(Re)Constructing Memory: School Textbooks and the Imagination of the Nation

James H. Williams (Ed.)

DON'T FORGET

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(RE)CONSTRUCTING MEMORY

*School Textbooks, Identity, and the Pedagogies and Politics
of Imagining Community*

Official school textbooks provide a rich source of material for those seeking to understand the greater social effects of schooling and the larger social and political contexts of education. Textbooks provide official knowledge a society wants its children to acquire—facts, figures, dates, seminal events. Textbooks also frame the facts, figures, dates, and events in a larger, though generally implicit, narrative that describes how things were, what happened, and how they came to be the way they are now. A group's representation of its past is often intimately connected with its identity—who "we" are (and who we are not) as well as who "they" are.

Analysis of textbooks provides a lens through which to examine what might be called a nation's deeper or hidden social and political curriculum. Comparative and longitudinal analyses provide a better understanding of variations and continuities in these "curricula" over time and across national contexts. Moreover, analysis of the implicit "pedagogy" of teaching and learning in textbooks provides insight into the relationship envisioned between the student and history. Is history presented as an interpretation of events that are socially understood, constructed, and contested, and in which the individual has both individual and social agency, or as a set of fixed, unitary, and unassailable historical and social facts to be memorized? Do students have a role in constructing history, or is it external to them? How is history presented when that history is recent and contested?

These volumes propose a series of comparative investigations of the deeper social and political "curricula" of school textbooks, in contexts where

- The identity or legitimacy of the state has become problematic
- Membership or the relationship among members of the state has been challenged
- Conflict, or some aspect of conflict, remains unresolved

Throughout, the books seek to better understand the processes by which the implicit social and historical lessons in textbooks are taught and learned, or ignored.

Ultimately, the books are intended to promote a culture of mutual understanding and peace. To do this in a context of complex, often conflicting identities and ways of seeing the world requires a sophisticated understanding of the actual social and political uses and functions of textbooks. In particular, we highlight for further research four interrelated issues: the identity and legitimacy of the state,

membership and relationships among groups comprising and outside the state, approaches to unresolved conflict, and modes of teaching about these matters.

The state occupies an important role in the conception of these books, not to further privilege it but in acknowledgment of its central role in the provision of schooling, the organization of the curriculum, and the preparation of citizens. It is increasingly clear that the state is not the only salient actor in questions of collective, even national, identity—subnational and supernational influences play important, often primary, roles. Still, in the matter of school textbooks, the state is always at the table, even if silent and unacknowledged.

We hope to come away from these books with a better understanding of the ways school textbooks construct and are constructed by political collectives, how they inform group identity, conflict, and the collective memory. We hope to see what can be learned from a deep analysis of cases facing similar issues in quite different geographic and cultural circumstances. We hope to gain insight into nations, movements, social forces, and conflicts that have shaped the current era, the countries themselves, and the circumstances and decisions that led to particular outcomes.

The first volume, *(Re)constructing Memory: School Textbooks and the Imagination of the Nation*, considers the relationship between school textbooks and the state. Schooling is one of the core institutions of the nation-state. The histories of mass schooling and the rise of the nation-state are closely intertwined. Textbooks offer official or semiofficial narratives of the founding and development of a state, and their stories play a formative role in helping construct the collective memory of a people. This volume is premised on the idea that changes in textbooks often reflect attempts by the state to deal with challenges to its identity or legitimacy. We look at ways textbooks are used to legitimatize the state—to help consolidate its identity and maintain continuity in times of rapid change and external threat. This volume also considers the challenges of maintaining national identities in a global context and of retaining legitimacy by reimagining national identity.

(Re)constructing Memory: Textbooks, Identity, Nation, and State, the second volume, looks more deeply at textbooks' role in portraying the composition and identity of nation and state. In contrast to many founding myths, most states are multiethnic, comprising multiple groups identified ethnically, in religious terms, as immigrants, indigenous, and the like. Volume II considers the changing portrayal of diversity and membership in multiethnic societies where previously invisible or marginalized minority groups have sought a greater national role. It considers the changing portrayals of past injustices by some groups in multiethnic states and the shifting boundaries of insider and outsider. The book looks at "who we are" not only demographically, but also in terms of the past, especially how we teach the discredited past. Finally, the book looks at changes in who we are—ways the state seeks to incorporate, or ignore, emergent groups in the national portraiture and in the stories it tells its children about themselves.

Conflict and wars play a critical role in defining most countries, through the portrayal of past victories, explanations of defeat, and identification of self and

other. The third volume, *(Re)constructing Memory: Textbooks and Conflict*, focuses on these issues, especially in the context of unresolved conflict and issues derived from conflict. Beginning with a series of cases that examine shifts in the portrayal of self and other by historical antagonists, the volume then turns to the representation of conflict, both internal and external, and the representation of the nation's role in that conflict. Recent war is particularly difficult to teach, especially in cases of internal conflict. A series of cases considers the changing role of curriculum after discredited political regimes, civil war, and genocide. A final series of cases looks at curriculum used to promote peace, tolerance, and resolution of conflict. As a cumulative result, we develop a richer understanding of the intimate and contradictory connections between schools and war.

Throughout, the books consider the teaching and learning processes by which the explicit and implicit lessons of school textbooks are taught and acquired. Textbooks provide information and narrative, and in many ways they can be said to represent the intent of the state. Yet students do not ingest this intended curriculum whole. Instead, the intended curriculum is conveyed, and in the process interpreted, by teachers. It is then acquired by students, but in the process reinterpreted. All of these processes take place in a larger cultural and political environment that is, also, instructive. We consider the pedagogies of collective memory, of belonging and unbelonging, of historical thinking, and of the possibilities for individual and group agency as historic and civic actors. Efforts are made to avoid essentializing groups of people and to highlight individual and collective agency, while remaining aware of the powerful shaping forces of culture, tradition, and collective memory.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

JAMES H. WILLIAMS

1. NATION, STATE, SCHOOL, TEXTBOOK

Formally, a medium for the transmission of educational content, the school text-book is also an instrument of the state, a national project, as it were. This is particularly so of textbooks of history and social studies—civics, geography, and the like. This volume considers the school textbook in the (re)defining of the nation in 14 national contexts.

The "nation-state," or more colloquially "country," is deployed here as the primary unit of analysis, on the rationale that most curricula and textbooks are decided nationally. The policy frameworks for curricular decisions are generally set at the national level, even if decision-making is delegated to states or local school boards, as in the United States, or even as larger supranational processes underlie the entire modern project, of which schooling and textbooks are a part (Popkewitz, 2008). The intimacy between nation and state, school and textbook suggests that school textbooks play a critical role in the ongoing (re)defining of nation and state, the linking of the state with the nation, the inculcation of the nation and membership in it in the minds of the young, and the creation of citizens, "a particular kind of person whose mode of living embodies norms and values that link the individual with the collective belonging and 'home'" (Popkewitz, 2013, p. xv).

Individuals' identification with nation and state is not automatic, as Anderson (2006) and others have asserted, but rather must be carefully cultivated, in a variety of ways including schooling. Though powerful in many ways, governments and less directly, the state, often find themselves in a condition of fragile and contested legitimacy, sensitive to challenges and bad press. Changes in the external or internal environment can easily threaten a tense legitimacy. One of the premises underlying this volume is that governments often respond to such threats—real or imagined—by revising school textbooks and often the stories of history told by them. The nature of these revisions, seen in the context of the changes that appear to have sparked them, provides indirect insight into the dilemmas a particular nation faces as it seeks to deal with some of its primary contradictions, but also more general patterns in the behavior of nations as they respond to changing circumstances and perceived threats.

It seems obvious, for example, that a new nation would, on gaining independence, revise its textbooks to reflect its own understanding of history rather than that of the colonizers. Even if the new textbooks agreed with those of the former colonizer on all facts, the selection and presentation of such facts and their meaning to textbook authors, teachers, students, parents and government officials would surely differ. As the state works to teach its children their civic place, their

rights and responsibilities as citizens, appropriate values and norms, textbooks are likely to present the nation (and often the current government) in a good light, drawing on the noblest of national aspirations worthy of loyalty and respect. Less noble aspects of history are likely to be minimized. A government seeking to mobilize popular support in the face of potential political opposition (see Korostelina, this volume) or even complacency (see Chia, this volume) might emphasize external threat or perhaps the importance of strong national leadership to drum up loyalty and enthusiasm.

The intent is to surface patterns by which school textbooks are used to help carry out what might be called the "core civic work of schools." One of the key aspects of this work is response to threats to state legitimacy. Of course, one must be cautious in assigning too direct and intentional a role for the state in "using" school textbooks for various undocumented purposes. Nonetheless, each of the country examples presented here makes a strong, if circumstantial, case that school textbooks are frequently used for such national purposes. Surfacing such patterns provides a perspective on options available for official response and insight into conditions that lead to different responses.

Textbook researchers are often surprised at first to discover that official textbooks present a romanticized and inaccurate or at least selective portrait of a nation. It *is* appalling, especially if one is a member of a group that is badly portrayed. Uncovering mistakes in history textbooks, for example, or deconstructing the portrayal of marginalized groups is important work, and a number of very good books do this. But the purpose here is less to highlight the shortcomings of particular countries' politics and curricula than to understand more deeply what happened during a certain period in Cambodia, Russia, or the United States of America, for example, and why and how it might happen again sometime somewhere else.

We take the position that patterns of objectionable (or laudable) behavior are a consequence of particular groups of people acting in particular ways during a particular time and place, even if deeply informed by the past. Bad (or good) national behavior is not, we would argue, an essentialized, permanent trait of Cambodians, Russians, or Americans.

That schools serve a political function in the formation of citizens is well established. Ramirez, Bromley, and Russell (2009) discussed schooling as part of a series of global trends valorizing European Enlightenment values of rationality and individual human rights (as well as, more recently, group rights such as gender or ethnicity) in the context of a global order made up of individuals belonging to nation-states. The development of the Westfalian state closely parallels the emergence of systems of formal schooling. Prussia established primary schools in the 19th century to prepare citizens for service and loyalty to the state. The emergence of standardized textbooks tracks the systematization of schooling that took place in parallel with industrialization in the latter 19th century, as schooling was expanded to enroll greater proportions and segments of the population (Cummings & McGinn, 1997).

Usefully, Carretero (2011) and others have classified history, one of the core disciplines of civic formation, into three types—academic history, school history, and everyday history:

> There are three presentations of the past, situated in different ways in individuals' and institutions' social experience. First, the record of history as it appears in school. Second, everyday history: an element of collective memory that, in one way or another, is permanently inscribed—through experience and formation—in the minds and bodies of each society's members, articulating shared narratives about identity, value systems and common beliefs. Lastly, there is academic history or historiography, cultivated by historians and social scientists, according to the disciplinal logic of a knowledge instituted under specific social and institutional conditions. (2011, p. 3)

In discussing school history, Carretero continued:

> History teaching tends to focus on intimate emotional adherence to national identity symbols and narratives—in detriment to critical thinking. … School-taught history is both much more, and much less, than academic history. … It is much more because it includes a large array of values that are linked in a weft of historical narratives, whose primary objective is the formation of a positive image—a triumphant, progress-oriented one, even messianic in some cases—of their nation's identity. … When students start comprehending historical concepts with some level of complexity, they already have learned very well the master narrative of their own motherland, and above all, they have developed a strong and unique emotional bond to it. (2011, p. 5)

The case might be made that Carretero overstated the national dimension, particularly in ethnically or socially complex societies containing significant groups whose collective "national" narratives differ substantially from the dominant narrative. Nonetheless, students will have learned and developed an emotional bond to the master "national narrative" of the meaningful social communities in which they were raised, even if that conflicts with what is taught in school and the larger society.

School-based narratives generally mirror the storyline of the dominant community. (How children and school textbooks deal with situations in which the master national narrative does not square with the narratives of subdominant groups within society is the subject of Volume II in this series.) Nonetheless, the dual charge of schooling—rational knowledge versus bond with the collective—complicates the instructional task, when critical thinking undermines attachment to the "national" or, probably more commonly, when the imagined national community overrides or slants the pursuit of academic knowledge and understanding.

Yet for the enterprise to work, in an Enlightenment world of scientific cause and effect, school history must be presented as true, not metaphorically, but scientifically and historiographically true. And this requirement—that school history with its dual purposes be portrayed and defended as academic history—coupled

with the emotional attachment to national identity narratives noted earlier, is exactly what makes true academic history difficult to achieve in schools, which are generally uncritical in their loyalty to the state, with its potentially overriding interest in cultivating loyal members.

Moreover, while getting the idea right, Carretero had the order wrong, I think, at least from the perspective of child development. Children first learn their history (and other everyday social studies) from the everyday history of their communities. A grandfather who speaks of his experiences in a war is conveying to a child information about a particular conflict but also, surely, a sense of who "we" and "they" are (or were), what kind of people we are, how we are now and how we got to be this way, as well as a normative sense of the role the child ought to play as a member of "us." Children encounter school history or social studies with the master narratives of their people well in place. Hegemony being what it is, school history (or social science) and everyday history resonate more often than they conflict, and academic history is less often taught that we might want.

An open and democratically critical view of the state can be taught in schools, I would argue, only when the state is quite secure and then primarily in relation to issues of nonexistential importance. In most cases, the hidden social and political curricula of schooling are invisible. To break through the mutually reinforcing seal that school hegemonically tends to form with everyday history, students need to find contradictions and see that history, however fact-based it is, is interpreted and constructed. Once the fact of interpretation and its structure are visible, its sources of power clear, the student can learn to do history rather than memorize it.

Thus, another related purpose of the book is to identify some of the curricular patterns in cases of a hidden political and social curriculum, not only to see them in the places found, but to identify the patterns, likely to be found elsewhere— "there," of course, but also "here," wherever here may be.

CORE NATIONAL TASKS FOR THE SCHOOL: SCHOOLS' CIVIC WORK

Arguably, schools carry out at least seven core civic tasks in support of the nation. Schools need to:

- Transmit knowledge (what students/citizens should know)
- Promote social cohesion (so people within a nation who lack personal connections will cooperate with each other)
- Teach attitudes, values, and norms appropriate for citizens
- Teach students to think (to think critically, or more frequently perhaps, to think correctly)
- Legitimate the social and political order (possibly the current government, but certainly the larger order)
- Explain who "we" are (also, often, who "they" are)
- Explain "where we are," how we got here, and "where" we are going

In carrying out these tasks, schools also teach students, usually implicitly, about the nature of social knowledge: Is it fixed, known in advance, and unassailably true, or interpreted, subject to revision as better "data" become available? Schools

also convey messages, more or less explicit, about the role of the student as learner: Is the learner to inscribe the truths transmitted by authority, or is his/her role to help in revising the collective understanding of the world?

In carrying out these tasks, schools often run into national contradictions, creating dilemmas for schools' civic work. All nations have high aspirations, and all nations have failed, at one time or another, to live up to their ideals. How does an education system deal with periods of history when the nation failed to act according to the values by which it defined itself? How it does so says a great deal, potentially, about the country and how it understands itself. We argue here that approaches to such national tasks and responses to such dilemmas fall into certain patterns, patterns which are themselves patterned, probalistically, according to (theoretically) predictable conditions.

Under normal conditions, schools' civic work is straightforward and mostly invisible. However, during periods of rapid social, political, and economic change, schools' civic work—especially that documented in school history and social studies textbooks—is likely to change, and in changing, to become visible, reflecting the role that schools and textbooks play in "supporting" the nation.

This volume considers three types of somewhat overlapping change. The first secton considers challenges to the legitimacy of the state, when textbooks are likely to be used, among other purposes, to shore up the state. Daniel Friedrich looks at Argentinian textbooks' explanations of the "dirty wars" of the late 1970s and early 1980s. His textbooks ask, "How could we, a democratic people, condone, much less carry out, such irrational barbarity? This is completely unlike us. We were deceived, and we must teach our children this shameful history, so that it never happens again!" In his analysis, Friedrich suggests that the impulse to produce citizens who will never allow such irrationality to happen again works against the rationality that looks at how it could (and did) happen (thus allowing the possibility of taking steps to prevent it).

Shoko Yamada looks at the development and content of a secondary civics curriculum over the last decade in Ethiopia. She notes the government's commitment to democratic governance as well as the challenges of realizing democracy as an ethnic, minority-based government in a multiethnic country with no history of democratic rule. The government's claims to legitimacy are based, Yamada interprets the textbooks as saying, in the process of consultation that led to development of the Constitution under which the government was elected. The current government governs according to the rule of law in contrast to previous governments. Yamada notes how seriously the government takes civic education, as suggested by revision of civics education curricula around the time of each major post-1991 election and by the fact that, in contrast to curriculum revisions in other subjects, Ethiopians retained tight control of the civics curriculum revision process. National elections were held soon after implementation of the first civic education curriculum. The government's claims to legitimacy were challenged by questions about irregularities and violence surrounding those elections. Subsequent curricular revisions emphasized the values and formation of democratic citizens, who pursued equality and justice, were patriotic, tolerant, responsible, industrious,

self-reliant (and who saved money). Yet a careful balancing act on the part of government was demonstrated by nuance—by the insistence, for example, on a federal patriotism to the national state rather than a parochial patriotism to regional ethnically based identities (which the government had partially promoted through regional decentralization). In the final analysis, the textbooks appealed to the "moral integrity" of students to become good citizens of a democratic multiethnic state.

Yeow Tong Chia examines the "National Education" program in Singapore, a government-led educational campaign initiated in the late 1990s. The program was one of several campaigns the Singaporean government used to socialize Singaporean students into their roles as citizens. National Education emphasized the *Singapore Sto*ry, a triumph over adversity and external danger of a small, diverse, but cohesive society under the dynamic leadership of an enlightened technocratic government. The chapter details ways the program sought to increase awareness on the part of young people and to strengthen their commitment to the nation, challenging the threat of complacency in light of the challenges Singapore overcame in retaining its independence and achieving economic well-being as a small multicultural island country with no natural resources and surrounded by large neighbors. The presentation of existential danger, however real, is a common means, it seems, of mobilizing citizens' commitment to the nation, recognition on their part of the necessity of obligations to the state, and cohesion in the face of internal differences.

Caroline Dolive examines the *Rukhnama*, a book written by Turkmenistan's Saparmyrat Niyazov in the years following independence and the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Though not an official school textbook, the *Rukhnama* was required reading for all Turkmen citizens for a number of years following the break-up of the Soviet Union. All schools had to display a copy along with a photograph of the president and other national symbols. The book explicitly aimed at providing Turkmen citizens with a national history, given their historical lack of a state and fluid sense of nationality. The book contained legends, folk tales, and considerable exposition on the part of Niyazov, conveying, as part of the nation-building project, "the history, customs, and struggles" of a valorous people who had not traditionally thought of themselves as a nation. The case provides a clear illustration of the political imperative to draw on national history for legitimacy, even when the history is cobbled together for that purpose.

One of the core requirements and functions of a state is the definition of its territory. Iveta Silova, Michael Mead Yaqub, and Garine Palandjian explore the "pedagogies of space" and the relationship with national identity in early reading primers of three post-Soviet states—Latvia, Armenia, and the Ukraine. Looking beyond traditional sources of national stories such as history, civics, or geography textbooks, the authors detail ways in which the national spaces are imagined in the primers, the primordial homeland "metaphysically wedded to blood, sweat, and soil," the natural beauty of place and the rootedness of the people to place, the boundaries and variable meanings of inside and outside in newly (re)constituted states.

The first section of the book looks at threats to the legitimacy of the state. The second section examines the national challenge of war. Wars are often defining national events, whether they result in victory, loss, or stalemate. The ways nations explain their wars are revealing.

Michelle Bellino's research in Guatemala examines how students, parents, and teachers from different sides of the 1960–1996 civil war understand and talk—or don't talk—about the conflict. She finds a considerable silence about the war, with virtually no public opportunities, within or outside of school, for critical and collective reflection on the war. As a result, historical memory of the war "has been relegated … to the realm of unofficial spaces, where local memory communities" tell different stories, and preexisting social divisions, presumably of the kind that led to the war in the first place, are preserved.

Federick Ngo looks at the presentation of the auto-genocide in Cambodian textbooks from three historical periods. In each case, he finds the discussion of the genocide to be strongly directed to then current political purposes. In the post-genocide period, he finds a strong anti–Pol Pot/Khmer Rouge message, which could be seen as justifying the Vietnamese invasion. With the arrival of the United Nations and the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia, mentions of the genocide decrease dramatically, in an effort, Ngo surmises, to downplay controversy in the interest of peace and development. In the final current period, with the trial of Khmer Rouge officials just ended, the government has permitted creation of a genocide curriculum, which is to be taught in all Cambodian schools. The curriculum emphasizes human rights, suggesting Cambodia's broader integration into global human rights discourses. At the same time, Ngo finds a strong government role in the writing and presentation of textbooks, and a strong government interest in tight message control of the information the children of Cambodia are taught.

Esther Yogev analyzes portrayal of the 1967 Six-Day War in Israeli textbooks. In contrast to treatment of other wars, as well as extensive academic scholarship and vigorous public debate about the 1967 war, its causes and consequences, Yogev finds the textbook treatment of the 1967 war to be simplistic. She asks: Why do curricula planners and textbook writers find it so difficult to bridge the gap between what is so widely known about this war and the circumscribed, one-dimensional teaching of it in the schools? She develops the notion of an "active past," a past representing existentially unresolved national issues, ongoing salience coupled with lack of resolution. The 1967 war is not past, "caught between memory and history"; there is no shared understanding of the conditions that led to the war and its consequences, no consensus on what the war means for Israel and its neighbors. And so, in Israel, where critical debate is highly valued, one of the country's defining moments is presented in ways that do not promote students' critical reflection.

Lisa Faden contrasts stories of citizenship in the United States and Canada in the context of textbooks' historical discussions of World War II and then-current wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. She examines history textbooks and supplements textbook analysis with classroom observations and teacher interviews. She finds, counter-

intuitively, that despite a widespread perception of Canada as a peaceful country, textbooks spend considerable time on military aspects of Canadian history. In the United States, despite a heavy political emphasis in citizenship and history textbooks, teachers are much more circumspect in discussing the country's role in war. Faden utilizes Wertsch's notion of "schematic narrative template" to examine the underlying narratives that shape historical understanding. She characterizes the Canadian narrative template as "Canada proves itself on the world stage." The United States she describes as "reluctant hegemon." Classroom instruction and textbook presentation work together to organize historical information in ways that "teach" these deeper narratives.

The third major pattern examined in this volume involves the thoroughgoing re-imagination of the nation after a dramatic political change—independence and a new ideological order.

Michael Mead Yaqub continues his research on reading primers, with a chapter on language and national identity in the Ukraine. In a somewhat ethnically ambiguous Ukraine after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, language assumes a greatly heightened significance as a marker of national identity.

Garine Palandjian examines Armenian readers both during and after the Soviet period. She finds evocative national symbolism permeating readers in both periods. Young students are presented as heirs to a rich, primordial national heritage, to a beautiful natural landscape and a language of expressiveness, rich with meaning and collective identity.

Christine Beresniova considers Holocaust education in Lithuania. Lithuania, in applying for membership in the European Union, had to develop a Holocaust curriculum. Rejoicing in its recent independence from the Soviet Union, Lithuania had sought to build a valorous Lithuanian national story. Yet an accurate rendering of World War II involves recognition of atrocities committed by some non-Jewish Lithuanians against the Lithuanian Jewish population during and in many cases before the Nazi Occupation. Like those in other countries which have felt victimized by both the German invasion of World War II and the Soviet occupation, many in the country have found it difficult to reconcile the valorous narrative of Lithuanian suffering with the record of crimes against Jewish Lithuanians.

The cases end with a paper by Karina Korostelina, who traces recent trends in history education in Russia in three different post-Soviet periods. Initially, textbooks provided a critical perspective on the role of government vis-a-vis citizens' rights and government power. More recent curricular initiatives have narrowed the breadth of earlier history textbooks, tending in the portrayal of 20th century events toward legitimizing the importance of authoritarian rule and weakening the need for independent critical voices in the country.

The volume ends with two critical commentaries, by Noah Sobe and William Brehm. It then presents a discussion of some of the "games" countries "play" with their textbooks, their troublesome pasts, problematic presents, and nervous futures.

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Section 1.
Shoring up the State

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2. THE MOBILIZATION OF HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE NARRATIVES ABOUT THE LAST ARGENTINE DICTATORSHIP

Facing sociohistorical trauma, societies around the world have embraced the frameworks that emerged from German didactics in the 1970s as ways of dealing with a past (in that particular case, the *Shoah*) in need of working through (Laville, 2004). As different nations attempted to (re)build a citizenry in ways that would prevent the past from repeating itself, history and civics lessons came to the forefront. However, as will become evident through the analysis of the Argentine case, even the most "progressive" attempts and the best of intentions have embedded in them dangers in need of exploration. This piece troubles the mobilization of history as a moral narrative, in which what can be said and thought has to be consensualized in the name of a particular understanding of democracy. The process of turning the problematic aspects of the past into an Other to the democratic progress of the nation is exposed as a strategy that binds the *responsible* citizen to specific ways of being, acting, and thinking.

In this chapter I analyze some of the recent Argentine textbooks that include the last dictatorship (1976–1983) as a content to be taught, focusing on the narratives they attempt to construct as they intervene in the production of a particular kind of Argentine citizen, one that follows the rules of what it means to act and think *responsibly*. These narratives mobilize the notion of *historical consciousness* (Friedrich, 2010) to link memory, responsibility, and pedagogy to the building of the Argentine democratic citizenry. By re-presenting the recent past to students and teachers, the didactic materials I analyze insert themselves in between memory, history, and schooling, positing narratives that embody understandings of not only the nation's past sins, but also its future promise.

HISTORICAL/PERSONAL CONTEXT[i]

I was born in 1978, in the middle of the most violent dictatorial regime in Argentina's 20th-century history. March 24, 1976, had inaugurated the last dic-tatorship with a violent coup, and the regime that lasted until 1983 left between 10,000 and 30,000 *desaparecidos* (individuals kidnapped, tortured, and killed by state forces, who almost never returned the bodies to the families). I do not have memories of that time, with its exterminating efforts towards anything that seemed to be coming from a vague left or anything perceived as threatening to the Western, Christian values that the regime claimed to represent. Anecdotes about the

Malvinas/Falkland War that the dictators embarked upon in 1982 as a last attempt to (re)gain popular support circulate in my family, but they are mostly stories about other people.

My whole primary and secondary education took place in the longest democratic period in Argentine history yet. My primary schooling experience (1985–1990) practically coincided with the *primavera alfonsinista*,[ii] or democratic spring, and its following fall from grace in the midst of hyperinflation and chaos. My high school experience (1991–1996), on the other hand, was marked by Carlos Menem's apogee, a time of neoliberal policies and reforms of all aspects of social and political life, including, of course, education. Like most middle-class children in Buenos Aires, I attended a private school, which in my case turned out to be a lay, German, and quite "liberal" one. From an early age, the Holocaust had always been present: Relatively contemporary German literature, discussion sessions, analyses of the sociohistorical background, and even a certain study of the Argentine policies vis-à-vis the war managed to provide a relatively deep under-standing of the period. However, by the end of high school I had noticed that every course covering Argentine history ended at the beginning of the 20th century at the latest. The comment, "Too bad there is no time left; the school year is so short!" seemed to simulate a real concern that few—students or teachers—shared. But during my last year, as I officially came of age, words such as *Peronismo*, *anarchism*, *left*, and *the people* were introduced in our vocabulary. We had managed to break the barrier of Yrigoyen and, if I remember correctly, we finished the year with Onganía's dictatorship (1966–1970). The last 26 years of Argentine history were left for personal discovery and/or the university.[iii]

Most people in my generation probably share this memory (most likely without the last year's discoveries). Nevertheless, in the new millennium, things seem to have changed. The 20th anniversary of the coup seems to have marked a turning point in the country's relationship to its recent past. Since then, a plethora of discursive practices[iv] have emerged, related to efforts to memorialize and deal with the traumatic events of the dictatorship in different spaces: memorial spaces have been inaugurated, laws have been passed, and reports have been issued. All of these efforts have repositioned the military regime at the center of political and social discourses. Schools have not remained untouched by this push towards memory work. In fact, schools are central to this process, as evidenced by the massive entrance of the last dictatorship into the curriculum since the mid 1990s. In response, the state, as well as various nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) linked with human rights causes, have produced materials aimed at supporting the teaching of the period of state terrorism at different levels. Private publishers have started including this period in textbooks as well.

METHODOLOGY

The current chapter does not pretend to present a fully comprehensive analysis of all available textbooks, as that task alone would probably require a book by itself. Instead, I have selected textbooks that (a) have a national reach, and (b) were

published by the major publishers in the country. These textbooks were located either at the Biblioteca del Maestro [teacher's library], situated inside the National Ministry of Education, or the Biblioteca del Docente [another wording for teacher's library], dependent on the City of Buenos Aires' education ministry. I have also included materials (both on paper and online) that were designed by the state and several NGOs to teach only about the dictatorship. All texts were published or posted between 1987 (the earliest mentions of the dictatorship I was able to find) and 2008. A complete list of the texts that I have analyzed can be found at the end of the chapter.

For the analysis, the texts were coded, looking for ways to understand how certain narratives become reasonable in different historical contexts. The type of discourse analysis utilized is problematically labeled a "method," since it does not imply a predetermined set of rules that would dictate the actions of the researcher. The focus is on what is (im)possible to say, how these texts are produced, and the effects of power that they generate. In this sense, the approach to the analysis of the narratives about the recent past in Argentina is grounded in *Foucauldian* notions of power and discourse. Power is conceived here mainly as a positive force,[v] as producing knowledge and desire, bodies and dispositions, rather than repressing them (Foucault, 1980). The notion of discourse refers to practices that, as they consolidate into regimes of truth, bring into being objects that did not previously exist (Foucault, 2008). The analysis of the grid of discursive practices serves as a vehicle to illuminate the ways of thinking that found these discourses, that is, what allows those discourses to seem "reasonable" and/or "truthful" to different people in different moments in time.

This approach makes it impossible to separate a section about the "theoretical framework" from the analysis, as theory and practice, discourse and reality, speech and act are not understood as separate entities but as constructs that are part of the narratives being produced.

NARRATING THE LESSON

Earlier approaches. As indicated, the 20th anniversary of the 1976 coup marked the beginning of a reemergence of discursive practices linked to the last dictatorship. With this event came the inclusion of the dictatorship in official curricula and textbooks. However, a few publishers had already begun including this period in textbooks. Some of the earliest examples can be found in two social studies textbooks for seventh grade from 1987, published by Hyspamérica and Kapelusz. In regard to these textbooks' treatment of the recent past, some differences should be highlighted. The text by Kapelusz still contained many of the narrative elements that the dictatorship presented about itself: calling itself the "Process of National Reorganization"; justifying its own existence by explaining the need to repress the terrorist guerrillas; and counting the "numerous" highways, schools, and hospitals built during that period. While there was an abstract condemnation of the "excesses" of the regime, there was no mention of the disappeared or of any number of victims. The text by Hyspamérica, on the other hand, talked about coups

in general (within the 4-page section on "Argentina in the Last Fifty Years"), distinguishing between constitutional and nonconstitutional regimes, but did not reference any coup in particular. Only a hint of criticism was found in the following sentences:

> In the coup d'états of 1930, 1955, 1962, 1966 and 1976, the military victory was assured by the general apathy of the population. That is, by the meager participation of the citizens during the constitutional governments, which contributed greatly to making the de facto regimes possible. (Mazzi, 1987, p. 133)

Even beyond what may seem to be ideological differences, the similarities between these two earlier textbooks are indicative of features that would be common in latter texts, as well as of some of the major changes that would take place. First of all, both texts dedicated very little space to everything "recent," that is, to everything that took place since the second quarter of the 20th century. Since seventh grade was the last year of compulsory schooling in 1987, when the books were published, this tendency to reduce 60 years to a few pages basically excluded the relatively recent past from teaching. Second, the focus of both textbooks was put in largely mechanical exercises. Both books presented timelines of presidencies and types of regimes, with activities that asked students nothing more than to convert said timelines into other formats (graphs, lists). In other words, no activities or questions were aimed at any type of reflection about the dictatorship, as all activities were about form not content. The timeline could be about the Middle Ages in Rome, and the activity would be the same. One thing that stood out here was that both texts presented much more complex activities related to other historical periods. Leaving out any kind of discussion about the dictatorship and its causes and consequences was a strategy reserved for dealing with the recent past.

Streamlining the narrative. Throughout the 1990s, more and more social studies textbooks incorporated the period of state terrorism as a didactic unit. In sync with the broader society, the narratives about the dictatorship in schools were revamped by strength in numbers by the 20th anniversary of the coup in 1996. Not only did most publishers dedicate a section of their textbooks to that period, but many books and didactic materials specifically designed to teach about the last dictatorship appeared on the bookshelves.

The ideological differences pointed to in the earlier textbooks were still present up to the mid 1990s: some publishers still explicitly or implicitly supported the dictatorship, while others began to take a more critical approach. From a few textbooks that showed direct support of the dictatorship by still talking about the "revolution of 1976" and the "clash between two lifestyles: the Christian and Western one, and the Communist one," quoting directly from dictatorial pamphlets (Etchart, Douzon, & Rabini, 1992), to slightly updated new editions of older books (*Ciencias Sociales 7*, 1994), textbooks were still available that presented the dictatorship as part of the "evolution" of Argentine society. This perspective on recent events, while common merely a decade and a half earlier, vanished completely from the educational discourses by the second half of the 1990s. The

20th anniversary of the coup marked the moment in which support or justification of the military regime became taboo in narratives produced for schools.

Paradoxically, the movement that sought to articulate a critical approach towards the dictatorship in order to support the mandate of *Never Again!* may have carried with it a limitation in understanding conditions that made the authoritarian regime possible. In other words, efforts to generate a historical narrative that would mobilize historical consciousness towards production of a responsible citizen may have set limits to that very historical narrative by establishing what could and could not be said and thought about the recent past. If the critique of the military regime is accompanied by a moral mandate that establishes taboos on some of the elements necessary to understand its conditions of possibility, then, even if the goal is to avoid it from ever happening again, these efforts will always be misguided. In order to grasp this paradox, it is necessary to analyze the distinctive elements of the various narratives about the recent past that were and are being deployed.

Historical Consciousness and the Reasoning Behind Telling the Story

If there was one element common to all the sources analyzed, it was the justification given for studying the recent past. Two quotes serve as examples for a generalized reasoning:

> Today Argentine society maintains a difficult relationship with its recent past: it needs to appropriate it in order not to repeat it. (Raggio & Bejar, n.d.)

> It is necessary to tell [the story of the dictatorship] so that it never happens again. (Montes, 1996, p. 4)

This idea, so much part of pedagogical common sense, is founded on the notion of *historical consciousness*, that is, the idea that learning about the past, gaining consciousness about the lineage that led to the present, is inherently moralizing and needed to build "society" and its citizens. Through the pedagogization of historical consciousness, history is turned into a moralizing narrative that is to guide the actions of the citizen (Friedrich, 2010). In other words, when the history that is produced by historians is translated into curricular content, a moralizing component is added.[vi] Since schools assume the responsibility of developing in students the skills needed to look back at that past and extract from it the correct lessons, history is made into a source that any student who possesses the right skills (i.e., a historical consciousness) can draw on. In order to do that, the history that is being taught must be part of a consensus. The critical interrogation of the self becomes bounded by a way of ordering thought and action according to the consensualized lessons learned from a straightforward narrative of the past.

Furthermore, the notion that learning about the past is the key to avoid repeating it carries two assumptions. First, reason and knowledge are deployed as salvation narratives. The horror took place because the population was ignorant or did not know better. A good dose of education is at once what was missing then and what can save us today. As long as the individuals know and reason, they will act

"rightfully." Inversely, this way of thinking implies irrationality on the side of the people responsible for genocide and the society of that period as a whole, positioning all actors within a certain exceptionality from a progressive narrative of the nation. This disconnection between reason and the genocidal episodes of the 20th century has been seriously contested by the work of Benjamin (2007) and Agamben (1998, 2000, 2005), among others, who have argued that it is precisely the logic and reason of the modern state that made those horrors possible. Both Agamben and Benjamin posited that genocide (on in their cases, more specifically the Holocaust) was not an exceptional event in the history of a humanity that is progressing and becoming more and more rational. Instead, the very possibility of this kind of horror was always already embedded in the foundations of the modern nation-state, which is built around the exclusionary practices of nationalism and the need to distinguish those who belong from those who do not.

By placing a particular historical period within the sphere of irrationality, textbooks contribute to a different kind of reason, one that governs through the categorization of events and subjects under the labels of ir/rationality, according to whether or not those events and subjects are commensurable with the moralistic lining of the narrative being constructed. In other words, as long as an event or the reading of that event contests the idea of progress, it is deemed irrational or exceptional, and with it, all those participating in it. This form of governmentality (Foucault, 1997) aims at conducting conduct and thus circumscribing reason and knowledge to only the *acceptable* reason and knowledge, thus casting whatever does not fit into the sphere of the irrational Other. In this case it is knowledge about the dictatorship that can save us from repeating it, as long as the lessons learned point to the *lack* of reason and knowledge during that period.

The second assumption presented in the common sense idea of learning about the past in order not to repeat it relates to the notion of "repetition" and the very possibility of a historical fact repeating itself. Without going into much detail, assuming that a historical event can be repeated—an assumption that finds its symbolic zenith in the phrase that represents human rights struggles all over the world—*Nunca Más*, or Never Again—implies a reading of the event as an element that can be isolated from its context and generalized. Strictly speaking, even if there were another dictatorship in Argentina, one could not be talking about repetition, since the only thing that returns is the category used to read that reality: the category of "dictatorship." Calling this a "repetition" presents the danger of ignoring the historical, social, and political differences between distinct events in the name of protecting democracy in ways that overlook the specificities of history.

These two assumptions, that of irrationality and that of repetition, run through the whole pedagogical enterprise of teaching history and seem integral to it. We tend to teach history, any history, in the hopes that knowledge and reason will make people better. Progress is unthinkable outside modern historical under-standings, and modern historical understandings, I would argue, are extremely hard to grasp without any hint of progressivism. In order to educate the responsible citizen and form a historical consciousness in society, that which contests the progressive narrative of the nation must fall into an otherness, or the risk of history

repeating itself might become a reality. However, it is necessary to rethink not only these presuppositions but also their consequences if we are to enact a different present, by reconceptualizing the role of history in the education of the citizen. Any narrative, including the most progressive ones, sets limits to what the subjects being narrated can think, say, and do, and those limits need to be challenged if we are to open up possibilities that up to this point have been foreclosed.

Plot Points and Demarcation of Eras

Another striking feature brought up by the analysis of all the materials is the high level of homogeneity in the general plotting of the narrative. Summarizing the story being told, one finds the following sequence in most sources:

Social and political unrest	→ 1976: Coup →	Repression and violence	→	1982: Falkland War	→	Society "wakes up"	→	1983: Democratic opening
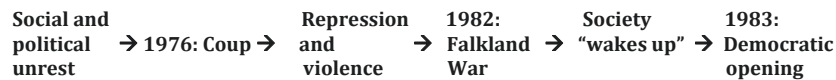
The linear progression represents the linear quality of the narratives presented in the textbooks. Most narratives started with the coup, giving it a brief context of social and political unrest. In social studies textbooks (Alonso, Elisalde, & Vazquez, 1997; Di Tella, 1993; Iaies & Segal, 1992; Mérega, 2005; Pasel, 1992), the demarcation of this era was highlighted by a new unit or chapter. This tended to be the last chapter of the book, usually titled something like "Dictatorship and Democracy in Argentina." Other materials specifically designed to teach about this period directly opened with the coup (*Argentina: Una Herida Abierta*, 2004; *Puerto de Partida,* n.d.), referencing briefly the social movements of 1975. Thus, the coup was the origin, the beginning, a happening that appeared with little to no explanation as to the conditions that made it possible or intelligible for the people living in that period. While the regime tended to be characterized as "the worst thing that ever happened to us in all of our history" (Montes, 1996), it appeared unrelated to anything that came before. It seems as if it were an exception to an otherwise progressive *history-becoming* of Argentine democracy, a view connected to the common reference to the dictatorship as the period of "interruption of democracy." The description of the regime per se varied according to the source. A few textbooks focused only on the repressive activity by the military (see, e.g., *Ciencias Sociales 7*, 1994), while most mentioned the economic model based on imports and the following destruction of the national industry (see, e.g., Alonso et al., 1997), yet what was a constant among all textbooks was the idea that the coup changed it all.

To signal the change that this period presented for the population, many texts referenced the spreading of a particular *culture*, be it a culture of violence (Bustinza & Grieco y Bavio, 1997) or a culture of fear (Montes, 1996; *Puerto de Partida,* n.d.). Under this blanket concept, the rules of the game for the general population changed, and mentions of the inaction, or even the complicity, of the people in relation to the regime were "understood" as part of the cultural change. If

people *suddenly* started denouncing their neighbors as leftists, this was not because of a historically constructed mindset, but because of the newly spread culture of fear. This point is developed in more depth below in discussing the inscription of the population in narratives about the recent past.

The Falkland/Malvinas War appeared in the analyzed materials unequivocally as the beginning of the end for the regime, the moment in which, after deceiving the people into an impossible battle (even if for the "right reasons"), the dictators lost their grip on the population and Argentines woke up from their slumber. In fact, even in texts that presented the war with little more than a photo and a paragraph, it was always used as a gateway to the democratic opening. The military defeat against Britain went hand in hand with the retreat in the political arena, the increase in external pressures, and the circulation of objective, nonmanipulated information. By this time, "no one could feign ignorance anymore" [*Ya nadie podía hacerse el desentendido*] (Montes, 1996).

Alonso (2004) argued that by linking the failure of the Falkland/Malvinas War to the trials of the dictators and the following debate about what had taken place during the period of state terrorism, the pathways to redemocratization were always posed as conditioned by the inherent decay of the dictatorship. Instead of looking at the tensions and historical conditions of the military regime, the dictatorship emerged from the textbooks as something that was always already predisposed to fail, in a process of decay since its inception. As such, the process of redemocratization was always an undercurrent of the decaying military regime, as democracy was once again posed as the organizing principle for the progress of the nation.

Alonso's argument is important, especially if one is to understand how the dictatorship is so commonly understood as an "interruption of the democratic order." Interpreting democracy as conditioned by the dictatorship and vice versa contributes only to a binary opposition between authoritarianism and democracy that essentializes both terms and the relationship between them, limiting the sort of questions that can be posed. For instance, questions about the conditions of possibility for the dictatorship become much harder to ask; if *we* were always inherently democratic, then how can the military regime be explained? And if the dictatorship was always already in decay, why did it take 7 years and 30,000 disappeared for it to fall?

However, Alonso's analysis does not account for a key element. The translation that transforms history into a school subject by inserting the goal of developing a historical consciousness in students has excluded significant pieces of the historical puzzle from the textbooks. I do not mean to imply that there is one single puzzle to put together, one totalizing history that could include it all. Accounts by historians of some of the social, historical, and political conditions that gave rise to the dictatorship are diverse and often conflictive (see, e.g., the debates presented in Belzagui, 2008), yet the ongoing conversations about these conditions are a fundamental part of whatever knowledge historians are producing. The pedagogical project and implications of that knowledge being mobilized in schools in the name of production of a historical consciousness, on the other hand, found themselves on different principles. The notion of history as the progress of

democracy only allows for students to understand the dictatorship as a hiccup, a bump or an interruption of an otherwise essentially democratic growth of a people. By extirpating part of the conversations—i.e., anything that may contest the idea of a uniform progress, such as, for example, the support of a significant sector of the population towards the dictatorship—the military regime becomes a part of history that is not a part of *our* history, something that happened to an *us* that is not *us*, and that is therefore an ungraspable Other.

Therefore, if history is nothing more than the progress of democracy, democracy itself becomes more tied to efforts to conserve than to create, as the education of the "responsible" citizen is now linked to protecting those inherent democratic qualities present in the true Argentines so that they do not get tarnished again by corruptors.

Now the analysis that shows how the dictatorship is turned into the Other comes full circle. In order to preserve the purity of the democratic spirit in children, it appears to be necessary to cut all ties to the possibility of linking the self to authoritarianism, as if learning about the potential for horror present in modern (state) reason would open the doors for the repetition of trauma. The risks and potential, the fears and hopes, the dangers and possibilities embedded in democracy are impossible to separate, as they are part of the same processes.

The Binary Opposition Between Authoritarianism and Democracy

Another common element was found in all the analyzed sources. Within the general rejection of the dictatorship, the main pillar for this positioning was the binary opposition between authoritarianism and democracy. Democracy was rarely defined; it was usually assumed as a formal system of government in which the people elect their rulers (see, e.g., Farina & Klainer, 2004; Mérega, 2005). On other occasions, democracy was seen more as a continuously evolving system:

> History teaches us that democracy does not guarantee the success of a government, but it is the only system that allows for a progressive correction. Critique, reflection on errors and successes, makes possible for the people to have better elections, allows for the renovation of rulers and facilitates the search for better solutions for a country's problems. (Pasel, 1992, p. 129)

While not phrased as a definition, Pasel's words point in the same direction as one of the most successful books about the dictatorship written specifically for children: Graciela Montes's *El Golpe y los Chicos* [The coup and the children] (1996). This book, by one of Argentina's best known writers, talked about the military regime as the triumph of "non-change," crushing those who wanted change. In the same spirit of this "definition," many other texts described authoritarianism as everything that democracy is not. A dictatorship, then, is a time when "the constitutional principles that guarantee the rights of the people are not respected" (Iaies & Segal, 1992).

This binary opposition has one particular ramification that is of special interest for this chapter: the inference of the opposition between *us* (the democratic

Argentines, the responsible citizens, the ones who care) and *them* (the dictators and their supporters, the fascists, the ones who do not care). An analysis of the books and textbooks that included narratives about the dictatorship showed a correspondence that at first sight might not be surprising: the more "critical" a text was about the regime, the more it emphasized this dichotomy between us and them. Graciela Montes (1996), for instance, claimed that with the return of democracy, "we were back at being ourselves." A comic book published by the Madres de Plaza de Mayo (*Argentina: Una Herida Abierta*, 2004) "explained" that the doctrine leading the military regime consisted of "planning, organizing, and executing terror" since democracy and the people's participation were obstacles in the dictators' quest for power. A final example can be found in the first issue of the *Dossier: Educación y Memoria*, published both on paper and online by Buenos Aires' *Comisión Provincial por la Memoria* [Provincial Commission on Memory]. It described the period as one where "state and society were subjected to the armed forces, which concentrated total power." The regime was clearly opposed by society and was carried out by *them*.[vii]

The paradox I had mentioned above—that the most critical perspectives end up setting boundaries on the narratives about what made the military regime possible—becomes more visible when one analyzes these dichotomies. The perspectives presented in the texts that position the self (the Argentine self, the citizen self, the critical self) as essentially democratic and distinguished from the *them* of the dictators, the armed forces, the regime, the power-hungry, inscribe two sides on a battle that not only had no reasoning beyond the essential and contrasting qualities of each party, but also had no way of explaining how just a few (the three generals and their accomplices) managed to impose such horror on so many. Using the quote by Montes, one is tempted to ask: If with the return of democracy we "were back at being ourselves," who were we during the dictatorship? Once again, we encounter the process of turning the authoritarian regime into an Other, reflecting the pedagogical fears of understanding that recent past as part of the self. Essentializing democracy or the democratic people (and authoritarianism or the military rulers) can be understood, once again, as a strategy of governance, in that it aims at guiding the conduct of people. The morals to be extracted from the past are the morals of a struggle between inherently good and bad people, making it fairly easy for students to take part and generate an identity as part of the *us* and *act accordingly*.

Interestingly enough, the establishment of this clear dichotomy between us and them, between the inherently good and the enemies of the nation, is not very different from the mechanisms through which the dictators spread terror among the population. During the dictatorship, everyone deemed an enemy of the nation was set for extermination, and gray areas were not an option: either for or against *us*. However, pointing to this continuity between the times of the dictatorship and now would force one to question the clear-cut division between authoritarianism and democracy. I would argue that, under current conditions, such questioning is impossible, since to do so would question one of the main foundations of pedagogy: the redemptive power of reason. In other words, if the barrier between then and now, between the dictatorship and democracy, between the time of irrationality

or ignorance and the time of reason and progress becomes porous, where is the hopeful narrative of schooling to be located? If knowledge and more education can't save us, what can?

Population: Between Victimhood and Resistance

The ways in which the population, civil society, or the *people* are positioned in all these narratives is related to the previous point, yet it is distinct enough that it merits a separate analysis. While there is a founding binary supporting the description of the role of the general population (recounted as either passive victims or active resistance fighters), this section interrupts that binary by addressing the issue of supporters of the regime.

According to Alonso (2004), there is a dualism in terms of how the population is seen in textbooks about the dictatorship: the people are shown either as passive— implying a certain amount of support for the regime—or as mobilized or active in opposition to the dictators. This dichotomy, argued the author, broke down after the Falkland/Malvinas War, when the textbooks signaled the whole population turning against the regime. My own analysis supports Alonso's, but provides an extra layer in terms of the categorizations, and in one particular case, it complicates this dichotomy. What Alonso saw as a passive population can also be understood as a population of victims. The category of "victim" allows for some subtlety that goes beyond mere passivity. For instance, one type of victimhood was referenced in the materials that accompanied the video *Puerto de* Partida:[viii]

> The disappearances were many, but the plan aimed at terrorizing the whole society. *Defenseless* before the terrorizing state, a culture of fear was imposed upon it. (p. 9, my emphasis)

The whole of society appeared here as victimized by the few that imposed a culture of fear and left society defenseless. The terrorizing state was the active party positioned against a passive society that had nothing to do with the regime. Another related form of victimhood that appeared in some narratives, sometimes in conjunction with this completely passive role, was the *deceived* society: a well-intentioned population that wanted nothing but peace but was misled by the military.

> For some sectors of society the military appeared as the only chance of guaranteeing peace and order. However, the military Junta exercised power violating numerous individual rights. (Iaies & Segal, 1992, p. 171)

Perhaps the most pervasive form of victimhood or passiveness was the complete exclusion of society from the narrative being presented. Most of the textbooks used as sources for this analysis did not make any references to how the population reacted (or not) to the regime (see, e.g., Bustinza & Grieco y Bavio, 1997; Di Tella, 1993; Mérega, 2005; Pasel, 1992). The ways in which the story was told in these texts relied on particular actors (generals, NGOs, prosecuted/kidnapped individuals, torturers, foreigners) without talking about the majority of the

population, the unnamed individuals who did not have any specific roles during the regime, yet were an integral part of it.

On the other hand, almost unequivocally the figure of the resistance fighter was found to have a predominant role in narratives about the dictatorship. Especially after the 20th anniversary of the coup in 1996, all textbooks dedicated a significant portion of the units or chapters about the recent past to talk about the actors and events that symbolized resistance to the regime. The Madres de Plaza de Mayo appeared here at the core of the issue. As an organization that started sponta-neously, founded by the mothers of the disappeared who asked about the where-abouts of their children, growing slowly but steadily while gaining international recognition, the Madres were the epitome of victims turned into resistance fighters. Together with the appearance of other human rights NGOs, the emergence of the Madres was credited in textbooks with triggering the awakening and mobilization of society as a whole (see, e.g., Mérega, 2005; Montes, 1996). Since their role was linked to the beginning of the end for the military regime, they tended to appear towards the end of the narratives—even though the Madres began protesting as early as April 1977. Other figures of resistance, not as prominent as the Madres but still mentioned in some textbooks were individual actors, such as Nobel Peace Prize winner Adolfo Pérez Esquivel and other exiles who helped build international pressure that would contribute to removal of the dictators in the early 1980s.[ix]

As mentioned above, the formation of a historical consciousness serves to generate particular identification processes that guide the action and thought of future citizens. Students are supposed to think of a particular past as *their* past. Thus, following analysis of the ways in which the population is presented, it would seem that students would see themselves as reflections of the population, as either victims or resistance fighters. In narratives that privilege the idea of the population as victims of the regime, the prevailing lesson is the need to permanently guard against any slippage into authoritarianism, so that *we* are *Never Again* deceived by *them*. Participation, seen as the antidote to victimhood, is reinscribed as a state of vigilance and denunciation, of protection of something that is never to be broken under *our* watch again. When the narratives privilege the resistance aspect, there is a heroic component aimed at teaching students that even under the hardest conditions, faced with the most difficult challenges, *we* are capable of acting and resisting. As a tour guide for the Museum of Memory once told me, if people like the Mothers were able to do what they did during those dangerous times, we in the present have no excuse not to (Friedrich, 2011).

This separation between victimhood and resistance or, in terms of Alonso, between passive and active roles attributed to the population is challenged by one key category: the supporters of the regime. These individuals supported the regime by denouncing their neighbors, cheering for the new regime, sending postcards to the United Nations with the legend: "*Los argentinos somos derechos y humanos*" [We Argentines are human and right/straight, against denunciations for human rights violations], or justifying terror with the pretense of the need for order. They were neither passive victims nor resistant to the regime. They constituted, however, if not the majority, at least a significant sector of the population (never of *el*

pueblo!) that founded the regime and made it possible for the horror to reach every corner of social life. Yet it is quite difficult to find references to this group in textbooks and other didactic materials. A few texts did mention some kind of social responsibility, with neighbors denouncing each other and people ignoring certain violent situations.

> In some cases, [the clandestine concentration camps] were located in the middle of the cities, and the neighbors around them could hear piercing screams from the tortured, sobbing and shots … yet they tended to justify it with phrases like: "There must be a reason" [por algo será]. … (Montes, 1996, p. 17)

Explanations about people's attitudes towards the regime and the social-political conditions, when they implied support of the dictatorship, were rare in the texts surveyed. These attitudes, when made explicit, tended to be justified by the "culture of fear" that corrupted what Argentines are all about:

> For part of the population, fear displaces from the forefront any other feeling and generates individualist behaviors and indifference towards what is happening to others, placing one's own life and safety above any other value. In this way, the subjective conditions of possibility for an authoritarian state are generated. (*Puerto de Partida,* n.d., p. 13)

> Sometimes we are not capable of looking up to look around and we stay gazing at our own navel. And many Argentines did that; they could not see or think beyond their navels. (Montes, 1996, p. 23)

A question that emerges from this way of presenting (or not) the supporters of the regime relates to the ways in which talking about civic support to the military would challenge the clear dichotomies established between *us* and *them* and between authoritarianism and democracy. The use of blanket concepts such as "culture of fear" or "culture of violence" aims at turning the supporters back into victims of a cultural change that was out of their reach. So, schools could avoid the danger of having students identify with a population that willingly allowed the horror to happen. Franco and Levin, two Argentine historians of education, reflected on what they considered to be a limit of education:

> Even though it is true that working with multiple perspectives from different actors … is a necessary entry point to denaturalize stagnated versions, it is also true that one cannot (and should not) leave the decision on which are the "right" narratives to students. (Franco & Levin, 2007, p. 5)

In other words, the multiplicity of perspectives runs against the limit presented by mistrust in students' capacity to draw their own conclusions. The formation of a responsible citizen endowed with historical consciousness demands that certain elements of the story be tailored to the moral goals of pedagogy. Anything that presents the possibility of students constructing undesired narratives about the past has to be filtered out. This is not to say that there is a history that is absolute and

neutral and that includes everything there is to include. My goal is not to advocate for an all-inclusive history, as there is no such thing, but to point at the limitations embedded in the efforts to mobilize history as a moralistic tale aimed at producing a particular ideal of responsible citizen.

Activating the Mind

Finally, I turn to the instructional activities and worksheets proposed by the textbooks. Such activities were part of the analysis because they played an important role in highlighting not only the main points students should focus their attention on, according to the authors of each text, but also how the recent past was to be "used" in learning about the present.

In one set of textbooks and materials, no activities were presented for students to engage in. For the authors of these books, the information they present is sufficient and it may be the teacher's task to formulate the corresponding activities. Most of these texts work as regular books, presenting the narratives in chronological order (Alonso et al., 1997; Di Tella, 1993) or within a graphic form (*Argentina: Una Herida Abierta*, 2004).

The book by Graciela Montes (1996) approached the issue of activities differently. After the history section, the second part of the book included narratives from the children of the disappeared written in first person. There were no questions, bullet points, or activities, yet there was a separation between the information presented in a historical narrative and the personal stories of the victims.

The first set of actual activities found in other textbooks can be termed *mechanical*, since they focused not so much on the content being studied as in the methods of that study. Students are asked to work on ways of organizing knowledge and displaying content in different ways, more than engaging the content itself. As I mentioned before, this type of activity could refer to any time period and location. Methodological activities were usually found in textbooks that assumed a less critical approach (if not full support) of the dictatorship. Some examples of methodological activities were completing a timeline and generating questions to given answers (Mérega, 2005); writing down on a table, after a given timeline, how many years of democracy and how many years of dictatorship Argentina experienced since 1928 (Bustinza & Grieco y Bavio, 1997); or writing down a list of proper names to be classified into people, places, and institutions (*Ciencias Sociales 7*, 1987). This type of activity that focuses on distributions and categorizations has a somewhat ironic effect. It could be argued that such activities tend to make history ahistorical, by having students engage in activities that separate the specificities of the period being studied from the ways of studying it and focusing only on methodology. Yet the emphasis on timelines and distributions into familiar categories (people, places, institutions) makes sure that the period of the dictatorship is integrated into a narrative of continuity and development of the nation, that is, that it is included as part of *our* history. By making sure that there is no difference between what can be done with the history of the dictatorship and

that of previous times—all of it can be categorized into people, places, and institutions—all of it is located within the same story, that of the development of the Argentine nation.

A second set of activities could be categorized as *elaborative*, as they aim at having students elaborate their own frameworks and positioning. This type of activity tends to require students to enter into dialogues with older people who participated or were alive in the times being studied and can be found in some of the textbooks that present more critical approaches to the recent past, especially those published by *Aique*, one of the first publishers to produce textbooks guided by the historical perspectives of some of Argentina's most respected historians.

Two good examples of elaborative activities can be found in *Laboratorio de Ciencias Sociales 7*, by Iaies and Segal (1992). At the beginning of the chapter on the dictatorship, there was a box with the following text: "In March of 1976, the national situation was chaotic. Some used this argument to justify the coup d'état. Do you agree with this argument? Why?" By the end of the chapter, there was another box asking students to inquire with their parents and Falkland/Malvinas war veterans what they remember and think about the use of violence in that period. Here, the answers were not pregiven in the narratives—at least not superficially, although obviously since the textbooks were critical of that period, there were hints as to what the "correct" answers were. The questions were specific to, not only that period, but the concept of *recent* past itself, given that they relied on the lived experience of the community members involved. They tended to try to make connections between that recent past and the present students live in.

However, even though they present a higher complexity than the *methodological* activities, *elaborative* activities are at the center of my analysis and critique, especially vis-à-vis the relationships they attempt to establish between past and present. This relationship can be illustrated by an example found in Issue 18 of the *Dossier: Educación y Memoria* (Raggio & Bejar, n.d.), dedicated to the effects of the dictatorship in schools. In it, some documents of that period were reproduced, such as pamphlets warning about the dangers of subversion, legislative measures to discipline teachers and administrators, and curricular interventions. Next to them, under the title "Towards a Democratic School," there was a reproduction of a document from 2005 providing democratic guidelines for the constitution of statutes for student unions. Following that, the textbook asked students to compare both periods through these documents, establishing continuities and shifts. It was quite evident, for anyone completing this task, that *we* are different now, that *we* have left that past behind and have redeemed ourselves, and that democratic progress has taken place.

Here, I bring back the axis of my analysis in the notion of historical consciousness. If one understands historical consciousness as a pedagogical device—that is, as a project of schooling to develop in students a sense of belonging to a particular historical narrative from which to extract moral lessons that will guide their actions and thoughts—then this type of comparison between the traumatic recent past and the democratic present plays a key role. In reinforcing the dichotomy between authoritarian and democratic regimes through a comparative activity, all that is left

for students is to "realize" the necessary differences between *us* and *them*. Students' agency in constructing their own narratives and positioning is part of what is now considered "participation." Yet, students' narratives are never merely theirs, and participation counts as such as long as it contributes to the bounded notion of citizenship at stake. In other words, students are free to participate in this identification process only as long as they identify with the *correct* side of the story, and with the moral lessons that pedagogues want them to draw.

SUMMARY

The analysis of the textbooks and other didactic materials designed to teach about the last dictatorship reveals specific ways in which the production of responsible citizens in schools is tied to the development of a historical consciousness that allows students to extract moral lessons and a sense of national belonging from the (recent) past that will guide their thought and action.

The reasoning for telling the story in the first place is replicated from text to text: students are to learn history in order not to repeat it. Through the notion of historical consciousness, history is turned into a moralizing narrative linking memory, responsibility, and participation to a salvation narrative anchored in knowledge and reason. If students know, they will think "the right way," and horror will never happen again.

The plot points presented in the narratives about the recent past tend to be founded on a common story and foundational understanding. The common story is that of an event (the coup) that was used by a few to deceive the majority towards their own ends, a deception that ended after a failed war and the awakening of the population. The foundational understanding is that of history as a progressive development of the essential qualities of Argentines as democratic people. An education for democracy is grounded, thus, in the effort to preserve that democratic essence from events and individuals that could corrupt it. What counts as responsible action, as participation, or as a good history education is what agrees with that preset conclusion: *we* were always inherently democratic.

The general stance against the dictatorship that can be found in the great majority of textbooks after 1996 stands on a binary opposition between authoritarianism and democracy, in which one is basically defined as everything the other is not. Therefore, there cannot be any kind of dialogue about the continuities or connections that make the transition from one to the other possible. A significant consequence of this division is the separation between *them* and *us*, between those who embody authoritarianism and the military regime and those who are inherently democratic. As the students identify themselves with that clear *us*, the dictatorship is treated as an ungraspable Other, and the defense of democracy and its principles is essentialized in ways that limit the possibilities of questioning it or seeing the Other as part of us.

The role of the population is also portrayed mostly in between two categories: the population as victims and the people as resistance fighters. Victimhood is understood either as being absent from that historical period, being present as a

passive object enveloped in a corrupted culture of fear and/or violence, or as well-intentioned yet deceived by those in power. Within these narratives, participation in the present is inscribed as a perpetual vigilance against hints of authoritarianism that should never be left to flourish again. Meanwhile, a small group of named agents and the conscious people (*el pueblo*) shape the aspect of resistance, necessary maybe for the redemptive progression of the nation to be intelligible. Here, the responsible citizen of today follows the example of the great heroes of the past who found spaces to resist even in the most dangerous of situations. A significant sector of society, that of the supporters of the regime, is excluded from most of the narratives presented, yet it lurks as a threat to the very categorization between victims and resistance fighters.

Finally, many of the sources analyzed proposed activities for students to think about the consequences of the recent past, linking it to their own present situation. Yet all these efforts to generate reflection and involvement with the country's history are set as continuous reminders of the idea of progress and of a past that has been left behind, founded in the binary opposition between dictatorial and democratic regimes mentioned above. In every instance in which an appropriation of the recent past is sought, the limitations to that very process are reinscribed.

Historical Consciousness, Progress, and Democratic Knowledge

My analysis of textbooks brings to the fore some of the limitations not only of those specific narratives, but some of the very foundations of schooling itself. Schooling is founded on the idea of progress and on the notion that reason and knowledge are the pathways to salvation and social reconstruction (Hunter, 1994; Popkewitz, 1998). As this chapter shows, while there are values that one might not want to give up in that idea of progress, when the narratives about the past are shaped around the intentional construction of progress, what can be said, thought, and acted upon becomes bounded to the particular understanding of how we want our citizens to be.

But returning to this discussion, I would like to highlight the fact that this analysis does not seek to invalidate the efforts to teach such an important content in schools. On the contrary, the point is to understand how some of the efforts to bring about democracy in schools end up reinscribing the very principles of exclusion and privileging of certain voices over others that they are trying to displace. Here, I agree with Marcelo Mariño:

> Anyway, it is not insignificant that, even with its deficiencies, the dictatorship enters the school's agenda. In general, a stripping is produced that ends up constructing a poor version [vulgate] of the period, turning it into a dead past from which one can only extract moral lessons. In this way, history is flattened, and even though the remembrance of horror and the homage to the victims are charged with good intentions, a memorialism [*memorialismo*] is strengthened, which finds in the celebration of

> anniversaries a place to settle the fulfillment of the forms that constitute the exercise of "good citizenship." (Mariño, 2006, p. 155)

In other words, we cannot settle with the mere fact that content previously excluded from the curriculum has now found a place in it. Most people, myself included, would agree on the importance of teaching about the traumatic recent past, of involving students in their own histories and that of their families and national, regional, and global identifications, of strengthening democracy by historicizing it. It is precisely in the spirit of that strengthening that this critique seeks to understand the limitations embedded in the narratives presented in textbooks and their pedagogical assumptions.

The narratives that guide the teaching of the traumatic recent past, as I have highlighted above, are grounded on a progressive understanding of history and of the individual, of the evolution of society and the power of knowledge and reason. Educating children in the ways of democracy appears then both as a cause (of the fulfillment of the imperative *Never Again!*) and as an effect (of the development of a democratic society and spirit) and has embedded in it an optimism towards the future and the efficacy of knowing about the past, together with a fear for what would happen without that knowledge or reason. This essay is not about optimism or pessimism, about good or bad textbooks and narratives. Instead, it deals with the boundaries of the pedagogical mobilization of history in the name of a moral construction of the subject, and how the resulting principles define what counts as *agency*. As teachers and pedagogues become concerned with producing responsible citizens, history is reshaped (I repeat, not from a pure, untouched state, but from previous shapings and inscriptions) and translated into an educational language that sets limits on what is possible to say and think, according to how students are expected to think and act after learning the "right" lessons. The taboo around the people's participation and support of the military regime, for instance, is indicative of the things that these progressive narratives do not allow readers to perceive. The shattering of the categorization of society into victims and resistance fighters that the collaborators embody signals the need to understand how even the most "critical" approaches to the recent past can also sometimes be the most dangerous, as long as that critique does not bend upon itself. In other words, in order to be truly critical, one needs to go beyond the common efforts to bring about a responsible citizenry by turning history into a source of morals, and use that same critical gaze to look into the limits of this very practice.

Finally, the progressive undertone of all these efforts, and the assumption of an essential democratic quality to the people whose history is being narrated, presents the danger of turning the openness and creative force of the notion of democracy into the struggle to preserve and protect that quality from all possible sources of corruption, including the fear (or hatred, in terms of Rancière) of the uncertainty embedded in democratic life. Democracy might mean having to live with the risk of people (including students) drawing conclusions that go against our ideals and trusting everyone's capacities. Otherwise, the goal of schooling would merely be to protect democracy from the excesses … of democracy. Or, as Clinton Rossiter

crudely put it, "No sacrifice is too great for our democracy, least of all the temporary sacrifice of democracy itself" (quoted in Agamben, 2005). Now, when the protection of democracy slowly starts to become a protection against those who would disagree with a particular understanding of democracy, the line between democracy and authoritarianism becomes quite blurry.

NOTES

[i] Since one of the main goals of this chapter was to analyze the narratives about the recent past that are posited by textbooks, to simply propose another narrative would be problematic. By intertwining a sort of historical chronology with a personal account, some background is provided for unfamiliar readers, while all attempts at objectivity and definite truth are left aside.

[ii] Raul Alfonsín was the first democratically elected president after the last dictatorship in Argentina. A significant portion of his administration (1983–1989) was labeled *primavera alfonsinista* [Alfonsinista spring] for the optimistic atmosphere that prevailed.

[iii] To provide readers unfamiliar with Argentine history with some guidance, I list all modern Argentine presidents in chronological order, starting in 1916, the first year in which free elections were conducted. Names in italics indicate military rulers, and "(c)" indicates coup. This way of presenting history is entirely arbitrary.

- 1916–1922, H. Yrigoyen
- 1922–1928, M. T. de Alvear
- 1928–1930, H. Yrigoyen
- (c)1930–1932, *J. F. Uriburu*
- 1932–1938, A. P. Justo
- 1938–1942, R. M. Ortiz
- 1942–1943, R. Castillo
- (c)1943, *A. Rawson*
- (c)1943–1944, *P. P. Ramírez*
- (c)1944–1946, *E. J. Farrell*
- 1946–1955, J. D. Perón
- (c)1955, *E. Leonardi*
- (c)1955–1958, *P. E. Aramburu*

- 1958–1962, A. Frondizi
- (c)1962–1963, J. M. Guido
- 1963–1966, A. U. Illia
- (c)1966–1970, *J. C. Onganía*
- (c)1970–1971, *R. M. Levingston*
- (c)1971–1973, *A. Lanusse*
- 1973, H. J. Cámpora
- 1973, R. A. Lastiri
- 1973–1974, J. D. Perón
- 1974–1976, I. Martínez de Perón

- (c)1976–1981, *J. R. Videla*
- 1981, *R. E. Viola*
- 1981–1982, *L. Galtieri*
- 1982–1983, *R. Bignone*
- 1983–1989, R. Alfonsín
- 1989–1999, C.S. Menem
- 1999–2001, F. de la Rúa
- 2001, A. Rodríguez Saa
- 2002–2003, E. Duhalde
- 2003–2007, N. Kirchner
- 2007–present, C. Fernández de Kirchner

[iv] "Discursive practices are characterized by the delimitation of a field of objects, the definition of a legitimate perspective for the agent of knowledge, and the fixing of norms for the elaboration of concepts and theories. Thus, each discursive practice implies a play of prescriptions that designate its exclusions and choices. … Discursive practices are not purely and simply ways of producing discourse. They are embodied in technical processes, in institutions, in patterns for general behavior, in forms for transmission and diffusion, and in pedagogical forms which, at once, impose and maintain them" (Foucault, 1977, pp. 199–200).

[v] "Positive" not in terms of "good," but as related to its creative capabilities, as opposed to a negative notion of power that would prioritize the repressive aspect.

[vi] Popkewitz (2008) discussed this translation as an alchemical process, in that the results of the translation are something entirely different from the original *substance*.

[vii] The inscription of this dichotomy can be found even in academic productions. Alonso (2004), for instance, used the third person to describe the period of the dictatorship, but switched to first person for the following democratic opening.

[viii] *Puerto de Partida* [Port of Departure] is a video produced and distributed by the Association *Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo*. In it, the story of a young man who discovers, with the help of the *Abuelas*, that he is the child of a disappeared couple is used to discuss issues of identity and responsibility and to study the period of the dictatorship as well as the role of the major human

rights NGOs. The accompanying materials can be found at http://www.me.gov.ar/curriform/publica/puertodepartida.df.

^{ix} In talking about events (such as protests) or more general movements towards democratization, one can note a tendency towards replacing population with *el pueblo* [the people]. The concept of *el pueblo* carries with it in Latin American contexts a particular double quality: on the one hand it represents the essential qualities of a people, those that define that group as unique and self-conscious of its own qualities, while on the other hand it presents a fragmentary multiplicity of needy and excluded bodies (Agamben, 2000).

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3. DOMESTICATING DEMOCRACY?

Civic and Ethical Education Textbooks in Secondary Schools
in Democratizing Ethiopia

In 1994 in Ethiopia, after the fall of the military regime that had been in power since 1977, a new constitution was adopted, and the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) was officially established. This chapter examines the role that civic education has played in permeating the concept of democracy in a multi-cultural developing country emerging from one-party rule. To establish the firm basis of its rule, while gaining support from ethnically and culturally diverse entities of society, rapid and wide diffusion of the understanding of the system and rationale of democracy was an urgent task for the government. Civic education was seen as one of the significant means to achieve that goal.

The process of developing the new school curriculum and the subject of civic education had started even before the official inauguration of the FDRE. After 2 years of discussion, the first curriculum on civic education was introduced in 1993. At first, the subject was called Civic Education, but it was then renamed Civic and Ethical Education (CEE) after a curricular reform in 2000. In Ethiopia, textbooks developed on this subject were overseen by the Ministry of Education, even when textbooks for other subjects were contracted out to private companies overseas. By analyzing the CEE textbooks throughout the democratization period, therefore, this chapter sheds light on the government's conceptions of democracy and logic behind them. Such governmental conceptions of citizenship are closely related to the social and political contexts of the time. The analysis of this chapter demonstrates how the concepts of democracy can be molded to fit the political needs of the rulers and how the textbook as an educational medium is designed in the process.

The current ruling political party, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, has its origins in a resistance movement of the Tigray population in the northern part of the country. The overthrow of the communist (*Derg*) military regime meant not only the end of military autocracy but also the replacement of the long-lasting Amhara rule with that of the Tigray. Although they are the third largest group after the Oromo and Amhara, the Tigray comprise only 6.07% of the total population of Ethiopia (Government of Ethiopia, 2008). On the one hand, the FDRE government has criticized the former regimes for their power dominance and suppression, in contrast to the current government which is duly entrusted by the citizens to rule. On the other hand, for a government run by a party based on a

minority group, it is very challenging to gain continuous and stable support from the public. In fact, there was serious political turmoil after the first full-fledged national election in 2005, and many candidates and supporters of opposition parties were imprisoned for political offenses. A series of governmental interventions to reform CEE have coincided with national elections (2000, 2005, and 2010), which indicates the significance attached by the FDRE government to this subject in maintaining social order and political stability. Wide-based support for democracy is indispensable for the stability of the state, and a high level of authority is given to regional governments, which are divided roughly along the lines of ethnic and cultural groups.[i]

The concepts taught in the CEE curriculum are seemingly universal. However, tracing the development of the curriculum and textbooks provides insights on how democracy, human rights, and other related concepts have been modified to fit Ethiopian national perspectives, the Ethiopian political agenda, and social issues. In the Ethiopian CEE textbooks, the concept of democracy is explained in close relationship with the control of power and tolerance. Such a translation of democracy is uniquely rooted in Ethiopian diversity in culture, history, social life, and the memories of past regimes. Development of patriotic citizenship is desirable, while patriotism to *ethnies* is to be strictly discouraged. An analysis of the Ethiopian CEE curriculum and textbooks highlights the sensitive balance on which the FDRE government stands, between various powers from international society, diverse ethnic and political groups, and individuals within and outside the government. The government is also struggling to link the abominable past of autocracy and suppression with a bright future of being a productive, tolerant, and competent member state of global society.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION AND EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT UNDER THE CURRENT FDRE GOVERNMENT

Political Situation

The history of the Ethiopian monarchy is said to trace back to the 2nd century BC. From the beginning of the 20th century, when active nationalist movements were present in African nations, Ethiopia was seen as a symbol of African unity because of the belief that African civilization started in Ethiopia (Casely-Hayford, 1969). Along with such proud memories, however, the post-World War II history of Ethiopia has seen political turmoil. Two consecutive regimes were overthrown after a series of peasant uprisings, student uprisings, and military coups: the imperial government in 1974 and the *Derg* military government in 1991.

While a detailed history does not seem to be relevant to CEE in today's Ethiopia, most of the CEE textbooks provided quite extensive explanations about popular resistance. In the Ethiopian context, the struggle against those who abuse power underscores various justifications for adopting democracy. The reference to the history of resistance seems to serve two objectives. The first is to demonstrate that the desire and struggle for democracy and basic human rights have their roots

in Ethiopia too and are not just transplanted from European or other societies. The second objective is to foster the sense that the current government is what people won from their past repressive rulers, and that peasants from various parts of the country with various cultural and ethnic backgrounds rose up in mutual desire. At the beginning of the section titled "The History of Ethiopia's Struggle for Equality," the 2003 edition of the Grade 12 CEE textbook stated:

> The quest for the protection and guarantee of democratic and fundamental rights are neither foreign nor recent to the peoples of Ethiopia. Ethiopian history has abundant examples of struggles waged by Ethiopian peoples for their right to equality. The majority of individuals who participated in this important historical process of struggle are not necessarily educated elites. In fact most of them were ordinary peasants who were disenchanted with the political system either because they were denied their right to self-governance or were abused by the government's mismanagement and misrule. The new constitutional democratic system is the result of this critical role played by the Ethiopian people. (CEE, G12, 2003, p. 41)

As soon as the transitional government was established by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), it started drafting the constitution. In Ethiopian CEE textbooks, the constitution is mentioned everywhere—in the text, case studies, and discussion questions. As a constitutional democratic state, it may be natural to relate all issues of legitimacy, rights, and duties to the statements in the constitution. However, it would not be clear to all learners and teachers why the constitution legitimately guides the country. Therefore, the most recent 2010 version of the textbooks explained the process of drafting and adapting the constitution. The process involved consultation with people throughout the country, even at the village level:

> The FDRE's constitution preparation was wide and all encompassing, and was based on the noble values of democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights. The salient constitutional issues were discussed through the land at Kebele (village) level and decisions reached. These decisions were forwarded to the Constitution Drafting Commission appointed by the Transitional Government. A Constituent Assembly was then duly elected, whose only task was to go through the constitutional draft and finalize it. This Constitution was approved by the 538 members of the Constituent Assembly on 8 Dec, 1994. (CEE, G12, 2010, p. 17)

The political situation has not been very stable since the new regime came in, and the federal government pivots on a sensitive balance between the centrifugal forces of subnational groups and control and unity as a single state. It could easily turn to autocracy, for which the EPRDF government has criticized former regimes while claiming its legitimacy as the elected government. The EPRDF has inherited the government structure of one-party autocracy from the *Derg* regime, which blurs the line between bureaucracy and politics.

Autocracy works well when the government intensively tries to achieve a target. A telling example of such top-down practices is the adult literacy campaign during the *Derg* regime. According to an informal source, in many rural communities, the failure of an individual to attend adult literacy classes might have meant exclusion from all community activities, a fate that most people dare not choose (interview cited in Yamada, 2007, p. 462). In some ways, today's political atmosphere in the local communities is not dramatically different from that in the *Derg* period. After the current government took office, the primary school enrolment rate more than tripled from around 30% in 1994–1995 to 95.6% in 2007–2008 (Ministry of Education, 2009). Once the government announced that every school-aged child had to be in school, the village authorities visited households to convince families and often sanctioned the ones who didn't send their children (Yamada, 2007, p. 480). Since the ruling party and the bureaucracy are closely linked, the orders of the bureaucracy may be taken as party orders, and vice versa. The message of the government to promote multiparty democracy is twisted, because at the village level, the presence of the EPRDF is dominant and closely linked with the government itself.

In Ethiopia, general elections were held in 1995, 2000, 2005, and 2010. While not all parties participated in earlier elections, facing criticism from the international community and election observers for an unclear election process, the government declared that it would make the election fully open. There were many campaigns and public debates by candidates from opposing parties before the election, and public interest increased. As is discussed later, various efforts have been taken to promote CCE so as to inculcate the notion of democracy and foster the proper attitude and behavior of citizens as voters. Even with these efforts, after the election, the opposition parties claimed there was fraud on the part of the government in counting the votes, and many observers from the European Union (EU) reported examples of state institutions supporting the EPRDF campaign (EU Election Observation Mission, 2005, pp. 2, 25). The results showed that the EPRDF won 59% of the vote. Protests against the results began on November 1, 2005, and prompted more than 60,000 arrests. According to the international media, Ethiopian police massacred 193 protesters during the violence (BBC News, 2006).

Compared to the turmoil after the 2005 election, the election in 2010 was relatively peaceful but still not completely free from opposition (BBC News, 2010a, 2010b). The FDRE government has been criticized for its control over the campaign process and for the manipulation of votes. The opaque election process and the consecutive protests against the government imply the fragility of the basis of the rule. Unless people trust the results of the election, the government will not be stable. Because of that, the government saw the pressing need of making CEE a tested and compulsory subject in all schools across the country. The irony is that, in its effort to maintain control over the fragmenting situation, the government itself may have violated the legislation, which is taught in CEE as the basis of the current government's legitimacy.

Educational Programs and Global Influence

Right after its seizure of power, in 1994, the government declared a new education policy, the Education and Training Policy and Strategy, and in 1996–1997, the government designed the Education Sector Development Program (ESDP), a long-range rolling plan meant to span the next 20 years. The replacement of a socialist military regime by the democratic government was accompanied by the rapid inflow of foreign aid and convergence of Ethiopian development policies—including education—with the global agendas. Between 2000 and 2005, the aid dependency of Ethiopia has increased from 8.8% of the gross national income to 17.4% (World Bank, 2007). Meanwhile, in the field of education, the resources have been increasingly focused on primary education, in line with the global agenda of achieving universal primary education by year 2015. The government stated it was "committed to Education for All (EFA) and to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDG), [and] both commitments are fully supported by ESDP II (Phase two of ESDP which covers the period of 2002–2005)" (Joint Review Mission, 2003, p. 7).

On the one hand, global influence is quite obvious in some aspects of primary education, including the EFA-MDG priority, such as increasing access, girls education, and community participation. On the other hand, CEE does not appear to have foreign influence. First of all, the curriculum and textbooks are not suited to the standardization and quantitative measurement for achieving common international goals. In particular, social studies, including history and civic education, is an area in which national uniqueness and policymaker views about the image of the nation and its citizens are most expressed. In the case of Ethiopia, too, CEE textbook authorship is maintained in the hands of Ethiopian national authors and officials of the Ministry of Education. Second, civic education is more closely linked with aid to improve the transparency of elections and governance than with aid for the education sector. At the same time, civic education is not the main concern of the political scientists and election observers. There has been abundant research on the democratization process in Africa. Even focusing only on the Ethiopian election processes, many analytical works have been published (Abbink, 2006; Harbeson, 1998; Samatar, 2005; Vestal, 1999). However, not much research has been done on civic education in Africa (Moodley & Adam, 2004; Kudow, 2008). Since it is separate from the mainstream EFA-MDG discourse and concerns of political scientists, CEE is largely kept in the hands of Ethiopians without much interference. Even so, before and after the 2005 election, some technical assistance was offered by British consultants commissioned by the British Council. While authored by Ethiopian academics, the newest version of CEE textbooks was edited by a British consultant, together with a Ministry of Education official. As discussed later, the pedagogy and ways of presenting ideas are different between the 2010 textbooks and earlier versions, which indicates the influence of Western technical assistance and adaptation of globally popular thinking about teaching and learning.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CURRICULUM OF CIVIC AND ETHICAL EDUCATION

Characteristics of Three Curricular Periods

After the change of regime, the first curriculum of civic education was announced in 1993. The process started with the Grade 9 curriculum, which was enacted in 1996. Other grades of secondary school followed each year until 2000. Since there were time lags between the announcement of the curriculum and the publication of textbooks, the publication years of the textbooks do not correspond to the year of curricular change. Some of the textbooks published around 2002–2003 seem to break the order of the curriculum, while those purportedly published in 2003 apparently follow the organization of the chapters in the first curriculum, and those of 2002 follow the revised curriculum.

There were three major periods of curricular change. The first period was from the introduction of the subject in 1993 to the issue of the second curriculum in 2000. According to the first curriculum, the mission of civic education was to "help students into competent Ethiopian citizens endowed with global and human outlook, strong and democratic national feelings and sense of patriotism; to develop democratic values and the culture of respect for human rights; to manifest firm stand for truth and for the well-being of the peoples of Ethiopia as well as for equality, justice, and peace; to understand, apply, and uphold the Constitution" (Syllabus 1–3, p. 1). The key terms that became the core values in later curricula—such as patriotism, rights, equity, justice, peace, and the constitution—were already mentioned in the first batch of textbooks published from around 1999 to 2002–2003. However, the adaptation of the stated objectives of the textbooks was not well articulated. First of all, while the second and third curricula adopted spiral teaching methods along core values—revisiting the same topic at each grade with a gradual increase in conceptual depth—the earliest curriculum picked up a topic without linking it to what was taught in other parts of the textbooks or at different grades. For example, in the first curriculum, at Grade 11, a chapter on the constitution explained the history of constitutional democracy in the West and the process of developing the Ethiopian constitution. In Grades 9, 10, and 12, no clear effort was made to link other issues with this chapter in Grade 11. Similarly, Grade 12 textbooks started with an extensive explanation of the importance of teaching civic education from sociological, economic, and political-science perspectives, which appeared very abrupt and abstract. Overall, the textbooks were filled with abstract knowledge of imported concepts with limited adaptation to the learners' background and the Ethiopian context. For example, the very first chapter of the civic education textbook for grade 12 (T4) included an extensive explanation of philosophy, social theory, and the fundamental relationship between philosophy and civic education. After learning this chapter, students were expected to be able to:

- Identify and examine the theoretical and documentary sources for the contents of civic education
- Argue for/against the basic theoretical questions

- Relate the … learning about the International Instruments and the Ethiopian Constitution to your daily life through civic education
- Identify and explain the interdisciplinary nature of civic education. (CE, G12, 2002, p. 2)

During this period, the annual teaching periods allotted for this subject numbered 60 to 65 at the secondary level, which constituted about 2 weekly periods (out of 35) in the current official timetable.

