

(Re)Constructing Memory: Textbooks, Identity, Nation, and State

James H. Williams and
Wendy D. Bokhorst-Heng (Eds.)



SensePublishers

**(Re)Constructing Memory:
Textbooks, Identity, Nation, and State**

**(Re)Constructing Memory:
Textbooks, Identity, Nation, and State**

Edited by

James H. Williams

The George Washington University Washington, DC, USA

and

Wendy D. Bokhorst-Heng

Crandall University, Moncton, New Brunswick, Canada



SENSE PUBLISHERS
ROTTERDAM/BOSTON/TAIPEI

A C.I.P. record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN: 978-94-6300-507-4 (paperback)

ISBN: 978-94-6300-508-1 (hardback)

ISBN: 978-94-6300-509-8 (e-book)

Published by: Sense Publishers,
P.O. Box 21858,
3001 AW Rotterdam,
The Netherlands
<https://www.sensepublishers.com/>

All chapters in this book have undergone peer review.

Cover image by Richard Bickel (www.richardbickelphotography.com)

Printed on acid-free paper

All Rights Reserved © 2016 Sense Publishers

No part of this work may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, microfilming, recording or otherwise, without written permission from the Publisher, with the exception of any material supplied specifically for the purpose of being entered and executed on a computer system, for exclusive use by the purchaser of the work.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword to the Series: (Re)Constructing Memory: School Textbooks, Identity, and the Pedagogies and Politics of Imagining Community	vii
Acknowledgments	xi
1. Introduction: Palimpsest Identities in the Imagining of the Nation: A Comparative Model <i>Wendy D. Bokhorst-Heng</i>	1
Section 1: Who Are We? Textbooks, Visibility, and Membership in the State	
2. Are Mexico’s Indigenous People Mexican?: The Exclusion of Diversity from Official Textbooks in Mexico <i>Sarah Corona Berkin</i>	27
3. The Struggle to be Seen: Changing Views of American Indians in U.S. High School History Textbooks <i>Carolyn A. Brown[†]</i>	49
4. Normalizing Subordination: White Fantasies of Black Identity in Textbooks Intended for Freed Slaves in the American South, 1863–1870 <i>Ronald E. Butchart</i>	73
5. From Ingenious to Ignorant, from Idyllic to Backwards: Representations of Rural Life in Six U.S. Textbooks over Half a Century <i>Aimee Howley, Karen Eppley and Marged H. Dudek</i>	93
6. “Within the Sound of Silence”: A Critical Examination of LGBTQ Issues in National History Textbooks <i>Sandra J. Schmidt</i>	121
Section 2: Who Are We? Us and Them	
7. The Portrayal of “The Other” in Pakistani and Indian School Textbooks <i>Basabi Khan Banerjee and Georg Stöber</i>	143
8. Asian Bodies, English Values: Creating an Anglophone Elite in British Malaya <i>Adeline Koh</i>	177

TABLE OF CONTENTS

9. History and Civic Education in the Rainbow Nation: Citizenship, Identity, and Xenophobia in the New South Africa <i>Carol Anne Spreen and Chrissie Monaghan</i>	199
10. Re-Imagining Brotherhood: Republican Values and Representations of Nationhood in a Diversifying France <i>Travis Nesbitt and Val Rust</i>	219
Section 3: Who Are We? (Re)Negotiating Complex Identities	
11. Democratic Citizenship Education in Textbooks in Spain and England <i>Claudia Messina, Vanita Sundaram and Ian Davies</i>	239
12. Textbook and Identity: A Comparative Study of the Primary Social Education Curricula in Hong Kong and Singapore <i>Joe Tin-Yau Lo</i>	263
13. Reframing the National Narrative: Curricula Reform and History Textbooks in Turkey's EU Era <i>Kevin R. McClure, Bedrettin Yazan and Ali Fuad Selvi</i>	295
14. Vacuum in the Classroom? Recent Trends in High School History Teaching and Textbooks in Zimbabwe <i>Teresa Barnes, Munyaradzi Nyakudya and Government Christopher Phiri[†]</i>	323
Conclusions	
15. Defining and Debating the Common "We": Analyses of Citizen Formation beyond the Nation-State Mold <i>Laura C. Engel</i>	345
16. School Textbooks, Us and Them: A Conclusion <i>James H. Williams</i>	355
Contributors	367
Index	371

FOREWORD TO THE SERIES

(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

FOREWORD TO THE SERIES

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 supranational 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. Text-books 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 legitimize 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.

The third volume, *(Re)Constructing Memory: Education, Identity, and Conflict*, explores how states and other political spaces experiencing armed conflict and its aftermath conceive of and utilize education as a space for citizenship formation, mobilization of citizens, and forging of collective identity, as well as how teachers, youth, and community members replicate and resist conflict through educational interactions. It aims to theorize and illuminate the varied and complex interrelationships between education, conflict, and collective and national identities. Conflict and wars play a critical role in shaping national identity and intergroup relations—through the ways past victories are portrayed, defeat is explained, and self and other are identified. At the same time, schools play a formative role in the ongoing construction of the collective memory of conflict. Half of the nearly 60 million children out of school across the globe live in conflict-affected settings, some inhabiting states embroiled in protracted conflict and others forcibly displaced into conditions of asylum seeking and chronic statelessness. Still others come of age enduring the challenges of violent aftermaths alongside the promises of peace, democracy, and reconstruction.

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

It is a daunting task indeed to try to acknowledge the help we have received in completing this book. We must thank our contributors and publisher, for hanging in with us. Especially deep gratitude to Cindy Orticio, our copy editor, who has put up with more “hurry up and wait” than any human being should have to deal with. We must thank several dozen anonymous reviewers for their feedback and comments, which were extraordinarily helpful. We owe gratitude to the Dean’s Office of the Graduate School of Education and Human Development, the Sigur Center for Asian Studies, and the Dean’s Office of the Elliott School of International Affairs of The George Washington University for financial support. Finally, we must thank a generation or more of graduate students, who worked with us on this project. In alphabetical order, they are Sher Ahmed, Chizuru Asahina, Marilyn Hillarious, Karen Hopkins, Emily Koester, Natasha Kolar, Anne Laesecke, Asif Memon, Melinda Michaels, Alison Mills, Ebote Adiang Ngulle, Lindsey Peterson, Charles Prince, Genevieve Rowland, Sevanna Sammis, Anne Shimko, Krystyna Sonnenberg, Andrew Valent, William Webber, Rebecca Wong, and Kathryn Ziga. Chizuru in particular kept the faith. Thank you all!

WENDY D. BOKHORST-HENG

1. INTRODUCTION

*Palimpsest Identities in the Imagining of the Nation:
A Comparative Model*

THE PURPOSE

In his introduction to this series, Williams envisioned “comparative investigations of the deeper social and political ‘curricula’ of school textbooks in contexts” where, in the case of this volume, “membership or the relationship among members of the state has been challenged” (p. vii). One of the objectives of this comparative investigation is to gain insight into the social forces that have shaped the current era and that shape circumstances in individual nations by considering the dialogic relationship between school textbooks and sociopolitical forces. The authors in this volume are interested in the role that textbooks play in portraying the composition and identity of the nation and state. This discussion revolves around a two-part question: “who are we” (and “who are we *not*”) in terms of our official narrative and “who are we” demographically. The questions that Cornbleth and Waugh (1995) raised with respect to diversity and identity in the USA capture the essence of this discussion: the questions are “about what it means to be an American and which version of a redefined America should be passed on to the next generation” (pp. 4–5). Or, extending this beyond the USA, what does it mean to be a citizen of ___? Which version of a redefined ___ should be passed on to the next generation? Taking this further, what happens when that identity is challenged or threatened? Of interest, then, is how (usually) governments respond to these questions through textbooks, formulating “who we are,” in Anderson’s (2006) sense of “imagined communities” and collective identity.

Before turning the floor over to the authors and their analyses of these questions within specific sociocultural and historical contexts, it is necessary to ask how ‘the nation’ was initially imagined and what “social forces shaping our current era ... have challenged and changed that view.” Pertinent also is the need to determine how the concept of ‘national identity’ is understood in the first place. This introductory chapter therefore starts with a set of comments on the initial conceptualizations of and subsequent challenges to the notion of national and collective identity, focusing on the perceived challenges presented by ethnic diversity. In our contemporary era, these challenges have come especially through the sociopolitical forces associated with globalization. Globalization has had an impact on *who* we are, *where* we are,

W. D. BOKHORST-HENG

how we understand who we are, and *how we talk about* who we are. Each of these areas of impact is discussed in this chapter, drawing on the complementary theories of globalization and multiculturalism. This literature is used to develop an analytical framework to conceptualize the various responses that governments have had to the various challenges to their nation's identity. At the same time, this conversation also frames the focus of this book: textbooks' dialogic role in portraying the composition and identity of nation and state within a fluid reality. The chapter ends with a brief survey of the chapters in this book to orient the reader to this thoughtful discussion.

IMAGINING THE NATION AND GLOBALIZATION: INITIAL CONCEPTUALIZATIONS

Imagining the Nation

The concept of nation, in its original and technical use, has traditionally referred to people sharing common ancestry, born in a certain geographic location, and sharing certain cultural attributes. Joseph Stalin's definition of the nation would be a classic example, in which place and linguistic, ethnic, and cultural homogeneity converge to form a common national identity: "A nation is a historically constituted stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture" (as cited in Smith, 2010, p. 11). Raymond Williams' (1990) notion of the nation and national identity is primarily one of placeness: "'Nation' as a term is radically connected with 'native.' We are born into relationships that are typically settled in a place" (p. 19, as cited in Cornwell & Stoddard, 2001), whereas Anthony Smith's (2010) definition prioritizes the shared cultural and heritage components:

The continuous reproduction and reinterpretation by the members of a national community of the pattern of symbols, values, myths, memories and traditions that compose the distinctive heritage of nations, and the variable identification of individual members of that community with that heritage and its cultural elements. (p. 20)

In the definition of nation and national identity, there is also an 'us' versus 'them' component—'who we are' in contrast to 'who we are not.' Drawing again from Smith (2010), national identity "sums up the members' [of a national community] perceptions of difference and distinctiveness *vis-à-vis* other national communities and their members" (p. 20).

Distinctions have also been made between national identity and ethnic identity (Cornwell & Stoddard, 2001) and between civic identity and ethnic identity. For example, Ignatieff (1993) identified the civic nation as a "community of equal, rights-bearing citizens, united in patriotic attachment to a shared set of political practices and values" (pp. 6–7, 9) and the ethnic nation as a community based on "language, religions, customs and traditions" (p. 7). While it is useful to consider

these dichotomies in identifying the various conceptualizations of nationalism, the degree to which these distinctions can actually be found empirically in a pure form is rather nebulous. For example, Shulman's (2002) comparison of 15 countries reveals that Western civic nations are more ethnic than is typically recognized, and similarly, Eastern ethnic nations are more civic (see also Wimmer, 2002; Winter, 2011). He argued that because these broad dichotomies collapse too much into one definition, they ultimately lose their utility in identifying real distinctions between nationalisms. In response, he suggested three variants of what can be called "the content of national identity—factors that people in a nation believe are, or should be, the most important in uniting and distinguishing them from others and that become the basis for defining membership in the nation" (p. 558). He distilled from the literature defining components for each of these variants:

- *Civic* (territory, citizenship, will and consent, political ideology, political institutions and rights)
- *Cultural* (religion, language, traditions)
- *Ethnic* (ancestry and race)

Within *civic* identity, national unity and membership are derived from attachment to a common territory, a citizenship, belief in the same political principles or ideology, respect for political institutions and enjoyment of equal political rights, and the will to be part of the nation. *Cultural* identity is based on the nonpolitical cultural traits of language, religion, and traditions. And *ethnic* identity is derived from shared ancestry and race, which defines membership in the nation. Shulman went on to point out that these three variants also differ in their level of inclusiveness. For example, it would be difficult for so-called outsiders to meet the ethnic criteria, as one cannot choose or change one's genes or ancestors, but it is possible to adopt cultural traits and thereby be considered members of the nation. Within civic identity, it is possible to take on 'will and consent,' but 'attachment to territory' can be a more exclusive component.

Shulman's uncoupled scheme is useful to understand how multiethnic, multicultural, multilingual states fit in these imaginings of the nation. His various components align with different dimensions of the narratives of national identity, each generating a set of attendant questions. These are captured under the content of national identity in [Table 1](#). To Shulman's original list, I have added inclusiveness and conditions of diversity to capture the sociohistorical context within which difference has emerged, as advocated by McLaren (1994) and others representing the critical multiculturalism perspective. This list of dimensions and their associated questions is of course not necessarily comprehensive, and neither are all dimensions relevant in every context. However, it provides a way to begin to examine the dynamic and multifaceted nature of identity in fluid contexts.

The significance of these dimensions and the reason why these questions need to be asked has to do with the sociohistorical circumstances that challenge the nation's identity. According to Inglis (1996) in her policy paper for UNESCO, decolonization and the collapse of communist regimes have been the major forces propelling the

prolific formation of new states, many of which “contain within their boundaries significant ethnic minorities” (p. 8). While some minorities have been resident in specific regions for centuries, others settled or were deported to new states. There have also been changing patterns in global migration, with a rising share of international migrants now living in high-income countries such as the United States, Germany, and elsewhere in Europe (Connor, Cohn, Gonzalez-Barrerra, & Oates, 2013). And China has seen a massive internal migration with an ever-growing rural migrant

Table 1. Dimensions of national identity narratives

<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Some attendant questions</i>
<i>The content of national identity</i>	
Territory	To what extent does territory and connection to ‘homeland’ figure into national identity, membership, and the narrative?
Citizenship	How is citizenship defined? How does one acquire citizenship?
Will and consent	To what extent does individual will and consent play into national membership and identity? Or is the emphasis on collective identity?
Political ideology	To what extent does national membership and identity assume a belief in the same political principles or ideology?
Political institutions and rights	How is respect for a nation’s political institutions defined? To what extent is this respect required to be part of the nation? What is the balance between responsibilities/obligations and rights?
Religions	To what extent does a religion align with collective identity? How is the place of the ‘other’ defined?
Language	What is the place of language in the formation of national identity? What is the nature of language in the formation of national identity (i.e., linguistic homogeneity, multilingualism)?
Traditions	To what extent is national membership and identity premised on shared traditions?
Ancestry	To what extent is a shared ancestry assumed in national membership and identity?
Race	To what extent is a common and distinctive race assumed in national membership and identity?
<i>Inclusiveness</i>	
Level of inclusiveness	In which sectors are which individuals included and on what dimensions?
Nature of inclusiveness	To what extent are there assumptions about assimilation into a common identity versus a mosaic/separate identity?
<i>Conditions of diversity</i>	Is the diversity because of conquest/subjugation or because of migration/diaspora?

population (Ness & Bellwood, 2013). The change in political structure and such movement of people has resulted in major shifts in the demographic organization of populations and has brought to the foreground inter-ethnic relations both within states and across states. Adding complexity to this shifting postcolonial sociopolitical global landscape has been the increasingly powerful force of globalization, defined as an “increasing cross-border flow of goods, services, money, people, information and culture” (Held et al., 1999, p. 16). Even though its impact may not be equally experienced across the world, globalization has profoundly shaped and reshaped the current era. To mention just some of the rapid changes seen in past decades (see Smith, 2010), we are seeing increased economic interdependence, large-scale population movement, a high degree of time-and-space compression in which events in one part of the world have immediate effects in other parts, the rapid growth of global mass communications and information technology, and the growth of larger political units and cultural spaces, as seen for example in the European Union. The net effect with respect to nationhood and national identity is that globalization has had a direct impact on who we are, where we are, how we understand who we are, and how we talk about who we are. In fact, as Gundara (1999) argued, “Local transformation is as much part of globalisation as the lateral extension of social connections across time and space” (p. 24).

Globalization and (Re)Imagining the Nation

In the first place, at a very fundamental level, globalization has had an impact on the composition of *who* we are, demographically. Multicultural diversity has of course been the ‘norm’ for many societies for a very long time, and as we just noted, was further complicated by the development of new states in the wake of decolonization and the dismantling of communist regimes and the rise of ethnic nationalisms. However, over the past few decades, the nature and composition of diversity has changed, and even the location and borders of multicultural interactions have changed. Inglis (1996) identified the unprecedented increase in international population movements as “one of the major features of globalization” (p. 11)—seen in the increase in refugee movements (for example, the 2015 massive exodus of refugees across the Syrian border into neighboring European states), in the number of asylum seekers, in contract labor, and in permanent immigration. She described the changing global demographics as follows (and, because she was writing in the mid 1990s, this quote would be even more salient today):

Indeed, only 10 to 15 per cent of countries can be reasonably described as ethnically homogenous. States which had lacked substantial ethnic minorities now find that they are having to address issues of ethnic diversity and determine appropriate policy responses. In those States with longer histories of ethnic diversity, recent developments have been associated with changing relations between their long-standing minorities. At the same time, there is a need to

incorporate newer ethnic groups as a result of new international population flows, some encouraged, others unwanted, by the individual governments. (pp. 15–16)

The challenge is particularly felt by those new states that have recently gained independence (postcommunist, postcolonial), who have put most of their energies into establishing a viable political structure. While still in the process of formation, national identity is challenged and debated, caught in the tensions arising from perceived conflicts between ethnic and national identities. Examples would be Zimbabwe (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011) or Malaysia (Ibrahim, 2004), where ethnic identity and ethnic relations were superimposed by colonial regimes on indigenous identities and relations—all of which had to be renegotiated in postcolonial national identities (see also Gundara, 1999).

Second, globalization has shifted the meanings of *where* we are. That is, it has challenged the state as an institution and challenged the meanings and the very idea of the impermeability of national borders. Cox (2004) identified four ‘ideal functions’ of national borders: first, they demarcate the territorial limits of a state’s jurisdiction and authority, that is, the limits of its sovereignty and symbols of a state’s own territory; second, they regulate the movement of people, commodities, capital, and information between state territories; third, borders demarcate the spatial reach of a given set of citizenship rights and duties; and fourth, borders are instruments for classifying populations, providing a mental map of the geographical distribution of people who are defined in particular ways (pp. 2–3). Indeed, the degree to which a state is able to manage its borders is a significant measure of its strength as a state; those who cannot are deemed weak or fragile (Gundara, 1999; Rotberg, 2003). Many regard globalization as a force that redefines state functions and decreases state power (e.g., Hirst & Thompson, 1999; Holton, 2000). Some argue (rather simplistically perhaps) that because of globalization, national borders are rendered meaningless or even obsolete, ushering in a “borderless world” or “flat world” (e.g., Friedman, 2005; Fukuyama, 1992; Ohmae, 1990) that represents “the end of geography” and “the end of the nation-state” (O’Brien, 1992; Ohmae, 1995). Scholars such as Appadurai (1996) and Sassen (2009) made similar claims, describing contemporary cross-border connections in terms such as “deterritorialization” and “denationalization.” At a minimum, as Cornwell and Stoddard (2001) observed, “Nation as a place has been disjoined from nation as ancestry” (p. 3). And in its extreme, global economic forces raise the specter of a homogenous world culture, making the state—and hence also national/political borders—superfluous. Without necessarily subscribing to these views (see Cox, 2004 & Gundara, 1999 for a more critical discussion), they are raised to highlight the tension and instability around the meanings of national borders and states as being part of the broader context within which imagining the nation occurs.

But more importantly for this discussion is the impact that globalization has had on national identity and imagining the nation. That is, globalization has had

an impact on how people *understand* “who we are” as a collective. In the context of globalization, nations cannot (they never could, but perhaps more obviously so now?) imagine their communities without global reference and consequence. As such, the global/local nexus becomes an important contextualizing force for imagining the nation. In the words of Kellner (1997), “Culture is an especially complex and contested terrain today as global cultures permeate local ones and new configurations emerge that synthesize both poles, providing contradictory forces of colonization and resistance, global homogenization and local hybrid forms and identities” (p. 11). National identity, at the global/local nexus, is looking both within national borders and outside national borders, with deepened lines drawn between who we are and who we are not, who we are within the nation, and who we are as part of something larger than our nation. Alan Watts’ (1995) frequently cited quote becomes relevant here: “That for every outside there is an inside, and for every inside there is an outside, and though they are different, they go together.” In addition to going together, they also at times present tension, paradox, and conflict—particularly in times of crisis or insecurity. Gundara (1999) described the tension this way: “One of the main problems confronting national integration is the way in which state systems are being disaggregated by dual pressures of globalisation and calls for autonomy or devolution. Globalisation leads to extra-territorialization which detracts from the way in which nations can hold themselves together” (p. 23). The relationships between globalization and national identity are complex and interpretations are inconsistent. Think, for example, of the increased ethnies-nationalist conflict since the 1990s in the Balkans, the post-Soviet states, Africa, and Asia, all of which speak to the complex debates about how “who we are” is to be defined.

Ariely (2012) and Cox (2004) identified scholars who consider globalization a force that undermines national identity, and others who argue that globalization reinforces national feelings. On the one hand, globalization is seen to undermine national identity because “the cross-border flow of information makes it harder for any single national identity to retain its unique significance and distinguish itself from other national identities” (Ariely, 2012, p. 463). On the other hand, there are those who argue that globalization intensifies the need for national identity. Smith (2010) argued that the culturally diverse waves of immigrants has reshaped the meaning of national identity; this process ultimately reinforces the importance of national identity for the nation. Along the same vein, Calhoun (2007) contended that globalization has intensified the importance of people’s “sense of belonging” through national identity. This is illustrated by studies that demonstrate how national identity (especially its cultural forms) becomes a form of resistance identity in the face of globalization. For example, Ariely (2012) referenced Shavit’s (2009) study that found that young Muslims in Europe employ the Internet (a supposed tool of globalization) to facilitate relations between immigrants and their national communities of origin and to imagine the rise of a global and borderless or cross-border Muslim ‘nation.’

Finally, globalization has also had an impact on “*how we talk about who we are.*” As discussed earlier, one of the most characteristic features of globalization is the unprecedented increase in the international (and national) movement of peoples. Turner and Khondker (2010) declared that multiculturalism (as a diversity phenomenon) has been one of the most visible and contentious consequences of globalization. Indeed, today, it would be very difficult for most communities, including more isolated rural communities, to avoid any encounter with multiculturalism. The result is that more than ever before, national identity is a “shifting, unsettled complex of historical struggles and experiences that are cross-fertilized, produced, and transacted through a variety of cultures” (Giroux, 1992, p. 53). That is, increasing ethnic diversity across borders has changed the debates, language, and ideological parameters within which imagining the nation is defined. These debates are captured in the paradigm of multiculturalism, as an ideology and as policy. James Banks (1994), Bhikhu Parekh (1997, 2005), Carl Grant and Christine Sleeter (2007), Christine Inglis (1996), Peter McLaren (1994), Henry Giroux (1992, 1997), and Christine Bennett (2011), to name a few, have developed a number of frameworks and models to conceptualize the various debates and responses that pluralist states have given to ethnocultural diversity. Some of the common conceptual models are ethnocide, assimilation, segregation, integration, multiculturalism, and pluralism.

When applied to real communities, these categories are of course not rigid, and some situations share components of more than one model. The debates around diversity identity within individual states, and government policies, often draw on a range of nuanced perspectives to manage the dynamism and complexities of the sociocultural and political circumstances. However, these types are useful when thinking about the kinds of responses governments have had to the questions of collective identity raised earlier. In the next section, I present a typology based on McLaren’s (1994) “forms of multiculturalism” to systematically compare the different ideological and policy-based responses that governments have had to ethnic diversity and suggest how this typology, together with Shulman’s model of the content of national identity, can be used along various analytical dimensions. At the same time, this discussion foregrounds the question of how nations can develop a national identity that incorporates ethnocultural diversity within fluid sociopolitical and global dynamics.

HOW WE TALK ABOUT WHO WE ARE: RESPONSES TO DIVERSITY

Governments’ varied responses to diversity can be summarized in two broad categories (Figure 1): the first, in various manifestations, is a refusal to engage with diversity at all within articulation of the national agenda—*ethnocide*, *assimilation*, and *differentialist/segregation*; the second is various degrees of engagement with diversity—*conservative*, *liberal*, and *critical multiculturalism* (based on McLaren’s 1994 ‘forms of multiculturalism’), and a more recent form, *cosmopolitanism*.

