societies experiencing conflict are often perceived as assimilative by minority groups. Qualitative interviews with minority educators and students revealed that they felt their identities, experiences, and contributions were excluded from the citizenship textbooks by the Sinhalese majority to subordinate them into a second class citizens. School observations revealed that minority schools often resisted these assimilative forms of nationalism by focusing on local group affiliations rather than national ones. These acts of resistance included singing a school song in Tamil rather than the national anthem, which is only

permitted to be sung in Sinhalese. Among some Sinhalese students, the LCCE textbooks' hegemonic representation of citizenship contributed to exclusionary attitudes, such as an aversion to a bilingual national anthem, racist and discriminatory attitudes, and a lack of empathy for other groups. As such, the impact of identity-based citizenship in the LCCE textbooks among both minority and majority students are reflective of Ben-Porath's (2006) assertion that when states use identity as the basis for belonging to the nation-state, nationalism often ends up being a divisive endeavour given identity's intrinsically exclusionary nature.

The fixed representations of cultural identity in the LCCE textbooks illustrate how uncritical multicultural education can contribute to essentialized notions of identity based on culture, ethnicity, and or religion rather than the shared fate approach recommended by Ben-Porath (2006). Participants who viewed culture as definitive, absolute, and needing protection from corruption also had less tolerant views of other groups and believed it would be challenging to live peacefully with those from different cultures. These views were often influenced by the fear that members from other cultural groups would cause conflict or corrupt their own culture. This form of cultural protectionism was evident in the ethnic Tamil principal's practice of limiting the number of Muslim boys who attended his predominantly Hindu and Christian school. Within schools, boundaries between groups were reified through the guise of preserving cultural identity. However, both Davies (2008) and Yuval-Davis (1997) note that these fixed conceptualizations of cultural identity, often found in multicultural approaches to citizenship, emphasized learning about differences over learning on how to dialogue across differences. In fact, Yuval-Davis (1997) argues that multicultural policies are often intended to simultaneously include and exclude minority groups by relegating them to marginalized spaces, all the while reinforcing these boundaries. Contrastingly, an understanding of culture as something that has and continues to change allowed participants to question practices that were barriers to developing mutual understanding needed to work towards collective goals in society. A small number of Sinhalese and ethnic Tamil participants who were able to critically examine Sinhalese nationalism or Tamil separatism, respectively, without feeling like they were betraying their ethnic group, were more open to understanding others' perspectives and advocating for change. The more critical view of their group and agency for peace can be explained with Davies' (2011c) argument that a malleable approach to cultural and national identity makes it possible to hold governments accountable to individuals and groups without

being perceived as attacking the state. Consequently, there is a need for both the formal and informal curriculum to approach learning about culture and its relationship to identity as an incomplete process that continues to change over time. Furthermore, schools and classrooms need to become dialogical spaces, where members of the minority and majority can engage in interruptive forms of democracy without being perceived as separatists, terrorists, or unpatriotic. This form of pedagogy can only occur if citizenship is taught from a shared-fate perspective rather than nationalism based on cultural or ethnic identity.

A fixed understanding of cultural identity also fostered traditional gender roles and contributed to gender inequality through cultural essentialism. Across all the regions, participants spoke about culture as a system of beliefs and practices that could not be altered or comprised for the sake of gender equality. In Sri Lanka, such stagnant views of culture are responsible for undermining Muslim women's efforts to obtain equal rights within their community and the state. Cultural barriers to gender equality were not exclusive to the Muslim community, though they were more openly expressed in Muslim participants' interviews. Quantitative results also showed that although there were no large disparities between gender equality levels among educators between the different regions, educators in schools within the North Muslim region had significantly lower GE scores than schools in the Up Country Indian Tamil region. These quantitative findings are not meant to be generalized to suggest that Muslim teachers have lower GE levels than teachers from other ethnicities because both schools in the North Muslim region had Christian and Hindu ethnic Tamil teachers. Many teachers and students, both Muslim and non-Muslim, particularly at the larger school in the North Muslim region, expressed highly gender inequitable views around SGBV and the control of women's bodies and movements based on their respective cultural understanding of gender roles. Women were often viewed as the physical embodiment of cultural identity by participants from all ethnic groups. For these participants, there was a need to protect and regulate women and girls just as there was a need to protect and safeguard culture. This relationship provides further evidence that a fixed approach to culture acts as a barrier to both peace and gender equality.

The iterative relationship between preserving cultural identity and regulating women was magnified by conflict. Military occupation, SGBV, corporal punishment, patriarchal school cultures, and large schools with a strong exam culture increased levels of conflict and violence in schools within the war-affected region. These factors contributed to gendered expectations and

fostered hypermasculine and hyperfeminine roles for boys and girls, respectively. The impact of this was a tighter control of girls and grooming boys into behaviours associated with harmful forms of masculinities. These findings are in line with Shalhoub-Kevorkian's (2008) assertion that conflict makes a society more prone to controlling women's bodies to "preserve and protect a culture from external threat and possible extinction" (p. 195). This protectionist view reflects the current state and societal control of women and girls and the regulations enforced by LTTE in the past. Education was complicit in transmitting this message through the formal and informal curriculum from the representation of women and girls in traditional clothing in the LCCE textbooks to regulating their behaviours in the school and classroom spaces in the war-affected regions. These observations strongly reflect Ben-Porath's (2006) argument that schools often vigorously promote societies' tendencies to default to traditional gender roles and division of labour during war and protracted conflict. This study demonstrates this tendency but also illustrates how the need to control women is also linked to the degree of exposure to violence and conflict through the more gendered forms of citizenship within schools in the war-affected regions.

Approaches to Equality

Teachers' and administrators' approach to the equitable inclusion of all their students determined whether education played a transformative or accomplice role in conflict. Interruptive democracy presupposes rights for all (Davies, 2008); however, across the observed schools, many marginalized groups, including women and girls, considered themselves second class citizens because they had limited access to their fundamental human rights. Identity-based patriotism, patriarchal school cultures, and belligerent forms of citizenship not only excluded minority students from accessing their rights, but it also normalized these exclusions through the formal and informal curriculum. Belligerent approaches to citizenship among some educators frequently undermined the linguistic, religious, and social rights of minority students. One of the most divisive forms of inequality noted by ethnic Tamil and Indian-Tamil participants was the perceived unequal distribution of quality education, which was and continues to be a contributor to education's accomplice role in conflict in Sri Lanka.

Students and teachers viewed school as a space to build unity among the different groups within the mixed schools in the Hill-Country regions. However, mixed schools were also spaces where the notion that different ethnic groups learning together could facilitate peace failed due to

exclusionary practices and racism from teachers and students alike. Though there were some benefits to having children learn about each others' culture, language, and religion, without an explicit anti-discriminatory approach to education and schooling, most educators reinforced existing structures of power and exclusion. These exclusions were often whitewashed with the rhetoric of learning about each others' cultures, co-existing with the ethnic other, and the positive role of education and schooling as a force for peace and unity. Singhalese-Buddhist hegemony not only contributed to educators' racist and exclusionary practices against minority students, but it was also used to justify them. Educators' understanding of Sri Lankan citizenship rooted in identity-based nationalism often meant that they expected minority students to compromise aspects of their linguistic and religious identity when attending a Sinhala medium school. One Singhalese educator's response to offering Muslim students a prayer space at his school, "One way, one country. This school has only one language, and one religion," sums up many Singhalese educators' belligerent approach to citizenship and minority rights. This approach to citizenship was consistent with the message on democracy in the LCCE textbooks that encourage students to acquiesce to the majority's will to keep the peace. Similarly, just as minority groups' contributions were omitted in the textbooks, minority students' cultural, religious, and linguistic identities were suppressed in school spaces. Both assimilative approaches to citizenship among educators and limited representation of minorities and their contributions in the formal curriculum worked in tandem to promote a Singhalese-Buddhist narrative of Sri Lankan identity. These practices excluded minority students from accessing their rights as citizens and normalized this exclusion, demonstrating how education can become complicit in legitimizing social injustice through structural and cultural violence (Galtung, 1990).

The lack of understanding and empathy for marginalization and identity-based approaches to citizenship in Singhalese schools reflect the broader sociopolitical trend towards belligerent citizenship unfolding in Sri Lanka. Ben-Porath (2006) notes that national vulnerability and security threats distort the relationship between the state and its citizens, particularly around expectations, commitments, rights, and obligations. Decades of war, rising levels of Islamophobia, and the Singhalese minority complex have contributed to a permanent state of national vulnerability and a wartime approach to citizenship within schools. One common view expressed by Singhalese educators was the belief that Muslims were

uncompromising, radical, and growing in numbers too fast. Similar views were found by Fisher & Taub (2019), who noted that the Sinhalese minority complex was contributing to the belief that Muslims were systematically seeking to outbreed and replace the Sinhalese as the majority in Sri Lanka. This view contributed to exclusionary practices against Muslim students by some educators, as noted in the above example. Thus, underlying Islamophobia in schools was the perceived threat of having to share power with minorities as a result of democracy. Interview results showed that participants from all groups expressed Islamophobic views; however, these views were more likely to result in loss of rights for Muslim students at Sinhalese schools. Indian Tamil and Ethnic Tamil educators were less likely to engage in exclusionary practices based on ethnicity or religion. Having experienced discrimination as minorities themselves, Indian and ethnic Tamil participants, though still expressing Islamophobic views, took a more shared fate approach to citizenship in school practices. These findings demonstrate that an understanding of marginalization can contribute to empathy to foster a more shared-fated approach to citizenship that allows groups to overcome their differences and engage in more equitable practices through education.

Qualitative and quantitative findings support existing research on the critical role of gender equality in social cohesion. Surveys of teachers' and students' attitudes showed that high levels of gender equality and gender equitable citizenship were significantly related to higher social cohesion levels. Similar patterns were found in interviews. Participants who recognized that gender equality was a work in progress or identified the negative aspect of patriarchy were also more likely to acknowledge other forms of social injustice such as ethnic or religious inequality and demonstrate some interest and agency in challenging the status quo. These findings demonstrate that the skills needed to understand and empathize with members of the opposite sex may also support working across other forms of division, such as ethnicity or religion. Observations also showed that schools that had more gender-equitable practices were less hierarchical and more cohesive. Contrastingly, schools with strong patriarchal cultures were more authoritarian, restricted interactions between the opposite sexes, and had high levels of harmful masculinities among educators and male students. All these factors contributed to increased levels of school and community violence, particularly in the war-affected regions. Civics textbooks were also complicit in espousing gender inequitable values associated with harmful masculinities, patriarchalism, and militarism, further demonstrating the unique way that

gender inequality can contribute to conflict through education. Hudson et al. (2012) argue that “gender inequality is a form of violence that creates a generalized context of violence and exploitation at the societal level” (p. 5). This study builds on and extends this argument by highlighting that patterns of gender inequality and violence were often magnified in schools within the war-affected regions of Sri Lanka and thereby illustrating the iterative and synergistic relationship between gender inequality and conflict in and through education.

Gender inequality magnified the impact of belligerent citizenship for minority women and girls. Ethnic minority participants often saw themselves as second class citizens, but the women and girls from these communities experienced more significant levels of inequality due to their gender, illustrating the additive effect of race and gender discrimination noted by Crenshaw (1989). These observations echo Yuval-Davis' (1997) argument that women's and girls' rights are not only impacted by the subordinate status of women in patriarchal cultures, but it is also often magnified when it intersects with other subordinate group identity statuses such as ethnicity. For example, due to military occupation and community-level violence, ethnic Tamil girls were more likely to experience SGBV and consequently faced more barriers challenges accessing education. Similarly, the religious exclusion of Muslims disproportionately impacted girls in both Sinhala medium and Tamil medium schools. These exclusionary practices were not seen as issues by educators though Muslim girls strongly voiced them in interviews. The intersection of gender and religious exclusion in schools illustrates how the brotherhood of patriarchy often transcends ethnic or religious differences when it came to the subordination of women and girls.

Participants, both males and females from all ethnic groups, generally supported cultural and/or legal restrictions on women purchasing alcohol, travelling for work overseas if they had an infant, and how women dressed. A significant rights violation frequently mentioned by Muslim girls in interviews was being married at an early age without the opportunity to finish their education. For close to 30 years, Muslim women's groups in Sri Lanka have been pushing for changes to marriage laws that allow exceptions to the legal marriage age of 18 for Muslims. A prominent female Muslim politician noted that “the man-made laws affecting the women of Sri Lanka. It affects both men and women, but the discrimination and difficulties are faced by the Muslim women” (Rodrigo, 2019). Conservative elite Muslims, most often men, have countered the call for these political demands for justice with the argument that they are protecting and

preserving Islamic religion and culture. This resistance is an example of Narayan's (1998) observations on how cultural essentialism can be weaponized by local elites, particularly those with conservative agendas, to keep women and minorities in their place under the guise of preserving and protecting the nation and local culture. The government's apathy in hearing the voices of Muslim women is not only reflective of the patriarchal contract between men that supersedes ethnic lines; it is also evidence of the use of women's rights as a political bargaining chip between powerful Muslim men and the Sinhalese government. These findings demonstrate how in societies impacted by ethnic and religious conflict, cultural essentialism can lead to women's rights becoming politicized and instrumentalized by men from opposing groups with conservative agendas. The state and, consequently, education's complicity in continuing practices that force girls out of school and into marriages, further reduces their capacity to advocate for their rights. The challenges faced by both ethnic Tamil and Muslim girls illustrate the gendered nature of belligerent citizenship and the complicity of patriarchy in driving and normalizing inequality.

A liberal feminist understanding of gender equality undermined social cohesion by perpetuating patriarchy. It contributed to gender essentialism and the consequent belief that gender equality had been achieved in Sri Lanka. Both the formal and informal curriculum contributed to students' and teachers' false belief that GE had been achieved as a result of parity in access to education, the political successes of a few elite women, and more women working outside of the home. Teachers and students noted that gender equality had been achieved because girls were outperforming boys in school; however, there was little consideration given to the challenges faced by boys or the fact that girls were underrepresented in STEM subjects, trends driven by teachers' differential expectations and treatment of boys and girls.

Participants from all ethnic groups often noted that Sri Lanka was the first nation to have a female head of state as evidence that gender equality had been achieved. However, these achievements are not reflective of most women's and girls' experiences, particularly ethnic minorities and women from lower class and castes, and those impacted by poverty and war. Having the world's first female political leader, a woman from the highest strata of race, class and caste, did not make up for Sri Lanka's track record of the lowest levels of political participation among women in South Asia or high levels of SGBV. Narayan (1997, 1998) notes that gender essentialism often overlooks race and class factors when considering the experiences

of gender equality of women in various contexts. The disconnect between the ideal, the success of a few privileged Sri Lankan women, and reality, the experiences of most and/or marginalized women, was evident in the lack of understanding among participants that their personal experiences with SGBV was a form of gender inequality. Yuval-Davies (1997) argues that Liberal feminist approaches to gender equality are often focused on the public sphere, through access to education, political rights, and the right to work outside of the home, but often overlook their rights as citizens in the private sphere, which in this case are women's personal experiences at home, school, and their local community with SGBV. The arbitrary distinction between citizenship rights in the public and private sphere led participants to believe that gender equality could co-exist with essentialized masculine and feminine roles for men and women prescribed by a patriarchal culture. Consequently, there is a need for more explicit discussion on what gender equality is to promote more positive models of masculinity and femininity and challenge gender norms that contribute to harmful masculinities through education. Some educators and students were already beginning to think about the relationship between patriarchy and gender equality, particularly those with some training. These findings suggest that most teachers and students in Sri Lanka are ready to discuss gender equality; however, they need the right forms of support in the form of quality training on these issues.

Approaches to Reconciliation

Education becomes an accomplice to conflict when the formal and informal curriculum normalize ethnic, religious, linguistic, and gender inequality, thereby perpetuating cultural violence. The LCCE textbooks and school and classroom practices were complicit in what Galtung (1990) described as making structural violence look and feel right. This normalization was done predominantly by omitting the topic of social injustice and making false claims of universal equality, which do not reflect Sri Lanka's reality. A critical aspect of the shared fate approach to citizenship is the importance of acknowledgement and forgiveness of past wrongs through education (Ben-Porath, 2006). These two factors are notably absent from the civics textbooks through the omission of the 30-year war and ongoing ethnic, religious, and linguistic conflicts in Sri Lanka today. The LCCE textbooks' portrayal of Sri Lanka as a peaceful nation with equal rights for all and where diverse communities live in harmony with each other was contradicted most participants' experiences. The majority of classroom and school spaces also omitted critical discussions on national conflict, favouring a negative peace approach based on

fear. Studies (Bentrovato & Nissanka, 2018; Lopes Cardozo, 2008) that have examined education's role in Sri Lanka have noted that participants feared and/or avoided discussing controversial topics or including them in the curriculum. This view is also echoed in the ESCP policy document. Although this study found similar results, it also shows that the majority of teachers and students from all the ethnic groups were aware of the associated risks and capable of actively negotiating the risks and benefits of discussing Sri Lanka's national conflict. Furthermore, the lack of knowledge of the war and its root causes among Sinhalese participants contributed to misunderstandings, denial, and mistrust of ethnic Tamils. It also reified divisions through us versus them narratives that prevented the understanding and empathy required for working across divisions. In some cases, Sinhalese participants denied the marginalization experiences of minority groups to maintain their own privilege. The misrepresentation of Sri Lanka's reality and minority experiences was not lost on marginalized participants who saw it as a deliberate attempt by the Sinhalese majority government and people to suppress them from ever obtaining equal status. These findings echo Novelli et al.'s (2016) argument that a failure to recognize and address inequality in education weakens the government's legitimacy and thereby has the potential to fuel further conflict. As such, it is up to policymakers to hear students' and teachers' calls and to recognize Sri Lanka's national conflict in the formal curriculum rather than trying to keep the peace through what Salmi (2000) describes as the violence of omission, which only contributes to resentment and mistrust among Sri Lankans.