The second phase started with curricular reform in 2000. In this period, the government tried to shift the focus from memorizing imported concepts of democracy and rights to formulating values in the minds of students. Eleven values were selected that framed the textbooks for all grades. Regardless of the grade, textbooks had 11 chapters titled (1) building a democratic system; (2) the concept of rule of law; (3) equality; (4) justice; (5) patriotism; (6) responsibility; (7) industriousness; (8) self-reliance; (9) saving; (10) participation; and (11) the pursuit of wisdom. As discussed below, many discussion questions and case studies were introduced to relate this subject with students' daily experience. From this time, the name of the subject changed to CEE, and content was added that was geared more toward character development and moral education as an individual, rather than understanding the system for governance and legislation.

The break between the first and second curricula was clear in the sense that the curriculum developers themselves seemed to have gone through a paradigm shift. Educated in the period of the socialist military regime, it could not have been an easy transition from a Marxist-Leninist perspective to capitalism and democracy. As demonstrated later in this chapter, the explanations in the textbooks often slipped into Marxist logic, which strangely but naturally coexisted with other parts of the texts. However, the struggle over the adaptation of foreign concepts was settled dramatically in the textbooks in the second phase. At the same time, the messages that authors wanted learners to internalize appeared most obvious in the textbooks of this phase. Some topics, such as environmental protection, drug abuse, and farmers' resistance movements, occupied a disproportionately large space, while other issues such as gender equality were referred to fleetingly.

Compared to the break between the first and second phases, the third phase, which started with the 2005 curricular reform, was not as distinct from the second phase. The basic framework of the 11 values was maintained, and the change was not so much in the content and principles but rather in the ways of presenting ideas and teaching. Although there had been efforts to improve the curriculum, there was criticism from teachers and educational administrators, who commented on the overemphasis on theoretical knowledge and factual learning, an excessive amount of content to be covered for the available time, a high language level, and a lack of connection to students' lives (Huddleston, 2007, pp. 2, 7–8). Moreover, the first full-fledged national election was to be held in 2005, and citizens had to be prepared to play the citizenship role properly and in an orderly fashion. In 2004, CEE was made a tested subject throughout the education system, from primary level up to entering university. The teaching periods were also increased from 60–

65 to 90 periods per year (Ministry of Education, 2006, pp. 3, 11). The textbooks introduced various approaches for interactive learning, such as case studies, discussion questions, and photos/drawings, in addition to conceptual explanations and memorization.

When I visited Ethiopia in August 2004, the federal Ministry of Education was conducting a training program for regional educational officials in charge of CEE to enhance the understanding of the principles and content of the subject. The resource person for this training program was a consultant dispatched by the British Council. Although it was beyond the sphere of formal school CEE, the government also subsidized national and international NGOs that conducted activities to raise civic awareness, such as community sensitization on democracy and equality of law, citizens' rights and duties, and tolerance for people with different interests and backgrounds. Visual materials like posters were produced for illiterate constituents. As such, around the time of the 2005 election, there were various interventions of civic education, not only to strengthen the school subject of CEE but also in informal settings. Technical and financial assistance was offered by international NGOs and aid organizations, while the Ethiopian government encouraged such activities by providing financial incentives for organizations that implemented civic education activities.

The Process of Developing the 2010 CEE Textbooks

In the academic year that began in October 2010, a new set of CEE textbooks was introduced. In terms of content, they were basically the same as the earlier versions (T7–T10 in Table 1) but were printed in color and had more visual materials to make them more attractive and interactive. The 2010 revision of textbooks was conducted under the technical and financial support of the General Education Quality Improvement Program (GEQIP) with assistance from the World Bank and other bilateral donors (Ministry of Education, 2007). GEQIP is a wide-ranging program to improve the quality of general education in Ethiopia. After the drastic growth of enrollment, similar to that in other developing countries, the low quality of education was identified as the next issue to be tackled because it could not be improved in tandem with the expansion of the system. Therefore, major donors working in the education sector took part in this program in various roles. There were five components: assessment, teacher education, monitoring and evaluation, management, and curricular reform. CEE textbook revision was financed within the component of curricular reform. Other than CEE, science (physics, chemistry, general science) and English textbooks for secondary education were revised at the same time. Unlike textbooks of other subjects, which were authored and printed by the contractors who won the international open bidding, the authorship of the CEE textbooks was retained in the hands of Ethiopians. Only the printing was contracted out, to an Indian company.

Throughout the postdemocratization period, CEE curriculum and textbook development have been managed by a small group of people. Certain names come up time and time again when discussing CEE in Ethiopia; these individuals have

been at the core of the decision-making process for civics education since the beginning. In this sense, one can say that the ministry controls the content and process of curricular development and textbook authoring of this subject.

According to the textbook authors with whom I had a group interview, they were selected by the ministry. The interview was conducted with three of the four authors of the most recent secondary school CEE textbooks. They were all academics teaching CEE courses at the college level. In March 2007, when a team of British consultants organized a workshop for the textbook authors, there were about 50 participants (Huddleston, 2007, p. 7), out of which 16 were people called by the ministry as possible authors of the textbooks. A few meetings were held before the final team of authors was decided, and each time, the number of participants decreased. The people who remained were academics from different disciplinary backgrounds, such as political science, anthropology, economics, and ethics (interview with textbook authors).

As mentioned earlier, the content of the textbooks was basically the same as the earlier textbooks. A major effort was made to make the textbooks more interactive and attractive for learners. Each section of the textbooks now began with a brief description of the section/chapter, followed by a case study. To appeal to learners, the case study was related to the real experiences of students as much as possible. At the end of the chapter, there were exercises to ensure the learners' understanding.

Throughout the process of revision, two British consultants were involved who "helped [the authors] by giving feedback and comments while traveling back and forth between the U.K. and Ethiopia" (interview with textbook authors). One of these consultants was listed as an editor of the textbooks.

While ministry officials had control over curricular content and overall direction, at the technical level, the ideas of foreign consultants were also involved. The foreign experts' perspective was evident not only in the colorful, interactive presentation of the textbooks, but also in the content and way of presenting ideas. While the overall framework was the same as for the second-period textbooks, the latest textbooks used less aggressive expressions and avoided patronizing any particular groups within the country, either culturally, ethnically, politically, or sexually. One can still notice persistent undertones that hint at the legitimacy and supremacy of the current government, although it is hidden behind the veil of a learner-centered presentation of citizenship and democracy as universal values.

METHODOLOGY

The analysis is based on the textbooks, syllabuses, curricula, and policy documents on CEE used in senior secondary schools (grades 9–12), which have been issued since 1993, when this subject was introduced by the FDRE government. Fourteen secondary school textbooks and syllabuses from three different periods were examined (see Table 1). Since there is no central depository of textbooks, the range of textbooks available to me was not comprehensive. Still, these are a fair representation of the main trends, across different periods of curricular reforms. I

also collected textbooks of political education in the 1980s, during the *Derg* military regime. Since these textbooks are for a different subject than CEE, following completely different political ideologies, comparison in a strict sense was not possible. However, knowledge about the content taught in political education helped me to know how the Marxist-Leninist perspective persisted in the current *democratic* CEE textbooks.

Table 1. List of Syllabuses and Textbooks Analyzed

	Syllabus*	Year	Curricular period
S1	Civic Education Syllabuses G9	1998	1st
S2	Civic Education Syllabuses G10	1998	1st
S3	Civic Education Syllabuses G11–12	1998	1st
S4	Civic Education Syllabuses G11–12	2000	2nd
S5	Civic and Ethical Education Syllabuses G12	2005	3rd
Student textbooks			
T1	Civic Education G9	1999	1st
T2	Civic Education G10	2000	1st
T3	Civic Education G11	2001	1st
T4	Civic Education G12	2002	1st
T5	Civic and Ethical Education G10	2003	2nd
T6	Civic and Ethical Education G12	2003	2nd
T7	Civic and Ethical Education G9	?	3rd
T8	Civic and Ethical Education G11	?	3rd
T9	Civic and Ethical Education G10	2002	3rd
T10	Civic and Ethical Education G12	2003	3rd
T11	Civic and Ethical Education G9	2010	3rd
T12	Civic and Ethical Education G11	2010	3rd
T13	Civic and Ethical Education G10	2010	3rd
T14	Civic and Ethical Education G12	2010	3rd
Content flowchart			
	Civic and Ethical Education G9–12	2003	2nd and 3rd
Student textbooks from former regime			
	Political Education G11	?	Former regime
	Political Education G12	1984	Former regime
	Political Education Unit Questions	?	Former regime

*G indicates Grade, both in the table and in the text citations.

For secondary education, textbooks developed by the government were written and taught in English. CEE as an independent subject is taught beginning in grade 5 of primary school; teachers of grades 1 to 4 allocate 25% of the period allotted for environmental science to CEE instruction (Ministry of Education, 2006, p. 11). The curriculum and textbooks were developed by the federal Ministry of Education, and there were no alternatives published by other bodies. However, translation of textbooks was the responsibility of regional governments. Since there

are no equivalent terms for *democracy*, *rights*, *duties*, and *citizenship* in local languages, the room for discretion in translation was large.

Moreover, in Ethiopia, the languages of instruction are diverse at the primary level. The federal policy states that the medium of instruction should be "mother tongue" in the first cycle (grades 1–4) of primary education and gradually shift to official state languages. However, since regional governments are highly autonomous and the language situations are diverse across the country, it is difficult to find consistent patterns in the policies on medium of instruction.[ii] Also, even within a single region, depending on the composition of the language groups in the locality, the medium of instruction could differ. Since issues of translation and multilinguality in the learning contexts would add additional dimensions to the research, this study focused on secondary school CEE textbooks, which were written in English and could be coded and analyzed by the researcher. Further, this research was limited to the analysis of the perspectives of the authors of government-edited textbooks and curriculum, putting aside the teaching and learning process in the classroom. It is said that there are three levels in curriculum analysis: intended curriculum (what is meant); implemented curriculum (what actually happens in the class); and attained curriculum (what students know, understand, and can do after learning through the curriculum) (Glatthorn, Boschee, & Whitehead, 2006, pp. 6–15). In the current study, the implemented and attained curricula were not addressed. Since the upper secondary enrollment is only about 15% of youth (Ministry of Education, 2009), focusing on this level does not give an overall picture of CEE education in Ethiopia if the purpose is to describe how it is taught and learned. However, when the purpose is to capture the intentions of the central government, it is an appropriate level of education to focus on, because more complicated logic and concepts are used at the secondary level in contrast to the primary level, where concepts are introduced in a much simpler manner.

Text Analysis

The major analytical method used for this study was the qualitative text analysis and coding of the pages regarding (1) the concepts referred to, (2) pedagogy, and (3) the unit of people mentioned. These categories were picked up from preceding text analysis and curriculum guidelines. There are three main periods of curricula, each of which reflects major CEE curricular reforms. Therefore, the qualitative and quantitative methodologies were used to highlight the changes across these curricular periods in terms of conception of democracy, structure of textbooks, pedagogy, and way of presenting ideas.

To compare the textbooks of different periods, I picked three textbooks for quantitative content analysis: Civic Education for Grade 12 (2002) (T4), Civic and Ethical Education for Grade 12 (2003) (T10), and Civic and Ethical Education for Grade 12 (2010) (T14). These three were selected because they represented different curricular periods, while retaining the same targeted grade (Grade 12). Textbooks were coded according to the following criteria: (1) the values to be learned; (2) pedagogy; and (3) unit of people mentioned. The codes for these three

areas were developed based on the preceding review of the textbooks, curricula, and content flowchart. The size of the part that treats the same topic varied from just a couple of lines to a whole page. Therefore, the coding was done for the chunk of content expressed by the number of pages, such as 0.2 page, 0.5 page, 1 page, etc. Since one part of text may touch upon several topics at once, the entry sheet was developed to allow up to three overlapping codes for each category.

The textbooks for the second and third curricular periods were organized according to 11 values. However, with a quick glance, it was clear that these values were overlapping and mentioned from different aspects in different parts of the textbooks. This was especially true when the concept seemed to be considered important by the curriculum developers and textbook authors. Therefore, instead of accepting the titles of chapters and sections as given, I tried to untangle the usage of the values more finely. Out of 11 designated values, some were disaggregated or renamed, and a few codes were added.[iii] In the end, there were 16 codes: (1) democracy; (2) rule of law; (3) equality; (4) justice; (5) patriotism; (6) responsibility; (7) habit/attitude for personal life; (8) self-reliance; (9) participation; (10) metaphysics/theory; (11) tolerance/conflict; (12) development (economic, political, social); (13) governance; (14) rights/freedom; (15) power; and (16) other.

The codes for pedagogy were developed to understand the timeline change in the way of presenting CEE content. From the outset, it was evident that the new textbooks were more colorful and combined different methods of teaching, while textbooks from the first curricular period basically explained uprooted abstract concepts in difficult language. Therefore, this group of codes was developed to quantitatively demonstrate the pedagogical changes. Seven codes were created to capture the pedagogical characteristics of the various parts of the textbooks: (1) summary/introduction; (2) knowledge/explanation; (3) consideration/discussion; (4) case study; (5) illustration/photo; (6) role play/action-oriented content; and (7) other.

The third group of the codes, "unit of people mentioned," was used to determine whether the sentences referred to people at the micro level—such as individuals, families, or local communities—or to global society. When the texts presented abstract knowledge in a detached tone, it was coded as not addressing any unit. When the text said, "What would you do if …?" the code was individuals. Since recent textbooks carefully balanced references to men and women, even when the topic was not related to gender, I differentiated the code for male individual and female individual. In the end, 14 categories were used for this group: (1) male individual; (2) female individual; (3) unspecified individual; (4) family; (5) ethnic group; (6) local community unspecified; (7) region; (8) Ethiopia; (9) Africa; (10) Western countries; (11) Asia; (12) Latin America; (13) world; and (14) other.

A page of text was often assigned several overlapping codes, and the counts added up to more than the total number of pages. The percentage shown in the table and figures indicates the frequency of each variable, either as the primary concern or a related matter.

Interviews

In addition to analyzing the textbooks, I interviewed the authors of the textbooks published in 2010 (revised versions of 2002 textbooks) and several officials in the curriculum department of the Ministry of Education. Because only a handful of officials and authors were involved in this process, to maintain anonymity, I did not refer to the organizations they belonged to, although that may have damaged the credibility of the argument to some extent. Still, it is significant to know the process of selecting authors, drafting, commenting, and revising the textbooks. The development process for the 2010 textbooks was particularly interesting since technical advisors from the United Kingdom helped the Ethiopian officials and authors make the textbooks more learner-centered and politically neutral. Closely examining this period clarified what changed as a result of global influence, while national values and governmental intentions persisted.

CHANGING PATTERNS OF TEXTBOOKS ACROSS DIFFERENT PERIODS: FINDINGS FROM QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

Values and Principles Discussed in the Textbooks

The 2002 textbook (CE, G12, 2002) in the first curricular period included a large number of pages on metaphysical, theoretical explanation of democracy and citizenship. As Table 2 indicates, the three major values referred to in this textbook were democracy, theory, and governance. Compared with other textbooks (CEE, G12, 2003; CEE, G12, 2010), this textbook did not make an effort to systematically cover a wide range of values and to promote behavioral change in the students. Rather, it spent most of its pages explaining how democracy functions and its theoretical and philosophical background.

CEE G12 2003 and CEE G12 2010 represented the second and third curricular periods, respectively. They both used 11 values to organize the subject matter. Therefore, the structures were identical. Compared with the first-period textbook, the content coverage was more comprehensive. According to Table 1, in both textbooks, the three major values discussed were the rule of law, habit/attitude for l personal life, and other.

Since it was one of the 11 values, rule of law was the title of chapter 2 in both cases. However, the frequent reference to the rule of law was not restricted to that particular chapter. Many issues were discussed in relation to the importance, legitimacy, and procedure of the rule of law, and actual articles of the FDRE Constitution were cited frequently. Discussion questions and case studies were often linked to the constitution and other regulations.

The category of "power" was added in this analysis, because rule of law was closely linked with the issue of controlling power abuse and legitimate authority. As the qualitative content analysis demonstrated, the Ethiopian version of civic education was characterized by efforts to convince students of the current government's achievement in moving past the corrupt regimes that abused power obtained illegitimately and did not distribute resources equally. Rule of law was used as the

fundamental principle both to demonstrate the legitimacy of the current government and to condemn efforts to challenge it outside of the acknowledged means of constitutional democracy, such as elections, ombudsman, and advocacy. In practice, this logic of legitimacy may distinguish the current government only thinly from the past regimes, considering the suppression and manipulation on the occasion of elections, as reported by various sources cited earlier.

Table 2. The Values Referred to in the Three Sample Textbooks

	CE G12 2002	*CEE G12 2003*	*CEE G12 2010*
Democracy	27%	7%	5%
Rule of law	6%	19%	11%
Equality	1%	4%	4%
Justice	1%	3%	4%
Patriotism	1%	2%	2%
Responsibility	1%	4%	9%
Habit attitude for personal life	1%	11%	13%
Self-reliance	1%	5%	3%
Participation	3%	4%	4%
Metaphysics, theory	17%	4%	3%
Tolerance, conflict	9%	3%	6%
Development (social, political, economic)	7%	3%	3%
Governance	12%	3%	2%
Rights, freedom	3%	9%	7%
Power	0%	3%	8%
Other	9%	17%	17%
Total	100%	100%	100%

"Habit/attitude for personal life" was a code assigned to sections on ethical/moral aspects of individual citizenship. CEE in Ethiopia is a subject that includes both civics and moral education. Toward that end, in both the 2003 and 2010 textbooks, the focus shifted to the proper lifestyle and attitude of individuals. The attitudes mentioned were not only those of citizenship rights and duties but also included work ethics, job satisfaction, contribution to society, civic participation, and the pursuit of wisdom. Compared with the first half of the textbooks, later chapters were less cohesive, trying to cover many elements under one umbrella. For example, chapter 9 of the 2010 textbook was titled "Saving" and began by discussing the preservation of natural resources, the banking system, the World Trade Organization, and international regulations on economic interactions. Then, it shifted to a very rough explanation of macro and micro economics, with a case study of a rural household survey and photos of city and village households. In between these diverse topics, the attitudes of thriftiness and hard work were encouraged among the students.

The fact that the category of "other" occupied a large proportion of the textbook space indicates that issues not raised as core values were significant matters of concern for curricular developers and textbook authors. The codes included not just

the government-stated 11 values but new codes such as tolerance/conflict, development, rights/freedom, and power. Apart from the 11 values and these additional values, what remained in the "other" category was mostly fragmented small pieces about issues such as HIV/AIDS, drug abuse, and resource management. The economy was a large group left in the "other" category. Grade 12 textbooks introduced the ideas of economics, which were not standalone topics and were not well fitted to any of the values listed above. Another big group coded as "other" related to international/global affairs, such as global citizenship, diplomacy, and foreign policy. The more recent the textbook was, the more it included international content. This suggests that the Ethiopian government developed a greater interest in international affairs and the comparative position of Ethiopia. As discussed later, the Ethiopian positions in the textbooks were critical against developed countries, which is rather astonishing given the increasing technical assistance from developed countries provided for Ethiopian CEE textbook development.

Greater Attention to Individuals and Social Cohesion

For the 2002 textbook (CE, G12, 2002), most of the content was about Ethiopia as a country or about the world, and references to units closer to the learners, such as individuals, family, and local communities, were quite limited. Since many sentences were written in a detached explanatory tone, often no "unit" code was assigned to the text from the 2002 textbook. The parts classified as referring to the world explained the democracy system in Europe and other countries, while the part referring to Ethiopia explained how such a system was adopted to Ethiopia.

A clear break between the textbooks in the first period and the second and third periods was seen in the reference to individuals (Figure 1). Many questions were addressed to "you," "your local community," "your class," and "your school." This tendency was even stronger in the 2010 textbook.

There was also a clear effort to refer to both women and men. In the chapter on community participation in the 2010 book, there was a case study of a community gathering in a southern Ethiopian village, together with a photo. According to the description, the major issue raised by the community members was the low school attendance rate among *girls* (CEE, G12, 2010, p. 135). In other sections, the Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association was given as an example of a civic participation channel (CEE, G12, 2003, p. 142; CEE, G12, 2010, p. 136). The 2010 textbook also used a whole page for pictures of women from different ethnic groups in the section on "unity in diversity." Such usage of pictures was not indispensable to convey the content of these chapters, but an effort was made to promote the value of gender equity in various ways. In addition to the supplementary usage of female images, there was an independent section about affirmative action for women in the textbooks of the latter two periods—with 2.2 pages devoted to the subject in 2003, increasing to 3 pages in 2010. The 2010 textbook had a case study on female enrollment in Addis Ababa University and a photo of female university students.
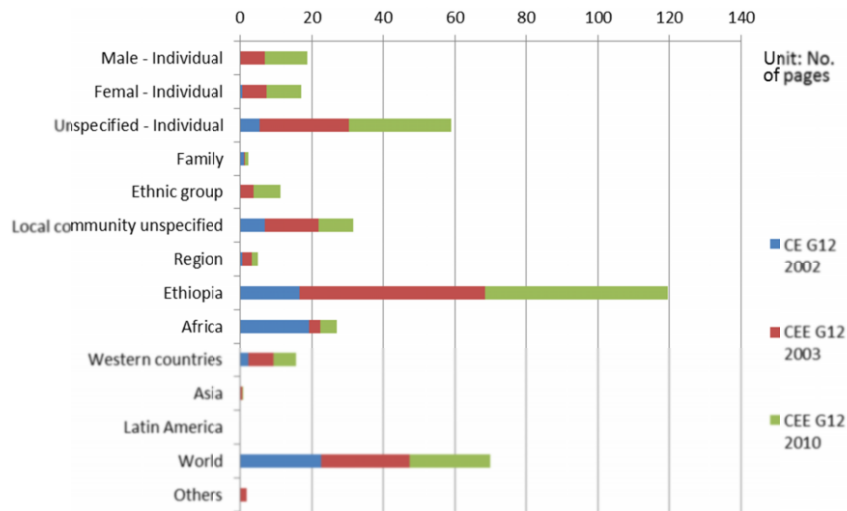
Figure 1. Unit referred to in the three sample textbooks.

In contrast to the obvious efforts to treat women equally, there was a reluctance to refer to specific ethnic groups. Aside from the historical explanation of popular resistance or in the section on unity in diversity, it was rare to see a particular ethnicity named. In 2003, there were some hints to demonstrate Tigray supremacy. As in other CEE textbooks after the second curricular period, the 2003 textbook for grade 12 devoted a large amount of space (6 pages) to an overview of the history of popular resistance. The last major movement was the *Woyane* movement, which was initiated by the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF). According to the text, the *Woyane* movement integrated demands raised in peasant uprisings that occurred in various parts of the country and systematically targeted the problems in the areas "liberated" from *Derg* rule. The TPLF was particularly good at empowering women. Out of 6 pages on resistance history, 1.5 pages were allotted to the *Woyane* movement and the achievements of the TPLF:

> We take the *Woyane* Movement as overarching political movement. … One major difference between the *Bale* and *Gojjam* peasants uprising on the one hand and the *Woyane* Movement in Tigray on the other is that the latter has encouraged a remarkable level of women participation. … In liberated areas, TPLF raised the minimum age for marriage into 18 years old. Moreover, it made dowry voluntary; it tried to guarantee women a secure entitlement over properties; it guarantees women's right over equitable divorce arrangement and attempted to raise the provision of education to women. (CEE, G12, 2003, pp. 44–45)

Such parochialism was mostly eliminated in the 2010 textbook. Instead, the 2010 textbook had more photos of the lives and faces of different groups of people as

examples of cultural diversity. The 2010 textbook became less a forum for expressing the views of the curriculum developers and textbook authors and included less political material.

Pedagogical Changes Toward Learner-Centeredness

The 2002 textbook (CE, G12, 2002) was published in basically a monochrome plain text, with some boldface, italics, and indents used to highlight specific parts. The sections started with an introduction and ended with a summary. Some questions appeared throughout the text, but the great majority of the text was used for explanation (Figure 2). Most questions asked of students confirmed their recall of information and tended to be abstract. The following are some examples of knowledge-confirming questions found throughout the CE G12 2002 textbook:

What is the rule of law? (p. 10)
Why is history said to be a scientific study? (p. 12)
Compare and contrast State and Government. (p. 49)
Distinguish the differences between international and domestic laws. (p. 86)

This type of question was found most frequently in the first-period textbooks.

As mentioned earlier, recent textbooks have reduced complicated explanations of concepts. Between the 2003 and 2002 textbooks, and even more so between the 2010 and 2003 textbooks, the information became less dense and explanations were given in simpler language. As an example, both the CEE G12 2002 and 2010 textbooks discussed "power and authority" in about 2 pages. In these 2 pages, the 2002 textbook spent 90% of its space explaining the source of power in the democratic state and citizens' responsibility to support the authority of legitimate government; 10% of the space was used to ask knowledge-confirming types of questions. In contrast, the 2010 textbook explained the concepts in less than 1 page. A case study titled "Mobutu—Zaire's Dictator" took up 0.5 page, instruction on role play and group research took 0.2 page, and the remaining space was for an introduction and checklist of learned content. Such pedagogical changes were exactly what the third curricular reform was aiming for (Huddleston, 2007, pp. 7–9). As Figure 2 shows, the 2010 textbook was the most balanced in terms of pedagogical methods. Explanations were kept at 36.3% of the total pages, and the interactive pedagogy components—discussion, case study, and illustrations/photos—amounted to almost the same number of pages as for explanation (34.9%).

Pedagogically, the 2010 textbook was the most user-friendly, which can be partly attributed to the technical assistance provided by British consultants and the recent World Bank support under the GEQIP project. At the same time, the textbook authors' voices were muted to a large extent. One cannot simply say that this was a matter of external intervention to the textbook content, because the authorship remained under the strict control of the Ethiopian Ministry of Education. The sophistication of the presentation made the outlook of the
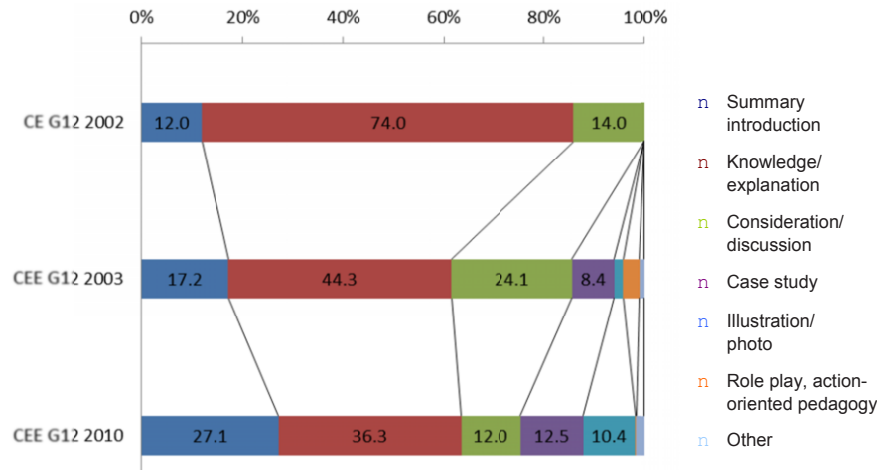
Figure 2. Pedagogy used in three sample textbooks.

textbooks less biased to any side and more friendly to learners with different backgrounds. At the same time, some unique perspectives remained as the undercurrent, which surfaced from time to time.

ETHIOPIAN FLAVORS IN CEE TEXTBOOKS:
FINDINGS FROM QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

In this section, I highlight the unique interpretations and logic regarding constitutional democracy and international relationships shown in the Ethiopian CEE textbooks. Unlike the preceding section, which focused on three textbooks from respective curricular periods and coded data, this analysis involved all the collected textbooks. The perspective on constitutional democracy, which is linked with other values such as patriotism and control of power, was the backbone of the Ethiopian CEE. The attitudes of individual citizens, the cohesion of various social groups, and the legitimacy of the current government were all explained along the same logic. The relationship of Ethiopia with other countries was another issue given increasing emphasis in the CEE textbooks. The importance of participation in the growingly interdependent world as responsible members was emphasized, extending the citizenship responsibility within the country. This argument of international dependency had two sides, however; one was a friendly and willing contributor to the maintenance of world order and peace, and the other was an aggressive accuser of the exploitation by developed countries.

The Contribution of Democracy in Controlling Conflict and Limiting the Abuse of Power

In Ethiopia, democracy and the rule of law were explained in connection with the control of conflicting interests and the abuse of power. As mentioned earlier, the current government claimed that its authority was granted through democratic elections and the constitution ruled the government. Since the constitution was developed by the Drafting Commission, which consulted with the people of the whole nation at the district level and was approved by Parliament, rule under the constitution was considered rule by the people's will (CEE, G10, 2010, p. 10). The points asserted in the textbooks, in diverse ways, were as follows:

> Following the rules, the current government prohibits the abuse of power by officials and punishes people who break the rules. Therefore, unlike earlier regimes that abused their power and forced people to suffer in poverty, the current government has a check-and-balance mechanism in using power. Further, democracy helps to reduce conflict among people with different backgrounds and interests. When people have a good attitude toward citizenship and follow democratic rules, without using the force of arms or physical violence, people can solve conflicts of interest. As such, Ethiopia will continue as a unified nation while maintaining diversity.

It was rather surprising to see how often the issue of power was raised. The following quote is an example of such a statement:

> In the history of the country, Ethiopia has little experience of prevalence of *rule of law*. During the monarchical regime with the absolute power of the emperors, the government and its officials had unchecked powers at all levels. The same was true with the *Derg* regime where there was a gross human rights violation with mass summary execution. Therefore, one can hardly talk about the prevalence of *rule of law* in Ethiopia. It is, thus, with this background that the importance of *limiting the power* of the government is emphasized under the *FDRE Constitution*. … The principle of *rule of law* has a prominent position in the *FDRE Constitution*. *Rule of Law* plays a great role in *curbing the government power*. The fact that the constitution emphasizes the protection of human rights and freedoms; transparency and accountability of the government and its officials clearly reflect the importance attached to *limiting governmental power* at all levels. Therefore, *limiting the power* given to the federal and regional governments and its exercise is imperative to build the democratization processes in Ethiopia. (quoted as is, bold emphasis by author; CEE, 2003, G12, p. 32)

Ethiopian CEE textbooks in this series discussed at length issues related to patriotism. However, they were careful in distinguishing between patriotism under a democratic federation (constitutional patriotism) and parochialism (traditional patriotism). Citing the cases of Gandhi's nonviolence movement and Martin Luther King Jr. and Rosa Park's civil rights movement, the textbooks argued that true

patriots do not rely on militant means to achieve their goals and are tolerant of differences. The 2010 textbooks preached the ethical behavior of patriots, who should have the qualities of fairness, truthfulness, and courage (CEE, G10, 2010, p. 58; CEE, G11, 2010, p. 70; CEE, G12, 2010, p. 67). The relationship between patriotism and democracy was explained as follows:

> *Constitutional Patriotism* refers to citizen's strong commitment to, or alignment with, *democracy and human rights*. Patriotism defined as such is different from the old, nationalistic patriotism whereby individuals were simply aligned to narrowly-defined national feelings, and specific cultures and symbols. Constitutional patriotism celebrates multiculturalism and diversity. If you, as a citizen not only acknowledge the existence of people who have different language, color, sex, religion or any other elements but also celebrate and appreciate such difference, you are truly a patriot. This demands *tolerance*, which refer to the ability to acknowledge and appreciate diversity and difference.

> … Traditional patriotism … Indeed that is why despite the fact that Ethiopia is the oldest independent state in Africa, its system of governance remained essentially traditional, authoritarian and undemocratic. The none-inclusive nature of the Ethiopian patriotism is reflected in many other ways. (Quoted as is; bold emphasis by author; CEE, G12, 2003, p. 78)

While condemning parochialism, the textbooks also mentioned the rise of national pride when watching Ethiopian athletes win Olympic medals and a "citizens' responsibility to respect their flag and other symbols which embody the aspiration of the people" (CEE, G12, 2010, p. 74). They also reminded people that the flag refers not only to the national flag but also to regional flags, and asked students, "What development role do you think a flag plays in Ethiopia and each region?" (CEE, G12, 2010, p. 73).

In Ethiopia, the FDRE government has to balance the need to control and unify the country with a demonstration of its sensitivity to diversity and the self-determination of different ethnic and cultural groups. Many pitfalls are related to these efforts; former regimes suppressed public voices because they were under constant threat of breaking apart and losing their basis of authority. Democracy has been a means to justify the current government in contrast to the so-called corrupt former regimes. At the same time, this could be a double-edged sword that could give the public a chance to fatally attack the government. Due to this fragility, the CEE textbooks appealed to the morality of the learners as good patriotic citizens.

International Dependency

While the main part of the textbooks became less and less political, sometimes nonexplanatory parts such as discussion questions, case studies, or review questions demonstrated rather strong views. Regarding their relationship with the outside world, the Ethiopian CEE textbooks tend to be critical. For example, the

2003 textbook for Grade 11 highlighted a case on intellectual property rights. An Ethiopian professor at an American university found a traditional Ethiopian plant, which had been used as a detergent, to be useful in melting through clogged water pipes and registered a patent. This plant was the product of hybridization by a local population. The text said:

> Have you ever asked yourself what repercussion international intellectual property rights may have on local communities in Ethiopia? Here we will talk about a well-known Ethiopian plant—*endod* and attempt to show you how unfair distribution of wealth through intellectual property rights negatively affects local people who seem to be far from the influence of globalization. (CEE, G11, 2003, p. 81)

The textbook authors might have also wanted to tacitly criticize the Ethiopian professor who sold the knowledge—which farmers of his country of origin transmitted through generations—for commercial purposes. Patriotism is a complicated matter in itself. As discussed in the preceding section, patriotism is related to the responsibility of national citizens, condemnation of parochialism, and protection of national interests in the international scene.

Regardless of the changing nature of the textbooks, a critical attitude towards colonialism and globalization was persistent. Although Ethiopia was proud of not being colonized, it was not happy about the current treatment of less developed countries in the international order, and the textbook authors attributed this to colonialism and exploitation. The tone of argument often had a flavor of Marxism, a residual from the *Derg* period. In fact, the textbooks after the second curricular periods had a chapter on "dependency" in relation to self-reliance. Across different grades and years of publication, this section was filled with the perspective of dependency theory, which is closely linked with the neo-Marxist binary of the exploiter and the exploited.

Although 2010 textbooks were less reproachful, they said that poor countries tended to depend on wealthy countries, which made it difficult to have an equal relationship. Since poor countries are weak in international politics, the powerful countries tend to set the norms of international trade, finance, and other inter-actions. Instead of directly stating their views, the recent textbooks posed many questions to students: for example, "How can you, as self-reliant and independent citizens, help to minimize the dependency of Ethiopia on developed countries?" (CEE, G12, 2010, p. 111) and "What value does the WTO [World Trade Organization] bring to developing countries? How do you think it affects Ethiopia's trade? Can Ethiopia's trade benefit from the principle of comparative advantage?" (CEE, G12, 2010, p. 121). The authors were inherently critical of the free trade principles, which seemed to force poor countries to open their markets for the benefit of developed countries. In the same textbook as the one cited above, students were told to debate an issue by dividing themselves into two groups with the following perspectives:

1. Ethiopia should promote only free trade and shouldn't protect its industry from competition from other countries. Competition is good for growth and it should be promoted.

2. Ethiopia is a poor country and should protect its industries from the outside world. The country is not in a position to open its market and it would harm the country's growth if it does not protect its industries. (CEE, 2010, G12, p. 122)

A contradiction was apparent, however, when the textbooks touched upon the aid provided from outside of Ethiopia. The textbook authors and editors did not like to be forced to be dependent, but since the country was poor, and as Ethiopian citizens have to ensure everyone will enjoy basic human rights, international society was also responsible for helping poor countries. The 2003 Grade 11 textbook asked students in a rather strong tone, "If rich governments have the obligation to assist and avoid human tragedy associated with lack of access to basic necessities in life, can they defend their tardiness in providing economic and aid [sic] assistance?" (p. 117).

CONCLUSION

This paper has investigated how the concepts of democracy have been addressed in the Ethiopian CEE curriculum and textbooks. A comparison of the textbooks of different curricular periods shows that from the first and second periods, the content and approach of defining the values dramatically changed. In the first period, texts were mostly used to translate abstract theories and concepts of democracy without linking this to the background of learners and the situation in Ethiopia. They were written in a detached style, mainly about systems in Ethiopia and other parts of the world, mostly Europe.

In contrast to the first period, the textbooks of the second and third periods were more interactive, and various efforts were made to link the concepts to the issues in Ethiopia and the learners' lives. A few concepts such as the rule of law, power, patriotism, and tolerance frequently appeared in various contexts. The FDRE government claimed its legitimacy as representative of the constituents authorized through general elections. According to the perspective of the CEE curriculum developers and textbook authors, what differentiated the current government from earlier regimes were the Constitution and regulations, which were discussed and adopted by the people's representatives. While governmental power was legitimized by public elections, the power of the government itself was limited by the rule of law. In Ethiopia, the rule of law was explained as if it was a cage to contain the abuse of power and ethnic conflicts that had been constant sources of insecurity in Ethiopian political history. At the same time, such logic is practical only when people internalize it and follow it. Thus, CEE has been greatly emphasized as a means to change people's minds.

The Ethiopian version of democracy in the CEE textbooks also retained some flavor of the Marxism of the *Derg* military regime. Rather harsh criticism of the

exploitation of Ethiopia and other less-developed countries by industrialized countries was linked to the worldview that contrasts the exploiter and the exploited.

The analysis of Ethiopian CEE textbooks sheds light on the ambivalence and fragile balance on which the FDRE government stands. In a country like Ethiopia, which has a history of monarchy and dictatorship, democracy in the sense of individual rights for political participation may remain superficial. People still have memories of social control during the earlier regimes and are hesitant to express their political opinions freely. Also, the government is not ready to allow opposition parties to gain popularity beyond a certain level. In such a case, civic education diffuses the knowledge of the principles and system of democracy, not for emancipating people but for replacing the old logic of control with a new logic. The legitimacy of the rule is linked to the norms of democracy and is explained as a triumphant outcome of the resistance and democratization movements. At the same time, the populations it has to govern are as diverse as they used to be, and the difficulty of control has not changed from the time of the earlier regime. To discourage parochialism and to foster a multicultural but patriotic citizenship, the logic of democracy and the rule of law have also been extended. Expecting a lot to be achieved under the umbrella of democracy, in addition to the repeated emphasis on the linked principles of democracy, rule of law, tolerance, power, and patriotism, the authors of the textbooks appeal to the moral integrity of the learners to be "right" citizens.

The ambivalence is not only within the country. In terms of international relationships, the FDRE government is often critical of the international order, which, to them, benefits powerful countries at the expense of weak ones. At the same time, the textbooks argue that it is the duty of global citizens to help poor countries, similar to the duty of national citizens to ensure that all members of society enjoy basic human rights.

The political situation in Ethiopia looks calm now, but various sources of instability still exist. One can say that the CEE textbooks reflect such a sense of insecurity on the part of the government. How the Ethiopian CEE and politics will turn out requires further close observation.

NOTES

i   The Ethiopian government is a federation of nine regional states and two special city administrations, and the territories of the nine regions roughly correspond to the habitation of major ethnic groups such as Amhara, Oromia, Tigray, and Somali, although there are other ethnolinguistic groups within each region.

ii For example, the Oromia and Tigray regions use the regional official languages (Oromo and Tigrey, respectively) up to the eighth grade, while the Amhara region and Addis Ababa use Amhara up to sixth grade. The Southern Nations, Nationalities, and People's region allows schools to choose the language of instruction from 12 local languages and Amhara and shifts to English from as early as fifth grade, reflecting its linguistic diversity (Heugh, Benson, Bogale, & Yohannes, 2007, pp. 56–60).

iii Out of 11 values highlighted in the curriculum, "industriousness," "saving," and "pursuit of wisdom" were combined in the code "habit/attitude for personal life." Added codes were

"metaphysics/ theory," "tolerance/conflict," "development (economic, political, social),"
"governance," "rights/ freedom," "power," and "other."

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4. STATE FORMATION AND NATION BUILDING THROUGH EDUCATION

The Origins and Introduction of the "National Education" Program in Singapore[i]

Forging a sense of national identity has been a preoccupation of Singapore's government for the past four decades. As part of this process, the national education system has been assigned a central role in socializing students into their roles as future citizens. Since Singapore became independent in 1965, various civic and citizenship education programs have been put in place, only to be dismantled later and replaced with yet other programs. These range from the Education for Living program of the 1970s and the Religious Knowledge of the 1980s to the Shared Values and the introduction of Civics and Moral Education in the early 1990s.

Citizenship education in Singapore received a major boost in 1997 with the launch of the "National Education" (NE) program by Deputy Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong on May 17. This chapter examines the cause and course of this NE program. The stated aim of NE was "to develop national cohesion, the instinct for survival and confidence in the future" (H. L. Lee, 1997). This was to be achieved by fostering a sense of Singaporean identity, promoting an understanding of Singapore's recent history, promoting an understanding of Singapore's major challenges and vulnerabilities, and instilling core national values that would ensure Singapore's continued success and well-being. NE was clearly a "citizenship education initiative [by the state] aimed at socialising the young into a set of desired attitudes and values" (Tan, 1998, p. 29). These values include patriotism, loyalty, and the willingness to defend the nation.

A day prior to the official launch of NE by the deputy prime minister, the Ministry of Education (MOE) (1997b) released an official press release (with a lengthy annex) outlining the objectives and implementation strategies of NE. The press release traced the NE initiative to a speech made by then Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong at a Teacher's Day Rally in September 1996, where he stated:

> National Education must be a vital component of our education process. … It is an exercise to develop instincts that become part of the psyche of every child. It must engender a shared sense of nationhood, an understanding of how our past is relevant to our present and future. It must appeal to both heart and mind. (Goh, 1996b)

While the prime minister went on to outline the purpose and aims of NE, he did not attempt to explain the meaning of that term in his speech. The same was true of the MOE press release. What then is NE? And where and when did the term NE originate? This chapter discusses the origins of NE, the reasons behind the introduction of the NE program, and the initial implementation of NE. I argue that NE, like the previous civics and citizenship education initiatives, was a *reactive* effort by the government to events rather than a carefully planned education initiative. In other words, it was politically, not pedagogically motivated.

Though NE was not merely about history, the implementation of NE focused initially on telling the *Singapore Story*, the state's version of Singapore's history. As this chapter demonstrates, the implementation of the NE program in its initial years bears out the state's concern about and almost obsession over presenting its version of the Singapore Story. In particular, I examine the National Education Exhibition (NEE) as an example of the state's construction of the Singapore Story as a narrative of triumph over adversity and crises.

ORIGINS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION: TOTAL DEFENCE

NE began in the 1970s as a program (in the form of lectures) to train officers of the Singapore Armed Forces on the constraints and vulnerabilities of Singapore (Nexus, 2003). In addition to the history of Singapore, the officers were taught the history, politics, and international relations of the Southeast Asian countries, China, Russia, and the United States (H. L. Lee, 1988, pp. 22, 23). NE was subsequently extended to the Singapore Armed Forces conscripts serving their National Service (Huxley, 2000, p. 25). Since compulsory military conscription in Singapore was referred to as "National Service"—denoting one's duty to the nation—I surmise that having 'National Education' in the context of 'National Service' could be viewed as education about the nation. Moreover, Mr. Goh Chok Tong was the defence minister in the 1980s, with Lim Siong Guan as his permanent secretary. And Lim was the permanent secretary (prime minister's office) in 1996 when Prime Minister Goh tasked him to undertake the NE initiative.[ii] Thus, both Goh and Lim, as well as the Singapore government, were more accustomed to the term '*National* Education' than the terms 'civics' or 'citizenship education' that are commonly used in the education fraternity.[iii] This could explain why the term NE was used instead of citizenship education.

The aims and objectives of NE are encapsulated in the six NE messages:

1. Singapore is our homeland; this is where we belong. We want to keep our heritage and our way of life.
2. We must preserve racial and religious harmony. Though many races, religions, languages, and cultures, we pursue one destiny.
3. We must uphold meritocracy and incorruptibility. This provides opportunity for all according to their ability and effort.
4. No one owes Singapore a living. We must find our own way to survive and prosper.

5. We must ourselves defend Singapore. No one else is responsible for our security and well-being.

6. We have confidence in our future. United, determined, and well prepared, we shall build a bright future for ourselves. (MOE, 1997a)

These six messages were in essence adaptations of the NE messages for the Psychological Defence component of Total Defence:

- Singapore is our homeland. This is where we belong.
- Singapore is worth defending. We want to keep our heritage and our way of life.
- Singapore can be defended. United, determined, and well prepared, we shall fight for the safety of our homes and the future of our families and children.
- We must defend Singapore ourselves. No one else is responsible for our security.
- We can deter others from attacking us. With Total Defence, we shall live in peace (Straits Times, 1984a).[iv]

The key difference between NE and Total Defence messages were in the inclusion of messages on religious and racial harmony and upholding meritocracy and incorruptibility in NE.

Drawing upon the concept of total war,[v] as well as the Swiss model of national defense, the Total Defence concept was introduced in 1984 to enhance and encourage the total commitment of all Singaporeans to defend the country.[vi] It builds upon military defense, which is premised on "maintaining and developing a deterrent capability" through the Singapore Armed Forces in order to prevent "threats from arising in the first place" (Huxley, 2000, p. 24). The other aspects of Total Defence are Social Defence, Economic Defence, and Civil Defence (Singapore Parliament, 1984, March 16, col. 1187–1188).

There is a very close resonance between the messages of NE and the pillars of Total Defence. For instance, NE's second message on racial and religious harmony ties in with Social Defence. Economic Defence is linked to the message "no one owes Singapore a living," while "we must ourselves defend Singapore" clearly relates to Military Defence. Finally, the first message, "Singapore is our homeland; this is where we belong," corresponds to Psychological Defence. Key to both Total Defence and NE is the cultivation of "a sense of shared history and common destiny, with an underlying commitment and confidence in the country" (Business Times, 1984). The perceived lack of historical knowledge on Singapore's recent history—in particular, Singapore's short-lived "merger" with Malaysia and the events leading to its independence—by the students was what prompted the introduction of NE in schools.

The issue that sparked NE was Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew's comments on possible 'remerger' between Singapore and Malaysia.[vii] At a speech on June 8, 1996, Lee Kuan Yew raised the hypothetical prospect of remerger if the following conditions were fulfilled: "if Malaysia adopted the same policy of meritocracy as Singapore did, without race being in a privileged position; and if Malaysia pursued, as successfully, the same goals as Singapore, to bring maximum economic benefit to its people" (Straits Times, 1996a). Lee's remarks "unleashed a wave of

criticisms across the Causeway (i.e. Malaysia)" (Chin, 2007, p. 85). For instance, *The New Straits Times*, Malaysia's leading English daily, criticized Singapore's meritocratic system, alleging that it discriminated against minorities (New Straits Times, 1996). Singapore was also accused of exploiting Malaysia for its economic gains. Indeed, Lee Kuan Yew's remarks on remerger were "being taken seriously in Malaysia. Malaysian PM Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir said Singapore was unlikely to rejoin Malaysia now, though it might one day be possible" (New Paper, 1996), a view echoed by some of his ministers.

In contrast to the sharp and emotive responses in Malaysia, responses of Singaporeans to Lee Kuan Yew's remerger hypothesis were "much milder" (Straits Times, 1996b). The *Straits Times* (1996c) conducted a random street poll on Lee's remarks on the remerger issue among 100 Singaporeans of "different age, race and income groups."[viii] The results were that "six out of ten Singaporeans polled were against the idea of Singapore rejoining Malaysia" (Straits Times, 1996c). Deputy Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong referred to this poll in a speech to the students at the National University of Singapore on July 17, 1996. While he was reassured that the majority polled were against Singapore rejoining Malaysia, "nobody raised the basic difficulty: the different fundamental ideals of Singapore and Malaysia" (H. L. Lee, 1996). For Singapore, these fundamental ideals were "racial equality and meritocracy" (H. L. Lee, 1996).

The deputy prime minister argued that one main reason these "fundamental ideals" were not raised was because schools "spend far too little time" teaching "the key events surrounding our independence" (H. L. Lee, 1996). As such, "there is a serious gap in the education of Singaporeans, especially about the circumstances surrounding the country's merger with Malaysia and its subsequent separation" (Straits Times, 1996b). In other words, the poll revealed a "glaring ignorance" of "the circumstances surrounding [the] separation" of Singapore from Malaysia in 1965 (Azeez, 1998, p. 74). It was important that this gap in knowledge be filled:

> This is national education, not general education. If we are ignorant of our own history, we will have no common frame of reference for us to bond together as one people, which is necessary for us to survive and prosper. (H. L. Lee, 1996)

It was therefore hardly surprising that when Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong referred to NE in his National Day Rally speech the following month (August 1996), he linked it closely to learning about Singapore's recent history:

> One important part of education for citizenship is learning about Singapore— our history, our geography, the constraints we face, how we overcome them, survived and prospered, what we must do to continue to survive. This is national education. (Goh, 1996a)[ix]

Thus, we have the definition of NE by the prime minister. The press described NE as a series of "national efforts to educate students on Singapore's history" (*Straits Times*, 1996d). Like his deputy prime minister, Goh warned of "serious

consequences" to this "ignorance" of Singapore's recent past. Citing Lee Hsien Loong's speech at the National University of Singapore the previous month, Goh expressed concern that the circumstances surrounding Singapore's independence were not "deeply felt" among the youth, nor was it a "vital part of their collective memory" (Goh, 1996a). The fear was that if Singaporeans, especially the young, failed to "appreciate how they have come to enjoy their present way of life, or realize how unique and precious it is," the result would be that "Singapore will fail" (Goh, 1996a).

Such a crisis of historical knowledge among youth is not unique to Singapore. Crises in history teaching occurred in the United Kingdom and Canada in the 1960s (Booth, 1969, 1996; Osborne, 2003; Davis, 1995; Sodonis, 2005),[x] the United States in the 1970s (Symcox, 2002), and Australia in the 1980s (Macintyre, 1997; Barcan, 1997, 1999).[xi] This was also not the first time that Singapore's leaders emphasized the importance of history education for nation building. The difference this time around was the emphasis on how Singapore became independent (Goh, 1996b). The official rhetoric for the concern over youth's ignorance of Singapore's recent past was that people might take peace and prosperity for granted. An adequate historical knowledge was thus deemed essential for young people to be committed to the state's ideals, such as meritocracy and multiracialism. Underlying the rhetoric was the "crisis" over the lack of historical knowledge about Singapore's independence.[xii] Of course, this crisis could be real or perceived. The ensuing discussion suggests that in this case, the crisis appears to have been engineered.

LAUNCH OF NATIONAL EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS

The chronology of the events leading to the official launch of NE in May 1997 demonstrated this crisis mentality on the part of the government. The remarks over remerger by Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew in June 1996, and the results of the poll by the *Straits Times* a week later, were mentioned by deputy prime minister Lee Hsien Loong the following month at his speech to students at the National University of Singapore, where again he expressed concern over the lack of knowledge of Singapore's recent past. Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong echoed the same disquiet at his annual National Day Rally Speech in mid August. Even before the prime minister's National Day Rally speech, the MOE, alarmed by the lack of historical knowledge of Singapore's recent history as suggested by the *Straits Times* poll and the deputy prime minister, distributed a surprise quiz to over 2,000 students in early August. By then, academics, members of parliament (MPs), and other cabinet ministers had jumped on the bandwagon, calling for the teaching of Singapore's recent past (as in the 1950s and 1960s).[xiii]

The results of the MOE quiz confirmed the government's concerns. While most students were aware that Singapore used to be a British colony and the Japanese occupied Singapore during the Second World War, they fared poorly on the questions on Singapore's interlude in Malaysia and its subsequent independence. In addition, few students were aware that there had been a communist insurgency.

Students were "generally ignorant about the state of emergency from 1948 to 1960" as well as "the cause of the Hock Lee Bus riots," both of which were due to the communist threat in the 1950s and 1960s (Goh, 1996b). Prime Minister Goh made known the findings of the MOE quiz at the Teacher's Day Rally in September 1996, where he also revealed the MOE's plans to introduce NE to schools. The speed at which the episode unfolded showed a government that was *reacting* rather than *responding* to events, which further suggests this crisis mindset.[xiv]

At this same Teacher's Day Rally speech, the prime minister told the teachers he was setting up a NE Committee chaired by Mr. Lim Siong Guan, the permanent secretary (prime minister's office) (Yao, 2007).[xv] This committee was composed of representatives from the Ministries of Education and Defence, as well as other government departments with the interest and resources to facilitate the NE effort in schools.[xvi] That NE was a major undertaking on the part of government, as underscored in the setting up of "13 project teams comprising officers from schools, tertiary institutions, and MOE HQ [headquarters] and representatives from MITA and PA [Ministry of Information and the Arts and the People's Association]. These teams were tasked to develop strategies and measures for the implementation of the NE programme in schools and tertiary institutions" (MOE, 1997a). Thereafter, the NE Committee wasted no time in setting the infrastructure of NE.

By the end of 1996, the aims, outcomes, and implementation strategies were in place. This could be evidenced from a letter from the director of schools (1996) to the principals of all secondary schools, explaining the rationale, objectives, and roll-out plans for NE. The letter informed principals that "a National Education Unit (NEU) has been set up in MOE HQ to provide schools with the necessary support" for implementation of NE. At the same time, principals were also asked to set up a NE Committee in each of their respective schools, which they would chair. This NE committee would organize the NE activities and programs for their school and evaluate these activities at the end of every year (Director of Schools, 1996). That the principals were to chair the NE committee of their schools showed the importance the MOE and government placed on NE. In addition, principals were to appoint an NE coordinator to "liaise with the NEU in MOE HQ and assist the Principal on NE matters." The stage was set for the official launch of NE by Deputy Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong in May 1997. In the meantime, a general election was held in early January 1997, which saw the People's Action Party (PAP) winning all but two parliamentary seats.

At the launch of NE on May 17, 1997, which was telecast live to all school teachers, the deputy prime minister made no attempt to separate NE from the history of Singapore:

> Our young must know the Singapore Story—how Singapore succeeded against the odds to become a nation. National Education is not an abstract sermon on general principles of nationhood. It is to do with a special story, our story. It is the story of Singapore, how we came to be one nation. We did

not start off with this goal, or even as one people. Nobody imagined this would be the outcome. (H. L. Lee, 1997)

The history of Singapore thus became christened the *Singapore Story*, which was synonymous with NE. The deputy prime minister reiterated the crisis over the lack of historical knowledge among youth by emphasizing the importance of knowing the Singapore Story:

> Knowing this history is part of being a Singaporean. It is the back-drop which makes sense of our present. It shows what external dangers to watch out for, and where our domestic fault lines lie. It explains what we stand for and believe in, and why we think and act the way we do. It gives us confidence that even when the odds look daunting, with determination and effort we will prevail. (H. L. Lee, 1997)

The deputy prime minister was at pains to explain that Singapore's history was based on objective facts:

> The Singapore Story is based on historical facts. We are not talking about an idealised legendary account or a founding myth, but of an accurate understanding of what happened in the past, and what this history means for us today. It is objective history, seen from a Singaporean standpoint. (H. L. Lee, 1997)

It is clear from the above that the deputy prime minister demonstrated a lack of historiographical understanding, as "historical facts" and "objective history" are contestable notions by historians (see, e.g., Carr, 1961; Evans, 2000). Moreover, even if we accept that historical truth and objectivity are possible,[xvii] the younger Lee's claim that the Singapore Story is objective history, while in the same breath declaring a "Singaporean standpoint," renders the "objectivity" suspect. Such a view of Singapore's history found resonance among the PAP MPs as well. For instance, Loh Meng See, MP for Kampong Glam, expressed surprise over the differing perspective and opinions over the teaching and writing of Singapore history. He argued that "Singapore's history will be written from the national perspective and it has to be analysed and interpreted as such" (Singapore Parliament, 1997, col. 81).

In his address at the opening of the Ninth Parliament, the president reiterated the emphasis on NE, saying that it was necessary to instill "a sense of history and identity" to Singaporeans, as well as to imbue in the postindependence generation "the same discipline, the same drive to achieve, the same indomitable will to overcome problems that the first generation had, qualities that have brought Singapore so far" (Singapore Parliament, 1997, May 26, col. 18).[xviii] While the president merely repeated the rationale for introduction of NE to schools that the prime minister and deputy prime minister had articulated earlier, coming slightly more than a week from the official launch of NE, it once again demonstrated the importance the government placed on NE. Likewise, NE's importance was underscored in the MOE's addendum to the president's address:

> Schools must focus more sharply on National Education to instil in our young a strong sense of shared identity and confidence in our future. We will teach every pupil the facts of how we became a nation, why our constraints and vulnerabilities make us different from other countries and why we must continue to work together and outperform others to succeed in future. We will also use the informal curriculum in schools to develop group spirit among pupils and commitment to community and nation. (Singapore Parliament, 1997, May 26, col. 22)

During the debate on the president's opening address, NE was widely discussed. As expected, PAP MPs shared the government's concern that "the young people of Singapore do not really know the history of Singapore and they take what they have for granted" (Singapore Parliament, 1997, May 26, col. 194). One MP hailed "the introduction of National Education in our schools [as] both timely and welcome. National Education will imbue in each successive generation an empathy with our history and our roots" (Singapore Parliament, 1997, June 3, col. 158). Other PAP MPs echoed the government's hope that NE would imbue in students a sense of understanding and empathy to the Singapore Story and engender a sense of belonging to the country. MPs argued that knowing the Singapore Story and feeling rooted to the country would ensure Singapore's continued survival and success (Singapore Parliament, 1997, June 3, col. 169; June 4, col. 298).

That the PAP MPs were firmly behind the government was further demonstrated by Dr. Ong Chit Chung, an MP who was also a historian, in his endorsement of the government's rationale:

> We must, through National Education, inculcate in our young a sense of history and understanding of our vulnerabilities and potentials, and an abiding love of our country. We must anchor ourselves in our historical roots, and be like a banyan tree, standing tall and strong as a nation. (Singapore Parliament, 1997, June 3, col. 184)

An MP summed it up by saying that "National Education is to educate our people, for our students to know how our nation was built up" (Singapore Parliament, 1997, June 3, col. 173). And nation building was closely tied to nurturing a sense of belonging to Singapore, which was the essence of NE, as pointed out by another MP, who affirmed "that cultivating the Singapore National Soul is the quintessence of our National Education" (Singapore Parliament, 1997, June 3, col. 171, 172). The importance of having a good government was essential to this nation-building effort. As an MP put it, students needed to be taught in NE "that a successful nation, a stable society, a peaceful life for its citizens and a happy working environment cannot be separated from good government and good citizens" (Singapore Parliament, 1997, July 30, col. 1392).

Opposition MP Low Thia Khiang expressed the concern that the teaching of history was insufficient to engender a sense of national belonging and consciousness, and called for the government to also emphasize the teaching of democratic rights and values. He argued that NE "should enable students to

understand what kind of rights every Singapore citizen has" and called for "the lessons [to] teach students to understand the importance of elections" and to encourage political participation (Singapore Parliament, 1997, July 30, col. 1400).

The minister of education dismissed Low's request. He summed up NE as follows:

> The basis for National Education is factual. We will proceed on the basis of fact, not on the basis of consensus on what might appear to be the right interpretation of events, but we will try and proceed on the basis of fact, documented wherever possible. I think this is the most reasonable and best way to proceed with National Education in our schools. (Singapore Parliament, 1997, July 30, col. 1409)[xix]

NE tied in to the strategy of instilling "national instincts" among students, which starts with "develop[ing] an awareness of facts, circumstances and opportunities facing Singapore, so that they will be able to make decisions for their future with conviction and realism" (MOE, 1997a).

IMPLEMENTATION OF NATIONAL EDUCATION

In the implementation of NE, all teachers were instructed to "infuse" the NE messages into the formal curriculum. The MOE identified history, civics and moral education, and social studies as some of the subjects that were best suited for the infusion of NE. Major revisions were made in the syllabi of these subjects to incorporate the NE objectives, which took a few years to materialize. In the interim period, the syllabi for subjects such as social studies and history were trimmed, and the emphasis was placed on the teaching of Singapore's post–World War II history to independence (Curriculum Planning and Development Division, 1998a, 1998b, 1998c, 1998d).

While the formal curriculum was being revised, it was left to the informal curriculum to realize the initial implementation of the NE program. The informal curriculum was regarded as best suited to "develop the group spirit and emotional instincts of nationhood among pupils. … Attitudes and values picked up through team ECAs [extracurricular activities] and group activities, and the rituals of school life, will sink in deeper than anything learnt in the classroom" (H. L. Lee, 1997). It was also necessary to fill in the gaps in historical knowledge via the informal curriculum. The commemoration of designated key historical events was one of the NE activities aimed to achieve this purpose. Schools were required to observe the following occasions:

(a) Total Defence Day (15 Feb)—marking the day in 1942 when Singapore fell to the Japanese. The commemoration will serve to remind that everyone has a part to play in the Total Defence of Singapore.

(b) Racial Harmony Day (21 Jul)—marking the day in 1964 when racial riots broke out in Singapore. The commemoration would signify that efforts at racial understanding and tolerance must not slacken.

(c) National Day (9 Aug)—a national theme will be given to schools each year to give focus to their celebration of Singapore's independence. (MOE, 1997a)[xx]

For instance, the commemoration of Racial Harmony Day on July 21st every year aimed to remind students "that race and religion will always be potential fault-lines in Singapore society." That day in 1964 saw the worst ever racial riots in Singapore.[xxi] These three key events pointed to three pivotal historical junctures in Singapore's history—the Japanese Occupation, racial riots, and merger and separation—that formed the main narrative behind the Singapore Story.

Another key event, "International Friendship Day," was added later that year. September 21 was originally chosen for International Friendship Day "as it marks the day in 1965 when Singapore joined the United Nations as an independent, sovereign nation" (MOE, 1997b). It "is a day dedicated to the understanding of Singapore's relations with neighbouring countries and beyond" and the aim is "to sensitise our children towards the geo-political realities inherent in Singapore, as well as nurture in our students the spirit of friendship and collaboration among different people" (MOE, 1997b).[xxii] The NE Unit came up with key learning points to help schools in the commemoration of these four core events.

Apart from the MOE-initiated NE activities, other avenues were employed by the government to raise the consciousness of Singapore's history among the young. For instance, books on Singapore's history were published (Foong, 1996; National Heritage Board, 1998; Lau, 1998). The most prominent among these was the memoirs of Lee Kuan Yew (K. Y. Lee, 1998). While claiming that the memoirs was "not an official history" (K. Y. Lee, 1998, p. 8), titling his memoirs *The Singapore Story* suggests that Lee's version of history was the most authoritative. Lee expressed concerns similar to those raised by Goh and the younger Lee over the lack of consciousness of Singapore's recent past, summing up the government's fear that Singaporeans, particularly the youth, would take Singapore's prosperity for granted (K. Y. Lee, 1998). This was set against the backdrop of sustained and high economic growth in the 1990s, with full employment. An academic aptly encapsulated the government's position by stating that the most crucial "element which underlies the NE thrust is that key concern that has marked Singapore's life since the traumatic year of Separation, 1965: how can we continue to survive economically" (Wee, 1998).

The press and television gave extensive coverage of the issues surrounding NE and Singapore's history. From May 1997 through the end of 1998, the press published several accounts of Singapore's interlude in Malaysia and the events surrounding its independence. In particular, the racial riots were highlighted (Straits Times, 1998g). Lengthy excerpts of a book on Singapore's separation from Malaysia were also reproduced in the *Straits Times* (1998c, 1998d). The launch of NE sparked off a debate on Singapore's history as well, the most prominent example being the exchange of letters in the press between veteran opposition politician Dr. Lee Siew Choh and Mr. Mohamad Maidin, parliamentary secretary for education.

The spark that caused the debate was Mr. Maidin's letter, "Singapore history based on facts and documents" (Maidin, 1997a), which was written in response to letters arguing for historical controversy in the syllabus as well as a call for objectivity in history education (Baratham, 1987; Low, 1987). Maidin rehashed the government's position that the Singapore Story "is objective history, seen from a Singaporean point of view" and went on to state that the 1962 referendum on Singapore's merger with Malaysia "did not offer a yes/no vote because … no [political] party objected to merger in principle" (Maidin, 1997a). Dr. Lee disputed that claim, calling the referendum "unfair and undemocratic" since voters were not given a choice to vote against merger (S. C. Lee, 1997a). In reply, Maidin claimed that Dr. Lee had forgotten his history and rebutted Lee's arguments by narrating the chronology of the events leading to the 1962 referendum. Maidin reiterated that there was no opposition to the merger between Singapore and Malaya in the Legislative Assembly, which agreed on three alternatives on merger for the voters to decide (Maidin, 1997b). Unconvinced, Dr. Lee fired a final salvo, challenging Maidin's points and rehashing his allegation that the merger was undemocratic and unfair (S. C. Lee, 1997b).

From the exchange of letters, Singaporeans were given insight into the historical controversy over the referendum, as well as a 'loser's' perspective on the history of that period. It also demonstrated that there was no one definitive Singapore Story, but different and sometimes competing *stories*. Nonetheless, the government's position on NE and the Singapore Story remained unchanged. Apart from the slew of programs and activities to instill the Singapore Story among the young Singaporeans mentioned earlier, deputy prime minister Lee announced during the launch of NE that "a National Education Exhibition will be held next year to help foster better understanding of Singapore's past, present, and future" (Straits Times, 1997). While this exhibition was purported for adults, it was apparent that the target audience was youth, a significant number of whom were in schools.

NATIONAL EDUCATION EXHIBITION: THE SINGAPORE STORY

Running from July 7 to August 6, 1998, the NEE was arguably one of the most visible and prominent events to teach the young about Singapore's history. At the official opening of the NEE, Prime Minister Goh emphasized that youth were the target audience of the exhibition (Straits Times, 1998f). He also went on to explain the rationale behind the NEE, the essence of which was to retell the Singapore Story to young Singaporeans (Goh, 1998). The prime minister repeated the importance of NE during the opening of the NEE:

> The Singapore Story is our heritage of shared recollections of past defining events, a heritage that is vitally relevant to our present and future. We must know how today's Singapore came about, what went before, and who we are, before we can build on what we have inherited, and make tomorrow's Singapore better and stronger than today's. *A strong understanding of our roots and history will bond us together as a people.* This bonding is crucial to

our survival. Only a cohesive society can withstand life's unexpected threats and challenges, and endure. (Goh, 1998, emphasis added)

And the purpose of telling the Singapore Story was to instill an understanding and appreciation of Singapore's constraints and challenges from the perspective of the state.

A $10 million multimedia display and presentation using "film, video, stage sets and live acting to tell the story of Singapore" (Straits Time, 1998a), this exhibition attracted over 600,000 participants, of whom more than 200,000 were students. The MOE and the National Heritage Board even provided worksheets for these students (MOE, 1998). Through a program lasting approximately half an hour, visitors to the NEE were transported "back in time, where they … experience[d] the sights, sounds and maybe even the smells of some of the dramatic moments of Singapore's history" (Straits Times, 1998b). They were seated "on comfortable cinema-like seats" and "driven through seven theatres built on a 6,000 square-metre oval carousel":

> Each theatre … showcase[d] one segment of Singapore's history, from the time Sir Stamford Raffles landed on the shores here in 1819 to the present, marking milestones such as the British rule, the Japanese occupation, merger and separation from Malaysia, Independence and the development of Singapore. (Straits Times, 1998b)

The storyline was "narrated as a conversation between a grandfather and his grand-daughter" (Straits Times, 1998b). Besides the presentation, books and souvenirs were sold at the exhibition.

Responses to the NEE were generally positive. Parliamentarians, including an opposition MP who attended the NEE's opening, business leaders, and the public were unanimous in commending the multimedia presentation for bringing history to life to audiences of the exhibition and felt that it provided a good history lesson to the youth (Lianhe Zaobao, 1998). An undergraduate commented that "the whole thing was very dramatic, entertaining and up-to-date" and expressed the importance of that, "especially if the organizers want to appeal to the younger crowd" (Straits Times, 1998e). A 17-year-old student told the press of the lessons she learned from the NEE: "Watching the footage of the racial riots has made me realize the importance of maintaining racial harmony. We should never take it for granted" (Straits Times, 1998e). Another secondary student added: "I have studied a bit about Singapore history in school, but I never knew that things were so bad and scary during that time. Looking at the pictures and film makes me realise how lucky I am" (Straits Times, 1998e). From the responses of the students and the public as reported in the press, it appeared that the objectives of the NEE were achieved.

The NEE was not the first major national exhibition aimed at educating the public on Singapore's history. In 1984, the government organized a national exhibition as a "grand finale to Singapore's 25 years of nation-building celebrations" (Straits Times, 1984b).[xxiii] Then Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew (1984), at his

speech at the official opening, expressed concern that "now 75 per cent of our people are under 40. They have not personally experienced the traumas of the past 25 years." He recounted the "instability and uncertainty" of the 1950s and 1960s, as "one political crisis after another engulfed Singapore" (K. Y. Lee, 1984). Lee was therefore glad that the exhibition would remind Singaporeans of the nation's constraints and vulnerabilities:

> We have to be perpetually vigilant. Singaporeans will be reminded of the vulnerable nature of our society, because the fundamentals on which our survival rests are slender and tight: a limited land area, no agriculture, large dependence on international trade, on foreign investments and on imported technology. (K. Y. Lee, 1984)

Lee added:

> To learn about a riot in pictures and words is not the same as being caught in a riot. But even pictures and words, however muted, will carry echoes of the rage and violence which made men inflict senseless devastation and death in a riot. (K. Y. Lee, 1984)

Held between November 16 and December 30, 1984, at a cost of $18 million, the National Exhibition attracted over 2 million visitors, of whom around 280,000 were students (Straits Times, 1984c, 1984d).[xxiv]

Both the National Exhibition of 1984 and the NEE of 1998 had the same target audience of young Singaporeans. While the former exhibition was the first time Singapore's recent history was put on display, other themes and aspects were highlighted as well. In contrast, the NEE was primarily about telling the Singapore Story, as capsulated in the subtitle "against all odds." The seven segments or themes of the Singapore Story as shown in the NEE—Colonial Period (1819–1945), Political Awakening (1945–1955), Communist Threat (1955–1961), Battle for Merger (1961–1963), Merger Years (1963–1965), From Survival to Progress (1965–present), and The Future Is in Our Hands—underscore how Singapore survived and thrived against the obstacles and threats in its past. Particular emphasis was placed on the period following World War II to Singapore's independence. The period was presented as a tumultuous one fraught with riots and strife. The Communists and Communalists were blamed for instigating the unrest. The story ends triumphantly with Singapore succeeding despite these "odds" under the leadership of the PAP government and exhorts the audience to continue playing their part in Singapore's continued success. From a reluctance to talk about the recent past in the 1970s, to a coming to terms with history in the 1980s, the Singapore Story narrative as presented in the NEE demonstrated the Singapore's government's embrace of history for nation building after over 30 years of independence.

CONCLUSION

Through the NE program, the state aimed to drive home the "lesson" that Singapore's economic success rested on its ability to survive as a nation-state and to maintain external and internal security. This was the underlying message behind the Singapore Story, emphasized at the NEE and reinforced through other NE activities. Singapore's post–World War II history was presented as a triumph over several crises. The circumstances around the launch of NE were also presented as a crisis of a lack of historical knowledge among young Singaporeans.

Hence, the NE program was an effort by the Singapore government to drive home to students this message of Singapore's innate vulnerabilities. The experience of riots and strikes in the 1950s and early 1960s, as well as the 1964 racial riots, underscored the obsession with stability and the need for survival by Singapore's political leaders. Singapore's phenomenal economic success was thus driven by the need to stay ahead in order to survive and prosper as a nation. For Singapore, citizenship education was, and still is, less focused on democratic ideals and values than on nation building.[xxv]

The conceptualization of the NE program was top-down, coming as it did from the prime minister's office. The events surrounding the launch of NE in schools seem to suggest that it was more of a reaction to a "crisis" of supposed historical amnesia among young Singaporeans, rather than a reasoned and thought-out strategy. Nonetheless, with the introduction of NE, the role of history in nation building in Singapore found its fullest expression, as the script for the "Singapore Story"—the story of Singapore's decolonization seen through the eyes of the victors—was finally completed (Han, 2007, 2009; Nichol & Sim, 2007; Sim & Print, 2005).

NOTES

[i] This article is a revised version of the paper "The Cause and Course of the 'National Education' Program in Singapore" presented at the annual meeting of the Association of Asian Studies in 2010.

[ii] In his illustrious career, Lim Siong Guan served under all three prime ministers of Singapore. He was the principal private secretary under Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew and eventually became permanent secretary (prime minister's office) during the tenure of Goh Chok Tong as prime minister. To ensure the implementation of NE, Prime Minister Goh appointed Lim as the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Education, even as he continued to be the permanent secretary (prime minister's office). Lim later became the head of civil service, as well as the permanent secretary (Ministry of Finance) when Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong served concurrently as the minister for finance.

[iii] It is no understatement to say that the NE initiative came straight from the prime minister's Office.

[iv] Tim Huxley (2000, p. 25) made the same point, but while he quoted these five messages, he did not refer to the sources in 1984, the year when Total Defence was launched.

[v] The total war concept came out of the experience of World War II, where a country's entire population and all sectors of its society were mobilized in military conflict. The European Theatre of World War II bore this out; war was no longer restricted to battle lines between armies.

[vi] See Huxley (2000) for an in-depth discussion of Singapore's geopolitical and military vulnerabilities as perceived by its leaders.

vii From September 1963 to August 1965, Singapore was part of Malaysia. The PAP state regarded Singapore's interlude in Malaysia as a tumultuous one.

viii The sampling size for the survey is highly problematic; thus, the government based its argument on flimsy evidence.

ix This still begs the question of why the term *National Education* was used instead of *civics education* or *citizenship education*.

x England echoed similar sentiments as the rationale for its introduction of the compulsory citizenship education program in 2002.

xi Former Australian Prime Minister John Howard called for a renewed emphasis on the teaching of Australia's national past in January 2006.

xii Whether this crisis was real, perceived, or constructed is hard to ascertain. It was, nonetheless, projected as a crisis.

xiii This was widely reported in the *Straits Times* and *Lianhe Zaobao* from July to September 1996.

xiv For more examples of the crisis mentality of the Singapore state, see Yao (2007).

xv Lim subsequently became permanent secretary of the MOE as well.

xvi These include the Ministry of Information and the Arts, the People's Association, and the Civil Service College (see MOE, 1997b).

xvii The late Sir Elton was a key proponent of that. See Elton (1967).

xviii Interestingly, the general election was held in early January 1997, but it took more than 5 months before the new parliament was commenced.

xix The education minister also mentioned that community activities and experiential-type activities would be included in the informal curriculum.

xx Total Defence Day and National Day were observed in schools prior to the introduction of NE. These two days were now reconceptualized as key historical events under the ambit of NE.

xxi The last racial riots took place in 1969, a spillover from the May 13th racial riots in Malaysia.

xxii International Friendship Day now falls on the third working Friday of Term 2.

xxiii This was the last time that the year 1959 was publicly commemorated as the beginning of Singapore's statehood. Subsequent celebrations focused on the year of independence, 1965.

xxiv The opposition claimed that the cost of the National Exhibition was excessive. See Straits Times (1984e).

xxv See Mauzy and Milne (2002) for the political and historical context of Singapore's governance under the People's Action Party and its ideology.

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5. PUBLICIZING NATIONALISM

Legitimizing the Turkmen State through Niyazov's Rukhnama

Marginalized both culturally and physically from the philosophical and political centers of the Soviet Union, especially after its collapse in 1991, the Central Asian Republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan were faced with the task of creating legitimate nation-states as an alternative to indigenous tribal groupings. *Rukhnama* ("Book of the Soul"), a text published in 2002 by the late Turkmen president Saparmyrat Niyazov, needs to be examined as a response to this challenge. The book includes letters and directives from Niyazov addressed to Turkmen citizens interspersed with tribal history and genealogies, poetry, proverbs, and folktales. While citizen education largely refers to instruction in the structure of government, history of the country, constitution, and laws, the purpose of *Rukhnama* is primarily sociocultural: an attempt to redefine the nation of Turkmenistan as not merely one of many other Soviet republics, but as the true ancestral homeland of the Turkmen people. This study analyzes Turkmenistan's approach to educating its citizens via the *Rukhnama*—both the means of indoctrination and the message—as a way of better understanding the country and its post-Soviet identity.

Freedman (2007) has noted that Western media's coverage of Turkmenistan has largely been limited to the "novelty" of "a quirky foreign ruler" (p. 1), with stories using "belittling terminology" (p. 8) and personal references to Niyazov—regardless of whether or not he was the primary subject of the article. Other studies have examined *Rukhnama* only alongside other components of Niyazov's personality cult and nation building (Denison, 2009; Kuru, 2002). As Freedman (2007) stated, "There is no doubt that Niyazov ranked among the world's most overtly idiosyncratic autocrats" (p. 3); even so, there is also no question that he has also had a significant impact on the development of Turkmenistan as a nation.

This study, inspired by first-hand experience[i] of the book's extraordinary influence on Turkmen culture, examines larger themes present in *Rukhnama*[ii] in the hopes of opening the door for more in-depth future studies of this section of Turkmen history. Post-independence narratives raise important questions: Who develops the narratives that define the nation? What role do national minorities or the political elite play in the narrative? How is the former oppressor defined, especially if there are still economic, political, and even familial ties to the oppressing country or nation?

To begin this examination of *Rukhnama*, I provide background information on Niyazov's earlier published works that inform the writing of *Rukhnama*, the history

of the region, and national identity development through print media. Following this section, I discuss certain major themes present in *Rukhnama*: the introduction of Turkmenistan as the homeland of the Turkmen people, the (re)introduction of heroes for the new nation, the development of national pride, the effects of the Soviet period, and traditional Turkmen values and spiritual development. My analysis focuses on *Rukhnama* as written in the style of an "Oguznama," an epic of the Oguz[iii] people, the Turkmen people's tribal ancestors, as well as on the Soviet and Turkish influences on the development of Turkmen nationhood. A study of *Rukhnama* is, more than anything else, a study of Saparmyrat Niyazov: his worldview, desires, and hopes for the country. Since his death in 2006, there has been a decline in the usage of *Rukhnama*, but it is still too soon to tell how the book will figure in the scope of Turkmen history. By examining this cultural artifact, we can speculate on its potential impact on the development of Turkmen national identity.

SAPARMYRAT NIYAZOV

Saparmyrat Niyazov was born in 1940 in Kipchak, Turkmenistan, a village near the capital of Ashgabat. His father had died during World War II, and his mother and brothers had died in the 1948 earthquake (BBC News, 2006). Niyazov spent much of his childhood in a state orphanage. He finished school in 1959 and received a diploma in electrical engineering in 1967 from the Leningrad Polytechnic Institute (Kazinform, 2006). Niyazov joined the Communist Party in 1962, quickly rising through the ranks. He became the first secretary of the Communist Party of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) in 1985 (BBC News, 2006). In 1990 he became the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Turkmen SSR and was in power on October 27, 1991, when Turkmenistan declared independence. In June 1992, he was elected president in a popular election (in which he was the only candidate); he assumed the title Tűrkmenbaşy (Turkmenbashy), "leader of the Turkmen people," in 1993. In 1994, his term as president was extended to 2002; prior to reaching that milestone, in 1999, he was declared president for life. Niyazov died on December 21, 2006, from a heart attack. He had been taking medication for a cardiac condition and was rumored to also suffer from diabetes and kidney problems (Kazinform, 2006). He was buried in a tomb at the Kipchak Mosque on December 24, 2006 (Turkmenistan.ru, 2006).

Saparmyrat Niyazov has been most infamous for his personality cult, of which *Rukhnama* might appear to be a symptom. In this light, it is interesting to note some of Niyazov's earlier works. A two-volume collection of published speeches and interviews with national and international media, *Independence Democracy Prosperity* and *Unity Peace Consensus*, look outward to other countries and attempt to inform citizens about the changes their rapidly developing country will undergo as they join the international stage as an "equal member of the world community" (Niyazov, 1994b, p. 102). Niyazov used his speeches to develop the concept of Turkmenistan's "Golden Age," which will be reached after a decade of prosperity. By this point, the early 2000s, the country will have achieved a state of

economic and technological development to allow it to produce and sell goods on a world standard. Society will have a "high level of culture" (p. 102), young citizens will learn to speak Turkmen, Russian, and English, and the "authority and dignity of the Turkmen people" (p. 106) will be restored. Niyazov did express concern about the threat of interethnic strife and tribal conflicts. In a speech at the opening of a new school in 1993, he stated: "I hope there will never be any talk here of kinship and tribes. It should be explained to children that inciting hatred between nations is prosecuted here by law and considered a criminal offense" (p. 84).

Denison (2009) noted that the "first resolution passed by the Congress of People's Deputies (renamed the *Majlis*) in 1992 was for the production of state portraits of Niyazov," which laid the groundwork for both the "institutionalisation of Niyazov's power" and for the "saturation of public space" with his image (p. 1173). His picture appeared in offices, on television, on billboards, and even in hotel rooms and airplanes and on vodka bottles and packets of tea. Niyazov renamed cities, streets, institutions, and even the months of the year. He created new holidays, and his sayings were spelled out on hillsides with rocks. He delivered decrees on men's beards, women's makeup, gold teeth, and smoking in public places. Denison stated that "the cult of Niyazov stemmed more from mid-level officials than from the upper reaches of the regime itself" and was used as a "strategic resource [to] extract additional resources" from the central government (p. 1183); there is no evidence, however, to show that such a cult was discouraged. In fact, Niyazov (1994a) reframed the developing personality cult as a crucial component for "strengthening Turkmenistan independence" (p. 28).

Rukhnama is largely free of the political posturing shown in *Independence Democracy Prosperity* and *Unity Peace Consensus*. Published in 2002 at the beginning of the so-defined Golden Age, it recognized the need to explain why or how Turkmenistan was politically different from other countries and to express that the best period of Turkmen history had arrived. It was time to celebrate the Turkmen people. The question remains, of course: who are the Turkmen people exactly?

A BRIEF HISTORY OF TURKMENISTAN AND THE TURKMEN PEOPLE

Turkmenistan is located south of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, north of Iran and Afghanistan, and east of the Caspian Sea. The Turkmen people, however, are descendants of Altaic nomads who originated in western China and the Lake Baikal region. Some of the Altaic tribes, known as the Oguz, moved south in the 9th and 10th centuries into the area called Turkestan, which covers many of the modern countries of Central Asia (Denison, 2009). Between the mid-10th through the 13th century, a time when they also converted to Islam, some of the Oguz tribes began to assume the name "Turkoman." It is suggested by Muslim chroniclers, and echoed in *Rukhnama*, that the term means "Turk Iman" or "believing Turk" (Lewis, 1974). Until the 17th century, when some began to migrate into the areas of modern Turkmenistan, the Turkmen tribes had been centered in the areas that are currently in modern Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan (Denison, 2009). Prior to

Soviet occupation, the people of Turkmenistan were nomadic, and to this day they still maintain tribal identities (Embassy of Turkmenistan, n.d.).

The territory that is now Turkmenistan has been the stage for a number of conflicts and conquering armies for hundreds of years. Alexander the Great, the Seljuks, the Mongols, the Russians—all have laid claim to parts of what is now modern Turkmenistan. Turkmenistan was the last of the Central Asian republics to come under Russian rule in 1881; it became a member of the Soviet Union in 1925 (Embassy of Turkmenistan, n.d.).