Ethnocide

Ethnocide is the most extreme refusal to engage with diversity. According to the Oxford dictionary, ethnocide refers to “the deliberate and systematic destruction of the culture of an ethnic group,” or what Salmi (2000) termed “alienating violence.” The themes that emerge in Brown’s analysis in this volume of the portrayal of American Indians in U.S. history textbooks bear strong ethnocidal characteristics: the misrepresentation of American Indians in U.S. history, the use of language to portray American Indians as inferior, an emphasis in accounts of military history of American Indians as the enemy, trivialization of American Indians by including token isolated ‘hero’ moments, and an emphasis on American Indians in the ‘past tense’ rather than as current participants in the collective identity of the United States. The net effect of this ideological dismembering of American Indian history thus bears resemblance culturally to the objectives of ethnocide, dispersing their narrative and destroying the essential elements of community life that traditionally live and continue through narrative (Salmi, 2000). The story is similar with respect to indigenous peoples in Mexico, the focus of Berkin’s discussion. Berkin discusses how Mexican textbooks intentionally made indigenous peoples visible, but did so in ways that homogenized their diversity and redefined them as *campesinos*, constructs created to represent Mexico’s mythic origins and thus enclosing Indians within the mythic founding of the Mexican nation while excluding them from contemporary participation in the collective identity.

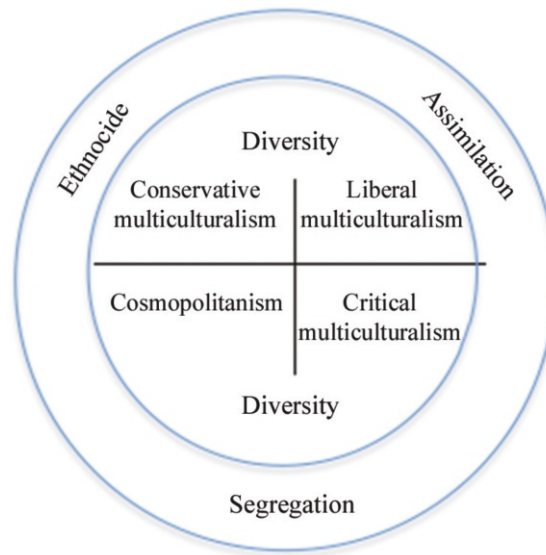


Figure 1. Responses to diversity

Assimilation

Assimilationist responses envisage full incorporation of ethnic minorities into society, requiring individuals to abandon their distinctive linguistic, cultural, and social attributes and embrace those of the dominant group. Assimilation has been referred to as a “one-way process of absorption” (Fleras, 2012, p. 13), with all minorities being expected to adopt the cultural values, practices, and identity of the majority. Newman (1973) expressed it with “the formula $A + B + C = A$, where A, B, and C represent different social groups and A represents the dominant group”¹ (p. 53). Dominant norms are presented as ‘normal’ and ‘correct/valid’ while all others are given no place in the national narrative or are at least understood as deficient. A softer version of assimilation is the assumption that diverse societies are more difficult, more complex. In discussing U.S. performance on international assessments, for example, U.S. educators often point to the fact that Finland, Korea, and Japan are quite homogenous, without the diversity of the United States, and as such have easier and greater success in meeting their educational outcomes. Although not a direct and intentional assault on diversity, assimilation has an equally lethal effect on ethnocultural diversity. The objective of assimilation is to transition all citizens (indigenous, immigrant, other “others”) into the mainstream. With full assimilation, it is argued, the bases for ethnically based conflict will be eliminated.

The kind of discourse used in such contexts is the continued rhetoric and notions of nationhood that emerged through late 18th century German intellectual influence, wherein ethnicity and language became the central, and even the only, criteria of nationhood (Hobsbawm, 1997). Assimilation versus pluralism has framed much of the discussion about diversity in the USA, as captured in the heated debate between Professors Asante and Ravitch (see Asante, 1991, one of the forums in which this debate occurred; see also Kivisto & Faist, 2010)—with assimilation and the “American melting pot,” rather than multiculturalism, dominating national ideology and national identity. In fact, in spite of the increasing realities of diversity, according to Winter (2011), the current global situation is characterized by a “return to assimilation” (p. 32).

According to Sleeter and Grant (2009), schooling has most often been based on the assumptions of assimilation. Assimilation is also the most common approach to diversity taken by social studies and history textbooks. Indeed, national identity based on notions of assimilation is a familiar theme in many chapters of this volume. Koh, for example, talks about how the British elite in British Malayan English schools instilled a sense of cultural belonging in the local elite, thereby ensuring a compliant group cooperative with British ideals and political objectives at the same time that it was quite clear that Malaysians, however elite, could never be British. The integrationist paradigm in France, as described by Nesbitt and Rust in this volume, is essentially assimilationist as well, with citizenship education being the forum by which the diverse population could integrate “into a single national culture

based on republican values.” Berkin describes the very explicit agenda in Mexican textbooks to Mexicanize the indigenous Indians. Turkish nationalism, discussed by McClure, Yazan, and Selvi, regards national identity as being exclusively Turkish and relying on Kemalist principles. The people of the Turkish state are uniformly named Turks, regardless of their language or religion, and the Turkish language is considered the nation’s mother tongue. While there has been much talk in South Africa about racial integration in schools, Spreen and Monaghan note that, for the urban middle class and elite, this integration has been almost wholly unidirectional, with the migration of ‘black’ African students into formerly ‘white’ schools, and with a concurrent shift from linguistic and cultural identities into a ‘new’ South African cosmopolitan identity, and thus it is assimilationist in nature. This is not the case for those attending township and rural schools, where the communities are the most ethnically, linguistically, and culturally diverse, suggesting an added layer of continued separatism in South Africa.

Differentialist

A third response is that of a *differentialist* stance, which assumes not only that cultural groups have distinct boundaries, but also that the differences between groups are such that contact will inevitably bring conflict. This response would be represented in Newman’s (1973) formula as $A + B + C = A + B + C$. In this model, conflict is best avoided through a process that eliminates or minimizes contacts with ethnic minorities, for example, through parallel institutions/pillarization (e.g., the Netherlands) or (usually a vertical order of) segregation (e.g., the USA, Apartheid South Africa, postconflict Bosnia). The spatial arrangement of schools (and other institutions like hospitals, newspapers, housing associations, etc.) operating within the *separatist* paradigm is such that different schools each serve more or less closed and relatively homogenous communities. However, as the Dutch experience also confirmed (with the Protestants still more powerful vis-à-vis the Catholics), this spatial arrangement of extended pillarization also usually means a power differential between different institutions and between the different communities. This model is evident, for example, in Koh’s description of ‘vernacular’ education in British Malaya: four different school systems based on the languages spoken. There was no attempt to develop a national collective identity; rather, the approach contributed to the British laissez-faire strategy in Southeast Asia as a strategic means to establish and maintain colonial power. However, schooling under apartheid in South Africa was of course clearly separatist and intricately tied to the nation’s identity. In fact, as Spreen and Monaghan discuss, there is a new form of separation in South Africa: middle class urban and elite schools that are assimilationist in nature and promote a cosmopolitan citizenship and the ethnically, linguistically, and culturally diverse schools in the townships and rural areas. An added layer exists as well related to the growing number of immigrants and refugees coming into South Africa. Spreen and Monaghan quote from Soudien, Carrim, and Sayed (2004): “New inclusions can

and often do produce new exclusions, as boundaries are redrawn simply to exclude newly defined Others.”

These three approaches—ethnocide, assimilation, and segregation—refuse at various levels to engage with diversity in the formation of the imagined nation and national identity and instead destroy, alienate, or submerge it. In contrast, the next set of responses, to varying degrees and with various interpretations, do attempt to respond in a more nuanced way and attempt to develop a more multidimensional construct of national identity. What follows is not necessarily an exhaustive list; however, it demonstrates at least some of the alternative responses states can have to responding to increasing socioethnic diversity within their national borders.

Conservative and Liberal Multiculturalism

The first of these approaches is that of *multiculturalism*. While only a handful of states have actually developed a multicultural *policy* as a means of organizing their ethnic relations (e.g., Canada, Australia, Singapore, Sweden), as an *ideology*, multiculturalism has become a powerful way to talk about changing demographics and what it means for national identity and for the role of people of different groups within the imagining of the nation. In fact, Canada has not only established multiculturalism as a normative approach to immigrant integration, but has made it an “essential part of the country’s nation-building ideology” (Winter, 2011, p. 16), a fundamental feature of Canadian shared identity. Multiculturalism has also provided language and a forum for those who have historically been marginalized or silenced or previously invisible to seek a greater role in the formation of national identity. However, as I have argued elsewhere (Bokhorst-Heng, 2007), there is no one single interpretation or model of multiculturalism, with different sociocultural and political contexts framing it in ways that support local contexts. For the purposes of this discussion, McLaren’s categorization of *conservative*, *liberal*, and *critical* multiculturalism is a useful matrix (see also Smith & Vaux, 2003; Williams, 2012)—not only to present some of the possible different types, but also to dialogue between them and explore the adequacy of these responses in developing a new understanding of national identity that can embrace ethnocultural pluralism.

The first of these, *conservative multiculturalism*, focuses on similarity, noting differences between groups but playing them down in favor of commonalities and a shared humanity. In some respects, this form of pluralism is not much different than the assimilationist stance discussed earlier. In the first place, according to McLaren (1994; see p. 49 for his full critique; see also McIntosh, 1990), conservative multiculturalism refuses to treat whiteness as a form of ethnicity, making whiteness an invisible norm against which all other ethnicities are judged. Second, conservative multiculturalism only gives lip service or a casual nod to diversity without challenging the status quo. McLaren cited the positions taken earlier by Diane Ravitch (1990) and Arthur Schlesinger Jr. (1991) in the context of the USA as illustrating this form of multiculturalism. Nondominant ethnic

groups are treated as “add-ons,” requiring acceptance of the dominant culture as the norm. Thus, while this approach does allow for difference, immigrant and indigenous cultures and identities remain excluded from the narrative, and a “multiculturalization of national identity does not take place” (Winter, 2011, p. 82).

Liberal multiculturalism places greater emphasis on differences and the unique characteristics of groups, and in a kind of celebratory way notes how different cultural attributes contribute to the nation’s rich diversity. This approach often comes with a preoccupied sense of “exotic cultures,” defined by “heroes and contributions” and a celebration of diversity as an end to itself. For example, liberal multiculturalism forms the basis of Canadian multiculturalism (Winter, 2011). It also underlies Kymlicka’s (1995) model of multicultural citizenship, a model that attempts to capture and allow for the plurality of identities through the layering of self, community, and national and global dimensions (see also Banks, 2004, 2008; Ross, 2007). However, while it does recognize difference, liberal multiculturalism has come under sharp criticism for actually reifying the existing social order, ignoring power differentials and historical context (Bokhorst-Heng, 2007; Day, 2000; Mackey, 1999). McLaren (1994) criticized those working within this perspective for tending to “ignore the historical and cultural ‘situatedness’ of difference” (p. 52) and for assuming there is a natural equality between different ethnic groups that permits everyone to compete equally in a capitalist society. In Bannerji’s (2000) words, this form of multiculturalism “obscures deeper/structural relations of power” and “reduces the question of social justice into questions of curry and turban” (p. 38).

In this volume, the principles of liberal multiculturalism are evident in Lo’s description of how Singapore’s textbooks present an assimilationist, supraethnic national identity, with only superficial notions of culture such as those comprising food, festivals, and contributions by the various groups to the nation. The diverse beliefs and values undergirding the different traditions and the tensions that emerge from the lack of socioeconomic or political equity between the groups are glossed over by discourses of meritocracy. Berkin’s analysis of representations of the Aztecs in textbooks highlights the limited portrayal of a heroic past, somewhat similar to portrayals of China in Hong Kong. Howley, Eppley, and Dudek’s chapter on rural America provides another perspective on liberal pluralism, at least in the way differences are acknowledged and then used/redefined within the objectives of the national narrative. They note two contradictory characterizations of rural people and ways of life presented in U.S. textbooks: ‘rural life as idyll’ and ‘rural people and rural life as deficient,’ both of which decreased and increased in concert with the changing meanings of nationhood and citizenship in the United States. The comparative study of Spain and England provided by Messina, Sundaram, and Davies found only superficial attention given to the nations’ diversity with respect to its role in the national narrative and collective identity. Although the textbooks discussed being a multicultural society and gave some attention to anti-racism, the authors conclude that at best they celebrated being a multicultural society without

any real interrogation about what that might mean and what challenging issues need to be considered.

Ultimately, these two forms of pluralism—conservative and liberal—don't provide much by way of interrogating how diversity can coexist with a collective identity. They continue to uphold the ideal of unity across difference for a pluralistic society and assume that the more diverse communities can establish 'sameness,' the more they will be able to agree and achieve national unity, national identity, and nationhood. There is no consideration of dialogue and engagement across difference. Furthermore, these models assume "different but equal" without considering power relations that underlie the mapping out of difference in society and politics (Winter, 2011; Young, 1989). On the flip side, these models still assume, using Ghosh and Abdi's (2013) words, that "equality is possible if sameness is achieved" (p. 169). Yet, the conversation about identity is much more difficult, and if fully realized needs to somehow examine and critique the relationships between the different players within the collective. McLaren's third form of pluralism, critical pluralism, provides a way forward and is discussed below. But first, the next section provides a brief overview of recent trends in the literature that focus on *cosmopolitanism*, a model that takes into account identities across borders.

Cosmopolitanism

As a response to the challenges of identity formation within a globalized world, *cosmopolitanism* attempts to allow for a more multidimensional and fluid definition (present-perfect-continuous tense) of identity, one that goes beyond the binaries of 'us vs them' (see Engel in this volume). Concepts like cosmopolitanism, internationalization, global citizenship, and global competency have emerged as ways to conceptualize citizenship with a more global and multidimensional framework. In 2009, *Current Issues in Comparative Education* devoted an entire issue to the questions of cosmopolitanism and education. In his discussion within that volume, Sobe (2009, p. 8) proposed two features of a "vernacular" cosmopolitanism that position cosmopolitanism within its cultural and civic dimensions:

1. Viewed as a question of identity and identity formation, cosmopolitanism concerns self-definition in relation to and in relationship with the world beyond one's immediate local conditions.
2. Viewed as a form of political action, cosmopolitanism can be seen as a strategy for locating self and community amidst local and global formations.

Along the same vein, Waldron (2000) defined cosmopolitanism as "a way of being in the world, a way of constructing an identity for oneself that is different from, and arguably opposed to, the idea of belonging to or devotion to or immersion in a particular culture" (p. 1). The emphasis is on identity as a fluid concept, rather than stable, objective, and closed.

While the notion of cosmopolitanism is important for the way it focuses on the dynamic nature of identity and allows for a multidimensional view of identity, there are also some limitations (see Vertovec & Cohen, 2002). Imre and Millei (2009), for example, writing in the context of East-Central Europe (Hungary in particular), noted that cosmopolitanism too is vulnerable to political forces and agendas and is used by those in power in instrumental ways, much the same way that nationalism has been. They argued that “the neo-liberal version of cosmopolitanism which privileges cooperation among nation-states based on an economic free market, is essentially positing economic cosmopolitanism as the best way forward in the post-Cold War period” (p. 76)—a view that they challenged. They also noted the one-sided definition of the positive qualities of cosmopolitanism in the literature. Their analysis thus points to the contested nature of cosmopolitanism and its embeddedness in relations of power, much in the same way as is evident in nationalist discourse.

Cosmopolitanism also tends towards idealism, with a slippery noncritical notion of the unproblematic multiple layering of identity. Nesbitt and Rust hint at this more critical view in their chapter in this volume, suggesting a view of brotherhood that activates all sorts of collective identities but that also critically examines the construction of whiteness as it relates to Frenchness. Their analysis also demonstrates how cosmopolitanism privileges the status quo and existing power relations. There is also something perhaps too vague about a cosmopolitan identity—one that, because of its individual nature, becomes so diverse and diffused that it does not provide that sense of ‘belonging to’ something distinctive and from which one can interpret one’s self.

And so there remains a need for a more critical understanding of collective identity, which is partially addressed in McLaren’s third form of multiculturalism, *critical multiculturalism*.

Critical Multiculturalism

Essentialized diversity is easy—people can exist in their silos and maybe meet at the cultural bizarre to exchange food and dress—but it doesn’t really provide much by way of engaging in national identity. And because of the essentialized form, by remaining silent on the sociohistorical, political, and economic conditions within which this diversity has emerged, there can be no meaningful engagement by those outside of the national majority and by those against whom there have been past injustices (see Bellino, 2013). It is not a conversation that those in power necessarily want, as it would make transparent their power and challenge their legitimacy. However, especially when considering the role of textbooks in (re)imagining the nation, a more critical understanding of multiculturalism is necessary to move towards a more just society. McLaren addresses this with *critical multiculturalism*.

Critical pluralism similarly recognizes the similarities and differences between people, but—and McLaren (1994) made the point emphatically—that “difference is always a product of history, culture, power, and ideology. Differences occur *between* and *among* groups and must be understood in terms of the specificity of their production” (p. 53, emphasis in original). Furthermore, critical pluralism also challenges the power relations that shape the ways in which differences across groups play out in the national arena. This view sees group attributes in light of differences in status, privilege, and power, which make the power lines transparent. What cannot be said, for example, or is fiercely resisted indicates a live cultural wire. Within the context of education, advocates of critical multiculturalism (e.g., Sleeter and Grant’s multicultural social justice education) seek to formulate action against social injustice.

According to Schmidt in her discussion of U.S. and Canadian textbooks with respect to the inclusion of LGBTQ in history textbooks, Canadian textbooks are moving in this direction, presenting a “celebration of the intersection of citizenship and diversity,” but also engaging students in a critical evaluation of the past, present, and future. In her words:

The narrative in Canadian textbooks recognizes that the threats to national unity change the sense of self held by the nation. As part of this, the Canadian textbooks recognize those eras, times when injustices were dealt to groups, as errors in judgment. These are taught as ways of thinking and being in Canada that are no longer valued or accepted. The textbooks allow judgments to be placed upon the national past in an effort to celebrate the narrative of a nation they want to share with students. This narrative teaches that unity and diversity are distinct to the extent that they can coexist ... [The] Canadian texts demonstrate how one can take a past wrought with inequality and struggle and be critical of it in hopes of creating a more tolerant citizenry of the present.

As noted earlier with the limitations of liberal multiculturalism, this is not to suggest that Canada has achieved the ideal model. As Ghosh and Abdi (2013) pointed out, while Canada was the first country to develop and enact a Multi-cultural Policy (1971, followed by the Multiculturalism Act in 1988), its impact in terms of ensuring equality for all peoples is negligible. And while multicultural education programs in principle give equal access to all ethnocultural groups, they have not resulted in equal participation in educational and economic spheres. However, similar to Obama’s narrative about the USA in which greatness is defined as recognizing past problems (rather than ignoring them) and working to overcome them, this is one example of the role that textbooks can have within a critical multiculturalism paradigm.

FINAL THOUGHTS

The typology developed in this chapter provides a way to analyze various dimensions of the responses governments have had to the questions of who we are, where we

are, how we understand who we are, and how we talk about who we are in the midst of changing socioethnic demographics and shifting borders. These responses occur at the different dimensions discussed earlier in Shulman's work and presented in [Table 1](#). Together, they provide a useful analytical framework to foster dialogue and further understanding of the complexities of collective identities in contexts where "membership or the relationship among members of the state has been challenged" (p. vii). All of these dimensions and questions operate in a narrative and discursive way in that they are also interpretive and dialogic; they dialogue with and interpret the past to rationalize present policy and identities and to influence future directions. It is useful to think of the interactive processes of palimpsest, a metaphor frequently used to describe the multiple and interactive layers of discourse and narrative. As described by Boggs and Golden (2009), citing Davies (1993),

[Palimpsest] is a term to describe the way in which new writings on a parchment were written over or around old writings that were not fully erased. One writing interrupts the other, momentarily, overriding, intermingling, with the other; the old writing influences the interpretation of the imposed new writing and the new influences the interpretation of the old. But both still stand, albeit partially erased and interrupted. New discourse does not simply replace the old as on a new clean sheet. They generally interrupt one another; though they may also exist in parallel, remaining separate, undermining each other, but in an unexamined way. (p. 11; as cited in Boggs & Golden, 2009, p. 211)

This model of narrative enables a comparative dialogue between the different responses governments have to challenges that come to their national identity as a result of policy change. Immigration policy, economic policy, changes in policies regarding slavery, policies with regard to globalization, and so forth have all dramatically altered the sociopolitical and demographic landscapes of the nation and have challenged traditional notions of national identity and citizenship. And embedded in the responsive narratives are the historical narratives. Because statal narratives are textual, a variety of discourse and narrative analysis techniques can be employed to gain understanding of not just what is said, but also of the nuanced processes of ideology formation and hegemony.

With this background and framework in mind, I now turn to the contributions of the various authors in this book.

THE BOOK

This volume is about the changing portrayal of diversity and membership in multiethnic societies and the role of textbooks in telling this story. As I have argued in this chapter, the responses that governments, schools, and the people give toward changing socioethnic diversity is key with respect to shaping the imagining of the nation. Of course, their voices are not the only ones, and the debate around the various possible imaginings of the nation is part of the story that needs to be

told. Furthermore, while governments in different nation-states differ in the degree of involvement they may have with respect to textbook content and adoption by schools, they are all involved. Williams articulated this in his foreward to the series: “In the matter of school textbooks, the state is always at the table, even if silent and unacknowledged” (p. viii). Textbooks are an important medium through which nation-states and political collectives articulate their imagining of the nation, the national identity that they wish their current and future polity to know, believe, and subscribe to. It is often a pleasant narrative, one with the rough edges rubbed off so as not to offend members. In the words of Schmidt in this volume, “The purpose of history is to unify the people behind a collective identity and narrative ... National history textbooks offer this narrative; they define what it means” to be a national citizen. The discussions presented by the authors are concerned with contexts in which the identity and legitimacy of the state have become problematic due to both internal and external shifts; they are concerned with challenges to the existing national narratives, the founding narratives through which identity is formed. Each chapter demonstrates how governments draw up one or more of the perspectives articulated in the earlier typology—ethnocide, segregation, assimilation, multiculturalism (conservative, liberal, or critical), and cosmopolitanism—articulated at the various dimensions identified through Shulmer’s matrix. At times, it is also possible to see in their positions the counterperspectives as well, the voices and debates to which the official narrative answers.

In their invitation to participate in this volume, authors were provided with the key questions that this volume sought to address: the role of textbooks in re(constructing) memory, in (re)imagining the nation. And so the authors’ contributions represent a variety of approaches and vary in the explicitness of their positions. Nesbitt and Rust, and Spreen, for example, base their analysis on a broad historical overview. In contrast, Lo presents an ideologically informed argument, critiquing the current limitations of social studies education in Hong Kong and Singapore. The analyses provided by Howley and Schmidt, McClure, Yazan, and Selvi provide a very close read, using the tools of discourse and content analyses, and put forward particular ideological interpretations of the data.

Section 1

The chapters have been organized into three main sections. In the first, *Who Are We? Textbooks, Visibility, and Membership in the State*, the conversation represents a range of contexts in North America, all of which involve the representation of peoples who have been marginalized, segregated, and denied representation in the imagining of the nation. The first two chapters have to do with how nations have historically represented indigenous peoples within the national agenda, and whether or not there has been change over time. They also offer analysis as to how the official narrative handles past injustices in the building of the national agenda and national identity.

Berkin's analysis of official textbooks in Mexico considers the various representations and misrepresentations of Mexico's indigenous peoples and their participation/exclusion from the official imagining of the nation. She asks the questions: What place is given to contemporary indigenous peoples within the nation's story? How do they appear, ethnically and linguistically, in the building of *Mexicanidad*? And how are indigenous peoples represented visually in the textbooks?

Also focusing on indigenous peoples, *Brown's* analysis of the changing representations of American Indians in U.S. high school history textbooks raises similar questions. Using the tools of content analysis, she examines the portrayal of American Indians in five historical eras within the imagining of the nation and addresses whether or not there has been any change over time. There is evidence of ethnocide and, at best, the 'heroes and holidays' approach to diversity seen in conservative and early liberal approaches.

Butchart's analysis focuses on two sets of textbooks—one widely circulated and one that never entered into circulation—written during the era of Reconstruction for emancipated slaves. He asks the pertinent questions: What sorts of identities were normalized, valorized, and sanctioned? What sorts of identities were anathematized? What sorts were nascent, silenced, or negated by their absence? The contrast between the two sets of textbooks makes transparent the strong currents of ethnocide brought about through overbearing assumptions of the rightness of white sociocultural norms and their imposition on identity.

Howley, Eppley, and Dudek turn our attention to rural representations in the formation of U.S. national identity seen in high school textbooks, noting the tendency to move rural people and ways of life from a central position in the American ethos to a marginal one as the nation moved towards greater industrialization, consumerism, and globalization.

Finally, *Schmidt's* chapter examines the inclusion of LGBTQ issues in national textbooks in the United States and Canada. Her introductory comments are thought provoking: "The original proposal for a chapter on sexuality in textbooks was 20 blank pages," but then she concludes that she wants "to look deeper into the absence and the silence rather than to simply iterate it."

What is significant in all of these accounts is the very strong counternarrative that the marginalized groups presented; each of them offered very strong representations of their own identity in contrast to that of the dominant group. As summarized by Howley and her colleagues, these indigenous narratives "might encode meaningful alternatives to dominant ideologies."