Claims of gender equality having been achieved in the LCCE textbooks, and related rhetoric of gender equality in school and classroom practices, also contributed to cultural violence and was linked to societal conflict. An exclusive focus on the positive achievements in gender equality in the formal and informal curriculum contributed to educators overlooking gender inequitable attitudes and practices that contributed to a school culture of harmful masculinities. The curriculum and school practices presented a sanitized and unrealistic version of society that did not meet the needs of students who were impacted by violence related to their gender. This omission was particularly damaging in the conflict-affected regions, where the relationship between violence and gender inequality was exacerbated. Schools were complicit in contributing to SGBV through corporal punishment for boys and teaching girls to believe that their safety and character depended on how they dressed and behaved around men. These practices increased violence and disengagement among boys and blamed girls for the violence

they experienced. These differential experiences of violence were so normalized through education and culture that although participants described personal encounters with SGBV, they rarely were able to name it or make the connection that it was the result of gender inequality rooted in patriarchy and harmful masculinities.

Gendered expectations that boys and men must be physically and emotionally strong normalized violence against boys and fostered harmful masculinities, which increased school and community level violence and conflict. Davies (2010) notes that the normalization of societal violence, particularly gendered violence, in addition to ethnic and religious divisions as an underlying contributor to conflict. The relationship between high levels of school violence and related behaviours associated with harmful masculinities among boys, particularly ethnic Tamil boys in the conflict-affected regions, in addition to their lower levels of social cohesion on surveys, is evidence that boys face particular challenges within schools that make them more prone to engage in violence.

Observations and interviews revealed that aggressive and violent behaviour among male participants, educators and students, mirrored the three factors identified by Berke & Zeichner (2016): (1) men performing their gender role, (2) men feeling like they failed to live up to their gender role, and (3) or exposure to trauma related to their gender role. The first factor, violence and aggression associated with stereotypical gender role behaviours among male participants, was common across all the schools. The hypermasculine behaviours associated with male strength, military might, and dominance in the family were also reinforced in the LCCE textbooks. However, the second factor, violence, and aggression from feelings of failure and trauma related to gender roles, was more apparent among ethnic Tamil boys within schools in the war-affected regions. Teachers from the Vanni region noted that boys were more likely to not attend school due to personal and family-related trauma from the 2009 war. In the Eastern region, teachers and female students expressed that boys often dropped out of school in the older grades because they did not like how teachers treated them. In these cases, teachers' corporal punishment and humiliation, in conjunction with hypermasculine norms, made boys feel inadequate. The young man who was expelled for gang violence after being beaten by his principal is a case in point of how community violence leads to school-level violence, which increases the number of out of schoolboys, who later go into society and contribute to more violence.

Boys in schools from the war-affected regions experienced higher levels of violence related to patriarchal social norms, amplified by military occupation, within the school, home, and community. The American Psychological Association (2018) noted that gender-related social norms that perpetuate male dominance and exposure to violence in the home, within relationships, and community, coupled with limited services to help men and boys cope with exposure to trauma, contribute to harmful masculinities and related violence. The impact of a lengthy war and related economic hardship along with ongoing military occupation has resulted in many men losing their status as the provider and protector of the family, leading to substance abuse and violence within the family and community, particularly against women (Mel et al., 2013). Like girls, the young men in this study were also impacted by the military occupation, often living in fear of abduction by the government security forces. Similar observations were drawn by Hrdlickova (2011), who noted that military checkpoints focused on controlling the movement of young Tamil men, who were often suspected of being connected to the LTTE and therefore were at higher risk for abduction. In July 2020, 22 young Tamil men were arrested under suspicions of reviving the LTTE, including a 17-year-old (Tamil Guardian, 2020). These findings illustrate that a decade after the end of the war, military occupation and the surveillance and violence against young men have not abated; in some cases, it has increased. These factors are compounded by limited access to psychological supports for victims of trauma and abuse, particularly for young men.

Schools should ideally be a place of safety from the violence for young men; however, the findings of this study show that schools, in fact, contribute to violence against young men through gendered expectations and norms, physical violence, humiliation, and teacher-centered pedagogy and absenteeism and patriarchal school cultures. The culmination of these experiences contributes to behaviours associated with harmful masculinities for boys. Boys became violent, often towards women, targeting female teachers in the school, young girls in the community, and towards each other, demonstrating the iterative relationship between school violence and societal violence because of war. These patterns of violence echo Mel et al.'s (2013) observations in Sri Lanka on the impact of boy's experience of violence, including sexual abuse, hunger, emotional neglect, public humiliation, beatings and absentee parents, as factors that contribute to them becoming perpetrators of violence in adulthood, particularly towards women. An issue beyond this study's scope but is in urgent need of attention is the impact of sexual violence within the

community and by the state during the war against men and boys and its impact on harmful masculinities. The APA notes that boys' socialization of masculinity occurs at a young age and recommends early intervention to prevent harmful forms of masculinity (American Psychological Association, 2018). These findings suggest that schools are complicit in normalizing violent behaviour among boys and fail to take into consideration their experiences with trauma.

Structural violence impacted all participants, but it was particularly harmful to social cohesion among marginalized groups because their experiences of injustice were rarely acknowledged. When injustice was not addressed by state institutions, such as the high levels of SGBV against women in the Northern and Eastern provinces, it weakened participants' trust in the government. Similarly, the lack of recognition of Sri Lanka's war and the gross injustices during and after within the formal and informal curriculum severely undermined many ethnic Tamil participants' hope for peace and meaningful reconciliation. Davies (2010) and Salmi (2009) noted that "violence by omission" is a powerful form of cultural violence that fuels conflict. Participants who were the most impacted by the conflict expressed lower levels of trust in a political solution for the past and current injustices they experienced. Quantitative findings confirmed that teachers in conflict-affected schools had significantly lower social cohesion scores than Sinhalese and Indian-Tamil teachers in the Up-Country region.

Further to this, extreme levels of poverty exaggerated feelings of apathy created by exposure to war. Students at school D, who came from extremely impoverished homes and experienced some of the highest levels of violence during the 2009 war, were the only group with significantly lower social cohesion scores than their teachers. Their interview results also demonstrated they had limited trust in the government and little hope for justice or peace. Thus, social cohesion decreases with greater exposure to violence related to war, further exacerbated by poverty, and the normalization of these experiences by a lack of government recognition and support. These findings exemplify the importance of recognition, representation, redistribution, and reconciliation through education to address economic, cultural, and political inequity, both historically and present-day noted by Novelli et al. (2017) to foster social cohesion in conflict-affected societies.

Obedience, Negative Peace, and Apathy: Challenges to Democratic Citizenship

Social cohesion necessitates an approach to citizenship that fosters the inclusion of all its citizens and democratic processes that help citizens hold each other and the state accountable for maintaining inclusion. The findings of this study demonstrate that although the word democracy is frequently used within the LCCE textbooks and education policy, its application through formal and informal curriculum lacks the critical components of deliberation and dialogue, positive conflict, and empathy needed to foster the interruptive component of democracy noted by Davies (2008). Relationships, interactions, approaches to conflict, and participants' agency were derailed by patriarchal and authoritarian school cultures, belligerent forms of citizenship, violence, and identity-based patriotism that undermined the egalitarian aspects of democratic citizenship.

Social Relations and Interactions

Patriarchal relationships strongly influenced interactions between participants within school spaces. Consequently, they were hierarchical, hinging on various forms of power relations based on status, age, gender, class, and ethnicity, which significantly undermined opportunities for deliberation and dialogue needed for interruptive democratic citizenship among teachers and students. These findings are reflective of Ugur-Cinar's (2017) observation that patriarchal societies often subvert the egalitarian aspects of democracy by naturalizing hierarchical relationships between the state and its citizens. Furthermore, government institutions, such as education and schools, are highly instrumental in according and naturalizing paternalistic, hierarchical authority to elite men (Ugur-Cinar, 2017). In the Sri Lankan context, the elite comprises members of the majority community and/or upper class and/or class subgroups.

Across all the schools, patriarchal relations resulted in interactions based on obedience to rules set out by those in power. School and classroom space interactions were based on hierarchies emphasizing unquestioning authority to the principal, usually male, at the top, followed by teachers, usually female, followed by students. Control and authority in school relationships were maintained through violence and aggression, yelling, humiliation, and physical violence, behaviours grounded in harmful masculinities that contributed to higher levels of gender inequality and conflict in schools. These patterns reflect Davies' (2003) observation on how schools' structural aspects, including competition, punishment, and the emphasis on obedience to authority, can cumulatively contribute to the outbreak of conflict. These

interactions were more pronounced in war-impacted regions, demonstrating how long term exposure to conflict and war has a synergistic effect in amplifying the iterative relationship between patriarchy, hierarchy, harmful masculinities, and violence.

The foundational role of gender inequality in patriarchal school cultures was evident in the shift in observed and reported power relations between female teachers and their male students. The hierarchical relationship between men and women superseded the hierarchical relationship between teacher and student when male students got older. These male students were able reverse power relations with their female teachers by performing gendered microaggressions associated with harmful masculinities. Hudson et al. (2012) describes gendered microaggressions as the composition:

...of all those many choices and acts in the routine of day-to-day existence that harm, subordinate, exploit, and disrespect women. These little things, experienced day after day, year after year, ground the society in gender inequality and all of its sequelae. Given that gendered microaggressions become entrenched in daily living, these pernicious norms are the air breathed in by children of both sexes, and they become as natural and invisible to the next generation as air itself. What is viewed as normal is not only invisible but becomes something that is not spoken about either. Silence, often self-imposed, is the sturdy ally of gendered microaggression. (p. 17)

This quote speaks to how female teachers accepted the fact that they could not control their older male students and why they rarely reported the harassment they experienced. Women's subordinate status was deeply internalized and normalized by male and female participants, demonstrating the powerful role of schools in perpetuating normalizing gender inequality. Interviews with educators from all regions showed that even though female participants were able to identify gender inequitable experiences, for the most part, they held the same norms and beliefs about gender roles that helped to perpetuate patriarchy. These qualitative findings were confirmed by quantitative results, which found no statistically significant differences in scores on gender equality or gender equitable citizenship between male and female teachers. Similar results were found in a study on masculinity in Sri Lanka by Mel et al. (2013). They observed that women often upheld and reproduced gender inequitable attitudes, even when they knew it was unfair and harmful.

Opportunities for deliberation and dialogue, needed for interruptive democratic citizenship, were also limited by highly prescriptive citizenship textbooks that espoused the personally responsible model of citizenship. Many students' descriptions of being a good citizen focused on being tolerant, not creating problems to keep the peace, and following the law and rules of their culture. Ethnic Tamil students' understanding of citizenship was strongly reflective of the citizenship textbooks' emphasis on obedience, rule-following, and adhering to the will of the majority, demonstrating that exposure to high levels of war-related violence and ongoing surveillance were barriers to discursive engagement with the curriculum through deliberation and dialogue.

Limited emphasis on deliberation and dialogue in the formal curriculum also explained the strong alignment between participants' understanding of citizenship and the personally responsible citizen model presented in the textbooks. A dense curriculum and competitive exam culture provided little motivation for teachers or students to veer beyond the textbooks to discuss topics that could facilitate dialogue for social justice. These findings are in line with previous studies that have noted the role of exam-oriented learning, authoritative school environments (Sorenson, 2008), and learning that relies heavily on textbooks (Wickrema and Colenso, 2004) as barriers to promoting values of social cohesion through education in Sri Lanka. Thus, despite the policy goal of fostering democratic citizenship through education, the current civics curriculum, teacher pedagogy, and consequently, students' understanding of citizenship is not conducive to the deliberation and dialogue needed for democratic engagement. This disconnect between policy and practice in education reflects the broader sociopolitical context of Sri Lankan governance, which is authoritarian in practices while engaging in rhetoric on democracy. The gap between democratic ideals and authoritarian practices, what Gewirtz (2000) describes as a compliance-oriented approach to education, is not unique to Sri Lankan education systems. Encouraging deference to authority and omitting any mention of social justice and challenges to the status quo through education is not uncommon in many democratic nations (Westheimer, 2015). In Sri Lanka, decades of war and violence have only magnified this global deficiency in education and schooling.

Opportunities for interruptive democracy were severely undermined by a lack of trust and fear of violence amongst teachers and students. The hierarchical and patriarchal nature of the relationships between principal-teacher, principal-student, teacher-student, and community

members-military was often mediated by a fear of violence, whether physical or verbal (humiliation of students/teachers/parents), or psychological. Interactions among participants included high levels of corporal punishment for students, aggression, and violence towards teachers by principals and male students. Students feared adults in the school due to corporal punishment that was often indiscriminately administered. Parents from rural or lower class/caste communities feared educators. Ethnic Tamil teachers were often afraid that their students would report them if they spoke about the conflict. Sinhalese teachers were afraid that they would be perceived as sympathizers of terrorism if they spoke about rights violations. Everyone feared talking about the conflict due to limited freedom of speech, particularly in the war-affected regions, where there were higher surveillance levels.

These fear-based relationships contributed to a general lack of trust within the school and community and undermined the ability to build positive relationships between educators, students, and parents. It was also indicative of the broader belligerent approach to citizenship at the national level, where the state would not protect those who criticized it. A key finding in this study is that school spaces need to feel safe with trusting and egalitarian relationships between members of the school community to engage in citizenship education that fosters inclusive democratic citizenship. When students and teachers had trusting and egalitarian relationships, they were able to deliberate about access to rights, identity, and knowledge to work towards social cohesion. Levels of harmful masculinities, violence, gender inequality, hierarchy were lower in smaller schools, which also had more trusting relationships between educators and students. Recognizing this challenge, a focused effort is needed to build these relationships in larger schools.

Trusting relationships that fostered deliberation and dialogue also facilitated positive interactions between the sexes by challenging the patriarchal gender binary that perpetuated gender inequality and harmful masculinities. When school cultures approached interactions between the opposite sex from a positive and trusting perspective, it led to higher collaboration among teachers and students and a more socially cohesive learning environment. When these relationships were viewed as being negative and sexual, students, and in some cases, teachers were made to feel shame for talking to the opposite sex. Sex segregation among students and teachers led to fear and mistrust and the inability to work collaboratively with members of the opposite sex. These results illustrate that when interactions between the opposite sex are

controlled through obedience and rule-following rather than deliberation and dialogue, gender binaries become more entrenched and act as barriers to the mutual understanding between men and women or boys and girls required for gender equality. El-Bushra & Smith (2016) emphasized the importance of positive relations and interactions between the sexes for peace in their work on gender-transformative peacebuilding, which addressed curricula, training, and leadership within schools. They found that education can transform gender relations and contribute to social cohesion by equipping people with the knowledge and skills to empathize across differences, challenge stereotypes, and build new relationships (El-Bushra & Smith, 2016). Thus, education and schooling have an essential role in promoting gender equality and helping boys and girls develop the skills to empathize and understand each others' experiences and work collaboratively to build a more peaceful society. However, most schools in this study, particularly large schools and/or those in the war-affected regions, did not facilitate these positive interactions between boys and girls. Students themselves noted this deficiency and expressed a desire for more trusting and open-minded teachers.

The higher emphasis on restricting interactions between the opposite sexes by educators at schools in the war-affected regions was often motivated by the fear of inappropriate sexual relationships or the risk of SGBV. These practices strongly reflected the LTTE's peacekeeping approach to SGBV and the preservation of Tamil culture. It involved controlling women's bodies by regulating their clothing, restricting contact between men and women, and violently punishing suspected acts of SGBV. Though the LTTE and educators' methods effectively kept women and girls physically safe temporarily through obedience and rule-following, they failed when the threat of violence disappeared. A peacekeeping approach to stopping SGBV did not address the patriarchal roots of gender inequality; it perpetuated it. When boys left the school system's constraints, they engaged in SGBV just as when the LTTE was eliminated, levels of SGBV increased in the North and Eastern provinces. Both these examples demonstrate that gender equality can only be achieved through a peacebuilding approach that engages men/boys and women/girls in deliberation and dialogue to understand and develop empathy for each other rather than a peacekeeping approach of control and compliance through violence. These findings suggest that schools are complicit in normalizing violent behaviour among boys and fail to take into consideration their experiences with trauma.