Turkmenistan became an independent country in 1991 after the fall of the Soviet Union. Denison (2009) noted that "the Turkmen SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] was characterised by the absence of manifestations of, or a significant push for, national cultural or political revival, either inside or outside Party structures" (p. 1173). In fact, Saparmyrat Niyazov, previously the leader of the Turkmen Communist Party who became the president in 1990, was still struggling in late 1991 to promote initiatives that would preserve the Soviet Union. This lack of preparation for independence allowed Niyazov and the political elite wide freedom to define the terms of Turkmenistan's new government and the course of Turkmen national identity (Denison, 2009). Niyazov was declared president for life in 1999 and assumed the title *Beýik Türkmenbaşy*, "great leader of the Turkmen people." To maintain the legitimacy of the new state and create national solidarity, Niyazov's nation-building goals focused on "the unity of the tribes and gradual socio-cultural deRussification" (Kuru, 2002, p. 72).

In order to achieve his nation-building goals, Niyazov focused on developing the Turkmen language by adopting a new alphabet, requiring the use of Turkmen (as opposed to Russian) in schools and in publications, and creating new national symbols and slogans. Niyazov referred to his policies as a "national revival" as opposed to "nation-building" (Kuru, 2002, p. 71). In Niyazov's view, after decades of Soviet occupation, the Turkmen people had forgotten their previous identity as a powerful Turkic people:

> By forming an independent and totally neutral Turkmen state, by uniting a number of tribes into a whole, we did not create a new nation; what we did was return to its national pivot, which used to be strong and powerful but has been shattered by the blows of the historical fate. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkmenistan, 1996, p. 13)

Chief among these "national revival" tools was *Rukhnama*, the "book of the soul." Niyazov called *Rukhnama* a "systematic worldview" containing the "core of all [his] political, economic and life targets" (Turkmenbashy, 2003, pp. 16–20)—mostly relating to promoting the unification of tribes, moral education, and broad civic responsibilities. *Rukhnama* is explicitly the guide for how citizens of modern Turkmenistan should think, believe, and behave. As such, it provides an unparalleled resource for Turkmen nation-building under Niyazov.

While this study focuses primarily on the cultural aspects of *Rukhnama* rather than Turkmen state policy, it is important to note that, despite the promise of the Golden Age, Turkmenistan under Niyazov was not known for affection toward its

citizens. A 2005 U.S. Department of State country report listed numerous human rights concerns: detaining and beating of individuals suspected to be critical of the government; overcrowding, rampant disease, and lack of access to medical care in prisons; practices of "forcible resettlement" to displace "internal enemies" and ethnic minorities; and restrictions on freedom of speech, religion, and assembly even though the law provided for these freedoms (Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, 2005a). Niyazov's policies reflected concerns about the influences of foreign ideas and a fear of radical extremism.

Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedov, a dentist by training and the former minister of health, assumed the presidency upon the death of Niyazov in December 2006 and officially took the post on February 14, 2007, after presidential elections were held (Embassy of Turkmenistan, n.d.). [iv] In Berdimuhamedov's initial years, he sought to reverse some of Niyazov's decrees. He abolished the names for the months of the year that Niyazov had instituted, reversed the changes to the national anthem, restored pensions, and reinstated the 10th year of secondary education (Human Rights Watch, 2007). Denison (2009) noted that while still a part of the curriculum, *Rukhnama* no longer functioned as one of the primary history textbooks in schools.

In the last several years, Berdimuhamedov's government appears not to have built on the reforms made initially in the education and media sectors, such as re-instating a year of secondary education and increasing access to the Internet (Human Rights Watch, 2007). Freedom of movement has declined, university students studying abroad have had difficulty leaving the country, access to foreign media and the Internet remain extremely limited and expensive, and there continue to be allegations of serious human rights violations (Human Rights Watch, 2011). The organization Medecins San Frontieres (Doctors without Borders) was forced to stop operations in Turkmenistan as the government repeatedly rejected its project proposals for treatment programs for drug-resistant forms of tuberculosis (Medecins San Frontieres, 2009). The Human Rights Watch (2011) also indicated that *Rukhnama* remained part of the required university entrance exams.

Although Berdimuhamedov has worked to dismantle Niyazov's personality cult, even removing the golden statue of Niyazov that revolved to continuously face the sun from a central location in the capital[v] (BBC News, 2010), in the process he seems to be working to create his own. While teachers are allowed to spend less class time studying works by Niyazov, Berdimuhamedov's own books and speeches are becoming part of the curriculum (Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, 2009). There are indications that his book, *Public Regulation of Social and Economic Development,* is now required reading in universities (Voxclamantis_tm, 2011). Building on Niyazov's Golden Age, the terminology still in use on government web pages, Berdimuhamedov now promotes the era or epoch of "new revival."

Just as it is too soon to extrapolate the long-term effects of Niyazov's rule on Turkmenistan, it is certainly difficult to discern what effect current president Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedov will have on the country. A U.S. government cable published on WikiLeaks described Berdimuhamedov as "vain, fastidious, vindictive, a micro-manager, and a bit of an Ahal Teke[vi] 'nationalist'"

(Guardian. co.uk, 2010) who does not feel that Turkmen from other tribes are real Turkmen. Berdimuhamedov apparently goes to great lengths to keep information about his family and private life from the public, in part because in addition to his wife, he has a mistress with whom he has a daughter. The U.S. Embassy felt that "for a public figure who tries to project an image as a renaissance man, whether it be author, surgeon, pilot, sportsman or statesman, the failure to cultivate a 'family man' image leaves a void that the public is ready to fill" (Guardian.co.uk, 2010). This begs the question of whether and how this void is being filled. Furthermore, if the cable reflects Berdimuhamedov's true feelings about Turkmen ethnicity, what does this imply for the ideal of a unified Turkmen national identity that does not differentiate one tribe from another?

NARRATIVES AS TOOLS FOR NATION BUILDING

A "nation," according to Benedict Anderson (2006), is an "imagined political community" (p. 6): imagined because although most of the members of the community will never meet directly, they maintain affinity with each other through shared history or symbols. "The nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship," a fraternity that links together all people within a defined area (p. 7). Notably, Anderson drew a link between the invention of print media and the development of nation-states. Media became a way to popularize the nation—its history and its leaders—as well as to educate citizens. National history writing reflects "a deep reshaping of the imagination" (p. 201). Anderson noted that "all profound changes in consciousness, by their very nature, bring with them characteristic amnesias. Out of such oblivions, in specific historical circumstances, spring narratives" (p. 204), and these narratives help to form or change our identities.

Since the development of nation-states, education has been seen as a way of not only teaching citizens basic skills, but also "developing faithful supporters of the society": in other words, nation building (Thomas, 1990, p. 26). Eckstein (1985) found education to be a strategic tool "for achieving national unity or political reconciliation in societies marked by political or cultural diversity" (p. 857). Producing documents that interpret the past is one way in which governments educate citizens about their nation. Summarizing Anderson, Kuru (2002) noted how "the selective interpretation of history, on one hand, emphasizes historical heroic martyrdom, wars and genocide, in order to maintain national solidarity, while on the other, it consciously omits some events, which undermine national integrity" (p. 74). The interpretation of history can also affect changes in allegiance from one group to another. By depicting the new nation as beneficial for citizens and the old allegiances as ineffectual and antiquated, civic education works to interpret a shared history that helps citizens redefine themselves as members of a particular nation.

Marat (2007) noted that Central Asian countries have all developed post-independence narratives in which national defenders "eras[e] sub-ethnic and inter-clan characteristics by replacing them with broader ones that contribute to the sovereignty of a titular nation" (p. 4). Each of the Central Asian countries has

defined heroes that exemplify times in which tribes came together to fight a common foe and highlight the culture's "uniqueness" (Marat, 2007, p. 6). Essential to these narratives are the use of a national language and the linking of patriotism to the titular ethnicity, often to the discrimination of ethnic minorities. In former Soviet countries with the economic capacity to "encourage publication of various historical books about national heroism in titular and Russian languages," print literacy has aided the development of narratives that "publiciz[e] nationalism" (p. 4).

<div align="center">RUKHNAMA</div>

Description and Purpose

Bubble-gum pink and lime green, with the cover featuring a bust of Niyazov and the state symbol of a five-headed eagle grasping a two-headed snake in its talons, *Rukhnama* is a visually striking book. Initially printed in Turkmen in 2002, by 2008 the book had been translated into 41 different languages, although not all translations were in wide circulation (Moring, 2008). (As explained in the documentary, *Shadow of the Holy Book*, translating *Rukhnama* was a way for foreign companies looking to pursue contracts in the country to gain favor with the Turkmen government [Halonen, 2008].) The second volume of *Rukhnama*, *Rukhnama II*, featuring a colorful tie-dyed cover, was released in 2004 and underwent a similar process of being translated, although perhaps not as extensively (Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, 2005b). In addition to being a book to help the Turkmen people learn about themselves, *Rukhnama* was also a text to teach others about the nation:

> *Rukhnama* is also the book of our brothers and other nations that rejoice at our happiness and are proud of our success and with whom we are together creating our *Golden Age* in these lands. … The foreigners who read *Rukhnama* will know us better, became [sic] our friends faster, and the far and the foreign becomes closer to us on our path to being accepted in the world. (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 25)

After years of the Turkmen people being defined as members of the USSR, *Rukhnama* sought to recreate their national identity and proclaim it to a global audience.

Rukhnama opens with Turkmenistan's national oath and shows a picture of President Niyazov captioned with his title, "Saparmyrat Turkmenbashy the Great." The state emblem, the national and presidential flags, and the national anthem are featured on the next few opening pages. *Rukhnama* is divided into five sections: Turkmen, The Turkmen's Path, Turkmen Nation, The State of Turkmen, and The Spiritual World of the Turkmen. The initial section includes information about the Turkmen national character and moral values, describes the rationale for the book and Niyazov's personal history, and discusses Turkmenistan's independence from the Soviet Union. The second section outlines Turkmenistan's tribal history,

including genealogical diagrams of the tribes and subtribes. The third section, "Turkmen Nation," describes the virtues of the Turkmen land and emphasizes tribal unity. Section 4 portrays the triumphs of the Turkmen state under various tribal rulers. The final section describes how the Turkmen people should conduct themselves in the world. Despite these themes, the book is not well organized, and information in one section is likely to be repeated in another. Much of the material in the book is addressed directly to the Turkmen people ("My fellow citizens," "My dear Turkmen," "My beloved Country, My dear People!") or takes the form of stories. Niyazov indicated that he wrote in the tradition of an Oguznama—a type of folk epic—focusing not on historical events so much as "spiritual and moral dynamics" (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 62) in order to instill pride in the people.

During the period of roughly 2002 to 2007, every citizen in Turkmenistan was expected to read and understand the material in *Rukhnama*. Niyazov defined the book as the foundation of the modern Turkmen state along with national independence (declared on October 27, 1991) and permanent neutrality (declared at the United Nations on December 12, 1995) (Turkmenbashy, 2003). Niyazov stated: "It is the Turkmen's first and basic reference book. It is the total of the Turkmen mind, customs and traditions, intentions, doings and ideals" (p. 24). All students were required to take classes on *Rukhnama* and it was suggested that workers in hospitals and clinics and government offices—all state employees—read sections of the book together once a week (Ingram, 2002; Terzieff, 2004). All state offices and schoolrooms had to set up a *Rukhnama* corner that displayed the book, a picture of the president, and other national symbols such as the flag and seal. Turkmen television regularly broadcast readings of *Rukhnama*. A park in the capital city of Ashgabat featured a large *Rukhnama* sculpture that opened to reveal a television screen that "read" sections at proscribed times throughout the day. The month of September was even renamed *Rukhnama* (CNN.com, 2002). Although not widely accessible by Turkmen citizens, the text of *Rukhnama* has been available online since 2005 at http://www.turkmenistan.gov.tm/ruhnama/ruhnama-index.html in 22 languages and at http://www.ruhnama.info/ in four different languages. By making contact with the *Rukhnama* unavoidable, Niyazov ensured that every citizen was knowledgeable about the content of the book.

The purpose of *Rukhnama* is quite explicit: "Every Turkmen will know himself after reading [the book]. Peoples of our other nations who read the *Rukhnama* will understand and know the Turkmen!" (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 398). The book attempted to replace older conceptions of belonging and identity, whether to the Soviet Union or to a tribe, with a new idea of a Turkmen nation.

> When you go on a long journey, your mother prepares your food. I, however, have no mother, so I took the word "Turkmen" in place of food. When you go for a long journey, your father sends you his blessing; I, however, have no father, so I have taken the blessings of my homeland on my journey. (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 151)

Niyazov's personal identity as an orphan was projected onto that of the new state, newly weaned from the Soviet Union.

> When I considered my situation, I understood that I was not an orphan! How can someone be an orphan if he has a father like Oguz Khan, a teacher like Gorkut ata, an elder brother like Gorogly, an advisor like Makhtumkuli? (Turkmenbashy, 2003, pp. 151–152)

While a potential sociopolitical vacuum could be cause for concern, Niyazov defined new guiding heroes for himself, and thus for the Turkmen state.

Turkmenistan's Tribal Heroes

Unlike nation-building leaders in other former Soviet republics (Denison, 2009), Niyazov did not rehabilitate political or historical figures from the 19th or 20th centuries whose stories had been suppressed. Instead, his *Rukhnama* drew on heroes from Turkmenistan's tribal past who exemplify traits and time periods he found relevant for Turkmenistan's past and future. He associated each of the main heroes he named with a particular time period in Turkmen tribal history (see Table 1). Foremost among these heroes would be Oguz Khan, the progenitor of the Turkmen people (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 42). Niyazov indicated that not only was Oguz Khan the forefather of all the Turkmen people, he was also descended from the Prophet Noah, believed in a monotheistic religion, and was considered a prophet by the Turkmen people (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 157).

Oguz Khan had six sons (named after the words for sun, moon, stars, sky, mountain, and sea), each of whom had four sons. The 24 grandchildren of Oguz Khan became the clans from which all Turkmen people are descended (Turkmenbashy, 2003). Before dying, Oguz Khan set up a line of succession: leadership would pass to his first son, Gun Khan, and then to Gun Khan's sons in birth order. People of the clans were divided into groups and assigned duties. "Scholars and learned people" would deal with budgeting, stewardship, and tax collection. "Those who were brave and stout-hearted" would assume leadership roles. Others, the "uneducated and ignorant," would serve as shepherds (p. 86).

Notable is Oguz Khan's directive: "You should not keep moving from one place to another, nor staying in one place" (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 86). Oguz Khan defined a seminomadic lifestyle in which clans, and their herds, moved to the seaside or warm places in winter and autumn and to mountain pastures in the summer. Despite the fact that each clan would "find itself in a different climate, a different region" (p. 84), Oguz Khan stressed the necessity of unity among the 24 clans.

Other national heroes discussed in *Rukhnama* are Gorkut Ata and Gorogly. Gorkut Ata, who supposedly lived shortly after the time of the Prophet Muhammad, was a wise man who could foretell the future, had accepted Islam, and performed pilgrimage in Mecca and Medina, and whose descendants founded the Seljuk State (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 104). Niyazov considered Gorogly, an epic warrior also known as Gőrogly Beg and as Kőroğlu in other languages, to represent a time, roughly the 10th through 17th centuries, in which tribes (the Seljuks, Ottomans, and less well known Garagoyunlys and Akgoynlys) developed states throughout the world in what is now considered Central Asia and Eurasia.

Table 1. Turkmen Spiritual Ages

Spiritual age	Variable	Description
First	Timeframe	5000 BC–AD 650
	Spiritual leader	Oguz Khan
	Spiritual animal	Ox/bull
	Worldview	Unity; "The living need mobility and the dead tranquility" (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 280)
	Defining characteristics	Justice, lawfulness, propriety, enthusiasm, courage, skill, cleverness, strength, maturity, forbearance
Second	Timeframe	AD 650–10th century
	Spiritual leader	Gorkut Ata
	Spiritual animal	Wolf
	Worldview	Conversion to Islam, development of a belief in an afterlife, Turkmen tribes spread throughout the world
	Defining characteristics	Power, bravery, speed, extra mobility, access to space; "It did not enrage the powerful, nor did oppress the weak [… but did not] allow strangers to trespass on its land" (p. 281)
Third	Timeframe	10th–17th centuries
	Spiritual leader	Gorogly
	Spiritual animal/symbol	Eagles, phoenix, other birds/sword
	Worldview	Expansion to the whole world, development of states (Seljuks, Ottomans, Garagoyunlys, Akgoyunlys), development of political and administrative experience
	Defining characteristics	Morally elevated, strong, active, ebullient; full of grandeur, comprehensiveness, depth
Fourth	Timeframe	17th–20th centuries
	Spiritual leader	Makhtumkuli Pyragy
	Spiritual animal/symbol	[Not stated]
	Worldview	Division of nation into groups and tribes, internal conflicts, subjugation to foreign rule
	Defining characteristics	Idleness, waste, resoluteness, no "historical creativity" (p. 283), moral discontent; forgetting religion, tradition, values, language; immorality, lack of trust, infidelity
Fifth: Golden age, age of maturity	Timeframe	October 27, 1991–present
	Spiritual leader	Saparmyrat Niyazov
	Spiritual animal/symbol	Horse, traditional musical instruments
	Worldview	"Spirit rises at the beginning of each millennium" (p. 287); return of historical creative spirit
	Defining characteristics	Contentment, affluence, wealth, reliance on/ remembrance of advice of ancestors

Makhtumkuli Pyragy was the fourth hero Niyazov defined for the new Turkmen nation. Makhtumkuli was an 18th-century Sufi poet, born in the area that is now northeastern Iran, who wrote in vernacular Turkmen, although using Western literary forms and incorporating Arabic and Persian loan words (Edgar, 2004). Niyazov was quick to disassociate the modern Turkmen people from Sufism—"We are different from those people who adopted the Sufi way" (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 297)—but he was clearly drawn to Makhtumkuli's lyrics that emphasize the unity of the tribes. Niyazov defined Makhtumkuli as a national poet with special publications of his poems, the erection of statues in his honor, public celebrations and holidays, and even the renaming of the month of May as "Makhtumkuli" (Durdiyeva, 2004).

Niyazov also made efforts to enshrine his own parents as Turkmen heroes. Niyazov's mother died along with his two brothers in the earthquake that killed up to 110,000 people in the Ashgabat area in 1948 (U.S. Geological Survey, n.d.). Niyazov described her as a symbol and example of true maternal sacrifice and love. Niyazov's father, Atamyrat Annanyyaz, had died earlier in World War II. For Niyazov, his father was the ultimate example of bravery.

All of these heroes spoke to Niyazov and encouraged him to write *Rukhnama*:

> My guiding souls, my father and my mother, said: "Allah selected the four heroes of the Turkmens—Oguz Khan, Gorkut ata, Gorogly and Makhtumkuli—as the inheritors of the prophets. Today, Allah the Great has designated you as their inheritor. Son, devote your life to maintaining the unity of the Turkmen nation and to sustaining the golden life for them." (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 145)

Thus, by extension, Niyazov was to be considered the spiritual leader and hero for the fifth Turkmen age, which stretched from independence, October 27, 1991, until the present. This was Niyazov's "Golden Age" to be associated with affluence and wealth and reliance on the advice of spiritual ancestors.

Turkmen Leadership

Rukhnama aimed to describe the role of a leader and the state. A good leader is one who listens to the demands of "ordinary people" (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 37). He should be "brave and stout-hearted" (p. 86) as well as "far-sighted and intelligent" (p. 89). "He must be aware of every development" happening in his nation, and "he must pray to Allah" (p. 89). He should "assign important jobs to capable and experienced advisors" and punish crime in order to maintain "absolute legitimacy" (p. 90). As an example of leadership, *Rukhnama* replicated decrees issued in the mid-12th century by Soltan Sanjar of the Seljuk Empire to demonstrate how Turkic ancestors chose administrators and how they fulfilled their responsibilities.

Niyazov pointed out that he was the leader of Turkmenistan not by his own choosing, but by fate: "The burden of taking my people from the last years of the second millennium, in which things did not go well, to the summits of the third millennium fell onto my shoulders" (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 19). Ordinarily a

president would not write on "philosophical matters" (p. 69), but given the great change the country was going through, Niyazov found it necessary to take on greater responsibilities in order to create a new nation. In such situations, "the state must be a school conveying the rules of good manners and ethics for life" (p. 70). *Rukhnama* was his defining symbol, the way a "commander holds a weapon, [or] the poet holds a pen" (p. 20).

Turkmen State Building and the Development of National Pride

Niyazov stated that development of the nation was not a new concept to Turkmen: "There have been different periods when the various Turkmen tribes transformed into a unified nation and others when a unified Turkmen nation divided into tribes again. Thus, today it is necessary for us to embrace the idea of the new Turkmen nation" (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 156). He noted that all of Turkmen society should be "built to the same blueprint" and that the state had an important role in conveying the new structure to the people (p. 70).

To develop the Turkmen nation in this new era, individuals should be concerned with the development of national pride:

> The Turkmens, whose moral realm was a vacuum, whose links with their ancestors were severed, whose origin was forgotten during the Soviet era[,] should acquire national values once again. The basic feeling in the heart of the individual must be *the feeling of national pride*; the basic idea in the consciousness of the individual must be the idea of perceiving the world as a Turkmen national; the basic value in the morals of the individual must be Turkmen morals; his dignity must be national dignity; his spiritual belief should carry the characteristics of Turkmen belief. In short, the spiritual perspective of the individual must be shaped by national values. (Turkmenbashy, 2003, pp. 199–200)

The development of a national identity was crucial to Turkmenistan's success as a nation and was in opposition to the values that would destroy a nation such as "tribalism and racism" (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 200).

Along with love for one's homeland, Niyazov encouraged pride in the new nation based on achievements of past civilizations. Far from being ignorant and uneducated, the early Oguz people had developed an alphabet consisting of seven vowels and 18 consonants (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 97). Early settlements had wells, cisterns, and irrigation tunnels: "If the cities established by the Turkmens in the course of history had been preserved, they would fill all the landmass of the world" (p. 170). Other innovations included developing the first carriage, forging tools from iron, weaving fine silk cloth, breeding the Ahal Teke horse, weaving carpets, and inventing the wheel. According to Niyazov, "After the ruthless attacks [of] Chenghis Khan, … Turkmenistan was the most developed country in the world" (p. 55). He listed more modern developments as well: "As we are proud of the beautiful buildings and infrastructure being constructed in our homeland, we should succeed in seeing the 'beautiful buildings' being built in the inner world and

hearts of our people" (p. 156). *Rukhnama,* in fact, was an attempt to reclaim the history of the Turkmen. Niyazov attributed the reason why modern Turkmen may not know about the achievements of their ancestors to nomenclature: "When I read and examined the history books, I realized that the word 'Turkmen' has been replaced by the word 'Turk' for more than 50 years" (p. 206). This was not perceived as much of a roadblock as the fact that "the Oguz language is the Turkmen language. … Our religion, culture and lineage are identical [to that of the Seljuks, Ottomans, and Anatolian Turks]" (p. 206). Niyazov stated:

> We note and recall all these preceding states as a sign of our respect for them. We have revived the soul of our forefather, Oguz. All these states in our history are related to the state we have now established. In addition this state has three distinctive features that previous states could only wish for: National Independence, Permanent Neutrality and the *Rukhnama* of Turkmen. (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 235)

While this quotation could recall the trope of *translatio imperii*, more salient is the concept of a shared ancestor among all the Turkic peoples. Despite differing interpretations of the history of Central Asia, Niyazov believed that the Turkmen people, as the descendants of Oguz Khan, had much to be proud of.

Effects of the Soviet Era

In accordance with this shared Turkic history, a great number of pages in *Rukhnama* were devoted to brief accounts of medieval Turkic dynasties, notably the Seljuks, and their spread throughout the world from Turkey to India. Lists of leaders and their years of rule accompanied these descriptions. Notably absent were descriptions of more recent events affecting the Turkmen people, such as the Bolshevik Revolution and creation of the Soviet Union. Depictions of the Soviet period were overwhelmingly portrayed as wanting. Niyazov indicated that even as a young man he felt the people's "lack of trust in justice and their hopeless view of the future" (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 14). He described how during the 17th and 19th centuries, "some states diffused wicked propaganda in pursuit of their own national interests. They falsely represented the nation of Turkmens as pillagers and merciless slaughterers, and described them as a wild community who kill each other, living in tents, an ignorant, uneducated and nomadic nation" (p. 44). Less dramatically, Niyazov believed that histories written by Arabs or Iranians distorted the contributions that Turkmen, or Oguz, made to history, attributing them mistakenly to their own cultures. Even Turkmen scholars schooled during the Soviet era repeated these errors, not realizing the "evil intentions" of imperialist historians (p. 206). In a passage in the fourth section of *Rukhnama* entitled "My opinions concerning the foundation of independent and permanently neutral Turkmenistan," Niyazov was more explicit in describing what he believed were the effects of the Soviet period.

> Soviet domination worked to keep the Turkmens, who are the real owners of this land, backward rather than to make the country develop and progress. The Soviets did not only exploit the natural resources of Turkmen for their sake and the sake of others but also tried to annihilate completely the national and moral values of the Turkmens. (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 248)

This quotation harkens back to Niyazov's claims in other writings and speeches in which he declared that Turkmenistan in the 21st century would work to develop industry to complete the production cycle, which was not permitted during the time of the USSR. It also echoed a frequent claim of Niyazov's that the Soviets' explicit aim was to "destroy the Turkmen family" (p. 319).

Rukhnama described the effects of the Soviet period as cumulative.

> The remaining three million Turkmen citizens, in their homeland, mislaid their identities by saying that we were Soviet people. Not only that, they started to forget their language, religion, nation, national feelings and emotions. Inciting and provoking differences and conflicts between the tribes, polarization, diversity, and promotion of anarchy were the basic, systematic, methodical games our enemies played against us. (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 45)

Seventy years of "unjust treatment," the inability "to express our own opinions," and being "accused and belittled" led, essentially, to low self-esteem and criticism of traditional values (Turkmenbashy, 2003, pp. 259–260). In the five ages of Turkmen history described by Niyazov (see Table 1), the fourth age (17th to 20th centuries), which covered Russia's conquest of Central Asia and the period of the Soviet Union, was labeled as the weakest age. The *Rukhnama* characterized it by "idleness and waste," fraud, infidelity, the development of "internal conflicts," lack of "historical creativity," and the "weakening of historical memory" (p. 283).

Traditional Values and Ways of Life

Since the Turkmen people had forgotten their past ways of life, as seen in the tradition of Oguznamas or "epics of [the] Oguz [people]," *Rukhnama* attempted to define Turkmen customs for its readers, what would be considered *adat* or customary law. These behavioral proscriptions extended to the societal roles of men, women, and children and the role of religion in life.

The roles given to citizens extended to their appearance as well as their behavior. Turkmen people should "respect [their] elders [and] love [their] juniors," "wear clean and decent clothes," keep their house in good condition, and protect their neighborhoods (Turkmenbashy, 2003, pp. 11–12). Parents should provide a home and education for their children and help them to marry. Men, in particular, had a duty to set a good example for their children, particularly in demonstrating wisdom and patriotism. Women should wear modest clothes, but unlike other Muslim countries, keep their faces open even if they wear a headscarf.[vii] Mothers were seen as "giv[ing] shape to your intrinsic qualities" (p. 306).

Whereas in previous generations, these values might have been extended to duty to a clan or tribe, *Rukhnama* asked that respect for elders and love for one's parents serve as an example of respect for one's cultural ancestors, such as Oguz Khan, and love for the country and nation of Turkmenistan. Niyazov even stated: "Respect for the father is respect for the homeland" (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 309). Mothers, in addition to being metaphorical homelands, were seen as sacred, as their love teaches us how to love the homeland. Niyazov referred to both himself and the nation of Turkmenistan as orphans more than once in *Rukhnama*, even reusing the phrase, "captive without father and orphan without mother." He used the word "captive" to refer to "spiritual lack, insufficiency of spiritual patronage, and lack of spiritual ground" (p. 310). Just as one takes care of one's parents in old age ("It is not proper to pay the slightest respect to a person who does not take care of his parents" [p. 316]), one should take care of the homeland, especially after the death of parents: "Don't forget about your homeland. The homeland can continue to exist only because it is always remembered" (p. 328).

Turkmen Spiritual Development

Niyazov stated that although *Rukhnama* should have a significant place in Turkmen life, "God's book, the *Quran*, is sacred and cannot be replaced or compared to any other book" (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 21). Even so, Turkmen imams were asked to display *Rukhnama* alongside the *Quran* in mosques and faced removal if they refused. The Kipchak Mosque near Ashgabat, completed in 2004, has lines from the *Rukhnama*, and not the *Quran*, written on its minarets (Marshall, 2008).

Despite these sorts of examples, the role given to religion in the *Rukhnama* is relatively minor. Niyazov claimed that the Turkmen people had an understanding of *halal* and *haram* (lawful/permitted and unlawful/forbidden, respectively, under Islamic law) even before they accepted Islam (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 180). His descriptions of Turkmen religious thought referred to the belief in one God and expressed religious views in naturalistic terms.

> The Turkmens witness that Allah alone is great. The Turkmens have always held and defended the belief that Allah maintains all the climatic regions and geographical divisions of the whole world, the universe, and every corner of life; the Turkmen sees the signs of power of His disposal in every case in the universe; and he often mentions and praises Him and asks for tolerance. (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 56)

Niyazov believed that one of the Turkmen people's strengths was their ability to combine a variety of beliefs without compromising their identity:

> The nation has always based its behaviour on discipline in life. It has accepted Islam with its own interpretation. It managed to synthesize pre-Islamic beliefs and traditions with Islamic ones without deviating from the essence of Islamic principles. This strengthened the life of this

nation because in this way the Turkmen nation was able to protect its foundations. (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 173)

This sort of strength also lent itself to the development of a secular state, albeit one that restricted religious freedom in the name of suppressing extremism. Niyazov stated: "Nobody thought to transform [religion] into an instrument of political struggle and exploitation. For Turkmens religion has always been an instrument for strengthening personal belief and enhancing human qualities" (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 174).

What is significant in *Rukhnama*, and inherent in its very title (*rukh* = soul), is the importance of developing spiritually: "Our slogan is to lead a life which is spiritually high. There is no substitute for the pleasure of a high spiritual life" (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 289). Niyazov had numerous allegories for the soul, including "a bird placed by Allah in the cage called the body," a "noble flag," and "a part of Allah located in ourselves" (p. 295). One's soul is "noble" when "not losing determination and perseverance to live" or "losing whole heartedness and sincerity" (p. 299). For Niyazov, spiritual growth meant developing an attachment to the homeland and nation: "A man grows all the more enthusiastic spiritually when he feels the same as his fellow countrymen do" (p. 299). He related the idea of homeland as being like Allah—unique, perfect, and ideal:

> When man reaches the right level of maturity in his ideas and thoughts on soul and spirituality, he reaches His Creator, Allah, the idea of His Oneness and Uniqueness. By the same token, the individual both generalizes and personifies the values that are important to him and refers them through the concept of homeland. (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 300)

Such an understanding of one's homeland prevents one from becoming "spiritually debased" and translates into "an unbreakable belief in ethics, perseverance in working, and into benefits in motion" (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 300). This leads to a new definition of a Turkmen, that is, one who works to make Turkmenistan attain its "true level" (p. 16) and status in the world.

INFLUENCES ON NIYAZOV'S BRAND OF NATIONALISM

As mentioned above, Niyazov explicitly noted that *Rukhnama* was written in the style of an "Oguznama" (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 62). We are now in a position to consider this point in more detail. Technically, an "Oguznama" or book of the Oguz people could refer to any number of written collections of tales concerning the Oguz people. There are likely two works that Niyazov was referring to. One by Nurmuhammet Andalib, a contemporary of Makhtumkuli, is a narrative poem relating the history of the Turkmen people (Feldman, 1992).[viii] Niyazov's reference might also refer to *The Book of Dede Korkut* (Gorkut Ata in Turkmen), which he considered one of the "jewels of Turkmen literature" (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 184). Appearing in printed form in the 14th or 15th centuries, the book was a collection of epic stories in both verse and prose, which had been passed down

orally, a form known as *dessan* or *dastan* (Feldman, 1992). H. B. Paksoy (1989) defined the *dessan* as "the principal repository of ethnic identity, history, customs and the value systems of its owners and composers. … It commemorates … struggles for freedom" (p. 1). Fundamental to Niyazov's new definition of Turkmen identity was the idea that "Turkmens have yearned to become an indivisible nation for the last seven or eight centuries" (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 143); thus, he focused on Makhtumkuli, whose works call for the creation of a nation, as a national poet of Turkmenistan. Feldman (1992) indicated that Turkmen writers during the 18th century saw literature as a way to form a nation. Although they did not develop a national identity or form what would be understood as a modern "nation-state," they did have a "strong ethnic identity," spoke a distinct language, attempted to preserve Oguzic tradition, and had "religious cohesion" (p. 170). Feldman speculated that these elements "certainly could have developed into true nationalism under different historical circumstances" (p. 170).

The circumstances that prohibited the Turkmen tribes from developing into a nation were, of course, fighting among tribes and subjection under Persian, Russian, and Soviet rule. As has earlier been noted, Niyazov deliberately downplayed the Soviet Union's role in the development of Turkmen nationhood, yet his arguments for the legitimacy of Turkmenistan as a state relied heavily on both traditional tribal practices and concepts introduced by the Soviets. Edgar (2004) in *Tribal Nation* stated: "The notion that political and ethnic boundaries should coincide is a relatively recent idea, linked to the political mobilization of the masses and, some maintain, to the needs of modern capitalism" (p. 3). Niyazov's claim that the Turkmen people are descended from Oguz Khan was not a new but a traditional belief: "Although Turkmen identity had few concrete political or economic manifestations in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, the idea that the tribes shared a glorious ancestry and history—and the hope that they might one day unite—had long been a staple of Turkmen discourse" (p. 7). As the Soviets conducted research into the peoples within the Union, they delineated national identity on the basis of "language, territory, and certain acceptable folkloric practices," a definition that clashed with traditional "customs surrounding kinship, marriage and family life [considered] to be essential expressions of Turkmen identity" (p. 14). *Rukhnama*, however, combined all of these elements as the explicit definition of a nation: "The nation is the unity of language, religion, customs and tradition, ideals and state" (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 248).

Niyazov, in fact, described language as one of the benefits of an independent country: "Independence has brought freedom not only for the Turkmen nation, but also for the Turkmen language" (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 172). Language preservation will provide "continuity and [prolong] the life of the nation" (p. 172). He noted that during the time of the Soviet Union, attempts were made "to insert needless foreign words into our language," but independence had allowed the Turkmen people to "rescue" their language from "artificiality and narrow-mindedness" (p. 172).

Denison (2009) noted that in order to support Turkmenistan's claim to Oguz Khan as a forbearer, "crucially, the land that Oghuz ruled is situated, according to

Niyazov, almost co-terminously with the boundaries of the modern state of Turk-menistan, thereby materialising the organic, primordial, and mystical connection between land and people" (p. 1176). This was despite the fact that the historical record found that Turkmen tribes did not migrate into the lands of modern Turk-menistan until the 17th century. But cultural, if not historical, claim to the land allowed Niyazov to cite the achievements of all those who had resided in what were now the current boundaries of modern Turkmenistan, such as the use of a wheeled cart for which there is evidence in Southern Turkmenistan from the late fourth or early third century BC (Kirtcho, 2009). In *Rukhnama*, Niyazov stressed the very boundaries of the modern nation and all physical elements within as a source of strength for the Turkmen people:

> *State is the unity of ideas and values; homeland is the unity of feeling and values of the heart.* When I look at the map of Turkmenistan, the shape resembling a strong bull goring the Caspian Sea comes to life before my eyes … from the Caspian to the mountains of Serhatabat, from the fertile lands of Hojambaz to the vast plains and mountains of Dashoguz Aybowru. (Turk-menbashy, 2003, p. 238)

By linking the modern Turkmen people to a single folkloric Turkic forbearer, Niyazov was able to lay claim to all of the achievements of others who profess a similar ancestry, most notably the Seljuk and Ottoman empires. Edgar (2004) found genealogy as a "structuring principle of Turkmen society," but noted that it was a concept that was quite malleable, "reflect[ing] current political and social relationships as much as … biological kinship" (p. 25). Cultural ancestry, identification as a Muslim, and leading a life in accordance with *adat*, or customary law, were the elements that defined one as a "true Turkmen" (Edgar, 2004, p. 26). It was these elements, along with language, that Niyazov considered to be an integral part of the inheritance of the "noble spirit" of the ancestors that helped to define the modern Turkmen national character (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 279).

Niyazov defined the 17th through the 20th centuries, a time covering British and Russian conquests and the development of the Soviet Union, as a time of "dis-unity" and implied that unified tribes were driven to internal conflicts. Edgar (2004) was quick to note that "Moscow did not divide a unified region, but merely institutionalized and deepened divisions that already existed" (p. 47). Her summary of descriptions by 19th-century Europeans who encountered Turkmen tribes is quite elucidatory.

> Clad in high wool hats and mounted on Ahal-Teke horses noted for their speed and stamina, the Turkmen were infamous for their slave raids on settled villages. Stateless themselves, they were continually at war with neighboring states. As tenaciously as they fought against outsiders, the Turk-men were said to oppose one another with equal fervor. The Turkmen population was divided into a number of tribes, each of which possessed an intense pride in its own ancestry and considered its own members to be the only "true Turkmen." (Edgar, 2004, p. 17)

Edgar (2004) argued that, far from being a merely destructive force on Turkmen nationhood, Soviet policies actually introduced the concept of nationhood to the Turkmen. Soviets saw nationhood as a necessary stage of development from a more "primitive" existence to a nationless "united humanity," and used native elites to help develop "national territories" with their own languages and cultural autonomy (p. 44). The styles of traditional Turkmen tribal decision-making actually blended well with Soviet styles of governance, perhaps easing the transition. Tribes often relied on the decisions of village councils, in which, once a decision had been made,

> any dissenting members were expected to fall completely in line. … The emphasis on univocality in political decision making was therefore relatively compatible with the *pro forma* voting procedures of the Soviet period. This made the re-traditionalisation of post-independence Turkmen political institutions more acceptable, notably in the designation of Niyazov as *Serdar* [leader] and the creation of the *Khalk Maslahaty* (People's Council), a fusion of legislature, executive and judiciary that functions as the country's supreme representative body but, in practice, has proven to be politically compliant. (Denison, 2009, p. 1175)

Niyazov's use of both Soviet nation-building arguments as well as traditional tribal beliefs to bolster and structure the idea of an independent state in *Rukhnama* perhaps unwittingly confirms the validity of Soviet influences on Turkmen nationhood.

The Soviets were not the only influencing factor on Niyazov's nationalizing policies. Denison (2009) wrote, "The telling of history in *Rukhnama* fuses the construction of the national meta-narrative with Niyazov's own persona" (pp. 1173–1174). This is obvious without even opening the book: the author of *Rukhnama* is shown as Saparmyrat Turkmenbashy, the title that President Saparmyrat Niyazov assumed in 1993. Niyazov visited Turkey in December 1991, and there are clear signs that Niyazov attempted to draw parallels between his leadership and that of Mustapha Kemal's, also known as Ataturk, "Father of the Turks," as he attempted to modernize Turkey.

Having recently succeeded in gaining independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1922, Kemal, commander-in-chief of the Nationalist Army and first president of Turkey, sought to modernize and westernize his country (Eskicumali, 1994). He saw education as the best way "to break down previous loyalties to the Ottoman Empire, Sultan-Caliphate, and Islam and establish strong attachments to the new Turkish state, Kemalist ideology, and Ataturk himself" (Eskicumali, 1994, p. 22). Kemal's government also established new state emblems and holidays, changed the alphabet from an Arabic to a Latin script, centralized the education system, and introduced a new curriculum (Eskicumali, 1994).

In 1927, Kemal gave an address, *Nutuk* (speech), part of which is also known as a "Message to Youth." *Nutuk* describes the life of a "new individual" who aims to bring his country to its greatest heights (Adak, 2003, p. 514). The speech ends by entrusting the country to the Turkish youth who must "preserve and defend the

National Independence, the Turkish Republic" since "the strength that [they] will need for this is mighty in the noble blood which flows in [their] veins" (Kemal, 1997, pp. 723–724).

Excepting the "Message to Youth," which became a creed of a nation and is displayed in nearly every school in Turkey (Eskicumali, 1994, p. 2006), *Nutuk* was not as pervasive in Turkish society as *Rukhnama* was in Turkmenistan, partially due to its length—the speech took 36 hours to deliver. In addition, advances in technology allowed *Rukhnama* to be printed widely, read on television programs, and posted on the Internet. Adak (2003) noted, however, that after *Nutuk's* delivery, all other versions of the writing of the history of the time period were suppressed, so that "*Nutuk* monopolized the writing of the history of the Independence Struggle of Turkey as well as the establishment of the Turkish Republic" (p. 510). Educational reforms of the period ensured that "the history of Turkey and Turkish race became the central focus of history courses at all levels of education" (Eskicumali, 1994, p. 35). The speech is now considered in Turkey to be a "sacred text" of the Republic (Adak, 2003, p. 512).

These two documents, both written by charismatic leaders in countries that had recently achieved independence, skillfully crafted history to highlight the importance of their own roles in gaining independence. Kemal reprised communiqués and treaties in *Nutuk* as if to prove the historical nature of the events and to emphasize his role as instigator and author. Niyazov inserted genealogical diagrams into the text of *Rukhnama* to demonstrate the validity of his claims to the historical lineage of the Turkmen people. Both leaders displayed themselves in their works as tireless representatives who sought to improve their nations' positions in the world—in Kemal's case through a Western outlook, and in Niyazov's through a revival of traditional values. Both works portrayed history in a way that served to encourage people to define themselves differently. The people Kemal addressed thought of themselves as Ottoman Muslims, not as Turks; *Nutuk* encouraged citizens to redefine themselves as citizens of the Turkish Republic. Likewise, *Rukhnama* reflected on tribal histories and spiritual stories "to create a shared Turkmen culture" (Kuru, 2002, p. 73) with which Turkmen from all tribes could identify.

Comparing the development of modern Turkey to Turkmenistan is, nonetheless, valid only to a point. As Denison (2009) pointed out, whereas "Atatürk symbolises a certain abstract developmental path of secular modernisation and national unity," in Turkmenistan the cult associated with Turkmenbashy "has been really rather indissoluble from Niyazov's own predilections and idiosyncrasies—and as a consequence, really only came to stand for little more than Niyazov himself" (p. 1175). Examining the development of Kemal's ideology and his legacy, however, allows for speculation about the future of *Rukhnama* and Niyazov's legacy. *Rukhnama* has succeeded in validating the culture and traditions of ethnic Turkmen. This is a very important aspect of *Rukhnama*, but is it enough to mitigate the negative effects of Turkmenistan's restrictive and isolating internal and foreign policies?

CONCLUSION

An introductory study such as this one invites much further research, both political and poetic. *Rukhnama* is one of few 21st-century books available in the Turkmen language. How do its prose style and vocabulary compare to older literary forms, contemporary spoken language, or educational textbooks? Due to issues of access, there is little documentation of the changes the education system and curriculum have undergone since the breakup of the Soviet Union. How have teachers and other citizens reacted to the introduction of *Rukhnama* in educational settings? The Human Rights Watch (2007) indicated that current president Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedov's rule closely resembles that of Niyazov, especially in terms of the situation of human rights and freedom of expression. Will Berdimuhamedov's presidency continue to resemble Niyazov's authoritarian rule or expand in new directions? This study shows that Niyazov was influenced by both Turkic tribal traditions and Soviet structures: will Berdimuhamedov continue to refer to these traditions or will new narratives be developed that relate to current emerging political relationships, such as with China?

Niyazov's *Rukhnama* recalled Turkmen tribal history as the Oguz people, described the story of Turkmenistan's independence from the Soviet Union, instituted values and behaviors for the Turkmen people, (re)created heroes to guide the new Turkmen nation, and attempted to develop self-knowledge and pride in order to replace the concept of tribal identity with the idea of a unified Turkmenistan. Niyazov relied on pre-Soviet conceptions of what it meant to be a Turkmen: tracing the people's descent from tribal progenitor Oguz Khan, following a Turkmen way of life, and belief in Allah, as well as using the concepts introduced during the Soviet era to delineate the borders of republics on the basis of language and inhabited territory. Inspired, in part, by Mustafa Kemal in Turkey, Niyazov enacted new reforms to manipulate the telling of history to redefine citizens' alliances from previous tribal and political groups to that of the new state. *Rukhnama* thus become the link connecting the Turkmen tribes to their future as the Turkmen nation, and, as Niyazov would see it, an essential part of the definition of what it means to be a Turkmen.

Rukhnama is notable for what it says about Niyazov. Niyazov did, in fact, compare himself to the fledgling nation: a "captive without father and orphan without mother" (Turkmenbashy, 2003, p. 150). He urged the Turkmen people to live orderly, modest lives, because, he insinuated, their actions could affect Turkmenistan's reputation on a world stage. What *Rukhnama* and other writings most reflect are Niyazov's own desires for order in a chaotic, changing world, belonging to a larger family, and respect from others for both present achievements and a rich past.

While *Rukhnama* has been used in school and university curricula, mosques, and public life to indoctrinate, rather than to merely inform citizens of their history, culture, and country, it is helpful to step back and take *Rukhnama* at face value. Niyazov indicated that the book was not meant to serve as a historical or a religious text; instead, it is an *Oguznama*, written in the style of oral epics of the past. Like

other *dessans*, it uses poetry, folktale, and homilies to relate the history, customs, and struggles of a people. It is likely this aspect of *Rukhnama* that will endure long after the authoritarian rules of Saparmyrat Niyazov and Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedov have faded to distant memory.

NOTES

[i] I served as a Peace Corps volunteer in Turkmenistan from 2003 to 2005.

[ii] The text used for this study was the English language translation of *Rukhnama* published in 2003.

[iii] To maintain continuity throughout this paper, I use the Turkmen *Oguz*, instead of the more Western transliteration of *Oghuz*. I have attempted to use Turkmen names as they are transliterated in the English language version of the *Rukhnama* or as they appear on Turkmen government English language websites.

[iv] Niyazov's constitutionally appointed successor, Ovezgeldy Ataev, was immediately arrested upon news of Niyazov's death (Human Rights Watch, 2007).

[v] The statue was erected a year later on top of a new monument to neutrality on the outskirts of the city and apparently no longer rotates (Fitzpatrick, 2011).

[vi] Ahal Teke is the tribe dominant in the Ahal Region of Turkmenistan, where the capital of Ashgabat is located. Saparmyrat Niyazov also came from this tribe.

[vii] In Turkmenistan, wearing a headscarf is more often a cultural indicator of a woman's marital status than a statement of religious belief. The tradition of *yashmak,* in which a bride covers her mouth with her headscarf and does not speak in the presence of her in-laws is still practiced to varying degrees.

[viii] A collection of Andalib's poems will be published in 2011 in multiple languages spoken by those of Oguz descent (Russian, Uzbek, Azerbaijani, Turkish, and Persian) in honor of the 350th anniversary of his birth (Turkmenistan.ru, 2010).

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6. PEDAGOGIES OF SPACE

(Re)Mapping National Territories, Borders, and Identities
in Post-Soviet Textbooks

Nagorno-Karabakh is caught in a terse tug-of-war between Armenia and Azerbaijan. South Ossetia, also in the south Caucasus, is a fuse for conflict between Georgia and Russia. Transdniester, on the eastern border of Moldova, likewise remains an unrecognized breakaway state. Clearly, battles over borders and disputes about space—who *it belongs to* and who *belongs to it*—continue to rage in the vast territory of the former Soviet Union. Since the collapse of the socialist bloc in 1991¸ a host of new states have asserted manifold, sometimes explosive, claims to *their* territory, *their* home. Such claims have been central to geopolitical disputes and scholarly research. Yet, lost in these debates are the more symbolic ways in which space, place, and territory are imbued with meaning and made central to the consciousness of peoples throughout the vast geography of the former Soviet Union (Paasi, 1995). As David Hooson (1994a) wrote, understanding the social geography of the former Soviet region requires much more than reorienting ourselves to physical maps:

> We are required to redraw our mental maps of this enormous slice of earth's surface, and this means rediscovering the regions which have a profound meaning for the peoples who have inhabited them—often for a very long time—and whose significance is expressed in a strong sense of identity.
> (p. 134)

Bridging political geography and comparative education to examine nation-building processes in the post-Soviet region, we argue that the *social and cultural construction of space* is equally if not more salient for the identity-scapes of peoples from Vilnius to Vladivostok than the so-called "real" contests of border markings and land-grabs. Bonding people and places, nation-building processes go beyond the (re)mapping of the physical space in mere political terms, involving the discursive construction of these particular units of space (states or territories) as perfectly coinciding with social, cultural, and ethnic units (nations), thereby producing the idealized sociopolitical alchemy of our time—the nation-state. The shape, texture, and boundaries composing this most troublesome of hyphenated amalgams is constituted through a continuous (and continuously tenuous) network of cultural discourses (Bhaba, 1990), a collective "sociospatial consciousness" at

once socializing allegiance to particular spatial units, and recursively, imbuing space itself with social and cultural character (Duchachek, 1970; Newman & Paasi, 1998; Paasi, 1995).

For those states emerging from the collapse of the Soviet Union, a claim to and an association with a particular *national* territory has served as both a significant *context,* a source from which to gather identity- and nation-building material, and an important *text,* a surface onto which new identities can be mapped. Hardly the sole domain of the political sphere, mutually reinforcing discourses intersecting geography, social identity, and nationhood are the product of a web of conduits: the popular press, folklore, religious institutions, and, of course, the educational system. Education is a primary institutional circuit through which predominant social and cultural constructions of nation(hood)—including discourses about space—can be disseminated and maintained (Gellner, 2006). As Newman and Paasi (1998) explained, educational narratives found in school texts, including school textbooks, atlases, poems, paintings, and posters, tend to make space incontestable inasmuch as they provide an authoritative "reading" of social norms, values, and symbols attached to it.

Focusing on the role of educational texts, narratives, and discourses in post-Soviet nation-building processes, this chapter examines articulations of the national "sociospatial consciousness"—what Newman and Paasi (1998) have called the "pedagogy of space"—embedded in early literacy textbooks of three formerly Soviet territories. We extend Newman and Paasi's (1998) theoretical framework in terms of disciplinary focus by bridging political geography and comparative education. We also build on it conceptually by considering educational texts as embodying, and embedded in, *plural* "pedagogies" of space. More specifically, we analyze how the seemingly innocuous early grade textbooks of post-Soviet Armenia, Latvia, and Ukraine engage in the "spatial socialization" of their young readers via the intersection of multiple, interrelated discourses. A critical discourse analysis of school textbooks serves as a window to understanding both the particular sociospatial meanings that permeate various national spaces populating this complicated region and how they become articulated in education materials.

TEACHING GEOGRAPHIES, (RE)MAPPING IDENTITIES: THEORIZING SPACE AND SOCIETY

> Contemporary societies require constant mappings and re-mappings because of the intensity of change and speed of current social transformations. (Kellner, 1995, p. 26)

National identity is a composite of any number of shared traits or cultural practices, not the least of which is shared space—a territory, a national home. Like language or religion, space too can be experienced, conceived, or employed as a cultural, discursive practice. Territories of any scale, like the identities that consolidate within them, are neither objective entities nor eternal: They are historical and cultural constructions in both their physical materiality and their sociocultural meanings, emerging from an amalgam of social and institutional practices (Paasi,

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1995). To a large extent, the existence of societies, cultures, and, most specifically, *nations* as distinct and discrete has been contingent upon the seemingly unproblematic division of space into discontinuous units, separate territories conceived as the "homes" of certain peoples but not others (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). In the contemporary world, the nation-state continues to be the dominant socially, culturally, and politically constructed territorial frame from which people anchor and derive their identity—perhaps the most prominent creation of modernity that (still) cannot be "escaped" (Paasi, 1996a, p. 39).

From the outset, Soviet doctrine put forth a "science" (perhaps more of an ideology) of nationality. This science clearly demarcated peoples by their (perceived) discrete ethnic and, especially, linguistic characteristics, a project that simplified the complex intersections of ethnic, social, and linguistic characteristics embodied in individuals in favor of a relatively small number of discrete "peoples," or nations. Through ideological and real administrative and institutional processes alike, these Soviet-defined nations were also conveniently sequestered into their own physical spaces—territories drawn on maps, ostensibly representing homogeneous ethnorepublics. With the making of such federal units, and accompanying early Soviet policies of nativization [*korenizatsiia*],[i] native languages and cultures flourished and became institutionalized, gradually consolidating around more cohesive national forms (Brubaker, 1996). As Smith, Law, Wilson, Bohr, and Allworth (1998) explained, the institutionalization of ethnorepublics made "nationality divisions … an integral part and reference point of native and public life and an organizational basis for reinforcing a new sense of local national identities" (p. 6). In short, the Soviet practice of fixing ethnolinguistic groups, whether they really represented a singular group or not, to particular physical and institutional/administrative divisions created nations where there were not. This is particularly the case with the Central Asian states (Brubaker, 1996; Suny, 1995).

With such an ideological and institutional architecture, it was hardly surprising that the new states emerging after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 coincided almost exactly with the geographical contours of what were once Soviet (ethno) Republics. Both the discursive/symbolic conceit (that of one people) and the *geo*political framework (that of a single republic) were already there; they needed only to be transformed into contemporary nation-states. Although such a convenient conflation of ethnos, lingos, and identity to a particular geographic area hardly reflected the reality of the multifaceted identities of people living throughout this massive geopolitical space, it nevertheless came to be understood by many residing in those spaces as the altogether "natural" state of affairs. Or, rather, various conduits of national discourse, not always overt nationalism, have bolstered and disseminated this particular construction (Kertzer & Arel, 2002). Indeed, perhaps reflecting a certain national *insecurity,* more so than confidence, 20 plus years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, demarcations of the nation into territory, ideally coinciding with the boundaries of the state, remain prominent in the nationally circulated discourses from Latvia to Armenia, from Uzbekistan to Ukraine (Hooson, 1994b; Paasi, 1995; Smith et al., 1998). In this study, we explore

how educational narratives contribute to post-Soviet spatial socialization, especially in the vernacular of the nation-state or the national "homeland."

PEDAGOGIES OF SPACE

Newman and Paasi's (1998) "pedagogy of space" offers a theoretical lens through which we may examine how politics and culture shape representations of the spatial, thus "teaching" individuals how to think about and value space in particular units and in particular ways. Newman and Paasi (1998) conceived the "pedagogy of space" as the process through which institutional "discursive landscapes of power" infuse the national space—whether understood as the country's borders or its geographic landscape—with certain cultural, social, and national meanings (p. 196). Here, an emphasis on discursive power is important; it is precisely the concept of discourse as power that we may most readily associate with the term *pedagogy*. Far from a merely objective, value-free field of discourse, school pedagogy is bound to the political, social, and cultural order, embedded in and establishing fields of power. Similar to Popkewitz's (2010) more general articulation of the notion of "pedagogy," we may consider educational pedagogies of space as political as well, working to fashion thought about the spatial: about what it is and should be, and "about what is cast out and excluded from these normalized spaces" (p. 16). From our vantage, therefore, undertaking a critical exploration of the "pedagogy of space" means adopting the perspective that:

> Every geography, whether assumed or explicitly elaborated as such, every mapping, picturing, visualization, landscaping, theorization, and metaphorization of space becomes rereadable in this sense not just for what it includes, but also for what it overwrites and covers up in the moment of representing spatially the always already unfinished historical-geographical processes and power relations of spatial production. (Sparke, 2005, p. xvi)

Acknowledging the importance of critical geography to comparative education research, we propose to expand Newman and Paasi's (1998) conceptual framework by arguing that there is not merely *one* pedagogy of space, but rather multiple *pedagogies*—sometimes complementary, sometimes contradictory, but always plural and open to contestation. Never finalized and fixed, these pedagogies are constantly shifting and subject to change. It is therefore important to critically examine the role of these pedagogies in making what is space (the state) simultaneously a social, cultural, and political field—that is, the *nation*-state. Given the enduring primacy of the nation-state as the *sine qua non* of sociopolitical/spatial hybrids, the concept of *pedagogies of space* is thus critical in understanding and unpacking those multiple discourses with which national education systems participate in (re)imagining the national space, and concomitantly, (re)fashioning it in accordance with nation-building ideals.

To capture the complexity of these pedagogies of space and the multiplicity of sociospatial discourses that they contain, it is important to identify some of the primary ways space and divisions of space may be conceptualized and ultimately

articulated in text, whether written or visual. In our investigation of the pedagogies of space, we chose to explore how the nation(al) space is conceptualized in three closely interdependent forms: (i) the *national landscape*, or the interior, natural/ geologic character of the national space; (ii) *boundaries/borders*, the established, contested, or desired cartographic/political limits of the national space; and (iii) the mythology of the *homeland*, in which the state-political space is effectively conflated with the nation itself. While these understandings of space may not be exhaustive, we argue that they constitute key conceptual anchors, which are interwoven in complex ways to (re)produce particular understandings of space as a social, cultural, and political field.

First, descriptions of landscape—what a national space looks like *inside* its established or contested borders and how people go about their daily lives within that space—contain powerful symbolic links to a group's territorial identity. As Meinig (1979) explained, "Every mature nation has its symbolic landscapes," which are part of "the iconography of nationhood, part of the shared set of ideas and memories and feelings which bind a people together" (p. 164). Landscape images reveal the way people see themselves through their imagined relationship with nature and how various groups shape and organize their social and cultural life on a daily basis. They also tell us about the values people attach to these everyday activities and the collective memories people create about their perceived national homes. Seemingly innocent descriptions and illustrations of geological structures (such as mountains, rivers, and natural resources), biodiversity, as well as the everyday activities of human beings in their local environments (such as agriultural work or city living) may confer a sense of identity and evoke a feeling of belonging to a specific group. Containing cultural myths and symbols, landscapes are, at once, "geographies of the mind" (Knight, 1982, p. 517) and "autobiographies" of groups of people, reflecting their particular (national) values, aspirations, and even fears in tangible, visible form (Lewis, 1979, p. 11). As Schein (1997) suggested, landscapes function as a part of Bourdieu's (1977) *habitus*: "history turned into nature through an amnesia of genesis" (p. 663). Imbuing territories with identities and vice versa, landscapes document human history by capturing the significance of geographical space in the collective memory of people.

Implicit in the educational narratives of national landscapes is the idea of borders and boundaries, which constitutes the second major theme in our conceptual framework. Identifying where (and why and how) a national space comes to an end, definitions of its boundaries remind us that there is always an *outside*, something which is beyond the real and/or perceived limits of a particular national space. And so whether it be the cartographic, legal inscriptions that define a state's political boundaries, or the more elusive, imagined boundaries that may delimit a certain cultural sphere (e.g., the popular notion that Latvia and Ukraine represent the "borderlands" of [Eastern] Europe), discursive articulations of border zones are inherent in any claims of a particular *interior* national space. As Newman and Paasi (1998) observed, borders are not necessarily static categories located between the states, but rather "social, political, and discursive constructs," which have deep symbolic, cultural, historical, and religious meanings for social

communities (p. 187). Whether real or imagined, borders tell us about how people locate themselves within national landscapes in relation to others, revealing powerful images of "us" and "other," "inside" and "outside," as well as "native" and "foreign." While separating communities from each other, borders also tell us about how different social groups mediate contacts between each other, revealing historical struggles and symbolic links between communities.

Combined, discourses of national landscapes and boundaries are constituent facets of the old and powerful myth of the *homeland*—an "irrevocable association between a people and a particular territory, a rightful possession from one's forefathers through the generations" that has always been and will always be (Wilson, 1998, p. 36). This particular metaphysical concept has long been central to nation-building projects and, as Paasi (1995) explained, has a dual function with respect to its articulation of space. On the one hand, the national sentiment looks outward, dividing one nation from another, as reflected in the concept of borders and boundaries. At the same time, the nation looks *inward*, unifying people's allegiance to a particular constituent space that is at once geographic and cultural as reflected in the concept of landscapes. By incorporating educational narratives about landscapes and their limits, the idea of "homeland" serves as the "receptacle of a collectively shared consciousness" and is ultimately "venerated and honored above all the other symbols in the nationalist hierarchy as the symbol *par excellence* of collective identity and national identification" (Nogue & Vicente, 2004, p. 119).

Taken together, these multilayered, interdependent, and constantly evolving discourses of landscape, borders, and homelands contribute to the sociospatial socialization of children, bonding sociocultural identities to specific (national) geographies. And it is these discursive constructions that we explore within the children's textbooks of Armenia, Latvia, and Ukraine.

MAPPING PEDAGOGIES IN POST-SOVIET TEXTBOOKS:
RESEARCH APPROACH

Despite growing arguments that textbooks worldwide increasingly emphasize universal, postnational identities (see Meyer, Bromley, & Ramirez, 2010), much previous research on national identities in the school textbooks of various post-Soviet republics has found a resilient emphasis on essentialized ethnocultural and/or linguistic-based conceptions of who belongs in the nation and who does not (see, for example, Beresniova, 2011, on Lithuania; Gross, 2010, on Poland; Is-mailova, 2004, on Kyrgyzstan; Michaels & Stevick, 2009, on Slovakia and Estonia; and Zajda, 2007, on Russia). Likewise, textbook studies of the three former Soviet countries included in this study hardly deviate from this tendency. A wealth of scholarship on Ukrainian textbooks illustrates a strong emphasis on primordial historical roots (Popson, 2001), language as a constituent marker of identity (Janmaat, 2004, 2005), and portrayals of Russians as a clearly differen-tiated "other" (Janmaat, 2007). The nation, thus conceived, is predominantly premised on ethnocultural conceptions of national identity rather than de-

ethnicized civic/legal or universal constructs. While work on identity in the textbooks of Armenia and Latvia is relatively less robust, the few examples that are available uphold similar ethnocultural identity constructs (Krupnikova, 2004, and Silova, 1996, on Latvia; Palandjian, 2013, on Armenia).

To examine "the pedagogies of space" in the post-Soviet literacy primers of Armenia, Latvia, and Ukraine, we took a critical discourse analysis approach (see Fairclough, 1995; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Constituting deliberately produced acts of language—whether policy documents, syllabi, teachers' lectures, or, in our case, textbooks—educational *discourses* present a form of social practice, working as a mutually constitutive, recursive strategy with respect to power. As Laclau (1980) explained, discourses are at once constrained by the epistemological norms of power and contribute to its maintenance. Closely linked to socially embedded networks of power, discursive practices influence how people construct, perceive, and interpret the world, but they do so in accordance with the dominant social group's epistemological framework of what counts as normal or good. As competing networks of power struggle to advance their own discursive visions of truth, this cyclical nature of knowledge/power production may be disrupted, transformed, or broken. But within fields such as education, and with textbooks in particular, discourses tend to cleave quite closely to hegemonic narratives (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Venezky, 1992).

The discursive construction of geography and how it relates to national identity have not generally been primary subjects of textbook analyses. Previous research has focused predominantly on history or social studies textbooks in middle to upper grades (see, for example, Schissler & Soysal, 2005). In this study, we wish to expand the focus on type and grade level of textbook analysis by including examples of school textbooks written in content areas outside of civics or history and also for those lower grades where, ostensibly, political and social acculturation processes are commonly considered less palpable and overt.

Composing a miscellany of various short texts and colorful, playful illustrations meant for young children, the literacy primer so common throughout the former Soviet Union (*bukvar* or *azbuka* in Russian/Ukrainian, *ābece* in Latvian, and *aybenaran* in Armenia) is a text that does not readily resonate with the typical image of "textbook." As a result, it is perhaps all too easy to disregard this particular genre of textbooks from research concerned with political and national socialization. Though this may be true for the strictest, most literal understanding of what constitutes a "history" or "civics" or "geography" textbook, close readings of literacy primers indicate that they contain an abundance of subtle, embedded "lessons" for children on issues of political, social, and national socialization (see Filippova, 2009; Mead Yaqub, 2014; Palandjian, 2013). Like most school textbooks (see Apple, 1991; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991), literacy primers contribute to the construction of "official knowledge," including a shared system of beliefs and values that help create a "national culture." Since young readers are, arguably, particularly impressionable, literacy primers are all the more influential and therefore important to analyze in terms of identity construction.

Focusing on these seemingly apolitical texts, our research examined how the early grade literacy textbooks published in Armenia, Latvia, and Ukraine *discursively construct the geographic space of their respective nation-states*, imbuing each national space with the meanings that embody or are embodied in national or cultural identities, thus generating or perhaps reinforcing a certain sociospatial consciousness. Spanning from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea, and from the "boundaries" of Europe to the "boundaries" of the Near/Middle East, the space between, and occupied by, each of the three countries considered here—Armenia in the Caucasus, Latvia in the Baltics, and Ukraine in Eastern Europe/Eurasia—is expansive and diverse. Each country's geographical position and features are unique and endowed with unique national symbolism. But there are also important similarities between the three, not the least of which is their former positions at different marginal zones of the Soviet Union. Studying the social and cultural construction of space in educational narratives of these countries offers a rich comparison, rife with interesting contrasts and similarities.

Sample and Research Questions

In most post-Soviet countries, including Armenia, Latvia, and Ukraine, Ministries of Education endorse only a small set of publications for use in the national school system. Similar to other post-Soviet states, the market for textbook publishing in Armenia, Latvia, and Ukraine is small, the competition fought by only a handful of scholastic publishers in each country (Kovac & Sebart, 2004; Kazimzade, 2008). For the purposes of our study, convenience sampling was used to obtain a number of literacy primers from Armenia (3 books), Latvia (13), and Ukraine (8) (see table at the end of the chapter listing textbooks analyzed in each country). The textbooks considered here were approved for use in state schools by their respective Ministries of Education, and all were published in the post-Soviet period (1991–present). Most were published in the last decade.

Through critical discourse analysis of the literacy primers, we specifically focused on those texts and images that portrayed, whether implicitly or explicitly, the national "space" in terms of three interconnecting concepts—landscapes, boundaries, and homeland—using the following guiding questions:

- *Landscapes:* What does each national space look like inside? That is, how do the textbooks predominantly portray the landscape or natural features of Armenia or Latvia or Ukraine? Do such descriptions resonate with or inform the national iconography and narrative of the nation, and what do the books have to say about this? What do texts have to say about the identities and lives of the people who occupy this space?
- *Borders zones and boundaries:* Where does the national space come to an end, and how is this communicated, if at all? That is, how do the books portray the limits or boundaries of the nation-state? What is said or not said about what is outside these boundaries?
- *Homeland:* Last but not least, we are concerned with identifying the narratives of "homeland" in the books: discursive constructions in which Armenians,

Latvians, or Ukrainians, conceived as homogeneous peoples, are tied to a particular territory perceived as organically, primordially "theirs." To what extent, if at all, does this conceptualization serve here as the supreme and over-arching pedagogy of space within the books? How is this notion put forth?

Each of the three authors was responsible for one of the country-specific sample of books (Silova for the Latvian texts, Mead Yaqub for the Ukrainian, and Palandjian for the Armenian). Rather than constructing a coding schema to identify specific words or phrases, imagery, and topics, this purposefully broad, question-based interpretive framework allowed us to pursue a detailed qualitative analysis of the messages and ideas through critical discourse analysis, making inferences into what the books wish to communicate to their readers and how such readers are meant to interpret and experience the texts. We began our analysis by independently analyzing textbooks published in each country included in the sample. During and after the stage of independent analysis, we met frequently to share our findings, corroborate our interpretations, and identify commonly recurring (as well as diverging) discourses—the pedagogies of space—occurring within and across each of the subsamples.

In the analysis that follows, we present and discuss these discourses, identifying themes that were similar across the datasets of all three countries as well as exploring themes that were observed within only two or one of the countries. At times, our analysis opens space for close readings of text (whether visual or verbal) that appears particularly emblematic of a recurring discourse. Throughout the paper, textbooks are cited by country of publication (Armenia, Latvia, or Ukraine) and a number corresponding to their date of publication within that country, from earliest to latest (see the table at the end of the chapter for complete publication information). Samples of any texts quoted are translated into English. We have attempted to render translations as literally as possible so as to avoid liberally adding external meaning to the texts. Finally, although the visual imagery of this particular genre of children's books is a powerful and prominent part of their presentation and of our analysis, we have chosen to include only a small number of representative images due to limitations of space. In lieu of including more images, we provide description in prose.

LEARNING TO READ THE NATIONAL SPACE:
ON LANDSCAPES, LIMITS, AND LOVE FOR THE HOMELAND

In the following analysis we explore the pedagogies of space written and drawn into the pages of each country's literacy primers, tracing how discursive constructions of the national geography influence, and are influenced by, narratives of national identity. Beginning with a discussion of the narratives and imagery describing the countries' interior space or landscape, we then move to their discourse on the limits of this landscape or national borders, identifying how the books conceptualize what is *outside* the nation(-state). Finally, we end with a discussion of the texts' overarching pedagogy of the "homeland"—the linking of particular "people" or a nation to a particular "place" or nation-state—positing that

this conceptual schema serves as the ultimate ordering rationale or meta-narrative fusing society and space within and across each set of textbooks.

National Landscapes: Reading the Interiors of Post-Soviet Nation-Space

Geographical discourses of many of the world's nation-states celebrate the beauty and bounty of natural marvels within their borders. This certainly holds true in the national vernacular of post-Soviet Armenia, Latvia, and Ukraine. Even the most cursory skimming of the texts reveals dominant visual motifs of sprawling and bountiful nature. These motifs are found on nearly every page, surrounding the text and virtually bursting off the margins. Where humans and society penetrate this natural space, the imagery and textual narrative is almost always that of rural life, idyllic country homes maintained by smiling families harvesting the land or tending to their flocks (see, for example, Figures 1 and 2). Indeed, so ubiquitous are the visual idioms of nature and rural life that performing a frequency count of such imagery would communicate little. More telling is the number of pages in each book in which natural elements do not predominate. Even in instances when natural/ecological imagery is not the main focus of the verbal text at hand, the Latvian and Ukrainian texts present seemingly random images of nature (e.g., a nut, a bird, a bush) permeating the surrounding white space.
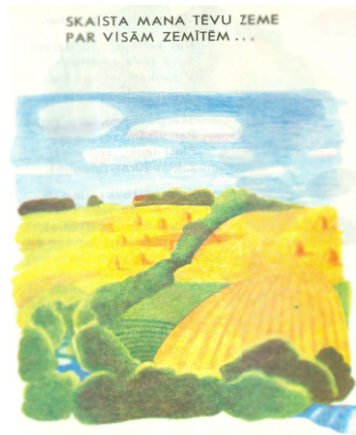
Figure 1. Example of typical natural/rural imagery in Latvian books.
Note: The caption reads, "Beautiful is my native land, more beautiful
than any other lands." Source: L1, 1992, p. 117.

Coinciding with this dominant field of visual texts is a plethora of verbal text about rural or agricultural life. Such texts range from descriptive to celebratory in nature. They may focus on one iconic element or be concerned with the bounty of the natural world in general. More often than not, these texts explicitly locate such bountiful, beautiful, varied, and irrepressible nature *within* the country, the

homeland. That is, these are not just any "green hills," or colorful flowers or blue lakes, but, rather, they are the green hills *of* Armenia, or Latvia or Ukraine. Moreover, a common discursive trait appears in which a laundry-list style of natural elements is invoked such that the natural ecology of each country is portrayed in almost absurd abundance and variety. Compare, for instance, the common character of the following text excerpts from the Latvian and Ukrainian samples, respectively:

> How *beautiful* and *bountiful* is Latvian nature! Look, what a *vast* space is all around! You can see the sea and the forests, wetlands and pastures, rivers and lakes, springs and brooks. You can see islands, peninsulas, hills, foothills, and slopes; you can see field rocks and seashells. You can hear birds in the gardens and forests, you can hear deer hooting and cuckoo calling. Our land is *abundant* and colorful in all seasons. You only need to be able to notice it! (L1, 1992, p. 119, emphasis added)

> Ukraine is *endless* fields of wheat, flowering fields of flax, cherry orchards. It's the Carpathian Mountains and mines of Donbas. The wide Dnepr Slavutych [river] that carries waters into the Black Sea. (U5, 2007, p. 122, emphasis added)

Envisioning *land*scapes as almost exclusively natural and/or agricultural has obvious implications for the *identity*-scapes concomitantly bound to these spaces. In the textbooks, the identities of Latvians, Ukrainians, or Armenians consistently inspired by and mapped onto these places are logically rural. The "people" prototypically shown are described as village-dwellers at least, if not cultivators of nature—fishermen, gardeners, or farmers. In an Armenian textbook published in the early 1990s, a story about wine-making is quite illustrative of the narrative strategy wherein natural elements, in this case, grapes and wine-making, and people's relationship to them become conflated with their national kinship/identity:

> ***Red Wine.*** ... I live in Yerevan. In the village are my grandfather's and ancestors' gravestones. When I visit them, my brother and I go into the cellar. Gulp, gulp, we drink red wine and bow in memory of our ancestors and emerge from the cold cellar worshiping our ancestors' memories. … I love to work on my grandfather's and grandfather's grandparents' field. In the fall we will fill our large clay jars again. I want for my children not to forget our ancestors' cold cellar and old red wine jars. (A1, 1991, p. 77)

In this small story, the images of vineyards and wine-making—totemic to the national (natural) iconography of Armenia—are invoked as a primary means through which city-dwelling Armenians are able to "return" to their roots. It is through the interaction with nature, particularly grapes and wine, that the children are invited to "worship" and find a symbolic connection to their long-gone Armenian ancestors. One cannot help but notice a strong religious aspect of the Armenian identity expressed through the imagery of wine, inspired by the blood-as-wine narrative of Christianity. Indeed, all the Armenian *aybenarans* included in

this study incorporate numerous images of grapevines, either in detailed narratives about the importance of wine or simply ornamenting the pages. Whether explicitly used in the lessons on letters "kh" and "gh," the first letters for the words "grapes" and "wine," respectively, in Armenian, or implicitly appearing in the background of Armenian children playing outside, the images of grapevines and/or wine-making constitute an inextricable part of Armenian textbooks and Armenian national identity.

Although it is certainly true that modern-day Armenia, Latvia, and Ukraine do contain natural beauty worthy of admiration, and that they do indeed still contain rural settlements and agricultural areas where families farm and where harvests are cultivated, the imagery presented by the post-Soviet textbooks seems to suggest that the natural or rural landscape is virtually *all* the countries contain. By consistently constructing discourses in which each country is dominated by nature, the textbooks fail to represent, or perhaps actively choose to ignore, the other, quite real character of these contemporary states—that Armenia, Latvia, and Ukraine alike also contain highways, shopping malls, business centers, and even industry. In short, these countries also have a significant *urban landscape* in addition to their rural character.

Our analysis revealed that only the most recently published textbooks in Armenia and Latvia, those published in the late 2000s, include some texts and illustrations of urban life, such as housing projects or skyscrapers. In the textbooks of Ukraine, especially, and certainly in the earliest of the Armenian and Latvian texts (see also Silova, 1996), urban landscapes are almost nonexistent, perhaps inverting a common perception that in today's world it is cities and urban sprawl that encroach on the sanctity of the natural/rural. Even when the symbols of urban life are to be found, the dominant visual depiction of nature seems to push them to the peripheries, to the literal margins of the page (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Example of typical natural/rural imagery
in Ukrainian books. Source: U1, 1998, pp. 14-15.

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Through a visual motif that locates cities and urban features at the peripheries of a visual plain dominated by rural imagery, these textbooks suggest more than the notion that the national landscape is *without* them. Rather, they convey the idea that, to the extent that each country *does* possess cities, they are subordinate and marginal to the rural ideal. The treatment of the respective capital cities in both the Latvian and Ukrainian books is perhaps most illustrative of this point. In both samples, a similar motif emerges in which the cities, in both image and text, are overwhelmed by nature, their urbanness ignored or downplayed. Located on the Daugava River, Riga is portrayed as "drowning in the greenery of gardens and parks" (L3, 1995, p. 132). Similarly, Ukrainian texts portray Kyiv as a land of green hills dotted by premodern orthodox cathedrals, the faint outline of buildings again relegated to the pages' margins. In each of the six Ukrainian books that contain a text on Kyiv, the city is presented primarily as a historical entity, resonating with the predominant Ukrainophile historiography that posits the city as the birthplace of the "authentic" Ukrainian nation, the 'Kyivan-Rus.' In one textbook, the capital city is a "memory," an ancient origin point:

> **Kyiv.** Oh great! Oh beautiful place! Kyiv, capital of Ukraine. In the heart of the city the bell tower of Sophia's Cathedral rises into the sky. In ancient times the first books were printed there, collected in the first library. … The Golden Gate was the main entrance to the ancient city. … *There is the history of Ukraine, our memory, our pride.* (U8, 2010, pp. 126-127, emphasis added)

What can account for the tendency across the textbooks to (over)emphasize the national landscape of each country as saturated with the rural and natural, excluding or marginalizing the urban or industrial? Concomitantly, such depictions imply that Latvians and Ukrainians—and Armenians to a lesser extent—are country people, intimately connected to an idyllically imagined nature, rather than to the trappings of contemporary society. One plausible answer could be the conscious rejection of the Soviet past associated with the triumph of modernization, industrialization, and urbanization over "peasant" life. In the Baltic states, for example, the Soviet occupation was directly associated with the "assault on the agrarian ethnoscape," including the deportation of farmers and disappearance of Latvia's traditional isolated farmsteads (Schwartz, 2006, p. 81). Similarly, the Soviet rule in Armenia and Ukraine was associated with industrialization and urbanization harmful to the natural landscape. When the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, its industrialization legacies remained in the "nightmarish images of pollution hotspots," with "the scars of environmental damage" ranging from the lingering effects of the Chernobyl disaster, to forests laid waste by acid rain, to coal-fired power plants (Schwartz, 2006, p. 1).

In this context, it is not surprising that many nation-building projects in the former Soviet republics revolve around narratives heralding "the return" to rural life and the restoration of environmental sanctity (Schwartz, 2006; Wanner, 2001). So, although botanical, agricultural, and ecological descriptions have always been deeply rooted in the iconography of Armenian, Latvian, and Ukrainian national sentiment—whether heralded in the verses of Latvian national folk songs (*dainas*)

or in verses by the national poets of Armenia and Ukraine—concerns with the abundant and beautiful character of national landscapes have arguably become all the more important in the national narratives of the post-Soviet era (Schwartz, 2006; Wanner, 2001). Our analysis of the textbooks suggests that this narrative remains strong.

The Limits of National Landscapes: Reading the Borders of the Post-Soviet Nation-Space

Implicit in the discussion of any space's *inside*, of course, is that there must be an *outside*, something which is beyond the real and/or perceived boundaries of that particular space. Interestingly, while the analysis of the national landscapes (the "inside") of Armenia, Latvia, and Ukraine appear to be strikingly similar, educational narratives about the boundaries of these landscapes reveal a diverging set of narratives and motifs. While Latvian textbooks present clearly delineated state borders, Ukrainian texts, on the contrary, suggest that the country is a seemingly borderless space. Armenian texts, meanwhile, are concerned with a more anxious narrative, discursively (re)drawing, via suggestive reference and implication, state borders in order to include parts of the imagined, "unattainable" historical homeland that is beyond Armenia's current political boundaries.

Most of the primers published in Latvia contain images in the form of political maps, topographical maps, road maps, artistic images, or connect-the-dots pictures. By including multiple cartographic representations of Latvia, textbook authors seem to be preoccupied with the task of presenting clearly and precisely delineated state contours. Whether epitomizing Latvia's independence from the Soviet Union or alluding to its own autonomous place in the "new" borderless Europe, the images of Latvian borders, as well as the accompanying texts, serve as symbols of independence setting Latvia apart from its neighbors. And while the neighboring states are rarely mentioned on textbook pages, the idea of autonomy, including clearly delineated and strong borders, echoes throughout the texts:

> The globe has lands and seas, states and nations. Our state is Latvia. The state is a land that has *its own borders*, its own laws, its own leaders, its own army that protects its residents, its own flag, its own money. (L8, 2003, p. 70)

What lies outside Latvia's borders is rarely mentioned. On rare occasions when references to the "outside" are made, it is exclusively in relation to Europe, emphasizing Latvia's historical connection to the European continent and its current membership in the European Union, while at the same time signaling its ultimate break with the former Soviet Union. For example, one textbook describes the capital, Riga, as "one of the most beautiful cities of Europe" (L3, 1995, p. 132). For the most part, however, references to Europe are few and rare. In most texts, Latvia is positioned to occupy an ambiguous *central* (and always *immense*) place in the world. This is clearly illustrated in discussion questions that follow a poem about Latvian geography: "What is in the middle of Latvia? What is in the middle of *Vidzeme*?[ii] What is in the middle of earth?" (L8, 2003, p. 76).

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Unlike the Latvian textbooks, the whole Ukrainian sample contains not one cartographic image portraying the outline of Ukraine. The textbooks are in fact overwhelmingly silent on the questions of limits to the celebrated Ukrainian landscape. A prominent discursive construction is the sense of *endlessness* that is associated with the natural national space, the erasure of any horizon ending the country's natural landscape.[iii] In five out of the eight books, the word "endless(ness)" itself, or an utterance clearly containing this connotation, is used in texts describing the Ukrainian "homeland." Particularly remarkable for invoking the sense of Ukraine's absent or invisible borders is a text adapted from the biography of the famous Ukrainian educator Vasyl Sukhomlynskiy. A small illustration at the top of the page shows a boy seated at the edge of a river bank, taking in a view of green hills and golden fields; in the text that follows below he muses:

> ***And there beyond the forest?*** I remember a spring day. The sun shining, a gentle breeze whispering in the foliage of the trees. I sit on the high steppe and listen to the sounds of spring. In front of me: the endless green fields. On the horizon, the forest. And what's beyond the forest? I asked my older brother. Fields, villages … my brother said. And there further behind them— some more woods.
>
> —And there beyond that forest—what's there?
> —The Dnipro. Our great Dnipro river.
> —And beyond the Dnipro?
> —And once again, more fields, villages, forests, and towns.
>
> It was at this moment that I had a great revelation. I was touched by how vast and rich was UKRAINE. (U7, 2009, p. 82, emphasis in original)

To any of the narrator's queries as to what possibly may lay *beyond* the national landscape, the only reply is *more*. Herein, what is literally see-able becomes all that is imaginable, and in conclusion the narrator's revelation becomes that Ukraine's vastness is virtually endless. The text is indicative of the predominant discourse permeating the Ukrainian sample of texts, one in which, by constant enumeration of the country's vastness and scale, its borders are rendered out of sight and out of mind.

In contrast to Ukraine as a borderless space, the dominant Armenian discourses tend to present the image of "strong" borders. The texts further suggestively incorporate parts of the desired or imagined historical "homeland" that is beyond Armenia's current political boundaries. Perhaps most provocatively, a map found in one of the textbooks shows that the country of Armenia incorporates the disputed territory of Nagorno-Karabakh (see Figure 3). Contested between Armenia and Azerbaijan, Nagorno-Karabakh is home to an ethnic Armenian majority and a *de facto* independent republic yet is internationally recognized as a part of Azerbaijan.[iv] Below the map a caption reads, "This is Armenia's map." Read by schoolchildren both in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh, this text does not mention the fact that Armenia and Azerbaijan have yet to resolve the conflict over

Nagorno-Karabakh. Both the text and the accompanying illustration portray the region as unproblematically part of the country. Furthermore, the text "Our Fatherland" confidently reassures the readers not only that these (imagined) borders are accurate, but that they are also strong: "Our fatherland is Armenia. Our fatherland's borders are strong. The sky is clean, the mountains are proud. We really love our fatherland" (A2, 2003, p. 71).
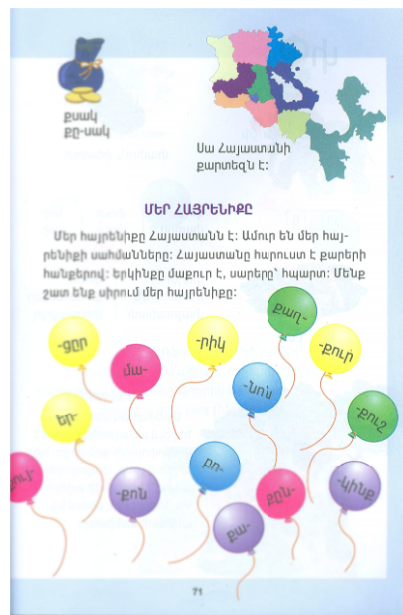

Figure 3. Inclusion of the Nagorno-Karabakh territory
(right-most, teal color) in map of "Armenia." Source: A2, 2003, p. 71

The texts' reimagining of the homeland's contours also involves frequent appearance of Mount Ararat, a geological feature that serves as one of the main symbols of Armenian national consciousness, but is physically located within Turkey. The significance of the mountain[v] to Armenians has less to do with its physical beauty than with its religious and historical place in the Armenian national narrative. In an Armenian reading of biblical history, Ararat is the mountain on which Noah's ark came to rest. In addition, Ararat is a symbol of the "Greater Armenia" that once stretched into present-day Turkey, south into Nakhichevan and east into Nagorno-Karabakh (also known as Artsakh), before it was divided between the Ottoman Empire and Russia in 1921. Given its religious and historical significance, it is not surprising that Ararat appears in *aybenarans* from cover to cover, for example, showing Jesus gazing upward toward Ararat with his hand suggestively reaching out toward the mountain(s) (A1, 1991, pp. 22-23; see Figure 4) or solemnly appearing in the background of the capital Yerevan (A3, 2006, p. 2).