Section 2

The second section, *Who Are We? Us and Them*, includes four chapters covering Pakistan and India, new South Africa, British Malaya, and France. In each of these chapters, questions around national identity and imagining the nation were heightened as a result of pivotal/nodal moments in history.

In the first chapter, the partition between Pakistan and India defined a schism between the two states' philosophical, political, and religious positions. Furthermore, and in part because of the enormous shifts in population, internal dynamics on both sides of the border were also volatile. *Khan Banerjee and Stöber* look at the presentation of 'the other' in Indian and Pakistani social studies textbooks, focusing especially on the depiction of the neighbor and on developments toward partition, which, they argue, explicitly reflects Indo-Pakistani relations.

In the second chapter, *Koh* develops a critical position with respect to the role of colonial English education in British Malaya, looking at how textbooks were used to create a compliant elite through the juxtaposition of local elements with English values. Her analysis is premised on Althusser's theories of ideology and in particular what Althusser calls the "ideological state apparatuses" through which state institutions (of which education and textbooks are a part) propagate certain ideologies and ways of understanding the world and, ultimately, certain social relationships.

Spreeen and Monaghan provide an overview of history and civic education in "new South Africa," framed by the question: "Why has the transition from apartheid to the 'Rainbow Nation' rather than promote greater equality and social justice instead proven fertile ground for xenophobia?" They include in the discussion an argument for how critical citizenship education can be a means by which to build solidarity and an inclusive sense of South African identity and society.

Finally, the focus of *Nesbitt and Rust's* chapter is the notion of "brotherhood" in France as a lens through which to examine representations of nationhood in high school history textbooks. They examine the evolution of this national master narrative as it is presented in French textbooks through three periods: the birth of the republic, colonization and decolonization, and contemporary. This broad historical overview, "focusing on how different people and groups are portrayed as fitting into or being excluded from the French 'brotherhood,'" can lead to insight on how nationhood has evolved in France.

Section 3

The third section, titled *Who Are We? (Re)negotiating Complex Identities*, includes chapters that relate to significant regional and global challenges to national identity, requiring the state to not only respond to changing socioethnic demographics within their national borders but also respond to them in the context of broader and dramatic changes outside of their borders.

Messina, Sundaram, and Davies develop reflections on citizenship education as portrayed in a sample of textbooks in Spain and England. Both countries are members of the European Union, and both have in recent decades become hosts for an increasing and increasingly diverse range of peoples, with the result of active debates in both nations about ethnicity and immigration. They ask: What sort of society is proposed? What is the role of a citizen in such a society? How should

education prepare a citizen for that role? In this comparative analysis, they analyze debates about citizenship and citizenship education in relation to three key areas: knowledge, active participation in civic life, and commitment to pluralism.

Also employing a comparative analysis, *Lo* examines primary social education curricula in Hong Kong and Singapore, locating both of them within the global/local nexus, and how governments attempt to manage the perceived “corrosive impact of global (mainly Western) culture” through reviving local and traditional values. In his analysis, Lo considers how textbooks articulate sociopolitical identity and citizenship with respect to rights, responsibilities, memberships/identities, and participation and develops his ideological position with respect to effective social studies education and the imagining of the nation.

Using elements of discourse analysis, *McClure, Yazan, and Selvi* analyze high school history textbooks before and after Turkey’s 2004–2005 curricula reform within the context of the nation’s broader negotiations regarding membership in the European Union. They seek to determine whether and how history textbooks have changed regarding their conceptualization of the nation-state, the definition of national identity, and the treatment of religious and linguistic minorities.

Finally, *Barnes, Nyakudya, and Phiri* provide an analysis of recent trends in high school history teaching and textbooks in Zimbabwe. Their argument is a response to Ranger’s (2004) declaration that a noncritical “patriotic history”—one that glorifies the Zimbabwe African Union-Patriotic Front through selectively promoting its own contributions to change and simultaneously silencing others—characterizes the contemporary history curriculum and textbooks. They interview teachers and analyze O-level history examination papers and two contemporary high school history textbooks, looking at the role and extent of patriotic history in the portrayal of national history. In contrast to Ranger’s characterization, they argue that some teachers have found ways to construct critical historical interpretations of their nation’s past. Like the contributions in the first section, these critical interpretations of the nation’s history provide (using Howley et al.’s words) “meaningful alternatives to dominant ideologies.”

I invite you to join these authors in exploring these questions: What does it mean to be a citizen of ___? Which version of a redefined ___ should be passed on to the next generation? And, what happens when that identity is challenged or threatened? What is the role of textbooks in articulating these questions, and what answers do they give? In the concluding chapter, these questions and models are revisited to consider whether or not the conversations lead to new understandings, new conceptualizations of identity within the global and national complexities presented by shifting sociohistorical contexts.

NOTE

¹ If we extend Newman’s formulaic expression to our previous discussion of ethnocide, it could be expressed as $A - B - C = A$, whereby A is the elimination of difference.

WORKS CITED

- Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Brooklyn, NY: Verso.
- Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Ariely, G. (2012). Globalisation and the decline of national identity? An exploration across sixty-three countries. *Nations and Nationalism*, 18(3), 461–482. doi:10.1111/j.1469-8129.2011.00532.x
- Asante, M. K. (1991). Multiculturalism: An exchange. *American Scholar*, 60(2), 267–277.
- Banks, J. A. (1994). *Multicultural education: Theory and practice* (3rd ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Banks, J. A. (Ed.). (2004). *Diversity and citizenship education: Global perspectives*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Banks, J. A. (2008). Diversity, group identity, and citizenship education in a global age. *Educational Researcher*, 37(3), 129–139.
- Bannerji, H. (2000). *The dark side of the nation: Essays on multiculturalism, nationalism and gender*. Toronto, Canada: Canadian Scholars' Press.
- Bellino, M. (2013). *What kind of history, for what kind of citizen?* (Dialogues on Historical Justice and Memory Network Working Paper Series, No. 1). Boston, MA: Harvard University.
- Bennett, C. I. (2011). *Comprehensive multicultural education: Theory and practice* (7th ed.). Boston, MA: Pearson.
- Boggs, M., & Golden, F. (2009). Insights: Literary memories of preservice teachers self-reported categories of impact. *Reading Matrix*, 9(2), 211–223. Retrieved from http://www.readingmatrix.com/articles/sept_2009/boggs_golden.pdf
- Bokhorst-Heng, W. D. (2007). Multiculturalism's narratives in Singapore and Canada: Exploring a model for comparative multiculturalism and multicultural education. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 39(6), 629–658.
- Calhoun, C. J. (2007). *Nations matter: Culture, history, and the cosmopolitan dream*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Connor, P., Cohn, D., Gonzalez-Barrera, A., & Oates, R. (2013). *Changing patterns of global migration and remittances*. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center. Retrieved from http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/files/2013/12/global-migration-final_12-2013.pdf
- Cornbleth, C., & Waugh, D. (1995). *The great speckled bird: Multicultural policies and education policymaking*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Cornwell, G. H., & Stoddard, E. W. (2001). *Global multiculturalism: Comparative perspectives*. Oxford, UK: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Cox, L. (2004). *Border lines: Globalisation, de-territorialisation and the reconfiguring of national boundaries*. Paper presented at the conference of the Centre for Research on Social Inclusion, North Ryde, NSW. Retrieved from www.researchonline.mq.edu.au/vital/access/manager/Repository/mq:6407
- Day, R. J. F. (2000). *Multiculturalism and the history of Canadian diversity*. Toronto, Canada: Toronto University Press.
- Fleras, A. (2012). *Unequal relations: An introduction to race, ethnic, and aboriginal dynamics in Canada*. Toronto, Canada: Pearson.
- Friedman, T. L. (2005). *The world is flat: A brief history of the twenty-first century*. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Fukuyama, F. (1992). *The end of history and the last man*. New York, NY: Avon Books.
- Ghosh, R., & Abdi, A. (2013). *Education and the politics of difference* (2nd ed.). Toronto, Canada: Canadian Scholar's Press.
- Giroux, H. A. (1992). National identity and the politics of multiculturalism. *College Literature*, 22(2), 42–57.
- Giroux, H. A. (1997). Insurgent multiculturalism and the promise of pedagogy. In H. Giroux (Ed.), *Pedagogy and the politics of hope: Theory, culture, and schooling. A critical reader*. Boulder, CO: Westview.

- Grant, C. A., & Sleeter, C. E. (2007). *Making choices for multicultural education: Five approaches to race, class and gender* (7th ed.). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.
- Gundara, J. (1999). Linguistic diversity, globalisation and intercultural education. In J. L. Bianco, A. J. Liddicoat, & C. Crozet (Eds.), *Striving for the third place: Intercultural competence through language education* (pp. 23–42). Melbourne, Australia: Language Australia.
- Held, D., McGrew, A., Goldblatt, D., & Perraton, J. (1999). *Global transformations*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Hirst, P. Q., & Thompson, G. (1999). *Globalization in question: The international economy and the possibilities of governance*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Hobsbawm, E. (1997). *On history*. New York, NY: New Press.
- Holton, R. (2000). Globalization's cultural consequences. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 570(1), 140–152.
- Ibrahim, Z. (2004). Globalization and national identity: Managing ethnicity and cultural pluralism in Malaysia. In Y. Sato (Ed.), *Growth and governance in Asia* (pp. 115–136). Honolulu, HI: Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies.
- Ignatieff, M. (1993). *Blood and belonging: Journeys into the new nationalism*. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.
- Imre, R. J., & Millei, Z. (2009). Smashing cosmopolitanism: The neo-liberal destruction of cosmopolitan education in East-Central Europe. *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, 12(1), 76–85.
- Inglis, C. (1996). *Multiculturalism: New policy responses to diversity* (Policy Paper No. 4). Paris, France: UNESCO MOST. Retrieved from <http://www.unesco.org/most/pp4.htm>
- Kellner, D. (1997). *Globalization and the postmodern turn* (Unpublished manuscript). University of California, Los Angeles, CA.
- Kivisto, P., & Faist, T. (2010). *Beyond a border: The causes and consequences of contemporary immigration*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Kymlicka, W. (1995). *Multicultural citizenship: A liberal theory of minority rights*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Mackey, E. (1999). *The house of difference: Cultural politics and national identity in Canada*. London, UK: Routledge.
- McIntosh, P. (1990). White privilege: Unpacking the invisible knapsack. *Independent School*, 49(2), 31–36.
- McLaren, P. (1994). White terror and oppositional agency: Towards a critical multiculturalism. In D. T. Goldberg (Ed.), *Multiculturalism: A critical reader* (pp. 45–74). Boston, MA: Blackwell.
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2011). *The Zimbabwean nation-state project: A historical diagnosis of identity and power-based conflicts in a postcolonial state* (Discussion Paper 50). Uppsala, Sweden: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
- Ness, I., & Bellwood, P. (2013). *The encyclopedia of global human migration* (5-volume set). New York, NY: John Wiley and Sons.
- Newman, W. N. (1973). *A study of minority groups and social theory*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.
- O'Brien, R. (1992). *Global financial integration: The end of geography*. New York, NY: Council on Foreign Relations Press.
- Ohmae, K. (1990). *The borderless world: Power and strategy in the interlinked economy*. New York, NY: Harper Business.
- Ohmae, K. (1995). *The end of the nation-state: The rise of regional economies*. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Parekh, B. (1997). National culture and multiculturalism. In K. Thompson (Ed.), *Media and cultural regulation* (pp. 163–194). London, UK: Sage.
- Parekh, B. (2005). *Rethinking multiculturalism: Cultural diversity and political theory* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ranger, T. (2004). Nationalist historiography, patriotic history and the history of the nation: The struggle for the past in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30, 215–234.
- Ravitch, D. (1990). Multiculturalism: E pluribus plures. *The American Scholar*, 59(3), 337–354.

W. D. BOKHORST-HENG

- Ross, A. (2007). Multiple identities and education for active citizenship. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 55(3), 286–303.
- Rotberg, R. I. (2003). *When states fail: Causes and consequences*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Salmi, J. (2000). *Violence, democracy, and education: An analytical framework* (LCSHD Paper Series, No. 56). Washington, DC: World Bank. Retrieved from <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2000/02/692921/violence-democracy-education-analytical-framework>
- Sassen, S. (2009). Incompleteness and the possibility of making: Towards denationalized citizenship? *Political Power and Social Theory*, 20, 229–258.
- Schlesinger, A. M., Jr. (1991). *The disuniting of America: Reflections on a multicultural society*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton.
- Shulman, S. (2002). Challenging the civic/ethnic and West/East dichotomies in the study of nationalism. *Comparative Political Studies*, 35(5), 554–585.
- Sleeter, C. E., & Grant, C. A. (2009). *Making choices for multicultural education: Five approaches to race, class, and gender* (6th ed.). Danvers, MA: John Wiley.
- Smith, A., & Vaux, T. (2003). *Education, conflict and international development*. London, UK: Department for International Development. Retrieved from <http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/sd29.pdf>
- Smith, A. D. (2010). *Nationalism*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Sobe, N. W. (2009). Rethinking ‘cosmopolitanism’ as an analytic for the comparative study of globalization and education. *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, 12(1), 1–20.
- Turner, B. S., & Khondker, H. H. (2010). *Globalization East and West*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Vertovec, S., & Cohen, R. (Eds.). (2002). *Conceiving cosmopolitanism: Theory, context, and practice*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Waldron, J. (2000). What is a cosmopolitan? *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 8(2), 227–244.
- Watts, A. (1995). *Om—creative meditations*. Berkeley, CA: Celestial Arts.
- Williams, J. (2012). Identity, school textbooks, and rebuilding memory. In J. Banks (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of diversity in education* (pp. 1119–1123). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. doi:10.4135/9781452218533.n352
- Williams, J. (2014). Foreword. (Re)constructing memory: School textbooks, identity, and the pedagogies and politics of imagining community. In J. Williams (Ed.), *(Re)constructing memory: School textbooks and the imagination of the nation* (pp. vii–x). Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers.
- Wimmer, A. (2002). *Nationalist exclusion and ethnic conflict: Shadows of modernity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Winter, E. (2011). *Us, them and others: Pluralism and national identity in diverse societies*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.
- Young, I. M. (1989). Polity and group difference: A critique of the ideal of universal citizenship. *Ethics*, 99, 250–274.

Wendy D. Bokhorst-Heng
Crandall University
Moncton, New Brunswick, Canada

SECTION 1

**WHO ARE WE? TEXTBOOKS, VISIBILITY, AND
MEMBERSHIP IN THE STATE**

SARAH CORONA BERKIN

2. ARE MEXICO'S INDIGENOUS PEOPLE MEXICAN?

The Exclusion of Diversity from Official Textbooks in Mexico

The story of the Mexican nation, like that of many modern nations, involves the development of a national identity based on a manufactured ethnicity. A national community is produced when individuals project themselves onto, and recognize themselves in, a common national narrative that appears to be a legacy from time immemorial in spite of having been fabricated in the recent past. To be “national,” a population should make the tale of common ethnicity its own, representing itself as if it were a natural community with primordial origins, a homogenous culture, and shared group needs. For the sake of inclusiveness and unity, Mexico presents itself as a community with common origins, culture, and interests that transcend individuals and social conditions. This imagined collective national identity is captured in the notion of *mexicanidad*, a concept that stems from 19th-century independence movements.

Mexicanidad is a deliberate attempt to produce a uniquely Mexican identity different from the Spanish identity associated with colonial power. It can be defined as the synthesis of indigenous and Spanish cultures, and it comprises symbols, designed to bolster Mexican nationalism, constructed during the 19th and 20th centuries. The Mexican government, especially the Ministry of Public Education (Secretaría de Educación Pública, or SEP), has played a central role in unifying the nation around *mexicanidad*. It has done this by developing specific policies and creating associated symbols, particularly around notions of a common national language and the portrayal of a common race. These two methods function together to “naturalize” the nation’s origins.

But although *mexicanidad* was constructed in contrast to Spanish colonial identity and presented as a more authentic national identity, the indigenous peoples often do not subscribe to this concept of what it is to be Mexican. Wixárika (Huichol) Professor Carlos Salvador noted that the Wixáritari people were on the land now called Mexico well before the “Mexicans,” who are defined by the national state as *mestizos*—a collective term that attempts to include those of mixed Aztec and Spanish heritage. Wixáritari Indians do not share this national history; their past is neither Spanish nor Aztec (the community’s elders, in fact, point out that the Aztecs were their enemies), nor is Spanish their mother tongue. Of interest to me in this chapter is the nation-state and the place of indigenous peoples in this “fictitious

ethnicity” (Balibar, 1996) of *mexicanidad*. Looking at textbooks published by SEP that are required reading for all Mexican children, I asked: What place is given to contemporary indigenous peoples within the nation’s story? How do they appear in the words of the text, ethnically and linguistically, in the building of *mexicanidad*? And what does an indigenous person look like in the photos and illustrations in these Mexican textbooks?

CONTEXT

Mexico has 110 million inhabitants, 10% of whom speak one of the country’s 64 existing indigenous languages.¹ The majority Mexican population is defined as *mestizo*. The principle of a racially mixed Mexico began to spread officially in the 19th century and was most definitively formulated following the Mexican Revolution. National independence was achieved in 1821, brought about by the *criollos*, who were born on American soil and had fewer rights during the colonial era than did the *peninsulares*, those born in Spain. Upon gaining independence, and wishing to distance themselves even more from Spain, the *criollos* adopted a new view of the population. The new Mexicans with rights over Mexican lands would from then on be *mestizos*, defined by the richness of the two cultures present on national soil, Aztec and Spanish.

Some historical understanding of the idea of *mestizos* as a cultural group might be helpful. The term *mestizaje* describes the result of a violent encounter of different races and cultures when the Spanish arrived in the Americas, imposing their culture upon the indigenous peoples they sought to dominate and marginalizing indigenous cultures. Though this was a painful encounter, both Spanish and indigenous cultures influenced each other, generating *mestizaje*, a mixture, a new race and culture.

By the end of the 1910 revolution, the state had begun to institutionalize the *mestizaje* concept. The objective was to serve the modernizing policies of the 20th century, which included efforts to “modernize” the indigenous peoples. The various governments in Mexico have always regarded the indigenous people as “a problem” in building national identity and spurring economic development. Indigenous peoples are not modern, are not productive in the capitalist way, fight for their territories, and keep their own culture, rituals, religions, and languages. They had been regarded as the most “backward” segment of the population, with social forms that were communal and retrogressive. Thus, educating them as *mestizos* and teaching them to become literate in Spanish—trying to get them to forget their languages and traditions and to integrate them into the imagined *mestizo* nation—was seen as a solution. At the same time, it has also been useful to the imagining of the nation to include the indigenous antique culture as heritage, to transform their culture into a mythical past.

During the post-revolutionary period, many prominent thinkers argued that Mexican culture did not need to imitate European culture to become universal. Instead, Mexican culture should explore the constants of humanity from a *mestizo*

perspective. This vision deeply influenced arts, literature, and education, rapidly becoming the state's cultural project. José Vasconcelos, Secretary of Education from 1922 to 1924 and a proponent of these ideas, dubbed Mexico's *mestizo* race a "cosmic" or "bronze" race that could bridge both cultures, and he even argued that the *mestizos* were the race of the future. However, indigenous peoples were left out or made invisible in this nation-building project. De la Peña (2011) explained their situation in Mexico:

The nineteenth-century liberal project proposed that Mexican identity was incompatible with an Indian identity. The revolutionary nationalist project accepted compatibility as long as indigenous culture was incorporated into the strong current of *mestizaje*, defined ideally as a seamless unity. But both projects were questioned by ethnic movements, and since the 1970s, by anthropologists following Marxist and multilineal evolutionist schools. (pp. 92–93)

The liberal vision that advocated republican equality, social justice, acculturation, and integration was superimposed on multicultural diversity. In large measure, *mestizaje* as biocultural ideology was promoted by homogeneous nationalistic education for all Mexicans since 1921.

While the Constitution, national literature, and cultural and media production are also means for constructing the notion of nation, public education policies are a particularly advantageous "place" in which to study the nation's two primary ethnic components, race and language. Textbooks are especially revealing. Since 1959, under a program called *Libros de Texto Gratuitos*, the Ministry of Education has distributed free textbooks to all Mexican children. It is the only program of its kind in the world. The textbooks are all the same and are required to be used by all Mexican children from first through sixth grades. In 2009, Mexico celebrated the 50th anniversary of the program. Since its inception, the program has published and distributed 5 billion free textbooks in Mexico. The widespread dissemination and use of these textbooks is significant, as they embody the interests of leadership in building a homogeneous Mexican nation, starting from the concept of what it is to be Mexican.

While the textbook distribution program can certainly be applauded for providing free books to children of all strata of society, it is also the case that, for the indigenous populations, these books represent a form of linguistic and cultural imposition. Despite this program, the country's indigenous people have remained substantially unincorporated, unhomogenized in relation to the Mexican *mestizo* culture, and illiterate. Furthermore, there has been no attempt by policy makers or editors of these textbooks to incorporate indigenous voices and perspectives in any meaningful way.

The title of this chapter asks the question "Are Mexico's indigenous people Mexican?"—a question first posed by Alfonso Caso, the father of Mexican philosophy. In 1958, Caso argued that indigenous people had not been integrated

S. C. BERKIN

into the nation because they lacked the opportunities enjoyed by the majority *mestizo* population. According to Caso, and in line with the *indigenista* principles of his day, the state was committing a grave mistake by not integrating the Indians into the nation and making them Mexican. His question, like my work, sought to spark debate about indigenous groups that have been excluded by the nation-state. However, my concern is not with the lack of integration of indigenous people into the Mexican nation. Instead, I examine the history of the SEP's textbooks in order to inquire how Mexico's diversity, characterized by 64 linguistic and cultural groups, is made visible. In other words, I ask if indigenous people are present and considered Mexican in their diversity in Mexican textbooks, or if they are excluded and not considered Mexican if they don't comply with *mestizo* culture.

METHODOLOGY

My interest is in the "place" that indigenous people have occupied in the large official literature for children over the past century. The literature referred to here comprises 635 physically extant books that form part of the SEP "catalogue of books for children," out of approximately 5,000 titles registered in multiple libraries and archives as well as official documents and reports. This research is part of a wider investigation, aimed at assembling a complete list of existing children's publications, which includes a review and analysis of policy statements, state education annual reports, SEP book catalogues, newspaper editorials, and children's textbooks in public and private archives (Corona Berkin & de Santiago, 2011). My analysis here consists of two parts: (1) an analysis that attempts to situate the portrayal of indigenous peoples in children's books in sociohistorical context; and (2) a shorter analysis of SEP books from a specific recent period.

In the first part, I provide a historical overview of education and textbook policies from 1921 to 2006, categorized by the tenures of Mexican presidents (see [Table 1](#)). This overview includes a discussion of SEP educational publishing policies aimed at teaching Spanish language and culture to indigenous people.

In the second part, I provide a more intensive review of images of indigenous peoples in a sampling of free textbooks that circulated from 2000 to 2006.² This analysis includes all textbooks for first and second grades of primary school. Photographs were examined in 19 SEP books: 16 textbooks for first and second grades required in all the country's primary schools; two for first and second grades in the Huichol indigenous language; and one from the parallel bilingual and intercultural program.³ Also considered are history and geography books for the states of Jalisco, Nayarit, and Durango, where the Huicholes live. First- and second-grade books were selected because of their formative importance at the beginning of compulsory schooling. Books for younger children contain more illustrations than text, thus visually introducing the young learner to what his or her community's culture should be. In this context, it is important to ascertain which images of indigenous life children are being shown. Through both analyses, I aim to show how

books produced by the state over the course of more than 90 years have defined the place of indigenous people in its account of a *mestizo* nation.

Table 1. Presidents of Mexico, 1924 to present

<i>President</i>	<i>Dates</i>
Plutarco Elías Calles	1924–1928
Emilio Portes Gil	1928–1930
Pascual Ortiz Rubio	1930–1932
Abelardo L. Rodríguez	1932–1934
Lázaro Cárdenas del Río	1934–1940
Manuel Ávila Camacho	1940–1946
Miguel Alemán Valdés	1946–1952
Adolfo Ruiz Cortines	1952–1958
Adolfo López Mateos	1958–1964
Gustavo Díaz Ordaz	1964–1970
Luis Echeverría	1970–1976
José López Portillo	1976–1982
Miguel de la Madrid	1982–1988
Carlos Salinas de Gortari	1988–1994
Ernesto Zedillo	1994–2000
Vicente Fox	2000–2006
Felipe Calderón	2006–2012
Enrique Peña Nieto	2012–

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS, 1921–2006

The Beginning: 1920s

As first minister of education in the post-revolutionary nation, José Vasconcelos developed an intensive plan to promote his educational federalization project. In *El Desastre* (The Disaster), Vasconcelos (1952) stated, “The most patriotic act is when those who know how to read, teach those who don’t” (p. 1326). But with the revolution just ending, the publishing field was in a desperate condition. All bookstores and publishers were Spanish. Mexico had yet to produce books or a reading public. In spite of these daunting challenges, Vasconcelos, as rector of the National Autonomous University, began to create libraries, translate essential texts, and select the best for a massive publication of the classics. His program sought to integrate the majority of the population into the nation as a whole through access to literature and literacy. Vasconcelos was one of the shapers of education in the

S. C. BERKIN

post-revolutionary era, placing education directly within nation-building policy. His educational strategies continued to imbue the policies of governments that followed. Starting with him, all subsequent governments and SEP officials assumed the obligation of educating the Mexican people and building a Mexican culture through schools.