Approaches to Conflict

The formal and informal curriculum's focus on hierarchical relationships and obedience-based interactions meant that education often approached conflict from a negative peace approach. Students rarely had opportunities to engage in positive conflict in school or classroom spaces. Cremin et al. (2012) emphasize that for schools to contribute to positive peace, conflict must be dealt with in a constructive and just manner through democratic structures and relationships. The absence of these relations and interactions in schools across all regions suggests that students had limited opportunities to develop critical thinking skills or feel empowered to challenge the status quo, a fundamental aspect of interruptive democracy needed to build social cohesion.

The LCCE textbooks reinforced the state's negative peace approach to Sri Lanka's national conflict. The formal curriculum has an essential role in fostering conflict consciousness; however, Galtung (1985) argues that a curriculum for peace education can contribute to negative peace if used for indoctrination rather than increasing students' awareness and curiosity. The prescriptive nature, false claims of ethnic and religious harmony, and the absence of any topics that could foster controversy and debate, and the omission of the war make the LCCE textbooks more a tool for indoctrination than one for developing conflict consciousness. Other studies of the various versions of the LCCE textbooks have generally concluded that they fail to meaningfully discuss Sri Lanka's conflict and focus on surface-level multiculturalism to foster national unity and a hegemonical Sinhalese-Buddhist Sri Lankan identity (Bentrovato & Nissanka, 2018; Davies, 2005). The consistent gap between policy goals and the civics curriculum suggests a lack of political will to make these changes.

The omission of Sri Lanka's war in the LCCE textbooks reflects a practice common to many education systems and governments in post-war societies. Conflicted-affected societies are faced with finding a balance between recognizing injustices that took place before, during and after the war for meaningful reconciliation versus promoting values of social cohesion for the purpose of national unity. How conflict and war are addressed in school textbooks is one area where this debate is most apparent. Davies' (2005) typology on teaching about conflicts urges educators to take an active approach by introducing spaces for positive conflict where students engage in critical debate, demonstrate empathy and interruptive forms of democracy that challenge the status quo. Sri Lanka's ESCP policy is based on many of Davies' recommended

best practices (2005) and incorporates this language. However, studies on textbooks in conflict-affected societies have shown that education systems and governments often take a shortcut route to national unity over a meaningful recognition and discussion of a country's conflicts to achieve lasting peace and greater social cohesion (Cunningham & Ladd, 2018). The findings of this study illustrate that Sri Lanka is no different. Despite MoE's policy that recognizes the need to address controversial issues, national unity, and Sri Lankan students' desire to learn about their national conflict, the LCCE textbooks, which have significant content allocated to conflict resolution, fall considerably short in addressing any of these goals.

The omission of Sri Lanka's conflict is not due to a lack of capacity or understanding within the MoE. The ESCP policy explicitly stresses the importance of teachers talking about controversial topics, developing a citizen that can transform conflict, and Sri Lankan students' desire to learn about national conflict. The deliberate omission of Sri Lanka's conflict is two-fold. First, there is the fear of risking contributing to further conflict if aspects of Sri Lanka's wars are not taught responsibly. For decades, officials have cited this reason to rationalize the complete omission of a meaningful discussion of Sri Lanka's conflict through education. The second reason is the Sri Lankan government's denial of acknowledging any wrongdoing by the government against minority communities and the need to protect Sri Lanka's Sinhalese-Buddhist identity. On many accounts, the government has failed to recognize the state's role in Sri Lanka's protracted conflict. Since the end of the war in 2009, the government's stance on acknowledging minority group rights violations has only gotten worse. The government has generally taken the stance that the war is over, and everyone should give up their grievances and move on. Thus, it is not surprising that the government's resistance to addressing the root causes of the ongoing conflict and inequality is reflected in the MoE's execution, or perhaps lack of execution, of the ESCP policy through the LCCE textbooks' silence on these two issues. In conjunction with Sinhalese Buddhist hegemony, an identity-based approach to nationalism has prevented the acknowledgement of the war and its ongoing impact on minorities in Sri Lanka by the state. Furthermore, the government's stance was not incongruent with the views of many Sinhalese participants. They were generally resistant to recognizing inequality as a cause of national conflict in order to deny the privileges that came with their majority status from the marginalization of minorities. Contrastingly, Sinhalese participants who demonstrated a more

shared-fated approach to citizenship were more likely to express empathy for marginalized groups and question racism within their community.

Educators' and students' focus on the utilitarian goals of education also worked to derail opportunities to engage in positive conflict for students. Many schools and administrators, particularly in larger schools, focused on improving their school rankings through exam scores than ensuring their students developed skills for democratic engagement. The negative impact was recognized by teachers who felt that it created toxic learning environments for their students. On the other hand, students were driven by the need to achieve good grades to get into university and obtain jobs, preferably in STEM-related fields with higher employment potential. As such, many of them were overwhelmed with school and private tutoring classes and viewed education as a do or die situation in making something of themselves, particularly in the war-affected regions where there were limited economic opportunities. The high stakes of education left little room for social justice and positive conflict and, consequently, very few learning opportunities that fostered critical thinking. Given students' instrumental approach to education, they were also less likely to choose to take civics subjects; this was made worse by the low priority given to civic courses, which were optional after grade nine and often assigned to unqualified teachers. The usurping of critical thinking by education's utilitarian goals is also noted by Westheimer (2015), who argues that critical thinking is under attack in education systems by policymakers, corporations, and even parents that have moved the focus of education to goals related to individual success rather than ones focused on social justice. In Sri Lanka, this study shows that individual success is also complemented by the personally responsible citizen approach to citizenship, leading students to believe that they could overcome the challenges of structural and cultural violence by studying hard and being an obedient person.

In the war-affected regions, fear of violence (school, community, and military) contributed to relationships based on obedience and negative peace among educators, students, and community members. Higher levels of corporal punishment, more rote learning, in conjunction with an area that had been exposed to decades of violence, militarization, and surveillance, by the armed forces and LTTE, in addition to continual acts of violence against those who spoke against the government, severely limited teachers' ability to incorporate positive conflict in their classroom practice. Teachers and community members lived in a state of fear, unable to express any opinions or feelings that were incongruent with the government's

official narrative on the war. Teachers who wanted to discuss controversial issues were afraid to do so due to the high level of surveillance in their highly militarized communities. They were also unable to commemorate family members who had died fighting in the war. Even Sinhalese teachers in less militarized areas did not discuss national unity or ethnic conflict issues out of fear that they would be seen as being unpatriotic or supporting terrorism. These findings echo (Osman & Kirk, 2001) observations that teachers in conflicted-affected contexts face many obstacles that include feeling disempowered, lack of training and resources, ongoing violence in the community, and hierarchical management styles in administration. Teachers are often criticized for not discussing controversial issues; however, this persistent shortfall must be considered within the country's sociopolitical context, including the political and institutional restrictions that education systems operate within (Niens & Chastenay, 2008). Similar results were found before the end of the war by Cardozo (2008), who noted that Sri Lankan teachers were uncomfortable talking about politics, peace, and classroom spaces were rarely conducive to critical discussions about the war. A decade after the end of the war, little has changed with respect to education's capacity to foster positive conflict in the classroom to promote social cohesion.

The military occupation of communities in the war-affected North and East has led to the growing phenomena of the militarization of schools. Soldiers' presence in schools and surrounding communities contributed to a culture of negative peace based on surveillance and mistrust. All the schools in the war-affected regions were near military bases. Students were in frequent contact with soldiers on their way to school or on school property, such as playing fields shared with army bases. Soldiers also provided transport for school excursions and handed out donations for students. Sinhalese soldiers' daily surveillance and engagement with members of minority ethnic groups, of whom there were no members represented in the military, is problematic at many levels. It impacted boys' and girls' sense of security and put them at greater risk for SGBV. Some female students voiced concern that soldiers sexually harassed them or made them uncomfortable by leering at them on their way to and from school, and boys expressed fear of abduction. One school reported an overt sexual incident with students and soldiers; for anonymity, the school and situation will not be described. The incidents of SGBV against children completely undermined any efforts to build positive relationships intended to promote national unity through the military's engagement with war-affected communities.

These observations were echoed in a recent report by Gowing (2020) on the militarization of schools in the Northern and Eastern provinces. Gowing (2020) questions the growing presence of Sri Lankan soldiers in schools under the guise of offering support to local communities to promote national unity. The report found that the increase in army visits to schools is meant to “normalise the militarisation of civilian life, and to facilitate social control and surveillance of the Tamil population... furthering the sense of insecurity and mistrust felt by many Tamils, and making the prospects of lasting reconciliation even more remote (Gowing, 2020, p.13). The government’s attempt to normalize soldiers' presence in schools speaks to the powerful role education plays in perpetuating cultural violence. Similar patterns of gender inequality and conflict were observed in Palestine by Shalhoub-Kevorkian (2008), who noted that military occupation exacerbated gender disparities and transformed educational spaces into politicized, gendered, and racialized ones.

Despite the negative peace approach to dealing with conflict, some students were able to engage in positive conflict talk within and outside the classroom; however, this engagement was often gendered. Girls, particularly those who had experienced poverty or war, more readily engaged in discussions on gender equality in the classroom when teachers created safe learning spaces. Participants exposed to direct fighting and displacement demonstrated a strong sense of social justice, wanting to make changes in their communities. Similar patterns were observed by Bellows and Miguel (2009). They found that individuals exposed to violence and displacement during conflict had higher levels of civic engagement and demonstrated remarkable forms of resilience. Quantitative findings confirmed that girls had statistically significantly higher levels of gender equality, gender equitable citizenship, and social cohesion scores than boys in their respective regions. Rather than fostering and capitalizing on their capacity to engage in positive conflict, demonstrated through interests in civic engagement and social justice, education and the school systems were complicit in silencing them. Women's and girls’ attempts to exercise their rights as citizens were often viewed as uncultural. Negative peace through school cultures of harmful masculinities, violence, militarization, exam culture, corporal punishment, exclusion, teacher absenteeism, and teacher-centred classrooms stifled girls’ sense of agency.

Agency

Participants' level of agency and resilience to structural violence was related to higher levels of social cohesion. However, although agency was often a source of hope and resilience

for many participants, schools and classrooms were often complicit in decreasing students' and teachers' agency through practices rooted in patriarchy and harmful masculinities. Further to this, the personally responsible citizenship approach limited participants' agency to education's utilitarian goals, getting a job. Thus, education was part of the government's agenda to develop what Cardozo & Shah (2016) describe as "a particular type of liberal, economically rational, and modern individual who is able to engage 'peacefully' in the global marketplace" (p. 15). This agenda was promoted through the formal and informal curriculum's emphasis on the personally responsible citizen model, someone who followed the rules and did not disrupt the status quo and became a good worker.

Exposure to high levels of violence due to war negatively impacted participants' agency and resilience and thereby reduced their sense of social cohesion. One of the most crucial aspects of interruptive democracy and education's transformative potential noted by Davies (2008) is agency, the onus to challenge what is perceived to be unfair, and resilience, the will to survive and oppose further conflict. Quantitative findings showed that students and teachers in schools within low conflict regions had statistically higher levels of social cohesion than those in high conflict regions. These findings were strongly reflected in interviews with students and educators that showed stark differences in hope for peace and affiliation and/pride about their Sri Lankan identity between participants in the low conflict region and ethnic Tamil participants in the Northern and Eastern provinces. Teachers from schools in the relatively peaceful Up Country Sinhalese region demonstrated greater levels of national unity versus teachers from the Vanni region, which had experienced high levels of war-related conflict. Interviews found an increased sense of apathy and learned helplessness' among participants in the Vanni schools who were impacted by high levels of war-related violence, poverty, limited economic opportunities, ongoing militarization and surveillance, high levels of corporal punishment in schools, patriarchal school and community cultures, and high levels of SGBV. Teachers in the Vanni region were particularly dejected by their inability to meet the educational and psychosocial needs of students, whose lives had been decimated by the war and poverty.

The impact of conflict on student agency was gendered. Interviews showed within schools in the conflict-affected regions that girls demonstrated higher levels of resilience and agency to talk about injustice and what needed to be done to change it. Contrastingly, boys sometimes recognized and named injustice but generally took a more apathetic approach and

were more likely to say, “this is how things are.” The lower levels of agency among boys were further reinforced by school practices that provided boys with fewer opportunities for civic engagement and belonging. These findings, along with overall differences in social cohesion scores between boys and girls, demonstrate that conflict has a gendered impact on agency and that the lower levels of agency among boys contributed to harmful masculinities.

Though exposure to high levels of conflict was related to lower levels of social cohesion, it was not a definitive barrier. Participants who had the social capital to overcome inequality and injustice had higher levels of social cohesion and more affiliation to their Sri Lankan identity. Among students in the war-affected Northern and Eastern provinces, students in the North Muslim region had statistically higher social cohesion scores than their peers in the Vanni and Island regions. These findings were strongly echoed in the interview results that showed that Muslim teachers and students demonstrated high levels of agency because they were often able to advocate for themselves to challenge injustice and inequality. This agency was related to their stronger affiliation to a Sri Lankan national identity than their ethnic Tamil peers. Muslim participants often came from communities and families with higher social capital levels and consequently had more avenues to challenge structural violence by effectively navigating political and institutional resources. This contrasted with Indian Tamil participants, who were not impacted by war-related violence but dealt with high levels of marginalization and exclusion due to decades of disenfranchisement. Interviews with Indian Tamil teachers and students demonstrated they had the same sense of apathy about changing the status quo as some participants from the war-impacted Vanni region. These findings demonstrate that the resiliency noted by Davies (2010) on being able to survive conflict is severely weakened by marginalization and lower levels of social capital, which are amplified by war-related violence and militarization. Contrastingly, high levels of agency and resilience strengthened trust in the state and contributed to higher levels of social cohesion.

Empathy and understanding of marginalized experiences played an important role in contributing to the agency needed for peacebuilding and a shared-fate approach to citizenship. Contrastingly indifference to inequality was a prominent feature in participants that espoused values associated with assimilative citizenship. Participants who demonstrated low levels of empathy for another group’s experience with marginalization or exclusion, be it ethnic, religious, or gender, were also more likely to hold racist and sexist views and engage in practices that

contributed to structural and cultural violence. Sinhalese educators that denied the minority groups' experiences of injustice and/or held one-sided views of the war were generally indifferent to addressing structural violence and engaged in perpetuating cultural violence through their practice. Similarly, ethnic Tamil educators who had limited knowledge of or denied the impact of Muslims' expulsion from the North by the LTTE were more likely to express Islamophobic views. Knowledge and critical reflection were directly related to participants' capacity for empathy and agency. The relationship between empathy and social justice also extended to gender equality as educators that lacked understanding of the differential challenges faced by boys and girls contributed to a culture of harmful masculinities and reduced students' capacity for agency and resiliency.

Critical thinking and judgement play an essential role in developing conflict consciousness necessary to engage in positive peace (Galtung, 1969, 1976). Participants who were able to see beyond their group affiliations and acknowledge the marginalized experiences of others by taking into consideration alternative perspectives were more likely to express interest in social justice and peacebuilding. However, most participants had limited access to knowledge about others' experiences through education. Furthermore, classrooms, schools, and the curriculum prevented students from engaging in critical self-reflection or discussion about inequality by focusing on tolerance and multiculturalism. In some cases, experiences of marginalization were associated with greater levels of critical thinking. Participants that had experienced some form of marginalization themselves were more empathetic towards the experiences of others. They were able to use their power or privilege and advocate for others, like the Indian Tamil principal, who challenged Hinduism's hegemonic role at a Tamil medium school. These findings provide further evidence for El-Bushra & Smith's (2016) argument that the knowledge and skills to empathize across differences are critical aspects of peacebuilding and social cohesion.

Conclusion: A Call to Action

The findings of this study provide empirical evidence for two key observations. First, there is a positive relationship between participants' perspectives on gender equality and social cohesion. Second, patriarchal values transmitted through school practices and the curriculum undermine democracy and contribute to harmful masculinities leading to violence in schools and the community; this relationship is further exacerbated by community-level violence, including

war and military occupation. These findings are in line with the broader sociopolitical reality of Sri Lanka's increasing tendency towards authoritarianism. Consequently, one has to wonder if state institutions such as education could ever be an effective means to promote democratic peace when the state itself is complicit in structural and cultural violence against some of its own citizens. Galtung argues that the public school system is inherently limited in its ability to foster dissent because it is an apparatus of the government:

A public school system in a nation state is predominantly a mechanism for the transmission of the national myth: shared religion, language and history. In this myth, the wars of the past will have to play a role. By the very fact that a nation state exists and is capable of running a public school system, it follows that some of those wars, of liberation or not, were successful. From this it might follow that peace education in defense of a generally supportive attitude to wars of liberation could be incorporated in a public school curriculum. But, as we all very well know: one is our war of liberation, quite another is the wars of liberation of other peoples. Whereas, ours was entirely legitimate, theirs are illegitimate, subversive, engineered from the outside... (Galtung, 1985, p. 1).

In Sri Lanka, the state has instrumentalized education to deem its wars to support the male Sinhalese-Buddhist identity as legitimate and any opposition by marginalized groups advocating for equal rights as illegitimate, terrorists, or Western-influenced corrupters of culture and tradition. Though these tropes have worked to uphold the nation state's patriarchal regime and the Sinhalese majority community, they have also worked against the state's and the public's goal of national unity and peace.