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Figure 4. Example of typical natural/rural imagery in Armenian books.
Source: A1, 1991, pp. 22–23

While Ararat lies beyond the politically determined physical borders of Armenia today, its ubiquitous appearance—e.g., Ararat as towering background of Yerevan, or seen from the ordinary window of a house—conveys the implicit sense that it belongs in the natural space of Armenia without dispute. Thus, in this pedagogy, Ararat is effectively *discursively obtained* and it would not be out of the question to presume that the texts' young readers may infer that Ararat is a natural part of Armenia—without any political contestation whatsoever. Only through written text do we see recognition of its perceived displacement and the need to reclaim it, as seen in statements such as "here is the *unattainable* Ararat" (A1, 1991, p. 50, emphasis added) or "Massis is ours, Massis is ours" (A1, 1991, p. 97).

Narratives of Homeland: The Rooting and Rootedness of People to the National Soil

Among peoples of the former Soviet Union, similar to peoples in much of the world, the construct of the homeland conveys the myth of a sacred, set-aside land to which a particular people native to that soil belong (Malkki, 1992; Kristoff, 1994). This widespread assumption—that the world is inhabited by peoples or nations linked to places, whether by blood and/or soil—is not simply crudely territorializing, but often deeply metaphysical. For Malkki (1992), the principal narrative device of this homeland myth is its conflation of ancestry with nature. That is, people are often thought of, and more importantly think of themselves as, "rooted" in a place and deriving their identity from that very "rootedness." The human desire for tracing origin and ancestry often finds itself conceptualized and articulated in the form of "arborescent" or "ecological" metaphors (Malkki, 1992).

In the botanical logic of this essential and essentializing metaphor, people are born and "rooted" to the native homeland much like certain trees or flowers are native to the "national soil":

> Motherland and fatherland, aside from their other historical connotations, suggest that each nation is a grand genealogical tree, rooted in the soil that nourishes it. By implication, it is impossible to be part of more than one tree. Such a tree evokes both temporal continuity of essence and territorial rooted-ness. (p. 28)

In the Armenian, Latvian, and Ukrainian national consciousness alike, a "rootedness" discourse remains prevalent, forging inextricable links between nation and "homeland" in the idioms of "blood" and "soil." This is similar to many other agrarian (national) discourses (including those found in the postsocialist space) where "*land* is transformed into *homeland* through the bodies and blood of the ancestors" (Schwartz, 2006, p. 18, emphasis in the original; Verdery, 1999). Indeed, the Armenian case clearly illustrates how the notion of "homeland" is expressed through the interweaving metaphors of blood and earth. (See, for example, the preceding example of wine-making in the Armenian countryside.) In the Latvian and Ukrainian cases, however, the notion of kinship does not only involve the symbolism of ancestors' blood and birthplace, but also establishes this metaphor through emphasis on these peoples' cultivation of and labor on the land—more *sweat* and soil than merely blood and soil. For Latvians, for example, "homeland" is inextricable from the site of agrarian life and labor, the people symbolizing their "connectedness" to their Latvian ancestors through "preserving and reproducing the landscapes shaped by their labor" (Schwartz, 2006, p. 18).

Nearly every textbook we examined contains multiple texts that assert and celebrate the myth of an eternal, natural homeland. In the texts shown in Table 1, the similarity of the language and narrative is astonishing. Whether explicitly or implicitly, each textbook traces the notion of ancestry—a line going back through generations—unproblematically describing how present-day Armenians, Latvians, and Ukrainians have been "born in/to" a homeland that has existed forever. Typically, the natural bounty of the homeland is celebrated, suggestive of the common trope of the national soil's *fertility* and its reproductive capacity. Moreover, people themselves become symbolized as natural elements (see, e.g., Latvian "sweet pea" in the text below) and thus the conceptualization of their *rootedness* is even further enunciated.

So, the typological Latvian is imagined as a "sweet pea" "bloomed" from the mother soil. In the Ukrainian and Armenian texts, the "homeland is the land of fathers, grandfathers," and so on, an ancestral lineage seemingly eternal and unbroken. In nearly all the textbooks, a conveniently ignored tautology is invoked: "Armenians," "Latvians," and "Ukrainians" exist as a result of their birth in the space of "Armenia," "Latvia," and "Ukraine"—homelands always formulated as such because they have always been home to "Armenians," "Latvians," and "Ukrainians." The notion of "homeland" thus suggests a perfect correspondence

Table 1. "Homeland" Texts by Country (Latvia, Ukraine, and Armenia)

Latvia	Ukraine	Armenia
Homeland. Do you know what Latvia is? It is a land, my homeland. Do you know what is homeland? It is a land where I was born. Do you know how I was born? I bloomed as a sweet pea for my mother, I weaved as a sweet pea around my father. (L1, 1992, p. 136; also appears in L2, 1993, p. 130) **Together.** We live in Latvia. We live in Riga. We live in a beautiful land, in a beautiful city. Latvia is our homeland; Riga, our capital. Here are our mother and father. Here we are and will be together. No one, not anyone, will be able to separate us. (L13, 2010, p. 54)	**Our Homeland.** The homeland is not only the land of our fathers, but of grandfathers and great-grandfathers. Homeland is a land where our native language and mother's song have long been heard. The homeland is called Ukraine. Ukraine is the endless fields of wheat, flax-flowering fields, cherry orchards. It's the Carpathian Mountains and mines of Donbas. It's the wide Dnepr Slavutych, which carries its waters into the Black Sea. Ukraine, this is the land where you live. (U5, 2007, p. 122–123) **Your Fatherland.** The word "fatherland" comes from the word "father." Fatherland/ homeland—a land where your parents and grandparents were born and raised. This land is where your native language is heard. To every person, their own homeland. We live in Ukraine. Ukraine is our homeland. In the green oak woods, in bouquets of viburnum. Look at our beautiful Ukraine! (U7, 2009, p. 64)	**My Grandfather's Armenia.** There is one Armenia in this world, and no other country like it. Like my grandfathers' jokes, like my grandmothers' songs. *Chorus:* *My grandfather's Armenia,* *My grandmother's Armenia,* *Armenia's breath is reward-* *ing, my beautiful Armenia.* Rainbows are the best [here], only formed (or started) here, fountains are the coldest [here]; here it gurgles splendidly. *Chorus* The sun is beautiful like my mother, cherishing every bush and tree, so that the clouds do not come close to us, to allow us to sing and laugh! (A3, 2006, p. 110) **Our Fatherland Is Armenia.** Our fatherland's borders are strong. The sky is clean, the mountains are proud. We really love our fatherland. (A2, 2003, p. 71)

between the national identity and the national space or nation-state, which is further cemented by references to the national language, always neatly coinciding within the national borders, real or imagined. Thus, in the Ukrainian textbooks, we can read: "Homeland is a land where our native language and mother's song have long been heard" (U5, 2007, pp. 122-123). In Latvian textbooks: "Latvians speak Latvian. Latvians live in Latvia" (L2, 1993, p. 88).[vi] In contrast to Latvia and Ukraine, Armenian texts do not insist that language should be contained within the national borders; rather, it is mapped onto territory of the greater (imagined) Armenia. Thus, "Armenians speak Armenian," although they do not necessarily live within the borders of present-day Armenia.[vii]

In large part, it can be argued that the mythology or discourse of homeland generates its power in the transformation of what is truly a messy, complex, and we

argue wholly discursive, historical process of identity-shaping into a simple formula of correspondences. Moreover, as is so clearly, if even anxiously, asserted in the Armenian and Ukrainian texts, in the closed, self-defining construction of the homeland, people and places can necessarily only exist in unique, discrete units. Thus such maxims as "there is only one Armenia in this world" and "for every person—their *own* homeland."

The pedagogy of the homeland described above is the underlying, determining metaphor for all the other pedagogies of space identified in our analysis of literacy primers in Armenia, Latvia, and Ukraine. In the conflation of ancestry with ecology, what Malkki (1992) called a kind of "arborescence," the textually represented spaces of Armenia, Latvia, and Ukraine are saturated by nature, in a fertile, (re)productive symbolism. After all, the ethnolinguistic bodies of Armenians, or Latvians, or Ukrainians themselves are like the flora and fauna that make up the rest of the land's indigenous features, natural products of the national soil. And what is "native" to one territory must be, necessarily, uniquely so.

CONCLUSION

Whether based on the presumed "ambivalence" inherent in national narratives and their tendency toward self-destruction (Bhaba, 1990), or premised on the scrapping of *land*scapes with various other "-scapes" claimed to constitute identity (Appadurai, 1996), the last two decades have been marked by pronouncements that physical space, territory, and geography are no longer essential to people's identity. Above all, questions have been raised about the validity, salience, and stability of people's allegiance to a *national* identity. Yet, such epitaphs seem hasty (Sparke, 2005). This is particularly so with the places and peoples of the former Soviet Union 20 plus years after collapse. Demarcations of space into territory—ideally coinciding with the boundaries of the nation(-state) and the biodiversity, topography, and landscape "native" to it—remain paramount to the identity constructs of both "old" and "young" nations, whether Armenians, Latvians, or Ukrainians.

Pedagogies of space, as part of the broader national education system, appear as especially crucial cogs in the discursive system that builds and maintains a linkage between particular spaces and territories and particular peoples and cultures. For critical geographers (Paasi, 1995, 1996a, 1996b; Newman & Paasi, 1997), it is education systems that serve as primary institutional conduits for dominant, even hegemonic narratives imbuing geographic space with sociocultural meaning. Textbooks, they argued, can be vital vessels for the transmission of pedagogies of space. Elaborating on the theoretical insights from critical geography in the context of comparative education research, our task has been to examine the multiple *pedagogies* contained in the seemingly apolitical and innocuous early grade textbooks of Armenia, Latvia, and Ukraine. The extension of this theoretical framework to textbook analysis in comparative education research has discussed the sociospatial constructs circulating in the educational narratives of these three "peripheral" post-Soviet states.

As our analysis explored, the literacy primers of these three countries share the overarching (and organizing) tendency, common to many peoples throughout the world, to articulate the myth of a primordial homeland/fatherland/motherland, metaphysically wedded to blood, sweat, and soil. In all cases, such an indivisible link between people and place is naturalized and reinforced by representations of the homelands' interior space as abundantly bountiful in natural flora and fauna, reaffirming the notion of people being "rooted" in that place and deriving their identity from that "rootedness" (Malkki, 1992; Schwartz, 2006). Of course, implicit in such conceptualizations of an interior is the construction of boundaries —what is outside, what is other (Paasi, 1996b). Whereas the primers of Latvia include an explicit and assertive discussion of its own political borders, the textbooks of Ukraine characteristically avoid identifying borders at all, suggesting the notion that Ukraine's vastness supersedes political distinctions. In the case of Armenia, concerns over what is "outside" take on an altogether different character. Herein, it would seem that the national anxiety over the annexation of Nagorno-Karabakh and Mt. Ararat to the foreign "outside" motivates the discursive re-imagining of the Armenian national space, its borders stretching to reincorporate these spaces that are so sacred to the Armenian national consciousness and mythology.

Although such national discourses would be dismissed by instrumentalist theories of nationalism as false consciousness or tools of elite manipulations (see Schwartz, 2006, for a more detailed discussion), we argue they are politically and culturally meaningful. As our study of literacy primers of Armenia, Latvia, and Ukraine reaffirms, educational narratives about national "homeland," instilling geography, location, and landscape with symbolic, national meanings, have enduring, critical importance for identity-scapes of peoples in the former Soviet Union. While the meanings of these educational narratives are undoubtedly multiple and highly contested, they appear to be constructed within specific contexts and therefore "rooted" in particular memories and myths, always irrevocably linked to particular geographies. Not only does this "rootedness" delimit how Armenians, Latvians, or Ukrainians think of themselves, but it also governs how they may envision themselves in the future. The major challenge then is to develop critical, cross-disciplinary approaches, such as "the pedagogies of space" presented here, to understand the complexity of post-Soviet nation-building projects, while making visible the ideological, tacitly accepted assumptions of national spatial categories inherent in the social production of national identities.

NOTES

[i] Literally meaning "putting down roots," *korenizatsiia* was an early Soviet nation-building policy that institutionalized and prompted nation-specific practices in the various titular republics, such as elevating national minorities to local government and administrative positions and mandating the use of national languages in education and media. Its primary goal was organizing a vast population into economically and administratively viable and stable nation-territorial units, while also accommodating its diverse ethnic and linguistic composition.

[ii] Vidzeme is one of the four historical and cultural regions of Latvia. Literally meaning "the Middle Land," it is situated in north-central Latvia.

[iii] In lieu of visual depictions or textual discussions of the country's borders, the Ukrainian textbooks sometimes only make reference to prominent geographical features that have at times served as reference points for the "natural" boundaries of the "Ukrainian" space. The Carpathian Mountains, roughly corresponding with Ukraine's southeastern political boundary, are the most prominent (featured in all but two of the books).

[iv] The conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh began in 1991 and ended with a ceasefire agreement in 1994. Both Azerbaijan and Armenia claim historical rights over the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh. As a result of the outbreak of war, 20,000 people were killed and more than a million people lost their homes (DeWaal, 2010). The conflict has still not been resolved, and official negotiations are being led by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe.

[v] The Armenian name of "Ararat," named after the surrounding province, actually refers to a set of twin peaks. "Sis" refers to the smaller peak while "Massis" refers to the larger. In contrast, the mountain is called "painful mountain" in Turkish/Azeri (Mountain of Ağrı).

[vi] Following this text on the Latvian homeland (L2, 1993), a fill-in-the-blank activity is presented for students in which the following prompts are given: "Russians live in …. What [language] do Russians speak?" And "Poles live in …. What [language] do Poles speak?" (pp. 88–89). Given the possible responses listed (Russian and Polish), the intended answers are obvious: the children are expected to unquestionably complete the phrases with those languages corresponding directly with the nation-states and nationalities given, i.e., "Russians live in Russia and speak Russian. The Poles live in Poland and speak Polish." Thus, the text reinforces the naturalization, and illusion, of the formula in which language, too, is naturally mapped onto the pairing of people and place in a one-to-one correspondence.

[vii] This, we can conjecture, is likely reflective of the degree to which the rather large Armenian diaspora not living within the imagined borders of Armenia continue their Armenianness via language *without* recourse to physical inhabitation of Armenia. Indeed, were the Armenian books to suggest that the Armenian homeland be the sole container of the Armenian language, such a narrative could be construed as delegitimizing the language practice and thus Armenianness of the diaspora—particularly of those speaking diasporan dialects.

TEXTBOOKS ANALYZED

No.	Date	Authors	Title	Publisher
Armenia				
1	1991	Dikranian & Sona	Badgerazard aybenaran book 4 [Illustrated alphabet book]	Mshagouydee Haygagan Font
2	2003	Gyulameeryan & Julietta	Zankag Aybenaran [Bell alphabet book]	Datev Gitakrdakan Hamaleer
3	2006	Kyourkjian, Angel, Der-Krikorian, & Lilit	Aybenaran [Alphabet book]	Edit Print
Latvia				
1	1992	Karule	Lasama gramata 1. klasei (pecabeces posms) [A reading book for the first grade: The post-ABC stage]	Zvaigzne
2	1993	Cimdina, Lanka, & Krustkalna	Riti raiti, valodina: Latviesu valodas macibgramata cittautiesiem [Latvian language textbook for speakers of other languages]	Zvaigzne

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No.	Date	Authors	Title	Publisher
3	1995	Timoschenko*	Bukvar: Razvivayuscheye obucheniye [ABC: Developmental learning]	Zvaigzne
4	1996	Strelevica	Es macos lasit: Macibu lidzekils [I am learning to read: Learning/teaching materials]	Zvaigzne
5	1997	Paegle	Vards: Lasama gramata un ievadijums valodas maciba 1. klasei [Word: A reading book and an introduction to language learning for the first grade]	Zvaigzne
6	1997	Ivana & Urbanovicha	Abece [ABC]	Raka
7	1999	Ptichkina	Zile: Abecite 1. klasei. [Acorn: Little ABC for the first grade]	Zvaigzne
8	2003	Dirnena et al.	Ar gudru zinu: Eksperementala macibu gramata [With wise news: Experimental textbook]	Raka
9	2005	Andersone, Ergle, Filatova, Golubova, & Ikale	Zile: Latviesu valoda 1. klasei. [Acorn: Latvian language for the first grade]	Zvaigzne
10	2005	Andersone, Ergle, Filatova, Golubova, & Ikale	Maza zile: Latviesu valoda 1. klase. [Little acorn: Latvian language for the first grade]	Zvaigzne
11	2005	Anspoka	Abece: Lasama un lasamgramata: Latviesu valoda 1. klasei. [ABC: Reading book: Latvian language for the first grade]	Lielvards
12	2009	Grinberga & Jansone	Nac mums lidzi: Latviesu valoda mazakumtautibu skola. [Follow us: Latvian language for minority schools]	Zvaigzne
13	2010	Ivana & Urbanovica	Abece: Macibu lidzeklis [ABC: Learning materials]	Raka
Ukraine**				
1	1998 (1997)	Lutsyk, Prots, & Savshak	Буквар [primer]	Svit
2	2001 (2000)	Pryshchepa & Kolesnychenko	Буквар [primer]	Forum
3	2002 (1986)*	Vashulenko, Matyeeva, Nazarova, & Skrypchenko	Букварь [primer]	Osvita
4	2004 (2001)	Vashulenko & Skrypchenko	Буквар [primer]	Osvita
5	2007 (2001)	Vashulenko & Skrypchenko	Буквар [primer]	Osvita
6	2007 (1997)*	Pryshchepa & Kolesnychenko	Букварь [primer]	Heneza
7	2009 (2007)	M. Vashulenko & V. Vashulenko	Буквар [Sputnik (satellite) primer]	AST-Pres-Ukraine
8	2010 (2000)	Preshchepa & Kolesnychenko	Буквар [primer]	Heneza

*In Russian.
**Since all of the texts are later editions, the publication dates of original versions are given as well.

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Section 2.
(Re)Imagining the Nation
after War

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7. WHOSE PAST, WHOSE PRESENT?

Historical Memory among the "Postwar" Generation in Guatemala

In Gladis's social studies classroom, rows of uniformed 10th graders concentrated on the blackboard at the front of the room, where I displayed a photo of the mural that was painted on the walls outside their school.[i] The mural depicted Mayan history, from ancient times to present day, and it stretched nearly 200 feet from the neighboring cemetery to the school entrance, an intentional crossroads between youth and their Mayan ancestry. The students in the room walked by the mural every day, yet many of them never understood its meaning, especially the illustrations of Guatemala's *Conflicto Armado*, 36 years of "armed conflict," including ethnic genocide. With me as their class guest, we began talking about why this conflict took place, who was involved, and whether this past was relevant to their lives today, nearly 15 years after its official end.

The conversation that ensued encompassed evasions and silences, but also bold proclamations about accountability and long-term consequences. One student claimed that Guatemalans were "more violent back then," while another insisted that Guatemala had always suffered a "culture of violence." One girl noted that the state was responsible, while another rushed to defend the state's actions on behalf of national security. Gladis turned their attention from their open textbooks, a four-page spread about the postwar peace process with little mention of the conflict's causes, and asked the class what they knew about the internal armed conflict, perhaps from their parents. Finally, Luis Fernando, a small boy in the back, raised his hand and asked, "What is the *Conflicto Armado*?"

In the aftermath of mass violence, history education is increasingly considered an essential element of transitional justice processes, clarifying the historical record, reestablishing moral frameworks, promoting social reconciliation, and acknowledging past atrocity for future generations (Cole, 2007; Cole & Barsalou, 2006; Cole & Murphy, 2007; Minow, 1998). Education and transitional justice researchers consider historical narratives a critical site of collective identity formation through which both shared national identities and individual civic competencies are realized (Cole & Barsalou, 2006; Freedman, Weinstein, Murphy, & Longman, 2008). But for all of the potential civic promises to deliver a "culture of peace" or a "culture of human rights," history education remains reliant on the connections that learners make to their own lives (Bellino & Selman, 2012; Boix-Mansilla, 2000).

When Guatemala's *Conflicto Armado* ended, negotiators of the Peace Accords recognized education's instrumental role in sanctioning racism, both in terms of

unequal access and treatment of indigenous students, as well as discriminatory curricular representations of indigenous populations and cultural practices. Attempting to redress these issues while promoting social reconciliation, representatives envisioned a shift toward human rights education that would emphasize the nations' pluricultural identity and a "culture of peace," placing particular attention on the rights of women, children, and indigenous communities (Peace Accords, 1996). Though many aspects of educational reform remain controversial (Poppema, 2009), the culture of peace framework is pervasive in contemporary curricula (Ministry of Education, 2010; Oglesby, 2007a), inscribed within the broader human rights agenda of human rights education (Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos, 2007). This combination of educational approaches is promising in its potential for developing student knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs about human rights and responsibilities while enhancing adolescents' capacity for civic action, especially following conflict (Davies, 2004; Tibbitts, 2008). Nevertheless, the state has yet to settle on a national curriculum for the history of the conflict, with an emphasis on social studies and civics supplanting historical content and disciplinary inquiry (Oglesby, 2007a, 2007b).

Following such divisive violence, a lack of consensus about historical events themselves—not to mention the articulation of a narrative that is inclusive and accountable to the variety of lived experiences—can prompt competing accounts within, and outside, formal educational institutions (Barton & McCully, 2010; Wertsch, 2002, 2006). As a result, historical silence and compromise narratives that assign equal accountability to all members of society are frequently invoked in official spaces, in the name of peace and reconciliation (Cole, 2007; Kaiser, 2005; Weldon, 2010). Even when Guatemalan educators are willing to critically engage with the past, in most cases absent of particular training and resources, conflicting family and community narratives often contest schools' "official" historical accounts. Instead, families argue for the "recovery of historical memory" (rhetoric derived from the Recovery of Historical Memory Project, 1999) and the agency to construct their own recollections. Unlike official tropes that generalize about the past, "historical memory" emphasizes individual memory narratives based on direct testimony, often linked to the lived experience of victimization (Oglesby, 2007b; Wertsch, 2006). Historical memory is less about "what happened" and more concerned with what is remembered and the meaning made through that memory act (Portelli, 1990).

But how do individuals and communities construct memories of war when violence continues or reemerges outside the formal declaration of war? Guatemala's "postwar" context is defined by ongoing violence and impunity for past and present crime. Understanding Guatemala's violent past in the context of ongoing violence presents a critical dilemma for history education: What should educators teach young learners about the world when contemporary crime overshadows recent genocide, and when memories of violence are sometimes perceived as threats to peace? How do teachers' and parents' conscious and unconscious decisions to educate the "postwar" generation about the *Conflicto Armado* reinforce, complement, and contradict one another? And how do adolescents

interpret these various perspectives in judging the role and relevance of this history in their present lives?

In this paper I begin with a brief history of the *Conflicto Armado* and a description of the violence in contemporary Guatemala, the context within which the past is constructed. I then describe some of the main aspects of the "official" and "unofficial" historical narratives of the recent civil conflict, drawing on the voices of educators and parents to explain their preferences, challenges, and practices in transmitting this past to the postwar generation. Studying memory necessitates attention to hidden narratives conveyed through intentional and inadvertent silences (Jelin, 2003; Kaiser, 2005); thus, throughout the analysis, I trace the role of education through both voice and silence. Finally, I close with a discussion of the consequences of displacing the violent past from the realm of formal history education to the role of informal memory, where divisive memory communities diverge on the role of the past in the present, a discord that complicates reconciliation in the "postwar" period.

VIOLENCE IN GUATEMALA, PAST AND PRESENT

The year 1960 is commonly cited as the start of the *Conflicto Armado*, but its roots took hold long before then, spanning more than a century of structural inequality and racism. Though Guatemala's population is more than half indigenous, made up of mostly Mayans, a colonial period of foreign and postcolonial ladino (nonindigenous) domination has resulted in the social, political, and economic marginalization of Mayans. At various points in time, indigenous Guatemalans have been forced into labor and indentured servitude or denied basic human rights. Although today they are visibly celebrated as Guatemala's multicultural "wealth," the country's indigenous populations are among the poorest and most poorly educated in Latin America (Poppema, 2009).

From 1960 to 1996, Guatemala was entrenched in a civil conflict that some warily renamed a "war against civilians," underscoring that the majority of the casualties were innocent noncombatants killed at the hands of the state (Torres-Rivas, 2006). During an exceptional decade of social-democratic rule from 1944 to 1954, Guatemalan President Arbenz proposed a program of land redistribution, and the country seemed on the cusp of rectifying some of its underlying structural inequality. Immersed in Cold War ideology and policy, the United States de-nounced the reform as communist and authorized a Central Intelligence Agency—backed coup, leading to a series of military governments and a dwindling space for political opposition (Cullather, 1999; Schlesigner & Kinzer, 2005). Guerrilla organizations began to emerge as a voice for the poor and excluded, a civic effort that the state dismissed as "subversive delinquency." Meanwhile, by the mid 1960s, death squads operating as covert arteries of the military began to make urban intellectuals and leaders of land and labor reform movements "disappear," spreading a culture of fear concerning political involvement (Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico [CEH, Commission for Historical Clarification], 1999; Recovery of Historical Memory Project, 1999). From the 1970s to 1980s, guerrilla

organizations gained popular support among some Mayan communities, but they could not protect their supporters, causing indigenous leaders to become targets of political violence and often provoking army invasions in villages that supported the "internal enemy." As the guerrillas focused their efforts on capturing army officials and collaborators, often committing public executions in the name of "revolutionary justice," the military forcibly recruited civilians, particularly indigenous males, to participate in the state army and the civil defense patrols, local paramilitary forces that both militarized and divided communities (CEH, 1999).

As violence escalated in the early 1980s, the military began its "scorched earth" campaign, systematically massacring inhabitants of 626 Mayan villages in an effort to destroy the guerrillas' popular base and the food and land that sustained the insurgency movement and to maintain a culture of terror (CEH, 1999; Sanford, 2008a). At this point, in the eyes of the army, *indigenous* became synonymous with *insurgent*. Fusing ethnic identity and political ideology, the military mobilized a genocide that targeted rural indigenous populations as the guerrillas' natural ally. Despite the ethnic nature of the conflict's most brutal period, the designation of genocide remains contentious nationally, and the *Conflicto Armado* is largely absent from global discussions of 20th-century genocides. This is, in part, because of the alleged relationship between ethnicity and political alliance, because indigenous actors were both victims and perpetrators, and because the geography of ethnic division was steeped in the country's landscape (CEH, 1999; Rothenberg, 2012). It is likely also related to the insidious role of the United States, protecting both economic and political interests (Cullather, 1999; Schlesigner & Kinzer, 2005).

Following the height of violence, a decade-long peace process ensued between the state and the guerrilla umbrella organization, the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity, during which punishing human rights violators became the main stumbling block. The peace process culminated in 1996, establishing a truth commission led by the United Nations to investigate human rights violations and causes of the violence, as well as make recommendations for reconciliation. With extensive historical and forensic research, the Commission for Historical Clarification (CEH) determined that the *Conflicto Armado* left 200,000 disappeared and 1,000,000 displaced and attributed 93% of the human rights violations to the state military and paramilitary, 3% to guerrilla forces, and 4% as undetermined (CEH, 1999). Further, the CEH concluded that the conflict constituted genocide of particular indigenous populations, with indigenous Guatemalans constituting the vast majority of victims (83%).[ii]

This "official" historical narrative posits the state political and military powers as the chief perpetrators of violence and authors of genocide. Though reports that claim "truth" and "historical clarification" could easily be (mis)taken for the "official" past, truth commissions are themselves negotiations with the past in the context of their present and "will continue to be vigorously contested after their existence" (Hamber & Wilson, 2002, p. 36). Explicit state dismissal of the commission's findings (Oglesby, 2007b), sanctioned immunity for war criminals, and

the "privatization" of the historiographic process meant that the CEH report was largely ignored by the public.

With the emergence of new forms of "postwar" violence, the memory of the *Conflicto Armado* has been further diluted. Contemporary Guatemala is plagued by a spectrum of violence, including feminicide, social cleansing, delinquency and gang violence, petty crime, organized crime, drug trafficking, vigilante justice movements, and political assassinations (Bellino, 2010, 2010/2011; Peacock & Beltrán, 2003; Sanford, 2008a, 2008b). As "postwar" homicide rates escalate to one of the highest in the contemporary world (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2010), some actors proclaim that Guatemala is experiencing a "new war."

Victims and their families contend with extensive corruption throughout local and state institutions and widespread impunity for perpetrators of violent crimes (O'Connor & Portenier, 2007). Guatemalan human rights activists endure daily death threats, attacks, and attempts to delegitimize or incriminate not solely the individuals seeking change but also social justice issues themselves. Further, everyday experiences with corruption, injustice, and impunity send a clear message: Safety and justice are not human rights, but rather privileges for those with economic and political power. In recent years, for example, privately employed bodyguards have outnumbered national police officers by more than three to one (Torres-Rivas, 2010/2011), and it is not uncommon for children (within families of status) to attend school with one, or even 10, bodyguards.

If there exists such a condition as "post-conflict" (Davies, 2004), Guatemala's is a complex and tenuous one. While some Guatemalans theorize postwar violence as intimately connected to actors, techniques, or ideology borne from the *Conflicto Armado*, others regard these as new forms of violent expression that emerged after the conflict ended, taking advantage of a weak state, a surplus of weapons, and growing crime networks. In the case of Guatemala, then, memories of the *Conflicto Armado* cannot be understood without recognizing their contemporary embeddedness in "postwar" violence. It is only at this complex interface between past and present violence that we can understand how the larger collective of Guatemala's postwar generation reconciles with its history.

METHODOLOGY

From 2005 to 2011, I conducted ethnographic fieldwork in the departments of Guatemala, Quetzaltenango, Chimaltenango, Sololá, and Sacatepéquez. I collected data via participant observation, classroom observation, facilitated discussions, open-ended surveys, and semidirected interviews with social studies teachers, high school students, and parents or grandparents of school-aged adolescents. In addition, I analyzed three social studies textbooks for content relating to the *Conflicto Armado* and the Peace Accords. Though this is not a substantial sample of curricular resources, I also relied on existing literature about educational texts in Guatemala (e.g., Oglesby, 2007b).

Interactions with adolescents centered on their knowledge of the *Conflicto Armado*, with emphasis on the historical sources and social processes that

influenced their engagement with these memories, accounting for formal and informal educational experiences. I also asked students whether they felt the *Conflicto Armado* was important or held personal relevance to their lives today. In total, the adolescent sample included 140 participants (62% rural, 38% urban; average age, 16.6 years).

With social studies teachers (n = 22; 68% rural; 32% urban), questions focused on preparedness and interest in teaching about the *Conflicto Armado* and student responses to the material. Many teachers urged me to talk to parents and community members to gain a better sense of the in-between space that unofficial historical narratives occupy. In talking to parents and grandparents (n = 31; 54% rural; 46% urban), my interviews considered whether, how, and why family members discussed the violent past intergenerationally, as well as their impressions of how schools handled the material.

Throughout the research process, I relied on grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006) in an effort to capture how participants construct, situate, and narrate their orientations to the *Conflicto Armado*. Grounded theory coheres with ethnographic methods and "mediated action" (Wertsch, 2002), recognizing that collective remembering is "textually mediated" by human agency and cultural "texts" (oral and written), both of which are socioculturally embedded (p. 5).

FORMAL CURRICULUM'S OFFICIAL NARRATIVE: TWO DEVILS, ONE STORY

Textbooks play an important role in establishing "schematic narrative templates" for remembering the past (Wertsch, 2006). In turn, these templates set parameters for the way history is integrated into the collective consciousness, particularly histories of conflict among postwar generations (Kaiser, 2005).

Most high school–level textbooks in Guatemala include only a few passages that recount the *Conflicto Armado*, in varying degrees of detail. These official historical narratives often attribute equal culpability to state and guerrilla armies, citing a conflict between "two devils" (Oglesby, 2007a). The two devils account, employed as an "intermediate" explanation of conflict and accountability in other postconflict states, has been critiqued for portraying an inevitable past (e.g., Kaiser, 2005, p. 8). Bad things just seem to befall the Guatemalan people over time, and no one is accountable. For example, a typical textbook refrain notes the conflict's consequences for the civilian population while eluding agency, motivation, and accountability: "During the long 36 years of armed struggle (1960-96), between the guerrilla groups and the army, there were more than 50,000 indigenous assassinated and thousands of others forced to flee … in order to save their lives" (Contreras et al., 2008, p. 186).

In another textbook, a fictional conversation between a young indigenous girl, Julia, and her Mayan grandparents suggests that individual testimonies of the *Conflicto Armado* similarly evade agency, preserving the template of two devils. When the war "exploded" (Ministry of Education, 2003, p. 325), Julia's grandparents were forced to flee their village and take refuge in Mexico. The story bravely touches on the experience of war and displacement, though the narrative

perpetuates the notion that most civilians were effectively caught between two devils. Following Julia's story, the authors may have opted to expand outward, noting that Guatemalans endured and participated in a range of experiences during the conflict, but instead the story endorses a normative template for national memory: "The story of Julia's past is very similar to that of many Guatemalan families. For 36 years (1960-1996) there was an armed conflict in our country that confronted all Guatemalans" (p. 325). While the story reflects an indigenous experience, there is no indication that there were disparate levels of perpetration or protection among groups during an identity-based conflict.

As both texts move forward, neither clarifies how the civilian population became threatened by a conflict that seemingly took place between two distinct armies. In part, these official accounts obscure agency by not making clear causal links between historical agents and the internal and external motivations guiding their actions. For example, "At that time Alberto Fuentes Mohr and Mauel Colom Argueta were assassinated, and the guerrilla, for their part, also assassinated General David Cancinos … of the army" (Contreras et al., 2008, p. 158). Presumably, the state military was responsible for the first deaths mentioned, but there is no clear subject to delineate agency. Motivation is not apparent for either party, but in later passages the war is characterized as a political or ideological conflict that "confronted the government forces with the armed insurgency" (p. 260), obscuring the motivations and historical context of the insurgent movement while depicting a state forced into violence in order to defend its citizens. In keeping with the "two devils" narrative, these constructions portray Guatemalan citizens as trapped within "an apparently insulated conflict between the military and the 'extreme left terror'" (Kaiser, 2005, p. 25).

Across textbooks, the causes of the *Conflicto Armado* are particularly convoluted. Even when recommended discussion questions focus on identifying historical triggers, the curriculum tiptoes around deep-rooted social, political, and economic causes. One chapter ends with a prompt to describe "the origins and development of the civil war in Guatemala" (Contreras et al., 2008, p. 167). Yet the closest this chapter comes to a causal explanation is a mention that guerrillas identified ideologically with communism. In a later chapter, this text notes that the war began with the state response to a guerrilla uprising, but without exploring the root motivations for the uprising or why either party resorted to violence. The explanation offered here is not only linear and monocausal, but also decontextualized and tautological, even though identifying "the causes that motivated the *Conflicto Armado*" (p. 259) is stated as one of the objectives of the chapter.

Another textbook offers four explicit contributors to the conflict: (1) the discrediting of authoritarian regimes, (2) general corruption in state affairs, (3) foreign intervention, and (4) social inequality and poverty (Ministry of Education, 2003, p. 326), but there is no discussion or integration among the causes. Nor does the text map these factors onto particular historical events or the motivations of various agents over time. Other texts explicitly direct this conversation into the realm of informal education, assigning homework for students to ask their families and neighbors: "Why did the *Conflicto Armado* take place in Guatemala? Who

were the groups who participated in the *Conflicto Armado*? and How did the *Conflicto Armado* affect my community?" (Ministry of Education, 2001, p. 17). (It is unclear, however, whether teachers and students take advantage of these opportunities to integrate formal and informal historical narratives. The teachers with whom I interacted suggested that this is rarely the case, partly due to the burden this method places on the student and his/her family.)

Textbooks portray the historical significance of the *Conflicto Armado* through an invisible narrative thread. In one textbook, for example, the chapter covering the 20th century catalogs the terms of Guatemala's presidents, where the conflict emerges intermittently but without an explicit narrative of its own. President García's term is described as a time when "the problems derived from the civil war continued" (Contreras et al., 2008, p. 158), and later, President Arévalo "encountered a country struck by the long civil war" (p. 161). Some presidents specifically garner praise for the way they managed violence, so that President Osorio "acquired fame for his struggle against the guerrilleros" (p. 157), and President Montt "energetically combatted the guerrilla" (p. 160). Even though President García is described as running "one of the most repressive" governments, his use of force was justified because he was able to "recover" regions that were "under subversive power" (p. 158). Language here explicitly privileges the perspective of state actors, and the escalation and scope of violence is left unapparent.

While some textbooks acknowledge that the state army committed more violence than the guerrillas (e.g., Contreras et al., 2008; see Oglesby, 2007b), the level of disproportion is often underemphasized. The word *genocide* is rarely, if ever, present in curricular accounts. Textbooks often recognize indigenous populations as the principal victims of the *Conflicto Armado*, but they neglect to explore the ethnic dimensions of the conflict in order to explain why this might be the case. One text even crudely describes the *Conflicto Armado* as an opportunity that "stimulated indigenous participation in political life" (Contreras et al., 2008, pp. 185–186).

In some cases, students are presented with the peace process before—if not in place of—content on the *Conflicto Armado*. Across all textbooks and curricular guidelines, representation of the Peace Accords is more substantial than representation of the conflict (Oglesby, 2007b). The Peace Accords are often summarized as applications of human rights to indigenous populations, highlighting "different aspects that favor Mayan people" (Contreras et al., 2008, p. 188), again provoking unexplored questions about the conflict's ethnic components. However, the Peace Accords are adamantly framed as a national achievement rather than a concession to any particular group, making explicit that postwar Guatemala is a peaceful, democratic, and pluricultural nation. Here emerges another narrative template: one in which prewar, war, and postwar are identified as distinct periods in a progressive historical trajectory.

Julia's grandparents' testimony synopsizes this plot well, as the story ends with the family's triumphant return from exile (Ministry of Education, 2003). The family now inhabits a safer Guatemala where Julia's father drives a bus (ironically, one of the most unsafe positions today) and where Julia—even as an indigenous

woman—has an opportunity to become educated so that she can actively contribute to the culture of peace. The narrative template of "before-during-after the war" is further outlined in chart form where students are instructed to compare Julia's grandparents' experience over time (p. 326). Many textbooks make explicit use of the "culture of peace" framework while discussing the Peace Accords, positioning youth, such as the character of Julia, as active agents in constructing peace (e.g., Ministry of Education, 2001; see Oglesby, 2007a, 2007b).

Both the Guatemalan Ministry of Education and nongovernmental human rights groups have authored resources that embrace a more critical and rigorous history of the *Conflicto Armado* for inclusion in the national curriculum, but all have been rejected by either state or nonstate actors who view these attempts as unconstructive or as promoting biased interpretations of the past (Oglesby, 2007a; Sandoval, 2011). This ongoing curricular debate suggests that the past remains too charged to address in schools. There are, however, emergent efforts to incorporate the *Conflicto Armado* more extensively in the national curriculum, largely motivated by concern that the postwar generation is ignorant of the recent past (Sandoval, 2011).

TEACHERS' FACILITATION OF HISTORICAL MEMORY: HISTORICAL ACCURACY AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF SCHOOLS

In my research, nearly every teacher contended that learning about the *Conflicto* was important for the postwar generation, but they ranged in terms of their readiness to incorporate historical content about the recent violence into their classroom practice, as well as their attitude toward the permissible boundaries of historical inquiry. Teachers and principals frequently asserted, "We don't really talk about that here," yet educators' interpretations of historical silence varied across actors. For example, one rural teacher said the existing curriculum on the *Conflicto Armado* was so bland that it comprised "history without memory." By this, he meant that the content emphasized "facts and dates" at the expense of "people living the past." Although this teacher addressed the *Conflicto* in his classes, he considered himself relatively silent on the topic because he relied on the "neutral" textbook account. In this way, rural educators sometimes referred to their role in representing the conflict through the lens of "two devils" as a form of contributing to historical silence. Meanwhile, many urban educators contended that they devoted a significant amount of class time to the *Conflicto Armado*, but it was not always clear whether they were in fact teaching the same, allegedly "silenced" narrative while revealing different attitudes toward the two devils template, or whether the environment itself permitted more critical inquiry.

Educators working in both rural schools, with majority indigenous student populations, and urban schools, with more heterogeneous student populations, lamented the lack of interest that contemporary adolescents expressed toward national history and cultural identity, attributing their indifference to everything from pop music to state hegemony. "I have students who don't know there was a war here. … When we talk about it, they think it is a tragic fiction," one teacher of

an urban private school explained, a recurring comment made by educators about the postwar generation and one that earned recent headlines (Sandoval, 2011). Other teachers identified the challenge of historical distancing: "This past has nothing to do with them—they think, it's not my story, because it didn't happen to me."

Despite educators' shared concern that students lacked critical knowledge about the civil conflict, many insisted that they did not have the materials or the training necessary to facilitate discussions of the *Conflicto Armado* in classrooms. In rural areas, educators were often working with outdated textbooks and few other material resources. A principal of a rural school said they had been waiting for the revised curriculum for over a decade. Though teachers, administrators, and textbooks invite educators to supplement lesson plans with external materials, the lack of clear guidelines, the absence of professional training, and the sensitivity of the content have prevented teachers from easily incorporating this material. One teacher noted that she "would talk about it, but it is not in the curriculum. And I don't have any books or videos about this topic to use with students." Other teachers suggested that "authorities should connect all teachers and give them a lot of support to pursue work on historical memory," and that it is "the responsibility of the Ministry [of Education] to ensure that the theme gets covered in class … because many teachers do not know how to approach the subject and do not have the necessary information to teach it."

In the absence of material resources, oral history and testimonial narrative have become critical primary sources for teaching the past. Rural educators in particular expressed that authenticity, assured through direct experience, connoted accuracy. Indigenous teachers, then, became the authentic educators of this past, because indigenous actors participated in the *Conflicto Armado* in greater numbers on both sides, because there were many more indigenous casualties, and because the violence took place principally in rural regions inhabited by indigenous populations. In some cases, educators constructed authenticity around access to historical knowledge gained through lived experience or direct testimony; for example, one teacher noted, "I can [teach the *Conflicto Armado* effectively], because my [indigenous] family was affected, and they have transmitted their story to me, so that I can now transmit it to others." In other cases, educators more essentially linked indigenousness to a particular orientation toward the past, claiming that indigenous educators were more willing and qualified to teach about the conflict, while some ladino educators "resisted." One urban teacher commented that all educators should discuss the *Conflicto* in the classroom, but indigenous teachers had an advantage, because "what is missing from the curriculum is the native voice." Although I did not hear ladino teachers say they felt incapable of teaching the *Conflicto Armado* because of their ethnicity, both indigenous and ladino teachers and principals commented that indigenous people "know" more because they "lived it." This link between ethnicity and authenticity was more prevalent in rural areas, where ladino teachers were sometimes working in schools with 100% indigenous student populations.

Another motivation for educators' silence on this subject was the belief that remembering the recent past would "open wounds" that had already been "healed" (see Nelson, 1999). Rather than focus on past wrongdoings, these educators contended that Guatemala needed a "usable past" that would reinforce national unity (Cole, 2007; Wertsch, 2002) and provide an opportunity to overcome a "culture of violence" and "moral poverty." These actors insisted that "we cannot live in memories," and "we need to let go of the past in favor of positive changes," "promoting a culture of peace."

Educators also chose to omit the *Conflicto Armado* from classroom discussion because of fear. Physical security was mainly a concern for individuals in rural villages that had been affected during the *Conflicto*, due to local impunity for former war criminals. Indigenous teacher Luis, who lost family members during the conflict, noted that "those who killed still greet us as if nothing happened." Ladino teachers in rural areas also expressed concerns about safety, stating, "The causes of the *Conflicto* still grip the country." Veronica, an urban ladina teacher, clarified that it was not the mention of the *Conflicto* that was dangerous, but the critique of the state that it may lead to: "It is still too soon for us to see the injustice; we only see tragedy." Veronica's words reveal the limits of historical thinking in the "postwar," offering a justification for schools' promotion of the neutral "two devils" interpretation.

Across diverse school districts and communities, teachers agreed that most of their students did not learn about the *Conflicto Armado* at home with their families; what little knowledge they came to school with, however, often proved problematic in the conveyance of historical accuracy. On one hand, teachers noted that their work became more difficult when students had never heard of the *Conflicto Armado*. The recent violence came as a "shock," "because it is such a significant event but has been so silenced." Other teachers confirmed that when students first heard about the violence in school rather than at home, the conversation proved too emotionally charged. Rodolfo noted,

> Some of my students lost their aunts, uncles, parents, grandparents. But when they ask their parents how these relatives died, their parents don't explain the war. … They come into school and ask me. … It is one thing to teach about the past, but it is very difficult when I am telling them what happened to their family.

Some teachers were more concerned with outside sources serving as background knowledge in order to establish historical context. Leonardo, who taught in a private rural Mayan school, said, "It would help teachers a lot if students knew part of our history coming in. Even if we disagree with how parents recount the past, it would still give the youth some context that we could develop in school."

On the other hand, the various narratives coming from school and family actors sometimes sharply conflicted in the classroom. Gladis, a public school teacher in the same village as Leonardo, said that prior knowledge often encouraged students to resist new information.

> They [students] already have their version from their parents or those who raised them. And this makes it more difficult for them to accept other versions of the past that are more clearly told. … What I mean is that it is harder to interpret a past when it has already been made personal and political for you.

Another teacher at a public urban school said that students' outside knowledge of the *Conflicto Armado* influenced classroom discussion in positive and negative ways: "It is relative. What parents teach their kids can help facilitate our teaching at school. But it can also block different interpretations." Overall, educators placed emphasis on teaching the past "objectively" and "without bias," so that students had an opportunity to understand the "real history … told with truth."

According to teachers, the "real" or "objective" history ranged from the textbook depiction, underscoring the detrimental acts of both state and guerrilla armies, to the truth commission account, emphasizing historical racism and state repression. Luis described the narrative confrontation between school and family discourses as a reminder that schools needed to emphasize the "safe" narrative, even if it forced him to modify his individual viewpoint: "The challenge is they are from families with very different political beliefs. Some were on the side of the military, and some the guerrillas. How can we have an open conversation when at home they learn something very different?" Though he believed every citizen should identify the *Conflicto* as genocide, he would never use the term in the classroom, insisting, "Since you don't know who is in the room, the textbook is safe." While Luis articulated clear limits on educators' abilities to convey historical truth, nearly all educators believed that the role of schools was important in countering biased narratives that existed outside the classroom.

Across all spaces, teachers held strong opinions about their role as educators charged with responsibility for shaping a culture of peace, even when they differed on the role of historical memory in cultivating this vision.

FAMILY NARRATIVES: MY STORY, MY TRUTH

Because formal education largely silences critical discussion of the *Conflicto Armado* (Oglesby, 2007a, 2007b; Sandoval, 2011), historical narratives have been forced into "unofficial" spaces. In this context, numerous informal educational influences shape young learners' knowledge and attitudes toward the past. Adolescents indicated that intergenerational exchanges with family members were significant influences on their historical understanding, whether through narratives or silences.

Like educators, parents diverged on their stance toward educating their children about the *Conflicto Armado*, ranging from purposeful or inadvertent silence to the active, albeit cautious, shaping of their children's historical memory. Some parents openly denied discussing the conflict with their children because it was too painful, reiterating that to remember was to put a finger in a wound. Although in many cases this wound belonged exclusively to the survivor generation, in some cases,

parents were concerned that painful memories would become their children's vicarious "postmemories" (Hirsch, 2008). Mario, a ladino father who had been active in labor rights movements, spoke passionately about wanting to keep his son ignorant of what he endured: "Why should I let him feel the pain I felt? I want him to live in a safe world where he doesn't have to worry about me and what I lived through." In other families, parents' purposeful silence centered on issues of safety. "We can talk about the *Conflicto* at home, but … we tell our children not to say anything outside this house. … [During the conflict] we were divided, and these divisions continue to exist."

Other parents chose not to discuss the *Conflicto Armado* with their children for very different reasons, stating that they either lacked the knowledge to sufficiently explain the past, or they did not feel that it was their story to tell. This perspective stood out among ladino parents who were less likely to directly experience the conflict and were less likely to be educated about it. One ladina mother stated simply, "I don't know how I would tell my son about this history, because I don't know what happened." Another ladina mother noted that, despite her ethnicity precluding firsthand knowledge of the *Conflicto*, she was able to educate herself, with some difficulty. "I am ladina, so I did not live the war. … I had to do a lot of research in order to learn about it independently." Several other ladino parents were similarly explicit about their ethnic identity impeding not only access to knowledge, but also authenticity and a right to narrate the past. Claudia's words captured this sentiment, "I am ladina, so it is not my history." Sometimes, parents' fundamental miscomprehension of the conflict lent support to the idea that the *Conflicto Armado* was an "indigenous history" in which ladinos were not implicated; for example, Regina explained that her uncle "was tortured during the war. But they must have mistaken him for someone else, because he is not indigenous." Other times, even indigenous parents denied their authenticity as historical narrators, positing direct experience as more salient. As one indigenous mother said, "It would be important, but I did not live the *Conflicto*. My village was not really affected."

Yet another reason why many parents silenced or evaded opportunities to talk to their children about the *Conflicto Armado* was that the "past was past" and did not resonate with the needs of contemporary Guatemala. Recognizing that past and present violence often competed for economic, political, and social resources (ranging from material investments in state institutions to prominence in public discourse), parents applied this friction to knowledge resources as well. The words of one father resonated with the perspective of many ladino parents living in urban centers where postwar violence is most acute: "It does not make sense to talk about the past violence when there is so much violence today. … We are at war today again, and this violence is happening now." Along similar lines, both ladino and indigenous parents expressed concerns that intergenerational transmissions would transfer not only memories of violence, but also tendencies toward violent behavior. One urban ladina shared, "To discuss the *Conflicto Armado* and its causes, and to do so without bias, is not possible. And to what benefit? To agitate, to foment more hatred?"

In some families, the act of historical distancing verged on nostalgia for dicta-torship control, since "at least back then, you knew who would be targeted … if you were 'involved in something.'[iii] Today anyone can be a victim." Because today's Guatemala is experiencing a convergence of political and social violence, these parents taught their children that the *Conflicto Armado* was "safer" than the present day.

On one hand, then, parents played a decisive role in reinforcing historical silence. On the other hand, many parents actively countered the bland historical narrative that their children learned in school, insisting that their lived experience of violence demanded a more critical interpretation. In some instances, these parents preferred that schools not teach about the conflict at all, since "the version they promote … is so impotent that we could call it historical silence." Recognizing that "at schools there is a distortion of the facts," one mother actively told her children about her experiences as an "indigenous victim" during the *Conflicto Armado*. "If I did not talk about what I lived, the suffering that I endured, they would not understand. They cannot understand that from any document." An urban indigenous father commented on his role as a parent educator in the face of competing memories:

> They tell the state's version of the history in schools. That's all teachers have permission to tell. But we know that the state has not admitted there was genocide here. … So the version of the *Conflicto Armado* that my children learn there [at school] is very different from the story I tell.

Similarly, parents who educated their children about the past frequently reacted to the discourse that remembering the past would "promote rancor," instead connecting justice to the "reclamation of historical memory." For Sandra, memory was a pathway toward imagining a just future. "They don't teach it in schools because they think it will promote hatred, but I don't have hatred, I just want justice. And part of justice is that Guatemala knows its past." In some cases, parents made explicit links between the past and present, in order to communicate its relevance to their children. Marcelo, for example, noted that learning about the *Conflicto Armado* "helps explain why Guatemala is the way that it is," allowing his children to recognize "the poverty that the *Conflicto* left … and to understand that discrimination and racism, unfortunately, are not new." In many ways, parents regarded historical memory as part of their social responsibility, "so that my children can know the truth and relay it to future generations" and "so that our suffering is not forgotten." Here, intergenerational memory of past suffering became deeply connected to collective identity, sometimes at the level of ethnicity, other times at the national level. One urban ladina grandmother spoke passionately about the role of all Guatemalans in promoting historical memory: "It is part of our past, part of who we are. … We are all responsible for educating about it." Another ladina grandmother similarly linked the memory act to the nation moving forward: "It cannot be treated simply as … a stain on the nation's history. It needs to be understood as an opportunity to change and never return to such violence."

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Across families in urban and rural areas, parents ranged in their claims that schools taught "nothing" or "very little" about the *Conflicto Armado*. They were, however, polarized regarding the "compromise" narrative that schools did promote. While some parents insisted that the conflict was too personal for schools alone to handle, others maintained that it was too political for families to manage without schools. Many indigenous parents, such as Sandra, openly contested the neutrality of two devils: "Yes, guerrillas committed violence, but it was not the same level. … They did not have the weapons and resources that the army had." But several indigenous families also defended the actions of the state and even expressed nostalgia for an era when the government had a handle on violence. Eva, whose husband served in the military during the *Conflicto Armado*, believed that schools vilified the state army, while portraying the guerrilla "as if they were innocent … but in reality, they [guerrillas] instigated the violence in our village." From her position of authority as a firsthand witness, Eva claimed truth in her version of the past, in which guerrillas incited violence in her home, while the military protected her.

Finally, some parents expressed practical concerns about the connection between historical knowledge and civic action: "If we don't talk about the past, we will keep electing [former genocidaire] Ríos Montt and other military officers into our government. They are there in the first place because we don't know our past." Generally, this attitude rested on the assumption that creating peace required recognition of a violent past in which people were held accountable for wrong-doings, at least rhetorically if not legally: "How will we avoid repeating the past if we don't know our past?" For these parents, historical consciousness of the *Conflicto* offered a critical opportunity to break the cycle of impunity, violence, and silence.

ADOLESCENTS: THE PAST IS PRESENT, THE PAST IS PAST

Though the easily accessible official history reveals little about the nature of the crimes committed, the ideology that drove genocidal violence, and the actors who were accountable, many young people expressed a profound sense of blame and victimization by the way the *Conflicto Armado* was nationally remembered or silenced. Young people were often caught in the web of conflicting interpretations of the past, as well as fierce debates about its relevance. In talking with youth from rural and urban areas, I observed three distinct perspectives among the postwar generation: one group was virtually ignorant of the *Conflicto Armado*, another portion believed the past to be deeply relevant to their lives, and the third faction believed the presence of this past to be irrelevant and even harmful.

Though the majority of postwar adolescents knew of the *Conflicto Armado*, many openly denied having deep knowledge about the conflict, citing a lack of discussion in private and public settings as an impediment to their learning. Nearly all adolescents struggled to identify causes of the *Conflicto Armado*, and some-times they could not recall the principal actors who took part in the violence. Some, like Luis Fernando, had extensive knowledge about the Peace Accords, but

did not recognize the violence by name and time period. Though most adolescents mentioned both some formal schooling ("I think we saw a movie about that in class") and informal exposure to the *Conflicto Armado* ("My grandmother told me there were guerrillas"), in some cases, they claimed they had no exposure to this past, even when they were in classrooms where teachers reported discussing the *Conflicto* for a significant amount of class time.

In some cases, adolescents assumed that the absence of dialogue about the *Conflicto Armado* implied that this history "must not be important." These students noted that schools "ignore this theme," and adults "don't tell you about the violence unless you ask." Young learners were also cognizant that there was a lack of public knowledge about the *Conflicto*, similarly concluding that if "the majority is ignorant of what happened," this "historical memory is not important to Guatemalans." Youth's impressions of historical silence, then, did not always correspond to adults' intentions.

In other cases, students expressed concern that such a significant portion of the recent past was being silenced: "I don't know much about the *Conflicto Armado*, because they don't tell us anything. … If there were more opportunities, I would like to learn more." Another student said, "They should teach us more in school. They should not keep the past a secret." Adolescents were more likely to want to learn about the *Conflicto Armado* when they saw the recent past as relevant to their current lives. Sometimes relevancy took the form of linking history and identity, and often these identity links privileged the indigenous perspective: "We need historical memory to … learn more about our Mayan culture." Other responses gravitated toward the need to learn about the past as a mode of cultural protection: "History is a space … to fight for the Maya life."

Like the teachers and parents who assumed that these memories were more relevant to indigenous rather than national identity, students picked up on the role of ethnicity in establishing authenticity and hence relevance. One rural adolescent put it simply, "In the pueblo, history is considered important, but in the city I don't think it matters." Urban adolescents echoed this divide: "This history matters to the pueblo, because it was about them." This social disparity regarding the past's relevance also mapped onto the variation among indigenous communities, as some indigenous students believed that adolescents in Quiche Mayan villages more acutely affected by the conflict had more learning opportunities than they did in their own Kaqchikel Mayan village.[iv] Many ladino youth subscribed to the notion that the *Conflicto Armado* was an "indigenous history," at times believing that its memory placed too much blame on the ladino population. One ladino teenager lamented, "Studying the past reminds everyone that ladinos are the oppressors. But indigenous are racist too." Others echoed this concern, reinforcing the discourse that remembering only produced rancor.

The *Conflicto Armado*'s tentative relationship to contemporary violence forged another trope about the role of the past in the present, as adolescents constructed relevancy around historical connections. When they regarded contemporary violence as an outgrowth of the *Conflicto Armado*, adolescents were more likely to interpret the past as relevant. For example, many adolescents actively refuted the

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narrative templates in textbook accounts that described a sequential chain of prewar-war-postwar: "I think the *Conflicto Armado* didn't end. On the contrary, violence in Guatemala increases every day." In other instances, adolescents drew causal connections between the *Conflicto* and the "postwar": "The *Conflicto Armado* was the root of all the violence today." These views upheld the idea that the past was, in fact, present, and therefore important to the postwar generation.

In contrast, a number of adolescents regarded memories of the *Conflicto Armado* as an impediment to justice, peace, and social reconciliation. Occasionally revealing deep frustration toward this history's alleged prevalence despite its contemporary irrelevance, these youth positioned history as a barrier to managing present concerns such as security and impunity: "The only human rights groups that exist fight for justice in the past. What will we solve with this struggle? We need justice in the present." One urban teenager believed that activists' annual protesting of National Army Day was redundant and "pointless," since "it cannot help us today. It is in the past." The rhetoric of "the past is past" was poignant among urban adolescents, in particular.

These adolescents' historical distancing was often motivated by their contemporary contexts of violence, as urban areas have been disproportionately affected by "postwar" crime. As the past is always constructed through the lens of the present (Halbwachs, 1952/1996), experiences with contemporary violence powerfully contributed to shaping the past as irrelevant in some cases and as nostalgic in others. But the assertion of the "past as past" or the *Conflicto Armado* as an "indigenous history" was also frequently informed by historical inaccuracy, racism, and civic disempowerment. For example, one urban youth blamed current state corruption on the guerrillas whose "goal was to eliminate the militia and fight for democracy." This student positioned the guerrillas as the unfortunate victors of the conflict, which brought about a corrupt democracy responsible for present-day violence. Further, this individual believed that current perpetrators were almost exclusively indigenous. This perspective was shared by other urban youth, who considered postwar violence a vengeful indigenous response to the *Conflicto Armado*.

Others collapsed past circumstances and present mara-phobia (fear of gangs) with misinformation and harmful stereotypes. For example, one teenager explained:

> The government during the *Conflicto Armado* protected us against delinquents and gangs. But that war ended. Today the violence is so bad … because indigenous people have too many children and don't take care of them. When these children grow up, they become delinquents.

This adolescent's understanding of present violence was guided by beliefs that poor indigenous were today's perpetrators, precisely because they were poor and could not take care of themselves. Some indigenous youth displayed similar levels of intergroup distrust, classifying ladinos as "*ladrones*" (thieves).

Finally, some adolescents concluded that the *Conflicto Armado* was not relevant to their present-day lives, because "there is nothing you can do about it." In the

absence of critical and open historical dialogue about the conflict, the postwar generation's analysis of past and present injustice frequently fell back on uncritical dismissals of Guatemala as suffering a "culture of violence" (Bellino, 2010/2011). Oglesby (2007a, 2007b) has argued that the curricular emphasis on a "culture of peace" framework has created the tautological notion that a "culture of violence" provoked the war. The "culture of violence" discourse operates as a convenient justification for past and present conflict, dismissing critical inquiry into why violence took place in the past and why it continued after the Peace Accords. In the process, this discourse perpetuates the notion that "violence is endemic because it is intrinsic," that contemporary Guatemala is violent because it is at the mercy of its violent past (Bellino, 2010/2011, p. 16).

The curriculum's deficiency of historical accountability for the *Conflicto Armado* plays a role here, portraying an inevitable past that unfolded in the absence of historical agents or systems of power. But the bigger tragedy is that students were inadvertently taught that they too were exempt from responsibility for their own actions and that citizens were powerless to affect change. Teenagers assured me, "You can get away with murder in Guatemala. Our government does it, so everyone else knows they can too." And "Guatemala has always been violent. … That will never change, because we have a culture of violence." This diffused sense of powerlessness and changelessness among citizens led to purposeful distrust and disengagement, with the past erecting a wall between the state and its citizens.

CONCLUSION

At first glance, what I have presented here is a web of irreconcilable contradictions: teachers describe a generation of students who lack knowledge about the recent past, but they also argue that what students learn at home is biased. Parents report that their children learn next to nothing about the conflict in schools, but how schools describe this era is problematic. Teachers report devoting class time to the *Conflicto Armado*, but students insist that they have hardly studied the material. Adolescents seem to know little about this period of violence, yet they maintain strong viewpoints about its relevance to their lives today. These inconsistencies, however, are not uncommon in postconflict sites, where disputes over historical accounts are almost never merely about "what happened," but also about "what is" and "what is becoming" (Portelli, 1990; Wertsch, 2002).

In part, the lack of critical engagement with this history across formal and informal educational agents and institutions explains the prevalence of contradictions. Meanwhile, discrepancies reveal the various interpretations of what constitutes "silence" in the aftermath of mass conflict. Transitional justice research demonstrates the need for history education to emphasize individual agency and choices that led to conflict, while promoting active citizenship (Cole & Barsalou, 2006; Cole & Murphy, 2007; Davies, 2004). In some cases, then, historical accounts that lack accountability denote silence and selective forgetting, displacing the larger social need to acknowledge atrocity. In other cases, these accounts

agitate memory's wound, provoke hatred and pain, or distract attention from urgent problems in the present.

The lack of Guatemala's official, public space to examine the violent past has relegated historical memory to the realm of unofficial spaces, where local memory communities have preserved preexisting social divisions between indigenous and ladinos and between army and guerrilla sympathizers, while also creating new fractures between those who are victims of past crimes and those who are victims of crimes committed in the present. These divisions, in turn, intensify the perceived opposition between the "official past" and "historical memory."

The forthcoming curricular reforms, involving various state and nonstate stakeholders, anticipate increased content on the *Conflicto Armado*, including a victim's testimonial narrative and resources for teacher guidance (Sandoval, 2011). Coupled with the existing human rights education framework, it is possible that these reforms, once authored, approved, and implemented, will begin a dialogue among rivaling voices, legitimizing multiple historical perspectives. For now, one thing is certain: Without addressing past violence directly and critically in formal school curriculum, an institution young learners rely on for authority and clarification, simplistic explanations in and out of school risk mystifying atrocity and the historical agents and forces responsible for it.

NOTES

[i] All participant names have been replaced with pseudonyms.

[ii] There are 22 linguistically distinct Mayan communities in Guatemala. The CEH determined that genocidal acts were committed against particular Mayan communities, although many activists contend that the army directed its repressive campaign toward the Mayan population in general. This discrepancy speaks to the distinction between legal and popular definitions of genocide (see Rothenberg, 2012).

[iii] Sanford (2008b) noted that blaming the victim is a historical pattern in Guatemala, facilitating a "lexicon" of blame (pp. 119–120).

[iv] In fact, the Quiche Mayans did suffer a disproportionate amount of violence in relation to other Mayan communities. This Kaqchikel village is located in the department that suffered the fourth largest percentage of human rights violations during the *Conflicto Armado* (CEH, 1999).

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8. REVISION FOR RIGHTS?

Nation-Building Through Post-War Cambodian
Social Studies Textbooks, 1979–2009

Cambodia has arrived at a turning point in its history. The Khmer Rouge Tribunal, a joint effort between Cambodia's judiciary and the United Nations to investigate and try senior Khmer Rouge leaders, is inviting unprecedented reflection and dialogue on civic education and citizenship. The first textbook to give a detailed account of the Cambodian genocide from 1975 to 1979 has been authorized as a text for the secondary school history curriculum. Organizations such as the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-CAM), with international support, have relentlessly pursued the cause of genocide education and fact-finding in the last decade, only recently finding success at the national level. Why has it taken 30 years for Cambodia to officially teach about the Khmer Rouge in its schools?

Through an examination of Cambodian secondary-level history textbooks and an analysis of the political dialogues that surrounded their adoption or revision, I map how the decision to include genocide education in the national curriculum and how the rhetoric of civic and human rights have evolved in the last 30 years. This textbook analysis was guided by two main research questions: (1) What content has been included and what has been left out of the national history curriculum? and (2) How has curricular inclusion changed as Cambodia's political climate and connectedness to a greater world society have changed?

I argue that in the aftermath of the Khmer Rouge regime and during the last three decades of nation-building, political agendas and sociocultural norms have influenced both the inclusion and content of genocide education in Cambodia's formal school curriculum. The revision of history textbooks in Cambodia has mirrored the political changes in the country; each movement and decision to include or exclude human rights and Khmer Rouge history in student textbooks is closely linked to the political needs of the country.

Specifically, three distinct political periods since the end of the Khmer Rouge regime were matched with three distinct phases in the revision of history textbooks. During the immediate post-Khmer Rouge period beginning in 1979, while under the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) and Vietnam's heavy influence, school textbook content exposed the sociopolitical ideology of the time—a de-nouncement of Khmer Rouge atrocities, the formation of a socialist conception of civic responsibility, and an emphasis on uplifting women and other marginalized groups.

Beginning in 1991, when the United Nations Transitional Authority Commission (UNTAC) set the stage for the country's first democratic elections, the political contestations of Khmer Rouge history were obstacles to national political stability. At the height of the political tension in 2002, the history of Cambodia from 1975 to 1979 was removed from school texts completely, leaving a generation of students without access to government-supported information about the Khmer Rouge.

With the tribunal under way, Cambodia found itself in a new political landscape. Khmer Rouge history had been reintroduced into the curriculum through the struggle of several nongovernmental agencies and the international attention to genocide prompted by the Khmer Rouge Tribunal. In 2007, the royal government issued a national decree adopting the first text to provide a full and accurate historical account of the Cambodian people's experience during the Khmer Rouge regime.

The 30 years since the end of the Khmer Rouge regime has been marked with political turmoil and instability, and for substantial parts of this time, the 1975 to 1979 period of history has gone missing—sacrificed during political crisis. The sections that follow provide an overview of this "missing history" and identify the social and political pressures that dictate the inclusion of similarly controversial history. The data and methods used in the textbook analysis are outlined. Discussion then examines how national educational policy has implemented curricular exclusion and inclusion, and what national and global pressures have shaped curricular revision with respect to genocide education and human rights in Cambodia. I focus on the DC-CAM, an independent Cambodian research center and international nonprofit nongovernmental organization dedicated to documenting the Cambodian genocide and bringing genocide education back to national attention.

BACKGROUND: THE STATE OF CAMBODIAN EDUCATION

In what has been called a "sideshow" to the Vietnam War, Cambodia's genocide was brought about after regional political and social unrest spilled over into Cambodia. Once the Khmer Rouge took control of Phnom Penh in 1975, they began a gross reorganization of the country. The entire city of Phnom Penh was evacuated and its citizens were sent to work camps around the country. The Khmer Rouge detained, tortured, and executed people who were educated, working professionals and those thought to be traitors to Khmer society. Religion, family, and all things considered "Western" were banned, and a mass reconstruction of society was envisioned. In purging the country, nearly one third of the Cambodian population, an estimated 2 million people, perished during the 4 years under the Khmer Rouge communist regime.

Though the regime remained in control for 4 years, from 1975 to 1979, the consequences of such radical political upheaval left the country's educational system on a slow path to recovery. The Khmer Rouge and the decade of continued warfare afterwards almost completely destroyed Cambodia's educational infra-

structure, including the destruction of educational facilities and the depletion of the teacher supply (Ayres, 2000b). Teachers were targeted by the Khmer Rouge regime, and it is estimated that 75% to 80% of teachers fled or died during their control (Duggan, 1996). The eradication of the educated citizenry left Cambodia with a severe shortage of qualified and trained teachers and very little on which to rebuild educational structures and systems.

Those teachers who remained found themselves charged with the task of making sense of the atrocities that occurred. However, as the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sport (MoEYS) controlled the content of school textbooks and oversaw the breadth of teacher training, the history curriculum disseminated to students largely depended on the ideology of the regime in power. The Khmer Rouge history that was included in textbooks was either grossly exaggerated or completely obsolete.

The effects of an absent national curriculum on the Khmer Rouge era are apparent 30 years later. With 68% of the population 30 years old or younger, the majority of Cambodia's population has not directly experienced the violence and abuses of the Khmer Rouge. A groundbreaking survey in Cambodia exposed the lack of knowledge of Khmer Rouge history. Eighty-one percent of respondents who did not live under the Khmer Rouge described their knowledge of that period as poor or very poor (Pham, Vinck, Balthazard, Hean, & Stover, 2009). Most (84%) said their main source of information about the Khmer Rouge was families and friends, while only 6% said they acquired it in school. Seventy-seven percent of all respondents said they wanted to know more about what happened during the Khmer Rouge regime, while 85% of those who did not live under the regime wanted to learn more (Pham et al., 2009). The results shed light on the lack of knowledge in the general population and provide compelling evidence in support of curricular revision.

In 2007, the MoEYS in Cambodia issued a memorandum of understanding granting the DC-CAM permission to reproduce and distribute a secondary school social studies textbook focused solely on Cambodian history leading up to and during the Khmer Rouge regime. Titled *A History of Democratic Kampuchea (1975–1979)* (Dy, 2007), the book is seen as a success for genocide education advocates and Cambodians who have longed to include this dark part of Cambodian modern history in the national secondary school curriculum.

GENOCIDE EDUCATION

Trends in Genocide Education

The absence of a national school curriculum concerning controversial history is not a new phenomenon. A national tragedy such as genocide or a civil war may be included or excluded from school curricula for a variety of reasons, and throughout history, a host of political, cultural, and social influences have tailored the history curriculum in postwar countries. Similar patterns of reaction followed the Holocaust and even the recent Rwandan genocide.

National Sentiment

Following a tragedy of national scope, especially one that is internally caused, nations must navigate the public mood and national sentiment in their social reconstruction efforts. The inclusion of genocide education seems to follow a period of mourning. The populous of a nation-state may be unready to face a tragedy such as genocide and must first deal with the feelings and memories of the traumatic time. Porat (2004) argued that there was a national reluctance in Israel to speak out openly and teach about the Holocaust in schools too soon after World War II. In fact, Israel waited many years to overcome what was perceived to be a "national humiliation," having the first Holocaust commemoration 14 years after the end of World War II (Power, 2002; Porat, 2004, p. 621).

Other national sentiments, such as "Holocaust denial," attempted to downplay the severity and even existence of the genocide (Bartov, 2004). Linked to greater anti-Semitic tendencies, controversial documents were kept confidential and Jewish history was ignored in Israel, Germany, and the United States. This "historical unconsciousness" has implications for school curricula, and in the case of Holocaust education, delayed and stifled Jewish, German, and U.S. students from learning about the plight of the Jews in Europe.

Political Agendas

While national sentiment plays a major role in determining whether or not controversial postconflict curricula can and should be taught in schools, the curriculum itself can be a tool used to serve political agendas. Several scholars have charted the ways in which the inclusion of genocide education in the national curriculum is dependent upon the political objectives of dominant political players.

Historians have suggested that the absence of Holocaust education in the United States after World War II was due to the need for political stability (Porat, 2004; Diner, 2003). With sensitive relations between nations following the world wars, national decisions such as national history curriculum and the characterization of international actors in history needed to be carefully considered. As such, Holocaust education was nearly invisible in the United States after World War II for the explicit sake of repairing ties with the Soviet Union and Germany.

In Israel, Holocaust education served other political purposes. According to Levy and Sznaider (2002), the Jews needed a strong state with military might to defend national sovereignty and establish a territorial boundary. The Holocaust, therefore, "was mapped onto the Arab/Israeli conflict and has remained there ever since" (p. 96). Holocaust education in Israel continually reminds the Jewish people and other nations around the world that they are a people who, having endured a colossal international tragedy, have the legitimacy of a nation-state.

Social and Cultural Norms

Yet political agendas are not the sole curriculum change-agents. Greater social and cultural norms and values greatly influence those political agendas and can even trump political intentions and needs. For example, after the Eichmann trial in 1961, more papers were published in Israel exposing the historical truths of the Holocaust. The documents included Anne Frank's diary and other memoirs (Dror, 2001). This unleashed a wave of truth seeking, and the historical revelations helped to build national historical consciousness about the Holocaust. The ideas of needing to understand the past and build collective memory began to support the cause of genocide education in schools.

   Towards the end of the Cold War, the Holocaust ceased to be merely a political tool worldwide. A global move towards universal morality and compassion burgeoned, and world society began to hail the human rights banner. The proliferation and valorization of human rights on an international scale helped to create a demand for Holocaust education (Ramirez, Bromley, & Russell, 2009). With such a surge in worldwide support for Holocaust studies and remembrance, the Israeli Parliament adopted Holocaust studies in the early 1980s as a compulsory subject for secondary social studies in Israel (Dror, 2001). The United States followed similar trends in the crafting and adopting of Holocaust history curricula. In 1978 President Carter's Commission on the Holocaust outlined a framework for education and memorialization of the Holocaust. Since then, some states have upheld legislative mandates for the inclusion of Holocaust education in the history curriculum while other states have made recommendations for how to teach about the Holocaust or established commissions to support Holocaust education in schools.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Similar to the narrative of the inclusion of Holocaust education, this analysis frames nationally developed history textbooks in Cambodia as a political tool used for political agendas. Dominant political interests in the United States, Germany, and Israel manipulated and rewrote Holocaust history to serve political purposes, and Cambodia's saga with Khmer Rouge history seems to have done the same. The reasons for these political decisions can be understood within the frameworks of nation-building and neo-nationalism in postconflict countries. And in the case of Cambodia, the expectations of a greater world society may have also influenced the curricular revision process.

Nation-Building

A theory of neo-nationalism can explain curriculum sacrifices in national education policy. The school curriculum in countries with centralized education administration may function as a mouthpiece of the central government. As school curriculum is far-reaching and begins and deepens the socialization process of the young

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citizenry, it is a powerful political tool for nation-building after national conflicts. As demonstrated after the Holocaust, there tends to be a period of national mourning, humiliation, and denial following conflicts that dramatically disturb the national psyche. As the identity of the nation is in limbo, there must be careful consideration as to how to best repair, restore, and rebuild the fragile nation-state. Neo-nationalism often explains the social reconstruction process by which nations reimage their national identity.

In each period of postwar Cambodia, the national history curriculum exposed the overarching national political ideology and the government's nation-building efforts. In the 1980s, immediately following the liberation of the Khmer Rouge, textbooks were used to galvanize a new Khmer identity that distanced Cambodians from the atrocities of the Khmer Rouge regime. Neo-Khmerization sought to reconnect the Cambodian people to a glorious ancient past under the Angkor Empire and remind them that they came from a culture of greatness and were capable of building a great nation. The textbooks used in this study show how nation-building was focused on the reconstruction of this positive national identity in the aftermath of a civil conflict that destroyed the face of the country.

Nation-building efforts continued into the 1990s after the arrival of UNTAC. As the Khmer Rouge dissolved, several factions and political parties sprouted and began to vie for power. The then controversial Khmer Rouge history came to be at the center of political negotiations, and it was sacrificed for the sake of political stability. Prime Minister Hun Sen described the need to "dig a hole and bury the past" (Linton, 2004, p. 84)—to forget what happened and move on. He, along with several other national leaders, believed it better for nation-building to ignore the divisive curriculum issue and move forward towards political progress and national development.

The concept of nation-building in Cambodia changed again after the turn of the century. With increasing aid and attention from international actors and allies, the process and goals of nation-building in Cambodia became more closely linked with world expectations and global norms. Here, the theory of world society best explains the changes in national education policy during the time (Meyer, Boli, Thomas, & Ramirez, 1997). Norms, trends, and expectations are formed at the global level, and transnational actors such as international nongovernmental organizations disseminate and model them. In Cambodia at the turn of the century, genocide education and human rights advocates became increasingly influential and vocal, putting pressure on the MoEYS in Cambodia to include genocide education in the national curriculum. The results are evident in the newly revised national history curriculum that all Cambodian students now have access to.

But what exactly was it that was being buried in the 1990s, and how has the content of textbooks changed over the last 30 years? What specific political disputes and compromises have characterized those changes? In the following sections I examine the actual content of sample Khmer textbooks and detail the political process that surrounded their revision and adoption. I then further discuss Cambodia's nation-building approaches in the aftermath of the Khmer Rouge.

DATA AND METHODS

Data

The textbooks for this study were collected with permission from the MoEYS, Kingdom of Cambodia. As a part of a larger human rights education textbook study at a U.S. university, this study retrieved a sample of history, morals, and civics textbooks from grades 5 to 12 from the MoEYS Repository in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. The textbook study called for a minimum of three books per country, one published between 1975 and 1985, another between 1986 and 1995, and a third from the period 1996 to 2007. The books must have been used in a social science course such as history, civics, social studies, or ethics. Books for junior high school–aged students were preferred, although upper secondary school texts were also included in the sample.

Once permission was granted from the MoEYS, I retrieved textbook samples that matched the necessary criteria from the national book repository. Nine books were obtained (see Table 1). Some textbooks were available from, and translated by, DC-CAM.

Table 1. Nine Textbooks, from Three Different Periods, Analyzed in This Study

Period	Textbooks in sample
1979-1991, People's Republic of Kampuchea	Moral & Political Education, 1982, Grade 6
	Khmer History, 1986, Grade 7
	Khmer History, 1987, Grade 8
1991-2002, United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia	Social Studies, 1996, Grade 9*
	Social Studies, 2001, Grade 9*
	Social Studies, 2002, Grade 9*
	Social Studies, 2002, Grade 12*
2003-present, tribunal period	A History of Democratic Kampuchea, 2007
	Social Studies, 2007, Grade 8

*Translations provided by Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-CAM)

Methods

Each textbook was translated from Khmer to English, and sections referring to the Khmer Rouge, human rights, or other linkages to a broader world society were recorded using the coding scheme of the larger study. The code was applied to each of the textbooks to systematically identify the mentions of genocide and human rights in the text. The coding scheme specifically pinpointed genocides such as the Holocaust and the Rwandan genocide, but mentions of mass killings and other large-scale violence were also recorded. Human rights codes were used for any specific textbook attention to rights above and beyond national rights—those that link the citizenry to a world society—and included the rights of marginalized groups such as women, children, minorities, and disabled persons.

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For this study, each account of the Khmer Rouge period and any description of the aftermath was translated and documented. The length of the passage was recorded, and the content and tone of the passage were analyzed to draw conclusions about the national political sentiment on genocide education in Cambodia.

The textbook study time periods coincided with significant political periods in modern Cambodian history, so the Khmer textbooks were sorted into three distinct periods in post–Pol Pot Cambodia. Three textbooks in the study were used as national texts during the PRK period: a sixth-grade textbook from 1982, a seventh-grade textbook from 1986, and an eighth-grade textbook from 1987. When international aid organizations finally entered the country in 1991, a new period in Cambodian history and politics was born. There were four textbooks from the UNTAC period, the translations of which were provided by DC-CAM: a ninth-grade textbook from 1996, a ninth-grade text from 2001, and both ninth- and 12th-grade textbooks from 2002. I classified the current period as the tribunal period, characterized by a multiyear process of preparing for and implementing the Khmer Rouge Tribunal with the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia and the International Criminal Court. Two textbooks were collected in this period from 2007 and 2008.

To better understand the political climate during each period, primary government artifacts were also collected from DC-CAM. The sources include newspaper articles and copies of official government correspondence for each time period.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Contrary to popular belief, there has been explicit genocide education in Cambodian history textbooks since the end of the Khmer Rouge regime. The issue is not whether there is mention of the Khmer Rouge and of the events that transpired between 1975 and 1979, but rather that the interpretation of events has been highly politically dictated. A clear political stance on the Khmer Rouge is communicated within each textbook, and the tone is indicative of the national political cadence of the time.

Books from the PRK period reflect a strong national anti–Khmer Rouge sentiment—one focused on neo-nationalism and nation-building. During the transition under UNTAC and the decade of attempting to stabilize the national political infrastructure, mention of the Khmer Rouge in school texts was hotly contested on the national stage, to the point of being completely removed from the text, presumably to lesson political tensions. The last set of texts from the tribunal era, which included more genocide education and human rights language, reflected Cambodia's increasing connectedness to world society and the international human rights movement. An international spotlight has been placed on Cambodia, paving the way for the readoption of genocide education in the national history curriculum. I describe the findings within each textbook below. The last section discusses the implications of curricular change.

Period of the People's Republic of Kampuchea

The textbooks from the PRK period reflected the postwar national mood and served the functional purpose of rehabilitating the national psyche for the sake of progress. Notable during the period was the heavy influence of Vietnamese advisors in Cambodia, and textbook content and tone that reflected both a strong anti–Khmer Rouge sentiment and a heavy pro-Vietnam stance.

This was not a surprising propaganda tool because with assistance from Vietnam, primary schools were rebuilt throughout the country and education began to be restored. The purge of educated intellectuals in Cambodia's government posts left the PRK's MoEYS consisting of a small number of unqualified officials who had little experience in education and few specialized skills (Ayres, 2000b). The newly established government did not have professional experts to develop an emergency curriculum. As a result, the PRK depended heavily on Vietnamese advisors to train and recruit teachers as well as to develop curriculum at all levels. Cambodian education, therefore, became a replica of the Vietnamese model, nearly identical in structure and management. Basic education, including education on the Khmer Rouge atrocities, was introduced into classrooms, but the content was highly propagandized.

The 1987 eighth-grade history textbook included an entire chapter titled "Traitorous Acts: Cambodian Genocide under Pol Pot, Ieng Sary, and Khieu Sampon." The section chronicled the sequence of events between 1975 and 1979. It was 21 pages long and immediately followed a section on the Cambodian Civil War from 1971 to 1974. Two chapters on recovery in the 1980s up to 1987 followed.

The content of the chapter attempted to inform students of what happened during the Khmer Rouge regime. There were some overarching generalizations about Pol Pot's attempts to radically restructure society, such as the classification of all citizens into different working groups, and also the systematic killing of the educated citizenry (MoEYS, 1987, p. 158). The chapter also summarized the destruction of the economy, culture and traditions, and education (MoEYS, 1987, p. 159).

However, the tone was not typical of an objective history textbook. The section read like a folktale, with Pol Pot and his cadre of Khmer Rouge leaders cast as villains to be hated and feared, and the Cambodian people portrayed as the fearless victim-heroes. The opening line of a chapter subsection stated: "In those places where there is hardship and oppression, there is also perseverance" (MoEYS, 1987, p. 161). A description of Cambodian people's lives under Pol Pot followed. The patriotic sentiment was further promulgated: "In the face of this evil, the Cambodian people showed their willingness to fight and survive" (MoEYS, 1987, p. 161). Dy's (2008) findings using other textbooks from the period were similar. He suggested that after the collapse of the Khmer Rouge, Cambodian schoolchildren were taught about the Khmer Rouge genocide in "politically charged, propagandistic ways, which sought to instill in them a desire for violence,

hatred, and revenge" (Dy, 2008, p. 6). New ideas of nationalism were rooted in a deep hate for the destroyers.