In discussing the best way to educate indigenous peoples, José Vasconcelos held very definite positions. For example, he was adamantly opposed to the creation of segregated schools:

I have always been against this measure because it leads fatally to the so-called “reservation” system, which divides people into castes and skin colors, and we wish to educate Indians in order to completely assimilate them into our nationality, not put them off to one side. In reality I believe that in educating the Indian the method to follow is the venerable one of the great Spanish educators like Las Casas, Vasco de Quiroga, and Motolinía, who adapted the Indian to European civilization, thereby creating new countries and new races, instead of extinguishing or reducing the naturals to isolation. (Vasconcelos, 1923, p. 7)

From these homogenizing ideas was formulated a language policy that saw teaching in Spanish as the best vehicle for national assimilation and unification. Rather than preserving indigenous cultures, the policy sought to merge indigenous people into the country’s rural population through homogenous language and education policies. From 1924 to 1928, when Plutarco Elías Calles was president, adopting the Spanish language was defended as the only means of educating indigenous peoples.

The government made massive print runs of primary schools texts. SEP distributed approximately 1 million free copies of the national reading-writing book, the *Libro Nacional de Lecto-Escritura*, and produced frequent successive editions. One noteworthy publication was Justo Sierra’s *Historia General* and *Historia Patria*, whose first editions dated from the 19th century. After the revolutionary struggle, Sierra’s career and view of history were revived, and not a trace of indigenous history remained in the plans for the post-revolutionary nation.

From this perspective, the official educational policy of “teaching Indians to live” would not work if the Indians did not speak the national language. During these early years of the republic, there were no books for indigenous children in their mother tongues. Rural schools were tasked with teaching the indigenous communities Spanish and incorporating them into the modern state. Moisés Sáenz, organizer of rural schooling and an advocate of incorporating indigenous people into “civilization,” confessed later in life to the fiasco that this approach had provoked:

Life was taking shape in old molds. The weak reflection of the school was lost in the shadow of the subconscious. Teachers kept teaching. Governments kept paying for schools. Time and money would be lost, as if dropped into a

bottomless pit, until there was a more complete educational program, one of greater scope and with a social philosophy that required the school to clearly project itself into the community ... The rural school, intrepid and spirited as it is, cannot do the job alone. (quoted in Meneses Morales, 1986, p. 462)

Images in textbooks circulating at this time were of a mythical Indian, the founder of Tenochtitlán and the nation's distant origins. Common images included majestic Aztec and Mayan architectural sites. *Fermin, Libro de Lectura Mexicana* (Fermin, A Mexican Reader) appeared in 1928, illustrated by Diego Rivera, a prominent Mexican painter known especially for his murals. It is significant that while Indians are central to his murals, they are idealistic representations of the Indians of preconquest Mexico, as *mestizo campesinos* (rural agricultural workers). His art depicted a *mestizo* ideology that needed the Indians, as distinct cultural indigenous groups, to disappear. The nation's story could benefit from the ancient Aztec and idealistic representations of the Mayan cultures to create a *mestizo* country, but could not promote diversity, much less autonomous cultural values. As such, live, contemporary Indians were not found in the textbooks of this period; only "dead" (preconquest) Indians were presented. It is therefore significant that *Fermin's* cover showed an Indian turned into a *campesino*. Education aimed at serving the rural sector had transformed multiple indigenous peoples into a homogeneous farmworker with rustic white clothing and a straw hat. The *campesino* would show up in future books. Distinct indigenous groups, each with their own customs, rituals, clothing, and language, disappeared into the figure of the field worker.

Socialist Education and Bilingualism: 1930s

The *Maximato* period⁴ (1928–1934) was marked by varying positions on the education of indigenous communities. While monolingual teaching continued, there were differences in ideology and intent. For example, Aarón Sáenz, the secretary of education in 1930, saw among indigenous peoples the persistence of primitive ways of life that he believed had to be integrated with civilization.

By comparison, Narciso Bassols, who was secretary of education from 1931 to 1934 and a close collaborator of Mexican president Plutarco Elías Calles, proposed a different approach. Bassols promoted socialism and argued for amending Article III of the 1917 Constitution to mandate socialist education.⁵ He also promoted school cooperatives to encourage schools to teach students practical knowledge and skills that would improve their economic situation through the school. As well, he stressed the importance of biological and economic education to improve health habits and relieve misery in the indigenous population.

What Secretary of Education Sáenz saw in the Mexican population, with 14 million *mestizo* Indians and only 1.5 million white *mestizos*, was the persistence among indigenous peoples of primitive ways of life that had to be integrated with civilization. Bassols' response to indigenous diversity was a synthesis of the two

cultures, isolating what he saw as indigenous values that would support his vision of the nation (rather than any suggestion that public education would actually support indigenous culture):

If we are to triumph, it will be because we have managed to preserve the indigenous spiritual structure, while at the same time giving them indispensable scientific-technical assistance ... But we shall take care to save in the indigenous soul all those virtues that inarguably surpass the moral tenets of contemporary capitalism. Thinking of a synthesized culture like the one we mean to create gives us an optimistic vision of the indigenous peoples' future destiny, because we will map out a social organization to preserve the strong values of discipline, cooperation, harmony and hard-workingness characteristic of indigenous communities; which allow them to form sturdier, more valuable human collectives than those which have arisen from the secular fight between unbounded egotism and our needs for unification and social organization. (quoted in Labra, 1985, p. 48)

Textbooks distributed to students during this era aimed to strengthen Mexico's rural farmworking image. Everyday indigenous life, which had now become that of the field worker, appeared under the euphemism of "domestic industry," more in accord with the new socialist perspective that characterized the era. The content was similar from one title to the next, duplicating what had already been distributed in pamphlets, readers, and school newsletters: the benefits of a life that was healthy, simple, and hygienic, with useful advice for farmworkers and the exaltation of work and values such as generosity, cooperation, honesty, and diligence. But the publications also had a new feature. Through poems, stories, short readings, fables, and legends, books began to highlight differences of class and causes of popular misery and to identify guilty parties—the exploitation of workers by those who did nothing, by the bosses who owned the fruits of others' labors. The books advised *campesinos* to form cooperatives to protect themselves against unscrupulous merchants and profiteers and counseled day laborers to unionize and defend themselves from bosses.

In illustrations from these books, the growing of maize becomes an ancient celebration, the "planting of the race," while "the rural teacher, new priest in a religion of equality and justice, day by day, within his or her little school, pays homage to work and pledges to help the campesino" (Becerra Celis, 1939, p. 149). Wheat replaces tortillas, and its scientific breeding is promoted. It is fertilized with machine-made chemicals and planted, threshed, and ground by machine. Machines that stir, knead, and bake bread, as well as machines such as the tractor, made the *campesino's* life easier (List Arzubide, 1939, p. 78).

Notably, indigenous individuals are nearly nonexistent in the books for rural schools. The only mention is of Benito Juárez.⁶ The remaining characters are *campesinos*, agrarian activists, and members of farm collectives. There are no Indians.

ARE MEXICO'S INDIGENOUS PEOPLE MEXICAN?

During the 1934 to 1940 period, when Lázaro Cárdenas was president, what stood out in education for indigenous communities was the advocacy of bilingualism:

Linguists from the Summer Institute of Linguistics joined professionals from Mexican institutions in traveling among Indian groups and carrying out studies of thirty vernacular languages, shaping an alphabet based upon phonetics and phonemes, developing grammars, dictionaries and vocabulary lists, and instructing teachers in the techniques of bilingual education. (Heath, 1986, p. 171)

Some time passed before these activities manifested themselves in indigenous language publications. The beginning of a massive literacy campaign in Michoacán did, however, represent a change. Twenty young Tarascans, trained by Mauricio Swadesh, a U.S. linguist and professor at the National School of Anthropology and History, prepared texts and materials to be used by Tarascan children and adults. The Tarascan Project was a success and validated the method of developing literacy in the indigenous language first, introducing Spanish only after students had learned to read and write in their own languages. Thus, the Cardenist period laid the groundwork for publications for indigenous children in their own languages.

Civics and Love of Country: 1940s

With Manuel Ávila Camacho at the country's helm, and with Mexico's entry into the Second World War, it was time to reinforce love of country. An official version of the national anthem, for example, was published by SEP in 1942. Love of country manifested itself in the formulation of a history wrought by heroes and a unified, hegemonic view of the nation. In the words of Torres Bodet (1946):⁷

Our school will be Mexican not by being an imitation of itself or the mechanisms of the past, but because it will impel those who study here to feel Mexico, understand Mexico and imagine the existence of Mexico as a force for creating the future. (p. 51)

In this context, there was acute awareness of the challenges presented by indigenous integration. Torres Bodet (1946) observed:

If not knowing the meaning of the region constitutes an aesthetic—and also a political—error, underestimating particularities of the indigenous centers would be equivalent to condemning them to a limited, contingent, awkward and unjust assimilation. What retention might the teacher of a Yaqui, Tarascan or Otomí child hope for, when proposing a life of mexicanidad—if bound by the borders of an abstract world, far from the student's own worries and problems, with creatures and landscapes that he's never had occasion to see? (p. 13)

With the goal of nationalist unification, a number of changes were made. First, primers were prepared in six indigenous languages: Tarahumara, Maya, Tarascan, Otomí, the Náhuatl spoken in Puebla, and the Náhuatl of Morelos state. These consisted of national civics lessons illustrated with the flora and fauna of each region. Signs and symbols known by indigenous peoples, such as characters from national history, Mexican animals, and heroic Indians, were adopted to communicate the meanings of *mexicanidad* and national unity and thus assure an entryway to modernity. The Indian acquired a mythic halo, be he Benito Juárez or the stoic Tarahumara, who exemplified perseverance. The intent was to use familiar symbols and glorified Indians to make indigenous children identify with the books and, as a result, become literate in Spanish and identify with *mexicanidad*.

National Development: Late 1940s to Late 1950s

During President Miguel Alemán's 6-year term, schools espoused the idea that progress explains cultural development, whereby culture becomes a subsidiary of the economy, oriented by the needs of economic development. Throughout Alemán's presidential term, there was considerable development of an extensive agricultural infrastructure; as a result, various indigenous communities had to relocate. Education in general, and technical education specifically, were the means toward economic production. These were the days of the productive school, of learning in order to train *homo faber*. The only publications for indigenous students during this period were 75 copies of the *First Popoloca Primer*, printed in collaboration with the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Under this governmental regime, the image of the Indian was once again limited to historical mysticism, evident in photographs of ancient Mayan and Aztec temples and images of indigenous people who were portrayed as eccentric marketplace characters, such as a clown or puppeteer, rather than real people in the context of their everyday lives. The characters called Mexicans in the children's books were barely recognizable as *mestizos*, instead looking more racially white. People in the street market were called "poor people" or "servants."

From 1952 to 1958, education was guided by *mexicanidad*, "an educational doctrine which is authentically Mexican in unsuspected ways: not by demeaning universal values, but just the opposite, by encouraging them to flourish on Mexican ground, in a happy balance of universal and national" (Ceniceros, 1958, p. 175). In the process, the Mexican republic constructed a common history for a mass of individuals that it considered homogeneous. In this imagining, the *patria* or homeland was no longer a local place where diverse peoples actually lived, with their own languages, cultures, living histories, shared ethnic groups, and traditions, but was instead dominated by the hegemonic image of *mexicanidad*.

Free Textbooks: Late 1950s to 1970

From 1958 to 1964, young people throughout Mexico were given millions of free textbooks as a mandatory part of their primary schooling. The textbook initiative was a long time developing, from José Vasconcelos' programs to the massive distribution of free books under Lázaro Cárdenas and other governments, but it was during the time of López Mateos that the free textbooks program was institutionalized and homogenized. Beginning in 1961, a single cover was used for all of these textbooks. The cover featured the work of artist Jorge González Camarena, "a painting representing the Mexican nation as it is impelled by history and the threefold inspiration—cultural, agricultural, industrial—given to it by the people." This image is popularly associated with titles such as the *Libros de la Patria*, books of the homeland. With them, "there now exists, legally and practically, an instrument for standardizing the formation of the Mexican people, which will lead to our much sought-after national unity" (Vázquez de Knauth, 1975, p. 278). The emergence of free textbooks thus became a powerful instrument to transmit nationalist ideology. The textbooks' contents were homogenous, and they were distributed across the country to all social classes.

Conservatives in Mexico opposed the distribution of a textbook that taught children to link Mexican national identity with the *priísta* ideology of the government in power. Writer José Agustín (1991), who read these texts in his childhood, made the following critique:

The books ... reinforced the PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party] concept of life, harped on the ritualization of national myths, venerated Hidalgo, Morelos and Juárez, and insisted upon canonizing Carranza, Obregón, Calles, Cárdenas, et al., not to mention Zapata and, with more grudging hypocrisy, Villa. Otherwise, the free text tried to be up-to-date, with more contemporary knowledge and disciplines, and to be an accessible product, relatively objective in parts and idyllic in others, so to promote the child's identification with country and government, and his or her acritical subordination to a socio-political system that was then going through a clear rigidizing process. In reality, a project like that of the free textbooks was a perfect consequence of the nature of the Mexican regime, and if it elicited so much opposition from conservatives (at the end of the eighties, said opposition continued) it was because this represented an excellent means of their exerting pressure. (pp. 189, 191)

Indicators of educational inequality during the period from 1964 to 1970 reflected the general educational situation. While half of the students who began primary school in urban settings completed their studies, only seven out of every 100 who were enrolled in rural primary schools finished. Also, just one-sixth of rural schools—there were 31,000 in the republic—offered all six grades. Still more serious

S. C. BERKIN

was the situation of indigenous education: “Of 3,220,595 monolingual indigenous youth between 6 and 14 years old, SEP’s Directorate General for Indigenous Affairs and the National Indigenist Institute reached only 23,248” (Meneses Morales, 1991, pp. 31, 35).

Still, during this same period, the Directorate General of Primary and Indigenous Boarding School Education printed more than 100,000 booklets in the Otomí language of the Mezquital valley, the Mixtec of Oaxaca’s coast and high plains, Mayan from the Yucatan, and Mexica from the northern Puebla mountains and Veracruz’ Huasteca region, as well as booklets on behalf of the National Indigenist Institute for the Tarahumara, Mazateca, Tarascan, and Tzeltal-Zotzil regions, created in collaboration with the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Meneses Morales, 1991, p. 177). These booklets were called *cartillas* (primers, or first readers), and their purpose was to teach indigenous people literacy in their own language so that they could then learn Spanish more easily. They contained very simple words and phrases to provide basic literacy.

The New Free Textbooks: 1970s

With Luis Echeverría in the presidency, preparation of new primary and secondary textbooks became a high priority of SEP’s work. However, despite this focus, through collaboration between SEP and the Summer Institute of Linguistics, only five works were produced for the indigenous population. These bilingual books (Spanish and the language of the given community) consisted of stories from the Choles and Chinantecos or explanations of how to count money or tell time. The primary goal of bilingualism was to establish Spanish as the common *lingua franca* of the nation: “Conscious of never becoming a unified nation until all Mexicans speak the same language, in January of 1974 the national program for teaching Spanish began” (Bravo Ahuja, 1976, p. 120).

At the end of the presidential term, SEP reported that while only 72 indigenous children graduated from primary school in 1971, the number had risen to 7,300 by 1975. With their education based on bilingual methods with bicultural content, 300,000 children attended first through sixth grades in the indigenous regions.

More Books for Indigenous Students: Late 1970s to Late 1980s

In spite of earlier efforts to develop universal literacy in Spanish, there were an estimated 6 million illiterate adults in the country, including 1 million indigenous adults who did not speak Spanish, when José López Portillo assumed the presidency in 1976. The absolute number of illiterate Mexicans had remained constant over 50 years. And so, beginning in 1978, SEP organized its activities around five objectives: (1) to offer basic education to all Mexicans, especially children; (2) to link terminal education with jobs; (3) to raise the quality of education; (4) to enrich the country’s cultural environment; and (5) to increase the administrative system’s

efficiency. To achieve these objectives, 53 programs were initiated, with 12 given highest priority. Among these were teaching Spanish to indigenous peoples and offering them bilingual primary learning opportunities. Four more indigenous language installments were added to the *Colibri* series (Maya, Náhuatl, Otomí, and Purépecha), published jointly with the Directorate General for Indigenous Education. In addition, the Indigenous Oral Tradition Series organized six bilingual books presenting literature from the Náhuatl, Huichol, and Tzeltal cultures, including stories, songs, legends, myths, and celebratory lore. As well, the didactic guide for teaching reading and writing was published in 35 indigenous languages, and more than 250,000 copies of the Spanish-as-a-second-language text were printed. The literacy primer was translated into eight languages: Otomí, Purépecha, Náhuatl, Tzeltal, Mayan, Mazahua, Triqui, and Mixtec. Editions of stories appeared in 20 indigenous languages.

This period also marked the end of SEP's collaboration with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, which had started back in the *Maximato* with Narciso Bassols. Deficiencies were found in the Summer Institute's primers, and the institute's work was criticized by various sectors. Anthropologist Nolasco (1978) commented on the primers:

It is worth pondering the problems of an indigenous education that is doomed to failure because of inefficiency. If to that we add other aspects, such as scanty and inappropriate didactic material, we'll have a view of this inefficient educational system that produces only educational failures. As just some examples of didactic material we might mention the bilingual primers which not only lack a method, but any logic or common sense, and handle languages (Spanish and/or indigenous languages) with a complete ignorance of their actual structures, frequently even using English as a basis for analogies. (p. 2)

With Jesús Reyes Heróles directing SEP during Miguel de la Madrid's presidency, materials were produced in several indigenous languages. Nearly 50 textbook titles were printed by the Directorate General for Indigenous Education, as well as new titles in the Indigenous Oral Tradition Series.

As demonstrated above, the indigenous presence in SEP-produced books for Mexican children had been defined only by indigenous oral traditions, folklore, ancient history, and archaeological gems, as well as a continual interest in literacy. During the 1982–1988 presidential term, a collection of books featuring contemporary indigenous people was published for the first time. Also for the first time, a few textbooks began to recognize the present-day existence of indigenous people by including contemporary photographs, but this was not the norm.

Modernization of the Nation: Late 1980s to 1990s

As the 1988–1994 presidential term began, Carlos Salinas de Gortari (1989a) presented the 1989–1994 National Development Plan and noted: “We must change

in order to maintain the essence of the Nation... Modernizing the State is crucial. But modernizing Mexico is fundamental.” Education was given an important role in achieving this goal. The objectives of the national development plan were to improve the quality of the educational system, raise the population’s overall levels of schooling, decentralize education, and strengthen society’s participation in the educational mandate. The priorities were to strengthen national language and mathematics achievement levels and to reform the teaching of history to equip the nation for globalization. For indigenous peoples, the only efforts made were to translate books for rural communities into indigenous languages.

On February 13, 1988, the National Free Textbook Commission celebrated 30 years of existence, during which time it had published close to 2 million books for elementary education students and teachers. The significance of this was described by Salinas de Gortari (1989b) as follows: “It will thus have contributed to shaping [the minds of] all Mexicans below 35 years of age, that is to say, three-quarters of the country’s total population. These facts make it the largest educational enterprise in our history” (p. 5). Despite these millions of copies, indigenous portrayal in the books was excluded. Instead, compensatory books were created where their own voices were reduced to testimony or mere legend, with no consistency or continuity and with text that was barely of interest to indigenous people in learning to read and write in Spanish.

President Ernesto Zedillo’s government recognized the need to define its priorities. Within the context of political confrontation and economic crisis (a devaluation from 3.30 to 6 pesos per dollar in February 1995), the government was willing to negotiate with indigenous groups that had been in rebellion since January 1, 1994. It is worth noting that, as reported in its June 1998 to November 2000 Management Report, the Dirección General de Educación Indígena (DGEI) estimated that there were more than 10 million indigenous people in Mexico, distributed principally in 24 states. This population represented 62 ethnic groups and spoke at least 80 languages and variant dialects. Zedillo’s representatives signed the so-called San Andrés accords—although they were not subsequently ratified—and his administration outlined social policy for indigenous affairs. In the debate over school dropout rates in indigenous regions, what was at stake was acceptance of diversity. Advancements in developing and making school texts more widely available in indigenous languages reflected progress in educational policy. There was greater understanding of some diverse ethnic groups’ needs, although there were no concrete plans for their engagement in educational decision-making, nor were there educational policies designed for a truly pluriethnic Mexico.

With criticism of the living conditions of the large and diverse indigenous population came ongoing condemnation of the education the government offered them. Some specialists were unequivocal in their criticism: “Indigenous education continues to hope that good intentions might translate into results. Investment ... for the state of Chiapas had more of a political strain than an educational one”

(Observatorio Ciudadano de la Educación, 2000). For its part, the DGEI recognized irregularities and limitations in the distribution of its educational services and admitted that its pedagogic approach had been inadequate. It thus proposed its *General Guidelines for Bilingual Intercultural Education for Indigenous Girls and Boys*, in which it noted:

Intercultural education is deemed to be that which recognizes and addresses cultural and linguistic diversity and promotes respect for differences, while aiming to shape national unity by supporting and strengthening local, regional and national identity, as well as developing attitudes and practices that seek liberty and justice for all. (Subsecretaría de Educación Básica y Normal, 1999, p. 11)

In the 10 years from 1988 to 1998, the government managed to increase the number of schools in indigenous regions by 41%—a number still insufficient, the DGEI recognized, for combating dropouts or dealing with dispersal of the population, marginalization, or continual emigration of families in search of a livelihood.

Other Data on Government Actions: Late 1990s to Present

In 1997, 1 million copies of books were published in 33 indigenous languages and 19 dialects for distribution to 1,054,000 indigenous children attending bilingual schools. This was 130,000 more than in 1994 (Zedillo Ponce de León, 1997). In his report on educational goals for 1995 to 2000, Education Minister Limón Rojas (2000) observed that the SEP would continue to provide textbooks in indigenous languages, and that production had increased in the year 2000:

Because of 34 titles existing in 1994, we were able to provide another 153 in 55 dialects of 33 indigenous languages. Of these, 15 were modified titles, incorporating exercises to promote the young student's participation in various aspects of inquiry, creativity and communication. (p. 23)

Still, while books were published in an increasing variety of languages for different ethnic groups, their content, structure, and illustrations remained the same—mostly depicting historical and mythical images of the Indian, used to develop images of *mexicanidad*.

In the hotly debated campaign for president of the republic in 2000, the theme of educational deficiencies was central. The Institutional Revolutionary Party⁸ proposed doubling the length of the school day and providing computers and English classes in all primary schools. The Party of the Democratic Revolution defended cost-free education and supported an increase in educational spending, as did the National Action Party, which took power in 2000. Education Minister Reyes Tamez Guerra, who belonged to the National Action Party, recognized that too many policy changes made implementation difficult. His goal was to focus on the outcomes of educational processes. Towards the end of 2000, the number of illiterate Mexicans

stood at 6.6 million, and 11.2 million had not completed primary school. More than half of these were younger than 40. In the 2001–2002 school year, 18.3 million children were estimated to have matriculated in preschool and primary school. About 2,147,000 children and youth between 5 and 14 years of age did not attend school. The minister recognized that it would not be possible to educate all 32 million Mexicans who were seriously uneducated.

From that point, interest grew in educating the most marginalized, with the indigenous population considered to be a high priority among vulnerable groups. In San Cristóbal de las Casas, President Vicente Fox (2000–2006) announced the creation of a new general coordinator of bilingual intercultural education (Latapí Sarre, 2000). This act was significant as it showed the government's willingness to confront the marginalization of indigenous people and to recognize indigenous peoples' demands for educational materials. The bilingual intercultural program adopted principles of respect and encouragement for the country's diverse cultures. However, the program did not incorporate that respect into an intercultural project in which indigenous communities could themselves make use of their own educational tools and their own voices. Intercultural textbooks were created with no participation of indigenous people. These new textbooks excluded them as authors, designers, or education experts.

As we have seen, throughout the period following the Revolution, education and textbooks in particular were seen as a way to prepare citizens as Mexicans, whether the assimilated indigenous *mestizos* and rural *campesinos* of the early years or the more diverse linguistic populations of later years. Throughout the entire eight decades, indigenous people were marginalized. Even when their languages were used, their voices were not heard, and their presence and ways of life were marginal at best and often invisible in the books, even to those who lived them.