Through the formal and informal curriculum, citizenship education has a limited capacity to promote social cohesion due to patriarchal, belligerent, and identity-based forms of citizenship that largely favoured authoritarian relationships, over democratic ones, among citizens and between citizens and the state. There is substantial discrepancy between the progressive language of the ESCP policy and its application in curriculum, teacher training, and school environments. One factor may be attributed to the changing regimes governing Sri Lanka since 2008 when the ESCP policy was first developed. Governments have generally been more divisive and nationalistic and have strongly influenced how the ESCP policy has been implemented, often focused on national growth rather than reconciliation. Second, the disconnected nature of the

application of the ESCP policy, particularly as it relates to the training of educators, has also been impacted by the governance structures between the various and fragmented roles or responsibilities of the Ministry of Education and the National Institute of Education (NIE). Wickrema & Colenso (2003) note that the multiplicity of roles taken on by the NIE has resulted in “bottlenecks and inefficiencies” (p. 8). The resulting impact of these two factors has led to a disparity between the ESCP policy’s formation and its appropriation by different actors in Sri Lanka, all of which contribute to education’s accomplice role in conflict.

The Sri Lankan government has yet to recognize and meaningfully address the cycle of violence perpetrated by education, and perhaps this may not be its intended goal. As such, Sri Lankan citizens can not expect the state, or international institutions, for that matter, to deliver democracy or peace through education; they must demand it themselves. For this, they must exercise their rights as citizens to elect peaceful leaders. Sri Lankan citizens, weary of decades of war, did do this when they elected the more moderate Maithripala Sirisena in 2015 over the violent regime that had won the war. However, state institutions like education continued under the status quo of patriarchal, belligerent, and identity-based citizenship despite the regime change. The failure to challenge the status quo and engage in meaningful reconciliation has resulted in Sri Lankan society slipping back into authoritarianism and conflict. The election of Gotabaya Rajapaksa, the wartime defence chief in 2009, a man accused of war crimes, as the president in 2019 and the landslide victory of his brother Mahinda Rajapaksa, the president in 2009, as prime minister in 2020, speaks to the deep divisions among citizens in Sri Lanka. The election of these two men, who are linked to human rights violations during the 2009 war by the world, is evidence that the 2008 ESCP policy goals for social cohesion have failed. Education has not contributed to critical thinking, democracy, free speech, gender equality, empathy, understanding, or peace. Rather, education continues in its role as an accomplice to Sri Lanka’s conflict.

Novelli & Lopes Cardozo (2008) suggests that the failure of education to contribute to peace is often the result of state-centric solutions, which need to be countered by civil society movements and oppositional forces with differing opinions. Similarly, Galtung's (1985) response to the challenge of teaching peace through education systems meant to maintain national myths is the critical role of civil society. He argues that civil society must engage in processes of debate and elaboration in order to produce a curriculum “with no conclusions given in advance, and

with an invitation to the students to question all assumptions,” what he describes as “democracy as a research process” (p. 6). These are lofty goals but ones that can not be ignored if education is ever to become a transformative force for peace rather than continue in its role as an accomplice to conflict. Civil society in Sri Lanka has challenged aspects of the education system deemed inefficient, such as distributing textbooks or translation of textbooks. Why not challenge aspects that are violent, racists, and sexists if it will lead to peace and unity?

Call to Action

Recognizing the limitations of education’s transformative potential in addressing conflict and gender equality identified by my predecessors and the post-colonial feminist perspective, this study takes a critically informed yet pragmatically oriented approach to the goal of social cohesion through education. As such, I put forth the following call to action for the Ministry of Education, civil society organizations, students, teachers, individual citizens and other stakeholders in Sri Lanka’s quest for peace and social cohesion through education. The call to action focuses on three critical outcomes unearthed from the study:

Egalitarian and Gender Equitable. In order to counter the negative impact of patriarchy, schooling and education need to become more egalitarian and gender equitable. This shift will require a reexamination of the formal curriculum to change content that promotes violence, SGBV, fixed gender roles and characteristics for boys and girls, militarization, and hegemonic representations of dominant groups, such as men and/or the majority community. Hierarchical and gender inequitable relationships need to be transformed with more comprehensive gender equality training for all educators, starting from members in the Ministry of Education to students in the classroom. This training needs to name and challenge patriarchy, dispel Liberal feminist myths, and recognize and talk openly about SGBV, particularly the role of culture in perpetuating it. Cultural notions of what constitutes masculinity and femininity and how these can be hurtful for boys and girls need to be addressed, particularly the negative role of harmful masculinities in perpetuating gender inequality and violence. The synergistic relationship between societal conflict or war and SGBV needs to be acknowledged and discussed. Discussions on gender equality need to be locally informed and representative of marginalized and conflict-affected experiences. GE training should develop skills to empathize across differences, challenge stereotypes, and foster egalitarian and collaborative relationships between men/boys and women/girls and the different ethnic and religious communities.

Educators can learn from the positive practices in smaller schools, which are able to foster more trusting relationships between students and teachers and curb the high levels of violence and behaviours associated with harmful masculinities in larger schools.

Interruptive democracy. More egalitarian relationships within and through education can undo the work of belligerent citizenship so that educators can foster interruptive democracy. One of the most critical and challenging aspects of this will be recognizing and discussing national conflict and gender inequality in the formal curriculum. Civil society and other stakeholders will need to push for this change and make the state understand that without recognition, representation, redistribution, and reconciliation in and through education, the country will remain in a state of conflict and underdevelopment. These changes at the system level lend themselves to transform patriarchal and authoritarian practices within schools so that education can contribute to building boys' and girls' agency rather than breaking them down through cultural and structural violence. A critical component of education that will need to be reconsidered in this process is the role of exams. One way to destabilize exam culture in Sri Lanka is to change the processes for entrance to post-secondary education. Entry should not rely solely on good grades but could include a civic engagement component such as student volunteer hours. Finally, schools need to become safe and trusting spaces; as such, they must be demilitarized.

Shared fate and collective identities. Interruptive democracy and positive peace will facilitate transforming education's promotion of exclusionary forms of citizenship, such as identity-based nationalism, to a more collective national identity based on shared fate. A more flexible approach to cultural and gender identity will help both minority and majority communities engage in discussions about the root causes of Sri Lanka's conflict without fear that their respective culture or tradition are being threatened. This flexible approach should not be mistaken for an assimilative one; schools should provide access to a secure identity by ensuring that all students have the right to retain their cultural, linguistic, and religious practices. A malleable approach to culture will also help the Sinhalese majority community challenge right-wing propaganda that contributes to its majority with a minority complex and the consequent justification of inequality in Sri Lanka. Citizenship based on a collective identity will require recognition of women and minority groups' contributions in Sri Lanka's national narrative rather than representing them as multicultural guests within the patriarchal Sinhalese-Buddhist

state. This recognition will also have to include experiences of marginalization. Dominant groups, ethnic, religious, linguistic, and gender, can not begin to understand their privilege unless they have knowledge of and empathy for marginalized experiences. A shared fate approach to citizenship and national unity will help citizens focus on the mutual interests of all Sri Lankans so that dominant groups will be more conducive to give up aspects of their privilege for equal rights for all and, consequently, peace.

These recommendations will be strategically shared with stakeholders in Sri Lanka. The results of this study are highly sensitive and will need to be tailored for specific audiences (MoE, policy organizations, community organizations). Discussions on human rights and violations during the conflict, as expressed by some participants in this study, are dangerous topics in Sri Lanka. Given that the government denies any wrongdoing, individuals engaged in human rights violation discussions are often viewed as national security risks and frequently become the subject to surveillance and/or detention. Therefore, an embargo will be placed on this dissertation for five years. Despite these limitations, the findings of this study will be shared with the stakeholders mentioned above in a constructive way to enact small changes (incremental transformation) that will contribute in some way to building a more cohesive society. I will provide the MoE (as noted in my agreement with them when commencing this study) a copy of the results – which will be presented constructively, focused on gender equality and realistic changes that could be implemented. I will develop a policy brief for the International Centre for Ethnic Studies that addresses how civil society (community organizations, NGOs, teachers' unions etc.) can advocate for more structural changes that can support democratic citizenship. Last, the findings of this study inform my own professional work as a consultant with local NGOs on projects in Sri Lanka that focus on SGBV. These projects are an opportunity to promote the skills of collaboration, working across differences, and using gender equality as means to reduce violence in communities by challenging harmful masculinities. These endeavours translate to more cohesive societies overall. The positive relationship between gender equality and social cohesion unearthed in this study allows me to engage in social cohesion work in Sri Lanka, despite my positionality as an ethnic Tamil Canadian. Using gender equality as an entry point, I can avoid common barriers experienced by ethnic Tamil diaspora, who are often excluded from peace initiatives given their perceived contribution to the conflict by the government of Sri Lanka.

Broader implications

This dissertation's quantitative and qualitative components demonstrate the inextricable relationship between individual attitudes on gender equality and social cohesion. Education for social cohesion, or what this study refers to as inclusive democratic citizenship education, is severely undermined by patriarchal education systems that contribute to hierarchical, belligerent, and identity-based notions of citizenship. A key aspect underlying this exploration was whether there was a relationship between attitudes on gender equality, including gendered notions of citizenship and social cohesion and the consequent implications for other conflict-affected contexts. The results of this study provide empirical evidence that societies experiencing major conflict have longstanding patterns of gender inequity and discrimination (Caprioli, 2000) and that the knowledge skills to work across gender differences also contribute to working across other types of differences for peacebuilding noted by El-Bushra's (2000). Thus, this study's findings strengthen understanding of citizenship education's gendered nature and how it intersects with conflict and social cohesion and provides strong evidence for the need to take a gendered approach to analyze the role of education in promoting social cohesion.

The synergistic relationship between gender inequality and societal conflict helped bring a gender focus that highlighted the role of harmful masculinities to the broader discussion on the negative and positive faces of education in conflict and its potential to contribute to social cohesion. Similar arguments on the impact of the relationship between masculinities and violence have been made by Theidon's (2009) study that stresses the need to focus more on reconstructing violent masculinities in peacebuilding initiatives. The results of this study illustrate that education and schooling have the potential to promote or transform hegemonic forms of masculinity that contribute to authoritarianism and violence that undermine inclusive democratic citizenship and social cohesion. It also highlights how gender equality can be an entry point to promote the foundational skills for peace and social cohesion, such as working across difference. This approach is particularly relevant in countries that may not be ready to discuss conflict directly or where peace efforts have failed to transform conflict perpetuated by violence associated with hegemonic masculinity, as observed by Theidon (2009) in Colombia. Understanding whether the positive relationship between gender equality and inclusive democratic citizenship in and through education noted in this study on Sri Lanka also occurs in

other conflict-affected countries is an area for future research to better understand education's capacity to promote social cohesion.

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Appendix A: Teacher Interview Questions

Script to be read to participants: The findings from your interview will be combined with other participants and presented to yourself, your school, the Ministry of Education, and academics around the world. Every effort will be made to maintain your anonymity. You can stop the interview at any time, and all the information collected will be deleted at your request. You can also retract any part of the interview during the study by speaking to me in person, by email or phone.

1. What grades and subjects do you teach?
2. What kind of teacher training do you have (college, university, etc.)?
3. Have you received any in-service training since you began teaching?
4. What does gender equality mean to you? Do you see it taking place at your school?
5. Do you think there is gender equality in Sri Lanka?
6. What does citizenship mean to you? And what does being a good citizen mean to you?
7. Are there different roles to play for men and women/boys and girls to be a good citizen?
8. What does being a Sri Lanka citizen mean to you? How do you feel about it?
9. What hopes and dreams do you have for your country's future? What role do you think teachers have in this? And what role do you see for yourself?
10. What role do you think men and women/boys and girls have to play in building this future? Do you think these roles are the same or different, and if so, how?
11. What kinds of rights should a citizen have? Do you think you have access to all of these rights based on your ethnicity, gender, class, caste, and linguistic identity?
12. How does your understanding of a good citizen influence your teaching? Are they the same, different, etc.?
13. What are your general impressions of the new citizenship and life competencies curriculum? Do you think it is effective and relevant for your students and the future of Sri Lanka?
14. What is an example of a good lesson on citizenship you had? Why was this a good example?
15. Do you feel confident in your ability to teach the citizenship curriculum? What supports can help improve your teaching of citizenship?
16. What are the students' general responses to the new citizenship curriculum?
17. What kind of training have you received while teaching at your school? Have you found this training easy to understand, relevant and applicable to your classroom?
18. What suggestions would you give to the principals, the Ministry of Education and other stakeholders to help you improve your teaching and make student learning more effective?



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Title of the study: Education for social cohesion? A gender analysis of citizenship education in post-war Sri Lanka

Dear Teacher,

You are invited to participate in the above mentioned research study conducted by myself, Thursica Kovinthan, a Ph.D. student, and my supervisor Dr. Richard Maclure from the University of Ottawa, Canada. This project is funded by the Vanier Canada Graduate Scholarship. Please see below for our contact information.

The purpose of this study is to understand how teachers and students think about citizenship in Sri Lanka. It aims to understand how boys and girls are taught to be good citizens in school and how they can work towards lasting peace. The study also seeks to get your feedback on the new citizenship curriculum. We will share your opinions with the Ministry of Education, universities, international organizations, and NGOs who work with schools to improve the quality of education, particularly citizenship education and gender equality.

Your participation in this study will involve a 45 minute to a 1-hour interview with myself on the topics of citizenship education, gender equality, and your teacher training. I will schedule the interview on the school grounds in a quiet place at a time that is convenient for you. I will be using an audio recording device to record the interview. If you are not comfortable with this, I can take handwritten notes.

The topics covered in the interview should not make you feel uncomfortable; however, if you do feel this way at any time, you can ask to stop the interview, and all the information collected will be deleted upon your request.

Your participation in this study will help provide much-needed feedback on the new citizenship curriculum. Your ideas on gender equality and the information you provide about your training and knowledge will inform education stakeholders who are seeking to improve gender equality, citizenship education, and teacher training in Sri Lanka schools and schools around the world.

The information you share will remain strictly confidential. It will be used only for writing reports for the Ministry of Education and other education stakeholders. Throughout this study, your confidentiality and anonymity will be protected. Your real name will not be used in any of the data collected, reports or publications. Please take a moment to create a pseudonym for yourself.

All information that is collected will be digitized and uploaded within one week to the principal investigator's cloud account that is password protected and saved in files that are encrypted through password protection. Hard copies will be shredded and destroyed immediately after digitization. The interview data will be kept in a locked filing cabinet, in digital format, in the office of my supervisor at the University of Ottawa for a period of 5 years, at which time it will be destroyed.

You are under no obligation to participate, and if you choose to participate, you can withdraw from the study at any time and/or refuse to answer any questions, without suffering any negative consequences. If you choose to withdraw, all data gathered until the time of withdrawal will be deleted or destroyed permanently. You can retract any part of the interview during the study by speaking to me in person, by email or phone.

If you wish to participate in this study, please read the following out loud to the researcher and show that you are freely and willingly consenting to participate.

“I agree to participate in the above research study conducted by Thursica Kovinthan of the Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa, whose research is under the supervision of Dr. Richard Maclure.”

If I have any questions about the study, I may contact the researcher or her supervisor at the numbers below.

If I have any questions regarding the ethical conduct of this study, I may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 154, Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5

Tel.: (613) 562-5387

Email: ethics@uottawa.ca

There are two copies of the consent form, one of which is mine to keep.

Researcher's signature: *(Signature)*

(Date)

Thursica Kovinthan
University of Ottawa
Ottawa, ON, Canada

Dr. Richard Maclure
University of Ottawa
Ottawa, ON, Canada

Appendix C: Student Interview Recruitment Script

Hello students,

As you know, my name is Thursica Kovinthan, and I am a student and researcher from the University of Ottawa, Canada. I have been in your classes studying how citizenship is taught. Today I am speaking to you to invite you to participate in a 30-minute interview with me on the topic of citizenship and gender equality.

The goal of this study is to understand how teachers and students think about citizenship in Sri Lanka. I would like to understand how boys and girls are taught to be good citizens in school and how they can work towards lasting peace. I also want to get your feedback on the new citizenship curriculum. What you think of it and what you would like to learn more about. I will share your opinions with the Ministry of Education, universities, international organizations, and NGOs who work with schools to improve the quality of education, particularly citizenship education.

If you would like to participate in this 30-minute interview, please come and speak to me anytime outside of class. I will take your name and come to get permission from your parents for you to participate in the study. You absolutely do not have to participate if you don't want to. It will not impact your grades or how the teachers or I perceive you. Also, if you choose to participate, you can change your mind at any time and stop.

Everything you say will be kept confidential, and your identity will be kept anonymous. Only my professor and I will have access to your interview. You can retract any part of the interview during the study by speaking to me in person, by email or phone. The combined results of all your interviews will be shared with the school, Ministry of Education and other people that help to improve the school. If you have any questions or want more information, you can come and speak to me. Thank you for your time.