The Vietnamese also introduced a new curriculum called political morality aimed at instilling in children a socialist conception for building Cambodia into a socialist state. In the 1982 Grade 6 textbook, *Moral and Political Education*, there was a clear emphasis on nation-building and patriotism. There were chapters on developing a love for countrymen, tradition, culture, and the heritage of Cambodia. Students were taught to have pride in the country's tradition and heritage during the struggle to rebuild and defend the country. Lastly, they were to view their counterparts in Laos and Vietnam as socialist allies united in mission and brotherhood. This language and content was ingrained in the sequence of secondary-level social studies textbooks and was indicative of the socialist-leaning nation-building sentiment of the time.

The textbooks from the period, while very anti–Pol Pot, also emphasized the rights of marginalized groups. For example, the 1982 *Moral and Political Education* text stated that the "Pol Pot regime had no respect for women" (p. 52). It went on to describe how the regime forced women to do too much manual labor. It also ascribed social status to women, suggesting that there would have been no "heroes of the people" were it not for women, since women are the "mothers of the world" (p. 52).

This marked a change in the perception of women in society. The textbook authors denounced the Khmer Rouge for their disrespect of women and reinstated women in society, linking women's rights with a greater modern world movement towards human rights, or at least with a socialist view of women's rights. The textbook also stated, "Women have honor but have suffered a lot in our history because they do not have equal standing with men. They are looked down upon. Now we are in modern times. Modernity has given rights and freedom to women" (*Moral and Political Education*, 1982, p. 51).

The textbook ideology was clear: women have just as much capacity and importance and strength as men, and that is critical in a time of national rebuilding. The emergence of these themes of human rights was an important curricular change in the postwar period.

Period of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia

The 1990s ushered in a significant change in Cambodian postwar politics. Vietnamese dependency waned, and a peace agreement between all political factions vying for power in the country, including the Khmer Rouge, made it possible to hold the first national elections. The 1993 elections were held under the supervision of UNTAC and marked a crucial turning point in Cambodian politics.

The long and complicated peace process dramatically changed the face of the national government. In the early 1990s, a large portion of the Khmer Rouge led by Ieng Sary agreed to defect to the royal government of Cambodia. Later, three other prominent senior leaders (Khieu Samphan, Noun Chea, and Ke Pauk) also defected to the royal government and distanced themselves from the dwindling Khmer

Rouge strongholds on the Thai border. Their entry into legitimate Cambodian politics further complicated the national textbook debate.

With several ex–Khmer Rouge leaders in national leadership in such a politically fractioned climate, new textbooks had to replace the textbooks used during the PRK period. The "guilty traitors" of the PRK textbooks were now in leadership again, and it became compulsory to revise textbook content for the sake of moving forward as a nation. As a result, none of the new textbooks included an account of the Khmer Rouge era, and teachers were even instructed not to mention the topic in their classes. The Cambodian royal government claimed that the absence of Khmer Rouge history in school curriculum was necessary "for the sake of national reconciliation" (Dy, 2008, p. 7).

Even though some in civil society demanded that the national curriculum be revised and some officials at the MoEYS discussed putting the Khmer Rouge atrocities back into the curriculum, political instability and the need to work toward national reconciliation trumped the inclusion of genocide education in the secondary social studies curriculum. As a result, a generation of children progressed through schooling without ever being explicitly exposed to the atrocities of the Khmer Rouge.

The absence of this history in school textbooks remained for over a decade until the MoEYS finally revised the existing curriculum in 2000–2001 and published new ninth- and 12th-grade social study textbooks. The new textbooks included an account of Cambodian modern history from 1953 up to the 1998 national election, but the section on Khmer Rouge history remained "shockingly brief" (Dy, 2008). Only a few sentences were used to summarize the totality of events during the Khmer Rouge era:

> From April 25 to April 27, 1975, the Khmer Rouge leaders held a special general assembly in order to form a new Constitution and renamed the country "Democratic Kampuchea." A new government of DK, led by Pol Pot, came into existence, following which the massacre of Khmer citizens began. (MoEYS, 2000, p. 169)

A few years later, in their final year of study at the secondary level, students were exposed again to the history of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia. The chapter on Khmer Rouge history extended to 3 pages in the 12th-grade textbook. It briefly discussed political conditions, the formation of Democratic Kampuchea, and how Cambodian people lived during the regime (MoEYS, Grade 12, Lesson 4). However, the textbook omitted several important historical events during the Khmer Rouge regime and failed to describe who specifically the Khmer Rouge were and how they came to power. The authors neglected to mention the forced labor of the Cambodian people, purges and massacres of the educated and elite, and other grave human rights abuses that characterized the period.

Political tensions in the country remained through the turn of the century, and the conflict between the ruling parties sheds light on the brevity of genocide education in the national curriculum. A disputed and controversial modern political history came to incorporate an equally controversial past. For example, while the

12th-grade textbook (2001) mentioned the Cambodian People's Party's (CPP) victory in the 1998 national election, it neglected to mention that the Royalist Funcinpec Party won the first national election in 1993. Prince Norodom Ranariddh, who in the 1990s was the head of the Funcinpec Party and president of the Cambodian National Assembly, criticized the book for failing to mention his party's victory and called for further revisions (Lor, 2002). In response to the political controversy, the section on modern Cambodian history, including the controversial account of the Khmer Rouge era, was removed *entirely* from the 12th-grade textbook. To further assuage the mounting political tensions, Prime Minister Hun Sen eventually ordered the withdrawal of all 12th-grade social studies textbooks in the middle of the 2002 school year, leaving secondary students without textbooks at all (Pin, 2002). After that decree, the government did little to develop new curricula or to publish new texts that focused on the Khmer Rouge regime in significant ways. Genocide education was sacrificed for political stability. Cambodian students continued to study history without textbooks and without nationally recognized texts that included the history of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia.

Tribunal Period

Cambodia is currently in a phase of considerable international attention as the Khmer Rouge Tribunal prosecutes former Khmer Rouge leaders using a hybrid Cambodian and international criminal court. This international exposure has provided a seeming window of opportunity for genocide education advocates in Cambodia to reorient the national conversation on Khmer Rouge history in Cambodian schools. Due in large part to the work of the DC-CAM, the royal government has made genocide education a priority and given official permission for the group to write, publish, and distribute texts that comprehensively detail Cambodian history under the Pol Pot regime.

First published in 2007, *A History of Democratic Kampuchea (1975–1979)* is the first book of its kind made for Cambodian schools. The textbook itself is 75 pages long and is full of pictures and visual aids. It incorporates firsthand accounts from survivors, facts and figures about the Khmer Rouge regime, and a complete account of the sequence of events from 1975 to 1979.

In 2008, DC-CAM received official approval from the MoEYS to move forward with its genocide education project. The ministry stated that "education on the history of Democratic Kampuchea, especially the Khmer Rouge genocide, is very beneficial" (MoEYS, 2008). Moreover, the ministry seems to have been considering reform of its overall curriculum, claiming, "This project is in accordance with the MoEYS's plan in developing curriculum for general education" (MoEYS, 2008). This genocide education project includes the distribution of the textbook as a classroom reference. The DC-CAM has also prepared teacher training materials and secured a memorandum of understanding with the MoEYS to train over 3000 teachers in using the textbook.

In correspondence between the Office of the Prime Minister, the MoEYS, and DC-CAM, it is clear that although the royal government has approved the genocide education text, the government still worries about the political implications of teaching about the Khmer Rouge. It is common knowledge that several members of the current ruling party, the CPP, including the prime minister himself, were ex–Khmer Rouge members. Similar to the political negotiations of the UNTAC period and the fear of implicating national figureheads of the time, the government routinely scrutinized the proposed DC-CAM textbooks. They reviewed each draft of the text and even made line edits where they felt the information presented in the textbooks was inaccurate or potentially controversial. Here are some excerpts from correspondence between DC-CAM and the MoEYS regarding textbook content revision:

1. The preface at the beginning of this text on page 8 states that: "Since the collapse of the Angkor Empire, Cambodia's people have witnessed wars of invasion and internal power struggles among its leaders …."

This part should be corrected to "From the collapse of the Angkor Empire to 7 January 1979, Cambodian people who survived the execution of the Democratic Kampuchea regime were born again. On 23 October 1991, Cambodia reached a Peace Treaty in Paris. After that, the United Nations organized a national election held on 25-27 May 1993. Cambodia then organized elections by itself on 26 July 1998 and on 27 July 2003." Therefore, the text at this point must clearly indicate that the Cambodian People's Party, under the glorious leadership of Samdech, had never struggled for power with anyone. Namely, the power that the Cambodian People's Party, which has held effectively up to the present day, comes from the active and strong support of the people.

2. Chapter 1 (Summary on page 10) states that: "In December 1978, Vietnamese troops and the forces of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea (the Front was led by men who had defected from the Khmer Rouge) fought their way into Cambodia. They captured Phnom Penh on January 7, 1979."

This part should be changed to "In December 1978, Vietnamese troops and the forces of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea liberated Cambodian people and captured Phnom Penh on 7 January 1979." The phrase (the front led by men who had defected from the Khmer Rouge) must be totally deleted because the Cambodian People's Party did not originate from the Khmer Rouge soldiers. It was the force of the masses who stood up against the cruel regime led by Pol Pot until they could create the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea on 2 December 1978.

The Khmer Rouge is still a controversial topic, and it is evident from the correspondence that the government is wary of incriminating any current CPP leaders with inflammatory textbook content. The CPP, now the primary political party in

Cambodia, has also completely removed any mention of Funcinpec's victory in the 1993 elections.

As a political interpretation might suggest, a carefully crafted CPP-leaning curriculum can be authored and disseminated without controversy due to the lack of political challengers at the national level. With few opponents having the political and social clout to speak otherwise, the royal government under the CPP has control over the entire textbook creation and adoption process. The correspondence between DC-CAM and the government, and the ensuing line edits of the text, expose the reality that the history and experience of the Cambodian people under the Khmer Rouge is still politically regulated.

Nonetheless, the current openness to informing students and teaching about the Khmer Rouge could be indicative of an ideological shift towards human rights and genocide education. In accordance with world society theory, a growing entourage of international stakeholders and actors are linking Cambodia to world movements and international trends. The establishment and funding of the Khmer Rouge Tribunal is certainly evidence of this, as is DC-CAM's genocide education project, which is supported by researchers, advocates, and donors from all over the globe. DC-CAM itself was established as the field office of the Cambodian Genocide Program at Yale University. Funding for DC-CAM's work initially came through the Cambodian Genocide Justice Act, which the U.S. Congress passed in 1994 to investigate human rights abuses and injustices under the Khmer Rouge. In 1997, DC-CAM became an independent nonpartisan nongovernment research institute in Cambodia, though it still maintains strong ties to human rights advocates and research institutes in the United States and other nations.

While the Cambodian government had to give official permission for DC-CAM to carry out its work, it is clear that this adoption of *A History of Democratic Kampuchea* has also been the fruit of international efforts. Its director is Cambodian but has American citizenship, having fled during the Khmer Rouge era. DC-CAM's academic and legal advisors primarily hail from the United States and Europe. Research and advocacy operations rely on both Cambodian national staff and international volunteers and interns, and DC-CAM continues to receive funding from both private and government donors across Asia, Europe, and the United States. In fact, the German government funded almost all of the textbook production—allowing for all high school students in Cambodia to receive a free copy. Furthermore, much of DC-CAM's approach is predicated on similar work in Bosnia, Rwanda, and other postgenocide locations. With an international band of support, DC-CAM has been able to confront political unwillingness, and the effort has resulted in textbooks that teach about the Khmer Rouge.

IMPLICATIONS: REVISION FOR RIGHTS?

DC-CAM's success in reintroducing genocide education into the national curriculum is tightly linked to the emergence of human rights themes in Cambodian social studies textbooks. As the narrative of Cambodian history textbooks has demonstrated, the language of human rights was not completely missing. Notions of

rights have been in the text since the end of the Khmer Rouge period. However, the inclusion of rights has served specific political purposes in each postwar period—rights were not included for rights' sake. For example, the rights and contributions of women were outlined in the 1982 textbook, but the content in the years immediately following the Pol Pot regime was largely nationalistic in tone and sought to reorient students towards positive and patriotic behaviors rather than making a connection to a larger body of international human rights movements. Genocide and justice themes pertaining to the Khmer Rouge regime were inconvenient in the UNTAC period, sacrificed to the greater purpose of quelling political controversy. Finally, in the tribunal period, notions of rights have reappeared in textbooks. The 2007 eighth-grade social studies textbook explicitly mentions a greater world society, which Cambodia is involved in, and the rights that all persons are born with. Human rights were discussed in chapter 3, and specific attention was paid to the role of women in the nationalist movement. Chapter 6, "International Awareness," was devoted to explaining the Khmer Rouge Tribunal process and also explaining the role of international nongovernmental organizations in modern-day Cambodia's development.

The existence of human rights themes since the end of the Khmer Rouge through the modern-day curriculum is an indicator that textbooks have been revised not necessarily because of rights but because of political agendas. In a centralized country like Cambodia, textbooks are likely to serve as a mouthpiece of the government, and the content of those textbooks speaks volumes about the ideology and political needs of the time. In the PRK period, the mouthpieces relayed a message of human rights and genocide education, but it was superseded by a socialist political agenda. During the UNTAC period, the silence on genocide education spoke loud and clear that human rights, justice, and genocide education were a secondary priority. A more international human rights emphasis has emerged in the tribunal era, but the process of textbook revision and adoption remains almost completely a ministerial undertaking, and government editing bridles what is spoken through the history texts.

To this day, political sensitivity remains a critical factor in determining the national history curriculum in Cambodia. Textbooks in Cambodia communicate the ideology of the government and are an indicator of political stability and tension. What is said in the texts is intentionally crafted for political purposes and ends. Line edits and content suggestions have styled history into what the government of Cambodia wants history to be, and at times, what it needs it to be for the sake of national political progress. Powerful politics have interpreted, modified, and manipulated the history that is taught to students, often conveying political messages rather than historical facts. Although there is a greater openness to teaching the unbiased truth of the Khmer Rouge regime and to expanding ideas of human rights, the political filtering of the past 30 years is still both political expectation and necessity. Until the current political climate is itself reimagined, the fullness of history will remain partially redacted for political ends.

NOTE

ⁱ For a more detailed account of the Khmer Rouge regime and analysis of its effects on Cambodia's education system, see *Anatomy of a crisis* by David M. Ayres (2000a).

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9. STUDYING THE PAST IN THE PRESENT TENSE

The Dilemma of History Textbooks in Conflict-Ridden Areas

We begin with three propositions: Most high school students do not like history, fail to see its connection to their own lives, and don't connect the past and the present. Most students accept the content of their textbooks and what their teachers tell them at face value and tend to express little useful skepticism towards them. History teachers could breathe new life into their history lessons if they were able to emphasize the relevance of the subject matter to students' actual lives and build a didactic bridge between the curriculum and historians' ways of thinking.

There is an inherent contradiction between the goals of history teaching: On one hand, the writing and teaching of history play a formative role in the definition of the national collective and the individual's construction of personal commitment to that collective. On the other hand, history should provide the individual with vital tools for developing a realistic and independent understanding of contemporary society and politics that will challenge the indisputable and the conventional (Lee, 2010, pp. xi–xvi). Critical thought is essential for active citizenship, since humans cannot shape their own lives or the lives of their communities without an awareness and intelligent understanding of the forces working within their reality. This contradiction, inherent in history teaching, may result in paralysis, giving rise to a frozen, one-dimensional picture of reality. But it may also function as a vital dialectic tension that maintains and nourishes a constant dialogue between history as critical analysis and history as collective memory (Pingel, 2010, pp. 7–80; Yogev, 2010, pp. 113–147).

In societies involved in ongoing ethnopolitical conflict, these dilemmas are greatly heightened. In such situations, there is a tendency for the education system to use history textbooks to disseminate a uniform narrative that glorifies the national aspect of the conflict while intensifying utterances that demonize the other side. Teachers often refrain from discussing a controversial war or other sensitive points in order to circumvent the challenges that content of this kind may pose in the classroom.

In this chapter, I first present the dilemma faced by history education in strife-ridden regions and the special place that textbooks occupy in them. I focus on the case of Israeli history education. Second, I present a study of the representation in Israeli textbooks of a war whose outcome is considered especially controversial, the Six Day War of 1967, as a result of which Israel captured extensive territories from Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. This war brought about major changes in Israeli society, and the study demonstrates the difficulty the Israeli Ministry of Education

has in openly contending with the challenges that teaching that war poses. Third, I offer a challenging alternative in the form of a textbook jointly written by Israeli and Palestinian history teachers. Translated into numerous languages, the book has been tried in a number of schools both in Israel and the Palestinian Authority. In 2010, however, the book was banned for use by the Israeli Ministry of Education and in the Palestinian Authority. Its use was discontinued after its distributors and teachers received threats. Although the effort encountered difficulties due to political opposition, the study that accompanied it showed that among students who participated, it succeeded in achieving the kind of learning we seek (Steinberg & Bar-On, 2009, pp. 104–112).

HISTORY EDUCATION IN THE TWILIGHT BETWEEN MEMORY AND HISTORY

On July 21, 2010, an item appeared on the front page of the daily Haaretz, repeated in all the Israeli media the same evening: the Ministry of Education had terminated the appointment of the chair of the committee of experts on the subject of history, the historian Professor Hanna Yablonka of Ben-Gurion University. In recent months, according to sources inside the ministry, Yablonka had criticized ministry policy on teaching history in schools (Kashti, 2010, p. 3).

Yablonka's public criticism was the main reason for termination of her appointment. Yablonka had claimed that the ministry held virtually no discussions on the theoretical aims of teaching history and that the subject suffered from a chronic shortage of teaching hours, resulting in learning at only the most superficial level. Yablonka, whose field of expertise is Holocaust studies, also criticized a misguided emphasis in teaching Holocaust studies:

> I say this not because the subject is unimportant. It was surely the greatest catastrophe to befall the Jewish people, and one of the greatest disasters in human history, but the question is what to do with it on the educational level: the emphasis on the victims—what was done to us and how we were put to death—is of no educational value. The students become emotional and undergo an immediate experience, but in the long term it is meaningless. … I say this because I am concerned about the situation of the study of history. We are raising generations of students who are totally unfamiliar with critical thinking, who are unable to analyze any question from several points of view. (Kashti, 2010, p. 3)

Yablonka's criticism was directed against the trend toward historical illiteracy long prevalent in the Ministry of Education. Criticism of this kind is leveled from time to time by academics in Israel and touches mainly upon textbook content. Apart from ministry inspectors on the various subjects, there are subject committees staffed by senior academics, schoolteachers, and representatives from the teacher training colleges. The main role of these committees is to assist Ministry of Education staff in professional discussions on the choice of key points in the curricula, identification of pedagogical problems unique to the teaching of a specific subject, and supervision of the textbooks used. Professor Yablonka served

as chair of the history committee, with the status of a senior academic advisor to the ministry. Her story illustrates the sensitive position of history teaching in Israel.

We should note from the outset that we do not yet have an exact idea about how students connect historical contexts with their everyday lives and how their historical understanding comes into being. But we can clearly identify research that has expanded possibilities in history teaching and research into such teaching.

The "cognitive revolution" in the thinking about teaching and learning, as Gardner (1993) called it, shifted the focus from the well-known imitative model of teaching-learning behaviors to the formation of learners' cognitive architecture and the development of their thinking. New research in cognitive psychology has yielded methodologies that examine how children at different stages of their development build personal knowledge. These theories have informed the budding psychological research in history learning by examining the required modes of teaching. Questions addressed were, for instance, What is autonomous historical literacy? How is qualitative historical knowledge constructed, i.e., in terms of understanding and sensemaking? How do cultural baggage, preconceptions, and misconceptions affect student learning and the forming and changing of positions? And what are the best and most necessary conditions for developing learning environments and teaching textbooks for historical literacy and critical thinking?

In an attempt to understand why school history teaching does not attract students, the cognitive psychologist Sam Wineburg (1991, pp. 495–519) compared high school students' reading of historical texts with the reading of professional historians. Wineburg looked at the conscious processes that underpin different approaches to reading history. Professional historians approach the texts with different questions than students ask. Historians, asked, for instance: Who is the author? For whom is the text intended? What are the author's explicit and implicit intentions in writing the text? Students, by contrast, wanted to know what happened. They preferred a story with a proper ending to some enigmatic first-hand source. They had unquestioning faith in their textbook and revealed no constructive suspicion of what their teachers were telling them. From this, Wineburg drew the conclusion that history learning does not come naturally to children's thinking. History teaching must build practices that help them learn this type of thinking. Wineburg proposed abandoning the chronological mode of learning common in classrooms in favor of teaching the children how to "think history," to set off on an intellectual adventure instead of the usual authoritative mode of thinking. Such an approach requires that the students suspend their own beliefs, habits, and current perceptions and develop a productive suspicion toward the stories they are presented, the textbooks they receive in class, and even their own teacher's ideas. They are required to reflect on differences and similarities between their own time and those of the text they are dealing with. Wineburg suggested that the students act like young historians through the methodical study of historians' cognitive tools (Wineburg, 2003).

Other researchers believe that history teaching should rely on meaningful knowledge construction practices, like those of historians, and give up the familiar chronological-monolithic lesson structure. They assumed that constructivist

teaching practices were more likely to lead to higher historical thinking (Seixas, 2000, pp. 19–37; Formwalt, 2002, pp. 65–71; Lee, 2004, pp. 129–155; Hall & Scott, 2007, pp. 257–263).

Textbooks are not ideologically transparent. They produce an apparently normal narrative, pursuing an approach in line with Gramsci's concept of "hegemony" (Gramsci, 1971, pp. 25–43) or Bourdieu's concept of "doxa" (Bourdieu, 1990). In situations of ongoing conflict, state history education tends to provide a schematic, one-sided, black-and-white narrative to justify the position adopted by the group. It often focuses on specific events consistent with its central theses, ignoring those which contradict them. Theoretically, of course, history is a discipline that attempts to arrive as near as possible to the truth. It should tell the stories of all the parties involved, victors and vanquished, oppressors and oppressed alike. Problems arise whenever there is a mismatch between historical truth and national identity.

As we can see, history textbooks are also not run-of-the-mill literature. They generally provide a monolithic narrative. Textbooks often include sidebars containing witness testimonies, stories, and sometimes alternative historical interpretations. These sidebars stand out and attract attention, giving the impression of variety. Ostensibly, the approach is a democratic one that favors seeing both sides of the coin, making the writing look objective. In fact, the pervasive narrative is the one told sequentially, reinforced by pictures, maps, and illustrations (Coffin, 1997, pp. 196–230).

Studies of the way the history textbooks are used indicate that high school, and even college, students read them as if they are the definitive truth (Olson, 1989; Apple, 1990; Brophy & VanSledright, 1997, pp. 20–21). Knowing how to benefit from reading history textbooks calls for specific training of teachers and students in the means by which messages are created and conveyed. Otherwise, their understanding will be passive and lack critical historical thinking (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 35; Veel & Coffin, 1996, p. 205). Learning must include a basic understanding of how to interpret and absorb historical information, as well as how to decipher a textbook's messages, both overt and covert.

In Israel, history textbooks are written under guidelines set by the Ministry of Education's professional staff, if the authors seek ministry approval, and are to be published by the ministry's curriculum department. Alternatively, they may be published privately by freelance authors. At the same time that textbook writers rely on the work of professional historians who do their utmost to remain loyal to the requirements of their discipline, writers must also take into account the political considerations of the ministry's higher echelons and of various pressure groups. The authors choose whether to submit their books for ministry approval or to put them on the open market. Over the years, Israel has seen the emergence of private publishing houses that specialize in textbooks written by freelance authors. The private school network also produces history textbooks, principally as a tool for the matriculation examination. The ministry's professional committee supervises the writing of the textbooks submitted to it and decides whether to approve them. Unless a book complies with certain strict criteria, it is not approved. The Knesset Education Committee can also disqualify a book if it sees fit to do so.

Until the 1970s, school books in Israel were dominated by content appropriate to the social foundations of a population living through a protracted regional conflict. This remains the case today, although with rather less indoctrination than in the state's early decades (Firer, 2002, pp. 55–63).

In the early 1990s, a variety of different approaches emerged in Israeli political culture, opening up discussion of the 1967 War and of the problems it had created. Newly published research into the war opened the door to a different way of viewing its causes and results. In the 1990s, peace negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians were launched in Oslo, kindling new hopes for peace. Since the Al-Aqsa Intifada of 2000, there has been a retreat to more traditional educational values, which stress love of homeland, leading to a decline in education for peace (Firer, 2008, pp. 55–63; Podeh, 2002, pp. 149–150).

In 2006, the Israeli Ministry of Education published a new history curriculum which in turn produced a new wave of textbooks published in 2009. Had the passage of time left its mark? This question will stand at the focus of the test-case study.

THE PORTRAYAL OF THE 1967 WAR IN ISRAELI TEXTBOOKS

The 1967 War was a seminal event and historical watershed for Israel. This war began for the Israelis with the fear of eviction from their land and destruction of their state and ended with a brilliant military victory, bringing de facto control of an area more than three times greater than before the conflict. The war was planned neither by Israel nor by the Arab states, but its effects endure. A series of decisions, some by chance, others not, denied the population of the Occupied Territories their civil rights, a policy that Israel has accepted as normal for 45 years. During part of this period, Israeli control of the Sinai Peninsula, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights undermined the link between control of the land and the ethnic identity of its inhabitants. The war brought national and regional change. The demographic consequences, the economic and political implications, the national-religious resurgence, the chances of peace or further war—all these left their mark across the Middle East in general and on Israel in particular.

The war has been comprehensively researched in the fields of historiography, sociology, media, and culture. These studies deal mainly with what was happening in the Occupied Territories and with the implications for life in Israel (Zerubavel, 1995; Oren, 2003; Gluska, 2004; Feige, 2004, pp. 54–74; Azoulay, 2005, pp. 105–138; Segev, 2006; Levy, 2007). Although this material is widely used by students, it is not featured in the education system's textbooks. Along with the historical and sociological research, there has been a trenchant debate in the Israeli print and electronic media about the 1967 War and its consequences. In addition, a rich stream of literature, TV documentaries and dramas, visual art, and cinema has been uncovered portraying the war and its outcomes from the human angle. These illustrate the everyday dilemmas of occupiers and occupied alike. How does the experience of domination affect politics and society in Israel? What is happening to the population living under occupation? What kind of trauma do soldiers suffer?

The question that begs an answer is why such a seminal event in Israeli history is not presented in history curricula and textbooks like the country's other wars. Why do curricula planners and textbook writers find it so difficult to bridge the gap between what is so widely known about this war and the circumscribed, one-dimensional teaching of it in the schools?

METHODOLOGY

In order to answer this question, I examined the portrayal of the 1967 War in 12 senior high school textbooks published between the mid-1990s and the end of the first decade of the present century. All the books received Ministry of Education approval and were written in Hebrew. The first group of textbooks was published in the 1990s immediately after the Oslo Accords (1995–1999) (Bar-Navi & Naveh, 1999; Domka, 1999; Inbar, 2000; Shachar, 1998; Sorek, 2000; Ya'akobi, 1999), and the second group of textbooks was published between 2005 and 2009 under the guidelines of the Ministry of Education's new program of 2000 (Avieli-Tabibian, 2009; Bar-Hillel & Inbar, 2009; Haddad, 2005; Inbar, 2006; Levin & Hadass, 2002; Naveh, Vered, & Shachar, 2009). One book published for the religious sector in 2002 (Levin & Hadass, 2002) fell between these two periods, but since it appeared after the outbreak of the Al-Aqsa Intifada of 2000 and is still in use in religious high schools, I have chosen to include it among the new books (see the list of textbooks analyzed at the end of the chapter). Three hundred fifty pages were examined in textbooks and teachers' handbooks.

The research methodology was based upon a comparative content analysis of the 12 textbooks. The comparison, which was conducted on two generations of textbooks, was built upon three main investigative approaches:

a. Comparison of the war's historical narratives and their organization within the texts. These questions attempt to clarify whether new and significant research knowledge found its way into the new textbooks (Pingel, 2010, pp. 70–71; Yogev, 2012, pp. 175–180), and whether subjects that are part of Israeli public debate on the country's conduct in the Occupied Territories were presented as a legitimate pedagogical issue for debate.

b. Use of unique terms and attributes to describe the war. Linguistic analysis of textbooks stresses the "hidden" text. It can reveal who the characters or protagonists are and what the authors feel with the political context (Apple, 1990).

c. The choice and role of visual aids. Do the illustrations add new perspectives? Do they change the angle of approach? Do they complement the text?

This discourse analysis was conducted employing the sociopsychological model proposed by Daniel Bar-Tal (2007, pp. 24–52).

Bar-Tal's Motifs of the Israeli Psyche

Social psychologist Daniel Bar-Tal (2007), who has analyzed the potent forces that shape the character of Israeli society vis-à-vis the Jewish-Arab conflict, identified

four dominant motifs in the collective psyche: (1) fear and a sense of persecution; (2) demonization of the image of the Arab as a persecuting enemy; (3) a sense of threatened isolation from which an ethos of power is derived; and (4) a positive self-image in whatever has to do with individual and collective morality.

The first element of Israeli fear is founded upon a victim self-image and a siege mentality. Israel lives side by side with a hostile Arab world, and since the early 20th century, the Jewish community has struggled for its very existence. The memory of the Holocaust is a critical paradigm in understanding the Israeli-Arab conflict and its development (Bar-Tal, 2007, pp. 112–113, 120–124). Every traumatic event is coded in terms of the existential anxiety associated with it, references being made to concepts and images that are part of the Holocaust vocabulary.

The second element relates to negative stereotyping of the Arab. Arabs are depicted as responsible for the excessive violence that has continued from the early 20th century to the present day. This group identification creates codes for distance, difference, and distinctiveness.

The third element relates to a deep sense of threatened isolation. The State of Israel cannot rely on other countries coming to its aid. It has been isolated throughout its history. Even during the Holocaust, the world did not come to rescue the Jewish people. Since it stands alone in its existential struggle, it must develop a powerful deterrent. The ethos of Israeli power, with all that it entails, is perceived as an unchallengeable necessity.

The fourth element relates to the positive self-image of the Israeli army. The ethos of sacrificing one's life and the esprit de corps of soldiers who die in existential wars are motifs connected with positive self-image (Bar-Tal, 2007, pp. 170–175).

This model can assist in answering some of the difficulties around the 1967 War's portrayal in the history textbooks.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Without exception, the textbooks of the 1990s examined the background and causes of the war with a view of defining its character as defensive and preemptive. In all textbooks from the 1990s, Israel was presented as having no choice but to opt for a preemptive strike. Israel's motive for its offensive action on June 5, 1967, was legitimate self-defense. David Shachar's *The People and World* (1998), which is taught in many schools, used subheadings such as "Syria's aggression," "the strengthening pan-Arabic collaboration against Israel," "Egyptian-military concentrations in the Sinai," "the blockading of the Straits of Tiran," and "the removal of the UN emergency force" in order to describe the "new and dangerous situation" in which Israel found itself on the eve of the war. The intensive use of threatening headings that appear one after another in the space of one or two pages successfully presented the sense of mounting existential danger. Israel's decision to launch an offensive was fully justified in this description, thanks to its very intensity (Shachar, 1998, p. 630). In the textbooks written by Eli Bar-Navi and

Eyal Naveh (1999), as well as in the one by Shula Inbar written for the public religious schools (2000), the reasons for the war were always similar, starting out as a conflict with Syria and Jordan over water sources and moving on to the Soviet incitement and the entry of the Egyptian army into the Sinai as an expression of Nasser's desire to withdraw his army from Yemen, enhance his prestige in Egypt, and become the leader of the Arab world. Israel had to strike the first blow, a necessary response to the untenable situation that preceded it (Domka, 1999, pp. 290–293; Haddad, 2005, pp. 632–636; Avieli-Tabibian, 1999, pp. 305–313; Bar-Navi & Naveh, 1999, pp. 224–227; Inbar, 2000, pp. 262–265).

The course of the war was described briefly in the majority of the books examined, with the greatest emphasis being placed on Israel's brilliant military victory. All the books from the 1990s included detailed descriptions of battles, especially those on the Jordanian front, and of the taking of East Jerusalem. They showed maps of battles and of ground taken (Inbar, 2000, pp. 266–270; Bar-Navi & Naveh, 1999, pp. 226–227). The World Made History (Sorek, 2000) went furthest. It provided a heroic description of the battles, accompanied by songs, captions, and comments such as "the paratroopers fought like lions," "the Air Force's finest hour" and "liberation of the Old City" (Sorek, 2000, pp. 216–228).

In most books, the outcomes of the war were presented, first and foremost, as brilliant achievements in the military, territorial, political, and economic spheres. Israel's problems in waiting are barely alluded to.

The textbooks published in Israel in 2009, following introduction by the Ministry of Education of a new high school curriculum, presented the same attitude. To the question of whether the 1967 War was one of "no choice" or one of "choice," the authors provided their own answer—"no choice!" (Naveh et al., 2009, pp. 55, 215–224; Avieli-Tabibian, 2009, pp. 180–190; Bar-Hillel & Inbar, 2009, pp. 186–187; Inbar, 2006, pp. 370–374; Levin & Hadass, 2002, pp. 160–161). The books determined that Israel bore no responsibility for the outbreak of the war, that it was the Arab countries who behaved aggressively towards Israel, and that Israel had no choice but to defend itself. Compared to the textbooks of the 1990s, the books from 2009 contained substantially fewer battle details. Instead, they produced colored maps with arrows pointing to the areas taken, a copy of a morning newspaper reporting on 120 enemy aircraft destroyed, cartoons depicting the army's conquests, and photographs that became the focal point of the text (Naveh et al., 2009, pp. 223, 229–230; Bar-Hillel & Inbar, 2009, pp. 186–187; Haddad, 2005, p. 632; Avieli-Tabibian, 2009, pp. 189–190; Levin & Hadass, 2002, pp. 161–163). Each and every one of these photographs has become an icon of Israel's triumph, featured in the post-1967 victory albums. Their reappearance in school books is more potent than any printed text.

Most of the new books lacked any open discussion regarding other outcomes of the war. Some of the new books dealt at length with the problems in Israel after 1967 such as Israel as a multicultural society, privatization of the Israeli economy, development of Israeli culture, and even the changes in Holocaust commemoration (Avieli-Tabibian, 2009, p. 190; Inbar, 2006, pp. 375–386; Bar-Hillel & Inbar, 2009, pp. 185–196; Levin & Hadass, 2002, p. 166). Palestinian resistance to the

Occupation was mentioned, but the political dilemmas created by the Occupation, including denying a people its civil rights for 45 years, were not presented to students as key questions worthy of discussion. Subsequent wars were described in more detail but were not shown as a continuation of the 1967 War. The book by Abraham Haddad (2005), aimed at the national-religious education system, lauded the war "that brought about a magnificent victory of the IDF over the Arab forces that encircled us and threatened to destroy us. Thanks to the heroism of the IDF soldiers and the Jewish people, we fought on all fronts, the few against the many" (Haddad, 2005, p. 632). Noteworthy is the author's unconventional use of the first person plural. The same chapter observed that numerous territories came under Israeli control, including some populated by Arabs. The words "Occupation" and "Palestinian" were not mentioned. The final paragraph stated that "the war brought about a turning point in Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel. Within a short time dozens of new settlements were built in northern Sinai, Judea, Samaria, the Jordan Valley and the Golan Heights. Since then scores of Israeli settlements have been built throughout Judea, Samaria, the Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights" (Haddad, 2005, p. 636).

The book by Naveh, Vered, and Shachar published in 2009 marked a degree of change when compared with the previous generation of books. It went into greater detail about the choices that faced the Israeli leadership and about the public debates within Israel. The headline "Achievements of the war and the disagreements about them" pointed to the difficulties of the morning after and to what would become in later years a political and diplomatic burden in the struggle over Israel's image. The text began with a comment: "The government of Israel was not prepared for Occupation, but rather a defensive war, and thus was not prepared for the question of what to do with the territories that were occupied" (Naveh et al., 2009, p. 232). For the first time in the record of textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education, students were made aware of the choices that faced the government after the war and of its decision not to decide.

The other second-generation textbooks showed little difference in comparison to the books of the 1990s. The outcomes of the war were defined as achievements that enhanced Israel's standing, in the short-term at least. They presented challenges and maybe even dilemmas when it came to the future of the territories and to the chances of peace with the Arab world (Avieli-Tabibian, 2009, p. 190; Inbar, 2006, pp. 375–386; Bar-Hillel & Inbar, 2009, pp. 185–196). There was occasional criticism of the euphoria, the arrogance, the complacency, and the cult of the generals that followed the war (Inbar, 2006, p. 384). One of the books, quite out of context, said that "Arab workers from the territories come to work in Israel" and that "Jewish settlement in Judea and Samaria" had begun. The war, the text stated, "dealt a lethal blow to the revolutionary idea of Arab nationalism led by Nasser. … The smarting defeat led to a painful reassessment and a final dashing of hopes for a redeeming Arab revolution" (Bar-Hillel & Inbar, 2009, p. 196). From Diaspora to Rebirth, aimed at the religious sector, went even further. Right after a very brief description of the war, it headlined its outcomes as "The beginnings of peace." Beneath the caption was the iconic photograph of the signing of the peace treaty by

Anwar Sadat and Menachem Begin under the auspices of Jimmy Carter. The book ended with a prayer for peace (Levin & Hadass, 2002, p. 166). The book contained no reference to the War of Attrition that followed the 1967 and Yom Kippur Wars (1973). The message the student was given was that the 1967 War brought about the peace so long desired.

DISCUSSION

The 1967 War as Active Past

From a historical perspective, the 1967 War was a climactic moment for national morale. For a while it looked as if "the existential threat" had been removed and that there had been a breakout from confinement to "the wide open spaces." Most Israelis saw 1967 as the successful continuation of 1948, and it seemed that the country was about to enjoy a long period of peace. Things turned out differently. The Arab states began preparing their response. It did not take long for the War of Attrition to break out along Israel's borders and for the Palestinian resistance movement to emerge in the Occupied Territories and beyond. In October 1973, the Yom Kippur War broke out, a bitter struggle that took a huge Israeli toll (2,693 dead and 5,596 wounded) and stifled the nation's euphoria. The surprise attack on the unprepared Israel Defense Forces (IDF), its execution, and its terrible cost combined to leave Israelis demoralized—a condition for which a cure has yet to be found. The 1973 war ended the grand delusion; the sense of unity was fractured, and the magical harmony created by the 1967 victory was dissolved. After 6 euphoric years, Israel had to return to the real world.

Why, then, do textbooks in Israel continue to describe the 1967 War as a glorious exemplar and only very rarely as a false promise? Why do students not have to face up to its tragic consequences for both Palestinians and Israelis, even though this story has been at the heart of the Israeli experience for 45 years? The explanation can be found in the fact that the war has become an integral part of Israel's active political past. The Jewish-Arab conflict remains unresolved and furthermore in none of the subsequent wars did the IDF reproduce its brilliant 1967 victory. Later wars left in their wake public traumas and debates, which only reinforced the sociopsychological foundations laid prior to the 1967 War, a victory that retains its status as a seminal factor in the shaping of Israeli identity.

The 1967 War still constitutes an active past because relations between Israel, the Palestinians, and the entire Middle East are an unresolved political, social, and cultural problem that goes to the very roots of Israeli existence. The war crops up in every debate on the future of the occupied (or liberated) territories, as well as in any discussion of land settlement, the 2003 Gaza disengagement, or the possibility of a binational state. The future of the Golan Heights and negotiations with Syria on peace and security are still on Israel's political agenda. Some occupied territories have been returned, some have been annexed without international legitimacy, and some will be either returned or annexed depending on future relations with the Palestinians and the neighboring Arab states. Every other day, a

war that took place 45 years ago creates new dilemmas and further complexities between Israelis and Palestinians, between Israel and the Arab states, between Israel and the nations of the world, between religious and secular Jews in Israel, between left-wing and right-wing parties and movements, and between Arab and Jewish populations inside Israel. From a number of angles, that war is not yet over.

The portrayal of the 1967 War in textbooks fits in with its status as active past. Because the Israeli political system sees itself in the throes of a bloody conflict, it has no desire to involve students in painful questions about the war, and particularly its controversial outcomes. Young people must show group solidarity and identification, a high degree of resilience, and a willingness to sacrifice their lives. Textbooks will continue, therefore, through their portrayal of the war, to reinforce those focal motifs that make up the sociopsychological foundations of Israeli society. These are examined below.

A Sense of Existential Fear

As pointed out, all textbooks examined stressed that the 1967 War was a "no choice" conflict forced upon Israel. The question of whether there was still a choice, or whether all means of avoiding it had been exhausted, emerged for the first time in a book written for the secular sector and published in 2009 (Naveh et al., 2009). Even here, however, no sources were cited that would warrant a different answer. The book justified the decision to go to war and supported the army's position through a detailed description of the Israeli public's anxiety born of the Holocaust. The book conveyed the fear motif to its young readers through texts and photographs suggestive of the eve of a possible catastrophe. The portrayal of the 1967 War in textbooks heightened the sense of fear and siege in Israel through the consistent, if somewhat latent, use of language coded for association with the Holocaust. Coded terms and phrases such as "annihilation," "existential anxiety," and "the Green Line borders are the borders of Auschwitz" (Naveh et al., 2009, pp. 223–224) strike a chord so deeply rooted in the public psyche that no more need be said. One word is sufficient to evoke a chain of associations with horror. Justification of the preemptive strike of June 5, 1967, was amplified by virtue of the appearance of this motif in the texts. The Israeli security concept that was developed in the wake of the war, which argues for holding on to territory as a vital strategic asset, coupled with the fear that *Israel stands alone* and must therefore boost its military capability, permeated descriptions of this war, whether overtly or covertly. Almost all the books referred to Israel's spurned appeals to the West. This, too, was a coded encounter with the memory of the Holocaust—when the world remained silent. Photographs of cribs in the destroyed children's unit in Kibbutz Ein Gev (Naveh et al., 2009, p. 223) effectively conveyed the victim message of "the righteous under siege."

The message of existential fear, isolation, and the sense of siege was clearly conveyed through a photograph of trenches being dug in the center of Tel Aviv and through statements such as "some compared Nasser with Hitler, and all that that entails, and Israel with Czechoslovakia that was abandoned to German occupation

in World War Two" or "the Western countries did not mobilize to Israel's aid" (Naveh et al., 2009, pp. 223–224). The atmosphere in Israel was described in stark images: "fear of annihilation if the war is unsuccessful" and "the tension on the Syria-Israel border increased." The use of terms such as "annihilation," "dread," and "Palestinian terrorist attacks" overtly linked the Holocaust that was with a possible one in the future (Naveh et al., 2009, p. 224).

In a book intended for the religious sector, *From Diaspora to Rebirth* (Levin & Hadass, 2002), treatment of the reasons for the war was almost nonexistent. In barely three lines, the authors gave the reasons for the war as Egypt's blockade of the Straits of Tiran, in breach of international maritime agreements on free passage, and the stationing of Egyptian forces in the Sinai desert. Events on the northern and Jordanian borders were not mentioned at all. The view that emerged is that the Syrians and Jordanians joined in a war that had nothing to do with their counties (Bar-Hillel & Inbar, 2009, p. 164).

Acceptance of the Occupation involves naked confrontation and casts doubt on the central tenets of individual and collective identity. After all, the State of Israel perceives itself as a democratic country, imbued with a proper respect for human rights. Why, therefore, is it necessary to reinforce the victim motif in descriptions of the war? Does it camouflage responsibility for the brutality of the Occupation? This is one logical speculation. Future studies will address that question. At present, the situation remains unchanged and the time is not deemed ripe for a more in-depth discussion. The brilliant victory in the 1967 War is what created the Occupation—it is a past that has not yet passed.

The Moral Self-Image

Another way of evading a fearless discussion of this issue is to reinforce the image of the IDF as an army with a moral conscience like no other army of occupation. The iconic photograph of paratroopers at the Western Wall (taken by David Rubinger) appears in all the textbooks, secular and religious alike. This icon has also come to symbolize "the unification" of Jerusalem, "a return to the land of our forefathers," the Jewish people's "moral right" to the conquest of Jerusalem and the glory of victory. Rubinger's photograph captures three of the paratroopers who seized the Western Wall lifting up their eyes to the sacred stones. Two wearing helmets frame a third bareheaded soldier who is clasping his helmet to his heart in a gesture of respect. Their masterful appearance virtually transforms them into mythical, immortal superheroes, redolent of pathos, justice, and self-confidence. The photograph converts the Wailing Wall, the Wall of Stone and Grief, into a Wall of Triumph bearing a religious burden that affects secular Israelis too. The photograph is also hinted at in a song referred to in some of the textbooks, "The Paratroopers Are Crying" (Hefer & Yanko, 1968). Photographs in 1967 War albums are usually accompanied by texts rich in splendor and pathos in order to achieve the desired effect of building up the image of IDF soldiers as sensitive and moral young men, willing to give up their lives for Israel's security and only capable of killing in defense of the home front in a "war of no choice." To this day,

patriotic sacrifice remains one of Israel's most important values, whose inculcation is a paramount educational and social objective (Zerubavel, 1995). The 1967 War seemingly realized the idealized image of the Israeli soldier willing to sacrifice his life for the existence of the state in the face of those who seek to destroy it.

Another recurring motif worthy of mention is the special and extensive coverage, particularly in second-generation books, of the heroic story of Eli Cohen. Cohen, who spied for Israel in Syria and provided vital intelligence on the Syrian army, was apprehended on the eve of the war and hanged publicly. All the books treated Cohen as a symbol of supreme heroism and sacrifice for the homeland. Religious sector books devoted particularly extensive space to Cohen's activities, paying more attention to him than to the reasons for the war (Inbar, 2006, pp. 370–374; Levin & Hadass, 2002, pp. 160–161). It may well be that the cracks that appeared in this potent image during the 1973, 1982, and 2006 wars explain the need to keep the experience of the 1967 victory alive by exposure to these icons. In light of the uncertain outcomes of those wars, the glorious 1967 War, unique in the pride, meaning, and motivation it brought in its wake, inspires aspiration. This is why all the textbooks persist in preserving these iconic images. They are far more effective than any text.

The Arab Threat

Descriptions of the 1967 War in today's textbooks do not delegitimize Arabs per se, but do still include negative portrayals and images. In all of these books, the 1967 War is a confrontation between the few, the righteous under siege, and the multitudes of Arabs who reject peace and seek war. Israel extends its hand toward reconciliation and peace; the Arabs, to a man, reject it. (Avieli-Tabibian, 2009, pp. 180–184). Arabs always fall into the hostile category. Even the peace treaties signed with Egypt and Jordan have not improved the image of the Arabs when it comes to explaining the reasons for and the outcomes of the war.

In all the books, the actions of the Arabs states were presented in the active voice, whereas Israel's actions were presented in passive or defensive language. The naming also contributed to the unilateral responsibility of the Arabs for the outbreak of the war. For example,

> On the Jordanian front: In 1965, *tension was created* due to terror acts perpetrated by the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization] against Israel, which reached their height when the IDF carried out … a large-scale *reprisal* in daylight against the Arab village of Samoa … from which the *Arabs repeatedly launched attacks against* Israel. … On the Syrian front, Israel *was forced* to repeatedly employ its air force to silence the Syrian artillery that harassed the settlements of the Upper Galilee. (Inbar, 2006, p. 375)

The book written by Moshe Bar-Hillel and Shula Inbar opened with a page describing the reasons for the war, under captions identifying the guilty parties: "The interests of the Great Powers in the outbreak of the war in the Middle East"; "On the Syrian front: The battle over water"; "On the Jordanian front: Terrorist

actions"; "On the Egyptian front: Nasser's belligerent acts." Here too, the onus of responsibility for the war was placed on the Arab states. Israel's actions in the crisis were categorized by a heading denoting a solely passive response: "The waiting period: Israel is concerned for its future." Hence the extensive mobilization of reserves was also justified. Avieli-Tabibian employed nouns that heighten the sense of anxiety, mainly through the use of headlines such as "The tension on the Syria-Israel border increased," "Conflagration on the northern border," "Slipping toward war," and "Feelings of distress and tension eroded public morale" (Avieli-Tabibian, 2009, p. 183). Although on the face of it, this is the version of a neutral observer with an objective view of the responsibility for the war, the chronology, the accompanying photographs, and the sources quoted leave no room for doubt as to the party to be held responsible. It is the author's view that Jordan created the regional water problem when it began the construction of an irrigation canal with American aid (Avieli-Tabibian, 2009, p. 182). Construction of Israel's National Water Carrier was actually a secondary activity. The actions of Jordan, joined later by Syria, are to blame for the escalation in the region. One of the footnote stated that "the Americans proposed a division of the water between Israel and Jordan, which was rejected by the Arab League, but accepted by Israel" (Avieli-Tabibian, 2009, p. 182). The text also cited an unqualified threat: "Resolution of the water problem will only be achieved with the destruction of the State of Israel" (Avieli-Tabibian, 2009, p. 182). The author informed students about murderous Palestinian infiltrations and terrorist attacks across the Jordanian border (Avieli-Tabibian, 2009, p. 180) and went into extensive detail about the defense agreements between the Arab states (Avieli-Tabibian, 2009, p. 184). Thus, the author built up an atmosphere of existential anxiety and international isolation in Israel on the eve of the war. The book made no mention whatsoever of any Israeli responsibility for 'heating up' the northern or Jordanian borders. All Israel's actions were presented as legitimate, defensive, and reactive facing the Arab threat (Avieli-Tabibian, 2009, pp. 180–183).

To sum up this analysis, textbooks published both in the periods from 1995 to 1999 and 2006 to 2009 provide the 1967 War with a coherent and continuous narrative without placing any particular emphasis on its long-term significance. The reading and study sections, the sources chosen for analysis, the lesson plans, the questions for reflection and summary, the emphases and foci—all are connected in one way or another to the concept of the war being a part of the active past, a living memory and an exhilarating victory. The books emphasize the four motifs that combine to produce a collective Israeli sentiment vis-a-vis the ongoing conflict—namely, fear and a sense of constant persecution; demonization of the image of the Arab as a persecuting enemy; a sense of threatened isolation and consequential ethos of power; and a positive self-image in all matters of individual and collective morality.

CONCLUSION: THOUGHTS AND INSIGHTS

Israel's policy in the territories occupied in 1967 has veered between adopting an 'open bridges' approach and constructing a 'separation fence' which in many places encroaches deep into the Occupied Territories. Nonetheless, apart from the effects of the Oslo Accords and their offshoots, the policy has remained essentially unchanged and unchallenged.

The textbooks make no mention of the effects of this policy on the day-to-day life of the territories' residents, Jewish and Palestinian alike. Students are not invited to discuss life in Israel or the Territories at a time when politicians are unable to agree whether the Occupation should be temporary or permanent. Apparently the time has not yet arrived for the standards of critical historical literacy to be applied to the teaching of the Six-Day War. For many Israelis it remains a collective experience capable of galvanizing real national sentiment. Debates in the media on the future of the Occupied Territories, on the conduct of the army, on settler attacks on Arabs living in the Territories, and on the erosion of Israel's deterrent capability divert attention from the lessons to be learned from recently published historical research. This keeps the research findings out of the school curriculum. As is so often the case, intellectuals, academics, artists, screen-writers, film directors, journalists, and some politicians are preempting the education system with their demands for a re-examination of the narrative—45 years after the war. To date there is barely a hint of this thinking in history textbooks.

Quite apart from the textbooks themselves, there is a further aspect of the education system that affects the way schools deal with the 1967 War. The topic is not studied until the final semester and, compared to other subjects, it forms a very minor part of the study content. The number of hours devoted to it is tiny, at most two or three. Concentration on the matriculation examination, which comes in the middle of the year, means that even less time, or none at all, is devoted to the war. In other words, for technical reasons, the subject is neither studied nor analyzed as it should be. About two generations of young people know nothing about pre-1967 Israel and not enough about life in their country after it.

The war that took place 45 years ago is located in the twilight zone between memory and history. One of the best ways of transferring it from the world of memory to the sphere of history studies is to *historicize its memory*. Memory, which professional historians recognize as a human-identity resource affected by social and political influences, can help young people to deal informatively with their complex environment. To face that challenge, textbooks must focus on the dilemma of an active past and on the problems it brings to an understanding of the war: What and whom does memory serve in the way in which it is formed? What is its role and why is it important? What must it be asked? Thus, for instance, students given photographs and songs could at the same time be told of their role as memory-forming symbols. Students could be asked about the feelings the pictures evoke. What do they remind them of in their own lives? Likewise, a brief reference could be made to Bar-Tal's research dealing with the psychological foundations of the conflict.

A bold option for more able classes would be to teach the war through the medium of contradictory narratives. An experiment of this kind was conducted by a group of Israeli and Palestinian history teachers under the auspices of The Peace Research Institute in the Middle East (PRIME).[i] The group constructed a joint textbook entitled *Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative in Israeli and Palestinian Schools,* which refers to several key events in the history of the Jewish-Arab conflict, including the 1967 War. The book consists of parallel narratives, the Israeli and the Palestinian, appearing on opposite sides of the page, with empty lines between them for recording the pupils' responses on both the intellectual and emotional levels. The book has one narrative that mirrors the one in Israeli textbooks and another opposite it that is a stark Palestinian narrative describing the war from an Arab viewpoint.

Working with a text such as this in an Israeli or Palestinian classroom could present the teacher with an opportunity to escape, even if only for a time, from the immediacy of the conflict to a space where there is room for reconciliation and listening, without actually having to surrender positions or interests. The teaching process would present to the class conflicting narratives derived from unquestioned facts on which there is agreement and focus the discussion on the tension between the narratives. The discussion would concentrate on the meanings ascribed to the different narratives and the feelings of injustice, anxiety, and anger they engender; it would examine the language they use, their mutual demonization, and attempt to understand the historical context in which they were formed. The students may accept the new historical narrative in full or in part, or they may reject it completely, but most importantly, they will understand its importance, its seminal place for those who believe in it, and its real effects on the conflict and the every-day lives of all concerned (Steinberg & Bar-On, 2009, pp. 104–112; Yogev, 2010, pp. 113–147). This point of departure in the students' thinking will constitute a starting point for the paths of critical historical literacy and observation of cultural materials and the way they are shaped. The teachers will draw students' attention to the way in which historical knowledge is created and handed down. They will sharpen the students' sensitivity and ability to identify the conceptual lenses of historians and especially to be aware of the incompleteness of their interpretation.

Despite the fears and condemnations of many, teaching history from a critical viewpoint *is not a rejection of heritage and is not necessarily any less patriotic.* Fostering critical thought is in the collective interest of every democratic society that aspires to be a dynamic entity actively shaped by its citizens. The debate, then, is not about the legitimacy and importance of learning about one's heritage, but about the degree and the means. The purpose of teaching history in a life-embracing democratic society is not to instill a certain opinion or rigid ideological stance. On the contrary, teaching history is supposed to embody education for democratic thinking—that is, education to foster critical abilities and complex insights as a basis for making intelligent, independent choices between alternatives. Only this kind of education will strengthen Israeli society as a community capable of accepting the shadows of the past and the unease of the present, thereby striving to improve its future maturely, rationally. This way of teaching can never complete

its task, and its very existence is a largely Sisyphean voyage into an imperfect past, capable of cultivating a wiser learning community seeking to get in touch with life, informed by lessons of humility, tolerance, and pluralism.

NOTE

[i] The experiment brought Palestinian and Israeli teachers together. They developed a unique curriculum according to a model that presented conflicting historical narratives as a learning method. The preparation and teaching of this curriculum is a trial-and-error model that may be used in other situations of continual conflict. The project and the publication of the textbook were made possible by the support of the European Union and the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research.

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10. HISTORY TEACHERS IMAGINING THE NATION

World War II Narratives in the United States and Canada

A comparison of the enacted history curriculum[i] in Canada and the United States presents an opportunity to draw conclusions about the processes by which citizenship and the nation are constructed in the high school history classroom. While this collection has largely focused on how textbooks represent the nation, this chapter examines the teacher's role in "enacting" or teaching the narrative content of textbooks. The interaction between history teachers and textbooks is largely unstudied (Thornton, 2006), yet teachers have the power to reinforce, challenge, or complicate the story of the nation as told in textbooks and other texts.

Canada and the United States offer a valuable basis for comparison, as they have similarities in geography and economic structures, and both bear the historical legacy of British colonialism. However, the two countries have very different civic and political cultures (Frye, 1982; Kaufman, 2009), which makes the representation of the nation in each country a rich avenue for comparison. Both nations are well-established participatory democracies, but the United States generally takes a more liberal, individualistic approach to interpreting democracy, whereas Canada generally embraces a more state-centered, collectivist approach (Kaufman, 2009). I am interested in the ways in which these democratic norms are represented in the enacted curriculum.

This multiple case study investigates how teachers negotiate the politically charged landscape of telling the story of the nation in required high school history courses. History education has become the center of passionate public debate in countries around the world because it becomes a forum for discussion about which version of the nation or national identity is endorsed by the state (for examples, see Carretero, 2011; Linenthal & Engelhardt, 1996; Macmillan, 2008; Nakou & Barca, 2010; Reed, 2004). World War II provides a useful focal point for the imagining of the nation due to its particular image in U.S. and Canadian historiography as the "good war" (Turkel, 1997). Widely represented as a just war against proponents of fascism and genocide, World War II can serve as a template for how citizens in a democracy demonstrate patriotism and self-sacrifice in wartime. This idea became institutionalized through the assertion by American journalist Tom Brokaw (1998) that those who served in the war were "the greatest generation," an assertion that has also been employed in Canada to some extent. The "goodness" of the war is enhanced by the fact that it ushered in a prolonged era of economic, military, and diplomatic hegemony for the United States, which was also an era of tremendous economic growth and prosperity for Canada. For this last reason, the war implicitly

justifies the relative affluence of these two nations in the present day. With Canada and the United States currently involved in wars in Afghanistan and (in the case of the United States) Iraq, how history teachers tell the story of the nation in wartime is salient to contemporary constructions of the nation.

I interviewed 13 history teachers in the U.S. state of Maryland and the Canadian province of Ontario and observed five of those teachers during their World War II unit of study. Studying the enacted curriculum revealed some surprising contradictions. Teachers' stated views of the nation were in some ways at odds with widespread images of the United States and Canada. For the U.S. teachers, there was a surprising lack of overt expressions of patriotism and a lack of attention to military narratives, whereas for the Canadian teachers an uncritical, triumphal narrative of military heroism dominated. This study demonstrates that the enacted curriculum is a forum in which popular views of the nation contend with representations in texts and with the teachers' own interpretation.

The study poses the question: How do history teachers and the enacted curriculum use World War II narratives to imagine the nation in the United States and Canada? To unpack this question, I address three subquestions:

- How do teachers intend to represent the nation?
- What narratives do they use to represent the nation, and how do these narratives fit into more general "narrative templates"?
- What implications do these narratives have for the construction of the "good citizen"?

In this chapter, I provide a sketch of the discourses of national identity in the United States and Canada by reviewing literature on national identity and U.S. and Canadian history education. While in both nations control over the history curriculum is located with the state or provincial educational authority, previous research suggests that discourses about citizenship and national identity do exist at the national level. The conceptual framework for this study draws upon theoretical work on nationhood and narratives, which I discuss focusing on the work of Benedict Anderson (1991) and James Wertsch (2002), followed by a brief discussion of the research methods. This study uses a case study approach to examine how a small number of teachers engage with public discourses of national identity and citizenship. I conclude the chapter by presenting the findings, followed by a discussion of the implications of this research.

CONTEXT

Representing National Identity in U.S. History Curricula

Seixas (2004) wrote, "Comparison promotes the examination of unarticulated assumptions. … Comparison helps to challenge unfounded claims of uniqueness drawn from one national setting" (pp. 13–14).

Unfounded claims of uniqueness are endemic to much of the historiography of the United States. American exceptionalism is manifested in the belief that the United States has a unique claim to the principles of freedom and justice, due to the

articulation of these principles in founding documents, such as the Declaration of Independence, Constitution, and Bill of Rights. Exceptionalism has been foundational to much of American history scholarship and has clouded scholars' ability to make claims about the meanings of U.S. nationhood (Bender, 2002, 2006; Rodgers, 1998). Popular notions of national identity argue that the United States is the world's standard bearer for freedom and rights for the individual citizen, as well as a leader in the development of tolerance for diversity. Some critics of American exceptionalism contend that the focus on individual rights to the exclusion of the collective good represents a flawed model of democracy (e.g., Barber, 1984; Glendon, 1991). Another problem with American exceptionalism is that it promotes the view that the United States stands apart from the global community of nations, and therefore it operates outside the principles of international law and human rights. Thus, in examining the presentation of the nation in the U.S. history classroom, I sought to understand how teachers engaged with the discourse of exceptionalism.

This American mythology has been at the heart of ongoing battles over the teaching of history (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 2000; Schlesinger, 1992; Symcox, 2002). Different national narratives[ii] are used to promote different versions of national identity. On the one hand, the traditional approach to telling the story of the nation in the U.S. is the story of powerful men with an emphasis on political nation-building, economic growth, and military conquest (VanSledright, 2008). This version of history is a story of continual progress, leaving little room for critique of the nation. Traditional history is well represented in textbooks and in state curriculum frameworks. On the other hand, alternative (sometimes called "revisionist") approaches to American history focus on "ordinary people," telling stories of middle and working classes, nonwhites, and women. Alternative versions of the nation's history include critiques of powerful figures and institutions. The past several decades have seen the growth of histories that question the monolithic narrative of the nation, and while these histories are marginalized in high school textbooks, they are widely available in popular books, such as Howard Zinn's (1980) *A People's History of the United States* and James Loewen's (1995) *Lies My Teacher Told Me*.

Historical narratives have political implications, as they are used in the classroom to develop students' understanding of the nation and its history. Those on the political left decry traditional presentations of national history for their elitism and for failing to tell the story of most people—women, the working (and often the middle) classes, and ethnic, religious, and sexual minorities. Those on the political right assert that critical depictions of the nation's history undermine public education's mandate to foster national unity, pride in democratic institutions, and gratitude for those who have sacrificed in the name of democracy.

Existing empirical research suggests that the focus of history education in the United States has traditionally been to transmit a narrative of national development and progress, but that students and teachers alike demonstrate discomfort with this narrative. When asked to tell the story of their nation, American college students tend to offer a story of ever-expanding freedoms, which Wertsch and O'Connor

(1994) identified as the "quest for freedom" narrative. Wertsch and O'Connor documented the different rhetorical strategies that students used to resolve (or gloss over) contradictions imposed by the presence of indigenous peoples and enslaved peoples. Epstein (2009) documented the counternarratives of injustice and discrimination in U.S. history that are prevalent within the African-American community. She argued that African-American students subscribe to an alternate metanarrative of U.S. history, one that is not promoted within the public schools in her study. Cornbleth (1998) and Hahn (2002) documented ambivalence towards the triumphal national narrative on the part of history teachers. Cornbleth found that there were multiple, fragmented depictions of the U.S. in the classrooms that she observed, but the most frequent was America as the "imperfect but best" country characterized with a "mix of acceptance and dissent" (p. 641). Hahn (2002) noted, "There seems to be a mixed amount of criticism or skepticism with respect to national leaders. On the one hand, students are told that leaders are not infallible or above criticism; on the other, there seems to be little critical assessment of contemporary leaders and issues" (p. 79). The literature suggests U.S. history education has largely served as a tool for perpetuating the image of the United States as a just nation committed to individual freedoms.

Representing National Identity in English Canadian History Curricula

English Canada's rhetoric of nationhood provides an interesting counterpoint to the United States. Whereas U.S. nationhood is generally regarded as strong and self-evident, Canadian nationhood is often presented as contested and in flux, especially in comparison with its neighbor to the south (Lorenz, 2004). Saul (1997, 2008) claimed that because Canadian nationhood rests upon an uneasy union among English, French, and indigenous societies, it is best characterized by complexity and postmodern uncertainty. For this reason, my discussion is aimed at parsing out characterizations of national identity in the Anglo-Canadian context.

Rather than fight a bloody revolution, Canada gained its independence from Britain gradually and peacefully over the course of a century of diplomacy. Thus, there is no one event or historical moment that marks the attainment of Canada's status as an independent nation.

Lipset (1990, 1996) traced distinctions between Canada and the United States to Canada's enduring loyalty to Britain after the United States fought for its independence. Lipset characterized Canada as "a nation of counterrevolution," essentially conservative. Others have drawn from Canada's colonial past the lesson that Canadians are less militaristic than their neighbors to the south and more prone to conciliation. Advocates of the "peaceful Canada" narrative invoke the role of Canadian Lester B. Pearson in developing the United Nations peacekeeping forces and the role of prominent Canadians such as Romeo Dallaire in leading those forces. Reviewing the comparative literature of Canadian and U.S. national identity, Hardwick, Marcus, and Isaak (2010) compiled a list of five commonly held English-Canadian values:

1. Commitment to multiculturalism
2. Support for global peacekeeping and global citizenship
3. Stronger affiliation with regional and provincial identity than national identity
4. Support for the social safety net
5. "Collaboration, consensus building and overall communitarianism … viewed as preferable to celebrating the rights of the individual in Canada" (p. 258).[iii]

Kymlicka (2003) argued that these values are myths that are foundational to the rhetoric of "being Canadian" (at least English-Canadian).

In a comparative history of Canadian and U.S. political culture, Kaufman (2009) traced Canadian tendencies to embrace communitarianism and consensus and eschew conflict to its distinct legal and political traditions. Morton (2000) claimed that the great legacy of Canadian history is that it is a "'user's manual' for … accommodation and compromise" (p. 55). Kymlicka (2003) argued that while Canada is not unique among modern nation-states in facing the challenges of cultural and linguistic diversity, Canada is unique in the extent to which it has "not only legislated, but also *constitutionalized*, practices of accommodation" with regard to multiculturalism, aboriginal treaty rights, and official language rights (pp. 374–375).

Yet the postmodern uncertainty of Canadian national identity has proved to be as much a source of unease as one of pride in Canadian public discourse. Hand-wringing over the uncertain status of Canadian national identity may be found every day on the state-funded Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) radio and television programming. Sumara, Davis, and Laidlaw (2001) noted:

> The issue of 'who we are' receives a good deal of air play in Canada. Despite the endless discussion there seems to be only one point of real consensus. …
> To state it concisely, discussions around Canadian identity tend to cluster around claims that Canadians are not overbearing, not totalizing, not monolithic, not unified, not static: or, put more bluntly, Canadians are not Americans. (p. 147)

Collective unease over "that seemingly ever damsel-in-distress, Canadian national identity" (Morra, 2009, n.p.) has provided fertile ground for Canada's own history wars. Supported by the work of The Historica-Dominion Institute and the publication of Granatstein's (1998) *Who Killed Canadian History?*, traditionalists argue that movements to emphasize themes of multiculturalism and social justice in Canadian history have obscured the important role of British culture in the development of Canadian institutions. Particular concern has focused on the declining prominence of Canadian military history. Progressive history educators, on the other hand, have argued for history curricula that are inclusive of Canada's diverse communities and present historical narratives as cultural artifacts that are open to critique. [iv]

Empirical research of history and social studies education in Canada supports the view of Canadian national identity as ambiguous and regionally oriented. Létourneau and Moisan's (2004) study of young people's knowledge of Quebec

history is frequently cited to demonstrate the sharp divide between Francophone and Anglophone versions of national identity. Létourneau and Moisan found that 403 Quebec secondary, college, and university students asked to write a short essay on the history of Quebec produced a narrative marked by "a melancholy, nostalgic awareness centring on the idea, the concept, of a conquered, reclusive people, abused by others and always fearful of reclaiming their destiny" (p. 117). In an action research study, Peck (2010) investigated how culturally diverse secondary students in British Columbia used a picture selection task to tell the story of Canada. Peck theorized that students used public history and their own cultural identities dialogically to develop stories that fit into one of three overarching narratives: the Founding of the Nation, Diverse and Harmonious Canada, and Diverse but Conflicted Canada. Empirical research on history education in Canada supports the view of Canadian identity as elusive, dependent upon regional, ethnic, or other affiliations.

The History Classroom as a Site for Imagining the Nation

When Benedict Anderson (1991) suggested that nations are "imagined communities," he opened the door for new avenues of interpretation of how various nations are created and recreated. If in fact nations must be imagined before they are real, then it is the people's imaginings that in some sense make the nation real. Anderson presented the nation as a paradox in that nationalists present the nation as an ancient or natural phenomenon, yet the nation must be maintained through the ongoing production and use of discourses, texts, and narratives that stimulate the nationalist imagination. The idea of nationhood has great political power—indeed, many modern wars draw their popular support from the claim that they are necessary to secure the nation's sovereignty—but the very idea of the nation must be invented and constantly maintained.

Anderson (1991) credited the invention of the printing press and the birth of what he termed "print-capitalism" with making the nation possible. The reproduction of texts creates images of the nation that are both uniform and totalizing. National history textbooks (as opposed to world history textbooks), which have long been the basis of history education in public schools (Apple, 2000; Cuban, 1993; Thornton, 2006), are both an artifact of the national imagination and a means of (re)producing the nation. The texts almost invariably use the idea of nationhood as their central theme and claim to tell the story of the nation. Traditionally, textbooks do not present the nation's history or the nation itself as contested ground. Despite their rhetorical style that is frequently dry and generally uninspiring to read, history textbooks continue to provide an authoritative national narrative (Thornton, 2006). They provide a master narrative, which serves as the de facto sanctioned history curriculum.

The ways in which teachers engage with these master narratives help create and maintain the notion of nationhood for the next generation of citizens, yet studies of how teachers engage with narratives in the classroom are rare (Hawkey, 2007; Levstik, 2008). Thornton (1991, 2005) argued that teachers are "curricular-

instructional gatekeepers," and thus they play a key role in the imagining of the nation in the history classroom. Teachers determine how texts will be used to tell the story of the nation in their classrooms. While the primary textbook is often selected for the teacher by a curricular authority at the school or district level, the teacher chooses how and to what extent that textbook is utilized by students (Grant & Gradwell, 2005; Nokes, 2010). One key aspect of the teacher's gatekeeping role is bringing in narratives from additional texts in a variety of media, and in so doing, teachers construct a "textual community" [v] in their classrooms.

Wertsch's (2002, 2008a, 2008b) work on narratives as cultural tools is the source for many of the definitions that I use for key terms related to narratives. Building on seminal work from the field of collective memory by Maurice Halbwachs, Paul Ricoeur, Hayden White, and others, Wertsch argued that narratives provide a way of "grasping together" information by combining actors and events into a plot, or a series of events that are linked together (2002, p. 57). Because the act of selecting people and events to make a narrative involves selecting some pieces of information and leaving out others, narratives invest history with value judgments. The placement of particular figures, institutions, or movements in the central role of a heroic narrative is one way in which narratives are inscribed with value judgments. White (1981) asserted, "Story forms not only permit us to judge the moral significance of human projects, they also provide the means by which to judge them, even while we pretend to be merely describing them" (p. 253, quoted in Wertsch, 2002, p. 124). Wertsch is particularly concerned with the protagonists, agents, and heroes of the narratives used in the classroom, and this was one focus of my data analysis as well.

Central to Wertsch's (2002) understanding of narratives as cultural tools is the dialogical nature of narratives. He cited Bakhtin's (1981) contention that any speech act is the product of three "voices" coming together: (1) the actual speaker's intentions, (2) the language and stories that the speaker uses, and (3) the intended audience's expectations. Wertsch used his research on historical narratives from Soviet-era history classes and post-Soviet Russia to demonstrate areas of change and continuity that reflected both the ideological and political changes from one era to another and the cultural continuity. Key to Wertsch's narrative dialogicality is the idea that narratives do not exist in isolation from each other. Within a given culture or a textual community, narratives speak to each other and exert force on one another. Wertsch argued:

> As such, the key to understanding the meaning and form of one narrative is how it provides a dialogic response to previous narratives or anticipates subsequent ones. And the nature of the response can range from hostile retort to friendly elaboration, from a studied attempt to ignore another narrative to its celebration. (p. 60)

My project was concerned with understanding the ways that narratives speak to each other in the history classroom. For example, how does the use of certain narratives, such as one teacher's assertion, "*U.S. military intelligence estimated that an invasion of Japan in 1945 would have resulted in over 1 million Allied*

casualties," pave the way for other narratives, such as the claim, "*The use of atomic weapons on Japan saved American lives*" and discourage the use of other narratives, such as stories that call into question Allied decisions to bomb civilian population centers in Japan and Germany? Clearly, the use of these narratives has important implications for the depiction of the nation and its citizens.

Arguably, Wertsch's (2002, 2008a, 2008b) most significant contribution to the field of collective remembering is the development of the concept of the *schematic narrative template*, which is a basic story that is repeated frequently within a narrative tradition. Key characteristics of schematic narrative templates are that they belong to a specific cultural tradition and they are so commonly held that they are invisible to those who use them. Wertsch documented the uses of the "triumph-over-alien-forces" narrative template in Russia to tell the story of Russia during the Civil War of 1918–1919 and World War II. He described the basic plot of this template in four steps:

1. An "initial situation" (Propp, 1968, p. 26) in which the Russian people are living in a peaceful setting where they are no threat to others is disrupted by:
2. The initiation of trouble or aggression by an alien force, or agent, which leads to:
3. A time of crisis and great suffering, which is:
4. Overcome by the triumph over the alien force by the Russian people, acting heroically and alone. (p. 93)

Wertsch used textbooks from different eras in Soviet and post-Soviet history to document how the officially sanctioned history of the Civil War of 1918–1919 and World War II changed from the 1940s to the 1990s. Throughout this period, however, Wertsch demonstrated that the "triumph-over-alien-forces" narrative template continued to shape the telling of Russian history, even as the reigning ideology changed and the designated hero became the people of Russia rather than the Communist Party. As discussed above, Wertsch and O'Connor (1994) identified the "quest for freedom" schematic narrative template as central to U.S. students' telling of U.S. history. Létourneau and Moisan (2004) identified a nostalgic schematic narrative template in Québecois students' telling of French Canadian history. My review of the literature of Canadian history education turned up no identified schematic narrative templates for English Canadian histori-ography, however. One purpose of my research was to look for schematic narrative templates for English Canadian history, as well as to document the ways in which schematic narrative templates exist in a dialogical relationship with specific historical narratives in the Canadian and U.S. history classes. Examining the enacted history curriculum provides a rich topic for exploring narratives in dialogue with each other.

METHODOLOGY AND SETTING

Comparative Case Study Design

As this comparative case study (Merriam, 2009; Stake, 2005) examined the political implications of history teachers' practices, it was an examination of the complex relations among teachers' beliefs, curriculum guidelines, and instruction. A case study design was well suited for this project's focus on the relationships between teachers' practices and widely disseminated cultural messages about citizenship and the nation. Drawing on teacher interviews, classroom observations, and classroom artifacts allowed exploration of these relationships as they played out in the work of teachers. Thus, this project took up Masemann's (2003) charge to use ethnographic methods from a critical perspective "to delineate the connections between the microlevel of the local school experience and the macro-level of structural forces at the global level that are shaping the 'delivery' and the experience of education" (p. 155).

One notable feature of case study research is its utilization of small sample sizes in order to explore a particular phenomenon in depth. Flyvbjerg (2011) argued that case studies offer high conceptual validity and a nuanced understanding of the role of context as it shapes human activity. Therefore, the case studies offered here are not intended to represent how history is taught in the United States and Canada so much as they are explorations of how a sample of teachers take up the discourses of nationhood and citizenship in a given social and policy context. While these cases may not be representative, they are nonetheless useful in understanding how the concepts of national identity and citizenship are taken up in history classrooms because, as Stake (2006) contended, "In many ways, a single case is not representative of other cases, but the interactions and operational responses in its situations are so frequently found in dissimilar cases that they are seen as relevant. … This reasoning extends to multicase studies" (p. 91).

The two cases in this study were the enacted secondary history curriculum in one school board in Ontario and one school system in Maryland. I chose these two locations (Ontario and Maryland) for their demographic and cultural similarities, mindful of Skocpol and Somers' (1980) claim that the comparison of two similar cases draws attention to the ways in which the two cases diverge by calling attention to contrasting features. Both have culturally diverse populations; comprise urban, suburban, and rural communities; are close enough in proximity to the nation's capital to give both Ontario and Maryland a sense of connectedness to the politics of the nation; and have local voters who span the political spectrum but tend to be left of center in the national political debate.

Data Sources

Patton (2002) wrote that fieldwork may be organized "around nested and layered case studies" (p. 297). The school sites and teacher participants in this research represent nested and layered cases. After securing approval from the university and school ethical review boards, 13 teachers—six in Ontario and seven in Maryland—

were recruited for the study. Participants were recommended by their principals, department chairs, or district social studies curriculum coordinators as examples of "wise practice" (Davis, 1997; Grant, 2005; Yeager, 2000). Among the teachers, there were four women and nine men (see Appendix A for information about participants). One identified himself as African-American, and the others identified themselves as White. They had between 2 and 26 years of teaching experience; 14 years was the median. The participants were drawn from five schools in Ontario and two schools in Maryland, serving student populations representing a wide range in socioeconomic status. The teacher participants were interviewed about their beliefs about history and citizenship and their instructional practices. Among the teachers in the study, two in Ontario and three in Maryland were chosen for classroom observation at schools. I observed the teachers for 2 to 3 weeks while they taught the World War II unit of their required national history course (10th-grade Canadian history since World War I or ninth-grade U.S. history from 1876 to the present). Observation sites were selected to include classrooms serving school populations with both low and high socioeconomic status. In addition to the interviews and observations, additional data sources included textbooks, other instructional materials (handouts, worksheets), assessment activities, and provincial or state curriculum guidelines.

Credibility and Transferability

A variety of strategies can be used to develop the credibility or trustworthiness of qualitative research (Merriam, 1998; Patton, 2002; Stake, 2005). I sent interview transcripts, along with a summary of the emergent themes, to participants for their comment and feedback. The use of semistructured interview guides and observations guides structured the collection of comparable data from the two cases. I used interviews, observations, and document analysis to triangulate data. In producing detailed accounts of teachers' practices, the research aimed for naturalistic and reader generalizability, in which readers generalize the findings of the research to situations as they see similarities and applicability (Merriam, 1998, p. 211).

In recognizing the role of researcher positionality in informing research, I would like to note that I came to this project after teaching high school history in the United States from 1995 to 2005. Thus, the project reflects my own struggles with how to teach the story of the nation. I had not taught in Ontario or Maryland previously, and thus I came to the sites as both an outsider, being new to the culture and policies of the schools, and an insider, being an experienced teacher who was able to demonstrate to participants familiarity and empathy with the process, challenges, and rewards of teaching history. Having moved to Canada in 2005, I am more familiar with the history of the United States than that of Canada. Some might suggest that I have had more time to internalize the "grand narratives" of U.S. history, but I have also spent more time critically engaging with those narratives. This information is offered with the understanding that in qualitative research, the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis (Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002).

Data Analysis Strategies

The qualitative researcher makes sense of data "in a complex process that involves moving back and forth between concrete bits of data and abstract concepts, between inductive and deductive reasoning, between description and interpretation" (Merriam, 1998, p. 178). Ultimately, case study analysis utilizes direct interpretation, narrative description, and formal aggregation of data (Stake, 1995). Analytic categories were drawn from the theoretical framework for this study, such as views of national identity, descriptions of the good citizen, and aims of history education. After transcribing each interview, I wrote a memo with an initial synthesis of the emergent themes in the interview, guided by the research questions. I compiled interview extracts on each major theme into documents in order to note common trends and divergent views. Once these themes emerged, I returned to the original transcripts to look for additional confirming and disconfirming data related to those themes. For the classroom observations, I recorded each class and took detailed notes focusing on the historical narratives deployed in the classes and the pedagogical strategies used by the teachers to engage students with those narratives. I then created a display for each teacher observed summarizing these data. I developed codes for the displays to identify the types of citizens who were represented in the narratives (e.g., political or military leaders, civilians, class, ethnicity, gender). A historian also coded selections of the data to establish inter-rater reliability. After my initial synthesis of the data, I reexamined the data to look for disconfirming evidence that would contradict or complicate my analysis.

Ultimately, this research sought to raise questions about discourses of citizenship and national identity in the history classroom. Patton (2002) posited that interpretation in qualitative research "may take one of three forms: making the obvious obvious; making the obvious dubious; [or] making the hidden obvious" (p. 480, citing Schlechty & Noblit, 1982). Only through the documentation of commonplace and taken-for-granted practices can we hope to problematize the universalist discourses of national identity.

RESULTS

Teacher interviews provided the context to the classroom observations that followed in the data collection process. The initial interviews, which ranged from 45 minutes to 3 hours in duration, allowed the teachers to give their assessments of their aims and methods as history teachers. In comparing teachers' views of the nation with the historical narratives they invoked in the classroom, we can identify how and to what extent the historical narratives supported the teachers' views of national identity and citizenship.

Teachers' Views of Citizenship and National Identity

If teachers are indeed curricular-instructional gatekeepers, then one would expect their conceptions of national identity to play a central role in the construction of national identity and citizenship in the history classroom. How do teachers understand national identity and their role in developing the interrelated concepts of national identity and citizenship in the nation's youth? I asked teachers about their aims in teaching Canadian or U.S. history. Interview questions included, "What do you believe are the characteristics of a good citizen?"; "What do you think students need to learn in order to be good citizens?"; and "What, in your opinion, are the most important topics in a Canadian/U.S. history course?" Questioning teachers about national identity indirectly allowed the teachers to determine to what extent they implicated themselves in the modernist nation-building project. While the questions stipulated that a common rationale for history education is the preparation of future citizens, they did not presume that there is such a thing as a universal national identity. When teachers spoke about the nation, their responses often reflected widespread taken-for-granted characteristics of national identity, such as those identified by Hardwick et al. (2010) or Kaufman (2009), but there were also unexpected responses that challenged conventional wisdom about the culture of nationalism in each country.

U.S. teachers on the nation. Referring back to my earlier review of the literature of national identity in the United States and Canada, one would anticipate that the U.S. teachers expressed a strong sense of national identity bolstered by a commitment to promoting individualism and individual rights. The teachers did indeed place a high value on individual rights. They described normative citizenship in terms of the individual's participation in society. However, the U.S. teacher participants displayed a pronounced *disinterest* in promoting nationalism or patriotism. Only one teacher expressed patriotism as an important value or as a goal of the curriculum.

Only two of the seven teachers spoke directly about what they wanted their students to know about the United States, and these two teachers had opposing views. Lori wanted her students to "appreciate what you have in this country and how important it is to recognize, I have these rights, but you have responsibilities." On the other hand, Deb wanted to share a more balanced view with her students: "We've got warts, we've got good things, we've got bad things, but I want to give the kids a real honest look at history. Not, 'We're the Americans who saved the day.' Once in while we do … but we make some mistakes along the way." Deb's views took on a particular significance in the study of the curriculum of the nation in wartime because she was the only teacher in the study to have served in the military, having spent over a decade in the U.S. Army. Her viewpoints demonstrate that valuing military institutions is compatible with a critical approach to patriotism. Significantly, the other five U.S. teachers interviewed did not speak directly to the idea of U.S. national identity.

The word that U.S. teachers employed most frequently to describe the behavior of a good citizen was "participation." While none of the Canadian teachers spoke

of citizen participation without reference to specific types of activities, six of the seven U.S. teachers interviewed used this self-consciously neutral term. For example, Dan described citizenship: "I would say my top three good citizen traits would be one who gathers information, makes informed decisions, and participates or makes his or her voice heard." Consistent with the findings of Hardwick et al. (2010), Kaufman (2009), and others, U.S. teachers spoke about the rights of the individual as an important national value. In their view, citizens should enjoy maximal liberties, encumbered by minimal obligations to other individuals or to society as a whole, such as the obligation to obey laws or vote. Within this discourse, individuals are free to "participate" in society in ways that are gratifying to them. Indeed, the teachers stated that citizens should participate in ways that are meaningful and serve the common good, as Deb suggested when she clarified her views on citizenship:

> I insist that they are knowledgeable participants and that they care about the consequences of their actions, whether it's here in the classroom, whether it's politically, globally or whatever, that they care about what they do and that they make decisions because it's something that they believe in.