In many ways, SEP defines what the country reads. In their lifetimes, many Mexicans will read only what SEP gives them to read in childhood. In this way, the topics, authors, genres, and publishing policies defined during each governmental period become quite important in shaping the thinking of Mexican people. In the current presidential term, reference and science books have found a new place in school libraries, but other developments remain to be seen. Indigenous voices are still not heard in books for indigenous or nonindigenous readers.

INDIGENOUS IMAGES IN SEP BOOKS, 2000–2006

Having spent considerable time tracing developments in the education system, we look more intensively in this section at images of indigenous peoples in all 19 titles for first and second grades published during a specific period, 2000 to 2006. Illustrating the scale of effort, more than 3,000,000 copies were printed of each free textbook edition for these grades. Printings of state monograph editions ranged from 22,000 to 174,000, depending upon the size of the state. DGEI produced

ARE MEXICO'S INDIGENOUS PEOPLE MEXICAN?

4,300 copies of bilingual intercultural books and 3,200 for the Huichol language. Each book contains 150 to 200 pages. Table 2 shows the number of photos of indigenous people.

It is clear that indigenous people are practically nonexistent in the general free textbooks for first and second grades. Among the books most Mexican children study in the first and second years of primary school, there are only four photographs of indigenous people. In contrast, books directed at Huichol children (first- and second-grade Huichol language) are profusely illustrated with photographs of indigenous people. The photos in these books were requested from the teachers who translated the books because of a lack of archival photos.⁹ The state-specific history and geography books show a pattern similar to that of the free textbooks for the overall population.

Table 2. Photographs of indigenous people per textbook

<i>Grade</i>	<i>Textbooks</i>	<i>Images of indigenous people</i>
1	Mathematics	0
	Mathematics workbook, tear-out pages	0
	Spanish	0
	Spanish workbook, tear-out pages	0
	Integrated text	2
	Integrated workbook, tear-out pages	0
2	Mathematics	0
	Mathematics workbook, tear-out pages	0
	Spanish	0
	Spanish workbook, tear-out pages	0
	Spanish readings	0
	Integrated text	2
	Integrated workbook, tear-out pages	0
<i>Bilingual intercultural education</i>		
1 and 2	Wixárika (one book for both grades)	0
1	For Jalisco, Nayarit, and Durango	99
2	For Jalisco, Nayarit, and Durango	35
	History and geography by state	
	Jalisco	3
	Nayarit	5
	Durango	3

Textbooks for the General Population

The four images of indigenous people that do appear in the first- and second-grade textbooks are part of collages. The photos have been extracted from their original location and applied to a new composition. The collages contain photos of various objects. For example, when there is an emphasis on the indigenous person going to school, the collage contains rulers, pencils, erasers, and the Constitution. When the emphasis is on President Benito Juárez, the collage includes the presidential chair, flag, and reform laws. Indigenous subjects do not face the camera. One might conclude that they have been objectified as testimony to the diversity of the nation. But little attention is paid to this diversity. The clothing is characterized as generically indigenous, which does not even allow the viewer to determine which of the country's 64 ethnic groups it comes from. Such figures are common where the collage emphasizes the patriotic and ornamental meaning of indigenous people. The "correct" Indian is the one who honors the Mexican flag and goes to the national *mestizo* school.

The texts that "anchor" or reinforce the meaning of the image carry little of the illustrations' indigenusness. Photos of Benito Juárez appear in honor of his birth date to emphasize his fight for national laws and liberty. In no case are his indigenous origins made explicit ("he was born into a humble family" says the text). The caption of a photograph entitled "Diversity in Mexico" mentions that there are different natural riches, ways of life, and opinions, but the collage simply shows two indigenous groups (seemingly from the same ethnic family) out of context and unconnected to any of the other people in the collage.

The state history and geography books opt for layouts that mix photography with other art forms. The Jalisco and Nayarit books take the opportunity to publish at least one photo of Huicholes with the flag and another of Huicholes at school. Again, the educational discourse characterizes Indians as Mexicans who go to school, with no reference to their indigenous heritage or identity. A different example can be found in the book for Durango. This is a professional photograph of a contemporary family in a "studio pose" shot against a black background. It was previously published in the magazine *Saber ver lo Contemporáneo del Arte* ("Knowing and Seeing the Contemporary in Art"). The photo's dark backdrop allows one to focus on the clothing of the Huicholes and on the father's enigmatic expression.

Textbooks for Indigenous Children

The photographs published in books for indigenous children are amateur shots, almost always taken by the author of the book, a Huichol teacher. Unlike the photographs taken in the national free textbooks, these are photos of everyday life—daily activities, such as grinding grain, cooking, planting, and embroidering, as well as ceremonies and communal and ritual practices. Their inclusion signals that these activities are worthy

ARE MEXICO'S INDIGENOUS PEOPLE MEXICAN?

of being photographed. One photograph, for example, accompanies the lesson “Who makes the tamales,” and shows a full-length image of a girl working at her grinding stone in the kitchen. Photographs in these textbooks show context: people in front of their house, for example, where the photographer has captured the end of an adobe or stone wall to allow a view of the natural surroundings. Most of the photographs are wide angle. The few close-ups simply resulted from the editors of the book cropping the photos to feature details they considered important.

In these photographs, the context seems to be more important than the persons portrayed. In a lesson called “José Carrillo,” one photograph does not portray José Carrillo (the text’s subject), but instead shows that the story occurred in San Andrés Cohamiata. In photos of Huicholes, the subjects commonly stand at a reasonable distance, facing forward, with a serious and respectful visage. Standing upright, with a direct gaze and strict posture, is the corporal arrangement that reflects the socially appropriate ways of their communities.

CONCLUSIONS

One constant theme emerges from this examination of how indigenous peoples are portrayed in books published by SEP during the various governmental periods since the 1910 Revolution. That is, indigenous people are portrayed through ancient objects (pyramids, feather headdresses, calendars, pots, embroidery, as well as myths and legends) while their contemporary existence and political participation are denied. This double standard materializes in almost all images accompanying Mexican children’s texts for the general population.

The over 60 indigenous peoples were initially made invisible and converted en masse into *campesinos*. Standard costumes for the 20th-century indigenous-people-turned-country-folk consisted of white muslin pants and shirts, with straw hats for men and *rebozos* or shawls for women. Missing in these books was any sign of contemporary indigenous people. Mayan and Aztec constructions were reclaimed to represent Mexico’s mythic and glorious origins. Ancient architectural and artistic objects replaced those cultures’ living indigenous people. Nor did any other ethnic groups seem to inhabit Mexican territory. A parallel policy was present in indigenous education, which offered ethnic recipients materials in their own images and languages, with complementary and compensatory education promoting instruction in Spanish via literacy in their own language. Illustrations of mythic indigenous figures, the earliest ancestors of the Mexican nation, appeared with *mestizo* racial and cultural features.

Not until the 1982 to 1988 presidential term did indigenous people appear in ways that reflected the present. Even then, the forms of visibility they (several ethnic individuals, not their communities) acquired was determined by SEP editorial policies. Today the free textbooks policy continues its tendency to enclose Indians within the mythic founding of the Mexican nation but exclude them from public

participation. The double standard for publishing policy remains, with indigenous participation (though not autonomy) circumscribed upon the books directed at their population. Textbook content and pedagogic and ideological methods for all Mexican children have been modified over the past 85 years, but they continue to deny indigenous peoples their faces, languages, and knowledge, their needs and political practices.

Books as vehicles for Mexican state education present the ideal of an ethnically *mestizo* Mexican, literate in Spanish. The visual images in books geared toward the general population fail to recognize indigenous peoples, and their representation is decontextualized. Books aimed at indigenous peoples, in their own languages, show photographs that may help them identify themselves as taking the first steps toward literacy and Mexicanization. There appear to be two types of textbooks corresponding to two educational strategies. Huicholes may learn to read and speak in their language and in these books may see themselves portrayed by themselves. Amid their community, they may actively participate in their own language and representation, but not when they leave it. In books that are distributed nationally, Huicholes (and all indigenous groups) are meant to learn to decipher the hegemonic language but not to use it as their own. Those who actually possess language and voice in these books are *mestizos*, legitimized by the Free Textbook Commission as Mexicans.

NOTES

- ¹ Figures from the 2010 census explain that indigenous inhabitants comprise speakers of an indigenous language over 5 years of age.
- ² This “generation” of books was in use from 2000 to 2012. In 2014 they were moderately revised. New books are planned for 2017–2018.
- ³ In indigenous regions, the packet of free textbooks includes the book corresponding to their own language as well as the bilingual book, in their language and Spanish.
- ⁴ The governmental period known as the *Maximato* (1928–1934) was a time when three successive presidents were under the control of Plutarco Elías Calles, the “Jefe Máximo.”
- ⁵ In 1934, the Constitution was reformed to state: “The education the State imparts will be socialist, and along with excluding any religious doctrine will combat fanaticism and prejudices; therefore the school will organize its teachings and activities in a way that allows for creating in youth a rational and accurate concept of the universe and of life in society” (*Enciclopedia de México*, 1987, volume 4, p. 2424).
- ⁶ Benito Juárez, of Zapotec indigenous background, was president of the republic from 1858 to 1872 and is one of the central heroes in the national narrative.
- ⁷ Torres Bodet was a Mexican poet, writer, and educator who served as minister of public education from 1943 to 1946 and from 1958 to 1964.
- ⁸ The Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) was in power without interruption from 1921 until 2000. The opposition parties, National Action Party (PAN) (right wing) and Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) (leftist), fought to gain the presidency in 2000, and the PAN won.
- ⁹ This information is based on oral communication with Xitákame teacher Julio Ramírez de la Cruz, author of the official Huichol language textbook for first grade.

ARE MEXICO'S INDIGENOUS PEOPLE MEXICAN?

WORKS CITED

- Agustín, J. (1991). *Tragicomedia mexicana I* [The Mexican tragicomedy I]. México City, México: Editorial Planeta.
- Balibar, E. (1996). The nation form: History and ideology. In G. Eley & R. Grigor Suny (Eds.), *Becoming national* (Chapters 3 and 5). New York, NY: Oxford University Press USA.
- Becerra Celis, C. (1939). *Teatro y poemas infantiles* [Children's theater and poems]. México City, México: El Nacional.
- Bravo Ahuja, V. (1976). *La obra educativa* [The education deed]. México City, México: SEP.
- Caso, A. (1958). *Indigenismo* (pp. 95–105). México: Instituto Nacional Indigenista. Also published in: Caso, A. (1971, Sep). *La comunidad indígena* (pp. 107–116). México: Instituto Nacional Indigenista.
- Ceniceros, J. A. (1958). *Educación y mexicanidad* [Education and mexicanidad]. México City, México: Populibros La Prensa.
- Corona Berkin, S., & de Santiago, A. (2011). *Niños y libros: Publicaciones infantiles de la SEP* [Children and books: The ministry of public education children's publications]. México City, México: SEP.
- De la Peña, G. (coord.). (2011). *La antropología y el patrimonio cultural de México* [Anthropology and cultural heritage in Mexico]. México City, México: Conaculta.
- Enciclopedia de México*. (1987). México City, México: Secretaría de Educación Pública.
- Heath, S. B. (1986). *La política del lenguaje en México de la colonia a la nación* [The politics of language in México from the colony to the nation]. México City, México: INI.
- Labra, A. (Ed.). (1985). *Narciso Bassols*. México City, México: Crea/Terra Nova.
- Latapí Sarre, P. (2000, January 28). El primer reto: La educación indígena [The first challenge: The indigenous education]. *Revista Proceso*, 43–44.
- Limón Rojas, M. (2000). *Memoria del quehacer educativo 1995–2000, tomo I* [Report of the Education Agenda 1995–2000]. México City, México: SEP.
- List Arzubide, G. (1939). *Troka el poderoso* [Powerful Troka]. México City, México: El Nacional.
- Meneses Morales, E. (1986). *Tendencias educativas 1911–1934* [Educational tendencies 1911–1934]. Mexico City, México: Centro de Estudios Educativos, UIA.
- Meneses Morales, E. (1991). *Tendencias educativas oficiales en México 1964–1976* [Official education tendencies in Mexico 1964–1976]. México City, México: Centro de Estudios Educativos, UIA.
- Nolasco, M. (1978). Educación indígena. Una experiencia en Oaxaca [Indigenous education. An experience in Oaxaca]. In *INI, 30 años después, revisión crítica* [INI, 30 years after. A critical review]. México City, México: INI.
- Observatorio Ciudadano de la Educación. (2000, September 8). Informe de gobierno: ¿Balance educativo o mensaje político? [Government's report. Educational balance or political message?] *La Jornada*, p. 18.
- Salinas de Gortari, C. (1989a, May 31). *Plan nacional de desarrollo 1989–1994* [National program for development 1989–1994]. México City, México: SEP.
- Salinas de Gortari, C. (1989b, January). *Palabras pronunciadas por Carlos Salinas de Gortari durante la ceremonia de Instalación de la Comisión Nacional para la Consulta sobre Modernización de la Educación* [Words pronounced by Carlos Salinas de Gortari at the installation of the National Commission for Education Modernization]. México City, México: SEP.
- Subsecretaría de Educación Básica y Normal. (1999). *Lineamientos generales para la educación intercultural bilingüe para niñas y niños indígenas* [General guidelines for intercultural and bilingual education for indigenous girls and boys]. México City, México: SEP.
- Torres Bodet, J. (1946). *La obra educativa en el sexenio 1940–1946* [The education deed in the sexennial 1940–1946]. México City, México: SEP.
- Vasconcelos, J. (1923). *Revista educación* [Education journal]. México City, México: SEP.
- Vasconcelos, J. (1952). *El desastre* [The disaster]. México City, México: Ediciones Botas.
- Vázquez de Knauth, J. (1975). *Nacionalismo y educación en México* [Nationalism and education in Mexico]. México City, México: El Colegio de México.

S. C. BERKIN

Velazquez, A., & Rivera, D. (1927). *Fermin, libro de lectura Mexicana* [Fermin, a Mexican reader]. México City, México: SEP.

Zedillo Ponce de León, E. (1997, September 1). *Avances y retos de la nación* [The nation's progress and challenges]. México City, México: SEP.

Sarah Corona Berkin
Universidad de Guadalajara
México

CAROLYN A. BROWN^{†,1}

3. THE STRUGGLE TO BE SEEN

*Changing Views of American Indians in U.S.
High School History Textbooks*

In 1937, *The Growth of the American Republic* (Morrison & Commager, 1937) opened with a reference to the “wild Indians” and “savages.” Beyond portraying the American natives as obstructions to progress, the authors never mentioned them again. Samuel Eliot Morrison and Henry Steele Commager were award-winning historians who set the standard for the portrayal of American history for generations. Though later editions softened the negative language, the American Indian remained largely invisible in these seminal works. Official histories written by university professors and research scholars form the foundation of the content for high school American history textbooks. These official histories create the knowledge of American history that many Americans carry with them for a lifetime (Lerner, Nagai, & Rothman, 1993).

Since the 1970s, American Indians have been increasingly included in American history textbooks—largely as a result of tribes’ activism and the consequent raising of awareness; however, this study’s close examination of 65 years of high school U.S. history textbooks revealed that representation of American Indians is often limited to violent encounters and stories about the same few colorful heroes. Because U.S. history textbooks are written by a group of selected academics, the little visibility American Indians do have is limited to these academics’ perspective. The information presented in high school U.S. history textbooks continues to be based on secondary sources with a Euro-American historical perspective. The limited picture of the American Indian in these history classes has been formed without the voices of the American Indians.

CONTEXT: U.S. HISTORY TEXTBOOKS AS OFFICIAL KNOWLEDGE

U.S. history textbooks and supplemental curricula likely form the foundation of what most Americans know of the history of their country and the groups who populate it (Fitzgerald, 1979; Lerner et al., 1993; Moreau, 2004). While knowledge of different cultural groups may be available to students who live in diverse communities or attend diverse schools, without personal exposure to various groups, textbooks become a major source of information. Exposure to American Indians is particularly

C. A. BROWN

limited because they constitute only 1.6% of the U.S. population. Nearly two thirds of American Indians are scattered in urban areas (U.S. Census, 2010). The most visible American Indian cultures are on the rural reservations in the Western states. Few Americans ever see an Indian community.

This analysis of how American Indians are represented in U.S. history textbooks hopes to deepen the information that Americans receive about Indians through an analysis of how textbooks portray American Indians as part of U.S. history.

TEXTBOOKS AS CONTESTED SPACES

As most everywhere, in the United States, textbooks occupy a central position in education—as curriculum and as a source of cultural definition and controversy. U.S. textbooks are predominantly developed by private publishing companies, which are concerned with the marketability of the textbooks. While 22 states adopt textbooks for all schools in the state, the remaining 28 states leave adoption to individual school districts. This decentralized adoption process allows states and districts to define the content and perspective of the textbooks and create a market for their particular point of view. Even so, Texas and California exert an especially strong force on textbook content because of the size of their markets. The combined forces of decentralized adoption decisions (by state or district) and private ownership of textbook developers often result in textbooks that represent the least contested cultural values. Textbook adoptions, which occur every 3 to 5 years (American Textbook Council, 2011), have often been at the center of the “culture wars,” which have oscillated throughout contemporary history (Fitzgerald, 1979; Lerner et al., 1993).

In the last 15 years, textbooks companies have been compelled to focus content on state learning standards. Textbook companies have scrambled to produce books and materials that align with annual examinations in the 50 states and District of Columbia; however, a review of state social studies standards conducted by this author (North Central Comprehensive Center, 2009) showed that history content varies little among states, and textbooks continue as the dominant curriculum. Although U.S. history textbooks have continually been updated over the decades to reflect changes in cultural values and to incorporate learning standards, they remain the main source of content knowledge.

IDENTIFYING AND NAMING THE AMERICAN INDIAN

The term *American Indian* is used, in this chapter, for the indigenous populations of the continental United States. During the 1960s, when ethnic group identity was being emphasized and names were being reconsidered, political and historical documents, including high school textbooks, often substituted the term *Native American* for American Indian. The Canadian government identifies the indigenous people as “First Nation” peoples, and the original inhabitants of

Alaska and Hawaii refer to themselves as Alaskan Natives and Native Hawaiians. However, in current research by American Indians and documents of tribes from the continental United States, tribal members refer to themselves collectively as American Indians.

THEORETICAL FRAME: KNOWLEDGE CONSTRUCTION AND INVISIBILITY

A critical theory of knowledge construction was used to frame this study. Critical theories of knowledge construction contest the assumption that knowledge is empirical, that the empirical nature of knowledge renders it neutral and objective, and that facts, concepts, and principles can be considered (and therefore taught) as absolute and without consideration of cultural differences (Greer, 1969). Critical theorists assert that absolute knowledge is set by the dominant culture and serves to marginalize the knowledge of minority cultures (Giroux, 1983; Habermas, 1971). To counter the assumptions of a dominant knowledge, critical theories of knowledge construction assert that knowledge is socially constructed through the experiences, values, and language of individuals and cultures (Foucault, 1972; Rorty, 1989) and that minority groups construct their own knowledge outside of the dominant paradigm (Cherryholmes, 1988). This concept of socially constructed knowledge forms the theoretical basis for much of the literature on multicultural education (Banks, 1993).

Multicultural education theorists use theories of knowledge construction to frame and critique Eurocentric knowledge. They assert that lack of “recognition and identification of biases, assumptions, perspectives, and points of view [of minority populations] have frequently victimized people ... because of the stereotypes and misconceptions that have been perpetuated about them” (Banks, 1993). Banks (1993) emphasized that knowledge is constructed through individual experience and that the “cultural knowledge that many ... students bring to school conflicts with ... school knowledge” (p. 7).

Application of critical theories of knowledge construction to multicultural education provided a foundation for our view of the representation of American Indian in textbooks. However, our frame was also influenced by the central position textbooks have played in defining the position that American Indians inhabit in U.S. culture that limited their visibility.

First, we believe that high school U.S. history textbooks form an important part of the official knowledge of American Indians, that is, the knowledge that is represented as neutral and absolute. One of the early goals of compulsory education for a diverse population was the enculturation of the children into a unified American belief system (Cremin, 1977), and textbooks such as *Noah Webster's Early American History* (Webster, 1841/2006) formed the foundations for teaching these values (Lerner et al., 1993). A growing population and a shortage of trained teachers made textbooks the basis of content knowledge (Fitzgerald, 1979). The textbooks, then, became an important vehicle for disseminating the knowledge of the dominant culture.

Furthermore, while the historical representation of American Indians by U.S. textbooks is contested by American Indian scholars, their primary concern is with the paucity of the American Indian voice in constructing their own history and with the invisibility, in textbooks, of American Indians as contemporary and dynamic members of society (Hilberg, Soleste, & Tharp, 2002; Juhel, 1996; Simpson, 2010). Juhel (1996) mentioned that in nearly all U.S. history textbooks, American Indians are written about in the past tense, and the language describing the Indians often frames them as nearly extinct. Juhel's (1996) work also emphasized how American Indian contributions to U.S. history are ignored or misrepresented. Furthermore, the low percentage of American Indians in the populations (1.6%) reduces the likelihood of Americans having contact with an Indian or any form of Indian culture. Therefore, the official knowledge constructed in U.S. history textbooks may constitute a substantial part of most Americans' knowledge of American Indians. While American Indian scholars agree with multicultural scholars that the historical marginalization of minority groups in official histories impedes minority students' abilities to construct their own cultural knowledge (Banks, 1993; Sleeter & Grant, 2003), a greater concern of the Indian community is the invisibility of themselves and their culture as contemporary and dynamic.

This analysis found that history continues to render American Indians, at best, obscured. The researcher viewed the findings through a knowledge construction framework that allows us to look widely at how the official knowledge is being constructed about American Indians, how American Indians are being acknowledged as a historical and contemporary culture, how American Indian knowledge and perspectives on their own history and culture are included, and how the impact of European perspectives defines the American Indian.

METHOD

This study used content analysis methodology to examine high school U.S. history textbooks from 1940 to the present. Content analysis is used to quantify and analyze words and concepts within a text and to identify and deconstruct how the presence, meanings, and relationships of the words and concepts are used (Krippendorff, 1980). Content analysis enables researchers to systematically sift through large volumes of data (Stemler, 2001) and is useful for discovering and describing the focus of individual, group, institutional, or social attention (Weber, 1990). The use of content analysis for this study provided a strategy for closely examining the language and concepts used in high school U.S. history textbooks to represent American Indians.

This analysis examined 15 high school textbooks that were widely adopted throughout the U.S. between 1940 and 2007. The analysis was divided into five eras to highlight the changes in historical representations over time. The following questions guided the analysis:

- How are American Indians portrayed in a selection of high school U.S. history textbooks during the last 65 years?
- How have the textbooks changed in their inclusion of American Indians in the study of U.S. history since 1940?
- How have textbooks changed in their portrayal of American Indians since 1940?

Textbook Sample Selection

Textbooks selected for this study were those widely used throughout the United States during their period of publication. Selection of books published prior to 1990 relied on two seminal sources that extensively analyzed U.S. history textbooks: Fitzgerald (1979) and Lerner et al. (1993). Lerner et al. (1993) conducted a survey of all 50 state departments of education. With the exception of five states, which at the time of the study adopted textbooks at the state level, Lerner et al.'s team found textbooks were adopted as the school district level. Lerner et al. then surveyed 120 of the largest districts in non-state adoption states and used the combined information from the states and districts to develop a list of 15 textbooks, three for each of five decades, 1940s to 1980s. Fitzgerald's (1979) process was less systematic, but her textbook selection was more comprehensive. For the period from 1890 to 1973, she reviewed and analyzed 103 textbooks. Many of her selections were also reviewed by Lerner et al.

Since 1990, the American Textbook Council (ATC) has provided information on the six high school U.S. history textbooks that have held approximately 80% of the national market (ATC, 2011). ATC's databases, begun in 1986 and updated regularly, use annual surveys of key states and large school districts to determine the nation's most widely adopted social studies textbooks.

For this study, we analyzed three textbooks for each of five eras (total of 15). Lerner et al.'s list was used as the primary source of selection. Fitzgerald's list (for 1940 to 1978) and ATC's list (for 1980 to 2010) were consulted for a match. For the last 25 years, ATC was the primary source. In some cases, the copyright dates of the books listed in the reference sources and those of the books used for this study vary slightly because of availability. [Table 1](#) shows each text and the source from which it was selected—Lerner, Fitzgerald, or ATC.

Defining the Eras

We divided the seven decades into five eras based on historical changes in society and resultant changes in education. We recognized that interpretations of history are positional; therefore, we chose to use a foundation university U.S. history textbook as the basis of our division by eras (Mack-Faragher, Buhle, Czitrom, & Armitage, 1997). For specific changes in textbooks, we used U.S. history textbooks at the high school level (Fitzgerald, 1979; Lerner et al., 1993; Moreau, 2004). In this section,

we briefly discuss each era and the forces that influenced the development of U.S. history textbooks.