Appendix D: Student Interview Consent Form



Université d'Ottawa
Faculté d'éducation

University of Ottawa
Faculty of Education

613-562-5804
613-562-5146

145 Jean Jacques Lussier
Ottawa ON K1N 6N5 Canada
www.uOttawa.ca

Title of the study: Education for social cohesion? A gender analysis of citizenship education in post-war Sri Lanka

Hello _____,

Today I am inviting you to participate in the above mentioned research study conducted by myself, Thursica Kovinthan, a Ph.D. student, and my supervisor Dr. Richard Maclure from the University of Ottawa, Canada. This project is funded by the Vanier Canada Graduate Scholarship.

The purpose of this study is to understand how teachers and students think about citizenship in Sri Lanka. It aims to understand how boys and girls are taught to be good citizens in school and how they can work towards lasting peace. The study also seeks to get your feedback on the new citizenship curriculum. We will share all of the students' opinions with the Ministry of Education, universities, international organizations, and NGOs who work with schools to improve the quality of education, particularly citizenship education.

Your participation in this study will involve your completing a 30-minute interview with me today. You can decline to participate at any time with no negative consequences or stigma. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to answer at any time. You can ask the researcher to stop the interview at any time. Also, there are no right or wrong answers. The study is focused on your opinions. The interview will be audio-recorded, but if you are not comfortable with this, I will take handwritten notes.

The information that you share will remain strictly confidential and will be used solely for the purposes of this research. The only people who will have access to the research data are myself and my supervisor. Results will be combined with other students when shared with other people. Anonymity is guaranteed since you will not be asked to provide you name or any personal information. Please take a moment to select a pseudonym and share this with me and no one else.

All information that is collected will be digitized and uploaded within one week to the principal investigator's cloud account that is password protected and saved in files that are encrypted through password protection. Hard copies will be shredded and destroyed immediately after digitization. The interview notes/transcripts will be kept in a locked filing cabinet, in digital format, in the office of my supervisor at the University of Ottawa for a period of 5 years, at which time they will be destroyed.

You are under no obligation to participate, and if you choose to participate, you can withdraw from the study at any time and/or refuse to answer any questions, without suffering any negative consequences. If you choose to withdraw, all data gathered until the time of withdrawal will be deleted or destroyed permanently. You can retract any part of the interview during the study by speaking to me in person, by email or phone.

The findings of this study will be presented to you and your school in a report format at the end of the research study. If you have any questions or require more information about the study itself, please contact my supervisor at the numbers below or me.

If you wish to participate in this study, please read the following out loud to the researcher and show that you are freely and willingly consenting to participate.

“I agree to participate in the above research study conducted by Thursica Kovinthan of the Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa, whose research is under the supervision of Dr. Richard Maclure.”

If you have any questions with regards to the ethical conduct of this study, you may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 154, Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5, tel.: (613) 562-5387 or ethics@uottawa.ca.

Please keep this form for your records.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Thursica Kovinthan

Date

Signature

Thursica Kovinthan
University of Ottawa
Ottawa, ON, Canada

Dr. Richard Maclure
University of Ottawa
Ottawa, ON, Canada

Appendix E: List of Themes and Codes for Thematic Analysis

Themes	Codes
Deliberation and dialogue	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -student-centered -egalitarian relationships -desire to change the status quo -recognition of inequity -positive interactions between groups (ethnic, gender, religious) -mixed gender seating
Authoritarian	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -patriarchal -hierarchal -rule following -corporal punishment
Shared Fate/Collective Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -secular understanding of citizenship -the good of society -learn each other's language
Personally, Responsible Citizen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -being respectful -being obedient -work/study hard -inner peace -tolerance -adhere to the will of the majority -love country -do no harm -fulfill duties
Justice-oriented Citizen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -interruptive -critical thinking -self-reflective -agency -can think beyond group affiliation -recognize inequity through empathy or understanding -flexible approach to identity -resilience -incremental transformation
Belligerent citizenship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -uncritical patriotism -adhere to the will of the majority -workshop the military -Singhalese-Buddhist hegemony -give up/overlook grievances -safeguard/protect the country/culture -learn about conflict to demonstrate military might
Inclusive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -respect for rights (religious, language, ethnicity, gender, abilities) -understanding of inequity
Exclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -exclusion based on gender/race/religion/language/language/caste/class -disengagement of boys

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -exclusion of women in politics -Liberal feminism
Obedience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -teacher-centered pedagogy -authoritarian -corporal punishment -utilitarian goals -exam culture/exam competition
Positive Conflict or Peacebuilding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -recognize inequity -critical thinking -talk about Sri Lanka's national conflict -talking about controversial issues (lack of rights) -recognition inequity -redistribute to change inequity -understand root of conflict to prevent future conflicts
Negative Peace/Peace Keeping	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -corporal punishment -threat of violence -omission of conflict to prevent re-traumatization -omission of conflict to prevent fueling more conflict -cultural violence -limited critical thinking -punitive -LTTE -surveillance -militarization
Resilience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -education as a way out -education to challenge injustice -agency -resourceful
Apathy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -no hope for peace -no way to access rights -no faith in political solution -lack of trust/faith in government and institutions -trauma -extreme poverty -disenfranchisement -racism -unequal resource distribution -learned helplessness
Empathy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -consideration of other's experiences/opinions (ethnic, religious, gender) -recognition of personal/group privilege -recognition of rights lost by others
Indifference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -unable to accept or identify personal/group privilege -belief that war was the result of terrorism -deny truth to maintain privilege
Secure Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -can criticize aspects of own group

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -shared-fate understanding of citizenship -advocates for other groups -engaging in work/responsibilities/activities that challenge traditional gender norms
Flexible Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -culture is changing; can change; should change; will change -men and women should have equal rights -GE does not undermine culture -positive gender interactions -aspects of GE exist in all cultures
Fixed/Essentialized Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -culture is fixed -cultural must be safeguarded/ protected -religious/cultural/ethnic understanding of citizenship identity/national identity -fixed gender roles -hypermasculine/hyperfeminine -gendered expectations (work, ability, behaviour) -separate roles for men and women in society -arbitrary distinction between public and private sphere -sex segregation -sexualizing interactions between the sexes
Insecure Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -cultural/ethnic/religious identity under threat due to loss of rights -Islamophobia -Singhalese minority complex -boys feeling emasculated by adults in the school/military presence
Patriotism/National unity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -agency -access to equal rights -restitution -multilingualism -justice for crimes
Second Class Citizens (No trust in the State)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -disenfranchisement -no justice for SGBV -land appropriation -poor quality education -limited opportunities for work -exclusionary experiences in school based on religion, gender, class, caste etc. -war trauma
Violence (school & community)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -bullying -SGBV -militarization -harmful masculinities -corporal punishment -omission of injustice -omission of Sri Lanka's national conflict -large – crowded schools -patriarchal administrators

SGBV	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -control of women's bodies/movements -victim blaming -high level of community and school violence against boys -lack of recognition of boys' experiences -low levels of GE -low levels of positive interaction between sexes -eve teasing -women prevent rape by acting/dressing appropriately
Harmful masculinities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -sexual aggression -aggressive horseplay -bullying -physical appearance (how the uniform is worn) -disrespect for women (female teachers) -violence -expectation to be tough (tolerate violence)

Appendix F: Teacher Survey

Training & Resources

1. How many years have you been teaching?

2. What grades do you teach?

3. What subjects do you teach?

4. Where did you complete your teacher training?

5. What are your teacher training qualifications (degree/diploma/certificate etc.)?

6. What is your gender: male or female (circle one)
7. When new curriculum or teaching methods are introduced, schools and administrators provide me with training to carry out these things. Yes or No (**circle one**). If you answered yes, what kinds of workshops and training have you received in the last five years:

8. What does being a good citizen mean to you?

9. What does gender equality mean to you?

Rate the extent to which you agree with each of the items on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is described as "strongly agree," 2 is "moderately agree," 3 is "neutral," 4 is "moderately disagree," and 5 is "strongly disagree."

	Training					
10	I feel confident teaching my subjects.	1	2	3	4	5
11	When a new curriculum is introduced, I have received adequate training to deliver it.	1	2	3	4	5
12	When new teaching methods, like peace education, are introduced, I have received training to use these new methods.	1	2	3	4	5
13	The training I have received in the past is relevant and easy to apply in my classroom.	1	2	3	4	5
14	The training I have received while teaching is adequate.	1	2	3	4	5
15	The training I have received while teaching is inadequate.	1	2	3	4	5
16	I have sufficient materials and resources to conduct my lessons in the classroom.	1	2	3	4	5
17	I have access to the necessary textbooks to teach my subjects.	1	2	3	4	5
18	I feel confident incorporating values of peace education in my teaching.	1	2	3	4	5

Gender Roles in Society (Prasad & Baron, 1996)						
19	The responsibility of taking care of infants should be equally divided between parents, irrespective of their gender.	1	2	3	4	5
20	Boys and girls should be encouraged to do the same things.	1	2	3	4	5
21	There should be special quotas for women in government jobs.	1	2	3	4	5
22	School teachers should encourage girls and boys equally in science and math.	1	2	3	4	5
23	School teachers should encourage girls and boys equally in English, social studies, and languages.	1	2	3	4	5
24	There should be no differential dress codes for men and women at workplaces, for example, codes saying that women must wear skirts.	1	2	3	4	5
25	Girls and boys should be given equal access to gyms and other sports facilities in schools.	1	2	3	4	5
26	Husbands and wives should share equally in housework such as cooking, washing dishes, and housecleaning.	1	2	3	4	5
27	The husband and wife should have an equal responsibility to contribute to the family income by working.	1	2	3	4	5
28	Women in the military should be kept out of certain combat roles.	1	2	3	4	5
29	Families should spend just as much money on the education of daughters as on the education of sons.	1	2	3	4	5
30	Families should provide equal medical care to daughters and sons.	1	2	3	4	5
31	Governments and hospitals should provide equal health care facilities for men and women.	1	2	3	4	5
32	High schools should spend as much money on girls' sports as on boys' sports.	1	2	3	4	5
33	Husbands and wives should have equal roles in decisions about spending money.	1	2	3	4	5
34	Husbands and wives should have equal roles in decisions about the education and care of their children	1	2	3	4	5
35	In college classes, professors should call on men and women equally when the students raise their hand.	1	2	3	4	5
36	Marriage partners should be about equally well educated.	1	2	3	4	5
37	The husband and wife should have equal responsibility for household work other than child care.	1	2	3	4	5
38*	If one parent is to care for a child, the child develops better if it is the father rather than the mother.	1	2	3	4	5
39	Boys are naturally better at math and science than girls.	1	2	3	4	5
40	Girls are naturally better at English, social studies, and languages than boys.	1	2	3	4	5
41	Boys are naturally better at most sports.	1	2	3	4	5
42	Boys are naturally better at learning to use computers.	1	2	3	4	5
43	Men are more capable than women of killing the enemy in war.	1	2	3	4	5
44	Women have more medical problems than men.	1	2	3	4	5
45	Men are better at making decisions about money.	1	2	3	4	5
46	Human beings evolved so that men have authority in the family.	1	2	3	4	5

47	Men are more rational than women.	1	2	3	4	5
48	Women are better suited than men to child care.	1	2	3	4	5
49	Men are better suited than women to work outside of the house.	1	2	3	4	5
50	Men are better suited for higher education than women.	1	2	3	4	5
51	Male and female teachers are treated equally at my school by our superiors.	1	2	3	4	5
52	Men and women should get equal pay for the same work they do.	1	2	3	4	5

Citizenship						
53	Everyone in Sri Lanka is an equal citizen	1	2	3	4	5
54	Young people should have a say in how the country is run.	1	2	3	4	5
55	Women and men both have an important role in helping build the country.	1	2	3	4	5
56	There should be more women in government.	1	2	3	4	5
57	In this country, all citizens have equal rights.	1	2	3	4	5
58	I don't have access to all my rights as a citizen because of: gender, race, language, religion, caste, class (circle all that apply)	1	2	3	4	5
59	Both men and women have an important role to play in politics.	1	2	3	4	5
60	Women should be given more opportunities because they are often excluded from public life.	1	2	3	4	5
61	Our school provides opportunities for girls to become leaders.	1	2	3	4	5
62	Our society provides opportunities for women to become leaders.	1	2	3	4	5
63	Equality between men and women is necessary for a peaceful society and nation.	1	2	3	4	5
64	Women should play an important role in the military to protect the nation.	1	2	3	4	5
65	Only men should engage in military service while women contribute to the nation in other ways.	1	2	3	4	5
66	Household work and raising children within the home is as important as work that is done outside of the home for wages.	1	2	3	4	5
67	Women and men should have equal rights in all aspects of society.	1	2	3	4	5
68	More women should be involved in decision-making activities related to peacebuilding.	1	2	3	4	5
69	I feel more affinity to my local community than my nation.	1	2	3	4	5
70	I feel like I have a voice in how the school is run and operated.	1	2	3	4	5
71	Teachers should have a voice in how the school is operated.	1	2	3	4	5
72	Everyone should try to learn the second national language	1	2	3	4	5
73	It is possible for the different kinds of people in Sri Lanka to live peacefully together.	1	2	3	4	5
74	It is important that the different kinds of people in Sri Lanka learn to live peacefully together.	1	2	3	4	5
75	The school is a good place to learn to live in peace.	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix G: Teacher Survey Consent Form



Université d'Ottawa
Faculté d'éducation

University of Ottawa
Faculty of Education

☎ 613-562-5804
📠 613-562-5146

145 Jean Jacques Lussier
Ottawa ON K1N 6N5 Canada
www.uOttawa.ca

Title of the study: Education for social cohesion? A gender analysis of citizenship education in post-war Sri Lanka

Dear Teacher,

You are invited to participate in the above mentioned research study conducted by myself, Thursica Kovinthan, a Ph.D. student, and my supervisor Dr. Richard Maclure from the University of Ottawa, Canada. This project is funded by the Vanier Canada Graduate Scholarship.

If you wish to participate in this study, please complete the attached survey. Your decision to complete and return this survey will be interpreted as an indication of your consent to participate. The survey should take you approximately 25 minutes to complete. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to answer. Once you have completed the survey, please drop it off in the sealed locked box in the staff room. We would appreciate receiving it before _____.

The purpose of this study is to understand how teachers and students think about citizenship in Sri Lanka. It aims to understand how boys and girls are taught to be good citizens in school and how they can work towards lasting peace. The study also would like to get your feedback on the new citizenship curriculum. We will share your opinions with the Ministry of Education, universities, international organizations, and NGOs who work with schools to improve the quality of education, particularly citizenship education.

The information that you will share will remain strictly confidential and will be used solely for the purposes of this research. The only people who will have access to the research data are myself and my supervisor. Your answers to open-ended questions may be used verbatim in presentations and publications, but neither you (nor your school) will be identified. The results will be published in a pooled format. Anonymity is guaranteed since you are not being asked to provide your name or any personal information.

All information that is collected will be digitized and uploaded within one week to the principal investigator's cloud account that is password protected and saved in files that are encrypted through password protection. Hard copies will be shredded and destroyed immediately after digitization. The surveys will be kept in a locked filing cabinet, in digital format, in the office of my supervisor at the University of Ottawa for a period of 5 years, at which time they will be destroyed.

You are under no obligation to participate, and if you choose to participate, you may refuse to answer questions that you do not want to answer. Completion and return of the questionnaire by you implies consent.

The findings of this study will be presented to you in a report format at the end of the research study. If you have any questions or require more information about the study itself, please contact my supervisor at the numbers below or me.

If you have any questions with regards to the ethical conduct of this study, you may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 154, Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5, tel.: (613) 562-5387 or ethics@uottawa.ca.

Please keep this form for your records.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Thursica Kovinthan

Date

Signature

Thursica Kovinthan
University of Ottawa
Ottawa, ON, Canada

Dr. Richard Maclure
University of Ottawa
Ottawa, ON, Canada

Appendix H: Student Survey

1. What grade are you in?

2. What subjects are you taking?

3. What is your gender? Male or female (circle one) _____
4. What job or profession would you like to have in the future: _____
5. What hopes and dreams do you have for your country? What qualities would your ideal country have?

6. What does being a good citizen mean to you?

7. What does gender equality mean to you?

Rate the extent to which you agree with each of the items on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is described as "strongly agree," 2 is "moderately agree," 3 is "neutral," 4 is "moderately disagree," and 5 is "strongly disagree."

Gender Roles in Society (Prasad & Baron, 1996)						
8	The responsibility of taking care of infants should be equally divided between parents, irrespective of their gender.	1	2	3	4	5
9	Boys and girls should be encouraged to do the same things.	1	2	3	4	5
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44	Women and men both have an important role in helping build the country.	1	2	3	4	5
45	There should be more women in government.	1	2	3	4	5
46	In this country, all citizens have equal rights.	1	2	3	4	5
47	I don't have access to all my rights as a citizen because of: gender, race, language, religion, caste, class (circle all that apply)	1	2	3	4	5
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49	Women should be given more opportunities because they are often excluded from public life.	1	2	3	4	5
50	Our school provides opportunities for girls to become leaders.	1	2	3	4	5
51	Our society provides opportunities for women to become leaders.	1	2	3	4	5
52	Equality between men and women is necessary for a peaceful society and nation.	1	2	3	4	5
53	Women should play an important role in the military to protect the nation.	1	2	3	4	5

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56	Women and men should have equal rights in all aspects of society.	1	2	3	4	5
57	More women should be involved in decision-making activities related to peacebuilding.	1	2	3	4	5
58	I feel more affinity to my local community than my nation.	1	2	3	4	5
59	I take part in extra-curricular activities at school	1	2	3	4	5
60	I feel like I have a voice in how my school is run.	1	2	3	4	5
61	Students should have a voice in how the school is run.	1	2	3	4	5
62	Everyone should try to learn the second national language	1	2	3	4	5
63	It is possible for the different kinds of people in Sri Lanka to live peacefully together.	1	2	3	4	5
64	It is important that the different kinds of people in Sri Lanka learn to live peacefully together.	1	2	3	4	5
65	The school is a good place to learn to live in peace.	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix I: Student Survey Consent Form



uOttawa

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The information that you will share will remain strictly confidential and will be used solely for the purposes of this research. The only people who will have access to the research data are myself and my supervisor. Your answers to open-ended questions may be used verbatim in presentations and publications, but neither you (nor your school) will be identified. The results will be published in a pooled format. Anonymity is guaranteed since you are not being asked to provide your name or any personal information.