However, U.S. teachers stressed that it was up to the students to define valuable participation for themselves. The teachers' taciturn approach to exemplary citizenship meant that the historical narratives took on additional weight in defining good citizenship in their classrooms.

Canadian teachers on the nation. The literature review on national identity did not anticipate the strongly *patriotic* views of the majority of the Canadian participants. In describing Canadian national identity, five of the six teachers interviewed posited that Canadian identity is difficult to define and that defining Canada is an important function of the Canadian history course. Linda stated, "We should be a little more proud of what we do," when she noted that she believed there should be more Canadian history in the high school curriculum. The majority of the teachers named instilling pride in Canada as one of their pedagogical goals.

The Canadian teachers interviewed supported previous findings that the discourse on national identity embraces communitarianism (or the collective good), peacekeeping, and multiculturalism. Four of the six teachers mentioned multiculturalism as one of the most important aspects or values of Canadian society. On this topic, Kevin said, "We have French and English but we also have [other groups]; there is all sorts of things going on and we've really kind of sold ourselves as this mosaic." Two others, Catherine and Andrew, mentioned Canada's history of peacekeeping or Canada's peaceful path to nationhood as defining characteristics:

> I think we do [have a distinct culture], and I think it is distinct from the United States. … It's important … how we've worked towards our independence, without the violence, without the war; it does dictate our relationship … with the rest of the world and also our approach to the rest of the world, that we're very much seen kind of as the peacekeepers. (Andrew)

Alongside the "peaceful Canada" theme were the descriptions of civility as an important characteristic of Canadian society. A broader theme that encompasses peaceful Canada and civil Canada is the emphasis on the collective good over the individual member of society, as exemplified by commitment to social welfare and social justice:

> How did we become this nation that is looked upon as being a beacon for the world; … how did that evolve? It's really important they understand that, that's something that has evolved, because it hasn't been a freak of nature, it hasn't been an accident: people took stands against injustice. (William)

As anticipated by Hardwick et al. (2010), Canadian teachers identified commitment to communitarianism, peacekeeping, and multiculturalism as important aspects of Canadian national identity. With one exception, they did not show stronger affinity for regional identity than national identity. This may be a finding that is specific to Ontario, where national and regional identity tend to be more strongly conflated than in other Canadian provinces (Wiseman, 2007). However, the assertion that one purpose of the Canadian history course is to develop a sense of pride in Canada—expressed by the majority of the teachers interviewed—was not anticipated in the literature on national identity and has important implications for the way that history teachers imagine the nation. Only one of the U.S. teachers identified national pride as a desired outcome for history education. In keeping with the assumptions about national identity, the U.S. teachers placed a heavy emphasis on the citizen acting as an individual, in possession of maximal liberties. This finding is consistent with previous findings on national identity in Canada and the United States. The U.S. teachers in this study diverged from previous findings in their inattention to themes of patriotism and nationalism.

Thus, while the teachers adhered to some of the expected characteristics of national identity, the Canadian teachers, for the most part, offered a strongly nationalistic rationale for history education, while the U.S. teachers expressed ambivalence or disinterest in educating for nationalism. One way of looking at this finding is to say that it debunks the popular image of Americans as bellicose nationalists and Canadians as lacking in strong patriotic sentiment. Another interpretation is that the teachers believed their role as citizenship educators was to counterbalance these popular images. In other words, the Maryland teachers sought to defuse heated patriotic rhetoric around U.S. nationhood, whereas the Ontario teachers sought to instill a type of national pride that they believed to be lacking in the culture at large.

Stories of the Nation in World War II

To understand how teachers presented the story of the nation in the classroom—rather than how they described their presentation of the story of the nation—I observed five teachers (Deb, Lori, Dan, Linda, and Andrew) for 2 to 3 weeks of their U.S. or Canadian history classes. In order to have as complete a record as possible, I sought to collect all of the materials that the students received during

their study of World War II, including textbooks, supplemental texts, homework and other assignments, and tests and quizzes.

Following Wertsch's (2002) model for looking at how narratives are used to construct the nation, the identification of the protagonists and agents in the story of the nation takes on particular importance. Thus, in analyzing the field data, I sought to identify the types of narratives that were used in each setting. I categorized narratives as representing political, military, or social history. These distinctions are not immutable and not always mutually exclusive, but they represent established narrative traditions in the field of historical scholarship.[vi] Each category has implications for the representation of citizenship and agency within the nation's history. Narratives in political history most often feature political leaders or the nations themselves as the agents, but they may also feature private citizens as political agents. They center upon political, diplomatic, and legislative action, including the formation and promotion of policy, diplomatic negotiations, or the enactment of laws. Military history can feature as protagonists military personnel at any level, from top leaders to enlisted recruits. They tell the story of war, focusing on big-picture strategy or small-picture stories of individual experiences and contributions to the war effort. Social history encompasses stories from civil society, may include labor history and cultural history, and tends to focus on the impact of society-wide movements on individuals and their communities. Of course, there are stories that straddle categories, such as the internment of Japanese-Americans, which includes narratives that fit into both the political and social history traditions, so at times I had to either assign a narrative to more than one category or make fine distinctions using subtle cues as related to the narrative's emphasis.

In keeping with Eisner's (2002) observation that "the timetable teaches" (p. 95), I sought to identify how the precious resource of class meeting time was divided among different types of narratives. I noted the types of narratives used in each class that I observed that was dedicated to some aspect of World War II. I then calculated the percentage of classes in which substantial attention was given to each type of narrative. The results are displayed in Table 1. While the percentages varied from teacher to teacher for all of the U.S. teachers observed, the largest amount of class time was devoted to political narratives, followed by military narratives, with the smallest portion of time devoted to social history narratives. For the two Canadian teachers observed, the largest portion of class time was devoted to military narratives, while smaller portions of time were devoted to political narratives and social history narratives. While the table would suggest that military narratives were featured with similar frequency in the U.S. and Canadian classes, this suggestion is misleading. In fact, many of the Canadian classes were devoted exclusively to military narratives, whereas many of the U.S. classes presented military narratives in order to contextualize or explain changes in U.S. policy or to illustrate the pressures on U.S. political leaders.

*Table 1. Percentage of Classes Observed
Featuring Different Types of Historical Narratives*

Narrative	U.S. classes	Canadian classes
Political	73%	38%
Military	59%	63%
Social history	14%	38%

Note: Because each class can include multiple types of
narratives, the percentages total more than 100.

Because the constraints of collecting data at multiple sites prevented me from observing every class that the five teachers dedicated to World War II, I carried out a similar analysis of each teacher's World War II unit exam (Table 2). The results were generally consistent with my observations that class time was devoted primarily to political narratives in the U.S. classes and military narratives in the Canadian classes.

Table 2. Unit Test Item Analysis by Teacher

	U.S. classes		Canadian classes	
Narrative	Deb & Lori*	Dan	Linda	Andrew
Political	48%	40%	19%	27%
Military	35%	42%	62%	50%
Social	12%	11%	19%	14%
Economic	4%	7%	0%	9%

*Deb and Lori taught at the same school and used the same unit test.

The quantitative data used in this section provided a fairly blunt instrument for measuring the emphasis on different types of narratives in history classrooms. However, the data revealed consistent differences between the types of narratives that appear to have dominated the U.S. and Canadian history classrooms, and these differences have significance for the construction of national identity and citizenship.

Stories of the United States in World War II. As is evident in Tables 1 and 2, political narratives dominated in the U.S. history classrooms. Protagonists in these narratives were usually identified as national leaders, most often President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the nations involved in the war. Military narratives were also referenced in a majority of the classes observed. However, military narratives tended to play a supporting role for the political narratives. The emphasis in these narratives was on the big picture—war strategy and the sequences of territory won or lost—and how it affected political events. Throughout the narratives, one prominent theme was the evolving justifications for U.S. involvement in the war. Significant class time was devoted to U.S. policies in the period before the U.S. entered the war (e.g., Neutrality Acts, Lend Lease Policy) and to the events

surrounding the end of the war, specifically the development of the atomic bomb and the decision to use atomic weapons against Japan. In short, the World War II narratives, taken as a whole, worked to justify U.S. military involvement in the war. This fits with Crawford and Foster's (2008) assertion that justification of U.S. action in World War II is extremely important to the legitimization of U.S. power in the second half of the 20th century:

> For most Americans it represents the beginning of an age in which America, more than any other nation on earth, zealously undertook both to defend Western freedoms and to promote beneficent capitalism. … The significance of World War II in understanding America's unique place in the world cannot be underestimated. (p. 126)

To this point I would add that the justification of the use of atomic weapons against Japan is very important to the metanarrative, as it was the United States' nuclear advantage that allowed it to dictate much of the balance of power in the postwar era. Thus, one of the dialogical functions of these narratives (Wertsch, 2002) is to establish the United States as the benevolent superpower of the Cold War era.

What are the implications of these narratives for citizenship? The protagonists and agents of the historical narratives may be taken as the representation of the citizen in the story of the nation. The protagonists of classroom narratives were frequently political leaders, such as Franklin Roosevelt, Adolph Hitler, and Neville Chamberlain. Often, the protagonists of the narrative were the nation-states themselves, presumably acting as a collective. Rarely were other individuals named as actors or agents. For example, Deb's unit exam review handout (Appendix B) listed only one individual who was not a political or military leader: A. Philip Randolph, the African-American labor union leader. Ordinary people appeared in classroom historical narratives in the form of nameless collectives, such as infantrymen landing on the beaches of Normandy, Japanese-Americans submitting to internment, generic Rosie the Riveters expanding women's presence in the paid workforce, and civilians of all creeds participating in bond drives and rationing campaigns. There was an interesting tension in the U.S. classroom, where students were to learn to exercise their citizenship as individuals, but there was a dearth of stories of individuals to model how this is done. Ordinary citizens, these narratives imply, may *participate* in history, but their agency is extremely limited; they do not *make* history. Instead, history is most often made by presidents, generals, members of Congress, and other government officials.

Stories of Canada in World War II. Canadian narratives painted an entirely different view of the war. Not only did military narratives dominate the narrative landscape, but the narratives attended in detail to the material experiences of ordinary soldiers. A majority of the Canadian history classes observed devoted much or all of the class to military narratives, with more emphasis on battles, tactics, and the use of military technologies. The "word wall" from Linda's class, a classroom handout that was given to students as a study aid for the unit exam (Appendix C), illustrates this focus.

The focus on the personal experience of war is consonant with the important role that the two world wars played in Canada's grand nation-building narrative. The wars were most often represented as the test by which Canada proved itself as an independent nation, rather than a junior partner in the British Commonwealth. The assertion that Canada "came of age" at the Battle of Vimy Ridge in World War I has become commonplace in public parlance (Berton, 1986, pp. 294–296). In his treatise on the construction of Canada's national myths, Francis (1997) wrote:

> How should war and its heroes be remembered? The master narrative presents both world wars as heroic struggles to preserve a way of life from enemies who would overwhelm it. According to the master narrative, the sacrifice of all those young lives was valorous and meaningful. War is horrible, but its horror is redeemed by noble sacrifice. This is the official memory of the war. It is unambiguous and idealistic. It invokes the war to promote unity and patriotism. The belief that Canada "came of age" at Vimy Ridge, for example, sanctions the slaughter, makes it purposeful, repays in part the debt we owe to the men who died there. (p. 126)

The presentation of World War II in the classrooms that I observed, as well as in the interviews with Canadian teachers, looked very much like Francis' description of the Canadian master narrative of war. Teachers wanted to foster respect for the sacrifices of the World War II generation while also painting a vivid picture of the horrors of war.

Protagonists in the historical narratives in the Canadian classes included the nations involved in the war, leaders of foreign nations, and citizens who contributed to the war effort in both military and nonmilitary capacities. There were strikingly few references to Canadian leaders, including Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King, his cabinet, and generals or other high-ranking military figures.[vii] Detailed narratives about the war effort described the valuable efforts that Canadians made collectively. The overall impression was that Canadians participated in the war heroically, but they were not responsible for the conduct of the war. The presentation of the war from the soldiers' perspective is consistent with Heer's (2010) assessment of Canadian accounts of the Great War: "We have a tremendous knowledge of the war as experienced by soldiers. But there is a persistent tendency to ignore the big picture" (n.p.). Because domestic Canadian political leaders, generals, and policymakers were not presented as agents in this narrative landscape, no one was responsible for the troubling aspects of the war, such as unequal treatment of women and ethnic minorities, military failures, or the civilian casualties that resulted from Allied airstrikes. Furthermore, the responsibility of citizens to take part in democratic deliberations or activism to inform or challenge authority was unexplored in the enacted curriculum observed in both Ontario and Maryland.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

It may be useful to return to Patton's (2002) three roles of qualitative research: making the obvious obvious, making the obvious dubious, and making the hidden obvious. Examining the enacted curriculum in selected classrooms in the United States and Canada contributes to all three activities by complicating our understanding of how national identity is represented and constructed in the history classroom. This study raises questions about ways in which the stories of the nation told in high school history classes may be at odds with the most desirable or hopeful images of these nations. New narratives are needed to interrogate questions such as who is culpable for the casualties of war, especially civilian casualties, and what means are acceptable in the prosecution of a just war. Notably absent in the narratives was the recognition of the importance of dissent and public debate in workings of participatory democracies. This last point stands in striking contrast to the emphasis that the U.S. teacher participants placed on citizen participation in their interviews.

The privileged place of military narratives in Ontario history classes may be well known to those inside Canada, but there is little discussion of this phenomenon in the literature on history education in Canada.[viii] These narratives support the teachers' intention to foster national pride in their students and educate them in a form of citizenship that gives primacy of place to the needs of society over the needs of the individual. However, such narratives exist in tension with the discourse of nationhood that celebrates "peaceful Canada"—a nation of peacekeepers who used nonviolent means to develop from a British colony[ix] to an independent nation. Contrary to the teachers' idealized images of "peaceful Canada," tales of military heroism occupied a central place in the practice of the teacher participants. Moreover, the insistence that Canada "came of age at Vimy Ridge," commonplace in Canadian public discourse, suggests that Canada's path to nationhood may have been no less violent than if it had been made by revolution. Richardson (2002) noted that in Alberta social studies curriculum documents, Canada's participation in World War II was presented as evidence of "mature nationhood" (p. 67). Thus, the proliferation of historical narratives that detail Canada's active presence in World War II, such as providing training and manufacturing for the British Air Force or participating in D-Day and the liberation of the Netherlands, serves as a testimony to Canadian nationhood. I hope that drawing attention to the triumphal use of the two world wars in the popular imagination of the nation can provide an opportunity for teachers to ask themselves whether this tradition belies the "peaceful Canada" grand narrative.

These narratives of military heroism may persist in the English Canadian collective memory because they speak to Canadian unease about its status as a nation. The uncritical celebration of Canadian participation in World War II, and in international events more broadly, represents an English Canadian schematic narrative template, to borrow Wertsch's (2002) term. I propose that this template be called "Canada Proves Itself on the World Stage." It describes a pattern for the stories represented in history classes:

1. There is an initial situation in which Canada's national strength or autonomy is in question.
2. Canada seizes an opportunity to make vital contributions to a global effort.
3. Canada earns new recognition and respect from powerful nations, usually European nations or the United States.

The problem with this schematic narrative template is that, like all schematic narrative templates, it exerts hidden control over the stories that are told about Canada. It means that historical narratives from all eras of Canadian history may be shaped to demonstrate that Canada deserves recognition as a member of the international community. At the same time, it may preclude the telling of stories that call attention to morally ambiguous aspects of Canadian history. In 1992 the CBC aired *The Valour and the Horror*, a documentary that included an episode devoted to Canadian participation in airstrikes on German civilian targets. The documentary prompted a public outcry of protest followed by Senate hearings discrediting the narratives. *The Valour and the Horror* has not been broadcast since. Following these events, publicly funded documentaries about Canadian participation in World War II have more thoroughly embraced the valor while turning away from the horror (Grace, 2009).

In the case of the enacted curriculum in the U.S. schools, the predominance of political narratives has long been recognized. However, the teachers' equivocations and expressions of uneasiness with regard to the norms of citizenship were not anticipated in the literature. Analyses of the discourse of nationhood in U.S. history textbooks, such as those offered by Loewen (1995), Crawford and Foster (2008), and VanSledright (2008), paint a picture of triumphal nationalism that was not consistent with most of the participants' expressed views. In place of patriotic narratives, the stories from the U.S. classrooms could be classified under a schematic narrative template that I will call "The Reluctant Hegemon." This schematic narrative template would follow this outline:

1. There is an international conflict in which the United States is not involved.
2. The situation grows increasingly worrisome until there is a turning point in which the U.S. public is convinced of the justness of the cause.
3. The United States enters the conflict and tips the scales, resulting in victory for the righteous.

This template clearly works for the two world wars, but it may also be seen in other conflicts, such as the Spanish American War. Note how the reluctance of the United States to enter into wars is a narrative strategy that makes it difficult to suggest that the country entered the war with an imperialist agenda. Thus, the economic or geopolitical gains that have resulted from these actions are simply the natural consequences of engaging in these just wars; they are certainly not the motivation for entering into the war in the first place.

With respect to the nature of the "good" citizen, the U.S. teachers refused to comment beyond the vaguest generalities. Yet, if one pushes on the teachers' construction of the good citizen as one who "participates," the model of citizenship normalized in the classroom is one in which citizens act through official channels, such as by working within the processes of government to advocate for change.[x]

The absence of historical narratives about individual citizens and their impact on history amplifies the silence concerning the good citizen in the enacted curriculum.

In both the Canadian and U.S. grand narratives of nationhood, World War II plays a particular role in that it provides an unambiguous enemy in the form of fascist Germany. In all five of the classrooms I observed, considerable time was devoted to the development of the National Socialist Party and the ambitions of Adolph Hitler. Hitler, students are told, took advantage of the economic desperation of ordinary Germans to solidify his control of Germany and implement his Final Solution. The model of historical agency here is one in which the actions of nations are the result of the intentions of national leaders; the actions of the citizenry are unimportant.[xi] There is little discussion of the ambiguities of war and broader questions of responsibility, such as those examined in World War II curricula in many European nations, such as Germany, England, and Sweden (Crawford & Foster, 2008; Nicholls, 2006). Within this master narrative, the actions of the Allies are, by their necessity, heroic. Yet, within the U.S. and Canadian historiographical traditions, there are counternarratives that dramatize the ambiguities of war. These counternarratives ask us to consider the costs of total war, the questions of how the burdens and benefits of wartime sacrifice are distributed, and the lasting impact on those who fight.

This examination of the process of imagining the nation in history classrooms reveals that historical narratives paint a triumphal picture of the United States and Canada that contradicts the teachers' own conceptions of national identity and citizenship. It would be valuable to see whether similar findings can be obtained in other regions and localities in the United States and Canada. However, whether or not the findings here are representative practices across these nations, the contradiction between the teachers' stated beliefs and their practices offers an important theoretical contribution to our understanding of how the history curriculum is enacted. It shows that the relationship between teachers' beliefs and teachers' practices is complicated. Teachers do not simply enact their beliefs in the curriculum; they negotiate conflicting visions of the nation, in a delicate process that they may not even be aware of. Understanding the implications of historical narratives in the enacted curriculum can help teachers and teacher educators to engage critically with these narrative traditions. The next set of questions is, How do we engage history teachers with the contradictions between their own views of citizenship and the nation and the stories they tell? How do students make sense of themselves as citizens in light of these narratives? And how do we increase the presence of counternarratives about war and citizenship in the history classroom?

NOTES

[i] "Enacted curriculum" refers to the curriculum that students and teachers experience in the classroom (Snyder, Bolin, & Zumwalt, 1992).

[ii] Barton and Levstik (2004) complained, "Literary theorists talk about the topic, and they talk around the topic, but they don't often stop to say just what they mean by the term *narrative*. Often they appear to mean 'anything and everything' or 'whatever I happen to be talking about at the moment.'" Barton and Levstik went on to define narrative as "a chain of events in cause-effect

relationship occurring in time and space" (p. 130). My use of *narrative* is consistent with this definition.

ⁱⁱⁱ Hardwick et al. (2010) identified three commonly held American values: (1) an assimilationist approach to multiculturalism, (2) the primacy of national identity over regional or local identity, and (3) individual rights valued over the rights of the group. "Being an American means valuing individual property ownership, taking care of one's own health care needs and clinging to individual rights due in part to the lingering impacts of America's long-held 'Jeffersonian tradition' and 'frontier mentality'" (p. 259).

ⁱᵛ Clark (2009) and Seixas (2010) offer accounts of recent public debate over Canadian history curricula.

ᵛ I have borrowed the term "textual community" from Wertsch (2002, pp. 27–28), whose work is discussed in the following pages.

ᵛⁱ Recent historical scholarship has extended and complicated these traditions in interesting ways. Foner and McGirr (2011) have edited a useful volume on recent developments in these fields in the United States. Conrad (2011) surveyed the development of historiography in Canada. However, the narratives observed in classrooms for this study did not reflect these recent scholarly developments and instead reflected the traditional approaches to narrative that I have described.

ᵛⁱⁱ In fact, there was more attention to political developments in Europe leading up to and during the war than in Canada. A substantial amount of the political narrative content in Andrew's and Linda's classes was devoted to political developments in nations other than Canada.

ᵛⁱⁱⁱ McKay and Swift (2012) have argued that militarism is on the rise in contemporary Canadian public discourse.

ⁱˣ This chapter focuses on English Canada. For discussion of the role of history education in the construction of identity and nationhood in French Canada, see Létourneau (2004).

ˣ This type of citizen has been termed the "participatory citizen" by Westheimer and Kahne (2004).

ˣⁱ For a critical examination of this type of historical agency, see den Heyer, 2003, 2006.

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APPENDIX A:
TEACHER PARTICIPANTS

Teacher	School	Years teaching*	MD or ON
Deb Patterson	Harriet Tubman High School	14	MD
Jackson Ellis	Harriet Tubman High School	2	MD
Lori Carson	Harriet Tubman High School	15	MD
Jonathan Miller[†]	Harriet Tubman High School	13	MD
Dan Kennedy	Franklin D. Roosevelt High School	3	MD
Matt Stein	Franklin D. Roosevelt High School	8	MD
Richard Moore[†]	Franklin D. Roosevelt High School	26	MD
Linda Nevins[†]	Erie Secondary School	21	ON
Andrew James	Huron Secondary School	11	ON
Ryan Grey[†]	Huron Secondary School	8	ON
Kevin Parker[†]	Pine Hill Secondary School	19	ON
Catherine Easton[†]	Dundas Secondary School	20	ON
William Fielding[†]	Queen Elizabeth Secondary School	17	ON

All people and school names are pseudonyms. MD indicates Maryland; ON, Ontario.
Teachers are listed in the order in which they were interviewed.
*Includes current year.
[†]Department chairs for history and social studies in their respective schools.

APPENDIX B:
UNIT TEST REVIEW HANDOUT

Deb Patterson
Harriet Tubman High School (Maryland, USA)

Causes and Background of World War II
    Conditions of Treaty of Versailles
    Reasons for the growth of dictators
    Japan's invasion of Manchuria
    Munich Conference
        Appeasement
        What was the agreement?
        Neville Chamberlain
    Joseph Stalin
    Non-Aggression Pact

Early World War II (1939–1941)
    Axis nations
    Allied nations
    Invasion of Poland
    Blitzkrieg
    Battle of Britain
    German invasion of USSR

U.S. Isolationism Through 1941
    Neutrality Acts (and isolationism)
    Attitude of FDR towards helping the Allies
    Cash-carry policy
    Destroyers for bases
    Lend Lease Act
    Atlantic Charter
    Trade embargo and asset freeze against Japan
    Pearl Harbor
    Problems U.S. faced upon entering war

U.S. Mobilization and Homefront During War
    How did war end the Depression?
    Defense industries (why were these jobs desirable?)
    A. Philip Randolph and FDR's executive order
    Government agencies and war
        Selective Service
        Office of War Information
        Office of Price Administration
        War Production Board
        Taxes and war bonds
    Japanese internment
        Reasons for internment
        Effect on Japanese-Americans
    Rationing
    "Common good" and World War II
    "Rosie the Riveter" and role of women
    Outcomes of African-American service in war

European and Pacific Theaters
    Military priorities of FDR and Churchill
    European and Pacific Theater maps
    European Theater
        Stalingrad
        Role of Tuskegee Airmen
        Dwight Eisenhower
        D-Day
        Battle of the Bulge
    Pacific Theater
        Midway
        Island hopping
        Kamikazes
        Manhattan Project
        Reasons for using atomic bomb

Post World War II
    Deterioration of U.S.–USSR relationship
    Yalta Conference
    Potsdam Conference
    Nuremberg Trials

Truman Doctrine
NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization)
Marshall Plan and reasons why plan was necessary

Questions to Consider

1. Evaluate how U.S. policies changed regarding isolationism from the 1930s through the attack on Pearl Harbor.
2. Explain how World War II impacted groups in the U.S., especially African-Americans, women, and Japanese-Americans. How was the idea of the "common good" applied to actions during World War II?
3. Describe the general course of the war in the European and Pacific Theaters.
4. Describe the reasons for the growing U.S.–Soviet conflict at the end of the war and the U.S. policies that resulted from it.

APPENDIX C:
UNIT TEST REVIEW HANDOUT

Linda Nevins
Erie Secondary School (Ontario, Canada)

WORD WALL: BETWEEN THE WARS AND WORLD WAR II TERMS

Fascism	Blitzkreig	Anti-Semitism
Totalitarianism	Appeasement	S.S. St. Louis
Aryan	Dunkirk	Nuremberg Laws
Black Shirts	Luftwaffe	Kristallnacht
Mussolini	The London Blitz	Final Solution
Nazi Handbook	Axis Forces	Convoy
Hitler Jugen	Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact or Soviet Nazi Non-Aggression Pact	
Brown Shirts	British Commonwealth Air Training Plan	
Mein Kampf	Rationing	Auschwitz
Third Reich	Panzer	Jewish Ghettos
Anschluss	Hunger Winter	Genocide
Operation Barbarossa	Operation Husky	Operation Overlord
The Manhattan Project	Pillboxes	Anderson Structure
Doodlebugs or V1	Lancaster Bombers	Scapegoat
Munich Agreement	Sudetenland	Legenstraum
WAC's	John Grey (H.K.—soldier)	
WD's	WRENs	RADAR

Section 3.
(Re)Constructing the Nation

MICHAEL MEAD YAQUB

11. (RE)LEARNING UKRAINIAN

Language Myths and Cultural Corrections in Literacy Primers
of Post-Soviet Ukraine

Particular understandings of the "nation" are increasingly unlikely to be produced and sustained without a state educational system institutionalizing the nation's central narratives, delineating its boundaries, and acculturating individuals to its attendant values and notions of collective identity (Apple, 1990; Gellner, 2006; Wanner, 1998). School textbooks, since they are both perceived as and are designed to constitute "official knowledge," are vessels ripe for the embodiment and transmission of such state-envisioned histories, memories, and discourses of nation(hood) (Apple, 1992; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Schissler & Soysal, 2005). Presenting their content through a particular language that separates the author from the text, textbooks invite readers to view their content as neutral, objective, and factual and thus above bias, criticism, and doubt (Olson, 1989). In this way, textbooks are particularly effective in subtly imparting the selective traditions and ideologies of dominant social and cultural groups—a "latent curriculum"—onto the supposedly neutral "manifest curriculum" of the subject(s) they cover (Venezky, 1992, p. 438). As Apple and Christian-Smith (1991) explained, textbooks, more so than other forms of media, are especially apt at "signify[ing]—through their content and form—particular constructions of reality, particular ways of selecting and organizing that vast universe of possible knowledge" (p. 326).

   In times of radical social and political change, newly possible, newly viable "constructions of reality" may occasion, influence, or even necessitate the extensive and systematic rewriting of textbooks—and this was certainly the case with those (nation-)states (re)emerging from the ashes of the Soviet Union in 1991. From Latvia to Turkmenistan, many of the young republics of the former Soviet Union sought to carefully manage the mass revision of their school texts in the years immediately following independence (see, e.g., Kuzio, 2005; Lisovskaya & Karpov, 1999; Michaels & Stevick, 2009; Popson, 2001; Silova, 1996; Zajda & Zajda, 2003). While many, like the Baltic states or even Russia itself, have been able to revive particular, *pre-Soviet* national myths and narratives long repressed, obscured, and quite selectively edited by the communist school of historiography, other, more nascent republics—like the fledgling states of Central Asia—have in some cases taken to forging completely new histories (see, e.g., Denison, 2009).

Having only recently celebrated two decades of independence, Ukraine has found that scribing a continuous national narrative and articulating a distinct national identity continues to be an arduous and complicated task. In particular, Ukraine remains hard pressed to disentangle itself from a centuries-old and intimate enmeshment with the culture and history of its large East Slavic neighbor—Russia. By critically examining the content of Ukraine's textbooks, we can trace the narratives and ideologies that make up the state's selective vision of Ukrainian nationhood and national identity. And indeed, a number of studies over the past two decades have already attested to the high degree of nation-building content embedded in Ukrainian textbooks (Janmaat, 2004, 2005, 2007; Kuzio, 2005; Popson, 2001). In contrast to Apple's (1992) idea that the processes of cultural crystallization in textbooks are *dynamic*, reflecting both continuities and contradictions of the dominant culture, these textbook analyses have found that elementary and secondary school texts in Ukraine consistently emphasize particular notions over others. Although it has been recognized that history texts are slowly moving closer to constructing the contemporary Ukrainian nation in modern *civic-* or citizenship-based terms—allowing for multifaceted ethnic, cultural, and linguistic makeup—the texts of independent Ukraine predominantly define their "nation" as one based on descent from a distinctly *Ukrainian* ethnic and linguistic core (Janmaat, 2004, 2005; Popson, 2001). Consistently, the studies reveal the strong presence of narratives slanting toward the Ukrainophile school of historiography, including the representation of the Kyivan-Rus' as a proto-Ukrainian ethnic and embryonic state (Janmaat, 2004; Kuzio, 2005; Popson, 2001) and the portrayal of Russians as a (sometimes villainous) ethnocultural "other" (Janmaat, 2007). Moreover, considering the enduring Ukrainian conviction that language and nationhood are irrevocably connected, and the inability of political institutions to produce alternative, distinguishing identity markers, Janmaat (2004, 2005) has argued that Ukrainian history texts have embraced the Ukrainian language as *the* primary constituent of (ethno)national identity. For example, at the time of Janmaat's 2004 study, the officially approved history text for ninth grade stated that "membership in the Ukrainian nation was above all determined by the native language" (p. 107, as quoted in Janmaat, p. 12).

The exclusionary, ethnoculturally and linguistic-based concept of nation found in Ukrainian textbooks resonates with what has been seen in the materials of other post-Soviet education systems, including Kazakhstan (Ismailova, 2004), Latvia (Silova, 1996), Lithuania (Beresniova, 2011), Poland (Gross, 2010), and Slovakia and Estonia (Michaels & Stevick, 2009), to name just a few. Although such previous scholarship is certainly important, these studies, like the vast majority of those concerned with the constructions of the nation embedded in textbooks, predominantly concern only history or social studies texts used for grades five or above (see also Schissler & Soysal, 2005; Soysal, 2006). The focus on this subject and age level is, of course, understandable. And yet, as this study would like to suggest, it is not quite accurate to say, as Janmaat (2005) does, that Ukrainian pupils are "first acquainted with [the] history of Ukraine at age 10 in the fifth

grade" (p. 8). Put into the hands of Ukrainian children several years before their history texts, the *bukvar*, an introductory literacy primer made ubiquitous to Soviet schooling and remaining widespread in post-Soviet schools, likewise introduces young and impressionable pupils to the Ukrainian nation and the popular myths and ideologies associated with it. Filled not only with the letters of alphabet and simple phonetic exercises, bukvars also contain pages of folktales, poems, and vibrant illustrations. Quite often, these seemingly innocuous texts speak to or illustrate salient topics of Ukrainian national identity and history, from vignettes on ancient Kyiv and the Kyiv-Rus' to allusions to the tense history of Ukrainian-Russian relations. To this date, I am aware of only Filippova (2009) having also examined the nation-building content of post-Soviet Ukrainian bukvars, tracing the replacement of Soviet and communist images and discourses with distinctly Ukrainian cultural tropes, illustrations, and narratives. While illuminating and valuable, Filippova's study is brief, explores only three texts (of the Soviet, *perestroika*, and independent era, respectively), and provides a rather general review of the major and apparent ideological changes to the texts. My study considers a larger sample of post-Soviet texts and wishes to explore a particular aspect of the bukvars' ideological material in much more analytic depth and focus.

As language learning texts, the bukvars also, significantly, contain texts *about* language. Since the beginning of a people and society that could even be called "Ukrainian," battles over the Ukrainian language, and the politics and ideologies surrounding its use and status, have been paramount to questions of Ukrainian cultural and national identity. Focusing on one particular aspect of the bukvars' wealth of nation-imagining content, I undertake a critical discourse analysis in order to explore the bukvars' metatext—their *language about language*. To the extent that the eight post-Soviet bukvars considered herein teach Ukrainian children the *ridna mova* (native language/tongue), they likewise teach what speaking the "native" language *means* as a political and cultural commitment. Moreover, I contend, they do so in a manner strikingly consistent with a long-held tradition of national(ist) mythology seen in other Ukrainian textbooks, reifying the Ukrainian language as *the* essential, and essentialized, constituent of a distinctly Ukrainian ethnocultural, national identity.

LANGUAGE LEGACIES AND ENDURING MYTHS IN POST-SOVIET UKRAINIAN SCHOOLING

With the emergence of an independent Ukraine in 1991, there came the inheritance of a centuries-old history of language politics that was incredibly complicated and often deeply divisive. The repressive language policies of both tsarist rule and the later Soviet regime, combined with the sociocultural (and economic) allure of speaking Russian, as well as the simple reality of thorough Russian/Ukrainian social integration, has led to the present-day reality that roughly one third of the people residing in Ukraine identify Russian as their "mother" language (State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, 2001),[i] and some degree of bilingualism is nearly universal throughout the country (Bilaniuk, 2005). Moreover, Russian predomi-

nates in the east and south regions, where Russian language hegemony and active Russification efforts endured relatively unabated for centuries. By any measure, thus, independent Ukraine is a multiethnic and multilingual state, and individual language profiles are mixed and fluid in practice (Bilaniuk, 2005; Bilaniuk & Melnyk, 2008; Wilson, 2009). The question becomes: To what extent do Ukrainians, in general, envision their relatively new state in such fluid and pluralistic terms?

Answering this question inevitably demands a return to the 19th-century beginnings of the Ukrainian national movement and to the particular language ideology it co-opted and cultivated. Inspired by and in alignment with the thought being upheld by various popular nationalist movements immediately surrounding them, the educated and educat*ing* class of Ukrainian elite propagated the spreading Herderian philosophy positing that one's language profile and ethnocultural profile naturally and essentially coincide (Magocsi, 2002). Or, as Benedict Anderson (2005) has rather lyrically described it, "the conviction that languages … were, so to speak, the personal property of quite specific groups—their daily speakers and readers—and moreover that these groups, imagined as communities, were entitled to their autonomous place in a fraternity of equals" (p. 84). Whereas before a Ukrainian (or proto-Ukrainian) linguistic profile had not been popularly conceptualized as a feature that necessarily corresponded to one's political, social, or cultural allegiances, in the 19th century, Ukrainian was ideologically essentialized and (re)imagined as *the* "native language" of a "native people" (Wilson, 2009, p. 87). And with the conflation of *lingos* with *ethnos*, stateless Ukrainians articulated their natural right to a "native soil." As Wilson (1998) explained, by equating a language with ethnicity, leaders of the Ukrainian national movement "felt able to assert the existential unity of all Ukrainians," and in doing so likewise asserted the right to a particular "political geography," a national homeland (p. 126).

In the decade immediately following independence, those in state educational sectors continued to adhere to the 19th-century philosophy that one's ethnocultural and linguistic profile should quite naturally coincide (Janmaat & Piattoeva, 2007; Stepanenko, 1999). In 1995, Kuchma's minister of education, Zgurovsky, articulated this idea in stark terms, saying, "Take away everything from the people and all of it can be returned, but take away a language and people cannot ever recreate it. If a people's language is dead, the people are also dead" (as cited in Stepanenko, 1999, p. 123). And even earlier, Kravchuk's deputy minister of education, Anatolii Pohribnyi, expressed an equally bold sentiment: "The Russification of such a large number of Ukrainians is only superficial, exterior [and therefore] a more or less *temporary* … phenomenon, not an internal one. At the level of ethnopsychology, in their depths these Russophones remain Ukrainians" (as cited in Wilson, 2009, p. 208, emphasis in original). Clearly, for the education sector elites above, Ukrainians should speak Ukrainian, and any internal (language) division of Ukrainian society is wholly unnatural; that is, Russophone or so-called Soviet Ukrainians are the product of unjust systematic and artificial cultural

manipulation (Wilson, 2009, p. 208). Thus, with the political and almost *moral* mandate to culturally rebuild the "national integrity," one presumed to be thoroughly violated by pre-Soviet and Soviet Russification efforts, language policies and ideologies in schools—even more so than in other public and state sectors—are premised on the supposed naturalness of a monocultural Ukrainianization effort (Koshmanova, 2006; Stepanenko, 1999; Wanner, 1998). To a great extent, Ukrainianization efforts and elements in schooling have lessened from their rather feverous pitch in the 1990s, now competing with an array of other educational drives and philosophy (e.g., "global citizenship," an emphasis on international job market competitiveness). Yet, it continues to be the case that expansion and development of Ukrainian cultural consolidation remains a fundamental point of emphasis in educational programming and policy today, competing with so-called multicultural or postnational education paradigms rather than replacing them (Janmaat & Piattoeva, 2007). As Olena Fimyar's (2010) fascinating discourse analysis of key policy texts from 1991 to 2008 revealed, Ukrainian educational policy and discourse, especially in the 2000s, is host to a number of hybrid ideological currents, whether compelled to "'recapture Ukraine's past,' and build a 'spiritually and culturally rich' nation" or to "'catch up with Europe,' and thereby build a 'modern and technologically advanced' market economy" (p. 85).

Regardless of the tensions and inconsistencies inherent in Ukrainian education, though, the promotion of the status and use of the Ukrainian language as a necessary part of state and cultural consolidation has remained paramount since independence. In Ukraine, school language policy derives from the 1989 law establishing Ukrainian as the sole state language. The law stipulated that schooling should be conducted in a child's "native language," although it also—following European-established norms (Bilaniuk & Melnyk, 2008, p. 76)—guaranteed parents the right to choose their child's language of instruction. In reality, however, parents do not freely exercise the choice of language of schooling; rather, operating under the logic that language is linked to ethnic identity, local authorities fix the proportion of schools operating in a particular language on the basis of the *ethnic* composition of the population (Hrycak, 2006; Stepanenko, 1999). As a result, most children in today's Ukraine are assigned to schools on the basis of reported ancestry, perhaps obscuring and/or ignoring the language preferences of millions of Russophone Ukrainians from primarily Russian-speaking families (Pavlenko, 2008).

Despite the periodic bursts of indignation that arise from Russophones in various political arenas and in election-time rhetoric, school policies and other language politics have not, in general, escalated to society-fracturing levels. There are undoubtedly many reasons for this, but Alexandra Hrycak (2006) interestingly posited that we should understand the historical legacies of the terms "native/mother language" and "parental choice" in Ukraine and the policies that surround them. As discussed above, as early at the mid-19th century, Ukrainian intelligentsia had established the ideology that "native language" is not to be construed as the language of primary use or preference, or even as the language children are

socialized into by their parents or peers; instead, "native language" should be considered the product of one's ethnic ancestry. Ironically perhaps, early Soviet linguistic campaigns for "nativization" [*korenizatsiia*] and the concomitant materialist philosophy positing the primacy of nationalities as objective, "organic" realities only served to reify this principle (Arel, 1995, 2002; Hrycak, 2006). Thus, based on the interaction of pre-Soviet and Soviet ideological and institutional legacies alike, Hrycak (2006) contended that it is not only Ukrainophiles who take such notions for granted, but Russophone Ukrainians as well tend to "accept" an ethnically based construct of "native language." The notion of "parental choice," on the other hand, continues to be linked to Soviet politics, unjustly favoring the position and hegemony of Russian as parents opt for Russian on the basis of its real and/or perceived status and power.

In independent Ukraine, then, the long and arduous story of imagining and consolidating a distinctly "Ukrainian" ethnic and national identity continues to be inextricably interwoven with the struggle for the revival and elevation of the Ukrainian language—in both institutional and ideological terms. And if the long Russification (linguistically *and* culturally) of schools was historically seen as the politics of destroying what it means to be Ukrainian, then in the post-Soviet era the renewed Ukrainianization of schools has become paramount to the reconstruction of a distinctly Ukrainian national identity (Stepanenko, 1999; Wanner, 1998). School language policy is based on an enduring "native language" principle, asserted as altogether natural by political leaders, and, as argued by Hrycak (2006) and Arel (1995, 2002), tacitly accepted by the majority of the Ukrainian population.

As texts involved with the more pragmatic aspects of teaching the Ukrainian language, post-Soviet Ukrainian bukvars likewise serve as material ripe for the maintenance and perpetuation of this enduring 19th-century language ideology, still an essential, altogether "natural" facet of the education sector's ongoing commitment to a Ukrainianization program, assuming the organic connection of *ethnos* with *lingos*.

(RE)READING THE LITERACY PRIMERS: SAMPLE AND METHOD

In the highly centralized education system of Ukraine, the Ministry of Education not only makes all decisions regarding curricular content, but likewise regulates the selection of textbooks and the "official knowledge" embedded in and conveyed by them. Although the production of textbooks takes place in a partially liberalized market, new textbooks go through a complex process of review, testing, and revision before they can be included on an annual ministry-published list of texts approved for use by class and grade level (Janmaat, 2005; Popson, 2001). Moreover, textbook adoption throughout the country does not reflect a large degree of regional variances despite important political and cultural differences among regions (Popson, 2001, p. 328).[ii] The state, therefore, still has a large influence on how texts are written, and only a select sample of these texts ultimately find themselves in the hands of schoolchildren throughout Ukraine.

For the purposes of this study, I have compared and analyzed the content of six Ukrainian-language bukvars and two Russian-language bukvars published in Ukraine, all marked as approved by the Ministry of Education. The publication dates of this sample range from the late 1990s through 2010, providing a representation of texts spanning Ukraine's most recent decade of independence—although many of the texts are subsequent, modified versions of earlier, original publications (Table 1).

Table 1. Sample of Bukvars Analyzed

Publ. date (orig. publ.)	*Publisher*	*Author*	*Language*
1998 (1997)	Svit (pub. in Lviv)	D. V. Lutsyk, M. M. Prots, & A. S. Savshak	Ukrainian
2001 (2000)	Forum	K. S. Pryshchepa & V. I. Kolesnychenko	Ukrainian
2002 (1986)	Osvita	M. S. Vashulenko, A. N. Matyeeva, L. K. Nazarova, & N. F. Skrypchenko	**Russian**
2004 (2001)	Osvita	M. S. Vashulenko & N. F. Skrypchenko	Ukrainian
2007 (2001)	Osvita	M. S. Vashulenko & N. F. Skrypchenko	Ukrainian
2007 (1997)	Heneza	K. S. Pryshchepa & V. I. Kolesnychenko	**Russian**
2009 (2007)	AST-Press-Ukraine	M. Vashulenko & V. Vashulenko	Ukrainian
2010 (2000)	Heneza	K. S. Preshchepa & V. I. Kolesnychenko	Ukrainian

The textbooks were gathered via convenience sampling—acquired by a Ukrainian colleague in Kyiv and Kherson in the fall of 2010—but are nonetheless highly representative of the total body of state-approved bukvars. The sample includes three out of the four Ukrainian language bukvars approved and recommended for use in Ukrainian language schools at the time of this study (Ministry of Education of Ukraine, 2011a). As regards Russian-language bukvars, this sample uses two out of three texts recommended for the teaching of Russian in Russian-language schools in Ukraine (Ministry of Education of Ukraine, 2011b). Five of the textbooks were published by either Osvita or Heneza, each major producers of educational materials in Ukraine—publishers creating texts for both lower and secondary levels and publishing in both Ukrainian and Russian. And indeed, both Russian-language books included in this sample are variants of Osvita and Heneza texts also published in Ukrainian, with the texts in each language having been written by the same authors, respectively.

Although the sample is quite representative of texts used in Ukrainian- and Russian-language schools, it is hardly representative of the greater plurality of less widely disseminated primers that have recently become available and approved, such as primers produced in Yiddish or Crimean Tatar.[iii] These textbooks are undoubtedly reflective of more diverse identity constructions and language ideologies than those of Osvita or Heneza, but remain beyond the scope of this analysis.

The two Russian language books (one fourth of the sample) were included to provide an exploratory analysis of how texts intended for Russian-speaking/ learning students portray language in comparison with those written for Ukrainian-language learning. The texts were published in Kyiv with the single exception of a 1998 textbook published in the western Ukrainian city of Lviv, which is significant considering the city's historical and contemporary role as a center for the cultivation of the Ukrainian language and cultural identity.

Throughout the paper, textbooks are cited by publisher and date. Rather than cite texts via authors, this citation method was chosen as often texts within the bukvars are credited to someone other than the primary author, for example, to a famous poet or writer. It should be assumed that all texts are in the Ukrainian language unless otherwise noted. In many cases, the texts analyzed here are highly stylized, poetic compositions. Nevertheless, I have chosen to render translations with as little stylistic and semantic alteration as possible to avoid adding any external meaning and connotation to the texts. I was responsible for all translations, which were then checked for fidelity and style by two to three native speakers of Ukrainian and/or Russian.

METHOD

In the greater discursive field, where multiple discourses are generated and circulated, textbooks, as arbiters of "official knowledge," are particularly influential in advancing and maintaining particular versions of reality (Apple, 1990, 1992; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Venezky, 1992). In order to disentangle the variegated discursive threads embedded within the textbooks, my reading drew more on methods of critical discourse analysis and critical literary studies than social science methodologies (Fairclough, 1995; Fairclough & Wodak, 1995). I consider textbook language and illustrations to be part and parcel of social and political fields of power, with various discursive constellations and patterns tending to adhere to and perpetuate certain hegemonic narratives (Vavrus & Seghers, 2010). Thus, rather than employ quantitative measures common to many textbooks analyses (such as frequency counts), my interest lay more in detailed, close readings of the messages and ideas articulated through the text, making inferences into what the books wished to communicate and "teach" their readers.

In reading the primers of this sample, I first identified all those texts that explicitly referenced language (Ukrainian or otherwise) itself—the books' metatexts—of which there were many, from poems stressing that students "never forget their language" to vignettes of animals speaking Ukrainian. In subsequent rereadings I was concerned with finding patterns, similarities, and family resemblances among these metatexts, with the aim of tracing how, within each book and across the sample, multiple texts centripetally converged toward a coherent set of meanings—discourses—that naturalized certain notions into common sense over others, "constrain[ing] the possibility of thought [because they] order and combine words in particular ways and exclude or displace other combinations"

(Ball, 1990, p. 2). As illustrations are particularly vibrant focal points of the primers, additional attention was paid to how visual elements resonated with or contributed to linguistic texts.

In what follows, I present a detailed analysis of select texts exemplifying the central and mutually reinforcing metaphors making up an over-whelmingly ethnonational discourse on language, exploring how (1) the conflation of language with ancestry (the language of a native people) interweaves with (2) the construction of language as rooted to a territorial homeland (language as "native"), and thus (3) ultimately becomes articulated in explicitly political, national terms. As the analysis of the bukvars reveals—both explicitly and implicitly, both through metaphor and imagery—these textbooks teach that the Ukrainian language is one third of a pure, essentialized, indivisible trinity. Ukrainian, as overwhelming presented in the bukvars, is the "native" language of an ancestral "native" people, belonging to a particular, primordial, and "native" homeland.

FINDINGS

(Re)Learning Ukrainian: Language Politics and Cultural Corrections

On the opening page of the 2010 Heneza primer, an illustration shows a boy and girl seated at their desks, a paper and pencil in front of each of them—apparently, in a classroom. Just behind them a window opens to a scene of lush, wildly abundant nature, featuring mountains, a peaceful river, and a small village house on a gently sloping green hill. While the girl, dressed in traditional Ukrainian costume and with her hair fitted with bows, writes diligently on the paper, the boy is dressed in a suit and tie and has his left hand raised (Figure 1). The boy seems to be raising his hand in response to a teacher beyond the boundaries of the illustration. And yet, a quite different interpretation is possible once the text immediately below the image is considered:

Learn, my friend,
be an excellent student,
love both fields and groves!
And wherever you may be,
wherever you live—do not forget
your Ukrainian language! (p. 3)

This text, a small verse credited to Volodymyr Sosyura, a member of the Ukrainian People's Army of 1918 to 1919 and a poet who wrote lyrics full of pride for his native Ukraine, allows for another interpretation of the boy's raised hand. It is possible that the boy is not merely getting the attention of an unseen teacher; he is perhaps taking a kind of *oath* with his palm upheld, taking, that is, the *pledge* of Sosyura: to be an "excellent student," one who never "forgets" the Ukrainian language wherever he may be or live.[iv]

> Учися, мій друже,
> відмінником будь,
> люби і поля, і діброви!
> І де б ти не був,
> де б не жив – не забудь
> своєї вкраїнської мови!
>
> Володимир Сосюра

Figure 1. Poem by Volodymyr Sosyura. Kyiv: Heneza, 2010, p. 3.

Taking into account the opening of the 2010 Heneza text, let us now consider the ending of both the 2004 and 2007 version of the Osvita text. On each book's back cover, there are identical messages to the student assumed to have finished the book:

> Dear friend!
> You're finished reading the first and *most important textbook*—BUKVAR.
> Hopefully, it became a true friend to you. The bukvar opened your first
> footpath to the world of knowledge. *It taught [you] love and respect for the
> Ukrainian language*.
> Now you can independently read many interesting books that will help you
> gain solid knowledge. (back cover, emphasis added)

Although the text acknowledges its pedagogically crucial role of teaching basic Ukrainian literacy and thus the ability for students to continue their learning and studying *in Ukrainian*, this, evidently, is hardly the only reason that the bukvar is proclaimed to be the "most important textbook." In addition to teaching language literacy, clearly the primer is explicitly assumed to have "taught *love and respect* for the Ukrainian language."

Across the entire sample, and from beginning to end, the literacy primers hardly take the presence and use of the language they teach for granted. From the opening of the 2010 Heneza text featuring Sosyura's "oath," to the back cover of the 2004 and 2007 Osvita books assuming to have taught students "love and respect for the Ukrainian language," the bukvars are littered with texts cultivating an important metalanguage on the *ridna mova* (native language), discursively constructing the Ukrainian language as essential to Ukrainian national identity.

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Native Ukraine, Native Ukrainian (People and Language)

Throughout the primers of the post-Soviet period, multiple texts emphasize the Ukrainian language as a fundamental constituent of the Ukrainian ethnocultural identity. Appearing only 12 pages after Sosyura's oath-taking poem and illustration, page 15 of the 2010 Heneza book contains yet another language pledge. In fact, entitled "Oath," this short poem by Volodymyr Luchuk construes language as a key element in the reproduction and transmission of Ukrainian identity:

> **Oath**
> [Language] of nightingales, periwinkle,
> wheat fields
> my parents gave me the gift—forever!—
> of my native Ukrainian language.
>
> I will preserve it and nurture it
> everywhere and forever—
> since each one of us—like a mother—
> has only one language. (p. 15)

Evoking first the beauty of the language, the speaker of the poem treasures Ukrainian, both metaphorically tying the language to the land of Ukraine (… of "periwinkle, wheat fields"), and, significantly, understanding it as a "gift" from his or her parents. Much more than an aspect of mere parent-child socialization, the transmission of the Ukrainian language put forth in this poem is a rather *reproductive* process—a gift not so much given, but rather inherited via ancestry. To this end, consider first the dual meaning of the insertion "—forever!—" into the first stanza. The Ukrainian language, this suggests, is not only *a gift* that lasts forever, but it is also the *act* of this giving—the transmission of the Ukrainian tongue from generation to generation—that is everlasting, since "forever" and for "forever." And indeed, opening the second stanza, the speaker pledges to play his or her part in this eternal reproduction of language, weaving a metaphor in which it is not only the speaker who takes on the role of the mother—"nurtur[ing]" the language—but also the Ukrainian language itself. In positing language as "like a mother"—of which each person has only *one*—the speaker reifies a strictly monolingual conceptualization of what constitutes one's "native" or "mother" tongue, framing the transmission of language in rather hereditary terms and thus ultimately conflating one's (singular) linguistic profile with one's (singular, of course) "mother" or ancestral bloodline.

That the illustration surrounding the text features abundant fields of wheat, a rainbow, and a foreground focused on the sun-reaching vines of a lush periwinkle plant only further adds to the poem's symbolism of reproduction and fertility (Figure 2). Finally, in contrast to the Ukrainian-language version of this text, an earlier *Russian-language* version of this text (Heneza, 2007) published by the same authors does not contain Luchuk's "Oath" poem. Rather, for the Russian-speaking and -learning students, in place of the text concerned with "nurturing" Ukrainian is a banal text about carefully crossing the street (Heneza, 2007, p. 15) (Figure 3).

Figure 2. "Oath" by Volodymyr Luchuk. Kyiv: Heneza, 2010, p. 15.

Figure 3. "Streetlight" by Vladimir Orlov. Kyiv: Heneza, 2007, p. 15;
Russian language version.

Luchuk's poem links Ukrainian to nature, but this feature is only secondary, buttressing its more primary metaphor of linguistic reproduction and inheritance. While Luchuk's "Oath" conveys the fusion of linguistic identity to ancestry, we should turn elsewhere to see the tendency of the bukvars to fuse language to another essential ingredient of the Ukrainian national conception—the Ukrainian territory, the homeland. To this end, let's consider a text entitled "Native Land" (*Ridna Zemlya*) from the 2009 AST-Press-Ukraine primer. Describing a young crane apparently migrating north for the summer, this text is remarkable for symbolizing the Ukrainian language as quite literally *native* to, and a natural element of, the Ukrainian territory itself:

From faraway lands,
from distant worlds,
a little [young] crane,
rides his wings home.

Speeding over oceans,
forests and seas,
he gazed through the fog:
—Whose land is that [he asked]?

Whose valleys are these?
Whose meadows are these?
Whose guelder rose berries
do the winds shake?

He recognized Ukraine:
—My land,
my nest is here
and my language. (p. 83, italics added)

From "faraway lands," even "distant *worlds,*" the diminutive crane flies back to *his* Ukraine, his "land," his "nest." For some reason not at all as foreign or alien as his winter retreats, Ukraine is unquestionably the crane's "native" land. And soaring over oceans, forests, and everything in between, the crane demands not "*what* lands?" or "*which* valleys?" but rather significantly "*whose* land," even "*whose* guelder rose." Here, the crane pronounces the notion that place, territory, *belongs* to someone; resonating with the classic conception of "homeland," a crane (a poetic stand-in for a person) is both *of* the "nest" and, reciprocally, possesses that "nest." Clearly reaffirming the sentiment of the poem, there is a short handwriting exercise underneath the "Native Land" text that asks the reader to trace in cursive the well-known Ukrainian/Russian aphorism: "A person without a homeland is like a bird without wings [*Liudina bez bat'kivshchyny—shcho ptashka bez kryl*]." In the fourth stanza, having now apparently recognized the flora and fauna, the topology and waterways familiar to him, the crane understands he has arrived at *his* home. And in ending, locating his nest—both literal and, more significantly, metaphoric (i.e., Ukraine)—the poem ends with the acknowledgment of one final, and perhaps most important, "native" element. As the reader begins to feel the distinct impression of the journey's end and of the crane descending for landing, the crane also "recognizes" *his* language: "He recognize Ukraine:/ —My land,/ my nest is here/ *and my language*" (AST-Press-Ukraine, p. 83, emphasis added).

In a poem whose central device relies on the crane's movement through space and search for the natural elements demarking his home, language, at the end, is "recognized" in the company of various material, physical elements, and is thus every bit as living and native to the Ukrainian homeland as the mountains, the guelder rose, and the crane himself.

Having carefully read a text constructing Ukrainian as a primary constituent of ethnic/ancestral identity, and one positing language as a quasiphysical element tied to the Ukrainian soil, in returning to the Heneza 2010 primer we can find a text, by Viktor Teren, that integrates both metaphors:

Native Language
How nice it is, dear children,
for you to look out the window!
Through it is everything—poplars, flowers,
the sun and a field near the house.

[Like] the window through which comes the morning sunlight,
that which warms your face,
is our native language—
she opens the whole world.

Preserve it, little ones,
because she [language] is like the pretty little window
That your mother once
carried you to and planted [you] on … (p. 45)

Here, again, the Ukrainian language is intimately associated with Ukraine's natural elements. Tasked, as in other texts, to "preserve" the Ukrainian language, readers here are reminded (once again) that it is their mother who brought them to and placed them at this "windowsill," a clear metaphor for the parental transmission of language and subsequent ability to communicate and learn. By the second stanza, the Ukrainian language is described as the medium, or "window," through which it is "so nice" for the children to look, "opening" the world's experience and meaning, its poplars and sunshine, etc. And in this description, we see once more that language is imbued with a nurturing, motherly function and identity: Like potted plants warmed by the sunlight, the children, too, grow and bloom, in company with poplars and flowers in the garden beyond them—and all thanks to language, the window through which nourishing sunlight floods. Resonating powerfully with this analysis of the poem, the accompanying illustration shows a boy and girl leaning through an open window, taking in the sight of a flourishing garden (Figure 4).

So far, via the close readings of selected, exemplary texts, I have attempted to isolate two aspects essential to the bukvars' treatment of the Ukrainian tongue: the conflation of *lingos* with ancestry, and the fusion of the language with the "native" land. In the 19th-century Ukrainophile philosophy still very much present in the pages of the bukvars, these conceptions necessarily coincide, conflate. Consistently informing how one reads all and subsequent texts on language, metaphors linking language to blood and kinship, to nature and the homeland, mutually engender and reinforce one another. With this in mind, it seems appropriate to now turn to those texts that rather explicitly employ these language metaphors and myths towards the

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Figure 4. "Native Language" by Viktor Teren. Kyiv: Heneza, 2010, p. 47.

assertion of a distinctly Ukrainian *national* identity, presenting the strikingly consistent and surprisingly strong insistence on modern-day Ukraine as the exclusive, primordial homeland of an ethnolinguistically homogenous kin-group.

In this regard, a pair of remarkably similar texts from two separate bukvars, entitled "Our Homeland [*Nasha Bat'kivshchyna*]" and "Your Homeland [*Tvoya Bat'kivshchyna*]," respectively, deserves close attention:

> **Our Homeland**
> Homeland—is not only the land of our fathers, but grandfathers, [and] great-grandfathers. Homeland—the land where *has long been heard our native language and mother's song*. Our homeland is called Ukraine.
>
> Ukraine is the endless fields of wheat, fields of flowering flax, cherry orchards. It's the Carpathians [mountains] and the mines of Donbas. It's the wide Dnepr Slavutych [river], which carries its waters into the Black Sea. Ukraine—this is the land where you live. (Osvita, 2004 & 2007, p. 123; italics added)
>
> **Your Homeland**
> The word "fatherland" [*bat'kivshchyna*] comes from the word "father" [*bat'ko*]. Homeland—the land where your parents and grandparents were born and raised. *This is the land where is heard your native language. Every person—their own homeland*. We live in Ukraine—Ukraine is our homeland. (AST-Press-Ukraine, 2009, p. 64; italics added)

Using some form of the word "father" or "parent" no less than seven times between them, and in the case of the AST-Press text, going as far as to deliberately stress the etymological root of the word "*bat'kvshchyna*" ([*bat'ko*], father), both

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trace a familial inhabitance spanning several generations. And although ending its genealogy with grandparents or great-grandparents, the intended sentimental effect is clear—the texts wish to convey the sense of a much longer, and, in fact, timeless and uninterrupted ancestral lineage: Ukrainians, that is, having lived in this place virtually forever. Moreover, with explicit concern that its essential connection of ancestry to homeland (homeland to ancestry) doesn't allow for any other peoples, any *other ancestries* to also claim Ukraine as "home," both texts put forth an exclusively *mono*ethnic framework for the nation-to-homeland correspondence. The 2009 AST-Press-Ukraine text, in fact, does away with this possibility succinctly, wrapping up with a statement that allows for no ambiguity on the matter: "Every person—their own homeland. We live in Ukraine—Ukraine is our homeland." Conveying a similar ideology, the Osvita 2004/2007 "Homeland" text is preempted by a short text appearing on the previous page by the Ukrainian poet Vasyl Symonenko: "You can choose anything in this world, son, but you cannot choose your homeland" (p. 122).

Thus, leaving no room for civic or multiethnic/cultural conceptualizations, one's national belonging—as articulated in the bukvars here—is neither elective nor plural. One is born into a particular ethnocultural group belonging to a particular place.

In these texts, rather tautologically, being *in* Ukraine and *being* Ukrainian effectively define each other: That is, since we are all Ukrainians, this homeland is Ukraine, and since this homeland is Ukraine, all of us are Ukrainians.[v] And yet, the texts contain such deliberate syntactical constructions ("Our fatherland is called Ukraine") and such heavy-handed, repetitive insistence ("We live in Ukraine. Ukraine—it's our fatherland") that their insecurities are perhaps all too apparent— a compensatory drive to revise a much less taken-for-granted reality. What these formulations of the "homeland" ignore is the reality of millions of people born into families with generations of ties to Ukraine who nevertheless do *not* consider themselves ethnically or even culturally Ukrainian—most notably and numerously ethnic Russians and biethnic Ukrainian-Russians (Russian-Ukrainians). These texts elide the fact that although one's parents and grandparents may have been born in a place that is now called "Ukraine," it was only 20 years earlier known as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, part of a large and diverse multiethnic polity. Finally, the story told by these texts also takes care to obscure the *linguistic* realities of Ukraine.

In previous studies of post-Soviet Ukrainian textbooks, language has been inextricably linked to and shown to constitute a distinctly Ukrainian ethnocultural identity (Janmaat, 2005; Popson, 2001). This is certainly the case here. In both texts, the national homeland is first described via the uninterrupted inhabitance of ancestral lineage, then, immediately following (and necessarily), as the land where "has long been heard our native language." That other languages, of course, can also be heard in abundance throughout Ukraine doesn't merit mentioning. And, in this regard, it is no accident that both texts here and the previous texts analyzed use the term "our/your *native* language" instead of explicitly referring to the "Ukraini-an language" by name. As pointed out by many scholars (Arel, 1995, 2002;

Hrycak, 2006), Ukrainians (and Russians), in general, have a quite specific, perhaps literal, understanding of the construction "native language" (*ridna mova* [Ukr.], *rodnoi yazyk* [Rus.]), being the language corresponding to one's ethnic or ancestral background rather than the language first learned or preferred. In both "homeland" texts, thus, Polish, Magyar, Belarusian, and most notably, of course, Russian are not mentioned alongside Ukrainian as being "long heard" on this soil. Their insertion doesn't fit with the logic underpinning the particular conception of nationhood found in the textbooks: that "native" to one land is one people; "native" to one people is one "mother" language.

Previously, scholars have posited that Ukrainian textbooks in the post-Soviet era are gradually moving to a more inclusive, multicultural construction of Ukrainian nationhood (Janmaat, 2005; Popson, 2001). Although premised on a "cultural pillar" strategy—insisting on a distinctly Ukrainian ethnocultural "core" as its overarching identity—these books also allow for the contemporary Ukrainian nation(-state) to be conceived of as multiethnic and -cultural, and as benefiting from this pluralism (Janmaat, 2005; Popson, 2001). Analysis of the post-Soviet bukvars here, however, does not reveal such a concession towards more civic and plural nation-building impulses. In the enduring Herderian philosophy of the Ukrainophile nation-building framework illustrated in these texts, if a single, narrowly defined people derive from and compose the nation(-state), then they necessarily speak a single, native (national) language, and vice versa. It is, in fact, unnatural and nonsensical to separate these units into discrete elements. As the texts from the post-Soviet bukvars combine and converge to suggest, homeland, ethnos, and lingos are essential and essentially coterminous with one another, constituting and concomitantly reaffirmed by the existence of a homeland (nation-) state.

For Those of You Who Speak Not Only Ukrainian

Although admittedly a small sample, analysis of two Russian-language bukvars (Osvita, 2002; Heneza, 2007) nevertheless provides some areas of fascinating contrast in comparison with the Ukrainian-language texts. Moreover, as this sample includes an earlier (2007) Russian-language version of the Heneza text written by the same authors (Pryshchepa and Kolesnychenko), direct comparison to its later (2010) Ukrainian-language counterpart is made possible. Featuring numerous pages between them that are exactly the same, and many more that differ in only minor, superficial ways, it is the areas of major difference between the two texts— rather than their similarities—that stand out as deliberate and thus salient.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the Osvita (2002) and Heneza (2007) Russian-language textbooks almost completely avoid any references to the Ukrainian language and thus refrain from reifying the ideology naturalizing Ukrainian as the "native" language of Ukraine's "native" people. The Osvita (2002) text, in particular, a later version of a book originally published in 1986, is remarkable in its retention of certain Soviet vestiges (e.g., retaining a text on Yuri Gagarin) and the fact that it mentions nothing about the existence of the Ukrainian state. Other than a vignette

on Taras Shevchenko and one about Kyiv, it features minimal coverage of what could be broadly considered "Ukrainian" content. The 2007 Heneza text, in contrast, deserves close attention, as both implicitly and explicitly it addresses Ukrainian language politics and Ukrainian-Russian bilingualism.

Significantly, the 2007 Heneza text devotes three separate pages to celebrating the Ukrainian "homeland" and inculcating "love" for this place—only slightly less than the five found in its Ukrainian-language counterpart. On page 112 of the book, a short untitled text bordered by photographs of Ukraine's verdant nature begins with the sentences: "I live in Ukraine. Ukraine—my homeland [*rodina*]." (Notice how this construction is almost identical to the final passage of the earlier discussed "homeland" text of the AST-Press-Ukraine (2009) bukvar, p. 83.) And shortly after this text, page 134 contains a more extended passage on the homeland, entitled "Homeland" [*rodina*]. Like so many of the Ukrainian-language texts discussed before, this text, too, begins by framing the "homeland" in purely ancestral terms, reading, "Homeland—it's mama, papa, sister, brother, grandma, grandpa, neighbors, friends. I love my homeland!"

Clearly, in this Russian-language book, at least, the existence and political legitimacy of the Ukrainian state is not only unquestioned but even embraced, "loved." In contrast to the Ukrainian-language texts, however, language is interestingly not mentioned at all in the Russian-language books' texts pertaining to "home/motherland." Instead, in all instances, these texts read rather like laundry list summaries of the various geographical, natural features and cities making up Ukraine. This key difference in the books' articulation of "homeland" begs the question: *Who counts as "native" in this Russian-language text, and, moreover, what language(s) do they speak?* To better answer this, we should turn away from the rather apolitical "homeland" texts and consider a quite different area of the Russian-language books.

In common with all of the Ukrainian-language texts analyzed in this sample, the two Russian-language books contain pages dedicated to portraits of prominent literary figures. Whereas the Ukrainian-language books feature texts on exclusively Ukrainian literary heroes and heroines, including Lesya Ukrainka, Ivan Franko, and, without fail, Taras Shevchenko, both Russian-language texts cover these authors as well as Alexander Pushkin, a paragon of the modern Russian vernacular and literature. The inclusion of Pushkin is significant in itself—reflecting a wish for Russian-learning children in Ukraine to have some familiarity with a figurehead of *Russian* language and culture—but perhaps more interesting and telling is the treatment of the Ukrainian figures in the Heneza 2007 Russian-language book. Here, above each of the short portraits of prominent Ukrainian literary figures is a short message highlighted in bright blue reading, "For those of you who can read not only Russian." In contrast to the Ukrainian-language texts, thus, the Heneza 2007 book acknowledges that its readers may be capable of reading in Ukrainian as well, and yet, it does so in a strangely elusive way, with a rather awkward construction that deliberately avoids saying more straightforwardly: "for those of you who can also read Ukrainian." In what immediately follows, each literary figure's page includes a short example of their work—provided not only in

Russian, but also, repeated on the opposite page, in its original, Ukrainian language form (see, e.g., Figure 5). Here, on the pages of a Russian-language text, one can find written Ukrainian and, concomitantly (albeit awkwardly), the tacit assumption that some of its young audience might be able to actually read it. In contrast, the six Ukrainian-language books reviewed for this study don't include a word of Russian.

Figure 5. Portrait of Taras Shevchenko in Russian and Ukrainian.
Kyiv: Heneza, 2007, pp. 126–127.

While the above-mentioned texts merely acknowledge and/or concede to the student's possible bilingualism, a close reading of the Heneza 2007 book uncovers another page that more explicitly addresses Ukraine's bivalent ethnolinguistic makeup—and, in a way, even celebrates it, naturalizes it. On the page devoted to teaching the letter "я" [*ya*], a small illustration shows a pair of girls side by side in a verdant green field. While the girl on the right, wearing traditional Ukrainian dress and headwear, releases a dove into the air, the girl to her left, wearing traditional Russian dress, watches enraptured as the bird flies away (Figure 6).

Accompanying the illustration is this text:

Ukraine and Russia—neighbors.
We live in Ukraine.
We learn the Russian language.
We all know and love the Ukrainian language.
Our homeland [*rodina*]—Ukraine. (p. 72)

With a first line framing Ukraine and Russia as "neighbors," the text begins by consciously undermining the Ukrainophile school of historiography that sometimes tends to portray Russia as a colonizing, foreign "other," and thus colors our

Figure 6. "Ukraine and Russia—neighbors ...." Kyiv: Heneza, 2007, p. 72.

interpretation of the subsequent pronoun "we" who "live in Ukraine." If not necessarily composed of its Russian "neighbors" in ethnic terms, this "we," this "Ukraine" is unquestionably made up of Ukrainians *speaking* Russian, or learning their neighbor's language. And yet, although—significantly—indicating the reader's knowledge of Russian before Ukrainian, the text goes on to tell the reader that "we *all* know and love Ukrainian" as well, thus—unlike Ukrainian-language texts—acknowledging the country's bilingual character.

Easily capable of being overlooked when skimming through the bukvar, this tiny text and illustration posit a strikingly different conception of Ukraine than in the Ukrainian-language textbooks. In contrast to a naturalized portrayal of Ukraine's "native" people as monoethnically Ukrainian, speaking singularly Ukrainian, this page from the Heneza 2007 text understands the possessive pronoun in "*Our* motherland" in more collective terms, envisioning Ukraine as the harmonious home of a bilingual (perhaps even biethnic) Russian/Ukrainian population.

CONCLUSION: "NATIVE LANGUAGE IN OUR NATIVE SCHOOLS!"

For a variety of reasons, the bukvar published in the western Ukrainian city of Lviv (Svit, 1998)—the only of my sample not published in Kyiv—could merit a single study of its own. Featuring the colorful and surrealist artwork of Viktoria Kovalchuk, a renowned graphic artist and writer from Lviv, the book is visually stunning, far surpassing the illustrations of the other books. Saturated with religious themes, cultural tropes, and the Ukrainophile mythology often associated with and emanating from western Ukraine, the book embraces what one might expect of a text published in Lviv, the iconic cradle of Ukrainian culture and former epicenter of the Ukrainian national movement. On its final bifold, its last pages (pp. 190–191), text and illustration explicitly address the language politics of

Ukraine and the ideologies that have been examined throughout this paper (Figure 7). Needing little in the way of analysis or interpretation, it is this bookend perhaps that is the most fitting closing to this study:

Native Language in the Native School!
Native language in the native school!
What can sound more delightful?
What can be closer and dearer,
And more important in times of trouble?

Native language!
What unites us—
The first words by our mothers,
the first lullaby.

How can we part with you,
How can we forget your voice
And in our own country
how can we speak with another one?

One whose soul seeks expression,
One who wants to live the future,
He will cry out with all his heart,
In the native school—native language! (p. 192)

Figure 7. "Native Language in our Native Schools!" Lviv: Svit, 1998, pp. 190–191.

Spinning a web of mutually reinforcing metaphors, motifs, and messages, the text and imagery scattered throughout the pages of post-Soviet bukvars impart much more than the basics of Ukrainian literacy. As this study has wished to explore, the textbooks convey and embrace the fundamentals of a language myth

that has long been at the center of defining Ukrainian nationhood and that continues to inform the state education platform and policies. Herein, imbued with and reaffirming the "native language" principle embraced by Ukrainian (nation-)state education, bukvars naturalize and reify the essential—and essentialized—notion that the Ukrainian language is the primary constituent of distinctly Ukrainian (ethno)national identity—the "first [mother's] words," the "first lullaby" of a ethnoculturally homogenous people, "native" to a particular polity. "In our own country," the texts consistently demand, "how can we speak with another [voice]?"

An obvious limitation of a study on textbook *content* is that we learn nothing about teachers' classroom *use* of these materials. Do educators in classrooms throughout Ukraine highlight and bolster the notions embedded in the bukvars, do they undermine or complicate them, reject or simply ignore them? And yet, despite such drawbacks, considering the high degree of attention, scrutiny, and requests for revisions that textbooks receive from the Ministry of Education, we can nevertheless look to the content of education materials as windows through which to ascertain the broadly sweeping and predominant values, priorities, and ideologies deemed important by the creators and leadership of Ukraine's education system. Findings arising from this genre of textbooks resonate with similar language conceptualizations identified by Janmaat (2004, 2005) in the much more often studied textbooks of higher grades. In significant contrast to what was seen in Ukrainian-language textbooks, analysis of two Russian-language bukvars of the post-Soviet era reveal a quite different conception of Ukrainian language politics. However, future study of a larger sample of Russian-language bukvars would be necessary to confirm this tendency.

Saturating the textbooks analyzed here, the native language principle identified in the bukvars is only part and parcel of a broader ideological paradigm found consistently in the textbooks of independent Ukraine, tending to define what counts as "Ukrainian" in overwhelming ethnocentric and historically continuous terms with only a gradual movement towards a more pluralistic, civic-based notion (Janmaat, 2004, 2005; Popson, 2001; see also Kuzio, 2005). If anything, this little-studied genre of lower-grade textbooks only seems to embrace the so-called "ethnocultural" conception of nationhood more stringently than higher-grade texts, communicating little to nothing of an alternative, civic-based conception. There could be several reasons for this, warranting additional scholarship. Is it the case that economic realities of Ukrainian textbook publishers hinder the creation of new texts, relying instead on the reprinting of earlier versions, with the finances to make only minor changes? Are those in the educator sector unable, or unwilling, to steer their focus away from other educational priorities, including attention to higher-grade history and social studies books? Moreover, if the urge to remove or dilute ethnocentric content in texts is emerging or does emerge, what or who is the source—popular calls to embrace the plurality of global citizenship or the institutional pressure to conform with European and global norms?

The education system of Ukraine, like other states emerging from the dissolution of the Soviet Union, is pushed and pulled by competing educational priorities, contested over by numerous voices both within the country and outside

of it. Little more than a decade into the 21st century, scholars have identified that the nation-building impulse immediately following independence and characterizing much of Ukraine's first decade of independence now struggles with the forces of international pressure, tugging at Ukraine to "catch up with Europe" (Fimyar, 2010) or to more closely align with other international trends (Janmaat & Piattoeva, 2007). Textbooks, as pivotal pieces of any education system's curricula, should be rightly regarded as very much contested, affected, and implicated in this tug-of-war. And yet, research to date has shown that the content of Ukrainian textbooks has been only slightly impacted by the increasingly postmodern plurality characterizing so much of Ukraine, instead still tending to reify an exclusive*,* reductionist*,* and essentialist ethnocultural vision of Ukrainian national identity. To this end, the seldom-researched textbooks of lower, beginning grades deserve greater attention.

As this study has hoped to illustrate, the pages of post-Soviet bukvars—the first textbook placed in the hands of Ukrainian schoolchildren—only continue to teach what has always been articulated as the essential tenet of Ukrainian national identity and ideal: Ukrainians speak their native Ukrainian—surely in their native schools, and, it is hoped, with certain attendant values, ideologies, and myths imbuing their every native utterance.

NOTES

[i] Although a new Ukrainian census was scheduled for 2011, it was subsequently rescheduled for 2012 via vote by the Cabinet of Ministers (Interfax-Ukraine, 2010) and has since been delayed until 2013 (Kramer, 2012). Although the reasons for the census being postponed were not explicitly articulated beyond reference to broad logistical concerns, we may reasonably speculate that concern over the form of the census questions may have contributed to its delay. Determining actual language preferences and practices via the census is highly problematic (Arel, 2002). The Ukrainian census asks individuals to state their "native language," without explanation as to what is meant exactly by that highly ambiguous term. For various reasons, there is a marked tendency among people residing

in Ukraine to indicate the category of "mother tongue" as a reiteration of their individual sense of ethnicity or "nationality" rather than actual language profile or habits (Arel, 2002).

ii   Rodgers (2006), however, has shown that there is some local variation in textbooks produced and used in Ukraine. Moreover, he suggested that the content of school history books among regions is somewhat negotiated in various localities, with "regional elites in each area 'picking and choosing' which parts of the 'official state narrative' to accept and which parts to reject" (p. 681).

iii   I would like to thank the first anonymous reviewer for turning my attention to this crucial point.

iv   There is, it should be a noted, another viable interpretation of this image. Dressed in a suit and tie, and with his raised arm supported at the elbow by his free hand, the image of the boy resonates quite closely with classic images of the Soviet schoolchild—always at the ready, diligent in his study, and knowing all the answers. I thank Olena Fim'yar for pointing this out. Moreover, that the boy should look so "Soviet" and that the girl so traditionally "Ukrainian" is an interesting example of two dynamics not explored in this paper, but quite interestingly embedded in the post-Soviet bukvars: (1) the high degree of gender differentiation within the books, with girls embodying models of pastoral, rural Ukrainians, and (2) the lingering relevance of Soviet constructions and images of the child.

v   Also: paramount to the conceptualization of any primordial, ethnocultural homeland, of course, is the mapping of its boundaries; how else, after all, would you know you are "home"? To this end, the text from Osvita 2004/2007 avoids the tricky explanation of Ukraine's historically and politically constructed state borders and instead uses prominent natural features to trace altogether *natural* borders. From the Carpathian Mountains to the mines of Donbas, the text delineates rough west-east boundaries, and from the Dnieper River to the Black Sea, the text describes rough north-south boundaries (and thus conveniently including the semiautonomous Crimean peninsula, a territorial claim still disputed with Russia). Using natural boundaries to define the map of Ukraine creates the impression that the state, too, like its mountains and waterways, has existed since time immemorial.

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12. THE ABC'S OF BEING ARMENIAN

(Re)turning to the National Identity in Post-Soviet Textbooks

Nestled between its former enemies Turkey and Azerbaijan, Armenia has had a history of foreign domination that has contributed to the shaping of its national identity. Having survived the Armenian genocide during the Ottoman rule (1915–1923) and endured the Soviet domination (1922–1991), the most recent Nagorno-Kharabakh conflict (1988–present), as well as several waves of emigration throughout the centuries, Armenians have nonetheless maintained a strong sense of national identity. In fact, some scholars have referred to it as one of "the world's most stable and persistent national identities" (Herzig & Kurkchiyan, 2005, p. 1). While multiple factors have contributed to the resilience of the Armenian national identity—including the language, culture, and religion—education has played an important role in institutionalizing the particular understanding of the Armenian "nation," as well as defining its boundaries and transmitting the notions of collective national identity. In fact, the state educational system has served as one of the critical mechanisms in (re)articulating historical memories and visions of nation(hood) in Armenia and elsewhere (Apple, 1992; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Gellner, 2006).

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the transition from Soviet to independent Armenia has required a redefinition of what it means to be Armenian—a shift clearly reflected in educational reform efforts. On one hand, school curricula and textbooks have aimed to incorporate the values of global citizenship to signal Armenia's transition from Soviet to Western (European) education space. As Terzian (2010) explained, educational reforms of the 1990s and 2000s became aligned with Western approaches to education by introducing new subjects such as civic education to teach the values of openness, multi-culturalism, tolerance, and human rights. At the same time, however, official curricula have also emphasized the uniqueness of the Armenian national identity by (re)articulating the myth of a primordial homeland through subjects such as the history of the Armenian church (Terzian, 2010). How have school textbooks dealt with these competing narratives, and what do they convey about post-Soviet Armenian nation(hood) today?

In broad strokes, we do see in the rhetoric of education reform in Armenia a reflection of some international "norms"—as evident in the adoption of the education policy rhetoric of "diversity" and "pluralism" emanating from the European Union and various international agencies (e.g., the World Bank, United Nations agencies, and nongovernmental organizations). However, at the same time,

through an in-depth qualitative analysis of Armenian school textbooks, this study suggests that such policy rhetoric does not necessarily reach the entire school system. In particular, school textbooks continue to portray Armenian nation(hood) in distinctly ethnonational, parochial terms. Analysis reveals narratives constructed on an exclusively ethnoculturally and linguistically based concept of Armenian nation(hood). These findings resonate with the studies of other post-Soviet school textbooks in countries such as Kazakhstan (Ismailova, 2004) Latvia (Silova, 1996), Lithuania (Beresniova, 2014), Poland (Gross, 2010), Ukraine (Mead Yaqub, 2012), and Slovakia and Estonia (Michaels & Stevick, 2009), among others.

While most textbook studies on nationalism and (post)national identities in post-Soviet states have examined history, civics, or geography textbooks in secondary schools (e.g., Janmaat & Piattoeva, 2007; Kuzio, 2002; Popson, 2001; Gross, 2010; Bromley, 2009; Bromley, Meyer, & Ramirez, 2011a, 2011b), this study focused on early literacy textbooks, or *aybenarans*. The focus on early literacy textbooks in this study is purposeful. Full of bright and colorful images, early literacy textbooks are rarely associated with politics. However, this study joins the emerging research on early literacy textbooks (Mead Yaqub, 2012; Silova, Mead Yaqub, & Palandjian, 2014) to argue that students become acquainted with their national history, culture, and politics at a very early age, forming a foundation for development of national identity in the future. As Mead Yaqub (2012) highlighted, early literacy textbooks play an important role in introducing impressionable young students to the popular myths and ideologies of their nation-states. In other words, an examination of children's socialization in the early stages of formal education is important in revealing the foundations upon which specific ideas about national identities are formed. The study also contributes to existing textbook research by extending the focus to elementary school levels.

GLOBAL MODELS AND LOCAL POLITICS: THE WORLD CULTURE CRITIQUE

Research on the impact of global forces on local institutions such as education is of course not new, and neither is the agreement concerning interpretation of such forces. World culture theory, for example, posits that educational policies across the world are becoming increasingly similar, reflecting common values in education. The central theoretical claim is that educational expansion (as evident in the introduction of mass schooling worldwide) was not a function of the political, economic, and social characteristics of individual nation-states, but rather the result of the "characteristics of the contemporary world system" itself, affecting "all nations simultaneously" (Meyer, Ramirez, Rubinson, & Boli-Bennett, 1977, p. 255). Education is thus constructed for an *imagined* world society (rather than in response to national politics), and this construction revolves around the internalization of *shared* cultural "myths" of the individual, progress, childhood socialization, and the role of the state (Ramirez & Boli, 1987).

According to world culture theory, we can observe "major worldwide trends in education—trends that flow to every type of country" (Meyer, 2006, p. xii). Primarily drawing on longitudinal and cross-national research designs and

quantitative analysis, world culture scholars suggest that these trends reflect such Western ideals and policies as human rights (Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004; Suárez-Orozco, 2007), environmentalism (Bromley et al., 2011a; Frank, Robinson, & Olesen, 2011; Pizmon-Levy, 2011), and women's suffrage and educational opportunities (Ramirez, Soysal, & Shanahan, 1997; Ramirez & Wotipka, 2001; Wiseman, 2008). Furthermore, they describe global adoption of such education trends as standardized curricula (Meyer, Kamens, & Benavot, 1992; Benavot & Braslavsky, 2006); evidence-based education policy (Wiseman, 2010); and managerialism and rationalization of universities (Krücken & Meier, 2006). In other words, world culture scholars argue that global educational models "filter into nations," producing "*remarkable similarities* in what is taught and learned in schools all around the world" (Baker & LeTendre, 2005, p. xii, emphasis added). The assumption is that the processes of global convergence in education are consensual, and they are driven by the shared agreement among policymakers worldwide about what constitutes "good" and "quality" education. From the world culture perspective, then, global "blueprints" shape local action in various contexts, and conversely, the role of the nation-state is withering and global citizenship is gradually replacing national identities.