The first era, 1940–1950, was the last decade dominated by David Saville Muzzey’s textbooks (Fitzgerald, 1979). Muzzey’s textbooks, widely used from the 1920s through the 1950s, reflected an emphasis on political history and a belief that education was to acculturate students into the dominant White Protestant ethic and emphasize citizenship for a democracy (Lerner et al., 1993). During the second era, 1951–1963, which was associated with the Cold War, Muzzey’s books, which used vivid language to portray a colorful view of American history, were rejected, and new authors were recruited whose prose style was more terse and whose content reflected the more somber mood of nationalism (Fitzgerald, 1979; Lerner et al., 1993). During this second era, U.S. history textbooks continued to promote

Table 1. Textbooks selected for the study by Era and Source

<i>Title</i>	<i>Used in this study</i>		<i>Source: year used</i>		
	<i>First author</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Lerner et al</i>	<i>Fitzgerald</i>	<i>ATC</i>
Era 1: 1940–1950					
A History of Our Country	Muzzey	1941	1943	1936, 1948	
The Building of Our Nation	Barker	1946	1948		
United States History	Wirth	1949	1955	1954	
Era 2: 1951–1963					
A History of Our Country	Muzzey	1953	1953	1950, 1956	
United States History	Wirth	1954	1955	1954	
History of a Free People	Bragdon	1961	1967	1961	
Era 3: 1964–1975					
The Making of Modern America	Canfield	1964	1962		
America: A Modern History of the United States	Freidel	1970	1970		
Rise of the American Nation	Todd	1972	1972	1972	
Era 4: 1976–1995					
America, Its People and Values	Wood	1979	1985		
A History of the United States	Boorstin	1989	1986		1989
The Americans	Danzer	1991			1991
Era 5: 1996–2007					
American Odyssey	Nash	1999			1999
America Pathways to the Present	Cayton	2003			2003
American Anthem	Ayers	2007			2007

the values of the White Protestant culture and minimized the inclusion of minority populations (Lerner et al., 1993). The third era, 1964–1975, was a period of political upheaval and liberalization influenced by the civil rights movement when minority groups put pressure on textbook adopters for recognition and relevance (Lerner et al., 1993; Moreau, 2004). Textbooks began to include passages on various minority groups and women. While the influence of minority populations continued into the next two eras, the “back to basics” movement during the fourth era, 1976–1995, placed new emphasis on basic skills such as vocabulary and mapping and asserted a more conservative view of history (Lerner et al., 1993). During this era, textbook companies chose between maintaining special sections on minority cultures or dropping many of these sections in favor of more skills-based activities (Moreau, 2004). We included a fifth era, 1996–2007, to examine how present-day textbooks have changed (or not) in their representation of American Indians.

Coding and Analysis

Indices in all 15 textbooks were examined, and each entry that related in any way to the term “American Indian,” “Indian,” or “Native American” was consulted. We read every page on which there was any mention of American Indians and recorded verbatim passages into a data matrix. We were interested in not only how American Indians were represented, but how often they were included in U.S. history textbooks.

After all texts were entered into the data matrix, we began the content analysis with open coding. Open coding is the process of being open to any and all commonalities (Merriam, 2009). First, we open coded the data within each era and then we identified categories common between two eras or among several eras. This process identified 14 categories, 12 of which were present over time.

To refine our categories, we used a strategy of identifying and coding texts in “referential units” and “propositional units” (Krippendorff, 1980). Referential units are the way a unit (or group of words) refers to a particular subject. For instance, one referential unit may refer to American Indians as “savages” or “barbarians,” while a later referential unit refers to them simply as “Native Americans.” Referential units can be quantified to illustrate the frequency of particular language use over time. Referential unit analysis identifies the labeling or “referring to” (Krippendorff, 1980) of American Indians and considers changes over time. The language used to describe American Indians is an important part of understanding how they are represented in the textbooks.

Propositional units break down text to examine underlying assumptions. These are the most complex units. For instance, we used propositional coding to deconstruct sentences to identify how values of European superiority were used to describe how Indians lived—often portrayed as “primitive.” Also, sentences and paragraphs were analyzed for how American Indians were represented as a group—largely either as

enemy or as victim. In the analysis of propositional units, we identified statements such as “The Indians *admired* the *marvelous* tools and weapons of the British,” and “*Superior discipline* enabled Wayne’s army to defeat a large force of Indians” (emphasis added). Propositional units were grouped into categories and discussed in terms of their implication for the representation of American Indians.

Stemler (2001) urged that care be taken in using propositional coding so that codes are defined and used consistently. Consistency was assured through the use of group coding. All transcripts were coded jointly by our team of researchers. The researchers sat together, read each transcript, discussed the passages, and jointly coded them to achieve consistency. No interrater reliability testing was needed, as all coding was conducted through a process of consensus.

Emergent categories varied from era to era. In fact, some categories that were dominant in Era 1 and Era 2 almost entirely disappeared by Era 3. While we found common categories across eras, we also found some striking differences in the language, content, and approach of the textbook authors even within eras. These differences were recorded. The analysis, then, focused on cross-comparison of categories within and among eras and within and among textbooks within an era. In addition, the analysis explored changes in categories between 1940 and 2007. These were recorded and charted. Some categories occurred in the textbooks consistently across time, some were limited to particular eras, and some emerged more frequently among certain authors.

We consolidated the 12 categories into four themes (Creswell, 2006) that framed an understanding of the major forms of representation of American Indian over the 65-year period. In addition to the four themes, we conducted a frequency count of referential units to ascertain how often American Indians were mentioned in the textbooks.²

Because this analysis used referential and proposition units, the researchers used various strategies for reporting the findings: in some cases quotes were used to directly support the themes; in some cases a larger section of text was cited and then deconstructed for referential and propositional statements; and in some cases referential units were counted where the quantitative data would provide a clearer understanding of the theme.

RESULTS

We begin this section with a description of the frequency in which American Indians were mentioned in U.S. history textbook. We then provide data on the four themes that were identified on the representation of American Indians in high school U.S. history textbooks: misrepresentation of American Indians in U.S. history, use of language to portray American Indians as inferior, emphasis on military history portraying American Indians as enemies, and inclusion of American Indians using trivial or minor events or descriptions. These four themes, which were common across all eras and all authors, are important indicators of the kind of knowledge

that Americans get from schools about American Indians. Some themes were more dominant in certain eras or among certain authors.

Inclusion of American Indians in U.S. History: Quantitative Measure

Figure 1 shows the number of textbook pages that mentioned American Indians, organized by year of publication. For Era 1 and Era 2, which included books published in 1941, 1946, 1949, 1953, 1954, and 1961, American Indians were mentioned in less than 20 pages per textbook. Beginning in 1972, the number of pages increased to 36, and then it spiked to 60 in 1979. Pages remained above 35 until they fell sharply for the 2007 textbook. The sharp rise in 1979 and decline in 2007 may be attributable to the author as much as to the year, since these dates represent only one textbook. But, overall, we saw a distinct increase in the number of times American Indians were mentioned in the latter eras.

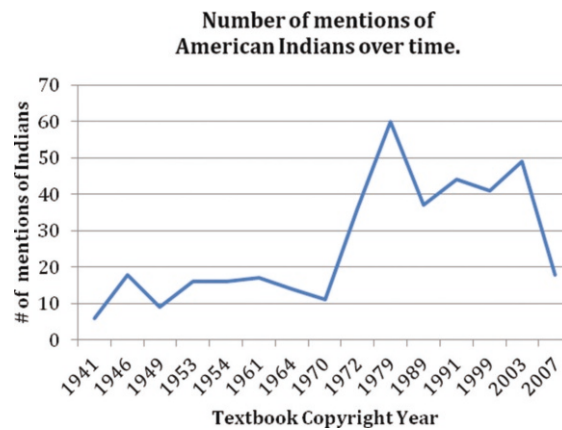


Figure 1. Number of times American Indians were mentioned in each textbook by publication date

The quantitative data on frequency of mention of American Indians in U.S. history textbooks should be considered in relation to the total pages in a textbook (800 to 1000). For example, the highest mention (60) was in a book with approximately 950 pages, which represents about one mention every 15 pages.

Theme 1: Misrepresentation of American Indians in U.S. History

The misrepresentation of American Indians in U.S. history was evident throughout all textbooks. Passages included in this theme were those where (1) significant events or whole eras were omitted, (2) there were factual errors in history, (3) history was reported using language that obscured essential facts of the events, (4) several

important events were compacted into a single sentence or paragraph and/or the events were treated lightly or glossed over, and (5) descriptions of American Indian problems concluded by asserting a “happy ending.”

In the first three eras, omission was a major factor in misrepresentation. Of the nine textbooks published in Eras 1, 2, and 3, only Canfield and Wilder (1964) and Todd and Curti (1972) included any mention of American Indians beyond 1890 (1 page each). Barker, Commager, and Webb (1946) ended the history of American Indians in the early colonial era. They portrayed a “happy ending” by finishing their discussion with “It is true ... that the Indians caused the colonists much suffering and sorrow, but it is also true that the colonists learned from them many useful lessons.” Muzzey (1941 and 1953) extended his coverage of American Indians into the 1880s and then obscured the history with a picture of angry, warring people who cost the government money.

Angered by the invasion of their hunting grounds by the Whites and the wholesale slaughter of the buffaloes on which they depended ... the Indians again and again went on the warpath. It took twenty years of fighting by some of the best generals of the Civil War and cost the government over twenty million dollars before the red men were finally pacified. It was not until 1887 ... that the government by the Dawes Act ... conferred citizenship and a homestead on the head of any Indian family who would substitute allegiance to the United States for allegiance to his tribe.

Notice that Muzzey mentioned only the cost to the American government, not the cost to the Indians. In addition, factually, the Dawes Act provided only limited citizenship rights and privatized reservation land, which was often purchased cheaply by White land speculators (Davidson, Gienapp, Heyrman, Lytle, & Stoff, 1994).

Wirth (1949 and 1954) condensed the history of American Indians and the settlement of the West into one paragraph that included several misrepresentations of history. Below is a propositional analysis of a portion of Wirth’s final paragraph on the American Indians:

(1) Another factor that contributed to the rapid settlement of the West was the removal of Indians from the *public land* to reservations ... (2) Indians were forced to submit to government policy ... The story of how the Western plains were made safe for settlers is not a pleasant one ... The *method* used by most of the first settlers was based on the *theory* that “the only good Indian is a dead Indian.” (3) An Indian Bureau was created, which attempted to *educate* the Indian ... but during the [18]70s and 80s, the Indian question was *largely a military problem with extensive Indian warfare*. (4) The appearance of Helen Hunt Jackson’s book, *A Century of Dishonor*, led a strong humanitarian protest against the mistreatment of the Indians and induced President Cleveland to recommend appropriate legislations. In 1887 Congress passed the Dawes Act, which provided for the division of land among individual Indians. Toward the

close of the 80s, the education and assimilation of the Indian became important.
[numbering and emphasis added]

In this paragraph, there was no substantial content between 1830 (when Indian relocation began) and the “close of the 80s.” No history of American Indians appeared in Wirth’s texts after 1880. In addition to Wirth’s glossing over content, the language served to misrepresent or underplay actual events. In Sentence 1, the term “public lands” inferred that the U.S. government had claim to the land for the public. In fact, notwithstanding that the Indians had occupied and used the land for centuries, the Spanish, French, and British had all claimed some part of the land between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean. In Sentence 2, the Indians could be considered as “forced to submit,” though full submission, arguably, still has not been achieved. The use of the term “method” and “theory” here implied that “the only good Indian was a dead Indian” was accepted policy. Beyond that, we question why Wirth used this quote at all.³ Sentence 3 noted that the Indian Bureau was created to administer the reservations; that was decades before the U.S. government embarked on any effort to “educate” the Indian. Regarding Sentence 4, Jackson’s book appeared in 1881 and did garner widespread attention; however, humanitarian protests already existed and the Dawes Act (touted in all the texts reviewed), by privatizing reservation land, resulted in a loss of land for the American Indians. The last sentence of the paragraph wraps up the issue of American Indians by implying that all necessary actions had been taken to make the education and assimilation of the Indian tenable. Nothing here pointed to the six decades between 1880 and 1940 when the book was published, nor did it reveal that American Indians are a contemporary part of American society. While Muzzey’s and Wirth’s textbooks, for both Eras 1 and 2, were clearly outdated, this pattern of invisibility of American Indians in U.S. history beyond 1880 was prevalent in all textbooks until 1978.

Bragdon and McCutchen (1961) echoed other Era 1 and 2 authors in that most history on American Indians was included in the sections on the War of 1812, where they stated, “Relations with the Indians were probably most influenced by Indian raids which were thought to be encouraged by the British north of Ohio and the Spanish in the Southeast.” They made no mention of Indians after 1820.

For Era 3, Canfield and Wilder (1964) devoted 1 page to American Indians into the 20th century, but they condensed several decades into a few paragraphs that gave a disconnected view of Indians. They ended their Indian history with three paragraphs. The first paragraph leapt from the Dawes Act in 1887 to “soon afterward, compulsory education for Indian children was provided by law.” The second paragraph began with one statement about the discovery of oil on Indian land in Oklahoma and jumped to “most of the Indians, however, barely managed to exist under the government’s guardianship.” The final paragraph began with the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934, which was one of several attempts to institute Indian self-government while leaving the reservations under the control of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Davidson et al., 1994), and ended with the “happy ending” statement: “For

a long time it looked as though American Indians were a vanishing race. That is no longer so ... Today there are Indians living in all the states, and they own extensive lands in more than half of them. Their holdings amount to about 53 million acres.” It is arguable whether American Indian lands are “extensive” in half the states. Large reservations exist in only a handful of states. In addition, this view obscures the continuing and severe poverty of most American Indians today.

Todd and Curti (1972) included two condensed pages on 20th-century Indian history that highlighted federal attempts to mitigate the poverty of reservation life. They jumped from the Dawes Act in 1887 to the first attempts to give Indians rights of self-government in 1924, then to attempts during the New Deal to educate Indians in agriculture, and finally to the termination program of the 1950s intended to close the reservations and relocate Indians to urban areas. They ended with the Nixon program for self-government: “The Nixon program offered the American Indians a larger measure of control over their own destiny than they had since the first Europeans landed on the shores of the New World.” Another hopeful ending.

All the textbooks in Eras 4 and 5 included American Indians in 20th-century history, and several covered the American Indian protest movements of the 1960s; however, we found that these books, too, often condensed and glossed over historical events (possibly to cover more events in the limited pages). In the 200-plus pages of text devoted to American Indians for Eras 4 and 5, there are numerous examples of the authors glossing over or misrepresenting American Indian history in ways that were particularly misleading. Here is an excerpt from Wood, Gabriel, and Biller (1979):

Indians in the region ... soon began to be troubled by migrations ... Indians who had formerly lived along the eastern seaboard moved into the land west of the Appalachians. [As a result of settlers] the hunting grounds of the Delaware ... became smaller and the animals which they hunted became fewer. At the same time the fierce Iroquois, their neighbors to the north, raided the Delaware villages ... Finally, the proud Delaware left their old homeland in the East. The tribes which were already living there were not pleased to see the newcomers.

In this description, the migration of the Delaware tribe was attributed in part to settlers, but more prominently to other Indian tribes who were “fierce.” There is little evidence that tribes who had lived in peace for years were suddenly a threat to each other. Also, the pressure of population that caused the tribes “already living there” to be “not pleased” is more often attributed by historians to the encroachment of White settlers than the movement of Indian tribes.

Cayton, Perry, Reed, and Winkler (2003) provided two pages of contemporary American Indian history beginning with a list of the legislation passed between 1924 and 1970 by the federal government, accompanied by a description of the American Indian Movement (AIM) demonstrations. The description of AIM emphasized the militant nature of the movement with sentences such as

“The occupation failed. The federal marshals ... removed the last protesters” (from Alcatraz Island). “Native Americans used standoffs with the federal government.” And “the standoff finally ended in May when the protesters agreed to surrender their weapons and leave the reservation” (at Wounded Knee in 1973). However, the chapter ended with this sentence: “Native Americans ... continued to win legal battles to regain land, mineral and water rights,” pointing to the modern struggle for Indian rights.

These legal battles resulted in many victories that form the case law that was instrumental in defining the rights of Indians across the country, while the activities of AIM were limited to a small group of people during a brief period of time. The emphasis on AIM, found in all Era 4 and 5 textbooks, overplayed the influence of the group and its militant tactics on the actual activism of American tribes and their struggle to gain rights over their land (Wilkinson, 2005).

Theme 2: Use of Language to Portray American Indians as Inferior

Language use is an essential area of concern in content analysis because language influences the way messages are received and understood (Stemler, 2001). Our analysis found that authors of all textbooks used language to represent the American Indian in an inferior position. This included texts where a Euro-American viewpoint or value system was assumed and American Indians were shown in contrast. In addition, language portrayed the Indians as passive participants in an inevitable unfolding of historical events or as victims of circumstances. In several texts, the authors made statements about what the American Indians were thinking or feeling. This was coded as “projecting thoughts and feeling” and included with the category of inferiority because examples of “projecting thoughts and feelings” were not found in descriptions of White people.

We found hundreds of examples, in all five eras, of language used to portray American Indians as inferior, passive, ignorant, or childlike. Even the relatively few mentions of “friendly Indians” were often followed by a mention of how the settlers took advantage of them (showing them as passive or ignorant); however, the number of references portraying American Indians as passive or childlike substantially decreased by Era 5. By Era 4 and Era 5, textbooks had neutralized the language used to describe the Indians or changed the tone to cast the Indians with more dignity. Included here are examples of the use of language in these contexts, which are presented in chronological order to illustrate how the language changed over the years.

Language in Era 1, 2, and 3 textbooks was similar in the representation of American Indians as inferior. Muzzey (1941) described early Indians:

The Indians had nowhere advanced beyond the stage of barbarism. They had no written language. Their only domesticated animal was the dog ... The more intelligent tribes like the Iroquois had a rude sort of government.

Wirth (1949) noted, “Indians became more submissive to White domination.” Barker et al. (1946) used a quote from Columbus’ journal, “They neither carry nor know anything of arms, for I showed them swords, and they took them by the blade and cut themselves through ignorance.” Another quote from Barker et al. (1946): Explorers found only “miserable Indian villages from which they took captives to carry their baggage.” In Era 1, the textbooks used language such as “barbarism,” “submissive,” “ignorance,” and “miserable” to describe the Indians.

In Eras 2 and 3, quotes illustrate how the textbooks obscured the historical events to portray the Indian as passive. Muzzey (1953) stated, “Indians who had roamed the plains had been *subdued* ... Others *retired* before the rush of settlers” (emphasis added). Bragdon and McCutchen (1961) stated, “Occasionally a [leader] organized a *short-lived* Indian alliance and drove the frontier back, but in the end the greater number and *better organization* of the Whites always won out.” Canfield and Wilder (1964) noted, “The government has *secured* thousands of squares miles of Oklahoma land from the Indians” and “The Indian, during the centuries that he had lived on the land, had done little to develop the country and its resources” (emphasis added). Again, the language used represented the Indians as “subdued” and as having “retired” before the rush of settlers. The sustained efforts by the Indians to fight and to negotiate with the U.S. government were obscured. Freidel and Drewry (1970) portrayed a paternalistic attitude by including a quote from Thomas Jefferson on how the Indians should interact with the Whites: “We may all live together in one household, and that before [the Indians] strike ... they should go to their father [referring to the U.S. government] and let him endeavor to make up the quarrel.”

Referring to the Jacksonian era, Todd and Curti (1972) obscured popular opinion by noting, “Like most Americans, Jackson regarded the Indians as childish, inefficient, incapable of improvement, and altogether inferior.” This quote placed Jackson’s attitudes as “like most Americans,” while historical record showed that Jackson formed and enforced policies of Indian eradication that stood in opposition to not only “most Americans” but to the U.S. Supreme Court in the ruling on Cherokee sovereignty in Georgia (Davidson et al., 1994).

In Eras 4 and 5, the language became more neutral, but implication of passivity and inferiority remained for all but one of the books we analyzed. Nash (1999) was a notable example of a balanced portrayal of American Indians in history and contemporary life. He avoided language that portrayed the Indian as inferior, often by including Indians with other minority groups and employing sympathetic statements such as, “By including the excluded—women, African Americans, Native Americans, farmers, common laborers, and the poor—the New Deal brought government closer to all the people.” By contrast, Wood et al. (1979) portrayed the Indians this way:

They owe their better treatment to missionaries, who ... taught them skills to improve their daily life ... Indian peoples gradually moved beyond their primitive cultures and developed more advanced cultures ... Fair and profitable

trade was not always good for the Indian ... He came to depend upon the European trader for knives, kettles, and blankets. These things were better than the tools and clothing that the Indian had once made and used, but the Indian then began to forget these old skills and crafts. He no longer was able to supply all his own needs ... and had to move.

Again, through language and obfuscation of history and economics, Wood et al. portrayed the Indian as inferior. Arguably, any trading arrangement changes the cultures and livelihoods of the trading groups, yet Wood et al. portrayed the trading arrangements of the Indians with the European as a source of weakness, resulting in a declining population and a need to move west. Historically, trade with Europeans did not always put the Indians at a disadvantage (e.g., fur trading), but the passage seems to imply that it was dependence on European goods that forced the Indians to move west. It obscured the role of European diseases and military action (Davidson et al., 1994).

Boorstin, Kelley, and Boorstin (1989) repeated throughout their text the role disease played in the reduction of the Indian population. While this was indeed the case, Boorstin et al. rarely mentioned losses due to warfare and glossed over events such as forced relocation, during which thousands of Indians died. They titled one section “Control of the Indians” and stated:

Unlike the people of Europe, they had not built ships to cross the oceans. They had not reached out to the world ... In the missions they were taught building and farming and worshipping, but they were not allowed to leave these mission schools. They were forever students of the friars.

By Era 5, we found more instances of a balanced portrayal. While Indians continued to be portrayed as victims, the texts did not emphasize passivity or inferiority, and the role of the American government in the oppression of American Indians was included more extensively. While Nash (1999) presented few portrayals of Indians as inferior, the language of inferiority emerged again in Cayton et al. (2003) and Ayers, Schulzinger, de la Teja, and White (2007). Cayton et al. (2003) stated, “Gradually Native Americans *gave up* their homelands in one treaty after another. Although some Native Americans fought bitterly against removal, *most went peacefully*” (emphasis added).

Ayers et al. (2007) stated, “Information about early American cultures comes from archeology” and “scholars agree that Siberian hunters crossed the land bridge to America.” While this does not explicitly portray the people as inferior, the use of the word “agree” implies that American Indian scholars concur with Euro-American scholars regarding the origins of the Indians. In fact, American Indian scholars do not subscribe to the land bridge theory and point out that U.S. history textbooks rely entirely on secondary source material produced by White scholars, who portray the American Indian culture through discussions of “archeological artifacts” as if “the culture no longer exists” (Juhel, 1996).

C. A. BROWN

*Theme 3: Emphasis on Military History Portraying Americans
Indians as Enemies*

Era 1, 2, and 3 textbooks emphasized the warlike nature of the American Indians and focused most American Indian content on military battles and threats to settlers. The portrayal of Indians as violent was deemphasized in Eras 4 and 5, and more attention was paid to the Indians' mistreatment. Although descriptions of many of the same battles were included in Eras 4 and 5, these books decreased the portrayal of American Indians as enemies through the use of neutral language. They included more information on the actions of the U.S. government against the Indians. Interestingly, as emphasis on warfare between the Whites and Indians decreased, latter-era textbooks frequently invoked disease as a major factor in the reduction of Indian populations. In fact, disease, warfare, and U.S. government policy toward the Indians all played a part in the reduction of the Indian population up until the late 20th century (Davidson et al., 1994).

This analysis coded dozens of passages of text as "portrayal as enemy." To best illustrate this concept, we use quotes to show how the representation changed over time and among authors. As with the other themes, Eras 1 and 2 changed little. For instance, in both 1941 and 1953, Muzzey described the Indians as "a treacherous, cruel people who inflicted terrible tortures upon their captured enemies." He used words such as "savage raids," "massacres," "ambushed and annihilated," and "spread terror" to describe the Indian threat to the settlers. Barker et al. (1946) was less colorful in their language but described military actions as "self-defense." They noted, "Jackson was *compelled to punish* the Indians for their raids in Georgia and Alabama" (emphasis added). Wirth (1949 and 1954) stated, "The Indians were hostile and in the horrible massacre of 1622, 300 [White] men, women, and children were killed."