All information that is collected will be digitized and uploaded within one week to the principal investigator's cloud account that is password protected and saved in files that are encrypted through password protection. Hard copies will be shredded and destroyed immediately after digitization. The surveys will be kept in a locked filing cabinet, in digital format, in the office of my supervisor at the University of Ottawa for a period of 5 years, at which time they will be destroyed.

The findings of this study will be presented to you and your school in a report format at the end of the research study. If you have any questions or require more information about the study itself, you can contact me or my supervisor at the numbers below.

If you have any questions with regards to the ethical conduct of this study, you may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 154, Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5, tel.: (613) 562-5387 or ethics@uottawa.ca.

Please keep this form for your records.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Thursica Kovinthan

Date

Signature

Thursica Kovinthan
University of Ottawa
Ottawa, ON, Canada

Dr. Richard Maclure
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Ottawa, ON, Canada

Appendix J: Career Section of Grade 9 Citizenship Education Textbook



Appendix K– Inclusive Democratic Citizenship – Observations by School

School	School uniforms	School Prayer (s)	Multilingualism	National Anthem	Democratic citizenship in school and classroom
A Island-Tamil Large Conflict-zone	-Ethnic Tamil majority school; - Muslim students wear head covering; female students wear pants under their school dress	-Hindu majority school Fridays, minority Christian students have a separate prayer space for morning prayer; other days, a Hindu and Christian prayer is read	Predominantly Tamil and sometimes in English	No anthem, school song sung	-very low -strong hierarchal school culture -teacher centered classrooms -very strong exam culture
B Island-Tamil Small Conflict-zone	-Ethnic Tamil majority school; - No Muslim students observed	-Hindu majority school -Hindu prayer	Predominantly Tamil and sometimes in English	No anthem, school song sung	-medium -teacher centered classrooms -shared decision between principal and teachers
C Vanni-Tamil Large High conflict- zone	-Ethnic Tamil majority school -No Muslim students observed	Hindu and Christian prayer	Predominantly Tamil and sometimes in English	No anthem, school song sung	-low -hierarchal school culture -teacher centered classrooms -very strong exam culture
D Vanni-Tamil Small High Conflict- zone	-Ethnic Tamil majority school -No Muslim students observed	Hindu and Christian prayer	Predominantly Tamil and sometimes in English	No anthem, school song sung	-low/medium -hierarchal school culture - student-directed school improvement projects -teacher-centred classrooms
E Eastern-Tamil Small Conflict-zone	-Ethnic Tamil majority school -No Muslim students observed	Fridays, minority Christian students have a separate prayer space for morning prayer	Predominantly Tamil and sometimes in English	No anthem, school song sung	-medium -high engagement and leadership from teachers and female vice principal
F Eastern-Tamil Large Conflict-zone	-Ethnic Tamil majority school -Minority Muslim students wear head covering; female students wear pants under dress	Fridays, minority Christian and Muslim students have a separate prayer space	Predominantly Tamil and sometimes in English	No anthem, school song sung	-low -hierarchal school culture -teacher centered classrooms -very strong exam culture

G Up-Country Sinhala Medium Low conflict	-Ethnic Sinhala majority school -Muslim students present; no head covering observed; students reported fear of persecution if worn.	Buddhist prayer for all students including extended prayer on Fridays	Predominantly Sinhala with some English and Tamil	National Anthem sung	-high -strong collegiality between teachers; open and receptive principal -teacher centered classrooms
H Hill Country- Tamil (Indian) Large Low conflict	- Ethnic Indian Tamil school - Minority Muslim students wear head covering	Hindu, Muslim, and Christian prayer daily at morning assembly; Friday separate space for all groups for extended prayer	Predominantly Tamil with some English	Anthem played on speaker; no singing	-low -hierarchal school culture -teacher centered classrooms
I Hill Country- Sinhala Small Low conflict	-Ethnic Sinhala majority school -Muslims students not present	Not observed	Predominantly Sinhala	National Anthem in Sinhala	Not observed
J Hill Country- Sinhala Large Low conflict	-Ethnic Sinhala majority school -Muslim students present; no head covering observed; students reported fear of persecution if worn.	-Buddhist prayer for all students	Predominantly Sinhala with English	National Anthem in Sinhala	-low -hierarchal school culture -teacher centered classrooms -very strong exam culture
K Hill Country- Tamil (Indian) Small Low conflict	- Ethnic Indian Tamil school -Muslim students not observed	Not observed	Predominantly Tamil with some English	School song morning; National anthem end of day	Not observed
L North-Muslim Tamil Large Conflict zone	-Ethnic Muslim majority school -Non-Muslim students do not have to cover their heads; all female students wear pants under their dress	Non-Muslim students are exempt from the morning prayer	Predominantly Tamil with some English	No anthem, school song sung	-low -hierarchal school culture -teacher centered classrooms -very strong exam culture
M North-Muslim Tamil Small Conflict Zone	-Ethnic Muslim majority school -Non-Muslim students do not cover their heads	Hindu, Muslim, and Christian prayer daily	Predominantly Tamil with some English	No anthem, school song sung	-medium -students directed school improvement activities -teacher centered classrooms

Appendix L: Gender Equality Observations by School

School	Gender relations	Gender Roles	Corporal punishment	Harmful Masculinities	Attendance and gender ratios	Student participation	Teacher pedagogy
A Island-Tamil Large Conflict-zone	-Low interaction between male and female; fear of social repercussions and shaming -Gender segregated seating – self selected	Gendered roles for male and female students e.g. sweeping vs moving furniture or setting up sound equipment	Gendered forms of corporal punishment	Medium	Equal numbers of male and female students in upper level grades	Boys are generally more vocal across all the grades; however, some girls are in the lower grades	Teacher centered lecture style lesson;
B Island-Tamil Small Conflict-zone	-Predominantly female teachers; high interaction between students -Mixed seating	Mixed roles for male and female students; picking flowers for prayer, sweeping,	Gendered forms of corporal punishment	Low	Low number of boys in upper grades	Boys and girls equally involved in classroom talk	Student centered classroom instruction that was activity based; adaptation for student with special needs
C Vanni-Tamil Large High conflict-zone	-Medium interaction between male and female students and teachers (teatime) -Gender segregated seating – self directed	Gendered roles for male and female students; setting up sound equipment; announcements;	Gendered forms of corporal punishment	High	Equal numbers of male and female students in upper level grades	In higher grades, girls are less vocal; boys generally shout out answers while girls raise their hands	Teacher centered; lecture style delivery; understanding of student centered
D Vanni-Tamil Small	-Predominantly female staff at school; high	Mixed roles for male and female students (watering	Gendered forms of corporal punishment	Low	Low number of boys in upper grades	Equal engagement of boys and girls in classes, including	Teacher-centered lecture style delivery;

High Conflict-zone	interaction between genders -Segregated seating in older grades and mixed seating in younger grades that is assigned	plants, digging, sweeping)				older classes though a few boys did dominate	
E Eastern-Tamil Small Conflict-zone	-Medium interaction between male and female students -Mixed seating	Mixed roles for male and female students (girls dominated in some cases)	Gendered forms of corporal punishment	Low	Low number of boys in upper grades	Girls are more vocal in older grades; teachers generally seem to teach to the girls	Some student-centered lessons - drama
F Eastern-Tamil Large Conflict-zone	-Low interaction between male and female students; sex segregated classes in grade 11 -Sex segregated seating	Gendered roles for male and female students; lack of engagement of boys	Gendered forms of corporal punishment	High	Equal numbers of male and female students in upper level grades	In mixed classes within the older grades, girls are more vocal; teacher more likely to call upon girls	Teacher-centered lecture style
G Hill Country-Sinhala Medium Low conflict	-High interaction between male and female students and teachers -Mixed seating	Mixed roles for male and female students	Gendered forms of corporal punishment	Low	Equal numbers of male and female students in upper level grades	Equal engagement by boys and girls	Some student-centered lessons – drama; visual aids around classroom
H Hill Country-Tamil (Indian) Large Low conflict	-Medium interaction between male and female students and teachers -Mixed seating in lower classes including teacher	Mixed roles for male and female students	Gendered forms of corporal punishment	Medium	Equal numbers of male and female students in upper level grades	Equal engagement by boys and girls	Teacher-centered lessons

	directed mixed ability grouping self-selected segregation in some older grades						
I Hill Country-Sinhala Small Low conflict	-Interactions not observed -Mixed seating	Not observed	Gendered forms of corporal punishment	Low	Equal numbers of male and female students in upper level grades	No observed	Not observed
J Hill Country-Sinhala Large Low conflict	-Medium interaction between male and female students and teachers -Mixed seating	Mixed roles for male and female students	Gendered forms of corporal punishment	High	Equal numbers of male and female students in upper level grades	No observed; students writing exams	Not observed
K Hill Country-Tamil (Indian) Small Low conflict	-Medium interaction between male and female students and staff -Mixed seating	Not observed	Gendered forms of corporal punishment	Low	Low number of boys in upper grades	Equal engagement	Teacher-centered lecture style learning
L North-Muslim Tamil Large Conflict zone	-Medium interaction between male and female students and staff -Gender segregated seating – teacher enforced	Gendered roles for male and female students	Gendered forms of corporal punishment	High	Equal numbers of male and female students in upper level grades	Not observed; students writing exams	Not observed

M North-Muslim Tamil Small Conflict zone	-High interaction between male and female students and staff -Mixed seating	Mixed roles for male and female students; high engagement among boys	Gendered forms of corporal punishment	Low	Equal numbers of male and female students in upper level grades	Equal engagement by boys and girls	Some student centered
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Appendix M- Inclusive Democratic Citizenship – Teacher Interviews by School

School	Understanding of citizenship	Access to rights	Inclusion and Unity	Citizenship textbooks/curriculum	Recognition of conflict
A Island-Tamil Large Conflict-zone	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -serving society -patriotism towards country -we should be respected -we should have rights -everyone accepts we have rights -follow culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -we don't get all of our rights -can't access rights because of minority status -limited access to quality education compared to Sinhala counterparts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -caste exclusions -Tamils will always a minority in this country -we are too different; we can't live together (Tamils and Singhalese) -government making some effort for reconciliation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -useful and relevant for students; focus on self-development -good that it was made a separate subject 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -conflict should be recognized in curriculum -this is our history and experience
B Island-Tamil Small Conflict-zone	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -rights to live in a place -right to call a place home and live in it -living without fear -safety important -environment to experience; have access to our rights 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -language rights violated -equity should be promoted -we should be allowed to practice our culture and beliefs -land rights violated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Tamil language excluded on important forms -caste exclusions among students -we can only live together when "they" give us all the rights equally -ethnic differences impact citizenship 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -improved from the old syllabus which was very theoretical -new syllabus is mostly practical, real life examples -civics books more inclusive than history books 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -war would lose its meaning in the future if we don't talk about it -new generation of children do not know history of war or causes -have the urge to tell but have to consider my safety -cover topics indirectly
C Vanni-Tamil Large High conflict-zone	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -rights to live and express opinions freely -respect others; should be obedient -know and use basic rights -live without interrupting others 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -loss of educational opportunities during war -land/home rights, confiscated by military 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "we" see all students from different castes as the same -caste exclusions (female teacher) -regardless of struggles, proud be to Sri Lankan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -syllabus was modified to the current lifestyle and situation -easy to understand the culture -pictures are interesting to students 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -include brief history; details could bring bitter memories and lead to resistance groups (male civics teacher)

	-rules and regulations		-little hope for improvement of the status of Tamils		
D Vanni-Tamil Small High Conflict-zone	-right to live in a certain place -follow good habits to be good citizen -be role model for society -live peacefully	-we will never be treated equally -difference between majority and minority	-caste exclusions -ethnic exclusion of Tamils -we “Tamils” will always be downtrodden -one day there will/should be change -mostly proud to be Sri Lankan -there will always be conflict; we will never get all rights	-students study it just to get their marks; not relevant to Tamils -interesting content	-children should know about the war; it was not in vain -everyone should be aware of the war
E Eastern-Tamil Small Conflict-zone	-the rights and freedoms we have to live in a country -follow cultural codes -Freedom -be a good family and community member -support economic growth -be patriotic -respect others	-some rights lacking (scared to say more) -we will never get the same rights/support as Sinhalese -we need right to practice religious freely	-there will always be divisions in terms of who is superior -increasing contact will reduce exclusionary attitudes -proud to be Sri Lankan; but scars of war will not go away for a long time -little hope of national unity, unless Tamils give something up -disruptive politicians undermine unity	-tells the laws to follow during conflict in country -takes a linear route from family, community to country	-hard to not talk about issues when teaching about rights; it comes up -conflict should be talked about; we should not be afraid
F Eastern-Tamil Large	-right to live in country -political and civil rights	-government will never give expected rights to Tamils;	-Muslims are difficult to live with (Christian Tamil)	-helps students understand their rights -helps student develop themselves	-students should be aware of conflict to prevent future ones

Conflict-zone	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -civil rights; common rights -access to Human Rights -right to freedom; linguistic rights -discipline 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> they pretend like they will -if we get rights, it will not be a hundred percent 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -misconceptions about gender in Muslim culture -proud to be Tamil; sad about not getting independence -identify as Sri Lankan Tamil -focus on self, everything else will work out 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -if taken till grade 11 and taught well, it can help students become good citizens 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -maybe it was skipped to avoid reminding people of the past -human right is covered, so conflict should be taught to show what has been refused -should be covered but without assigning fault
G Hill Country-Sinhala Medium Low conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -work and love country -productive person to the country -given to people who live in country for some time -ensuring not to hurt others -being patriotic - having good habits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -perception that everyone has access to their rights if they follow the rules 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -perception that all students were treated equally and fairly -perception that non-Buddhist students taking part in Buddhist prayer is sign of social cohesion -proud to be Sri Lankan -very strong sense of patriotism -belief that everyone should give up grievances and just get along 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -citizenship textbooks relevant to students lives and future needs as members of society -easy to teach for teachers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -speaking up for religious, ethnic, religious rights is perceived as dividing the country -lack critical understanding of conflict; one sided view
H Hill Country-Tamil (Indian) Large Low conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -rights we have in country -love country -respect self and society -rights should be equal -be a role model -freedom to live 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -land confiscated -language & religious rights infringed upon -right to quality educated impacted by language barriers and war 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Tamil language exclusion -Tamils are excluded from political leadership (can't be president) -Estate workers are looked down upon by Tamils 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -good subject; teaches about family and society -when we teach about citizenship, out students notice that we don't get these things 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -pros and cons to teaching about war (empathy and inciting conflict) -war should be taught about without inciting violence

		-they (Singhalese) are keeping some rights from us	-Estate Tamils affinity to Tamils in the North -Education is a means to cohesion -no equality in country; political system unfair to Indian Tamils -economic exclusion		
I Hill Country- Sinhala Small Low conflict	-living without hurting others	-everyone has access to rights, no inequality in Sri Lanka -perception that Indian Tamils were being given more provisions than Sinhala	-sees all Sri Lankan's the same and equal; no difference (colorblind) -proud to be Sri Lanka -country should be united; it is not united now -people should -Tamils and Singhalese always lived peacefully	-good subject to study -provides a way to change lives for the better -relevant to students lives -addressing current challenges	-Sinhala teacher felt if Tamils learned about conflict, it could incite violence; not necessary to learn about conflict -conflict was caused by a few ignorant people, not necessary to learn about
J Hill Country- Sinhala Large Low conflict	-following traditions and culture -study well -respect religion, race, & country	-teachers felt they had access to their rights -recognized that there were 'some' people who did not have access to rights	-teachers see all students as equal and treat them equally -belief that their mixed school was inclusive of all students -education is a means to social cohesion -some teachers belief peace had been achieved while others saw it a work in progress	-useful subject -opportunity to teach about peace and unity -not taken seriously by students sometimes -liked by students -taught by unqualified teachers	-conflict should be included -students will take the subject more seriously if war was taught about
K Hill Country- Tamil (Indian)	-how we should live in every way -our responsibilities -avoid hurting others	-government office forms are Sinhala, we have to get translator	-when we go to majority areas, we feel uncomfortable -during difficult times, we didn't wear bindhi	-good subject liked by students -relevant to students -works better when we use drama and speeches	-war should be talked about -the curriculum is written by the