However, while generating important insights for comparative education (e.g., identifying global educational trends), world culture theory has been critiqued for its (1) overemphasis on global convergence and (2) failure to acknowledge local politics. In advancing the first line of critique (the overemphasis on global convergence), Anderson-Levitt (2003) questioned whether the world is becoming more uniform by highlighting local variations of global reforms in different national contexts. While acknowledging global circulation of some education reforms (e.g., privatization, decentralization, or child-centered learning), she noted that world culture scholars rarely describe what actually happens inside the classroom. Based on ethnographic research, Anderson-Levitt (2003) argued that global reforms assume different meanings in local contexts and that there are major variations of world culture "models" "from district to district and from classroom to classroom" (p. 2). From her point of view, "the nearly 200 national school systems in the world today represent some 200 different and diverging cultures of schooling" (p. 2).

Furthermore, some scholars have noted a coexistence of sometimes contra-dictory education reforms, simultaneously reflecting global ideals and local values. For example, education decentralization reforms have been accompanied by increased centralization and control of education in many countries, including Thailand (Jungck & Kajornsin, 2003), the United States (Hatch & Honig, 2003), and China (Ouyang, 2003). Similarly, teacher autonomy has coexisted alongside the increased control of teachers' work, as illustrated by case studies of Thailand (Jungck & Kajornsin, 2003), Israel (Segal-Levit, 2003), China (Ouyang, 2003), and Namibia (Zeichner & Dalhström, 1999). Finally, we can observe student-centered instruction alongside content- or teacher-centered pedagogies, as illustrated by case studies of Guinea (Anderson-Levitt & Diallo, 2003), China (Ouyang, 2003), and South Africa (Brook-Napier, 2003). In other words, these studies acknowledge the

existence of global convergence in education, but they offer a more nuanced understanding of how global reforms play out in different contexts.

The second line of critique goes further by questioning the existence of global convergence altogether. In particular, Steiner-Khamsi (2004) suggested that the process of globalization should not be taken for granted, thus challenging the assumption of whether globalization necessarily leads to a "world culture," "internationality," or "internationalism" in education (p. 4). She argued that "educational borrowing," whereby policies and practices are transferred from one context to another, is frequently limited to education reform rhetoric only and does not necessarily result in transfer of educational policies and practices. In particular, governments may "borrow" Western rhetoric to signal their alliance with international norms and standards, but they may not necessarily be willing to implement it in policy and practice for various political, cultural, and historical reasons locally (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004). Post-Soviet studies such as those conducted by Silova (2004) in Latvia, Fimyar (2010) in the Ukraine, and Lisovskaya and Karpov (1999) are just some that exemplify the disjunction between (global) education policy rhetoric and (local) practice. By carefully untangling the complex interaction between the global and the local, these studies reveal that education reforms in post-Soviet countries have been predominantly shaped by local politics and may have involved the manipulation of global "reforms" for sometimes contradictory (national) purposes.

The Role of School Textbooks: Policy Rhetoric and "Official Knowledge"

In order to document the interplay between the global and the local, it is important to move beyond education reform rhetoric and consider its implementation in policy and practice. School textbooks present an interesting area of study because of their powerful role of transmitting particular (global and national) ideologies. In *The Politics of the Textbook*, Apple and Christian-Smith (1991) argued that textbooks (and the official curriculum more generally) are sources of "official knowledge," which is perceived by the public as valid and legitimate. Yet, they also noted that textbooks "serve as important arenas in which the positive and negative relations of power surrounding the text will work themselves out" (p. 15). Furthermore, schools are the site where cultural reproduction and dominant social ideologies are transmitted through the hidden curriculum (Freire, Macedo, & Giroux, 1985).

Viewed as the sources of "official knowledge," school textbooks serve as a mirror of how society perceives itself and how it projects itself nationally and globally. Therefore, it is important, as Apple (2001) suggested, to pay close attention to attempts by "dominant groups to shape the political agendas that are made public and are to be discussed as 'possible'" (p. 6).

It is within this conceptual framework that I approach the analysis of Armenian textbooks published during the Soviet period (1970s–1980s) and after independence (1990s–2000s). Particular attention is paid to the complex political context of Armenian post-Soviet independence in order to understand the role of

education in (re)shaping the Armenian identity. In so doing, this study also challenges the tenets of the world cultures perspective. The focus is on the themes that influenced and shaped the Armenian identity in first-grade alphabet books during post-Soviet transformations, paying particular attention to the *meanings* of texts and illustrations that have shaped the Armenian identity.

(RE)TURNING TO THE NATIONAL IDENTITY: RESEARCH APPROACH

The purpose of the study was to understand how school textbooks have portrayed Armenia during the period of post-Soviet transformation. More specifically, the study examined the interplay between global/local and Soviet/post-Soviet, highlighting continuities and disjunctions over time as seen in a sample of *aybenarans*. I compared six *aybenarans* published between the 1970s and 2000s, including three Soviet *aybenarans* (published in 1973, 1988, and 1990) and three post-Soviet *aybenarans* (published in 1991, 2003, and 2006) (Table 1). All textbooks in this study were approved by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Armenia. Given that the textbook publishing market remains strictly controlled by the Ministry of Education and Science and all textbooks used in schools require ministry approval, these textbooks can be understood as constituting a representative sample. In particular, the 2003 *aybenaran* is noted to be one of the most widely used textbooks in the country.

Table 1. Aybenarans Examined in This Study

No.	Title of textbook	Date	Author	Publishing company
1	Aybenaran (alphabet book)	1973	Ashod Der-Krikorian	Poligrafkombinak
2	Arevig Aybenaran (sunny alphabet book)	1988	Ashod Der-Krikorian	Koynavor Dbakrootyan Dbaran
3	Aybenaran (alphabet book)	1990	Ashod Der-Krikorian	Koynavor Dbakrootyan Dbaran
4	Badgerazart Aybenaran (illustrated alphabet book)	1991	Sona Dikranian	Mshagoyte Haygagan Font
5	Zankag Aybenaran (Bell alphabet book)	2003	Julietta Gyulameerian	Datev Gitakrdakan Hamaleer
6	Aybenaran (alphabet book)	2006	Angel Kyourkjian, Lilit Der-Krikorian	Edit Print

Critical discourse analysis was used to interpret the meanings of texts and images in *aybenarans*. Van Dijk (2003) defined critical discourse analysis as "the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (p. 1). Put more briefly, Wodak (as cited in Schiffrin, Tannen, & Hamilton, 2003) suggested that "critical discourse analysis takes a particular interest in the relation between language and power" (p. 2). I utilized critical discourse analysis to interpret the messages portrayed in *aybenarans* as "the larger discursive unit of text … which testify to

more or less overt relations of struggle and conflict" (as cited in Schiffrin et al., 2003, p. 2).

Specifically, the goal here was to trace whether, how, and to what extent Armenian textbooks reflect the global/local identities through references to (1) membership in a local/international community, (2) nature/environment, (3) notions of diversity, and (4) global issues versus local history. While these themes may not exhaustively cover the multiple aspects of global/local identities, they constitute some of the most frequently used categories of analysis in scholarship driven by the world culture debate in comparative education. More specifically, the analysis was driven by the following questions as I analyzed these major themes:

- *Membership in a local/international community.* What do textbooks say about Armenian membership in a local/international community? How do textbooks portray the national space, as well as the limits or boundaries of the nation-state? What is said (or not said) about its belonging to a broader international community and what lies outside these boundaries?
- *Nature/environmental awareness.* How is the national space portrayed inside the (national) borders? What do the texts say about nature/environmental protection? How do the textbooks portray the landscape or natural features of Armenia? What do texts have to say about the identities and lives of the people who occupy this space?
- *Notions of diversity.* How inclusive/exclusive are textbooks in terms of portraying cultural/linguistic minorities, immigrants, and other minority groups? What does it mean to be an Armenian in terms of language, culture, and religion? How have these narratives changed over time?
- *Global issues versus local history.* Finally, how do textbooks treat global issues versus local history? What are the main events, and who are the heroes and enemies? Furthermore, how has the portrayal of events and heroes/ enemies changed over time?

I began analysis with a careful reading and rereading of the *aybenarans*, paying special attention to the themes identified above. Rather than constructing a coding schema to identify specific words or phrases, I used this purposefully broad, question-based interpretive framework to allow for a detailed qualitative analysis of the *meanings* of dominant educational narratives, revealing what the books aim to communicate to their readers. In the analysis that follows, I identify themes that were similar across the six textbooks as well as themes that were abruptly discontinued. Occasionally, the analysis provides a close reading of text (whether visual or verbal) that particularly exemplifies a recurring discourse/theme. Throughout the paper, samples of the texts are provided in English translation. Finally, the analysis includes a limited number of particularly powerful visual images from the *aybenarans*.

It is important to recognize limitations of this research. Focused on the textbook itself, the study captured the dominant narratives of what textbooks said it means to be Armenian over the period of study. However, the research does not address how these narratives were perceived by teachers and schoolchildren. In particular, the

focus on textbooks as the main unit of analysis does not consider the role that teachers play in reinterpreting (and possibly modifying) the meanings of texts and illustrations. Textbook analysis does not tell us whether (and which) "official" educational narratives actually reach the children. The study is thus limited to the "official knowledge" contained in school textbooks. Furthermore, the study focused solely on first-grade alphabet books. Future studies would certainly benefit from a wider variety of subjects and grades. I recognize that Armenian national identity is closely related to my own personal identity. While such a close association may allow some bias in interpretation, I have attempted to systematically consider and present alternative explanations of findings. More importantly, my intimate knowledge of the Armenian language and culture enables me to take a more nuanced and contextualized understanding of the meanings in the texts and illustrations than would otherwise be possible.

THE ABC'S OF BEING ARMENIAN: TEXTBOOK ANALYSIS

Textbooks serve as the sites of the official construction of the "new" Armenian identity and nationhood. Based on a history of foreign domination, these textbooks revealed some of the ideals of the time that influenced Armenian identity. Results suggested that school textbooks may have contributed to (re)articulation of Armenian identity in strictly ethnonational terms. Not only did the concept of Armenian nation(hood) appear to return to its historical roots, but textbooks celebrated an ethnocentric sense of national identity. In this brief textbook analysis, the Armenian identity appeared remarkably consistent and similar in content during the Soviet and post-Soviet periods, revealing a strong ethnonational orientation.

Membership in a Local/Global Community

Content analysis of *aybenarans* found no evidence of replacement of local (national) community membership. In fact, while the Soviet textbooks made frequent references to Moscow (as well as other communist countries such as China and Georgia), these references completely disappeared in the post-Soviet texts. They appeared to have been consistently replaced with messages of local (national) community membership. Through lullabies and songs, *aybenarans* defined the homeland as "belonging to our ancestors," claiming a historical link to the land. This link was consistently expressed in both Soviet and post-Soviet Armenian textbooks. For example, the 1973 *aybenaran* described how Armenians live in Yerevan, which is the "world's most beautiful city." The text also highlighted the beauty of the state parks and water fountains. Towards the end of the lesson, the following two sentences read: "Yerevan is the capital of Armenia. And Armenia is our dear fatherland, our ancestors' country." The overarching message: Armenians live in Yerevan, "our fatherland," which has been traditionally passed on to us from our ancestors.

Similarly, belonging to the (national) land—homeland—was one of the dominant narratives in Armenia's post-Soviet textbooks. In all textbooks, the notion of "homeland" was expressed through the interweaving metaphors of blood and earth. For example, the 1990 *aybenaran* included a text illustrating the intersection of the national natural iconography of Armenia. In a story entitled "Red Wine," a boy from Yerevan told about his trip to the countryside, symbolizing not only his return to his Armenian roots, but also memories of his ancestors:

> I live in Yerevan. In the village are my grandfather's and ancestors' grave-stones. When I visit them, my brother and I go into the cellar. Gulp, gulp, we drink red wine and bow in memory of our ancestors, and emerge from the cold cellar worshiping our ancestors' memories and feeling. … I love to work on my grandfather's and grandfather's grandparents' field. In the fall we will fill our large clay jars [with wine] again. I want my children not to forget our ancestors' cold cellar and old red wine jars. (1991, p. 77)

In this small story, the images of vineyards and wine-making are invoked as a primary means through which city-dwelling Armenians are able to "return" to their roots. It is through the interaction with nature (particularly grapes and wine) that the children are invited to "worship" and find a symbolic connection to their long-gone Armenian ancestors. One cannot help but notice a strong religious aspect of the Armenian identity expressed through the imagery of wine, inspired by the blood-as-wine narrative of Christianity. Indeed, all the Armenian *aybenarans* included in this study incorporated numerous images of grapevines, either in detailed narratives about the importance of wine or simply ornamenting the pages. Whether explicitly used in the lessons on letters "*kh*" and "*gh*" (the first letters for the words "grapes" and "wine," respectively, in Armenian), or implicitly appearing in the background of illustrations of Armenian children playing outside, the images of grapevines and/or wine-making constitute an inextricable part of Armenian textbooks and Armenian national identity. In these ways, school textbooks social-ized Armenian children into the particularly defined local (national) community.

If any references were made to what lay outside the Armenian national space (e.g., Mount Ararat or the Nagorno-Karabakh territory), these references did not imply a movement towards a global community. Rather, they entailed a discursive reimagining of the Armenian national space, its borders stretching to include parts of the imagined "unattainable" historical homeland that was beyond Armenia's current political boundaries. For example, a map found in the 2003 textbook showed that the country of Armenia incorporated the disputed territory of Nagorno-Karabakh (see Figure 1). Contested between Armenia and Azerbaijan, Nagorno-Karabakh is home to an ethnic Armenian majority yet is internationally recognized as a *de facto* independent republic. Below the map a caption stated, "This is Armenia's map." Read by schoolchildren both in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh, this text did not mention the fact that the conflict with Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh has yet to be resolved. Both the text and the accompanying illustration portray the region as unproblematically part of Armenia. Furthermore,

the text "Our Fatherland" confidently reassures the readers not only that these (imagined) borders are accurate, but that they are also strong: "Our fatherland is Armenia. Our fatherland's borders are strong. The sky is clean, the mountains are proud. We really love our fatherland" (2003, p. 71).

Figure 1. "Our Fatherland" (2003 aybenaran*, p. 71).*

The reimagining of the homeland's contours also involved the frequent appearance of Mount Ararat which, while serving as one of the main symbols of Armenian national consciousness, is geopolitically located within Turkey. The significance of Mount Ararat to the Armenian people has less to do with its physical beauty than with its religious and historical place in the Armenian national narrative. For example, in an Armenian reading of biblical history, Ararat is the mountain on which Noah's ark came to rest. In addition to its religious significance, Ararat is also a symbol of the "Greater Armenia" that once stretched into the present-day territory of Turkey, south into Nakhichevan and east into Nagorno-Kharabakh (also known as Artsakh), before it was divided between the Ottoman Empire and Russia in 1921. Given its religious and historical significance, it is not surprising that Ararat appears in *aybenarans* from cover to cover (2006, p. 2; see Figure 2).

Mount Ararat consistently appeared in textbooks published in the Soviet to the post-Soviet periods, with some variation in frequency. For example, in the 1988 *aybenaran*, Mount Ararat appeared 10 times in illustrations on pages 6, 9, 13, 21, 23, 26, 30, 39, 49, and 70. These images appeared either as a framed photograph hung on the wall or in reference to the letter being taught or as a background image. Mount Ararat's appearance in textbooks continued into the 1990s, leaning into the period before independence. While appearing less frequently than in the 1988 textbooks, Ararat still appeared in the post-Soviet textbooks in a variety of

different places. For example, a lesson on the letter "*ruh*" and "*suh*" included a picture of Mount Ararat to teach the word *sar,* or mountain. The symbol of Mount Ararat was also used in the backdrop of the lesson on the word "Armenia," or *Hayasdan* in Armenian. Finally, Mount Ararat appeared five times in the 2006 *aybenaran*. It was portrayed in a wall painting on pages 2-3 and on page 6. The portrayal of a painting of Mount Ararat as a birthday gift on page 59 (2006) demonstrated the popularity and value of this symbol in the Armenian society.

Figure 2. Children playing, with Mt. Ararat in backdrop (2003 aybenaran*, p. 2).*

While Ararat lies beyond the politically determined physical borders of Armenia today, the ubiquitous appearance of its image as embedded within scenes of the politically *undisputed* (e.g., towering background of Yerevan, or seen from beyond a household's window) conveys the implicit (if insistent) sense that it belongs in the natural space of Armenia. Thus, according to *aybenarans*, Ararat *discursively* belongs to Armenia, suggesting to the young readers that Ararat is a natural part of Armenia—without any political contest whatsoever. Only through written text is there recognition of its perceived displacement and the need to reclaim it, as seen in statements such as "here is the *unattainable* Ararat" (1991, p. 50, emphasis added) or "Massis [the name of the larger mountain peak] is ours, Massis is ours" (1991, p. 97).

Nature/Environmental Awareness

References to nature and/or the environment are often interpreted as indicators of postnational identity, specifically referring to environmental awareness and rights that global citizens supposedly possess (Bromley et al., 2011b). Indeed, the *aybenarans* devoted a significant amount of space to the scenes of natural land-

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scapes and the ruralness of the land. However, a close reading of the texts suggests a movement away from global imagery towards a historical conception of the "homeland." In fact, the images of urban life, which typically appeared in Soviet textbooks as symbols of modernization and Soviet progress, appeared to be gradually replaced with images of rural landscapes as symbols of Armenian ancestry. In this case, landscapes served to imbue the Armenian national space with the meanings that embody national and cultural identities, thus generating a particular sociospatial consciousness (Newman & Paasi, 1998).

A careful analysis of texts and illustrations reveals dominant visual motifs of sprawling and bountiful nature on nearly every page of the *aybenarans*. The imagery and textual narrative were almost exclusively those of rural life, idyllic country homes maintained by Armenian families harvesting the land or tending to their flocks (see Figure 3). Even when natural imagery was not the main focus of the text, the Armenian texts presented seemingly random images of nature (e.g., grapes, pomegranates) decorating the surrounding white space. Other images included grapes hanging in markets (2006, p. 77), children feeding hedgehogs (2006, p. 76), as well as pomegranates and grapes presented as arches over Mount Ararat (2006, pp. 62–63). The images of pomegranates appeared everywhere, not only as fruit but also as jewelry and headpieces worn by the "fall grandmother" (2006, p. 49).

Figure 3. Children with a dog and hay cart (2003 aybenaran*, p. 43).*

Accompanying this dominant field of visual texts were textual narratives about rural life. Such texts ranged from descriptive to celebratory in nature; they might focus on one iconic element, or they might be concerned with the bounty of the natural world in general. More often than not, these texts explicitly made the point of locating such bountiful, beautiful, varied, and irrepressible nature *within* the country, the homeland. That is, these were not just any "green hills" (or bushes,

trees, and clouds), but rather, they were the green hills *of* Armenia. As the example below illustrates, the concept of "homeland" corresponded exactly with the national identity and the natural national space, as shown in the song "Our Fatherland Is Armenia" noted earlier.

In other words, textbooks appeared to (over)emphasize the national landscape as saturated with the rural and natural, often at the expense of marginalizing the urban or industrial landscapes. Indeed, the 1973, 1988, 1990, 1991, and 2003 *aybenarans* focused solely on the natural and rural landscapes without the slightest hint of urban life (tall buildings, shopping malls, etc.). It is only in the most recently published textbook that three small illustrations of urban landscapes were peripherally shown from classroom windows (2006, pp. 5, 13, and 16). Further-more, Yerevan was exclusively discussed as a historical (as opposed to current) entity, the birthplace or origin of the "authentic" Armenian nation (e.g., see texts and images in 2003, p. 36; 1991, p. 5; 1990, p. 64; 1973, p. 44).

The overwhelming focus on rural landscapes is important. I surmise that it may symbolize the conscious rejection of the Soviet past associated with the triumph of modernization, industrialization, and urbanization over "peasant" life (Silova et al., 2014). In particular, the Soviet rule in Armenia was associated with industrializa-tion and urbanization harmful to the natural landscape of the country. In this context, it is not surprising that many nation-building projects in the former Soviet republics, including Armenia, revolved around narratives heralding "the return" to rural life and the restoration of the natural environment (Schwartz, 2006; Wanner, 2001). So, although botanical and agricultural descriptions have always been deeply rooted in the iconography of Armenian national sentiment, concerns with the abundant and beautiful character of national landscapes appear to have intensified in the national narratives of the post-Soviet era (see also Schwartz, 2006; Wanner, 2001).

Notions of Diversity

Analysis also found that *aybenarans* appeared to emphasize the centrality of Armenian language, culture, and religion to the Armenian identity in both Soviet and post-Soviet contexts, although with various degrees of intensity over time.

Armenian language. The Armenian language occupied one of the central places in educational narratives about Armenian identity—a theme that strongly resonated in both the Soviet and post-Soviet contexts. Notwithstanding Russification attempts during the Soviet period, the value of the Armenian language remained strong. In fact, the 1990 *aybenaran* revealed a coexistence of both Soviet/communist and Armenian national ideologies, wherein stories about Soviet heroes (such as Vladimir Elich Lenin or Yuri Gagarin) were intertwined with texts glorifying the Armenian language. The order of these texts appeared to suggest an equal importance of both a strong Armenian national identity alongside a strong communist identity. The *aybenarans* from the 1970s and 1980s, for example, included poems, songs, and children's stories that taught numerous lessons about valuing the Armenian alphabet. In fact, the *aybenarans* were referred to as

"sacred" in a child's life, being the first book that formally introduced a child to the Armenian language.

Throughout Soviet and post-Soviet textbooks, the poem "I love you, Armenian tongue" appeared consistently, providing continuity and a constant reminder of how important it is to love and to be proud to know the mother language (1973, p. 62; 1988, p. 107; 2003, p. 92; 2006, p. 100). Referring to the mother also implies a nurturing, loving individual, which the text equated with the Armenian language. The following poem, "I love you, Armenian tongue," emphasizes Armenian national pride in their culture and language:

> I love you, my Armenian tongue, you are sweet like my mother. With you I always sing happily, speak and recite correctly. (1973, p. 62, translated by author)

In the 2003 *aybenaran*, the poem was preceded with questions that expected prescribed answers: *"Why is the Armenian tongue sweet as a mother? Armenians speak Armenian. Then what language do French, Chinese, Georgians, and Russians speak?"* (p. 93) (see also Figure 4). These questions alluded to the idea of one nation, one language. The first question expected the reader to reply that the Armenian language was as sweet as a mother since the image of a mother depicts someone who is caring, loving, and nurturing. The second question expected the reader to unproblematically map different languages onto their specific (national) communities, implying that Georgians speak Georgian and that Russians speak Russian. Following these examples, the same answer could then be applied to Armenia, thus reinforcing the idea that *all Armenians* should learn to read, speak, and write Armenian.
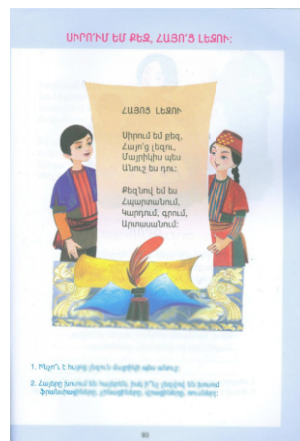
Figure 4. Questions following Armenian tongue poem (2003 aybenaran*, p. 93).*

Another song highlighting the fatherland was found in the 2003 *aybenaran* in the form of a lullaby (p. 94). As the mother put her child to bed, she sang a sweet lullaby wishing her son sweet and beautiful dreams. The lullaby ended by saying, "When you grow up, you will become successful. One day you will fill my house; the fatherland will be proud of your name." The third song in this sample was found in the 1991 *aybenaran* entitled, "Armenian tongue" (p. 97). This song not only taught the Armenian letters but also incorporated messages such as, "Armenian is Armenia's language" and "forever the Armenian language rings both night and day." The final line of the song repeated the following words, "The fatherland is strong."

Other texts discussed the significance of learning Armenian through stories about the alphabet book or *aybenaran* itself. These texts described why alphabet books are considered highly important and emphasized that it is to their credit that children are able to learn to read and write in Armenian. In the 1990 textbook, an imaginary dialogue between the *aybenaran* and a medical book (which shared the shelf) suggested that the *aybenaran* was used more by its readers than its neighbor, the thick medical book. The medical book claimed prestige based on its appearance, with its title written in gold and beautiful binding. However, the *aybenaran* reminded the readers that if one did not study the *aybenaran* first, the medical book meant nothing. The message offered in this text encouraged children to study the *aybenaran* well enough to move onto reading prestigious books, such as the medical book.

The 2003 *aybenaran* offered a farewell message for the student at the end of the book (p. 92). It suggested that the alphabet book had established a relationship with the reader and now the lessons have come to an end, symbolically ending the relationship. The alphabet is described as being "golden" like a precious stone. The mouth is also referred to as golden since an individual who is able to speak Armenian is very rich. According to this text, in a world full of many languages, the Armenian student may be unique for learning to read, write, and speak in Armenian. Furthermore, the text portrayed the joy and excitement of children being able to speak, read, and write Armenian: "Jan, how great it is, how joyful, that I read and write freely" (p. 92). Similarly, the 2006 *aybenaran* contained a farewell message that described the alphabet book as "glorious" (p. 105), exclaiming that in such a short life, students celebrate one of their greatest accomplishments when they finish studying the *aybenaran*. Students will carry the lessons of the aybenaran with them throughout the rest of their lives. The text ended with the following statement: "With you I write, with you I read, to Mashtotz I owe a holy debt" (2006, p. 105).

Armenian church. Similar to the Armenian language, the Armenian church occupied an important place in school textbooks. In both Soviet and post-Soviet *aybenarans*, religion was portrayed as a key indicator of the Armenian identity, revealing images of Armenian churches and religious symbols, including the cross. As seen earlier in the short story "Red Wine," the symbolism of grapes and wine referred back to religious meanings, inspired by the blood-as-wine narrative of Christianity. In the corner of the lesson on Mesrob Mashtotz in the 1973

aybenaran, a small Armenian church appeared next to the letters of the Armenian alphabet (p. 61). Though it was quite tiny, its presence in a Soviet textbook is uniquely symbolic, considering that practicing the Christian faith was prohibited during the Soviet period. Several similar images appeared in other textbooks published during the Soviet period (e.g., textbooks published in 1973, p. 2; 1990, p. 58), emphasizing the importance of religion to Armenian identity.

The presence of religious images and texts significantly increased during the post-Soviet period. For example, the 1991 *aybenaran* explicitly discussed the Armenian church and religion in two lessons. The first one appeared on page 63 with the letter "*Yeh*" for *Eve* (pronounced *Evah* in Armenian). Illustrated on the bottom corner of the page were Adam and Eve who, according to the Book of Genesis in the Bible, were created by God. In the picture, they appear standing next to an apple tree with a snake wrapped around the tree trunk. In the background, we see a picture of Lake Sevan, with the image of the Church of Lake Sevan. The second explicit mention of Armenian religion was found when teaching the letter *"Kuh"* for *"Krisdos"* (1991, p. 78). The text included several other words that began with "*Kuh*" but also mentioned Jesus Christ and Jesus's students. On the adjacent page was an image of Jesus. Similar to the 1991 *aybenaran,* we witness a significant increase in the number of images of the Armenian church in the 2006 *aybenaran,* including images of Armenian church buildings appearing randomly, children lighting candles, or a family having a picnic playing near a church (cover, pp. 4, 46, 56, 62, 63, 101).

As the above examples suggest, religion appears to be a significant indicator of Armenian national identity, confirmed by findings of other scholars who have discussed the Armenian church in relation to Armenian nationalism (Guroian, 1994; Panossian, 2006). As texts and illustrations from this textbook analysis reveal, Armenian religion has provided citizens with an understanding of the importance of Christianity to the Armenian nation.

Global Issues Versus Local History

Finally, it is important to consider the place of local history in the context of globalization. Several studies have provided examples of curricula that have deemphasized history instruction and given more time to civics and especially social studies, particularly since World War II (Ramirez et al., 2010; see also the studies reported in Benavot & Braslavsky, 2006; Schissler & Soysal, 2005; for the corresponding trend in higher education, see Frank & Gabler, 2006). However, this study found that both Soviet and post-Soviet textbooks consistently glorified national heroes, highlighting their contributions to the development of the Armenian nation. Within these texts, global issues did not appear at all; instead, local history was highlighted.

From the person who invented the alphabet to individuals who contributed to Armenian literature, images and texts described a number of Armenian heroes. For example, Mesrob Mashtotz's contribution of inventing the alphabet appeared at least once in five of the six *aybenarans*. While each book told the story with

variations of details, all texts described Mesrob Mashtotz as the first Armenian teacher. The texts emphasized the word "learn," underscoring the idea that students should learn the alphabet by heart. Some of the texts went even further to include information about where Mashtotz was buried, a site many people visit to pay tribute to him (see Figure 5).

Figure 5. Lesson about Mesrob Mashtotz (2003 aybenaran, *p. 91).*

In the 2003 *aybenaran,* reference was made to the Madenataran, a museum where ancient manuscripts are kept. This museum was named after Mashtotz to specifically honor his contribution. The 2003 *aybenaran* offered a new image and noted the Madenataran being named in his honor. Known as the Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, the Madenataran is a museum where ancient manuscripts dating back to 700 BC are kept. While in the Soviet *aybenarans,* a drawing of Mashtotz was simply displayed, textbooks published in independent Armenia offered a picture from the Madenataran where a child was kneeling next to Mashtotz, who stood tall holding a scroll with the alphabet written on it. The museum was built in 1957, which does not explain why the Soviet *aybenarans* did not use this image. Therefore, it is interesting that a post-Soviet *aybenaran* did use this picture.

Other historical figures that appeared in pictures and text in post-Soviet *aybenarans* included individuals who have contributed to Armenian literature, including playwrights such as Hovaness Toumanyan, Ghazaros Aghayan, and Taniel Varoujan. National history and heroes in school curricula have not diminished in importance over time, and in fact, have gained new life in the newly independent Armenia.

CONCLUSION

Consistently woven through the *aybenarans* in this study was the importance of learning to read, write, and speak Armenian. However, by learning the lessons of literacy, the *aybenarans* also offered powerful lessons about what it means to be Armenian. Rather than emphasizing global citizenship and postnational identity, Armenian *aybenarans* tended to promote a strong sense of Armenian ethnocultural identity. In the context of post-Soviet transformations, whereby Western education discourses (especially those emanating from the European Union) have entered the Armenian education space, the idea of an ethnonational Armenian identity has persistently carried through in school textbooks via (national) symbolism and mythology. While global discourses may indeed have been circulating in the post-Soviet education space, it is local politics that ultimately appears to have shaped education policies and practices in these readers.

This study has examined whether and to what extent Armenian school textbooks reflect worldwide trends circulating in the international policy arena, including such curricula themes as (1) global citizenship (or membership in an international community), (2) nature/environmental awareness, (3) notions of diversity, and (4) global issues versus local history.

First, in regards to the ideas of global/local citizenship, *aybenarans* appeared to be exclusively concerned with reiterating the notion of "our fatherland" in terms of a strong ethnocentric (national) community. While the Soviet textbooks included some references to an international community (e.g., to communist states such as China), there was no mention of other countries in the post-Soviet *aybenarans*. It is worth noting that Armenia's physical neighbors, e.g., Turkey and Azerbaijan, were ignored, especially given the role of textbooks in discursively reimagining the Armenian national space to include parts of the "unattainable" historical homeland that lie beyond Armenia's current political boundaries, particularly Mount Ararat and Nagorno-Kharabakh.

Second, a close reading of *aybenarans* revealed that the discussion of nature and environment in school textbooks did not signify the emergence of postnational identities (e.g., environmental awareness). On the contrary, *aybenarans* continued to discuss nature and the environment in the context of the Armenian fatherland. As illustrated, images of and texts about nature invoked associations of the "root-edness" of the Armenian identity in its national soil. This was reflected in many images of rural landscapes, reinforcing the idea that "homeland" corresponds with the national identity and the natural national space.

Third, notions of diversity appeared to be absent in *aybenarans*. Cultural/ linguistic minorities were invisible, and there was no space for immigrants and other minority groups on the pages of *aybenarans*. Instead, *aybenarans* portrayed the Armenian nation in the most narrow and homogeneous way, with the Armenian language, religion, and culture serving as the dominant indicators of Armenian national identity.

Finally, the textbooks emphasized the importance of Armenian history and its national heroes to the exclusion of the history and heroes of other nations, even when they previously appeared in the *aybenarans*.

Although limited to examination of early literacy textbooks used in the first grade, this study suggests important insights into Armenia's education reforms and their implementation in the context of post-Soviet education transformation. Post-Soviet education reforms have not necessarily led to the emergence of a post-national identity and Armenian movement towards membership in a global community. Instead, *aybenarans* project a very different vision of the Armenian nation, one based on an ethnocultural conception of Armenian nationhood, deeply rooted in its historical "homeland."

The study highlights the contested meanings involved in schooling in different contexts along with the complexity of local context and the importance of disjunctions between global policy and school practice (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004; Silova, 2006; Carney, Rappleye, & Silova, 2012). Furthermore, it joins broader scholarship on postsocialist transformations in education (Silova, 2010; Griffiths & Millei, 2012), suggesting that Soviet education policies and practices have not necessarily been replaced with Western ones. Instead, as illustrated here, post-Soviet transformation processes have involved a return to historical legacies, thus reinforcing an ethnocultural conception of Armenian identity. The study recognizes emerging postsocialist scholarship, which complicates our understanding of globalization in education by highlighting contradictions and complexities in current theory. As Silova (2010) suggested, postsocialism offers "a (re)reading of the global through the lens of pluralities, discontinuities, and uncertainties, … a (re)reading of the global that is free of its predetermined finality" (p. 20). In this context, the study of Armenian *aybenarans* presents a unique case of the complex interplay between the global and the local, opening new paths and possibilities for post-Soviet educational transformations.

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13. AN UNIMAGINED COMMUNITY?

Examining Narratives of the Holocaust in Lithuanian Textbooks

2011 marked 20 years since the collapse of the Soviet Union. This represented a change not just in the content of schools or ideologies, but in the relationships between individuals, institutions, and systems. During this time, the post-Soviet Republic of Lithuania not only had to reimagine its national identity in a local context, but it also had to reimagine itself as a community within the political, economic, and historical imaginations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU). Therefore, in Lithuania, as in many other post-Soviet countries, debates over which events should or should not be included as part of the national identity, and thus represented in the school curriculum, are more than just discussions about educational content; they are debates over the moral legitimacy of certain narratives and the ability of sovereign states to define them.

One of the educational reforms that belonging to the West required in Lithuania was teaching the Holocaust in Lithuanian schools for the first time in 50 years. While policies were implemented to support the development of a new Holocaust education program after its neglect by the Soviet Union, some politicians and educators are still being criticized for portrayals of the Holocaust that are biased, ethnocentric, or based on stereotypes (Reingarde, Vasiliauskaitė, & Erentaitė, 2009; Svetlov, 2004; U.S. Department of State, 2004). There have even been vociferous accusations claiming that politicians are intentionally "obfuscating" the Holocaust by ignoring important aspects of it or trying to equate suffering under the Soviet Occupation with that of the Holocaust (Katz, 2009).

However, some local actors argue that they are already involved in the process of implementing meaningful Holocaust education programs (the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE], Anne Frank House, the U.S. Embassy, and other agencies have provided educational resources in Lithuania), but now "the West" needs to do more to understand how Lithuanian national identity was shaped by the Soviet occupation. Still, Ilya Altman, director of the Center for Holocaust Education and Research in Moscow, has suggested that across Eastern Europe, "there is a tendency to minimize the Holocaust because [populations] feel that they lived through their own holocaust" (as cited in Borodulin, 2005, p. 2) with the Soviet occupation.

While both historical events are acknowledged as being important in their own right, these events continue to be presented in competition with each other over which one is *more* important in the Lithuanian context—even though both happened

on Lithuanian soil. In the context of these debates, this study undertook an empirical assessment of six Lithuanian history textbooks and six student workbooks to ascertain how World War II and the Holocaust were presented in schools.

The study found that Lithuanian textbooks tended to present historical events in such a way as to reinforce positive images of ethnic Lithuanians during World War II while presenting the Holocaust as merely statistics and facts. Additionally, although the Lithuanian Jewish community began settling in Lithuania almost 600 years ago, narratives about the Holocaust were presented in ways that still exclude Jewish members from descriptions of the "nation"[i] because Lithuanian conceptions of national belonging are based exclusively on ethnic rather than civic conceptions of citizenship. This meant that the Holocaust was frequently positioned in textbooks as an event that had little to do with the experiences or identities of modern-day Lithuanians. This raises questions about whether Lithuanian textbooks are useful resources in helping teachers connect the Holocaust with broader conversations about tolerance, human rights, or the responsibilities of democratic citizenship.

Certainly, not every individual in Lithuania holds the same attitude toward the teaching of the Holocaust or internalizes the same dominant conception of national identity, but there has been a distinct political project in Lithuania to define "Lithuanianness" by certain markers and historical narratives (Rindzevičiutė, 2003). Therefore, because the majority of schools in Lithuania are publicly funded and under the purview of ministerial policies, curriculum expectations, and a uniform, statewide exit examination, historical interpretations in educational resources often reflect this state-supported identity project.[ii] Yet, it should also be noted that Lithuania is not alone in this regard. These kinds of national markers are what Benedict Anderson (2006) calls "cultural artifacts of a particular kind" (p. 4), best understood within a historical framework that examines not only what these artifacts look like, but how they "have come into historical being, in what ways their meanings have changed over time, and why, today, they still command such emotional legitimacy" (Anderson, 2006, p. 4).

THEORY: POWER/KNOWLEDGE, IMAGINED COMMUNITIES, AND TRANSMITTING THE NATION

Narratives found within textbooks often reflect more than just facts or "objective" realities; they are interpretations that tell a particular kind of story. This paper was informed by a Foucauldian approach, which acknowledges that historical and cultural influences shape national reforms, and that power relationships play an important role in the kinds of knowledge that are generated and reinforced within society, discourse, and schools. As Foucault (1995) writes, "Power and knowledge directly imply one another; there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations" (p. 27). This relationship is seen everywhere, but it is particularly visible in the transformation of the post-Soviet Baltic States where the selection of certain narratives creates and mediates "social

realities" along ethnic or territorial lines intended to distance national communities from Soviet history (Ahonen, 2001, p. 179).

In addition to Foucauldian notions of power/knowledge, this paper utilized Benedict Anderson's premise that the rise of vernacular print capital and the shift in conceptions of simultaneity changed how communities were able to "think the nation" (2006, p. 22). If simultaneity is, as Anderson writes, the ability to imagine oneself linked to "known" strangers with "thousands (or millions) of others of whose existence he is confident, yet whose identity he has not the slightest notion" (p. 33) then the boundaries of these limited communities must be articulated in some way so that members know with whom they share an affiliation.

One of the main ways that narratives of belonging are transmitted is through schools (Apple, 2004; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2003; Foucault, 1995), and school textbooks further serve as a "cultural product" that transmits specific images of imagined communities to school-aged children (Anderson, 2006, p. 33). Because historical events are often used as a "medium" for the creation of many of these cultural products (Christophe, 2002, p. 156), most schools around the world have a history curriculum—though many are incomplete or imbalanced in some way (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 11). Romanowski (2009) writes that history textbooks are often designed to transmit "a sanctioned version" of the past (p. 290). Yet, while dominant historical discourses are intended to be "shared," they rarely include all social groups, and subsequently they are exclusive and often categorize modes of belonging hierarchically. As Coulby notes, "It is necessary to emphasize that curricula represent selections of knowledge" (1997, p. 34), not the totality of available narratives.

Textbooks have long been criticized for these perceived shortcomings, especially for presenting exclusive interpretations that "spread ideologies, follow political trends and try to justify them by imbuing them with historical legitimacy" (Pingel, 2010, p. 8)—a pattern that is visible in Lithuanian textbooks as well. However, while the focus of this paper was textbooks, they are only one part of the dynamic learning process. Students and teachers are agentic actors able to appropriate and reconfigure school lessons within their own individual experiences (Levinson, Foley, & Holland, 1996). As Veronika Kalmus (2004) writes in her study on Estonian textbooks, "text and context interact" (p. 473) to create individuated, multilayered, and varied interpretations of historical events not always visible in an exegesis of text. With this in mind, this paper recognized that there is always a difference between the intended curriculum of policy makers, the delivered curriculum of teachers, and the attained curriculum of students (Budriene, 2002, p. 52).

CONTEXT: THE HOLOCAUST AND LITHUANIAN TEXTBOOKS

World War II and the Holocaust in Lithuania

The country of Lithuania was first mentioned in a written source over 1,000 years ago, but its contemporary national identity was primarily shaped by the last two

centuries of occupation. In the late 18th century, Lithuania was occupied by Imperial Russia, and during this time it was never able to successfully reestablish its independence. In 1915, Lithuania was again occupied, this time by Germany, and while many groups attempted to restore Lithuanian independence, it wasn't until after Germany lost the war that Lithuania was able to establish a democratic system of governance and ultimately an independent state. However, this period of independence was marred by the 1922 annexation of the capital city of Vilnius by Poland. While Vilnius was eventually "returned" to Lithuania by the Soviet Union, Lithuania lost its independence again with the first Soviet occupation in 1940. In 1941, breaking its "nonaggression pact" with the Soviet Union, Germany invaded Soviet-occupied Lithuania and remained there until 1944. After German defeat, the Soviet Union retook control of Lithuania, and it became a Soviet Socialist Republic. In 1990, Lithuania became the first country to declare its independence from the faltering Soviet Union, and in 1991 all three Baltic States were finally recognized as independent countries again for the first time since 1940.

While the Holocaust does not figure prominently in the Lithuanian historical narrative about the Lithuanian war experience, the Second World War does factor into the Lithuanian historical imagination in other ways. With the onset of the war, the secret protocols of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact cost Lithuania its independence, and both the Nazi and Soviet occupation periods gave rise to very active partisan resistance movements, about which many Lithuanians remain especially proud. However, German defeat brought the Soviet reoccupation of Lithuania, which ushered in 50 years of Soviet rule and repression of Lithuanian identity.

The Second World War was difficult for all Lithuanians. It is believed that anywhere from 400,000 to 500,000 civilians were killed in Lithuania under the Nazi occupation, and among such causalities, the Lithuanian Jewish community fared amongst the worst in Europe. Prior to World War II, Lithuania was home to one of the largest Jewish communities in the Baltic States, with Lithuania's capital, Vilnius, known as a "center of Jewish life on an international scale" (Snyder, 2003, p. 74). Before the German invasion of Lithuania, the Jewish community in Lithuania comprised 7% of the total national population (about 208,000 people). It is difficult to know the exact numbers of the Lithuanian Jewish community because it is believed that when the war began about 8,000 Jews fled to Russia, while Jews from other parts of Europe came to Lithuania. Nonetheless, varying estimates have reported that by the end of 4 years of German occupation, anywhere from 90% to 96% of the Lithuanian Jewish community was killed. This is the largest per capita Jewish death toll in all of Europe (Arad, 2004, p. 198).

While most Lithuanians did not take direct part in the atrocities, there is historical evidence that the accelerated rate of Jewish deaths was achieved because of cooperation from local actors. According to historian Arūnas Bubnys (2004), the considerable number of Jewish deaths "would not have been carried out so quickly and on such a scale without the active support of part of the Lithuanian administration and local population" (p. 215). Understandably, Lithuanian cooperation with the Nazi occupation regime remains a sensitive and controversial topic in Lithuania, but understanding how this subject is addressed in Lithuanian textbooks

helps highlight potential ramifications for contemporary Holocaust education in the country.

Why Teach the Holocaust?

From a Western context, the question "Why teach the Holocaust?" might seem like a rhetorical one, but debates remain in many post-Soviet states over its relevance—and thus the space it should be allotted in textbooks or afforded in the national curriculum. Overall, there are a number of reasons scholars, educators, and historians believe the Holocaust should be included in national curricula. In a recent review of international textbooks, Bromley and Russell (2010) found two common reasons for teaching the Holocaust. First, Holocaust education has become a historical event "central to the moral narrative of the Western world," and second, the Holocaust is a historical fact that has "universal moral relevance" for teaching about human rights (p. 155).

In many cases, Holocaust education is also designed to influence attitudes and promote the value of tolerance, which is increasingly held to be a universal value necessary for democratic citizenship. Gross and Stevick (2010) write, "Holocaust education is self-consciously instrumental, eager to transform individual attitudes and dispositions, aspiring to change broader cultures and cultivate better citizens" (p. 18). Additionally, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum (2001) posits that Holocaust education is one of the "most effective and most extensively documented subjects for pedagogical examination of basic moral issues." Many Holocaust education programs in Europe are able to use locally relevant examples of collaboration, passivity, and active resistance during the Holocaust to illustrate the consequences of group actions and the importance of personal responsibility (Short & Reed, 2004; OSCE, 2006).

Holocaust education in Lithuania is important to fill the historical void left by the Soviet system; to promote democratic values such as tolerance; and to align Lithuanian policies with Western values and norms to achieve NATO and EU accession.

First, behind the Iron Curtain, the government repressed details of the Holocaust (Gross & Stevick, 2010, p. 23), and there were no public discussions in the Soviet Union about the Holocaust (Gundare & Batelaan, 2003, p. 155). Holocaust education under the Soviets was nonexistent; Holocaust victims were referred to only as "Soviet citizens" rather than national, religious, or ethnic groups distinctly targeted for annihilation.

Second, teaching the Holocaust is important in Lithuania because tolerance and respect for diversity are considered international standards for pluralist democracies. Bromley and Russell (2010) see Holocaust education programs as having a "powerful ideological appeal as a signal of conformity with international norms" (p. 166). Teaching tolerance is also important in post-Soviet nations; studies continue to show high rates of anti-Semitism, xenophobia, and other forms of intolerance across all three Baltic States (European Monitoring Centre for Racism

and Xenophobia, 2005; European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, 2005; EU Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2007).

Third, showing respect for international democratic norms was significant for Lithuania in joining the EU. During its bid for accession, Lithuania underwent a process of "Europeanization," during which EU laws and norms were adopted (Budryte, 2005, p. 5). While most of these policy reforms were aimed at political and economic harmonization, they were also part of a Europe-wide identity project designed to foster subjectivities associated with a ''pan national People's Europe'' (Shore, 1997, p. 16; also see Kymlicka, 2007, p. 198).

Participation in international agencies, such as NATO, depended upon addressing issues such as anti-Semitism and the lack of Holocaust education in Lithuanian schools. For example, U.S. State Department Human Rights Reports called for "continued "support" for the development of Holocaust education programs in Lithuania (U.S. Department of State, 2003, 2004), and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE, 2006) called for "educational strategies that can have a positive influence on combating anti-Semitism in society today" (p. 12). Doyle Stevick (2007) found a similar situation in his research on Holocaust education and commemoration in Estonia, in which "the American government was willing to wield the promise of NATO membership as a carrot to influence domestic policies about history, historical commemoration, and education" (p. 218). Commemorating events related to the Holocaust was of particular importance in this instance because the Holocaust was perpetrated in Eastern European countries, often with the assistance of local populations.

In 2003, the Ministry of Education promulgated the *Program of Holocaust Education Activities*. The program does not require a set number of classroom hours for teaching about the Holocaust in Lithuanian schools, but it includes 10 lessons to cover the Holocaust. Additionally, teachers are supposed to be made aware that questions about the Holocaust may appear on national school-leaving exams (OSCE, 2006, p. 96). However, recognizing that the implementation of Holocaust education was part of an externally driven political strategy—at least in part—there are still questions about its actual scope, meaning, and relevance "on the ground."

Textbooks in Lithuania

Post-Soviet transformation in Lithuania has been marked by political, social, and economic changes. Having inherited a centralized Soviet legacy out of step with the competencies needed for a democratic, free-market system, fundamental transformations were needed in all areas. To meet the aims of democratic transformation, Lithuanian political elites enlisted schools to help "unmake" Soviet life (to borrow Caroline Humphrey's famous phrase) and remake citizens in a democratic, EU mold (Skukauskaite, 2007, p. 152). According to Budriene (2002), the aims of educational reforms were to ensure that students would "acquire knowledge and understanding of the principles of a democratic, pluralistic society,

accept humanism and tolerance as basic values, develop independent decision-making skills and acquire professional expertise" (p. 46).

One of the most significant educational changes in Lithuania was that after almost 50 years of Soviet dominance, the centralized state and its corollary educational agencies were "disinvested of their privileges" as "virtually the only producers of curriculum guidelines and of textbooks" (Kallen, 1996, p. 52). For the first time in half a century, education reforms "enabled teachers to create individual syllabuses" (Zelvys, 2004, p. 564); however, textbook revisions and teacher training reforms took place very slowly. Many of the textbooks from the Soviet Union were still found in post-Soviet classrooms several years after independence. Often, teachers without updated resources had to either ignore parts written about Soviet ideology or strike them out by hand (Kallen, 1996, p. 52). Budginaite (2010) found that during this period in Lithuania, "newspapers [and] notes from universities" (p. 32) were often used instead of the defunct Soviet texts. Western European and Scandinavian textbooks were translated in an attempt to meet immediate needs (Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Lithuania, 2007), but teachers weren't always trained in the interactive pedagogies associated with these new materials. Early textbook reforms were hardly uniform in their content or pedagogical methodologies.

In Lithuania, the government saw competition as one of the most successful inducements to create desperately needed textbooks. Budriene (2002) found that announcements about textbook competitions resulted in "the publication of new textbooks in almost all subject areas for all grades" (p. 52). As is seen in many countries, textbook production is now a profit-making venture in Lithuania, and certain interpretations of historical events can make textbooks more competitive in the ever-growing market. In Lithuania, as in other Baltic States, the most desirable changes in post-Soviet history texts were the inclusion of local narratives about events during the period of interwar independence (1918–1940), revelations about the secret protocols of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, and discussions about the oppression and deportations faced by citizens of the Baltic States under the Soviet regime.

Between 1991 and 1999, 60 new textbook titles were incorporated into the national curriculum in Lithuania, resulting in a total increase of 1,106,300 books (Budriene, 2002, p. 51). Nonetheless, even with an increase in the amount of available information in Lithuania, there were still criticisms about the quality and accuracy of textbook sections written about the Lithuanian Jewish community and the Holocaust. For example, in a major study funded by the EU and the Lithuanian government examining national textbooks for portrayals of multiculturalism and diversity (Reingarde, Vasiliauskaitė, & Erentaitė , 2009), the researchers found that historical omissions and subtle biases were present in a number of different text-book fields. The authors also found that some textbooks presented anti-Semitism as "a timeless phenomenon," effectively enabling students to view it as "natural, normal and inevitable" (p. 73). They also found that Lithuanian textbooks tended to cultivate narratives that "continuously develop … insurmountable ethnic, religious, cultural boundaries between 'us' (Lithuania, Christians) and 'them' (all

the rest)" (p. 77). Reingarde et al. even cited one history textbook that failed to use the word "Holocaust" at all to describe the massacre against the Jews (p. 89). While many aspects of the Lithuanian education system have devolved to municipal agencies, the curriculum and the approval of textbooks remain within the Ministry of Education. If these biases and stereotypes are seen across textbooks, then they serve as an officially sanctioned, or at least officially permitted, representation of history—whether or not this is actually the Ministry's intention.

METHODS: ANALYZING THE PARTICULAR TO ILLUMINATE THE WHOLE

This analysis used qualitative methods in a cross-sectional analysis of six Lithuanian-language history textbooks and six student workbooks discussing World War II and the Holocaust (see Tables 1 and 2). The content of textbooks found in schools conducted in other languages used in Lithuania (such as Russian and Polish) were not included. Therefore, the term "Lithuanian textbooks" is used to refer to the textbooks found within schools conducted in the Lithuanian language.

The aim of this study was to understand how the inclusion and presentation of certain events during World War II frames a certain kind of national narrative and identity. The textbooks used in this study were selected based on criteria listed in the UNESCO guidelines (Pingel, 2010), as well as materials accessible to the researcher. The textbook grade levels selected for analysis corresponded to the three official levels at which the national curriculum requires teaching about the Holocaust (6th, 10th, 12th). Additionally, input from local educators helped identify textbooks currently being used in schools, as many schools continue to use textbooks at their disposal even though newer textbooks might be available.

Table 1. Selected Textbooks

Grade	Textbook	Abbreviation	Publisher, Year
6	*Žingsniai, pasaulio istorijos vadovelis* [Footfalls: world history textbook] by R. Šalna and K. Mickevičius	T-1	Briedis, 2002
6	*Europos palikimas, istorijos vadovelis* [European heritage history textbook] by J. Litvinaitė and A. Bakonienė	T-2	Šviesa, 2009
10	*Naujausiųjų laikų istorija* [Modern history] by A. Kasperavičius and R. Jokimaitis	T-3	Kronta, 1998
10	*Tevyne ir pasaulyje istorijos vadovelis* [At home and in the world history textbook] by E. Bakonis	T-4	Šviesa, 2009
12	*Lietuvos istorija* [Lithuanian history] by R. Civinskas and K. Antanaitis	T-5	Vaga, 2000
12	*Istorijos vadovelis (II dalis)* [History textbook (Part II)] by G. Kaselis, R. Kraujelis, S. Luksys, A. Streikus, and A. Tamošaitis	T-6	Baltos Lankos, 2009

Table 2. Selected Student Workbooks

Grade	Student Workbook	Abbreviation	Publisher, Year
6	*Žingsnai (II dalis) užduocių sąsiuvinis* [Footfalls (Part II), task workbook] by R. Šalna and K. Mickevičius	W-1	Briedis, 2008
6	*Europos palikimas, istorijos pratybų sąsiuvinis (II dalis)* [European heritage, history exercise workbook] by J. Litvinaitė and A. Bakonienė	W-2	Šviesa, 2009
10	*Naujausiųjų laikų istorija pratybų sąsiuvinis* [The world and Lithuanian modern history activity workbook] by S. Jurkevicius	W-3	Kronta, 2008
10	*Laikas užduočių sąsiuvinis (I dalis)* [Time task workbook (Part I)] by I. Kapleris, A. Meištas, and K. Mickevičius	W-4	Briedis, 2010
12	*Lietuvos istorija, pratybų sąsiuvinis* [Lithuania's history, exercise workbook] by L. Dargevičius, A. Porutis, and V. Porutienė	W-5	Ugda, 2006
12	*Lietuvos istorijos testai ir užduotys* [Lithuania's history tests and tasks] by R. Morožoviene	W-6	Vaga, 2001

Once the textbooks and student workbooks were selected, a content analysis was carried out. Though Peter Weinbrenner (1992) long ago called for a more comprehensive theory in the field of textbook analysis, Nicholls (2003) has argued that this still remains elusive (p. 18). This project utilized methodological suggestions from Falk Pingel's (2010) framework in the UNESCO guide, Peter Weinbrenner's dimensions of analysis in Bourdillion's (1992) methodologies of textbook research, and Robert Stradling's (2001, 2003) targeted assessment questions designed for evaluating European history textbooks in terms of multiperspectivity, intended purpose, and the use of source materials.

While the UNESCO guidelines were explicitly developed for cross-national comparisons, they can be applied to a national analysis as well. Pingel (2010) notes that the UNESCO guidelines for textbook research have been particularly "timely to support the systematic textbook and curriculum revision processes that took place in Eastern Europe in the wake of the new millennium" (2010, p. 5). The UNESCO guidelines suggest that textbook review "be seen in a wider politico-cultural context" (Pingel, 2010, p. 11), an aim that takes into consideration not only the content of the textbook, but also the role of the textbook in the larger social system. Pingel discusses how detailed analyses of the structure and sequencing of textbook narratives can be especially illustrative in revealing how narratives are intended to be read and understood in the broader social context.

Weinbrenner (1992) lists five dimensions of textbook content analysis—theories of knowledge, design, subject content, subject theory and methods, and educational theory—with subcategories found within each dimension to further focus the scope of textbook analysis. While several of these dimensions overlap, this analysis focused predominantly on theories of knowledge, examination of the kind of

questions and issues included in textbooks, and the intended relationships drawn between students, their social context, and content knowledge. The project analysed (1) *statements* (examining forms of narratives, degrees of generalization, the way statements are presented, and how certain events are justified); (2) *concept formations* (how concepts are introduced and used within the text and by students); (3) *value judgments* (how certain kinds of attitudes are presented and promoted to students in terms of customs and norms); and (4) *ideology formations* (conclusions drawn, correlations made, generalizations made, "underlying assumptions" not made explicit to the student) (Weinbrenner, 1992, p. 25). A secondary level of analysis was carried out to examine the design of textbooks, such as the format, layout, and presentation of text.

Robert Stradling's (2001) research on teaching history in 20th-century Europe helped refine the targeted questions and categories listed in Table 3. Initially, categories were based on a deductive approach, which employed fixed but broad categories of topics expected within Baltic World War II historical narratives. These included the Soviet occupations, the Nazi occupation, and the Holocaust against the Jews. After these initial categories were formulated, an inductive approach was used that allowed categories of significance and patterns of meaning to unfold within the text. This coding was guided by Phil Carspecken's (1996) critical analysis methods for educational research.

Table 3. Analysis Questions and Coding

Category	Codes of analysis	Questions	Emergent codes
Content	• The Soviet occupations (1940–1941, 1945) • The Nazi occupation (1941–1944) • The Holocaust • Resistance • Collaboration • Bystanders	• How are these events treated? • Are students made aware of how historical interpretations were made? • Are events accurately portrayed? • How could these events contribute to certain identity formations?	• Resistance/fight for independence • Victimization of the nation • Comparisons of suffering • Culpability: the Nazis (mostly) did it
Form	• Organization • Linguistic presentation • Consistency/coherence • Multiple views	• How are events presented? • What narrative structure is employed? • Are counternarratives suggested? • Are students invited to question historical interpretations? • How are events positioned?	• Chronological vs thematic order • Passivity/omniscience/possession in voice • Contextualization of events in larger events • Possible counter-narratives minimized

A Note on Translation

These analyses were performed on English translations of the Lithuanian source materials. As an advanced speaker of Lithuanian, I conducted the first round of translations, and to ensure further validity and accuracy, I engaged an additional translator to retranslate first-round translations, which were then checked. A third translator was consulted when rare inconsistencies emerged in comparisons between translations.

RESULTS

Similar to earlier studies discussed above, the analysis found significant omissions and biases in Lithuanian textbooks. However, unlike other studies, I argue that these are not merely the growing pains of a nation grappling with the immediacy of transformation, but intentional interpretations aimed at reinforcing a dominant national narrative based on victimization and an ethnic conception of national belonging. In most of the textbooks, select historical events are used to glorify images of Lithuanians and the Lithuanian nation (as defined by ethnicity, religion, and language), especially in portrayals of resistance fighters or victims. In addition, there are numerous instances of comparisons of suffering that either entrench divisions between "us" and "them" or conflate distinct experiences (such as camp life in the Soviet Union and camps in the Nazi-occupied territories).

Overall, the study identified four key themes: resistance and the fight for independence; victimization of the nation; comparisons of suffering; and the culpability of (mostly) the Nazis in carrying out the Holocaust on Lithuanian soil.

Theme 1: Resistance and the Fight for Independence

One of the most common themes found in Lithuanian textbooks was that of resistance to occupying forces and the fight for Lithuanian independence. This is a common theme in Lithuanian history. There are many historical examples of groups or individuals fighting for the independence of Lithuania, especially against the Soviet Union. Additionally, many Lithuanians *were* victims both during the Nazi occupation and under the Soviet occupation. Highlighting this theme is not to imply that Lithuanians were not victims or freedom fighters. However, in the majority of textbooks, these themes relied on general tropes that allowed little room for more complicated discussions about moral and ethical questions, such as how some Lithuanians could be both victims of the war and also choose to participate in the Holocaust.

Thus, the critique is not that Lithuanian movements were presented positively, but that events, groups, and movements were often oversimplified to portray them *only* in a positive light. Eva-Clarita Onken (2007) found this to be a common historical approach in many post-Soviet countries where "collective amnesia" developed about "all those historical facts of collaboration and war profiteering that did not fit into the dominating (master) narrative" (p. 30). A common example

of this was seen in discussions about the Lithuanian Activist Front (LAF), a movement that fought for Lithuanian independence in the early days of Nazi occupation. These discussions, while highlighting LAF resistance, rarely examined LAF publications that were anti-Semitic or the purported connections that the leader-in-exile might have had to the Nazi party due to his residence in Germany.

All of the textbooks mentioned Lithuanian resistance movements for at least half a page, usually also including a primary source document for students to review about a resistance organization (or leader). Many also included a prominently placed photo of resistance activities or leaders. Most textbooks devoted the same amount of time to discussing partisan/resistance movements as they did to the Holocaust. In T-3, resistance was given even more space; six of 14 pages on World War II were devoted to resistance movements. While not all of the pages focused on Lithuanian movements, most of them highlighted Lithuanian resistance and the suffering endured by Lithuanians under the Nazis and Soviets, who deported, killed, and sent Lithuanians to the front (Kasperavičius & Jokimaitis, 1998, pp. 163–167). The LAF was the most frequently mentioned resistance group, although the textbooks talked about different resistance movements under both Soviet and Nazi occupations. The facts surrounding these events were often presented in an authoritative, unexamined way, although they were anything but unproblematic.

LAF was known for its brief attempt to create a Lithuanian-administered government at the onset of Nazi occupation. The event leading up to this, the June Uprising (*Birželio Sukilimas*), was ultimately ineffective, and LAF was eventually outlawed by the Nazi administration in Lithuania. LAF was active for about 6 weeks following the German occupation of Lithuania. T-5 presented the LAF in one page, describing it as the "impetus for future anti-Nazi movements in Lithuania" and demonstrating that "Lithuania refused to concede to a Nazi occupied Lithuania" (Civinskas & Antanaitis, 2000). In fact, a number of historical accounts have demonstrated otherwise, with many Lithuanians participating in the Nazi administration of Lithuania (Bubnys, 2004; Arad, 2004). In T-3, half a page was devoted to a letter from Kazys Škirpa, the head of LAF, based in Nazi Germany, in which he talked about how the aims of LAF were quickly put down by the Nazis, though they never gave up trying to fight for the good of Lithuania and its citizens. However, this half page never mentioned if the aim of protecting Lithuanian citizens from the Nazi occupation included Jews or other groups (Kasperavičius & Jokimaitis, 1998, p. 163).

Overall, resistance movements were portrayed as Lithuanians reclaiming wrongfully occupied territory to return it to its "rightful" people. However, potentially problematic means and methods in doing so were rarely discussed. As noted, most of the textbooks did not mention LAF's shortcomings, nor were there discussions about likely brutal actions undertaken by partisans. Only one text, T-6, acknowledged that LAF was actively anti-Semitic and that the organization published newspaper articles suggesting that the rights of Jews should be repressed in Lithuania (Kaselis et al., 2009, p. 86). No other textbooks mentioned these activities. Furthermore, the subject of collaborators and bystanders never received

the same amount of attention as that of resistance fighters (in any country). T-6 was the only text that introduced the term "collaborator" as a heading in the Nazi context (Kaselis et al., 2009, p. 78), but even then it talked about collaborators in other countries and not collaboration in Lithuania. T-4 acknowledged that the history of resistance movements in Lithuania was complicated (Bakonis, 2009, p. 102), but overall its portrayal of resistance movements still tended toward the glorified and romanticized. This text highlighted the consequences that resistance fighters faced, such as the massacre of 119 people and total destruction of one town (Pirčiupiai) for what is believed to have been Nazi revenge against Soviet partisans.

The lost town of Pirčiupiai appeared in other texts as well (T-1 and W-4) as a point of national reference for loss and the targeted annihilation of Lithuanians. In T-3 (p. 164), there was even a photo of the "Mother of Pirčiupiai" (*Pirčiupių motina*), a large stone memorial of a woman weeping for the victims. This act of Nazi revenge was particularly savage, as many of the village residents were burned to death, including women and children. The point here is that the attention devoted to this act was different than that given to similarly brutal events against other groups.

The image of Lithuanians as freedom fighters was also reinforced in questions that appeared at the end of the chapters and in student workbooks. In W-3, one activity asked students whether it was "necessary for the Lithuanians to resist the Soviet Occupation" (Jurkevičius, 2008, p. 31). The wording of the question implies that the answer should be affirmative, though the workbook asked students to also explain why there might be historical differences of opinion about the Soviet occupation of Lithuania. However, if Lithuanian groups or movements are *only* portrayed throughout the textbooks as uncomplicated "patriots," then students lack the historical data to scaffold critical discussions not only about the facts of wartime, but also about the moral and ethical implications that many people faced during such times. Overall, the pattern in most of the textbooks examined here was to point out that not all Lithuanians were collaborators with the Nazis (some don't entertain this possibility at all), but rarely did the texts also point out that not all Lithuanians were, in fact, "freedom fighters."

Theme 2: Victimization of the Nation

A second common theme found in Lithuanian textbooks was victimization. This theme complemented the theme of freedom fighters. While World War II saw many victims, the presentation of victimhood found in Lithuanian textbooks was specific to the experiences of the ethnic Lithuanian nation, which effectively excluded other ethnic nations, members of non-Catholic religions, and other linguistic groups. This was seen in the aforementioned discussions of Pirčiupiai, where the tragic events of the ethnic majority were allotted more attention and a different kind of language to impart their emotional meaning than the suffering of other groups. Discussions about the locations of other Lithuanian losses appeared frequently as well, but discussions about the exact locations of Jewish mass killings in Lithuania were rare. (There are about 200 sites of Jewish mass killings in Lithuania.) Certainly the textbooks acknowledged that other groups in Lithuania

were killed, but they dealt with these deaths as brief statistics rather than as national stories.

While T-3 and T-6 noted that there were Jewish mass killing sites in Lithuania, these discussions were different from the treatment of losses of the Lithuanian nation, especially those caused by the Soviet Union. T-1 asked students to learn the locations of camps across the entire Soviet Union by consulting a large half-page map (6″ × 4″) (Šalna & Mickevičius, 2002, p. 138). However, the map in the next chapter on the Nazi concentration camps in Europe was only 2.5″ × 2″ and only mentioned a few key camps. While there was a large picture of Auschwitz in this chapter, indicating that Nazi camps were important, there was little attempt to otherwise acquaint students with details about how the Holocaust was not a distant happening, but something that took place in their own streets and forests. W-1 mirrored the same theme, asking students to identify Soviet camps but not Nazi camps or any Jewish mass killing sites in Lithuania (Šalna & Mickevičius, 2008, p. 30). W-4 reinforced the importance of learning the names of sites where ethnic Lithuanians were killed by asking students to label a map with the locations of these sites, but not the most famous Jewish massacre sites, such as Kaunas and Paneriai, where approximately 100,000 people were killed.

The theme of victimization drew into sharp relief the types of language used to talk about the occupiers. The Soviet "victimizers" were usually described in value-laden terms, while the Nazi occupiers were not. For example, in W-3, one activity asked students to discuss documents and provide concrete examples illustrating how people "were tortured by the cruel Bolshevik terror" (Jurkevičius, 2008, p. 35). In T-1, Stalin was described as bringing "the country cruel tyranny" (p. 114), while Hitler was described without such value judgments as "the leader" of a party calling for German national unity who "promised everything that was needed then by Germans: work, bread, revenge on foreigners, victory in war, and renewed German power" (p. 112). While both regimes were described almost word for word as surveilling and following the lives of their citizens, Stalin was more strongly condemned for "the cruelest confinements and penalties," while the death camps of the Nazis were simply described as having "killed Jews." Many of the narratives suggested that the Nazi occupation was preferable for Lithuanians when compared with the Soviet experience, but they left out the annihilation of the Lithuanian Jewish community in this comparison.

Another interesting pattern was that the regimes perpetrating these atrocities were often conflated and presented as being "the same," which meant that there were few opportunities for readers to understand the complexities and the kinds of atrocities in each system. This was mostly seen at the younger levels, when students are presumably less able to grapple with nuanced complexity, but it raises concerns that students see certain concepts or people as the same in scope, circumstance, or experience. For example, Nazi and Soviet concentration camps were treated as being essentially the same kind of camp.

Many of the images examined presented Hitler and Stalin as allied to "take over the world." This alliance was initially evidenced by the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, but it was not in place for the entirety of the war. For example, in W-4, one activity

asked students to compare and contrast the characteristics of governance "shared" by both Nazi and Soviet regimes. The answers presented that the leaders had "in common" were deportations, internment, and repression (Kapleris et al., 2010, p. 33).

In W-5, a poem by Vincas Korskas titled "Stalin and Hitler's Bargain" described Hitler and Stalin carving up Europe "like a piece of bread," where "blood drops rain, champagne showers, the tyrants raise their glasses …. There is no Europe left in Europe" (Dargevičius et al., 2006, p. 35). While students were asked to identify the events happening in the poem and to delineate between historical fact and creative license, little knowledge of the historical realities surrounding Stalin's and Hitler's political regimes was presented or reinforced. Essentially, there was a disconnect between what students were asked to do and the information presented in the textbooks with which to do it. Students might be asked to think critically about multiple interpretations of a situation, but as with the theme of partisans and freedom fighters above, little concrete historical information was provided with which to do this. Additionally, the manner of presentation of information in textbooks tended to "lead" students toward a simplistic inter-pretation of facts and events.

Theme 3: Comparisons of Suffering

The third theme was comparisons of suffering. While acknowledging that many groups suffered greatly during the war, paying close attention to what Pingel (2010) notes about structure and sequencing, two clear patterns emerged in the positioning of the Holocaust in textbooks. The first pattern was to refer to the Holocaust as one of many genocides, tragedies, or atrocities, and the second was to include the Holocaust as a side note outside the main text. Both patterns flatten differences and simplify rich historical teaching tools. While it is difficult to know what students are actually learning from textbooks, positioning events in this way can lead students to conclude that because *everyone* suffered, the only suffering they need relate to is what happened to their "own" group. This theme relates back to the first theme of reliance on the trope of ethnic Lithuanian victimization.

Often, concepts like annihilation and genocide were discussed so broadly that they effectively included everyone's suffering and minimized potential discussions about complexity. In one instance, students were instructed to explain why "the repression by the occupying Soviet government and their local collaborators [was] purportedly genocide in Lithuania." It then instructed students to list reasons for their answer without giving them the legal definitions of what constitutes such categories or discussions about why this term is specifically applied to the Holocaust (Kapleris et al., 2010, p. 34). In T-3, the Holocaust was also combined with other forms of "terror" against Lithuanians, in which the discussion of 200,000 Jewish deaths was discussed in the context of Lithuanian losses and the deportation of Lithuanians to the Stutthof concentration camp in Germany (Kasperavičius & Jokimaitis, 1998, p. 164).

Placing the Holocaust alongside the suffering of other groups allowed Lithuanian suffering to remain active in historical interpretations of concepts such

as genocide, which is not a term universally applied to mass suffering. While most Lithuanian texts acknowledged that the Jewish community suffered the most of all groups, this fact was often presented within discussions of total war losses or the suffering of other groups. Thus, Jewish experiences were rarely highlighted as either nationally relevant narratives or as events worthy of their own voice. Sections on the Holocaust were also frequently followed by discussions of Lithuanian resistance movements, which presented the experiences of ethnic Lithuanians in a positive light. This was especially so in textbooks that discussed the cooperation of some Lithuanians with the Nazis.

The format of T-6 showed this pattern as well. The Holocaust was presented only after discussing Lithuanian suffering. The chapter on the Nazi occupation in this text opened by first discussing the losses of 672 Lithuanians in three specific villages: Pravieniškas, Rainiai, and Panavežys (Kaselis et al., 2009, p. 84). The section on the Holocaust received far less detail and was then followed by discussions of resistance movements in Lithuania, even though these movements were not targeting Nazi extermination policies. In T-1, discussions about genocide and the Holocaust were framed around the famous photo of Auschwitz's main gate, but the discussion was presented very generally, highlighting first how the Nazis held Lithuanians to be an "undesirable race." This text highlighted the fact that Jews were singled out as direct targets of Nazi aggression, but it took until the fifth of nine paragraphs to do so (Šalna & Mickevičius, 2002, p. 140). In T-4, the Holocaust was introduced in the context of total war losses (35–60 million). The Holocaust was introduced only after discussion of the suffering of other groups. However, once the text finally broached the topic, it did state that those who suffered the most under Nazi occupation were Jewish (Bakonis, 2009, p. 106).

Another example of comparisons between sufferings was found in discussions about individual and group experiences in Soviet and Nazi concentration camps. While most textbooks acknowledged that all concentration camps were destructive and that both Soviet and Nazi victims experienced oppression, their portrayal of these experiences failed to account for any variations in camp conditions, aims, or group experiences. T-1 and W-1 talked about suffering in Soviet "concentration camps" (Šalna & Mickevičius, 2002, p. 114). The texts talked about the various reasons one might be imprisoned in a Soviet camp, or the work one might have to do, but they did not attempt to distinguish the Soviet camps from those of the Nazi camps, especially the death camps.

In T-3, the camp experiences of Jewish victims and Lithuanian victims were presented as essentially the same. While T-3 presented the term for Nazi death factories (*mirties fabrikai*), it did not go into detail about them (Kasperavičius & Jokimaitis, 1998, p. 156). Additionally, an in-chapter activity in the same text asked students to read a primary source that stated that the Nazi camps were the same as the Soviet camps in that people died in both places due to horrendous conditions (Kasperavičius & Jokimaitis, 1998, p. 155). This source was not only presented out of context (it is only five lines long), but it was part of a page-long activity using primary sources to "describe the treatment of prisoners in concentration camps" in which the only other experience presented was that of a

Lithuanian political prisoner in the Soldau transit camp in Germany. Using very select parts of primary sources to legitimize the "sameness" of camp experiences gave this conflation an authoritative air that it did not have.

Overall, when it came to the use of concentration camps by the Nazi and Soviet governments, students were left to infer that camps in which deaths occurred were subsequently the same as "death camps." T-6 was the exception, because it discussed the concept of Nazi death camps (*mirties stovykla*) and even provided the names of these camps (Kaselis et al., 2009, p. 80). Additionally, while it is historically accurate that many groups experienced brutal conditions in concentration camps, the positioning seen in Lithuanian texts consistently presented Jewish suffering only in conjunction with Lithuanian examples of suffering.

The second pattern was to position the Holocaust in a way that seemed to downplay the experiences of Holocaust victims. For example, in T-2, the Holocaust was only mentioned in a sidebar under the heading "point of interest" (*įdomybių kraitelė*). Although it contained detailed information about the events of the Holocaust, how it was perpetrated, and how the Jews were generally treated, this section was not included in the main text (Litvinaitė & Bakonienė, 2009, p. 29). Similar examples of "bracketing" the significance of the Holocaust as a pedagogical tool were found in T-5 and T-6. Both books talked about Hitler's aim to colonize Lithuania as a German space, and they each spent time discussing the potential ramifications that such a colonizing project could have had on the Lithuanian nation had the Germans won the war. T-5 spent a paragraph conjecturing about the possible losses of life that might have ensued if the Germans had enacted one of three possible plans to remove the Lithuanians and others from Lithuanian territory to make room for incoming Germans. These plans mostly involved exiling or killing Lithuanians as "undesirable minorities" over a 15- to 25-year timeframe (Civinskas & Antanaitis, 2000). T-6 also mentioned the same thing, taking time to describe to students the "sad fate waiting for Baltic countries" had Germany won the war (Kaselis et al., 2009, p. 78). Though actual manifestations of Hitler's racist ideology abounded in World War II, these were downplayed, and Lithuanian students were instead asked to contextualize the consequences of intolerance in this hypothetical situation related to the ethnic Lithuanian nation. The message here was that the potential losses of the Lithuanian nation were more apt for understanding racism than the actual loss of 200,000 Lithuanian Jews, whose suffering was separate from the main national narrative.

Theme 4: The Nazis (Mostly) Did It

While prior reviews of Lithuanian textbooks suggested that justification for Lithuanian support of the Nazi party would be a common theme (Svetlov, 2004), I did not find this to be the case in my analysis. If anything, most of the texts focused prominently on Lithuanian anti-Nazi partisan movements or Lithuanian victimization. However, when discussing responsibility for the Holocaust in Lithuania, Lithuanians were notably absent.

The Nazi organization of barbaric atrocities is an absolute fact, and the need to include this reality in historical textbooks is unquestioned. Yet, history also shows that a number of Lithuanians took part, allowing for an accelerated perpetration of atrocities against the Jews on Lithuanian soil. This is a fact that few Lithuanian students would know if their knowledge was based on current textbooks. While the topic of Lithuanian participation was mentioned in several textbooks, it was usually conceptualized as a distant occurrence. T-3 presented the possibility of Lithuanian participation in Jewish killings and even noted that there were many reasons for local participation: greed, anti-Semitism, stupidity, impunity in killing, and force (from the Nazis) (Kasperavičius & Jokimaitis, 1998, p. 162). Yet, this text was also careful to state that "innocent blood" only stained the hands of several hundred Lithuanians. This effectively puts a boundary around the scope to which students should conceptualize the issue of Lithuanian participation. It also distances students from having to grapple with the philosophical and moral issues of what might have conditioned an "ordinary" Lithuanian to behave in such a way.

A similar trend was seen in labeling Lithuanians who participated in mass killings as extremists or somehow outside the norm. T-5 acknowledged that Lithuanians took part in mass killings, but limited their participation to a particular "pogrom" in 1941 and downplayed those who participated as being members of small extremist groups with nationalist affiliations (Civinskas & Antanaitis, 2000). While T-4 also acknowledged local participation, it said that Lithuanians who participated in mass killings did so only after ignoring "warnings" and "exhortations" not to "soil their hands with innocent blood" (Bakonis, 2009, p. 107). The text did not say who these warnings came from or why. T-4 was the only textbook that noted that there were towns where Lithuanians killed Jews *without* German inducement or participation.

Another tool for limiting the scope of Lithuanian participation to a very few people or only those from unsavory groups in society appeared in the presentation of primary sources. While the inclusion of primary sources meets criteria for well-conceived textbooks because it allows students to see where textbook information actually comes from, these sources were often presented out of context or without enough information for students to make an informed decision about their merits. Short passages from primary sources were often positioned in a way that supported the dominant narrative and presented with perceived authority. In T-3, a primary source introduced students to the possibility that the Jewish community in Lithuania was always socially equal to local ethnic Lithuanians. The source was a letter from a German commissar expressing disbelief to his superiors that in Kaunas Lithuanians often met Jews warmly in the street and even provided them food despite prohibitions against doing so (Kasperavičius & Jokimaitis, 1998, p. 165). The lesson implied that Lithuanians were friendly toward Jews and supported them despite Nazi norms and edicts, but like many other sources throughout, it stood without context. The activity asked students to say whether this was typical or not. How would they know? No additional historical evidence was presented for students to make an informed decision.

In T-4, a sidebar asked students to consider two sides of a contemporary debate over whether or not the Lithuanian provisional government established Jewish ghettos in Lithuania (Bakonis, 2009, p. 101). While this exercise did ask students to consider the possibility of participation on the part of Lithuanian administrators, there was little contextual information for students to determine the accuracy of certain statements. Instead, the activity seemed geared toward providing students an opportunity to challenge reports of Lithuanian participation.

Several other textbooks suggested that the idea of Lithuanian participation in mass killings was propaganda spread by the Germans. In W-4, students were asked to read a source from a 1943 Lithuanian committee meeting that talked about how Germans were attempting to produce competitive sentiments between Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania by purportedly spreading "false" reports about the degree to which each representative government was participating in the war. The committee reported that Germans were spreading rumors that Lithuanians were shooting the Jews and the Poles as a way to cover up their own guilt for these actions (Kapleris, 2010, p. 31). Disinformation was a wartime tactic, and mentioning it as part of the historical context fits more complex discussions about the roles that individuals and groups played in the war. However, in this textbook it was dealt with in only this small section. So while this textbook did address the topic of Lithuanian cooperation in mass killings, it suggested that this information came from Nazis using disinformation as a wartime strategy. Unless students or teachers took the initiative to delve into this topic further, readers were likely to conclude that Lithuanian participation in the Holocaust was German propaganda and not historical fact.

Some questions were presented to students in such a way that they could answer "yes or no" without any detail. For example, in W-4, students were asked to identify which statements about the "Jewish tragedy" were correct and which were not. One statement asked students whether Lithuanians *organized* the killings and the Nazis assisted them [emphasis added]. This was a slippery inclusion. It was not strictly true: the Nazis organized and orchestrated the killings while the Lithuanians assisted. Unless students had a clear-thinking teacher to guide the lesson, it would be easy to gloss over the actual details of culpability (p. 32).

The same page asked students to write an opinion about whether "the Lithuanian nation is required to take collective responsibility for the Holocaust." Again, the question's wording is problematic because the Lithuanian government could only acknowledge historical responsibility for the events that took place *in Lithuania*, not the whole Holocaust (Kapleris, 2010, p. 32). This kind of narrative structure demonstrates a trend seen throughout all the textbooks in which the Holocaust is presented to students, but it is done in such a way that it allows students, teachers, and textbook authors to follow a select narrative that glosses over some facts or issues of moral responsibility on the part of Lithuanian actors.

In one case an entire paragraph not only glossed over the issue of moral responsibility, but also directly countered the idea of using the Holocaust to teach about responsibility. In T-1, the Holocaust was introduced by asking students to consider why an 80- to 90-year-old person could be held accountable for activities in a war that happened half a century ago. The fact that Lithuania is still being

criticized for its decision not to punish a single Nazi war criminal residing in Lithuania (EU Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2007) might shed some light on why such a suggestion appears in a school textbook, but it is deeply troubling that students at any level are being invited to consider giving Nazi war criminals "a pass." This is even more concerning in light of the fact that none of the textbooks examined here did a particularly adept job of asking students to understand the Holocaust as a moral or human rights issue.

Many of the texts also tempered the realities of Lithuanian participation with descriptions of Lithuanians who helped save Jews in the face of harsh penalties.[iii] While mentioning Lithuanian rescuers is historically accurate and deeply important, OSCE (2006) warned that teaching the Holocaust "should not focus solely on the victims of the National Socialist regime and those who resisted, but should also discuss the perpetrators, collaborators, and bystanders" (p. 12). Only T-6 noted that while the Nazis were undoubtedly the group most responsible for the Holocaust, the Holocaust happened because other governments allowed it to happen, or even actively participated in it. T-6 actually cited Denmark, Finland, Italy, Vatican City, Bulgaria, and Hungary as examples of countries that refused to persecute their own citizens and thus had reduced death tolls in their Jewish communities (Kaselis et al., 2009, pp. 80–81). Furthermore, unlike the other textbooks that limited the scope of Lithuanian culpability, T-6 noted that the Lithuanian provisional government, the one installed by the partisan group LAF for 6 weeks, was either passive about Jewish mass killings—letting them happen without interference—or in some cases even actively assisted Nazi extermination policies (Kaselis et al., 2009, p. 86).

In only a few short sentences like these, T-6 demonstrated that it is possible to ask Lithuanian students to think critically about complicated, negative information without undermining the Lithuanian national narrative that independence *was* something worth fighting for. Also, because the narratives presented throughout T-6 provided students with more comprehensive information, students were ultimately better positioned to think critically about some of the moral and philosophical issues that were already so deeply entrenched in discussions about the Holocaust and World War II. If teaching the Holocaust in Lithuania is to be more than just a tool for gaining EU and NATO accession, then teachers and students require more comprehensive resources, such as the textbook T-6, which provides students and teachers material that is more suited to critically address issues of personal responsibility, empathy, tolerance, and human rights—all of which are acknowledged aims of many Holocaust education programs around the world.

DISCUSSION: THE BOOKS AND BEYOND— IMPLICATIONS FOR PEDAGOGY AND SOCIETY

Foster and Crawford (2006) remind us that narratives serve as representations of "cultural, economic, and political battles and compromises" that illuminate "the interplay of power, history and culture" and reinforce only certain forms of "legitimate knowledge" (p. 4). This study found that this statement accurately describes how many textbooks in Lithuania present World War II and the

Holocaust. The events, themes, and primary sources selected for presentation reinforced a dominant narrative in which ethnic Lithuanians were either freedom fighters or victims, and the events of the Holocaust, anti-Semitism, and Lithuanian involvement in them fell "outside" the scope of the ethnic Lithuanian experience. A primary example of this is found in T-5, in which the author "mourns" the onset of renewed Soviet "terror" in 1945 because so many Lithuanian intellectuals fled the country and took Lithuania's intellectual potential with them. Nowhere was it mentioned that the loss of almost 200,000 Lithuanian Jews was a similarly devastating national loss.