Bragdon and McCutchen (1961) followed the trend of reporting Indian history as a litany of military encounters ending in 1880. They described the "Indian menace" and stated, "Made bold by the weakness of the Confederate government, armed by the British and Spanish, the Indians were raiding the entire frontier ... In a single year ... over 30 settlers were killed in Nashville ... North of the Ohio no Whites were safe."

Canfield and Wilder (1964) discussed both the Indian and White side of two battles: Pontiac's Rebellion and Tecumseh's War; however, the language they used to portray the Indians differed from that used to portray the Whites. Indians "went on the warpath," "terrorized settlers," and "massacred men, women and children." Whites "defended" and "protected" land and settlers. Canfield and Wilder (1964) stated that "the settler saw nothing good in the Indian ... only their *cunning, their ferocity, and their shocking cruelty*." The "red men, on the other hand, saw the *dishonesty* of the White men" (emphasis added). Even in speaking of the Indians' perspective on the White man, the portrayal is one of enemy.

By Era 4, the number of pages devoted to American Indians had increased. Most texts described Indians' lives before the settlers and used neutral language to portray tension between the Indians and the Whites rather than to vilify the Indians as enemies. All three textbooks continued to cover Tecumseh's War and Pontiac's Rebellion as well as the role of the American Indians in assisting the British during the War of 1812. While Era 4 described these battles in milder language, the texts maintained a view of Indians as a hindrance and a danger to the settlers moving west. For instance: "During the War of 1812, the Creek 'went on the warpath' killing many settlers." "Warpath" was still used to describe the Indians, but was, arguably, softened by the use of quotes. "The settlers ... had the United States government on their side to defend *claims* to the land" and after the battle with Tecumseh, "they no longer had to *fear Indian attacks*" (Wood et al., 1979; emphasis added). Boorstin et al. (1989) said this:

In the Spring of 1763, [a group of Indians] were in the forefront of leading the Indians of the West on the warpath. By June the tribes had captured eight of the 12 British forts and many settlers had died ... Detroit was under siege by the Ottawa Indians led by the able chieftain Pontiac ... Illness and troops broke most Indian resistance by 1764.

In Era 4, representation of the Indians showed more variation among authors than by year. For instance, Wood et al. (1979) devoted more than 20 pages to describing Indians' historical ways of life, but less than four pages covered military struggles. They glossed over the military encounters in the South and the Ohio Valley in three paragraphs, never mentioned Indian relocation by the military, and then devoted three pages to the Indians' "last desperate struggle" on the Great Plains. Wood et al. (1979) portrayed the encounters with the Cheyenne and the Sioux with some balance by attempting to show perspective from both sides. In discussing Black Kettle, the chief of the Cheyenne:

He knew that the Indians were no match for the settlers ... He moved his village to Sand Creek ... The commander of the fort had promised him protection, but the commander changed. The new commander wanted to destroy the Indians. He surprised the Cheyenne village and killed most of its people ... War followed the Sand Creek Massacre. The Cheyenne fought back ... Four years later, General Custer destroyed another peaceful Cheyenne village. Black Kettle died in this fight, which ended the Cheyenne War.

Wood et al. adopted a tone of struggle but ultimate defeat of the Indians.

Boorstin et al. (1989), 10 years later, echoed earlier eras by not including any discussion of Indian lives and emphasizing Indian aggression in military encounters during the colonial period, "[Ann Hutchinson] and all but one of her household were massacred by Indians," and in Pennsylvania, "Indians burned homes, ruined crops, and killed or captured men, women and children. Panic gripped the land ...

Scalps were taken,” and “Indians raided small parties that were tempted to go off and settle by themselves.” Reporting on a battle between Indians and British in 1790 where Indians prevailed, Boorstin et al. stated, “The terrible defeat exposed the whole Northwest to the vengeance of the Indians.”

In the eight pages Boorstin et al. devoted to Plains Indians, they included one paragraph on Indian wars and a page and a half on “the defeat of the Indian” where they highlighted the defeat of Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce tribe. Boorstin et al. emphasized the victories of the U.S. military and its success in subduing the Indians. Boorstin et al. discussed the Battle of Wounded Knee (which was, arguably, less battle than a massacre) as a “successful” battle, which obscured the fact that the Indians were starving, homeless, and essentially defenseless after years of forced relocation (Brown, 1970).

Danzer, Klor de Alva, Krieger, Wilson, and Woloch (1991) nearly omitted any discussion of Indian warfare and attributed the depopulation of American Indians to disease. In this way, they avoided portraying the Indian as enemy. Their inclusion of Pontiac’s Rebellion was limited to this text:

British officers deliberately presented blankets contaminated with smallpox to two Delaware chiefs during peace negotiations, and the virus spread rapidly. ... Weakened by disease and tired of fighting, most Native American groups negotiated treaties.

Danzer et al.’s mention of Plains Indians was limited to the following sentence: “The frontier settlers faced extreme hardships—drought, floods, fires, blizzards, locust plagues, and raid by outlaws and Indians.”

In Era 5, avoidance of language representing the American Indian as enemy was stark when compared to earlier eras. However, all Era 5 textbooks discussed the same military encounters that had been featured in all other textbooks dating back to 1940—Tecumseh’s War, Pontiac’s Rebellion, King Phillip’s War, and battles with Southeastern Indians. The difference in Era 5 was that the descriptions of the battles mentioned the “pressure from settlers on the Indians,” and the battles were framed as “Indian resistance” rather than Indian aggression (rarely mentioning casualties). Nash (1999) devoted less than two pages to these encounters. He omitted any mention of Plains Indians and jumped directly from the Ohio Valley battles (1880s) to the 1960s. Cayton et al. (2003) attributed lessening of American Indian resistance to disease rather than military defeat, and Ayers et al. (2007) attributed the violence between the Indians and Whites to a “conflict of values” and “lack of cultural understanding.” The battles in the Southwest continued to be limited to the Indians’ involvement with the British and the Spanish during the War of 1812. Arguably, a major military event in the Southeast was the forced relocation of tribes by the U.S. Army, referred to as the Trail of Tears. This event received no mention until 1979, and only Nash in 1999 gave it any substantial historical coverage.

Throughout the five eras, the relationship between the American Indians and the U.S. government was portrayed as a military one. However, in recent decades, the

militaristic relationship and the framing of Indians as enemies gave way to mentions of disease and mistreatment and framed the Indian as victim.

Theme 4: Inclusion of American Indians Using Trivial or Minor Events or Descriptions

While textbooks increasingly included more pages on American Indians over time, much of the text described specific colorful Indian heroes and presented the American Indian presence as a series of discrete events with little indication of their history as continuous. In Eras 3, 4, and 5, most of the additional pages of American Indian history were long descriptions of the natural setting, housing, implements, or life prior to the arrival of the Europeans.

American Indian heroes, as defined by White historians and not by contemporary American Indians (Juhel, 1996), were selected for inclusion in all 15 textbooks. Tecumseh and Pontiac, two Ohio Valley chiefs, appeared in all 15 textbooks and were said to unite Indians against the settlers, fighting valiantly and losing. Muzzey (1953) ended his description by stating, “The great Tecumseh was among the slain, and the *Indian menace on the western border was removed*” (emphasis added). Indians of the Southwest were also included in all the textbooks, mostly as pawns to the British and Spanish during early territorial wars. For both groups, their forcible relocation to the Great Plains was represented as a result of loss in battle, not government policy.

As the amount of pages expanded between 1940 and 2007, the use of hero portraits also increased. Era 1 textbooks included a brief profile of Tecumseh with the description of the movement of settlers into the Ohio Valley; however, after 1948 all but two of the textbooks included an extensive story about Tecumseh and his valiant, if failed, effort to push back the White settlers. Pontiac, who also fought a long war but ultimately lost, was featured after 1948 in all but one textbook.

Additional heroes were added through the decades. By the 1960s, King Phillip (Anglo name for the Indian leader Metacom) fought a long and costly war against Northeast settlers. He was featured in five textbooks published after 1972. Two women heroes entered the textbooks in Eras 3, 4 and 5: Pocahontas and Sacajawea. These two women, who have taken on nearly mythical status in U.S. history, played a relatively small role in history, but for textbook authors after 1965 they may have served the dual advantage of recognizing both American Indians and women. In the latter two eras, heroes who resisted White expansion into the West emerged. Again, these were individual Indian leaders who fought hard and lost: Sitting Bull and Chief Joseph.

In later eras, the proportion of text devoted to descriptions of historical Indian life, including housing, food, and activities, increased. In 1964, Canfield and Wilder included three pages on American Indians’ physical descriptions and natural setting. They were the only authors to devote more than a paragraph to these descriptions until 1979, but for Era 4 textbooks, a third to half of the pages on Indians were

C. A. BROWN

allocated to their historical ways of life. These long sections and pictures of Indians in traditional dress and activities presented the American Indians more as artifacts of history than as members of a living culture. Era 5 showed a shift away from descriptions of historical lifestyles. Only Nash (1999) devoted over a third of his content on American Indians to this theme, and the other two texts devoted less than 10%. The emphasis on traditional Indian dress, food, and lifestyle supports Juhel's (1996) contention that U.S. history often represents Indians as artifacts.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

In our analysis of high school U.S. history textbooks from 1940 to 2007, we expected to find that the portrayal of American Indian culture, both historical and contemporary, became balanced after 1965, a turning point for inclusion of minority groups in the social mainstream. In fact, we found little change in the marginalization and misrepresentation of American Indians until the 1999 textbooks. However, even beyond 1999, the contemporary culture of American Indians continued to be obscured. Juhel's (1996) view of the American Indian as "invisible" in U.S. history was largely applicable for the 65 years of our review.

Indians, whether as inferior or as enemy, were largely placed in the past. While we found that most textbooks beyond 1979 mentioned the Indian Rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s, only Nash (1999) portrayed it with historical accuracy, mentioning the lawsuits that drove the development of Indian self-government, rather than emphasizing the militant and controversial AIM. While Ayers et al. (2007) included one paragraph mentioning the legal actions, only Nash offered any explanation of how these actions actually affected current tribes. Textbooks by some authors do seem to be moving toward representation of the Indians as contemporary members of U.S. society.

However, the process for developing history textbooks in the United States can impact this momentum. Textbooks, developed by teams of scholars and pedagogues, are drawn from secondary source material. A textbook published in 2011 likely drew from historical material that was as much as two decades old (Fitzgerald, 1979). While this may explain the absence of content on the Indian Rights movement in the 1989 text, it does not explain omission of this movement in a 2003 or 2007 textbook. Textbook authors choose what is included and omitted. Many of the authors we reviewed continued the practice of covering trivial American Indian heroes, military events, and traditional lifestyles that perpetuate the image of American Indians as a vanishing culture. We question why U.S. history textbooks continue in this tradition of American Indians as artifact.

The misrepresentation of history throughout the textbooks was striking. We expected to find some glossing over of events and representations in favor of the settlers in the early eras, but we were surprised to find both factual inaccuracies and blatant misrepresentations of events up to the present era. American Indian scholars and organizations question why their history is told by White historians and

through archeological artifacts instead of by living American Indian historians. One example of tension in American Indian history is the disagreement between White and American Indian historians regarding the origin of the indigenous peoples of the Western Hemisphere. For instance, many Indian tribal leaders do not accept the land bridge theory, which has dominated mainstream history for decades. Indian scholars emphasize the commonalities of tribal oral histories that view American Indians as having migrated from different places during different times in history. For instance, oral histories of Indians of the West Coast of both North and South America largely claim that their ancestors arrived by boat, not by overland migration. Contemporary archeologists have begun to question the land bridge theory based on new evidence, but the theory continues to pervade textbooks. In addition, American Indians have contested—in literature and in court—whether some archeological findings belong to their ancestors. By marginalizing the voices of American Indians in the representation of their own history, both their true history and their current culture remain invisible.

When study of American history in high schools is limited to textbooks, the information students receive—often the only information they receive—portrays American Indians as half-naked, warlike, and defeated. While students may not take the portrayals as truth, adult perspectives about American Indians based on such information will surely be underinformed about the complexity of American Indian experience and lives and minimize their presence. Students who do not live near one of the few remaining reservations may never meet an American Indian. This allows social attitudes to form and economic and political decisions to be made about and for the American Indian without a clear understanding of their culture. Two examples of this are presented below.

In 1999, this author attended a lecture by a noted critical race theorist and scholar of minority education, who presented data on the number of students of various ethnic groups who drop out of high school in the United States. Data on American Indian students were absent. When questioned, the scholar indicated that American Indian data “didn’t matter” because they were such a small part of the population. Although it is true that American Indians constitute only 1.6% of the U.S. population, it is also true that the population has increased 110% since 1990. In four states, American Indians comprise over 10% of people under 18 years old (U.S. Census, 2010). In addition, often American Indian students are not included in dropout statistics, which are based on the difference between ninth grade enrollment and high school graduation, because they leave school before the ninth grade. How can policies that attempt to mitigate high school dropouts work for American Indian students who are not included in the statistics?

A second example is the politics of Indian gambling. Since the federal government allowed Indians to include gambling as a form of revenue generation on reservations in the 1980s, states across the country have used the courts to attempt to assert authority over and garner tax revenue from casinos (which lie outside their jurisdiction). Politicians assert that state residents have a right to the Indian gambling

C. A. BROWN

revenue and that the state needs to control Indian gambling. Voters are typically among either the small population of people who frequent the casinos or among the larger population whose knowledge of Indians is limited, in part, to what they learned in school (and their high school textbooks)—Indians as primitive, childlike, and passive people. This makes it difficult for them to see Indians as contemporary members of society capable of handling business and political institutions.

In noting attempts to increase contemporary portrayal of American Indians in textbooks, we considered what the future might look like. After decades of population decline, the American Indian tribes are expanding, and they are increasingly seeking a greater voice in the social, economic, and political institutions that control their lives. Two states, Wisconsin and Montana, have passed legislation requiring all students to learn about the cultural, political, and historical contributions of American Indians as well as current issues affecting tribes. In both states, the curriculum was developed in collaboration with local tribal members. These curricula are slowly pushing aside commercial textbooks. An administrator in the Indian Education office in Montana told this author that a small but growing number of classrooms are using the curriculum materials. These curricula and the increasing availability of information on the Internet generated by tribes on American Indian history and contemporary life are providing a voice for American Indians in their own history.

Furthermore, a group of American Indian scholars are emerging. After years of Indians being alienated from the formal education system in the United States, some have successfully risen to become scholars and voices for their people. These scholars are contributing to the discourse on American Indian education in a variety of ways: how American Indian children are educated, but also what non-Indian students are learning about the past contributions and contemporary culture of American Indians. Textbooks in the next two decades may, finally, include an American Indian voice.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Acknowledgments go to Cassie Fromowitz and Sarah Kwan, graduate research assistants and doctoral candidates in the Graduate School of Education at Fordham University, who worked closely with this author to code and interpret the transcripts.

NOTES

- ¹ Since she contributed this chapter for publication in this volume, Carolyn Brown passed away. This chapter is thus a tribute to her and to her passion for social justice, especially for Native Americans.
- ² American Indian scholars, who study the representation of Indians in curricula, specifically emphasize the few references to American Indians in U.S. history texts (Demmert & Towner, 2003; Pewewardy & Cahape, 2003).
- ³ This quote, used by all three authors in Era 1, is loosely attributed to General Sheridan, best known in U.S. history for burning a path of destruction through the South, which was decisive in the defeat of the Confederacy. He went on to be an Indian fighter.

WORKS CITED

**Primary Sources*

- American Textbook Council. (2011). *Widely adopted history textbooks*. Retrieved from <http://www.historytextbooks.org/adopted.htm>
- *Ayers, E. L., Schulzinger, R. D., de la Teja, J. F., & White, D. G. (2007). *American anthem*. Orlando, FL: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Banks, J. A. (1993). The canon debate, knowledge construction, and multicultural education. *Educational Researcher*, 22(5), 4–14.
- *Barker, E. C., Commager, H. S., & Webb, W. P. (1946). *The building of our nation*. Evanston, IL: Row, Peterson and Company.
- *Boorstin, D. J., Kelley, B. M., & Boorstin, R. F. (1989). *The history of the United States*. Needham, MA: Prentice-Hall.
- *Bragdon, H. W., & McCutchen, S. P. (1961). *History of a free people*. New York, NY: Macmillan.
- Brown, D. (1970). *Bury my heart at wounded knee*. New York, NY: Owl Books.
- *Canfield, L. H., & Wilder, H. B. (1964). *The making of modern America*. Cambridge, MA: Houghton-Mifflin.
- *Cayton, A., Perry, E. I., Reed, L., & Winkler, A. M. (2003). *America: Pathways to the present*. Needham, MA: Prentice Hall.
- Cherryholmes, C. H. (1988). *Power and criticism: Poststructural investigations in education*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Cremin, L. (1977). *Traditions of American education*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Creswell, J. W. (2006). *Qualitative inquiry and research design*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- *Danzer, G. A., Klor de Alva, J. J., Krieger, L. S., Wilson, L. E., & Woloch, N. (1991). *The Americans*. Evanston, IL: McDougal Littell.
- Davidson, J. W., Gienapp, W. E., Heyrman, C. L., Lytle, M. H., & Stoff, M. B. (1994). *Nation of nations: A narrative history of the American republic*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Demmert, W. G., & Towner, J. C. (2003). *A review of the research literature on the influences of culturally based education on the academic performance of Native American students*. Portland, OR: Northwest Regional Education Laboratory, U.S. Department of Education.
- Fitzgerald, F. (1979). *America revised*. Boston, MA: Atlantic Monthly Press.
- Foucault, M. (1972). *The archaeology of knowledge and the discourse on language*. New York, NY: Pantheon.
- *Freidel, F., & Drewry, H. N. (1970). *America: A modern history of the United States*. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company.
- Giroux, H. A. (1983). *Theory and resistance in education*. Boston, MA: Bergin and Garvey.
- Greer, S. (1969). *The logic of social inquiry*. Chicago, IL: Aldine.
- Habermas, J. (1971). *Knowledge and human interests*. Boston, MA: Beacon.
- Hilberg, R., Soleste, G., & Tharp, R. G. (2002). *Theoretical perspectives, research findings, and classroom implications of the learning styles of American Indian and Alaska Native students*. Berkeley, CA: Center for Research on Education, Diversity, and Excellence.
- Juhel, J. M. (1996). *A review of the portrayal of American Indians in a selection of U.S. history textbooks and recommendations for a supplementary curriculum*. New York, NY: Columbia University, Esther A. and Joseph Klingenstein Center for Independent School Education.
- Krippendorff, K. (1980). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Lerner, R., Nagai, A. K., & Rothman, S. (1993). *Molding the good citizen*. Westport, CN: Praeger.
- Mack-Faragher, J., Buhle, M. J., Czitrom, D., & Armitage, S. H. (1997). *Out of many: A history of the American people*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Merriam, S. B. (2009). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Moreau, J. (2004). *Schoolbook nation*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

C. A. BROWN

- Morrison, S. E., & Commager, H. S. (1937). *The growth of the American republic*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- *Muzzev, D. S. (1941). *A history of our country*. Boston, MA: Ginn and Company.
- *Muzzev, D. S. (1953). *A history of our country*. Boston, MA: Ginn and Company.
- *Nash, G. B. (1999). *American odyssey*. New York, NY: Glencoe-McGraw Hill.
- North Central Comprehensive Center. (2009). *American Indian education contributions: How are these incorporated into state social studies standards?* Denver, CO: Author.
- Pewewardy, C.-H., & Cahape, P. (2003). Culturally responsive teaching for American Indian students. *ERIC Digest*. Retrieved from <http://www.ericdigests.org/2005-1/teaching.htm>
- Rorty, R. (1989). *Contingency, irony, and solidarity*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Simpson, M. W. (2010). American Indians at wounded knee in current U.S. history high school textbooks: Discourse analysis using the appraisal judgement system. *Indigenous Policy Journal*, 21(2).
- Sleeter, C. E., & Grant, C. A. (2003). *Making choices for multicultural education*. New York, NY: John Wiley and Sons.
- Stemler, S. (2001). An overview of content analysis. *Practical Assessment, Research, and Evaluation*, 7(17). Retrieved from <http://PAREonline.net/getvn.asp?v=7&n=17>
- *Todd, L. P., & Curti, M. (1972). *Rise of the American nation*. Orlando, FL: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- U.S. Census. (2010). Retrieved from <http://2010.census.gov/2010census/>
- Weber, R. P. (1990). *Basic content analysis* (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Webster, N. (2006). *Noah Webster's early American history*. London, UK: Jacob Abbott. (Originally published in 1841)
- Wilkinson, C. F. (2005). *Blood struggle: The rise of the modern Indian nations*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton and Company.
- *Wirth, F. P. (1949). *United States history*. New York, NY: American Book Company.
- *Wirth, F. P. (1954). *United States history*. New York, NY: American Book Company.
- *Wood, L. C., Gabriel, R. H., & Biller, E. L. (1979). *America: Its people and values*. New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Carolyn A. Brown[†]
Fordham University
New York, NY, USA

RONALD E. BUTCHART

4. NORMALIZING SUBORDINATION

*White Fantasies of Black Identity in Textbooks
Intended for Freed Slaves in the American South, 1863–1870*

School textbooks are typically produced for a mass audience of a nation's school children. As the chapters in this volume demonstrate, those textbooks reveal much about the construction and reconstruction of identity, or, more accurately, how the authors of the textbooks hoped to construct and reconstruct identity.¹ Textbooks project the hopes and fantasies of those who write, illustrate, and produce them. Their degree of success in actually reproducing those hopes and fantasies in the intended consumer is, of course, an entirely different historical question. Our intent here is simply to reveal intent.

Eras of rapid social, economic, and political change often prompt curricular responses intended either to bolster traditional understandings of the world and reinforce long-standing group identities or to challenge and interrogate prior ways of seeing and to construct new narratives and identities.² Periods of civil war and the sudden emancipation of millions of slaves create particularly acute dislocations, not least of all because of the minority racial or ethnic composition of the former slaves.

Such was the case with the Civil War in the United States (1861–1865) and the wartime emancipation of more than 4 million African American slaves in the southern states in January 1863. Both northerners and southerners suddenly faced new and pressing questions: How would the southern agricultural labor force, particularly in such nationally important staple crops as cotton and tobacco, be mobilized if not through the compulsion of ownership and force? How would a racial minority, starkly different in color, caste, and culture from the racial majority, long reviled, and socially constructed as inferior, brutal, and of value only as menial labor, behave outside the direct oversight and control of whites? How would the former slaves understand themselves and their relationship to the means of production, to political life, and to the people who were accustomed to totalitarian control over life and death? Who would wield control after slavery and how? The question facing both the freed people and the rest of the nation came down to this: What sort and degree of freedom would replace the unfreedom of slavery? (Jaynes, 1986; Litwack, 1979; Mandle, 1972–1973; Ransom & Sutch, 1977; Saville, 1996; Schwalm, 1997).

The turbulent decade that followed the American Civil War, known to historians as the era of Reconstruction (1865–1876), was dominated by such questions.

J. H. Williams & W. D. Bokhorst-Heng (Eds.), (Re)Constructing Memory: Textbooks, Identity, Nation, and State, 73–91.

© 2016 Sense Publishers. All rights reserved.

R. E. BUTCHART

Answers came from many sources: the noose at the end of the lynch mob's rope and other forms of organized terrorist action (Bryant, 1994, pp. 13–37; Clinton, 1992; Lemann, 2006; Rable, 1984); the autonomous actions of black men and women intent on creating their own households, their own institutions, their own lives, and their own freedom (Butchart, 2010, pp. 1–51; Holt, 2000; Hunter, 1997; Medford, 1992); congressional actions intended to finalize the death of slavery and to guarantee universal suffrage (Foner, 1988, pp. 228–280); the interregional mending and reassertion of white supremacy (Blum, 2005); the half-hearted federal military and civil efforts to police emancipation (Cimbala & Miller, 1999; Foner, 1988, pp. 346–425; Finley, 1996); and vacillating southern legislative responses. One response to the pressing questions posed by civil war, emancipation, and defeat, enacted in an obscure but important corner of Reconstruction, was curricular.

THE CONTRADICTION INTENTIONS OF A FREED PEOPLE'S SCHOOLING

Southern African Americans began emancipating themselves from slavery before the federal government ratified their actions. Prominent among their emancipatory actions was the symbolically and practically important act of assuring literacy for themselves and their children in defiance of American slavery's prohibitions against slave literacy. As portions of the slaveholding southern states fell to federal military control, freed slaves organized schools, sought teachers from among the few literate slaves and anyone else who would teach them, brought their clandestine schools from under the shroud of secrecy, and overwhelmed the schools that northern benevolent organizations began providing by 1862 (Butchart, 1980; Horst, 1987; Morris, 1981; Williams, 2005).