Small Low conflict	-improve self before telling others to	-training is done in Sinhala -rural schools have no services -little less than it should be	-Jaffna Tamils see us as outsiders -hard to be proud during the war -in this area we get along well, bilingualism for all but rest of Sri Lanka is a problem -proud to be Sri Lankans; we are not Indians any longer	-useful subject helps students direct themselves	government, so they won't write about it -not scared to talk about it; it is what happened -conflict should be included; children need to know
L North- Muslim Tamil Large Conflict zone	-people must have all facilities and rights -must be proper -not blame others -love the country -learn good values	-language rights limited -	-proud but with mixed feelings due to rights that still have not been attained (Tamil) -identifies as Muslim but live in Sri Lanka	-children are interested in discussing loss of rights	-write about it so students understand the cause of war -wait a few years so it is not fresh and entice people to start again
M North- Muslim Tamil Small Conflict Zone	-right to live in a country -finish our studies and contribute through politics, culture, everyway -be leaders -do you best to improve society	-generally, have most of my rights, even in Sinhala areas -Muslim girls not able to participate in sports due to restrictions on head gear -limited freedom of speech -property lost to LTTE	-exclusion of Christians by Hindus -Muslim and identify as Sri Lankan first - government is giving religious rights -we must give precedence to motherland	-guides children on how to behave in the home, school, society -students are interested -talks about practical things like conflict resolution -contributions of Tamils and Muslims not recognized in the curriculum, only Buddhist	-conflict should be written about so it is understand why people went to war: asking for rights -government trying to portray that there are no issues; it should be written about

Appendix N: Inclusive Democratic Citizenship – Student Interviews by School

School	Understanding of citizenship	Access to rights	Inclusion and unity	Citizenship textbooks/curriculum	Recognition of conflict
A Island-Tamil Large Conflict-zone	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -rights based -having freedom -help/assist others -not harming others -necessary to vote to avoid losing rights -act according to culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -language barriers to access services -limited rights to walk freely without fear of SGBV -Singhalese have more rights -caste barriers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -difficult to be Sri Lankan since we don't have the same rights -proud to be Sri Lankan -mixed feelings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -interesting and relatable -easy to learn 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -war experience should be known
B Island-Tamil Small Conflict-zone	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -live according to rules -freedom -have rights so that we are not uncomfortable -live according to society -respect elders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -we are getting rights now; need to be educated to keep it -caste barriers -poverty impacts right to education -people don't have rights because of war 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -proud to be Sri Lankan because NOW we are getting rights -caste exclusion -there is no equality between groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -it is important for our life -enjoyable subject to learn 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -we should know about conflict so we can learn from it and prevent it in the future -learned about war from elders; no one teaches it in school
C Vanni-Tamil Large High conflict-zone	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -rights-based -get along with people -contribute economically -should be gender neutral but not happening -help less fortunate (social justice) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -have access to some rights since the end of war -unequal access to education -girls don't have access to right to security -loss of rights to food, education, and safety during war 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -proud to be Sri Lankan -student impacted by war; does not feel like a Sri Lanka due to loss of rights -preferred LTTE governance -caste differences cause barriers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -engaging and relevant to life -easy to understand -important to study 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -war should be written about so people know what happened -there were many human right violations, people should know about what happened to us here in the last days; no one knows

D Vanni- Tamil Small High Conflict- zone	-citizenship is having equal rights in a country -be a good person; don't lie, steal or cheat -respect elders, teachers -be a good student	-we can get rights back through educating ourselves -we need more freedom to live without fear -military camps prevent right to freedom of movement	-we should not have unfair governance as a result of the war -if the government treated all people the same; we would have all of our rights -generally proud to be Sri Lankan -Tamils need self-governance	-interesting subject and helps us in our life; provides guidance on how to live	-even though it did not end well for Tamils, it is part of our history; it should be written
E Eastern- Tamil Small Conflict- zone	-rights-based -respect and act according laws imposed by government -complete all my responsibilities -protect my rights and ensure they are not infringed upon	-access to education limited due to war -war led to death of many family members	-impact of war left mixed feelings on identity as Sri Lankan -hopeful that there will be peace in the future with other groups -education means to unity	-interesting subject -easy to understand	-war should be learned about -many things happened here and not everyone knows
F Eastern- Tamil Large Conflict- zone	-citizenship is rights and freedom to live in your country -act proper, obey teacher and parents; follow rules and law -get educated and get a job	-Sinhalese people have more rights; Tamil rights decreasing -Tamils fear walking in Muslim area; Muslims fear walking in Tamil areas; no freedom of movement -Tamils do not have land rights	-Sinhalese will always have more rights and opportunities -ethnic problems will always exist -conflicts between Tamil and Muslim over land -mixed schools are good	-subject is very important; teaches about government and life -it teaches mostly about Sinhalese content not Tamil	-they are hiding what happened -we must learn about country's conflict -more Tamil content is needed -war coverage should not be too deep, could lead to more conflict

G Hill Country- Sinhala Medium Low conflict	-following laws, cultural rules, religious rules, and societal norms	-Sinhala students reported having access to most rights -Moor and Tamils students were not treated the same as peers	-mixed schools is a good place to learn about peace and living together -Islamophobia present among staff and accepted as norm	-curriculum is good and easy to understand and study -	-Sinhala students felt conflict should be included to prevent future uprising from rebels (peacekeeping motive) while others saw it as a lesson in peace (peacebuilding)
H Hill Country- Tamil (Indian Tamil) Large Low conflict	-respect elders; obedience -how we protect the country (environment) -think of wellbeing of others -be loyal to the country -gender neutral -unity in the country	-limited access to rights compared to majority -Indian Tamils marginalized by Singhalese and Tamils -no political representation -only education can lead to more rights -no rights to walk freely for girls	-students from groups are integrated/friends - self-segregation between Hindu and Muslim girls during eating -caste is a barrier to inclusion -class discrimination	-easy subject; about life -subject relevant to life -teaches good habits	-war should be included in curriculum to prevent future occurrences -teacher talked about war as part of general discussion even though it was not in the textbooks
I Hill Country- Sinhala Small Low conflict	-living without hurting others -fulfilling duties -individual focus -freedom to talk about country's problems (one male student)	-no opportunity to learn first language (Tamil student) -understanding that some people lose their rights -Sinhala students reported having access to rights	-Estate Tamils valued for their ability to integrate in Sinhala community at the expense of their own linguistic identity -recognition of racism in Sri Lanka – Sinhala blood- (one male student) -teachers should play a role in uniting country by treating everyone the same	- relevance to students' lived experiences and potential to address current challenges in society -useful to learn conflict management, working in unison, and equality	-learning about past war should be included curriculum to show how the country was saved from LTTE (Sinhala students) -learning about past war could cause more problems (Indian Tamil student)

<p>J Hill Country- Sinhala Large Low conflict</p>	<p>-citizenship is using rights in one's country and being free -fulfilling duties to country -be a good student; respect -gender neutral (female) -better to have gendered responsibilities (male) -culture important</p>	<p>-Muslims experience racism in school (Sinha-le movement) -barrier to education for Muslims -caste issues -if country divides, people will lose their rights (Sinhalese)</p>	<p>-despite problems as Muslim, proud to be Sri Lankan (M) -be united to develop country (S) -different religions come together; only have one national anthem (Sinhalese)</p>	<p>-learn about rights -navigate workplace -useful for life; teaches how to vote</p>	<p>-war/conflict should be included in textbook so we can learn and prevent if from happening again -talking about war could cause racism -learn without causing conflict; ethnic is no good; we beat the terrorist</p>
<p>K Hill Country- Tamil (Indian) Small Low conflict</p>	<p>-rights we have and relationship with society -living harmoniously with everyone in society -have good habits; live as a good person -avoid bad habits; drugs & alcohol; be educated</p>	<p>-we have to acquire the rights we need -caste issues -Estate Tamils are viewed differently; at school sporting events we are not treated equally (language, race, and poverty issues)</p>	<p>-proud t be Sri Lankan -Sinhalese people are given priority -hope for peace but Sinhalese need to want to do that</p>	<p>-good subject -teaches about how a person should be in society -important and mandatory subject -out history and contribution (Indian Tamil) should be written about in textbooks</p>	<p>-we should know about the war to avoid similar situations -we should study the war</p>
<p>L North- Muslim Tamil Large Conflict zone</p>	<p>-rights of people in a country; equal rights -be a good person at family, town, and country level -live under laws and rules -do our duty</p>	<p>-justice is needed; Muslims don't have rights - people have rights but the majority (Sinhalese) have more -we don't have right to participate in</p>	<p>-Sri Lankan first then Muslim -solve religious problems without conflict -Tamil teachers favor Tamil students over Muslim students</p>	<p>-teaches you how to be a good citizen -necessary subject -easy to understand</p>	<p>-writing about conflict is important; people should know about their history -write about it but not with too much detail or will lead to more war if people know everything</p>

		some sports/events with hijab or when fasting	-there could be peace, but it will be hard to get everyone to agree		
M North-Muslim Tamil Small Conflict Zone	-the rights you should have to live in a country -avoid getting involved in bad things -study -do something for society	-human rights violations not addressed from the war -freedom lost during the war (family jailed and conscripted by LTTE) -right to education lost due to war	-proud to be Sri Lankan; but pride comes mostly from being Muslim -mixed school helps us learn about each other and live peacefully -people live for themselves, they are not thinking of society; little chance of peace	-important to know about how to vote; it gives us information we need -course is related to life	-they should write about war and human rights violations so something can be done about it -if it is not written about it, it will be forgotten -it should be forgotten; it was very scary (highly impacted student) -should be written about even if it is difficult for those who experienced the war (Muslim student)

Appendix O: Gender Equality - Student Interviews by School

School	Understanding of GE	Gender roles	Sex and gender-based violence
A Island-Tamil Large Conflict- zone	-GE is equal access to work and education -GE present but still long way to go -We will never get GE	-women can work outside of the home because it is impossible for households to survive on one income -domestic work still responsibility of women even if this is unfair	-boys experience more corporal punishment at school -very low security for girls and women -no justice for SGBV victims and families
B Island-Tamil Small Conflict- zone	-We don't really have GE due to culture -in school we have GE -in some situations, there is equality but in others there is not	-girls study better than boys -men and women have different roles in society -women must do household work -girls memorize content while boys understand and solve problems; girls are patient	-boys get beaten more by teachers; girls are given other punishment -high levels of rape in community
C Vanni-Tamil Large High conflict- zone	-we have GE in school but not outside -gender roles should change in society to be more equal -no GE because of difference in security for men and women -culture should change to make room for GE	-men and women should have the same duties but it is not like this in all households -sharing workload will decrease emotional distress for women -priority given to males in society; there is false belief that boys are more capable	-boys beaten more because they are "naughtier" -there is a difference GE because there is less security for women and girls in Vanni -boys are also at risk for gang violence -more control and safety during LTTE for women
D Vanni-Tamil Small High Conflict- zone	-GE is equal rights for men and women -we have it in school and some parts of the country -society should not oppress women; how girls are raised by parents contributes to gender inequality - GE present when we are young; changes when you get older, particularly for women	-men and women have different roles in society -men should work and women should take care of children; this is best for the family, particularly children -a man can help his wife in domestic work	-LTTE would give immediate punishment; now people don't have this fear; army arrest men but let them out on bail and they do it again -SGBV caused by growing drug use -some women don't report about SGBV
E Eastern- Tamil	-did not know what GE word meant -there is GE in school	-boys not supported to stay in school when they left to work	-SGBV impacting women, girls, and even very young girls -SGBV caused by alcohol and drug abuse

Small Conflict-zone		-cultural restraints on freedom of movement for girls -men responsible for country; women responsible for home	
F Eastern-Tamil Large Conflict-zone	-men and women should be equal; culture is a barrier -gender equality is increasing; boys are falling behind -Hindu culture has roots of gender equality -lower GE in villages; our generation can change this	-women fought in war; they are capable of doing what a man can do -girls are better at raising children; they won't hurt the child -girls can do anything	-fear of walking on road alone; young men harass women -boys who are treated harshly in school drop out and harass women and girls on road -Vidhya case reflection of government's failure
G Hill Country-Sinhala Medium Low conflict	- Disconnect between the achievement of the ideal of gender equality versus the levels of equality between men and women - Understanding of gender equality based on women's access to employment outside of the home	- fixed understanding of gender roles (parenting, dress, occupation etc.) - patriarchal views of women, particularly in their role at home; -toxic masculinity; male students views of the inferiority of women to function in society	-gender-based violence can be prevented by regulating women's dress and behavior -female student reported feeling safe in their community
H Hill Country-Tamil (Indian) Large Low conflict	-there is no equality in some issues like jobs and parenting -GE has developed a little, in school and work but at home boys still get priority	-fixed notion of differences in jobs -men go to work; women are more caring -men and women should have the same duties but it is not always that way	-adult males harass students on streets
I Hill Country-Sinhala Small Low conflict	-GE is important and present in Sri Lanka -women are not suited for political office	-hypermasculine and feminine gender role expectations for men and women respectively -belief that boys did better in STEM -women must be more disciplined	-husband can beat his wife if she makes a mistake; but if he beats her because he is drunk its SGBV -boys experience higher levels of corporal punishment
J Hill Country-Sinhala	-GE has not been achieved in Sri Lanka; change is necessary -GE has been achieved (some male students)	-perception that men are higher than women must be changed -women are rising fast in public sphere; outpacing men	-boys experience higher levels of corporal punishment

Large Low conflict	-culture contributed to low progress in achieving GE	-should change the belief/culture that men are higher than women	
K Hill Country- Tamil (Indian) Small Low conflict	-there should be GE; society will develop if men and women work together -GE exist in some areas more than others (wages)	-when a woman is educated the whole household is improved -men and women have the same responsibilities -there are differences between boys and girls; boys are better at math -a man must work; a woman can work if she wants to or needs to	-men beat their wives when they are drunk; only they can change this -it is unsafe to walk to school due to harassment from young men on roads; but parents and school support us in stopping this when we talk about it
L North- Muslim Tamil Large Conflict zone	- men and women equal; there should be equal rights -Muslim religion says there are equal rights; but there are some aspects of gender equality that do not align with Islam, like how women dress and interact with men	-men have more responsibility; they must show direction for culture and government -would prefer for wife to stay at home or go into education -husband should be leader of the family -mother provides love; father provides rules and leadership	-more safety for women because Muslims are respectful of women -rape is a serious issue; village and towns are safe; large cities are unsafe
M North- Muslim Tamil Small Conflict zone	-GE connected to access to education and work for women and girls -village community has less GE than urban areas -men and women are not equal (female Muslim student)	-women must work to support household income -women not suited for politics (female Muslim)	-SGBV an issue when leaving their small community -dressing proactively (Western clothes) incites men to harm women/girls

Appendix P: Gender Equality Interviews – Teachers by School

School	Understanding of GE	Gender Roles and Relations	Training on GE	Sex and Gender Based Violence (SGBV)
A Island- Tamil Large Conflict- zone	-GE achieved due to progress in education -some teachers male/female reported a lack of GE in Sri Lanka (some exceptions) -it will take time to achieve GE -men are prioritized/boys one step ahead -unfamiliar with GE term	-Equal roles in child rearing and household work; ultimately household work is responsibility of women -Women have equality because they can work -gendered classes (Arts-female and STEM-male) -limited interaction between sexes	-nothing specific provided	-Community is not safe -Very high levels of SGBV -Community was safer during LTTE presence
B Island- Tamil Small Conflict- zone	-most teachers (all female) reported lack of GE in Sri Lanka; one teacher felt that it was changing slowly -GE not practiced evet though present in theory -unfamiliarity with GE term	-women can take on any role if they have the support of their husband -LTTE controlled how women dressed maintained culture and prevented SG	-some training but not implemented properly (policy- practice gap)	-community not safe since end of war -not safe for young girls, victim blaming -safer under LTTE control
C Vanni- Tamil Large High conflict- zone	-GE achieved due to progress in education -some teachers reported a lack of GE -practised about 50% -some teachers unfamiliar with GE term -Sinhala have greater GE	-gender roles fixed due to culture/caste -differences in boys & girls learning due to socialization and school -war impacted GE roles (+/-)	-nothing specific provided	-young female teachers experience sgbv from older male students (CT-002) -social media increasing sgbv -cultural degradation increasing sgbv
D Vanni- Tamil Small	-some GE, differences in salaries; -generally there is no GE in society	-“women should be womanly” -gender roles fixed in Sri Lanka but slowly changing -both parents need to be involved to raise children	-no training, should have come under citizenship training	-life was safer for women under LTTE -social media increasing sgbv