Nonetheless, textbooks alone are not enough to understand the educational situation in Lithuania. As Foster and Crawford (2006) write, one should be cautious in assuming that "what is written in textbooks gets either taught or learnt" (p. 13). OSCE echoes this caution, arguing that teachers and educators have considerable effects on student learning because teacher opinions "can be more important in determining what is taught, and how, than the official governmental view on Holocaust education" (2006, p. 15). Teachers play one of the most important roles in Holocaust education in Lithuania.

Thus, teachers must be provided professional development to learn how to interact with the texts, especially when they go against common political rhetoric or cultural norms. Many educators in Lithuania are already aware of this, and there have been several programs intended to provide teachers with more training in interpreting and teaching materials related to the Holocaust. OSCE has provided locally relevant materials and teacher training seminars to teachers throughout Lithuania. The Anne Frank House has also worked to provide programs and resources to teachers in Lithuania. The International Commission for the Evaluation of Crimes of the Nazi and Soviet Occupation Regimes in Lithuania continues to train hundreds of teachers each year on how to teach the Holocaust, and in 2010, the U.S. Embassy in Lithuania launched a Holocaust education program for teacher trainers. However, these programs remain voluntary.

SUMMARY

At some point, every country in the world must acknowledge its participation in events that reflect negatively on the political systems or members of that country, but the ability to discuss such events accurately and openly is a barometer of the democratic maturity of that country. In Lithuania, discussions about anti-Semitism and the Holocaust have become important markers for understanding democratic transformation because there was no historical precedent for these discussions under the Soviets, and there are historical accounts documenting Lithuanian cooperation with the Nazi occupation regime. However, coming to terms with this history doesn't mean just changing the content of educational resources, it means changing the very way that Lithuania imagines itself as an community. Despite the criticisms throughout this paper, Lithuanian textbooks demonstrate that a political motivation exists to begin conversations about the significance of the Holocaust in Lithuanian national identity. However, these textbooks also highlight that incorpor-

ating such difficult conversations into educational resources might still be a long way off.

NOTES

[i] This paper used the term "nation" to mirror the dominant Lithuanian practice of conceptualizing national belonging (and citizenship) according to narrow configurations of ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and territorial markers.

[ii] See Rindzevičiutė (2003) for more detailed discussions about the institutionalization of a narrowly conceived cultural identity in Lithuania.

[iii] It should be noted that there were some Lithuanians who did risk everything to help members of the Jewish community. Yad Vashem has thus far recognized 800 "Righteous Among the Nations" from Lithuania who helped protect and save Jews at great personal cost to themselves.

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14. LEGITIMIZING AN AUTHORITARIAN REGIME

Dynamics of History Education in Independent Russia[i]

History narratives have played an increasing role in political discourse in the Russian Federation over the past two decades (Bialer, 1989; Davies, 1997; Sherlock, 2007; Smith, 2002; Wertsch, 2002). This can be seen in political discourses, mass media, and "approved" course texts for schools. On May 15, 2009, President Dmitry Medvedev established a commission to investigate and analyze attempts to "falsify history against the interests of Russia." The new commission meets twice a year and consists of representatives from various government ministries (including the Defense Ministry, the Federal Security Service, and its foreign intelligence counterpart, the Russian Foreign Intelligence Agency), the State Duma, the Russian Academy of Sciences, and civic organizations. In his speeches and interviews (for example, Medvedev, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c), President Medvedev has emphasized the role of history in domestic and international affairs and confirmed his intentions to defend official Russian historic narratives. Moreover, Vladimir Putin and Dmitry Medvedev, while promoting their vision of Russian history, have had multiple meetings with Russian historians and have visited conferences of historians and social scientists. In his interview on August 30, 2009, President Medvedev pointed out that "history is completely muddled in the minds of schoolchildren. I think that we need to bring some order to this process" (Medvedev, 2009c).

The employment of history narratives is one of the most important mechanisms in the continuous process of establishing the authoritarian state. These narratives aim to form the belief that the history depicted by a state is, in fact, the only truthful version of events. As such, every historical narrative employed by the authoritarian state reflects a specific rationality of history; "the historian's subjectivity intervenes here in an original way as a set of interpretative schemata" (Ricoeur, 1965, p. 26). These judgments are influenced by the ideology of a ruling regime that favors some events and interpretations over others because they are deemed significant and essential foundations for the regime's ideas, norms, and goals. Apart from providing information about the collective past, history narratives also define the meaning of current situations and affairs and establish a vision of a shared future. This is achieved through development of specific meanings of national identities, where history narratives are central for the nation's "self-contained process of coming-to-consciousness" (Hill, 2008, p. ix).

Scholars have described several channels through which a state can promote desirable historical narratives. Many researchers, including Davis (2005), Bourdieu

(1991), Foucault (1980), Habermas (1984), Hill (2008), Hosking and Schöpflin (1997), Lewis (1987), Lowenthal (1985), McNeill (1986), and Sherlock (2007), have analyzed the role of historic narratives at the state level (including in political discourses and myth making). Many scholars have stressed the importance of teaching about the shared past in the formation of national, ethnic, religious, and regional identities (Anderson, 1991; Cajani & Ross, 2007; Cole, 2007; Hein & Selden, 2000; Meyer, Ramirez, & Soysal, 1992; Schissler & Soysal, 2005; Smith, 2005; Vickers & Jones, 2005). History education is described as one of the mechanisms in the formation of political foundation myths (Sherlock, 2007), politicized historical memory (Davis, 2005), and writing on national history (Hill, 2008). As Hein and Selden (2000) pointed out, history textbooks provide the most commonly articulated and widely disseminated ideas about citizenship and nationhood, while reinforcing a common past and speaking of a promised future.

Authoritarian government and a centrally run education systems easily tend to adopt hegemonic representations of officially desirable knowledge in history textbooks (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Lewis, 1987; Davis, 2005; Sherlock, 2007). Different types of authoritarian states use history textbooks to demand and enforce obedience to their authority (Howard & Roessler, 2006; Levitsky & Way, 2002; Mann, 1988; Slater, 2003; Wedeen, 1999), and "to affirm the rights and merits of the group which they lead" (Lewis, 1987, p. 53). Moreover, school history curricula promote certain basic social values and beliefs and support a specific ethnopolitical order. History education transfers to new generations established conceptions of power and society as well as official knowledge about the society's past and present (Boon & Gopinathan, 2005). The historical content of school curricula can play a significant role in fostering loyalty to those in power, supporting the legitimacy of ruling parties, and articulating their worldviews and positions.

This paper analyzes history narratives created under state supervision as a practice of a specific kind of nation building using the case of post-1989 Russia.

> In authoritarian societies in which political decision making is shrouded in secrecy, studying the state's efforts to restructure historical memory provides a window through which to gain insights into its internal political struggles … and the central issues of who is considered a worthy citizen, whose cultural norms are seen as contributing to society's ends, and who should be politically and socially privileged as a result. (Davis, 2005, p. 11)

Thus, this paper investigates how a state used history education to legitimize a particular type of regime. This analysis is particularly important for understanding the establishment of an authoritarian regime in Russia at the end of 2010 (Sherlock, 2007; Trenin, 2005).

INCREASING CONTROL OVER RUSSIAN HISTORY EDUCATION

In the beginning of the 1990s, old Soviet history textbooks were supplemented by a special leaflet that provided information on specific periods of history "spoiled" by the Soviet ideology. Essentially, the entire Soviet era was depicted in this way. By

the middle of the 1990s, new mechanisms for textbook preparation, supervision, and authorization gave rise to private publishing houses (Eklof, Holmes, & Kaplan, 2005). New textbooks in the humanities were published thanks to international financial support. The quantity of history textbooks offered for each year of secondary schools was overwhelming: "Dozens of history materials for the secondary schools were published and reprinted every year. These included school textbooks, readers, workbooks, compendiums of tests and a variety of other source materials" (Shevyrev, 2005, p. 273). As a result, in 1994, the Department of History Education of the Institute of General Schools at the Russian Academy of Education developed the Provisional State Standard in History aimed at resolving the contradictions between competing demands for unity and diversity within educational institutions. It promoted the creation of different models of history education through various programs and textbooks, but also stressed the importance of developing a shared conceptual line and common view of historical development and the fundamental elements of historical knowledge.

In 1999, the Compulsory Minimum of the Content of Education for secondary schools was established. This standard provided the Ministry of Education with a primary tool for assessing history textbooks. Textbooks that fulfilled the Compulsory Minimum were endorsed by the Ministry of Education. The use of recommended books, although not obligatory, led to increasing standardization of textbooks. In 2001, following a report presented by the Minister of Education at a meeting of the Government of the Russian Federation, a special commission on history textbooks was set up by President Vladimir Putin. In 2002, a history textbook writing competition was announced: only three textbooks would ultimately be recommended for each grade. But as a result of the competition, only one textbook each for the ninth and eleventh grades, both offered by private publishing house *Russkoe Slovo* (Russian Word), were officially approved.

Government control over history textbooks became stricter still following a scandal surrounding the seventh edition of *National History: 20th Century* by Igor Dolutsky (2002). The textbook described crimes, terror, and exploitation in the Soviet Union and asked 10th-grade students if they could assess Putin's style of leadership as an "authoritarian dictatorship" and Russia's present-day regime as a "police state" (Dolutsky, 2002, p. 351). Putin's reaction was, unsurprisingly, negative: he stressed that history education should emphasize the nation's great achievements and not its mistakes or offenses. He argued that history textbooks "should inculcate a feeling of pride for one's country" (Putin, 2002). In November 2003, the Ministry of Education and Science revoked the textbook's license and proclaimed that, to support the new standards of education, all history textbooks had to be examined and evaluated by experts from the Federal Experts Council on History, the Academy of Sciences, and the Academy of Education.

A second level of expertise was organized at the Ministry of Education and Science. "Accepted" textbooks were tested in selected schools and following assessment, could receive the official stamp "Recommended." This list of recommended textbooks was established by the Department of State Policy and Legal Regulation in the Sphere of Education. Detailed curricula approved at the

national level were published on the website of the Ministry of Education and Science and were required for use in all schools. The list of recommended textbooks was also published on the ministry's website. For every school grade, about five textbooks published by five major publishing houses were available for the courses on Russian history and world history (see Table 1).

Table 1. Number of Approved Textbooks for Each Grade of Secondary School*

				Grade			
Textbooks	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*
On Russian history (n)	5	5	5	5	5	7	6
On world history (n)	5	5	5	5	5	5	5

* Based on a list published by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation for 2008–2009.

METHODS

This project is grounded in the view of discourses as practices of the production of power, identity, and knowledge through language, as seen by Fairclough (1993), Foucault (1980), or Hall (2001). Methodologically the study contributes to our understanding of the dynamic interactive processes of meaning-making that take place in the process of the construction of historical discourses by the state and the formation of narratives of state dominance during this process. This case study is based primarily on analysis of 13 history textbooks recommended by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation for use in secondary schools. The selection of the textbooks was based on their widespread circulation in schools. The textbooks were accessed during the author's trip to Russia supported by a Spenser Foundation grant. In addition, the study analysed methodological recommendations for teachers issued by the Ministry of Education and Science, materials used in student examinations, as well as analysis of secondary sources assessing history education in Russia.

The study did not set out to analyze the impact of history textbooks on students' beliefs and attitudes, or the process of the formation of national identity and historic memory among students. Students' perceptions of national history and national identity develop under the influence of many factors besides public education, including popular literature, mass media, the Internet, movies and documentaries, memorials and museums, and conversations with family members and friends. Even within a school system that exerts strong control over history textbooks, teachers can use various additional materials and lead discussions based on their own beliefs and values, and students construct their own understanding.

LEGITIMIZING AN AUTHORITARIAN REGIME—
THREE STAGES IN RUSSIAN HISTORY TEXTBOOK DEVELOPMENT

First Stage: Early Years of Independence, 1990–1994

After the fall of the Soviet Union, history education in Russia faced the enormous task of revising and rewriting textbooks to adjust to a new social reality. The heated debates and discussion over the content of history textbooks that took place in the mass media and numerous professional forums resulted in formal proposals for a new conception of history education that was published in the journal *Prepodavanie Istorii v Shkole* (Teaching History in School) in 1989. This conception called for reconsideration of the ideological approach to history education, but did not propose complete de-ideologization. In 1990, the Committee on the State of Education (*Gosobrazovanie*) stressed the importance of terminating the "bluntly ideological and mythologized course on history, based on the dogmatic construction of an unvaried worldview" (Na kollegii Gosobrazovaniya SSSR, 1990, p. 4). With the fall of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), this task of destroying Soviet ideology was transformed into a search for a new ideology that would support the formation of a new Russian national identity and stress the succession in historic development of Russia.

During the first stage (1990–1994), history textbooks presented Russia as one of the key world civilizations, stressing general similarities among civilizations but also the uniqueness of Russia. The old approach that put the state at the center of history was abandoned; the new teaching methods were based on the examination of relationships between individuals and society as a whole. The new form of history education aimed at developing responsible citizens, critical thinkers, and active participants in social change. The texts stressed the importance of history education for the formation of positive values and the development of moral choice through the shift from state-centered history education to society and human-centered history (Kaplan, 2005, p. 249).

Textbooks at this stage presented the Soviet regime quite unfavorably, criticizing its inefficient and outdated economic practices and its corrupt totalitarian political regime (Lisovskaya & Karpov, 1999). They showed how the planned economy led to inflation, deficits, low production rates, and low general levels of material well-being. The agricultural and ecological policies of the Soviet Union were described as challenging areas of constant concern, ineffective in resolving problems as they arose. These textbooks also stressed the role of the political opposition (including Alexander Solzhenitsyn and Andrei Sakharov) and the repression they suffered.

The aggressive nature of Soviet foreign policy was also emphasized. Thus, the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 was presented as a decision made by the Soviet communist elite to preserve their power and as an aggressive action against a sovereign nation. (Previous textbooks, by contrast, had described this event as the protection of virtuous communist ideals in agreement with other countries in the Communist Bloc.) Soviet military assistance to Vietnam, Angola, Ethiopia, Somalia, Yemen, and Libya was now presented as support for unpopular regimes,

as manipulation and expansion. The war in Afghanistan, in the same vein, was described as an invasion that led to the death of 1 million Afghan people.

Second Stage: 1994–2004

In 1994, this civilization-based approach to history, which illustrated the similarities between Russia and the world at large, was gradually replaced with the presentation of Russia as an original, distinctive nation with its own path in history. Thus, the end of the Soviet regime resulted in the disappearance of Soviet ideology and development of loyalty to the Russian nation (Lisovskaya & Karpov, 1999). For example, history education in this period emphasized the uniqueness of the Russian nation, glorified the Russian national spirit, its values and lifestyle, and presented the political culture of Russia as distinctive from Western traditions of democracy and political compromise (Lisovskaya & Karpov, 1999). Russian history textbooks depicted the unique path of Russia, arguing that it would not repeat or follow Western models of development. These textbooks encouraged appreciation of the economic and democratic achievements of Western countries, as well as their role in the destruction of communism, but strongly objected to the West having any influence on the culture and values of the Russian people.

The task of forming a distinctive Russian national identity and set of values required the "return" of the state into history education. The state was again introduced as a key concept in historical development. However, the fundamental meaning of the concept "state" shifted from an ideological to a national one—based on national rather than socialist ideals. The symbols of the communist ideology gave way to symbols of Russian national identity. Tellingly, the word "Russian" came to be used more often in textbooks of this period than in those published during the first years of independence and was deeply connected with the terms "nation" and "national character."

The idea of using history education to develop critical thinking gradually declined, and introducing students to fundamental historical knowledge was stated as the main task of education. A one-sided approach to history education was decried as pro-Soviet and out-of-date. Nevertheless, the state reserved for itself the task of formulating the primary content of history textbooks (see Vodianskii, 1995; Gribov, 1993).

Interestingly, problems of social development—including the low quality of medical service, education, and social welfare—that were described in textbooks of the early 1990s as faults of the Soviet government were completely erased from these second-generation textbooks. Such changes served as an ideological tool to justify the new regime and develop loyalty to the new government. Thus, according to Lisovskaya and Karpov (1999), the greatest disapproval voiced about the new textbooks was connected with policies of the Soviet Union that began improving during the new Russian government, including the transition to a market economy and democracy and impartial foreign policy. The textbooks

retained previous criticism in the areas where the new regime cannot claim achievements but also cannot be directly blamed for the deteriorating situations (agriculture and ecology). Finally, the textbooks bypassed areas in which the new regime can be blamed for making situation worse (social problems, education, health, and relationship between central and local authorities). (Lisovskaya & Karpov, 1999, p. 532)

Authors of history textbooks during this period highlighted the idea of modernization—movement from a traditional to an industrial society—and emphasized the role of a strong state in unifying contemporary Russian society. One such textbook, *The Newest History of Russia* edited by A. Kisilev and E. Schyagin, offered a very positive view of Russian history, glorifying such historic figures as Nicolas II and blaming his court and government (rather than him) for mistakes in foreign and domestic policy (Zubkova & Kupriyanov, 1999). The textbook emphasized the importance of Russian unity and a strong central government for successful economic development. It showed that landlords and peasants alike hoped a strong unified power would bring resolution to their needs. The power of the state was presented as "the criterion of historical progress; and the good of the state is, for the most part, identified with the national good" (Shiryaev, 2005, p. 277). The images of Peter I and Catherine the Great were glorified, and their role as "servants of the state" who devoted their lives to the worthy goal of national unification was emphasized. All wars that helped Russia gain access to the Baltic and Black Seas and to enlarge its territory in general were justified as reasonable measures to achieve national goals. The annexation of present-day Belarus and Ukraine was presented as unification and of one Slavic people sharing a common fate.

Through most of the history textbooks, "students are reminded that history is about patriotism and citizenship, and that Russia became a 'great nation in the world'" (Zajda, 2007, p. 294). In almost every history textbook of this generation, one can find statements such as "not a single issue of the world's politics could be decided without Russia" (Danilov & Kosulina, 2000, p. 253). Based on the Provisional Requirements for the Compulsory Minimum Content of Basic Education (Ministry of Education, 1998), the concepts of "slavery" and "feudal and capitalist relations" were completely removed from every description of Russian history, and any negative reference to them was avoided (Ionov, 2005).

In textbooks on the history of prerevolutionary Russia, the presentation of the unifying factor in Russian history shifted from depiction of class struggle to an emphasis on the idea of religious Orthodoxy. In comparison with Soviet materials—which depicted the ruling classes, the state, and, especially, the Orthodox Church negatively—new Russian textbooks of the late 1990s presented the Russian Orthodox Church, and historic figures associated with it, in a very favorable light. Particular attention was given "to historical figures, who have been canonized by the Russian Orthodox Church, noting their devotion and their willingness to martyr themselves for their faith" (Shevyrev, 2005, p. 274). For example, a sixth- and seventh-grade textbook authored by A. Preobrazhenkii and B. Rybakov (1997) asserted that the Russian Orthodox Church demonstrated a high

degree of humanity and a low level of persecution when compared to its Western counterpart. In addition, the textbook justified the policies of landlords toward peasants, amounting to servitude or slavery, concluding that "such an order was the only solution for a peasant who had fallen into 'inevitable misfortune'" (Preobrazhenkii & Rybakov, 1997, p. 17). Nevertheless, the authors demonstrated sympathy toward rebel movements and peasant uprisings, including movements led by Bolotnikov, Pugachev, and Razin.

In assessing the Soviet era, post-Soviet Russian history textbooks during the second stage maintained critical tendencies. A textbook on the history of Russia in the 20th century, authored by V. Ostrovskii and A. Utkin (1995), strongly criticized socialism for bringing terror, totalitarian rule, and violence to Russian society, portraying it as an alien ideology ill-suited to traditional Russian culture and values. The textbook *History of the Fatherland*, authored by I. Mishina and L. Zharova (1999), provided vivid descriptions of repression, particularly the arrest and execution of workers, farmers, and Soviet officials. The authors viewed socialism "as a purely utopian event, distinguishing it entirely from the realm of real economic and political experience. They argue that this reality was not socialist, but totalitarian" (Kaplan, 2005, p. 260). The textbook listed the number of top military officers who had been executed: three marshals and 154 generals (Mishina & Zharova, 1999, p. 386). Illustrating the mass dimensions of the tragedy, this text pointed out that more than 3 million people became victims of communist repression, with around 800,000 executed. In a similar vein, the textbook *Russia During the 20th Century,* authored by A. Levandovski and Y. Shchetinov (2001), described the history of Russia as full of terror, anguish, and the sacrifice of the people during long years of the October Revolution, the Civil War, Stalin's regime, and World War II. The Civil War was described as "a struggle between the 'two evils'—the Reds and the Whites, which resulted in the death of eight million people, who perished as a result of famine, the Red Terror, or were killed on the battlefields" (Zajda, 2007, p. 297). This textbook not only questioned the importance and appeal of the Bolsheviks' ideas to the majority of the population, but also presented the ideology of the "White" movement as similar to that of present-day Russia. The main slogan of the White movement, "for the united and solidary Russia," was presented as timely for the new Russian situation and as representative of the Russian soul. In another textbook on the 20th-century history of Russia, authored by A. Danilov and L. Kosulina (2002), the execution of the tsar's family was described as an evil action reflecting the terroristic nature of Bolshevik power. The textbook provided critical analysis of the Russian past: the words used in the textbook emphasized the horrific nature of these actions: "a bloody tragedy" in which the royal family was "executed and thrown down the mine shaft" (Danilov & Kosulina, 2002, p. 115).

In contrast to these textbooks, the textbook authored by I. Dolutsky (1994) presented the complexity of socialism, stressing the differences between the theoretical concept and its methods of implementation. This approach gave the author an opportunity to positively assess socialism as a movement aimed at achieving justice, positive development, and freedom, while also criticizing the

violent and tragic role of the Soviet regime in Russian history. Another textbook on the history of Russia in the 20th century, authored by V. Dmitrenko, V. Esakov, and V. Shestakov (1995), similarly depicted positive aspects of the Soviet era, including the struggle for peace, the defense of Moscow during World War II, and postwar economic recovery. While the Soviet regime was criticized, the overall assessment of the Soviet state was positive.

Textbooks during this second stage, interestingly, provided a generally unfavorable picture of the Soviet Union in World War II. They showed that many Soviet troops were defeated or captured as prisoners of war in 1941–1942. Emphasizing huge losses, these textbooks provided impressive numbers: 2 to 6 million Red Army soldiers captured, with 600,000 taken prisoner during the battle for Kiev and 663,000 in the battle for Moscow (Ostrovskii, 1992, pp. 22–61); the battle of Stalingrad, it is written, took the lives of 470,000 soldiers, while 253,000 soldiers died in the battle for Kursk.

During the Soviet period, the notion of the "friendship of peoples" required a positive presentation of the policies of the Russian Empire toward different ethnic groups. Soviet-era history textbooks described czarism as a discriminatory regime when it came to the working class and farmers. Nevertheless, they emphasized positive relations with other peoples and contrasted Russian tolerance with Western policies of dishonesty, deception, and violence toward ethnic minorities. Expansions of the Russian Empire were described as progressive national liberations of ethnic peoples from various aggressors, encouraged by desire among local populations for the support of a gracious, tolerant, and powerful protector (Bordyugov & Buharev, 1999).

After the fall of the Soviet Union, however, the history curriculum reflected different and sometimes contradictory interpretations of the conception of national identity in czarist Russia. Thus, one textbook described policy toward ethnic minorities as discriminatory and unjust:

Representatives of non-Russian ethnic groups that inhabited the territory of the Russian Empire were contemptuously called *inorodsti* (non-Russian born). The czarist government did not want to acknowledge differences in the cultures of the Russians, Ukrainians, and Belarusians, considering all of them "Russian" and denying the existence of the Ukrainian and Belarusian languages. Self-interest in national policy consistently strengthened contradictions between Russians and Ukrainians, Georgians, and Kazakhs. Nevertheless, these contradictions were denied. On the contrary, the glorification of the Russian state was a norm. (Ionov, 1994, p. 259).

In another textbook, however, one can find the opposite description of the policies of the Russian Empire:

New territories have never been plundered; the population has never become the tributary of the far metropolis. The previously established social order and norms of life have been preserved. … In Russia, there was no discrimination based on ethnicity or race. … In the 19th century, the Russian

Empire included hundreds of tribes and peoples, each of which preserved its basic features and its own culture, traditions, and customs. (Bohanov, 1998, pp. 7–9)

Third Stage: 2004–Present

During the third stage, the ideology of post-Soviet history textbooks in Russia has been clearly described by Leonid Polyakov (2008), special adviser to the president on history education. He stated that the main aim of history education is not recalling history but, instead, consigning it to oblivion: "The meaning of *meaningful oblivion* is that history education in a specific period of the life of the young person liberates him or her from the need to look back" (2008, p. 24). According to Polyakov, if a student acknowledges the guilt of his forefathers, he will develop a morbid perception of the nation and its history. "We produce lots of individuals with a morbid bleeding memory. By this we provoke the development of aggressive images of national history" (2008, p. 24). Thus, Polyakov proposed teaching a new history of Russia, one focused on victory and glory. This history, he contended, is important for students as the basis of national identity, the bedrock of national pride. Polyakov did not recommend a critical approach to history education but instead proposed a "well-proven, logically well-grounded and well-reasoned version of history" (2008, p. 25). He acknowledged that 10% of school seniors, in any case, will criticize this official version, but stressed that for the remaining 90% of students, the main task to accomplish was a kind of historical "oblivion" and development of an optimistic perception of the nation.

New history textbooks have thus featured a positive view of Russian history. As Alexsander Philipov, the author of *Modern History of Russia, 1945–2006,* stressed:

The appearance of such an approach is the answer to the demands of the society. The 1990s were an epoch of changes, and during an epoch of changes a society wants to sever with its past. When the stabilization comes, the new social order is established, and the orientation toward succession and unity with the past dominates. (Starcev, 2008)

In the introduction, this textbook stated:

The Soviet Union was not a democracy; however, it was a reference point and an example of a better, just society for many millions of people throughout the world. … During 70 years, the internal policy of Western countries was corrected toward human rights under the significant influence of the USSR, the giant super-power that accomplished social revolution and won in the most violent of wars. (Philipov, 2008, p. 6).

Descriptions of the USSR on other pages of the textbook were similar: "powerful super-state," "highest international authority," "might of the USSR," "high potential," etc.

Describing postwar economic development in the USSR, the textbook stated:

> The use of the labor of prisoners and prisoners of war did play a role [in this process]. But this role must not be exaggerated—the maximum population of the Gulag was 2.8 million [in 1950] while the number of workers and office workers was 40.4 million people. (Philipov, 2008, p. 28)

There was no explanation, in this description, of why these people were in the Gulag or why their labor was used by the government. In a similar way, Stalin's repressions were described as an objective necessity in the period of postwar economic reconstruction. The aim of these policies, according to the text, was "the mobilization of the executive system to increase its effectiveness in both processes of industrialization and post-war economic reconstruction" (Philipov, 2008, p. 90). Thus, political repression against the general population as well as Soviet officials was depicted as strengthening the Soviet economy. The textbook went even further, comparing Stalin to Peter I, arguing that they both asked the impossible of their subjects in order to achieve the best results. Stalin supported the best and the most powerful people, those who could help build a powerful state. According to the textbook, Stalin, like Bismarck, cared about the increasing economic and political potential of his motherland. Assessing the role of Stalin, this text emphasized his contributions to the development of the USSR as a super-power, but also acknowledged that this success was due in part to violent repression and the exploitation of the population.

The new course, *History of Russia 1945–1990,* developed under the supervision of Alexander Danilov, the chair of the Department of History, Moscow Pedagogic State University, was created as a roadmap for new history textbooks. The methodological principles of this textbook were developed based on

> new findings of Russian historians who actualize the assessment of our history based on the tasks of defending and strengthening state sovereignty and the formation of the citizen-patriot of Russia. To reach this aim, significant attention is given to the definition of the essence of the national interests of Russia, not only with the consideration of internal processes in the country, but also international challenges during all described periods. (Ministry of Education, n.d.)

One of the main trends of this new direction in history education was to change the traditional understanding of Russia at the beginning of the 20th century as a backward, undeveloped country. As authors of the new course stressed, this sense of Russia's economic underdevelopment was based on differences between social relations in Russia and Europe. In reality, Russia enjoyed its own forms of progress and excelled beyond many European countries in terms of several criteria of development. The authors of the new textbook described modernization as a weak term that does not take into account the specificity of Russian society and proposed to depict Russia at the beginning of the 20th century as one of the five most developed countries of the period, stressing that Russia had higher rates of economic growth than these five countries. "This rapid growth of Russian modernization led, on the one hand, to social tensions within the country and, on

the other hand, to fears among the major competing states in the world (mostly England)" (Ministry of Education, n.d.).

A second tendency in the new phase of Russian history curricula was to employ more comparative analysis showing, for example, the similarities between the October Revolution and the revolution in France. The authors stressed that it is important for educators to point out that the main idea of the revolution of 1917 was the liberation of the people and justice for all. In describing the Civil War, the authors acknowledged the fault of the Bolsheviks, but also insisted that the White movement held a profascist ideology that could have led to the establishment of a regime similar to that of Nazi Germany. Considering the issue of which sectors of the population were involved with the Red and White forces in their struggle, the authors showed that the White movement appealed to those wanting to restore the order associated with the czarist regime, while the "red" movement promoted agrarian reforms and was, thus, supported by the majority of peasants. Therefore, the revolution of 1917 should be characterized as a *peasant revolution.*

A third tendency in the new history curricula was to alter the perception of Russia as "the motherland of terror." The textbooks' authors argued that this task was especially important given the current domestic and international circum-stances. First, in descriptions of the events connected with the last days of the tsar's family, they recommended replacing the word "execution" with the word "shooting" based on the fact that no court procedure could order an execution. Second, the authors recommended depicting the Bolshevik terror from 1917 to 1922 objectively as a measure to improve the management of society.

> In view of it, it can be reminded that just one year after the [Bolsheviks'] seizure of power, with the establishment of the first concentration camps, up to 96% of prisoners were workers who did not fulfill their output quotas and peasants who could not fulfill their obligation toward the state. There were also Soviet officials who were going to their jobs from concentration camps. (Ministry of Education, n.d.)

The repressions of Stalin were presented as an objective reaction to the opposition toward the modernization processes he initiated. The authors showed that the critical situation could have led to destabilization of the country, from both within and without.

> Stalin did not know from whom he could expect a blow, and that is why he struck all existing groups and movements as well as those people who were not his unconditional supporters and allies. … It is important to show that Stalin acted in a specific historic situation, acted [as a manager] completely rationally—as security guard of the system, as consistent advocate for the transformation of the country into an industrial society managed from a united center, as leader of the country that faced a big war in the very near future. (Ministry of Education, n.d.)

The authors of the recommendation further showed that the arrival of Lavrenty Beria changed the nature of these policies to support industrial development of the

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country. Engineers and specialists were arrested and moved to Siberia and the Far East to provide support for national defense and economic development. The authors acknowledged that there was no excuse for such policies, but they also mentioned that they helped to motivate lazy workers. When it came to descriptions of repression, the authors recommended including only people who were shot or executed. Repressions carried out during World War II were presented as necessary to prevent looting and alarmism and to strengthen the discipline of labor and social order. The authors recommended showing that every country used such measures during war time. They also stressed that, even though it is not possible to completely justify the killing of war prisoners, it is important to mention that the "shooting in Katyn was not only a question of political expediency but also the answer to the death of many [tens of] thousands of Red Army solders in Polish captivity after the war of 1920 which were initiated by Poland" (Ministry of Education, n.d.). Thus, the recommendation provided a foundation for justifying the mass killing.

The authors placed specific attention on presentations of the famine (1932–1933). They particularly denied that the famine was deliberately organized in the villages of the USSR and further refuted any ethnic roots in the agrarian policies that led in the famine.

> The famine was a result of weather conditions as well as the incompleteness of the collectivization processes. Collective farms were not yet able to provide the required level of bread production, while the kulaks (wealthy farmers) were "liquidated as a social class" and did not participate in production. (Ministry of Education, n.d.)

Special attention was given to the number of victims of famine. The number of 10 million victims in Ukraine as presented by Ukrainian historians was challenged. The authors insisted that only 1 to 2 million people died in Ukraine during that period, while in the USSR as a whole, they said, there were 2 to 3 million deaths.

The authors also emphasised World War II. The 1939 invasions were justified by statements that the Red Army liberated territories that had been annexed by Poland as a result of the Riga Peace Treaty of 1920. They emphasized that Poland was extremely hostile toward the USSR and that the 1939 action constituted a "liberation of part of the motherland." The authors also recommended that educators point out the fact that England and France did not consider this situation as the USSR's entry into the war. The description and meaning of the war, they insisted, should be clearly stated for students: "This was the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people for freedom and independence of their country, one of the most heroic chapters of our history" (Ministry of Education, n.d.). The authors emphasized that it was very important to discredit "any attempts to present the traitors of the motherland [Vlasov and others] as heroes" (Ministry of Education, n.d.). Instead, history textbooks have to present stories about Soviet people, such as heroes of battles and on the home front and members of the partisan movement.

CONCLUSION

Analysis of the development of state-controlled history education in Russia shows an increased tendency to develop among young citizens a blind patriotism and loyalty to the regime, a regime that was becoming increasingly authoritarian. Analysis of these mechanisms helps identify the main processes of nation building in the Russian Federation: concentration of power, growth of the authoritarian state, reduction of the value of the individual, primacy of the state over the people, and absence of critical analysis of the totalitarian past.

The Russian government used several mechanisms to legitimize an authoritarian regime through state-controlled history education, including emphasis on the uniqueness of Russia; glorification of "strong" historical figures; presentation of some events as historic glories; and justification of totalitarian control and state violence as necessary for successful modernization.

The critical approach to history emphasized during the first stage was gradually diminished in textbooks during the second stage. This change was justified by the importance of fundamental historical knowledge for the ongoing processes of nation building. Development of the nation, it was felt, requires that one main conceptual line and one common view of historical development be presented in history textbooks. In textbooks during the third stage, the critical approach was effectively replaced with an "optimistic" history approach. This approach insists that only a single historic narrative of Russia's victories and glories that is approved by the Ministry of Education and Science can help avoid morbid self-criticism and promote national pride and faith among the young generation. Diminishing of the critical approach helps the Russian state generate a positive, unitary view of history and a positive view of the state in development of the nation.

The history textbooks during the first stage encouraged students to adopt a profoundly comparative approach to history and to analyze Russian history within the framework of world civilizations. During the second stage, Russia was presented in textbooks as an original and distinctive nation with its own path in history. Textbooks of the third stage stated that Russia was and can be a great and just society without developing a democracy. These textbooks stressed that Russia has its own forms of progress and, throughout history, has excelled beyond many European countries in numerous areas of development. Thus, the current shift in history textbooks aims to present the political culture of Russia as distinctive from Western traditions of democracy and political compromises. The aim of this shift is to deter discussions about democratization and human rights and to present a strong state as the historically defined social order.

The glorification of historic figures as "strong leaders" began to gain prominence in textbooks during the second stage. Peter I and Catherine II were praised and described as "servants of the state" who unified the country and turned it into a great power. This tendency increased during the third stage: leaders who executed strong state control in pursuit of modernization were depicted as saviors of the nation, true heroes who devoted or sacrificed their lives for the good of the country. Thus, sacrifice of ordinary people for the aim of great power is completely

accepted and even endorsed. These presentations promote the primacy of the state and emphasize the importance of a strong central government for the successful modernization of Russia.

Some specific events in history were also chosen to glorify Russia and its government. The central historical event for this process was World War II. If in textbooks during the first and second stages the war was criticized and huge losses were emphasized, the textbooks of the third stage instead described the Great Patriotic War as a war for freedom and independence, one of the most heroic chapters of Russia's history. Newer textbooks used the victory of the Soviet Union as a cementing and defining event for the Russian nation, as a "chosen glory" (Volkan, 1997) that made Russia the greatest world nation. Another event, the Great October Revolution, was thoroughly condemned in textbooks of the first stage, while textbooks of the second stage started a discussion of its positive implications. During the third stage, textbooks praised it uncritically, comparing it to the French Revolution and stressing common ideas of liberation and justice for all people. Similarly, the Civil War of 1917 to 1922, which was criticized in textbooks of the first and second stages, was seen during the third stage as a just fight with the profascist ideology of the White movement. The glorification of such events helps to strengthen the primacy of the state over its people, who must be proud of their nation and should not disapprove of state policies.

The concept of modernization, treated differently during each of the three stages, was now used to justify state violence. During the first stage, textbooks strongly criticized the policies of totalitarian power and Stalinism and condemned violence against people. During the second stage, the critical tendencies in the description of repression during the Soviet period still prevailed, yet textbooks began to provide some validation for totalitarian policies through Russian history. Thus, the policies of landlords toward peasants who turned the latter into slaves and servants were presented as necessary for economic development. During the third stage, textbooks ultimately developed a system of justification for Soviet autocracy and repression. Stalin's actions were described as an objective necessity in both industrialization and postwar economic reconstruction. The execution of the tsar's family, the famine, and the massacre in Katyn in particular were discussed in ways that denied the state's responsibility and decreased their importance. The main aim of textbooks during the third stage, thus, was to change the perception of Russia as "the motherland of terror" and emphasize, instead, the role of a strong state in unifying contemporary Russian society.

Thus, the study of history textbooks in modern Russia uncovers an increasing tendency to promote the prerogative of strong central power. State-controlled history education has been increasingly employed to support an authoritarian regime, the concentration of power, and the primacy of the state.

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Section 4.
Reflections and Conclusions:
So What?

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15. TEXTBOOKS, SCHOOLS, MEMORY, AND THE TECHNOLOGIES OF NATIONAL IMAGINARIES

The work of Benedict Anderson on "imagined communities" has had a paradigm-shifting impact on the ways that scholars across the social sciences and the humanities study nationalism; ethnic, social, and cultural belonging; and identity broadly considered. In this volume on school textbooks and the imagination of the nation we see Anderson's influence clearly. Nearly all of the preceding chapters either directly or obliquely make reference to his work. Yet, while Anderson's scholarship nicely paves the way for a volume such as this, there is considerable irony in the fact that the text of *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983, 1991, 2006) actually makes scant reference to textbooks. In fact, as a historian of education, I have always been struck as I have read and taught Anderson's work that schooling and education broadly considered only make occasional appearance in *Imagined Communities*.

In this brief analytic essay, I grapple with the problem of how and why schooling—and textbooks specifically—receive the kind of attention that they do outside of education scholarship. I argue that part of the reason is an erroneous tendency in academic scholarship to treat schools and what happens at schools as derivative of tensions and social compacts that have been worked out in other arenas (Sobe, 2009). Schools are less stable and less authoritative sites for disseminating social and political ideals than they are taken to be by some scholars. Schools are sites of contestation, negotiation, and cultural production (Bellino, Friedrich, this volume)—all of which means that textbooks and other schooling practices in fact become even more important phenomena to problematize and analyze. The chapters in this volume provide excellent material for thinking through these sets of issues. Rather than a synoptic accounting of each chapter's specific scholarly contributions, I discuss this book in relation to the identity projects and the technologies of national imaginaries as they relate broadly to schools and textbooks (with a brief excursus in the conclusion into what this volume shows us about the relationships between history, school curricula, and historical memory).

CENSUS, MAP, MUSEUM—CLASSROOM, BLACKBOARD, TEXTBOOK

In *Imagined Communities* (1991, 2006), Anderson offered a chapter titled "Census, Map, Museum," which he proposed are three "institutions of power" (p. 163) that bring to light key elements of the "grammar" of imagined communities. He

recounted that in the first edition of the book (1983), he wrote that one can see the "instilling of nationalist ideology through the mass media, the educational system, administrative regulations, and so forth" (p. 114), but in the 1991 revised edition he saw things differently. It is thus interesting to ponder both why in the second and later editions schooling drops out of his formulation for how nationalist sentiments are imparted—and ask the question of what it would mean to place the educational elements like classroom, blackboard, and textbook alongside the census, map, museum triumvirate.

In my view, Anderson offered an extremely persuasive analysis of how census-taking, mapping, and museum practices generate a structural grammar through which national sentiments can come to operate as social facts (Appadurai, 1996). Anderson explained that he turned to census, map, and museum as part of revising his earlier assumption that official nationalisms in Asia and Africa emulated the nationalisms of Europe. Instead of this "superficial" (Anderson's word) reading, he saw the operations of the colonial state as setting the stage for national imaginaries through the three aforementioned institutions of power. As regards schooling, it is notable that Anderson's earlier view on how nationalist ideologies were inculcated listed the educational system as part of an "and so forth" list of various communi-cation/dissemination technologies. This is emblematic, as I have noted above, of a tendency within academic scholarship to assume that schools are merely one of many sites of social reproduction and not sites of cultural production that are contingent, contested, and consequential in their own right.

At several points, *Imagined Communities* did accord to schools an important, original role in promoting colonial nationalisms. For one, Anderson noted that the regimented and standardized features of schools created "a self-contained, coherent universe of experience" (1991, 2006, p. 121), though he did not really elaborate on the consequences of this. Of considerable importance to Anderson was that the tiered, hierarchical features of school systems brought a series of pilgrimages into being. Middle schools and secondary schools brought students out of smaller villages and towns and into regional centers, and then those who advanced on to higher education necessarily traveled to colonial capitals, or—in rare circumstances—to the colonial metropoles themselves. He wrote:

> The tender pilgrims made their inward, upward way, meeting fellow-pilgrims from different, perhaps once hostile, villages in primary school; from different ethnolinguistic groups in middle-school; and from every part of the realm in the tertiary institutions of the capital. And they knew that from wherever they had come they still had read the same books and done the same sums. They also knew … that all these journeyings derived their 'sense' from the capital, in effect explaining why 'we' are 'here' together. (1991, 2006, pp. 121–122)

The pyramid-like structure of an education system, by virtue of the very mechanics of its operation, thus might assist greatly in developing the horizontal comradeship that is so fundamental to the imagined community of a nation. In other words, even leaving the potential "national"-specific content of curricula and textbooks out of

the picture, one can contend that the institution of modern schooling lends itself to the creation of national imaginaries.

Anderson appropriately remarked on the European/North American cultural specificity of the age-graded classroom model as part of this proposal that the very provision of classrooms as part of a sequenced progression helped to foster colonial nationalisms. Yet, beyond this organizational dimension—combined with the necessary standardizations and articulations that allow us to properly speak of an education *system* (Müller, Ringer, & Simon, 1987)—he offered little discussion of how specific pedagogical operations (e.g., "practices of the blackboard") would filter into the imagination of national communities. As but one example of the myriad of ways that other scholars have examined the relation between national imaginaries and education, consider practices of embodiment (e.g., Epstein, 2006) and the multiple and varied ways that schools can contribute to producing national- ized bodies. By mentioning this, I do not exactly intend to be critiquing Anderson, nor do I intend to take him to task for not having written the book I wish he had written. My aim is to draw attention to the particular way he styled schools in relation to imagined communities.

Where *Imagined Communities* did discuss school textbooks, it was first in relation to the logoization of the national map as an outline or colored jigsaw puzzle-like shape that could be made widely visible and easily recognizable as a discrete, integral bounded unit, a "piece" with neighbors (p. 175). The national map-logo potentially stands to have a significant impact through its commonplace, iterative appearance in school textbooks. The second, and more extensive, discussion of school textbooks occurred in relation to practices of memory and forgetting. As many scholars have noted—including Yogev (this volume) in her discussion of how the 1967 Six-Day War is taught in Israel—the construction of historical narratives is simultaneously an operation of remembering and forgetting, of selecting what matters and of concurrently choosing to disregard or ignore certain events, dynamics, and/or phenomena. Yet memory and forgetting are more twinned than this would suggest, and Anderson offered the example of the "vast pedagogical industry" that "works ceaselessly to oblige young Americans to remember/forget the hostilities of 1861-65 as a great 'civil' war between 'brothers' rather than between—as they briefly were—two sovereign nation-states" (p. 201). As valuable and insightful as this point is, and even though Anderson framed this as a process of iteration or repetition, it is important not to exclusively focus on the textbook as a conveyance for the prearranged unique cultural artifact that is nation- ness (p. 4). This runs the risk of positioning the cultural transactions that take place in educational settings as derivative: as derivative of social tensions, cultural relations, and state-sponsored projects that have already been fully explored and probably already worked out in the *kulturkampf* that inheres in the political and social interactions of a given locale. Few would deny that schools are subject to any and all cultural wars, but schools tend to be mistakenly understood as *fait accompli* sites where outcome(s) of conflicts are manifested. As institutions of power they should be considered not just the quarry of the hunt but part and parcel of the hunt itself.

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To further illustrate the point that schools need to be considered important sites of production and not simply sites of reproduction, I want to briefly expand upon an argument I have made in another publication that modern schooling be understood as a state-centered enterprise, "of government and for government" (Sobe, 2009, p. 124). Schooling has historically been used to support the state and civic peace. In this regard it is not insignificant, as Ian Hunter (1994) argued, that mass schooling began to emerge in the aftermath of European religious wars. A number of the contributions to this volume make clear that healing the wounds of conflict and educating for solidarity and collective cooperation is a significant dimension of history textbooks in many countries around the globe. If we move to a higher level of abstraction and take the state and multiple governmental/governmentality considerations into account, it becomes possible, for example, to collapse the well-worn distinction between "ethnic nationalisms" and "civic nationalisms." Instead we can start to see a technology like the history or civics textbook as part of a larger ordering and organizing project of administering the individual for the good—and betterment of—the society. Many contributions in this volume, Ngo's and Beresniova's chapters in particular, show us that there are multiple actors or interests that, while they may diverge in particularities, share a desire to regulate social belonging and the conventions of co-living.

The "imagination of the nation" (Williams, this volume) is then, by general agreement, a multiplex, multidirectional project of and for the state but not solely of and for the state. How this plays out and with what degrees of valence vary from setting to setting. Some contexts may afford rich ambiguities and multi-dimensionality (Faden, Bellino, this volume). Others (Dolive, this volume) may appear on the surface to be rather monolithic, but on closer examination they still seem to possess a curious heteroglossic complexity that begs to be disentangled. Across all the textbooks discussed in the preceding chapters we get a clear view of the importance that the textbook plays as one of the institutions of power that furthers imagined communities. This is equally evident whether we are considering an analysis that only examines the texts themselves or a study that grapples with the text in connection with its pedagogical enactment. As shown, for example, in Faden's chapter (this volume) on U.S. and Canadian teachers teaching about World War II, pedagogical transactions themselves can be as invested in imagining the nation as the printed page is.

AGAINST THE VAMPIRES OF BANALITY

"Textbooks are important government, governmental, governmentality artifacts": on one level this seems an anodyne conclusion to reach. "The nation is imagined": a similarly hackneyed observation. In fact, in a postscript to the third edition of *Imagined Communities* (2006), Anderson noted that the very phrase "imagined communities" is "a pair of words from which the vampires of banality have by now sucked almost all the blood" (p. 207n). What of value can come from further exploring this field of inquiry? What life blood remains? Fortunately, we can find some answers to these questions in the preceding pages.

As a good sign of how well this field of study has developed, it is important to note that all of the chapters in this volume actually take the entanglement of textbook with power and the social administration of the individual as their starting point, not their ending point. It similarly needs to be recognized that there is considerable value in the important work of "filling in the picture"—as this volume admirably does—to get a more comprehensive understanding of the various ways that textbooks are constructed and contested in various parts of the globe. This in itself represents a valuable strike against the vampires of banality. In addition, however, this volume points to a number of new avenues and issues that decidedly warrant further investigation.

First, the examination of textbooks in relation to the larger spatial practices of governance and social regulation that we see in the chapter from Silova et al. is a very promising innovation. The effort to link representations of landscape to ways of imagining the national homeland in some ways connects to the map-making that is an integral part of Anderson's argument for how national imaginaries come into being (see also Winichakul, 1997). Yet rather than focusing solely on the boundary-making and logoization, as mentioned earlier, Silova et al.'s approach to considering representations of landscape shows us how "the interior" is filled in and imbued with meaning and a politics of belonging.

Second, the preceding chapters suggest that scholars devote additional attention to the similarities and differences between history as a school subject and history as an academic discipline. School subjects, as they overlap with and differ from the academic/professional disciplines (Stengel, 1997), have represented a small but significant line of inquiry within curriculum history (Popkewitz, 1987). The distinction at hand is analogous to the difference between science or mathematics taught as an elementary/secondary school subject and science and mathematics as done by scientists and mathematicians in university labs, industry settings, and research centers. Concerning mathematics, Popkewitz (2004) argued that math as school subject is dramatically different than the "professional" practice of mathematical inquiry and that in schools—particularly in the U.S.—mathematics has actually become transformed into a citizenship-related, disposition-teaching arena where notions about the "problem solving individual" and "group collaboration" are front and central. The contributions to this volume suggest that in the domain of history and history education, we not simply approach "professional," academic as a baseline or yardstick by which to measure the fidelity with which history textbooks actually teach truths (or lies) about the nation. Instead, we should approach academic history (Novick, 1988) and school history as equally caught up in a particular community's debates about standards of veracity, reliability, and authenticity; what counts as important/unimportant; how we conceptualize linkages between past and present; and what the overarching purposes are for investigations into—and commentaries on—"the past."

Springing off this, third, the contributions to this volume also point to the need to consider—alongside professional history and history-as-school-subject—the importance of what is often referred to as "collective memory." Broadly speaking, a key research question concerns the various roles that historical consciousness

plays in societies across the globe. And, in connection with this, we need to probe the role of the school and of particular curricula and school subjects in constructing/transforming the ways people imagine the past. This volume shows us a variety of ways of exploring this research agenda. And it shows us that while we should be aware of the banality of the nation and the banality of the textbook, no vampires stand in the way of pushing forward into new territories and new ways to examine the devices and technologies that govern and administer human memory and human societies.

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16. STRATEGIC "LINGUISTIC COMMUNITIES"

The Political Struggle for Nationalism in School

> The main dangers lie in the "unknown knowns"—the disavowed beliefs, suppositions and obscene practices we pretend not to know about, even though they form the background of our public values. —Slavjo Zizek (2004)

School curricula are contested spaces of nationalism that socialize students into society and teach a certain set of morals, ethics, and history. But what version of the nation is articulated in school? More importantly, whose version is it? These questions are at the heart of the relationship between the project of mass schooling and the formation of nationalism in state governing apparatuses.[i] In an attempt to break down this relationship for a deeper understanding of each concept ("school" and the "nation"), I critique the work of three scholars of nationalism—John Breuilly, Benedict Anderson, and Etienne Balibar—by relating some of their ideas to the empirical evidence from four previous chapters that detail experiences of education from five countries (Israel, Cambodia, Guatemala, the United States of America, and Canada). My main contention here is that the idea of the nation is constructed through political struggles between many (and increasingly trans) national actors, and that this contested process can be illuminated in the language used in textbooks by what is said and what is not despite the memory and competing versions of history by the very community members serviced by the school. As will be seen, the political struggle to create nationalism through the project of mass schooling often means textbooks must take seemingly obvious historical memories and languages (particularly of recent violent histories or "active pasts," as Yogev wrote) and hide them (or "selective forgetting" in Bellino's terms) in the official narrative of the official curriculum in order to further the political project of nationalism through "the present state." In a sense, the "unknown knowns" of consciousness are partly constructed inside the official curriculum. Schools can be seen, therefore, as mechanisms that strategically construct linguistic communities in an effort to unify a nation. The exact modes of this construction depend on the local circumstances in "the present state."

Nations are typically thought of as spatial demarcations of geography (a territorial conception) and an imagination of identity (an ethnic conception). These two notions are not dichotomist but rather relational: within the formation of state governments, the idea of a nation is used to create borders between "nation-states" as well as mythologize and historicize their foundations, creating borders between members and nonmembers. It is debated whether nations are formed because of

some inherent national identity of a particular ethnicity, sociocultural processes that bind certain types of people together, or a political struggle that unifies, willingly or not, certain groups within a territory. There is also a debate about whether racism (i.e., exclusion) is a necessary outcome of nationalism or if the project of nationalism can actually be universally inclusive, leaving racism as a manifestation of other phenomena like class formation or social antagonisms. Both of these debates are profoundly important when understanding the role of mass schooling inside a nation-state, and the three theorists under investigation here provide fertile ground for exploration.

The cultural theories of nationalism popularized by Benedict Anderson (1991) have been widely used in the literature of comparative education. Anderson argued that cultural formations precede the nation and, therefore, ultimately construct national identity. Nation-ness is formed, in Anderson's theories, through "cultural artefacts" like the school curriculum or national anthems, by which an "imagined political community" is developed among a group of people. This community has a "profound emotional legitimacy" through these artifacts, allowing some people to fight and die for a nation.

Anderson's claims are "concerned primarily with social change and different forms of consciousness." He saw the foundations of the nation "conceived in language, not in blood, and that one could be 'invited into' the imagined community" (p. 145). Moreover, by analyzing "characteristically racist" epithets during and after French and American colonialism in Southeast Asia, Anderson suggested that nationalism "thinks in terms of historical destinies" and racism "dreams of eternal contaminations … outside history" (p. 149). For Anderson, racism falls outside of nationalism altogether and in fact has an "origin in ideologies of class, rather than in those of nation" (p. 149). Nations are thus groups of people who speak the same language and—if all people can have national self-determination—would consequently eliminate racism. Schooling is simply a tool used by states to socialize youth into a particular conception of national identity and can be used to foster inclusion.

These general claims—nations derive from culture and exclusion does not emanate from nationalism—are points of departure for Balibar (2002) and Breuilly (1994). Although Balibar shared Anderson's belief that nations are imagined and derive from culture, he nevertheless saw exclusion as a socially necessary outcome of a national community of citizens and emphasized the power of the state in forging national identities. For Balibar, educational systems act as a "key structure" (p. 163) of hegemony (along with the family and the judiciary), fostering national ideologies and "symbolic patterns of normality and responsibility in everyday life" (p. 163).

Schools as a "key structure" of hegemony—that is, "the deep structures of 'hegemonic' reason" (p. 163)—are clearly found in the Israeli curriculum Esther Yogev described:

> Textbooks are not ideologically transparent. They produce an apparently normal narrative, pursuing an approach in line with Gramsci's concept of

"hegemony" (Gramsci, 1971, pp. 25–43) or Bourdieu's concept of "doxa."
(Bourdieu, 1990)

Faden found similar evidence in America and Canada and claimed "historical
narratives have political implications, as they are used in the classroom to develop
students' understanding of the nation and its history." Often, "structures of
hegemonic reason" include simplistic stories of a nation and its members—in
Faden's terms, America is a "reluctant hegemon" and Canada must always prove
"itself on the world stage"—while at the same time negatively objectifying
nonmembers.

It is the construction of normality through national narratives taught in schools
that constructs the necessary "other" of nationalism. Nationalism is the construc-
tion of subjectivity defined as consciousness, and since subjects must have objects,
Balibar suggested that those who are not normal must be "segregated or repressed
or excluded" from society. Subjects are formed, in other words, by their ability to
objectify others. School is a tool whereby governments create subjectivity in youth
by objectifying nonmembers of the community. In Israel, for example, Yogev
showed that textbooks demonize "the image of the Arab as a persecuting enemy."

Exclusion is an outcome of nationalism and is taught and practiced within
schools. Balibar suggested this occurs through the very language used in schools to
construct normalcy. In some cases, schools discipline how people think of
historical events. In the case of postconflict Guatemala, the Conflicto Armado was
not identified as genocide in the textbooks despite many people's belief to the
contrary. The instrument of the textbook disciplined people's beliefs by limiting
the language used to talk about the event. Such disciplining comes with fear of
disobedience: As one teacher stated in Bellino's research, "Since you don't know
who is in the [class]room, the textbook is safe."

Thus, the school is used to form a "linguistic community" in order to construct
boundaries not of geographic space but of subjective consciousness. The very
process of creating a community through a common lingua taught and practiced in
school leads to the exclusion of certain people. If the Guatemalan teacher used the
word "genocide" to discuss the Conflicto Armado, then his very language would
place him outside of the textbook. In other words, to create community requires the
exclusion of nonmembers. It is for this reason that Balibar saw racism (or
exclusion) as a necessary outcome of nationalism.

Despite the linguistic strategies used to create a sense of community and a
regime of exclusion in schools, the key structures of hegemony (schools, family,
and the judiciary) are not always in sync. Often opposing narratives exist within
the different structures. Whereas schools may articulate one version of reality (e.g.,
the Conflicto Armado was not genocide), families may instill a completely
different version (e.g., the Conflicto Armado was genocide). One Guatemalan
parent interviewed by Bellino suggested teachers teach the "state's version of the
history in schools … [but that] is very different from the story I tell [at home]."
This was also found in Canada and the United States, where Faden found evidence

that teachers sometimes held opposing viewpoints from the national curriculum but nevertheless continued to teach according to the curriculum.

These competing narratives—multiple linguistic communities, in a sense—complicate the notion that nationalism derives from culture. When there are different ways to think about recent history within a territorial border such as in the case of Guatemala and Cambodia, what then of nationalism? There seem to be competing versions of nationalism despite the version purported by the government through public institutions like schools. This is precisely where John Breuilly faulted notions of culture as the defining element of nationalism.

Breuilly rejected that nationalism emanates from some notion of national identity within a community, imagined or not. Although particular instances of nationalism can be attributed to linguistic-cultural (as well as economic and social) factors, as described by Anderson and Balibar, they cannot be abstracted to form a general theory of nationalism. Similar to Karl Marx's inability to articulate a general theory of the state (see Jessop, 1982), Breuilly suggested that a cultural theory of nationalism can only be particular, never general. Instead, Breuilly contended that "nationalism is, above and beyond all else, about politics and that politics is about power" (p. 1). He thus developed a general theory of nationalism based on the political struggle for state power between opposition movements. The struggle for state power will eventually leave a winning group, who will then go on to justify the conflict in nationalist terms inside public institutions like schools. Once a political entity is in state power, then "rapid shifts in the balance of doctrines and languages employed in a nationalist movement" begin (p. 13). Thus, for Breuilly, schooling is a strategic institution for indoctrination along nationalist lines but only forms after a particular state comes into power.

Through the ideas of Breuilly, we begin to see the "linguistic communities" and "imagined political communities" as multiple and in competition for state power. Thus, the linguistic-cultural factors that supposedly create nationalism are no more than the modes of politics in the construction and struggle over who can speak for a nation. In other words, the processes of forming a linguistic or imagined community through schools are in fact the politics of nationalism. In such competitive environments, exclusion is a necessary political mechanism when multiple actors vie for power, and the school can help achieve these ends.

This leads then to the understanding that political movements construct nationalism using the national curriculum in the fight to retain state power. Therefore, Yogev is incorrect in stating, "*Problems arise whenever there is a mismatch between historical truth and national identity.*" Historical "truth" is created and then taught in schools to form the national identity. National identity does not derive from some external, cultural phenomenon. Problems arise, in fact, when opposition movements attempt to reclaim and restate historical "truth" in attempts to construct a different national identity. This can be clearly seen in postconflict countries that still have multiple opposition groups vying for power, such as Guatemala or Cambodia after the 1993 elections.

When the outcome of state control is not clear and violence continues, as in the case of Guatemala and Cambodia, governments take a more active role in con-

structing or withholding particular histories from school. This is to say, schools articulate a version of nationalism supported by the government that takes a particular understanding of historical "truths." In Guatemala, some schools have been "waiting for the revised curriculum [on the Conflicto Armado] for over a decade." In Cambodia, the history on the Khmer Rouge had line-edits by the ministry itself, detailing down to the date when the "execution of the Democratic Kampuchea" ceased. In these delicate cases where the fight over state power is fresh in the minds of citizens, controlling the language is essential. Such control was found in Israel, where Yogev did not find much change in the portrayal of the 1967 war in textbooks over 30 years. In cases with more stable linguistic communities like the United States, Faden found that teachers continue to teach the national curriculum even when they disagree with it.

Although the ideas of Breuilly, Balibar, and Anderson seem to be discontinuous in terms of the fundamental drivers of nationalism (culture or politics?) and the outcomes of nationalism (racism or not?), a combination of some of their ideas in relation to particular instances suggests that the modes of national construction in schools are deployed strategically by the state. "The present state" articulates nationalism depending on its political needs. For instance, Breuilly's emphasis on nationalism as politics opens space for the understanding of Balibar's insistence that schools are meant to form a "linguistic community," not as an institution that uses and teaches one language instead of another but as a community that articulates the past, present, and future in particular ways. The exact contours of the "linguistic community"—that is, the words and metaphors used to speak of a nation—are contested and depend on which nationalist opposition movement controls the power of the state. These messages can be found in textbooks and were, in Yogev's analysis, "overt and covert" in Israel.

Likewise, the community-exclusion dialectic within nationalism that Anderson and Balibar debated can coincide in "the present state" depending on the political environment. In other words, "the present state" can emphasize community or exclusion to different degrees within schools depending on the circumstances. Thus, by starting with Breuilly's conception that nationalism is politics, we begin to see schools as constructing strategic imagined communities or strategic linguistic communities, excluding and including various groups as is necessary to maintain power or when state power changes hands.

Breuilly, Balibar, and Anderson did not address, however, the contemporary transnational actors who influence mass schooling. No longer are the politics of nationalism only being fought among opposition movements to the state; now they include actors such as nongovernmental organizations, development partners (the United Nations, World Bank, etc.), and a mobilized civil society that focuses at times on nonformal education. For example, in Israel, nongovernmental organizations wrote a textbook that provides competing versions of history side by side. Freelance publishers even printed it. Although the ministries of education ultimately banned the Israel-Palestine joint textbook, it nevertheless is available to the public as an alternative historical "truth." That it was banned in Israel and Palestine should not be a surprise because such a historical understanding runs

counter to the linguistic narrative constructed to support the ruling party of each state. Nevertheless, the very "linguistic community" that schools construct thus faces the opposition of alternative linguistic communities from nonstate actors in nonstate institutions such as the family. Moreover, the political recalculations in Israel and Cambodia, for instance, often have to consider the international community. In the case of the 1967 war, most textbooks continued to construct the narrative in similar ways from the 1990s until the late 2000s. One book, however, was able to make students "aware of the choices that faced the government after the war and of its decision not to decide" by the late 2000s. This was seen as a major concession because it changed the language used to construct the history of the 1967 war from an inevitable war Israel was pulled into to one where the government had choices about how to act and react. The question to ask is: What changed inside the state government of Israel to allow for such a change to occur?

Schools are an important tool in the construction of nationalism. Exactly what is taught is a political process directed by the state in order to maintain power. Nationalism is not constructed in schools, but it is maintained by excluding particular words, people, and histories from a linguistic community. This often includes removing certain historical memories and privileging others in an attempt to construct a historical "truth" that is most valuable to the state at a given time. Thus, when Faden used the work of Patton to suggest that qualitative research has three roles—"making the obvious obvious, making the obvious dubious, and making the hidden obvious"—she missed, among others, the pairing of "making the obvious hidden." It is precisely the practice by governments to exclude particular conceptions of truth in textbooks that is crucial to our analysis of (re)imagining the nation, particularly after war. Who "knows" and can envision nationalism after war and what is not said? In the language of Zizek, what "known" becomes unknown?

Schools are therefore mechanisms of state power, and when state power changes hands, so too does the historical "truth" taught in schools. This political struggle is apparent in countries that have undergone recent violent histories and have not yet settled on a particular constellation of state power. In such instances, the linguistic communities constructed by schools constantly change and are contested by opposition state and nonstate movements. In a sense, a combination of the ideas of Anderson, Balibar, and Breuilly creates what can be called a "strategic linguistic community" whereby actors who want to articulate different versions of the nation strategically use schools to limit the language available to speak of and about a community, excluding and including certain people. Reimagining a nation inside schools is, therefore, a political struggle between different conceptions of the linguistic community.

NOTE

[i] My use of the term "state governing apparatuses" denotes the many different formations a state can take. Indeed, the countries under investigation here range in formation from republican in the United States to democratic-authoritarian in Cambodia. Like Karl Marx's understanding of the impossibility

of generalizing the "present state" across national boundaries, I too see the modern state as a "fiction" generally because it develops according to local context and cannot be conceptualized into a general theory of the state; however, there are *some* general characteristics and institutions of modern states, one being mass schooling. Thus, my focus here is the use of mass schooling and nationalism within the modern state, whereby the state is not an abstraction of all states generally but rather "the present state" within each geographic location.

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17. SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS AND THE STATE
OF THE STATE

Regardless of rumors to the contrary, the state, as indirectly seen through these chapters, would appear to be surviving, maybe thriving. This volume has considered ways in which school textbooks reflect what we have called the imagination of the nation in 14 national contexts. We have taken as axiomatic that school textbooks, especially in the identity-related subject areas of civics, history, geography, or in subjects that can be used in mobilizing and shaping identity, serve political as well as instructional purposes. The sample was purposive; cases were selected to reflect characteristic if not typical but clear and noteworthy examples of different representations of the national in the book. As such, the collection is less a presentation of what textbooks typically do as what they can do—and often do. In some sense, we looked for extremes, less to scandalize (though that is what often compels textbook researchers to analysis) than to see clearly.

Not surprisingly, these school textbooks presented a favorable, even valorous picture of the home-(father/mother)land. Given a choice between accurately descriptive and inspirational, textbooks often aimed for inspiration through aspiration, employing emotive symbols rich in meaning to readers. Textbooks thus seek to cultivate "emotionally attached, but potentially passive citizens with strong trust in their political system." (Bellino, 2013, p. 6) The Armenian, Latvian, and Ukrainian textbooks that Silova, Mead Yaqub, and Palandjian analyzed described a lush, rural, fertile land, largely ignoring the urban industrialized recent past. As in those cases, aspirations for the future often involve references to a (more) paradisiacal, often primordial past, sometimes calling for moves to recover the lost innocence of the past (see discussion of "Restoration" below). Where nation-states are (re)constituting themselves, there is, not surprisingly, an emphasis on the ancient roots of the nation and the deep connections between the people of the land and the land of the people. Sometimes, maybe often, the people and the land are romanticized, of course in terms evocative for students, their parents, teachers, curriculum developers, policymakers, and political leaders.

In doing this, the textbooks discussed tend to simplify. They tend to provide simple clear narratives often with a strong normative tone. There are often "good guys" and "bad guys." Inconvenient or ill-fitting details are often left out. The narratives presented in school textbooks are sometimes simpler than public debates (see Yogev's discussion of Israel) or private conversations (see Bellino's discussion of Guatemala) outside the school. Rather than seeking what might be described as a "constructive" cognitive dissonance to promote thinking and further

research, many textbooks seem to foster what might be called "cognitive resonance," harmony with the everyday social science or history that learners bring with them to school and continue to learn outside formal instruction.

School textbooks tend to be aimed at broad consensus or at least maximum lack of offense to interest groups it seeks to engage. This is not to say that textbooks are not controversial; there is a rich literature on "textbook wars." But much of the dullness of textbooks, at least in the United States, is that the rough edges that might have offended a powerful stakeholder group but also made for more interest, critical thinking, and discussion have been rubbed off. In contested societies, the social studies or history that everyone agrees on is probably not very interesting.

Does history change? At one level, the narratives found in these textbooks shift, in line, presumably, with changing political and social conditions. If one reads a nation's textbooks before and after a period of rapid change, it might appear that history has changed. Of course, as discussed, for history to remain authoritative, it must be presented as invariant and not constructed, as … true. If history is fact, then true history cannot change.

None of the textbooks made any mention of the interpretive nature of history, for example, or of social relations more generally. Some textbook revisions were discussed in terms of becoming more child-friendly (see Yamada's chapter on Ethiopia, for example), but only the PRIME project in Israel challenged students to write their own version of history based on their interpretations and defense of said interpretations of source material.[i] If there is but one truth, and the current version is true, then contradictory truths must be presented as false or suppressed.[ii]

Of course, deeper underlying master narratives do tend to change in conjunction with major political changes, when political elites seek to overthrow the past (see use of textbooks in post–Pol Pot Cambodia discussed by Ngo).

Still, some elements of an even deeper master narrative tend to remain in place across mere changes in regime, as hypothesized by Wertsch (2008) in relation to textbooks in Russia and the Soviet Union. These "schematic narrative templates," specific to particular cultural communities, tend to shape the understanding of historical information rather than be shaped by them. They are, in large part, impervious to data. If the U.S.'s underlying storyline is "reluctant hegemon," that narrative is likely to appear in relation to multiple cases and consistently over time, regardless of the particulars.

Thus, the textbooks discussed here have shown the tendency to (1) valorize the nation, (2) simplify the narrative, (3) change the narrative according to changes in the political environment, (4) hide and even mystify the fact that narratives are constructed and that they change, and (5) retain the deepest narratives, giving meaning to the facts in line with the storyline of the underlying narrative template.

DILEMMAS OF THE STATE WHERE THE TEXTBOOK CAN LEND A HAND

We have talked of common dilemmas or challenges facing the nation-state and of common strategies used to deal with those dilemmas. Not all countries face these dilemmas or challenges, but they appear common enough to be considered

somewhat inherent to the nation-state. Though hardly exhaustive, we identified 10 dilemmas (Table 1).

Table 1. Ten Dilemmas of the State (That Textbooks Might Be Able to Help Out With)

- How to legitimate the nation, the state, the government
- How to deal with an inconvenient past
- How to deal with moral complexity
- How to deal with a contested, unresolved, "active past"
- How to deal with ambiguous nationhood
- Whether (and how) it is possible to be critical and also loyal
- How to deal with internal contradictions, controversies, or discord
- How to mobilize popular commitment (to the nation)
- How to delimit the understanding of potentially dangerous words
- How to address perennial national "insecurities"

1. *How to legitimate the nation, the state, the government.* Legitimization is perhaps the single overriding challenge to government, the nation, and the state. It is instructive to see how countries did this and how textbooks were used in this effort. Since schooling is a function of the state, the existence of state-sponsored schools demonstrates the viability of the state. Similarly, textbooks, by their existence and use, help establish the viability of the school, of schooling, and of the state that organizes, writes, and provides them. The act of telling a nation's history helps validate the existence and viability of the nation. Still, in a world where social arrangements are contested and challenges dynamic, establishing legitimacy is an ongoing activity. Indeed, legitimacy can be challenged in many ways. In this volume, Yamada discussed the challenge of an ethnic minority–based political party establishing itself as a legitimate and democratic leader of an ethnically diverse society with a very short history of popular rule. A common task for new governments is to establish legitimacy in contested environments in contrast sometimes to the illegitimacy of previous or other governments. It is interesting to see how school textbooks are used in this process.

2. *How to deal with an "inconvenient past."* Illustrated in several chapters in this volume, countries often have periods in the past where national behavior contradicts the ideals of the nation. A persistent challenge is how those "inconvenient pasts," embarrassments, and moral ambiguities are dealt with in textbooks. Beresniova's discussion of Lithuania exemplified these issues. Other examples abound and will be discussed in Volume II—including the treatment of indigenous peoples in immigrant countries in the Americas and Pacific that embrace ideals of human rights, liberty, and self-determination, as well as the treatment of slaves.

3. *How to deal with moral complexity.* Closely related is the challenge of dealing with situations of moral complexity. Friedrich illustrated this dilemma in his discussion of Argentinian curriculum reform. In Beresniova's Lithuania, non-Jewish Lithuanians were both victims and perpetrators. Portraying such complexity

is challenging to a textbook writer seeking to provide a clear and unambiguous portrait of the country and to the leadership who would like an uncomplicatedly positive portrayal of the nation.

4. *How to deal with a contested, unresolved, "active past."* Yogev used the term "active past" to refer to the "position" of the 1967 Six-Day War in collective Israeli memory. It is part of the "active past*" "*because relations between Israel, the Palestinians, and the entire Middle East are an unresolved political, social, and cultural problem that goes to the very roots of Israeli existence." In such cases, it is difficult to write about such matters because they are not resolved or finished. The story cannot be written until there is sufficient agreement by various powerful groups within society to know what to say. This may be the reason that textbooks almost never discuss civil war until 20 or more years have passed.

5. *How to deal with ambiguous nationhood.* One of the obvious challenges facing leadership in countries with ambiguous national character or a multinational makeup is to specify the defining characteristics of the nation, be they boundaries, ethnicity, language, agreement, or law. How do you portray, mobilize, or call out to a nation when the makeup, boundaries, membership, or history of the nation is ambiguous? It is interesting to see how textbooks deal with this dilemma. Lithuania had a clear identity preceding its incorporation into the Soviet Union. The situation of the Ukraine reported by Mead Yaqub was more ambiguous. Hence, the greater need for national markers such as language and the legitimacy of land, people, and the primordial. Even more difficult is how to portray the nation when there is no historical nation on which to draw, as described by Dolive in her discussion of the construction of a national history of Turkmenistan by a single charismatic leader.

6. *Whether (and how) it is possible to be critical and loyal.* One of the great challenges facing insecure governments is dealing with criticism. All nations are challenged to deal with loyal criticism and critical patriots. The distinguishing line can be difficult to draw, especially under threatening conditions. It is helpful to see how textbooks manage this issue, especially given their general disinclination toward nuance and their aversion to live controversies.

7. *How to deal with internal contradictions, controversies, or discord.* Closely related is the challenge of dealing with controversy, contestation, internal contradictions, and discourse. The tenser the state and the more serious the threat, the weaker its conflict-resolving institutions and the more difficult it is to deal with public controversy or differences of opinion. In tense national contexts, national leadership and national textbooks must decide on a strategy—engagement, suppression, or deflection.

8. *How to mobilize popular commitment (to the nation).* When things are going well, most people tend to focus more on personal concerns than on loyalty or commitment to the national collective. Anderson's (2006) insight is that loyalty to and identification of a national collective is not natural and must be maintained through communication, shared rituals, and symbols. One of the great challenges facing leaders is how to maintain commitment and passion for the nation.

Textbooks sometimes play a role in maintaining and mobilizing such passion. Chia's chapter on Singapore illustrated this.

9. *How to delimit the understanding of potentially dangerous words.* Another great challenge that political collectives face is ensuring that learners and citizens alike have an "appropriate" understanding of important yet potentially dangerous words. This effort seems to be particularly important with words and concepts relating to liberation from constraint or fostering criticism of the existing order. Governments may want their citizens to acquire critical thinking in terms of entrepreneurial activity, for example, but not in terms of political issues. Yamada addressed how Ethiopia's civics textbooks emphasized patriotism, but to the nation as a whole rather than to ethnic constituents. Given the aspirational and inspirational ambitions of some textbooks, potentially dangerous words abound.

10. *How to address perennial national "insecurities."* Some issues come to represent something akin to national neuroses, be they structural in nature or acquired and reinforced historically. A small nation, for example, surrounded by large powerful neighbors might understandably develop a collective insecurity about its security. A prosperous nation with porous borders might worry about being overrun with immigrants. A multicultural state with differentially active demographic populations might worry about its identity. Such insecurities can be rich fodder for politicians seeking political advantage. It is interesting to see if and how school textbooks deal with national worries.

GAMES TEXTBOOKS PLAY: OBSERVED PATTERNS IN STRATEGIES FOR DEALING WITH NATIONAL DILEMMAS

Thus far, we have argued that nations often face certain dilemmas with frequent challenges to legitimacy, whether of the government in general or the particular actions of the government more specifically. All things being equal, such dilemmas and challenges are more likely to appear under conditions of rapid change. We have listed some of the challenges and posited that there are patterns of response to these challenges, that school textbooks are sometimes used as part of a response, and that textbooks reflect and, in some sense, expose these responses. In this final section, we attempt to name some of those responses.

It is important to restipulate that no response is necessarily or essentially understood to characterize a particular nation or people. Disagreeing with a fair bit of U.S. social science after World War II, for example, we would argue that Japan was *inherently* no more warlike than anyone else, though conditions and historical patterns led it to war. Indeed, if a simple tally of military interventions since, for example the Spanish-American War, were a good indication of a warlike nature, the U.S. would be near the top of the list. But of course national dilemmas and responses do not occur in isolation from previous strategies for dealing, and so habitual patterns do develop and persist. But these patterns are always subject to disruption, by events or through education.

We do not assume relativity on all issues. We take the normative position that an ideal pedagogical response to a national dilemma would involve opening up the

problem to students (rather than narrowing it down), engaging students in the complexity of the problem, and providing analytic and interpersonal tools to help them deal with the underlying issues. Many of the textbook solutions observed here simplify the problem, narrow or eliminate choices, in the process treating learners as passive recipients of decisions made and of understandings developed by wiser people at the center or top, rather than as active agents, potential problem-solvers, and participants in the social and political issues in play.

Against this lofty and mostly theoretical standard, we name some of the strategies we have seen textbooks adopt. We assign names to these strategies, in blatant imitation of the rather dated popular psychology book, *Games People Play* (Berne, 1964) (Table 2).

Table 2. Games Nations (and Textbooks) Play

- Exception
- Someone (else) did it.
- They're not like us; we're not like them (othering).
- We're special!
- Ignore
- How we suffered!
- Danger!
- Restoration
- We just don't talk about that.
- What a noble nation we are!
- Necessity
- Freedom doesn't mean you can do anything you want.
- If this is right, and that is different, then that must be wrong.

1. *Exception*. *Exception* is a strategy sometimes employed when a nation tries to explain past behavior that it currently finds abhorrent. Friedrich described attempts in Argentinian textbooks to explain the "dirty war" as an aberration to an otherwise democratic history. The problem with *Exception* is that too tight insistence on the exceptionality of past bad behavior can forestall possibilities for change, with little resulting understanding of how an otherwise democratic people actually did allow such a thing to happen. Some things are unimaginable, perhaps, but as Friedrich noted, placing a topic beyond inquiry, even if the objective is to prevent reoccurrence, is not a move in the direction of democracy.

2. *Someone (else) did it*. Similar to *Exception*, *Someone (else) did it* shifts the blame and responsibility to others, who are presumably less moral or well intentioned. As Friedrich pointed out, most Argentinians did not take direct part in the repression and violence. Collectively, however, they allowed it to happen, or at least it happened "under their watch." *Someone (else) did it* precludes inquiry into how "we" allowed it to happen.

3. *They're not like us; we're not like them (othering)*. At both individual and national levels, a common response to unacceptable behavior is distancing oneself

from it or "them," ascribing the behavior to others, or "othering," even if we are a member of "them." Ngo's chapter on Cambodia's discussion of the genocide in the initial decades following the fall of the Khmer Rouge illustrated this.

A common variant is the tendency to ascribe one's own failures as circumstantial while another's failures as character driven. I was late because of traffic; they were late because their culture doesn't value time. "Culture," theirs or ours, is given a lot of responsibility for oppressive practice.

4. Another variant of *Othering* is *We're special!*, somehow unique and qualitatively different from others, chosen, historically chartered or entitled.

5. *Ignore* is a strategy of ignoring or minimizing facts that don't fit the national storyline. The U.S. narrative of European-American dominance and progress allowed little room in school textbooks for empathetic portrayal of indigenous people. James Louwen (2007) characterized the dominant U.S. story as *We started out pretty good and we're getting better all the time!* Such a storyline allows us to acknowledge past ill treatment of native peoples—Now we know better! But it minimizes the damage done and allows for a displacement of responsibility.

6. *How we suffered!* can be a generally true (mostly the "we" speaking did suffer) but is often only part of the full story, a partial representation of a complex situation. In situations when a people were both victims and perpetrators, one strategy is to focus on the victimization, downplaying or ignoring the wrong that was perpetrated. This is the challenge Beresniova reported in Lithuania, where most Lithuanians suffered but where some also perpetrated crimes against the Jewish population. The challenge of the Holocaust curriculum was to raise that moral complexity just as the nation gained independence and sought to assert its national story and its membership in the righteous community of nations. *How we suffered!* keeps the issue stuck in a defensive past. Not surprisingly, *How we suffered!* is especially common among communities in conflict and is commonly observed with Volkan's (2006) notions of "chosen trauma" and "chosen glory."

7. *Danger!* calls a people to mobilize, put aside internal differences, and focus on eliminating the external threat. Often the threat is real, but the effects of mobilization, minimizing internal differences and focusing attention elsewhere, can be very useful to a government seeking to extract greater commitment from its people or to distract a people from internal questions, deficiencies, or issues that might otherwise be raised. Chia's case from Singapore illustrated the use of *Danger!* to mobilize commitment to the state. *Danger!* is a very common strategy for dealing with national challenges or internal dissent. American history textbooks now point out the use of *Danger!* to gain support for the Mexican-American War. We would speculate that sufficient time has passed that the spoils of that war are unlikely to be reversed and that the story is very much not "active," in Yogev's sense, in the collective U.S. mind and thus safe to critique. The trick is seeing *Danger!* as a game, as opposed to a real threat, in the present.

8. *Restoration*. A common political response to present unpleasantness is to call for restoration of an earlier purity, real or conjured. *Restoration* can be seen in Korostelina's discussion of post-Soviet curriculum, in the idyllic imagery of Armenian and Ukrainian readers, and in the created history of the Turkmen nation.

9. *We just don't talk about that*. There is the national manifestation of the elephant-in-the-room phenomenon, whereby people don't talk about a major issue taking up a substantial psychic space in the collective imaginary. After a period of conflict in which the underlying issues are not resolved and there is no decisive victory, people from different sides of the conflict may interact frequently about everyday things but not discuss the war.

Bellino's presentation on post-conflict Guatemala illustrated this phenomenon. While there are many potential ways to resolve conflict, providing no public forum for educating young people about a conflict whose effects remain quite visible leaves education about the war a task for informal "memory communities," who are likely to perpetuate rather than resolve the differences that led to conflict in the first place. Applicable to many issues, *We just don't talk about that* is a strategy used to avoid conflict rather than resolve it. Textbooks can contribute to this game by not discussing the national elephants in the room or just outside the door.

10. *What a noble people we are!* is probably less of a response to particular challenges than a general stance, common to many if not most school textbooks in the social sciences and history. *What a noble people we are!* reflects textbooks' tendencies to present one's own nation in the most positive light, particularly in terms of its aspirations and ideals. *What a noble people we are!* is most clearly seen in Dolive's description of a period in post-Soviet Turkmenistan. A common variant, *What a noble nation we are!*, can be seen in the reading primers Silova, Mead Yaqub, and Palandjian examined in Latvia, Ukraine, and Armenia and Mead Yaqub again in the Ukraine. A version of *What a noble nation we are!* can be seen in Faden's discussion of Canada, where it is featured to an even greater extent, it seems, than in the U.S.

11. *Necessity. Necessity* is used to justify unsatisfactory means "necessary to avoid" an even more unsatisfactory end. Faden's discussion of a U.S. narrative template of "reluctant hegemon" illustrated the internalization of *Necessity*. However reluctantly, the U.S. had to intervene, by "necessairty." Similarly, Korostelina's presentation of the development of history curricula in post-Soviet Russia demonstrated a case of *Necessity* in play.

12. *Freedom doesn't mean you can do anything you want* is used to circumscribe the meaning of "potentially dangerous words," discussed above. Yamada's discussion of the framing of "patriotism" in civic education textbooks in Ethiopia illustrated the phenomenon: "To develop patriotic citizenship is desirable, while patriotism to *ethnies* is to be strictly discouraged."

13. *If this is right, and that is different, then that must be wrong* is less a gambit than a stance regarding truth. Too tight a hold on one's own understanding does not permit other interpretations and tends to discount disconfirming evidence. A defensive mode, it tends to limit the inquiry and the development of a better understanding.

That school textbooks are political and have political uses should not be surprising. Still, following changes in school textbooks over periods of change seems to reveal vulnerabilities in the political façade and patterns of typical response. Our hope is that social studies and history textbooks can become one

public place, in school, where students encounter and work to address the very real dilemmas of the social and political order in which they live. To do this requires recognizing the social and political agency of learners; providing tools for analysis, reflection, and action; and trusting that the order can survive an onslaught of democracy and a generation of students who have learned to think well rather than correctly.

NOTES

[i] The PRIME curricular materials have since been disapproved for use in Israeli classrooms.

[ii] Dramatic changes in curriculum challenge teachers to make sense of their classroom practice. See Worden (2012) for a discussion of this and related issues in Moldova.

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