High Conflict-zone	-need to educate young people about GE starting from the home (DTF-003)	-early marriage to prevent LTTE conscription	-one teacher got GE training as part of inclusion training	-family unit degradation increasing sgbv
E Eastern-Tamil Small Conflict-zone	-country as a whole does not have GE -requires a change in thinking -slow progress to GE, particularly in villages -low percentage of women in parliament	-girls are able to stay in school longer due to gender role restrictions; boys drop out to work -early marriage; early marriage to prevent LTTE conscription -mothers are essential to raise good children	-GE training by NGOs -gender quotas set by MoE	-kidnapping of boys and girls -theft in female headed households -verbal harassment of girls (eaves-teasing) -rape of women by seaside -harassment on buses of women
F Eastern-Tamil Large Conflict-zone	-some teachers unfamiliar with term -present in some families; less in villages -culture limits GE; more GE in Tamil vs Muslim	-mother is important in raising children right (P) -physical differences lead to different roles -limitations for women based on what others think	-nothing specific provided	-substance abuse is leading to increased violence and SGBV -ethnic based SGBV; Muslim men harass Tamil schoolgirls; leads to communal conflict
G Hill Country-Sinhala Medium Low conflict	-male and female teachers felt GE was present in Sri Lanka; some female teachers identify areas of inequity e.g. wages -principal responded that Sri Lanka has a male oriented background	-Girls do better in school because they are patient -Boys don't have to work as hard because they have many job options -Principal: Father is the held of the head of the family -mothers are critical for child rearing	-no specific GE training	-no security issues for either gender -children with parents abroad were at higher risk for sexual abuse by other family and community members
H Hill Country-Tamil (Indian) Large	-GE achieved due to progress in education -no GE because men in culture believe in just taking power -if more women voted, they could have a stronger voice	-women are earning more than men) but they are still subjugated by men -early marriage among Estate workers -mother critical for child rearing	-no GE training	- Indian Estate Tamil children with parents abroad were at higher risk for sexual abuse -substance abuse among Indian Tamil estate community parents leading

Low conflict	-women have limited independence due to safety and social stigma			to child neglect and in some cases sexual abuse
I Hill Country-Sinhala Small Low conflict	-teacher and principal strongly felt GE was present in Sri Lanka -GE equated to the right to work by women which has been achieved	-Fixed notions of gender roles -men and women have different roles in society -women should attend to household chores -mother important for child rearing	-no specific GE training provided	-no security issues for either gender
J Hill Country-Sinhala Large Low conflict	-female teachers felt GE had been achieved; male teacher felt it was a work in progress -GE differed between urban and rural communities	-both parents play an important role in child rearing; two female teachers still stressed the importance of mother referencing high levels of sexual abuse of children with mothers working abroad	-no specific GE training provided	-no security issues for either gender; however, children of estate Indian Tamil parents who went abroad were at risk for sexual abuse
K Hill Country-Tamil (Indian) Small Low conflict	-GE levels vary among the different ethnic communities -another 30 years will have to pass until we have GE -better than it was during parent times	-women as viewed as being less competent in some workplaces -class plays a role; absent or abusive fathers among lower class (Estate workers)	-one teacher received some training on GE issues during teachers' college	-substance abuse among Indian Tamil estate community parents leading to child neglect and in some cases sexual abuse -SGBV among estate community; particularly girls
L North-Muslim Tamil Large Conflict zone	-Gender equality should exist; however, it doesn't always happen. -Muslims have less GE than non-Muslims -Sri Lanka is a male dominated country; this is the	-Muslims have distinct roles for men and women -what girls wear could entice women and cause GE (Muslim and non-Muslim teachers)	-one teacher reported receiving GE training at teachers college called "Be Positive"	-lack of security on roads and buses; eave teasing -AL male students harass female teacher -children with parents are abroad are more likely to be sexually abused

	way it should be (Christian teacher)			-more safety during LTTE time -drugs and alcohol use increases SGBV among
M North-Muslim Tamil Small Conflict Zone	-in Islam women have specific rights -understanding of GE is important -social values and restrictions prevent women from accessing and advocating for rights -according to Islamic culture, women can not be totally equal to men	-women and men should act and dress in a way that reflects Islamic values -women should dress and work in ways that are not haram (no mention of men) -women (Muslim) are not able to do all jobs because they need to be escorted by a man (F)	-no specific training provided	-small community so everyone knows everyone, low incidence of SGBV

Appendix Q: Teachers' Gender Equality (GE) Score - Descriptive Statistics

Dependent Variable: GE_Score

Gender	Region	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
male	Islands	116.5556	7.10829	9
	Vanni	112.2727	14.66350	11
	Eastern	108.8750	8.67570	8
	North_Muslim	103.6667	6.70820	9
	Hill_Country_Sinhala	113.0556	14.52168	18
	Hill_Country_IndianTamil	118.7143	8.44027	7
	Total	112.1613	11.92764	62
female	Islands	113.5455	12.11911	11
	Vanni	115.2800	12.98563	25
	Eastern	116.5000	11.80960	16
	North_Muslim	109.2667	10.22229	15
	Hill_Country_Sinhala	117.2500	13.77679	16
	Hill_Country_IndianTamil	117.3333	10.57188	18
	Total	115.0693	12.06255	101
Total	Islands	114.9000	10.04673	20
	Vanni	114.3611	13.38048	36
	Eastern	113.9583	11.28477	24
	North_Muslim	107.1667	9.32349	24
	Hill_Country_Sinhala	115.0294	14.12173	34
	Hill_Country_IndianTamil	117.7200	9.86796	25
	Total	113.9632	12.05793	163

a. Type = Teachers

Appendix R: Teachers' GEC – Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive Statistics^a

Dependent Variable: GEC_Score

Gender	Region	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
male	Islands	40.6364	2.90767	11
	Vanni	37.2727	4.31488	11
	Eastern	38.5000	4.59814	8
	North_Muslim	38.9000	5.62633	10
	Hill_Country_Sinhala	40.6522	5.70971	23
	Hill_Country_IndianTamil	37.5000	8.19146	6
	Total	39.3333	5.27108	69
female	Islands	39.0000	3.25813	14
	Vanni	39.1111	3.77577	27
	Eastern	39.0000	4.74927	19
	North_Muslim	38.8571	5.83340	21
	Hill_Country_Sinhala	39.2941	7.02464	17
	Hill_Country_IndianTamil	41.5217	3.80035	23
	Total	39.5207	4.84613	121
Total	Islands	39.7200	3.15595	25
	Vanni	38.5789	3.97037	38
	Eastern	38.8519	4.62189	27
	North_Muslim	38.8710	5.67299	31
	Hill_Country_Sinhala	40.0750	6.25274	40
	Hill_Country_IndianTamil	40.6897	5.10674	29
	Total	39.4526	4.99157	190

a. Type = Teachers

Appendix S: Teachers Social Cohesion Scores – Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive Statistics^a

Dependent Variable: SC_Score

Gender	Region	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
male	Islands	28.6364	3.00908	11
	Vanni	29.5455	2.50454	11
	Eastern	28.5000	3.50510	8
	North_Muslim	29.4000	4.29987	10
	Hill_Country_Sinhala	30.9583	.90790	24
	Hill_Country_IndianTamil	29.0000	4.93288	7
	Total	29.6901	3.01705	71
female	Islands	29.0000	2.80110	14
	Vanni	27.7586	3.83271	29
	Eastern	29.0000	3.53217	22
	North_Muslim	29.2632	2.05053	19
	Hill_Country_Sinhala	29.7647	2.88378	17
	Hill_Country_IndianTamil	29.8696	2.26243	23
	Total	29.0161	3.08414	124
Total	Islands	28.8400	2.83843	25
	Vanni	28.2500	3.57878	40
	Eastern	28.8667	3.47139	30
	North_Muslim	29.3103	2.94113	29
	Hill_Country_Sinhala	30.4634	2.03835	41
	Hill_Country_IndianTamil	29.6667	3.00956	30
	Total	29.2615	3.06935	195

a. Type = Teachers

Appendix T: Regression Analysis of GE, GEC, SC for Teachers and Students

Teachers

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Coefficients Beta		
1	(Constant)	16.463	3.027		5.438	.000
	GE_Score	.044	.021	.165	2.105	.037
	GEC_Score	.197	.051	.303	3.865	.000

a. Type = Teachers

b. Dependent Variable: SC_Score

Students

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Coefficients Beta		
1	(Constant)	15.025	1.906		7.882	.000
	GE_Score	.044	.016	.142	2.677	.008
	GEC_Score	.246	.036	.360	6.783	.000

a. Type = Students

b. Dependent Variable: SC_Score

Appendix U: Students' Gender Equality (GE) Score - Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive Statistics^a

Dependent Variable: GE_Score

Gender	Region	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
male	Islands	104.6667	8.18176	18
	Vanni	104.1556	14.40163	45
	Eastern	108.5312	10.88647	32
	North_Muslim	97.2222	6.64789	9
	Hill_Country_Sinhala	108.6897	9.83835	29
	Hill_Country_IndianTamil	104.3333	7.95299	9
	Total	105.7042	11.55117	142
female	Islands	110.3824	9.67663	34
	Vanni	117.1304	10.67837	23
	Eastern	114.8958	12.36715	48
	North_Muslim	111.3000	8.00723	20
	Hill_Country_Sinhala	111.7826	8.69146	23
	Hill_Country_IndianTamil	111.2712	8.61000	59
	Total	112.6763	10.09934	207
Total	Islands	108.4038	9.51008	52
	Vanni	108.5441	14.55656	68
	Eastern	112.3500	12.13855	80
	North_Muslim	106.9310	10.00332	29
	Hill_Country_Sinhala	110.0577	9.38796	52
	Hill_Country_IndianTamil	110.3529	8.79410	68
	Total	109.8395	11.23406	349

a. Type = Students

Appendix V: Student GEC Scores – Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive Statistics^a

Dependent Variable: GEC_Score

Gender	Region	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
male	Islands	34.3200	5.67685	25
	Vanni	36.1800	4.91433	50
	Eastern	36.1892	6.21753	37
	North_Muslim	35.1111	4.70225	9
	Hill_Country_Sinhala	38.3684	3.99609	38
	Hill_Country_IndianTamil	37.1429	3.93910	14
	Total	36.4162	5.17150	173
female	Islands	39.5500	5.04823	40
	Vanni	40.0435	3.73531	23
	Eastern	38.5000	5.56861	54
	North_Muslim	39.2609	3.44063	23
	Hill_Country_Sinhala	40.6000	5.53022	25
	Hill_Country_IndianTamil	39.7385	4.67131	65
	Total	39.4913	4.87014	230
Total	Islands	37.5385	5.84721	65
	Vanni	37.3973	4.89541	73
	Eastern	37.5604	5.91835	91
	North_Muslim	38.0938	4.20721	32
	Hill_Country_Sinhala	39.2540	4.75180	63
	Hill_Country_IndianTamil	39.2785	4.63525	79
	Total	38.1712	5.22270	403

a. Type = Students

Appendix W: Students' Social Cohesion Scores – Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive Statistics^a

Dependent Variable: SC_Score

Gender	Region	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
male	Islands	27.0400	4.03609	25
	Vanni	28.2245	5.00111	49
	Eastern	29.8333	3.53351	36
	North_Muslim	29.1250	2.64237	8
	Hill_Country_Sinhala	29.6667	3.36167	42
	Hill_Country_IndianTamil	29.3077	2.83974	13
	Total	28.8613	4.03810	173
female	Islands	29.3171	1.91623	41
	Vanni	29.1200	1.98578	25
	Eastern	29.3036	3.16756	56
	North_Muslim	31.3636	2.51747	22
	Hill_Country_Sinhala	28.6667	3.41940	27
	Hill_Country_IndianTamil	30.1212	2.95356	66
	Total	29.6329	2.85309	237
Total	Islands	28.4545	3.08436	66
	Vanni	28.5270	4.23366	74
	Eastern	29.5109	3.30665	92
	North_Muslim	30.7667	2.69972	30
	Hill_Country_Sinhala	29.2754	3.39500	69
	Hill_Country_IndianTamil	29.9873	2.93299	79
	Total	29.3073	3.42052	410

a. Type = Students

Appendix X: GE Means for Teachers and Students GE Score

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
GE_Score	Teachers	17	113.5294	8.91009	2.16101
	Students	43	108.8372	9.99983	1.52496

a. school = A

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
GE_Score	Teachers	3	122.6667	14.74223	8.51143
	Students	9	106.3333	6.76387	2.25462

a. school = B

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
GE_Score	Teachers	31	113.1290	12.97881	2.33106
	Students	54	109.9630	15.01567	2.04337

a. school = C

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
GE_Score	Teachers	5	122.0000	14.78175	6.61060
	Students	14	103.0714	11.49892	3.07322

a. school = D

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
GE_Score	Teachers	7	111.4286	8.56071	3.23564
	Students	12	117.2500	14.52349	4.19257

a. school = E

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
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GE_Score	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
	Teachers	17	115.0000	12.31361	2.98649
	Students	68	111.4853	11.57776	1.40401

a. school = F

GE_Score	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
	Teachers	12	109.4167	9.84847	2.84301
	Students	8	103.8750	5.22186	1.84621

a. school = G

GE_Score	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
	Teachers	18	115.2778	8.73671	2.05926
	Students	63	110.8095	8.84792	1.11473

a. school = H

GE_Score	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
	Teachers	8	112.8750	7.66136	2.70870
	Students	10	108.5000	7.67753	2.42785

a. school = I

GE_Score	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
	Teachers	14	121.0714	17.92490	4.79063
	Students	34	111.9706	10.02870	1.71991

a. school = J

GE_Score	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
	Teachers	7	124.0000	10.45626	3.95209
	Students	5	104.6000	6.10737	2.73130

a. school = K

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
GE_Score	Teachers	14	108.7143	10.84456	2.89833
	Students	20	108.6000	10.97557	2.45421

a. school = L

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
GE_Score	Teachers	10	105.0000	6.58281	2.08167
	Students	9	103.2222	6.45712	2.15237

a. school = M

Appendix Y: GEC Score Means for teachers and Students based on School

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
GEC_Score	Teachers	21	39.6190	3.15398	.68826
	Students	54	37.5370	5.99280	.81552

a. school = A

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
GEC_Score	Teachers	4	40.2500	3.59398	1.79699
	Students	11	37.5455	5.33598	1.60886

a. school = B

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
GEC_Score	Teachers	33	39.2424	3.64889	.63519
	Students	56	36.8214	4.88451	.65272

a. school = C

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
GEC_Score	Teachers	5	34.2000	3.42053	1.52971
	Students	17	39.2941	4.56570	1.10734

a. school = D

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
GEC_Score	Teachers	8	38.0000	5.20988	1.84197
	Students	12	37.9167	6.41672	1.85235

a. school = E

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
GEC_Score	Teachers	19	39.2105	4.45445	1.02192
	Students	79	37.5063	5.88103	.66167

a. school = F

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
GEC_Score	Teachers	13	42.7692	4.65750	1.29176
	Students	16	36.4375	3.82916	.95729

a. school = G

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
GEC_Score	Teachers	19	40.6842	5.89776	1.35304
	Students	72	39.3611	4.70333	.55429

a. school = H

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
GEC_Score	Teachers	9	40.3333	7.03562	2.34521
	Students	11	42.7273	2.72363	.82121

a. school = I

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
GEC_Score	Teachers	18	38.0000	6.39853	1.50815
	Students	36	39.4444	4.91322	.81887

a. school = J

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
GEC_Score	Teachers	10	40.7000	3.40098	1.07548
	Students	7	38.4286	4.07665	1.54083

a. school = K

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
GEC_Score	Teachers	21	39.0000	5.86515	1.27988
	Students	20	38.7000	3.78501	.84635

a. school = L

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
GEC_Score	Teachers	10	38.6000	5.54176	1.75246
	Students	12	37.0833	4.83281	1.39511

a. school = M

Appendix Z: SC Score Means for teachers and Students based on School

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
SC_Score	Teachers	21	28.6190	2.90648	.63425
	Students	55	28.6182	2.62107	.35343

a. school = A

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
SC_Score	Teachers	4	30.0000	2.44949	1.22474
	Students	11	27.6364	4.88411	1.47262

a. school = B

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
SC_Score	Teachers	4	30.0000	2.44949	1.22474
	Students	11	27.6364	4.88411	1.47262

a. school = B

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
SC_Score	Teachers	6	30.5000	1.76068	.71880
	Students	18	27.5556	4.14760	.97760

a. school = D

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
SC_Score	Teachers	8	27.7500	3.91882	1.38551
	Students	11	30.0909	2.58668	.77991

a. school = E

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
SC_Score	Teachers	22	29.2727	3.29764	.70306
	Students	81	29.4321	3.39830	.37759

a. school = F

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
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SC_Score	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
	Teachers	14	30.9286	.99725	.26653
	Students	17	28.4706	3.41170	.82746

a. school = G

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
SC_Score	Teachers	20	29.5500	3.63427	.81265
	Students	72	30.0694	3.02257	.35621

a. school = H

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
SC_Score	Teachers	9	30.0000	2.73861	.91287
	Students	11	30.8182	3.48764	1.05156

a. school = I

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
SC_Score	Teachers	18	30.3333	2.27519	.53627
	Students	41	29.1951	3.31074	.51705

a. school = J

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
SC_Score	Teachers	10	29.9000	1.10050	.34801
	Students	7	29.1429	1.67616	.63353

a. school = K

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
SC_Score	Teachers	19	29.0000	2.88675	.66227
	Students	18	31.1667	3.11070	.73320

a. school = L

	Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
SC_Score	Teachers	10	29.9000	3.10734	.98263
	Students	12	30.1667	1.89896	.54818

a. school = M