Within a year of the end of the war in April 1865, the freed people were attending schools across the South taught by more than 2,200 teachers, a quarter of them black teachers. Five years later, nearly 8,000 teachers served in southern black schools, more than one third of them black.³ Some of those teachers, particularly but not exclusively the African American teachers, expected emancipation and literacy to culminate in a radical reconstruction of the southern social and economic order; others gave little thought to the secular outcome of their work, focusing instead on denominational proselytizing and missionary work; still others, virtually all northern and southern white teachers, expected education to reimpose racial control, to promote black docility and tractability, and to encourage black reintegration into the southern labor market (Butchart, 2007, 2010, pp. 1–119). The sudden flourishing of black education encouraged an explicit curricular response: the writing and publication of curricular material exclusively for southern black schools.

TEXTBOOKS FOR A FREED PEOPLE

The story of the education of the freed people is well known by students of black education and of Reconstruction, though some of the details mentioned above have

only recently been uncovered. What is less well known is the speed with which northern writers responded to the freedmen's schools with specialized textbooks. Organizations and writers interested in the freed slaves created, in remarkably short time, primers, spellers, readers, and other didactic texts for the freedmen's schools and for black adult education classes. The earliest were published by 1863, a mere 2 years after the outbreak of war; by 1866, over a dozen primers, readers, monthly papers, and other text material for southern black schools had appeared. Titles such as *The Lincoln Primer* (1866?), *The Freedmen's Spelling Book* (1865?), *The Freedmen's Reader* series (with three graded volumes; 1866), and *The Freedmen's Primer* (1864) appeared in black schools across the South, supplemented with monthly 4-page school papers such as *Freedmen's Torchlight* (1866–?) and *The Freedman* (1864–1868). More advanced readers included *The Freedmen's Book*, by the noted author Lydia Maria Child (1865); *Plain Counsels for Freedmen*, by Union officer and Freedmen's Bureau agent Clinton B. Fisk (1866); Isaac W. Brinckerhoff's (1863) *Advice to Freedmen*; and Helen E. Brown's (1864) *John Freeman and His Family*.

All but two of those curricular resources—Child's *The Freedmen's Book* and the African Civilization Society's monthly *Freedman's Torchlight*—were published by a single source, the American Tract Society.⁴ Early in 1863, the society recognized the opportunity to publish curriculum designed specifically for its understanding of the future of African Americans. To assist in the project, the Tract Society established its own black school in Washington, DC, to determine the best types of materials for black schools and to test its first series, the *Freedmen's Library*. After a year, apparently satisfied with its experiment in constructing curriculum for black learners, it transferred control of its school to another aid agency and set about extending its line of textbooks and other material, which eventually included 14 different titles. American Tract Society textbooks and school papers achieved at least modest circulation throughout the 1860s and perhaps into the 1870s (Horst, 1987, p. 195; American Tract Society, 1865, p. 65; American Missionary Association, 1866, p. 16).⁵

The Freedmen's Book and *Freedmen's Torchlight* had different origins. The author of the former, Lydia Maria Child, was famous in her era as a prolific writer, researcher, and editor, and, in some corners, infamous as an outspoken abolitionist from the wing of American abolitionism that advocated immediate emancipation. She published *The Freedmen's Book* in 1865, intending that it be sold at cost. At 277 pages, it was the lengthiest of the curricular material written expressly for the freed people. It was not intended to be read as a single treatise. Instead, each of its 24 chapters, composed of biographical sketches of notable Africans, African Caribbeans, and African Americans, fictional stories, and advice essays, could be used as single readings in classrooms, though a concluding chapter drew together a number of the themes that emerged from the individual chapters. Though Child wrote some of the text, it included edited essays by other writers, 11 of whom were black and whose race was noted in the table of contents (Child, 1865, pp. iii–vi

and *passim*).⁶ The *Freedmen's Torchlight* was intended as a monthly, newspaper-format alternative to the American Tract Society's monthly *Freedman*. It was edited by the staff of the African Civilization Society, a northern black civil rights organization. So far as can be ascertained, only one issue was ever published, due, no doubt, to its sponsor's continual financial difficulties; there is no evidence that it ever reached black students in southern schools. Nonetheless, like other curricular material considered here, it provides glimpses into the hopes and fears of its authors in regard to emancipation and the degrees of freedom for the South's former bondsmen and, as such, is included in this analysis.

These textbooks and other curricular material comprise the entire range of texts intended specifically for the freed people in the first decade of freedom. As such, they provide a window into the intentions of the freedmen's educators, at least those who wrote curricular material. Not content with the texts used in northern common schools, broadly and inexpensively available at the time, these educators produced special texts designed for what their authors and sponsors believed to be the peculiar needs of African Americans just emerging from bondage. Arguably, their purpose was more than facilitating the extension of literacy or providing factual information; rather, by the stories they told and the ways they told them, the images they conjured, the language they employed, the futures they implied, and the futures they neglected, these texts also sought to promote particular identities among the freed people, to suggest particular aspirations, to privilege certain discourses and muffle, if not silence, others.

ANALYZING HISTORICAL CURRICULAR MATERIAL

Historians attempt to make sense of the meaning of textual material through multiple readings, taking care to understand fully the historical context in which the text was written, seeking evidence of its intended use and its audience but also the likely intentions of that audience independent of the text. Historical analysis also seeks evidence of alternative texts to fully understand the marketplace of ideas from which the text emerged and to guard against imposing expectations informed by a different age. The analysis is often facilitated by looking for evidence regarding particular themes.

In the case of the curricular material produced for the freed people, my analysis is framed by the texts' ways of dealing with, commenting on, or embodying four areas of life that the freed people would face: politics, culture, economics, and race. In each area, several questions were posed: What was portrayed, described, embodied, or implied as normal or ordinary? Given the disruption of normal or ordinary life as a consequence of civil war and emancipation, and given the actual field of possibilities opened by that disruption, what was offered as the realistic field of action and what was foreclosed? In the realms of politics, culture, economics, and race, what sorts of identities were normalized, valorized, and sanctioned, what sorts of identities were anathematized, and what sorts of identities, actually nascent (not merely

hypothesized presentistically), were silenced or negated by their absence? Such an analysis requires attention to narrative voice, diction, emplotment, verbal imagery, physical imagery (physical illustrations in the text), silences or absences, and close attention to comparison and contrast across texts.

With few exceptions, historians eschew “coding” when analyzing texts, though coding is a common practice in the social sciences. I reject coding because of its roots in positivism, suggesting a level of “scientific” certainty about the content of texts that, except in the most simplistic of discursive texts, cannot be sustained. The practice ignores the cogent critiques of positivism by poststructuralist thinkers. The subtlety of language in discursive texts, particularly texts that are encrusted with implicit ideological content, seldom yields clearly codable categories that reveal patterns of power or normativity; perhaps worse, coding cannot account for the silences, the absences, the historically possible but discursively blinkered. Rather than reporting coding frequencies and building an interpretation from them, I follow other historians in providing narrative descriptions of the themes, patterns, language, imagery, silences, and messages that a close and faithful reading finds embedded in the texts.⁷ That reading is informed by my understanding of the contexts, guided by the questions posed above, and structured around the four specific themes.

WHITE FANTASIES OF POSTSLAVERY BLACK IDENTITY

Even a cursory reading of these textbooks reveals two sharply contrasting stances, one deeply conservative, the other progressive. The conservative view was by far the more pervasive, infusing over a dozen of the texts and achieving far greater distribution than its ideological rival. The more progressive material gained little popularity among the missionary societies that sustained most of the schools, and hence was read by relatively few of the freedmen. The progressive texts are important for our purposes not for what the freed people actually read in them—few had access to them—but because they indicate that alternative perspectives and images were in the marketplace of ideas. All of the textual material produced by the American Tract Society hewed to a racially and socially conservative stance; *The Freedmen’s Book* and *Freedmen’s Torchlight* took a stance that contrasted sharply with the society’s publications.

I argue specifically that the bulk of the textbooks designed for the freed people’s schools, through narrative text, imagery, and the silencing of alternative visions, normalized the idea of racial and cultural subordination and inferiority. They normalized subordination by constructing and reproducing images, explicit lessons, and not-so-subtle suggestions of expected behavior, habits of thinking, and ways of being that, taken together, projected an identity that the authors preferred for the freedmen over alternative identities. In a setting of massive social dislocation and political ferment, in which an entire people were actively engaged in constructing new lives and a new society, these textbooks sought to influence the social and political outcome through implicit and explicit didactic means. I do not claim that

R. E. BUTCHART

the textbooks were successful in imposing their ideology or imposing the preferred identity on the readers of their textbooks; the importance of this analysis lies in what the textbooks reveal regarding the ideas and intentions and underlying fantasies of those sponsoring the texts and the schools. How they were received is another matter entirely.

The Textbooks' Vision of Politics and Political Life

While, at some level, all of the issues embedded in the textbooks were political issues—all touched upon the eventual exercise and disposition of power—the focus here was the lessons offered in the textbooks regarding the narrower definition of politics as participation and citizenship. Overwhelmingly, the conservative texts were virtually silent on the sorts of political power and citizenship roles the newly freed slaves might gain. Of the dozen conservative textbooks available to the freed people, only one chapter of one book broached the question of citizenship. In *Advice to Freedmen*, Isaac Brinckerhoff (1863) ignored political rights, modes of governance, the processes of the franchise, and all other aspects of political and civic instruction that might be expected at the moment of emancipation. Instead, his chapter, entitled “Be Good Citizens,” stressed obligations and duties as faithful workers and subjects. Each person must contribute to the good of all, he counseled; each must “contribute his mite of influence toward the growth and prosperity of the nation, and the maintenance of the authority of the government” (p. 52 and *passim*). *Plain Counsels for Freedmen*, published after southern African Americans had gained full citizenship rights, devoted 16 chapters to urging docility, obsequence, family life, and obedience, but never mentioned rights, equality, or the nature and exercise of the franchise (Fisk, 1866).⁸ Other texts published by the American Tract Society avoided discussions of political life entirely.

Yet if the conservative schoolbooks told the free people little of value regarding the role of citizens in a republic, the operation of the electoral franchise, the meaning of democracy, or the rights and liberties of the people, and nothing at all of equality, they carried clear political messages nonetheless. Through verbal images and didactic messages, the books reiterated the importance of accepting the social and economic roles that would be dictated to the freed people by former masters and being content with lowly station. Freedom as a positive value never appeared; faithful labor predominated.

Thus, for instance, the *Third Freedmen's Reader* included a biography of the Haitian liberator, Toussaint L'Ouverture. Its portrayal of the Haitian revolution is as important for its silences as for what it said. The biography neglected to tell of the duplicity of Haitian whites, said nothing of the actions of black men and women securing their own freedom, and remained silent regarding the anger of black Haitians over Toussaint's eventual conciliation of white owners. Instead, the writer portrayed Toussaint as a charismatic black Lincoln benevolently giving freedom to a passive black mass who returned gratefully to the land as wage-earning peasants

under the charitable supervision of repatriated white planters. Order and tranquility were the obvious results of patience, deference, and wage labor. According to the biographer's conclusion,

Every part of St. Domingo was in quiet subjection to his rule; commerce and finance prospered; the island gained rapidly in wealth; the negroes worked faithfully on the plantations, and receiving the wages of their labor, were contented, obedient, and industrious. They submitted to wise regulations and necessary authority; and, being free were satisfied and happy ...

Thus, through the genius, wisdom, and efforts of Toussaint L'Ouverture, a nation of freedmen had been created out of negro slaves; and their leader had succeeded in teaching them that virtue, order, industry and necessary self-restraint, were, under God, the only and sufficient guaranty of civil and social liberty. (*Freedman's Third Reader*, 1866, p. 86)

Contrast those images and silences with the biography of Toussaint L'Ouverture provided to the freed people in Child's *The Freedman's Book*. Her version told a different tale with sharply contrasting lessons. She never flinched from exposing the cruelty of Haiti's white planters, the tendency of slaveholding mulattoes to emulate white planters, the insurrection of black slaves, eventually in league with mulattoes, or the occasionally less than noble character of Toussaint himself. The biography recounted the strongly worded reply of the insurrectionists to the governor of the island when he demanded surrender; Child did not shrink from telling the freed people how Haiti's former slaves dealt with their oppressors. It dealt frankly and honestly with Toussaint's exploits and character as a leader (Child, 1865, pp. 38–44).

As opposed to the *Reader's* fictional emphasis on a happily employed, landless Haitian peasantry, *The Freedmen's Book* stressed Toussaint's insistence "that the permanence of [the black Haitian's] freedom depended in a great measure upon their becoming owners and cultivators of the land." Lydia Maria Child was scrupulous with her material, however. She related Toussaint's own contradiction when he invited the old planters to return and operate the plantations, along with the uprising in a portion of the island during which he earned black enmity that "to this day ... is remembered against him in the island." Throughout the biography, blacks appeared as independent actors, critically evaluating their own position and interests, and evaluating Toussaint as a leader and opposing him when his actions were contrary to their interests (Child, 1865, pp. 52, 55, 57–60).

Perhaps most remarkable is *The Freedmen's Book's* portrayal of the actors in that historical drama. The white actors, from the planters through Napoleon and his generals, were haughty, duplicitous, and violent. The black actors could rise to equal violence when necessary for their own freedom, but throughout the biography they were portrayed as intelligent, capable, and independent. The biography avoided the sentimentality of the *Reader's* version of the story, telling it instead as the stark historical drama of white supremacy on a collision course with black liberation.

R. E. BUTCHART

Lydia Maria Child offered a race history that could be a source of pride and could provide insight into the historical roots of oppression; the *Reader* offered a sanitized history in which blacks were happy in their subjection to white control and in which oppression never figured.⁹

Freedmen's Torchlight, intended as a monthly school supplement for the freedmen's schools, published by the African Civilization Society, joined Child in offering images of a strong, courageous, independent black society. Its description of the freedmen in 1866 stood in sharp relief against the descriptions that filled the more conservative textbooks. Asking, "And Who Are the Freedmen," the paper replied by recalling the degradation of slavery and the answers to slaves' prayers:

When the Union soldiers marched through cities and plantations, they laid down the axe and the hoe, and they marched too ... They could fight and did fight as Milliken's Bend, Olustee and many other places can testify. These are the men, the Freedmen, who fought, bled and fell, by which this country today has peace; which could not have been had it not been for those who are now called the Freedmen. (*Freedmen's Torchlight*, 1, December 1866, p. 1)

The Textbooks' Vision of Culture and Black Life

As an adjunct to their images of a depoliticized black society, the conservative textbooks drew sharply polarized images of the cultural allegiances available to the freed people. The textbooks privileged a deracialized, synthetic culture drawn from northern white, middle-class norms and contrasted it with vicious caricatures of southern black culture. Class-based notions of proper home life, with roots in the ideology of domesticity, filled the pages of the textbooks. They included clear messages that failure to achieve the domestic ideal reflected negatively on the race and on individuals. Piety and temperance were constant adjuncts to lessons on acceptable cultural allegiances.

Domestic iconography abounded in the imagery and lessons on culture. Readers could not miss the constant evocation of idealized family life or avoid the explicit, negative comparison with stereotypes of southern black life. "Smith's Cottage," one of the many stories in the *Freedman*, portraying an ideal home with an ideal family, described the home as "all embowered in vines and roses," where one could see the

good wife inside getting supper. The baby was creeping on the clean floor; another little one, about three years old was playing with the kitten in the corner; and outside, near the doorstep, were two older children—a boy and a girl,—who looked as if they had just come from school. The little girl had gathered some roses from the climbing bush beside the porch, which was loaded with blossoms; and was decking the shaggy neck of a good-natured-looking dog.

If the word picture was not enough, there was a large engraving of the two latter children and the dog. The children were well dressed in hat and stylish clothing and were obviously white, with small mouths and noses and straight hair. It was indeed “a picture of home-comfort,” but not one with which the freed children could easily identify (*Freedman*, 4, June 1867, p. 21).

John Freeman and His Family, by Helen E. Brown, similarly dwelt on domestic imagery, stressing the power of household cleanliness to discipline and control the family, and, by extension, the race. Brown illustrated that power through her story of a fictional young black man who had been jailed for stealing. Her novella’s white heroine, the teacher Miss Horton, taught his widowed mother to keep a clean house,

and when Sam was released from his confinement he found a far more cheerful home than he had left. He wondered much at the change, and made up his mind, since his mother was taking pains to be smart, he would try to do better, and to profit by the many good instructions he had received from Lieutenant Hall while in the guard-house. (Brown, 1864, p. 87)

Brown used her Miss Horton to build an image of respectability and proper culture, both through Horton’s exhortations and through the negative portrayal of black life that Brown wove into the narrative. At one point in the story, Miss Horton asked a mother, Clarissa, to be certain that her children were “clean and neat every day when they come to school.” Clarissa responded,

“Yes, ma’am, that I’ll do, and thank you for your goodness. I was brought up to be clean and neat myself. Mistress Lenox had nobody in her kitchen that wasn’t ’spectable.”

“It is a great thing to be cleanly in our habits,” said Miss Horton, as she glanced around the room which seemed to contradict Clarissa’s assertion. It was not a little surprising to hear that a woman who was so tidy in her dress, as Clarissa certainly was, could live in a room so completely littered and filthy; and she made up her mind to give her new acquaintance a few useful hints. So she went on talking in a pleasant and easy manner on the subject. “We must carry our neatness into everything. Our homes are far pleasanter and more comfortable when they are in good order, with the floor swept and scrubbed, the chairs and tables set back, and the dishes washed and put away,” and she looked around the room, as she spoke, at the many things scattered about. “My mother used to teach me a very good lesson, when I was a little girl, which I have never forgotten, ‘A place for everything and everything in its place,’ she used to say ... It was well that she was so strict, because it helped us to form a habit of neatness when we were young, which will last forever.”

Clarissa said nothing, but after Miss Horton was gone, she remarked to her girls,—“We’ll just put a pin in there, now, children. It’s white folks ways to

R. E. BUTCHART

keep things put back, and we'll begin and do so. I wants we should be just as near like white folks as ever we can fetch it." (Brown, 1864, pp. 28–30)

Brown then remarked to her audience of freed people: "Crowded together as they were, with little or no furniture, and with the old, lazy, filthy habits of the slave-quarters clinging to them, it could not be expected that they should approach very near to the true idea of home" (Brown, 1864, pp. 31–32).

The same cultural themes appeared in lessons that were aimed at promoting temperance. The temperate man was the domestic ideal, with a happy family and a happy home; the intemperate man had a miserable home and a mean family life. In one temperance lesson, for instance, children learned of Dick Morse: "Last year he signed the pledge; and look at him now! Look at his nice house, and his good wife, and his smart clothes. He has just as much work as he can do, and just as much food as he can eat, and as much cheer as is good for a man." His antithesis in the lesson was Hal Gear, "a slave to strong drink, bound fast in chains ... He can't work, for half the time he is in drink. His wife has lost all hope, and his home is like a pig's pen; and if he does not look poor, and mean as a slave, I will give up" (*Freedman*, 4, April 1867, p. 15).

The more progressive texts, by contrast, made no invidious comparisons between black and white culture. Where the *Freedman* invariably cast the freedmen's teachers as white, *Freedman's Torchlight* argued explicitly that African Americans were best able to educate the freedmen. Where much of the American Tract Society material held up northern middle-class white cultural standards for black emulation and drew negative caricatures of black life and living standards, *The Freedmen's Book* and *Freedmen's Torchlight* portrayed the freedmen as intelligent, independent, and capable of defining their own cultural standards (*Freedmen's Torchlight*, 1, December 1866, pp. 1–4). The only foray into domesticity in the more progressive sources was Child's brief essay on "The Laws of Health," where she explained briefly the hygienic reasons for personal cleanliness. Nothing in that chapter implied the godliness or morality of cleanliness, nor implied a personal or racial failure in a lack of cleanliness; the issue was simply one of health (Child, 1865, pp. 246–250).

The Textbooks and Economics

The ultimate shape of post-emancipation black life and culture would, of course, be conditioned by the place of African Americans in the southern economic fabric. At the intersection of culture and economics were textbook lessons on black economic activity and participation. Images of ideal black family life, for example, almost invariably pivoted on the display of consumer goods, never on the production of the family's or the community's goods. The well-regulated home, as depicted in the *Freedman*, was filled with manufactured goods—lamps, dishes, tablecloths, vases, books, and other consumables. One writer pictured a black community bent

on self-improvement. Success in that endeavor was indicated by proper household consumption:

Closets were built, and stored with crockery, there were hand-irons and pot-hooks in the chimney, books upon the shelf, and mirrors and pictures adorned the walls. The bed was no longer a heap of dirty straw or rags, but had its comfortable mattress and neat quilt. Doormats became fashionable, and brooms and mops were at hand to keep all things clean ... Even clocks and watches had found their way here and there into an apartment or pocket. (*Freedman*, 4, July 1867, p. 26)

The school monthly periodical, the *Freedman*, included engravings in every issue. They depicted children in stylish clothing and contrasted the hovel of lazy blacks with the well-appointed chambers of successful people. The masthead depicted a black family with the father seated at a cloth-covered table with a modern oil lamp, reading from the Bible. He wore a frock coat, while his well-dressed wife sat across from him mending garments (*Freedman*, 1864–1868).

More important aspects of economic life also appeared in the textbooks. Lydia Maria Child emphasized the necessity for black landownership in her writings and provided biographies of black intellectuals and craftsmen (Child, 1865, pp. 52 and *passim*). The more conservative text material, however, consistently portrayed African Americans in dependent, wage-labor relationships. One fictional work for schools was careful to insinuate the proper racial division of labor, where whites did “the thinking and planning,” while the blacks did the “washing and ironing,” raised the crops, and took care of other manual labor (Brown, 1864, pp. 41–42). Other authors lectured the freedmen at length about the work ethic, thrift, temperance, and fidelity to contracts. Brinckerhoff’s *A Warning to Freedmen Against Intoxicating Drinks* betrayed as great a worry about intemperance’s impact on production as on its deleterious effects on individuals and families. His *Advice to Freedmen* included chapters entitled “Be Industrious,” “Be Economical,” “Be Temperate,” “Punctuality,” and “Provide for Your Family,” in which he lectured at length about punctual, faithful labor; he had nothing to say about independent production nor about the potential rapaciousness of employers (Brinckerhoff, 1863, 1865a; see also Brinckerhoff, 1865b). A reading lesson in another text involved a conversation between a white planter and a white northern teacher in which the planter remarked, “Though I pay [my workers] by the month, I am always careful to take out so much for every day’s work they lose through their own misconduct. I find this has a good effect on them” (*Freedman*, 4, May 1867, p. 20).

Helen Brown’s hero, John Freeman, lectured his family on “what it means to be free.” His explanation pivoted entirely on work:

It is not to be let loose like the wild hogs in the woods, to root along in the bogs and just pick up a living as we can. No; we are men now, and we’re free men, too; and we’ve got to do just what free men do. You look around and you see

R. E. BUTCHART

every freeman, black and white, works for a living; works, I say, not grubs and roots. He works in some 'spectable professions. (Brown, 1864, pp. 10–11; see also pp. 34–35)

Brown was seldom satisfied with a positive lecture, however; she also drew on her fearful fantasies of black culture for a negative example. John Freeman's son-in-law exemplified the indolence in the freed people that her textbook sought to counter. "He was a lazy and careless fellow" who had been a coachman while a slave, Brown explained. He longed for the prestige and livery of that station, and felt "disgraced and insulted" to be expected to do common labor when free (Brown, 1864, pp. 36–38).

The assumption of class and occupational immobility was clear in Brown's work, as in nearly all the other conservative textbooks. Students read only of blacks in subservient positions. They read, for example, that as a slave, Aunt Jane had been a maid; now she was free. "Aunt Jane is a slave no more; but is now, in truth, a maid in a large, fine house." The only difference that the writer could point to was that now Aunt Jane bought her own clothes rather than wearing those given her by an owner; beyond that, little in her objective condition appeared to have changed (*Freedman*, 4, July 1867, p. 27).

In contrast, Child's lessons in economics never privileged middle-class consumption as a cultural or economic ideal and did not normalize subservient occupations for the freed people. Her approach indicated, by comparison, the intent of the conservative texts by providing her readers with a critical consideration of the dominant economic system of the era and by offering images of people of African descent in influential occupations. Her approach to economics began with the words of Ignatius Sancho, a freed African who lived in Britain. He condemned western colonialism's effects on the natives of colonized lands. These "first visitors from Christian countries," these "Christian customers," first taught the "acts of deception and wanton cruelty" of which the colonizers then complained, and reinforced them through "strong liquors, powder and bad fire-arms to inflame them to madness." All of that had been fostered by the "cursed avidity for wealth." In contrast to the conservative textbooks' almost universal portrayal of white former masters and employers as benevolently coaxing African Americans toward civilized living, Child quoted from one of Sancho's correspondents to give students provocative lessons about the economic system and its social consequences: "It is no uncommon thing, my good Sancho, for one half of the world to *use* the other half like brutes, and then endeavor to *make* them so." Her biographies featured black women and men who were writers, scientists, mathematicians, businessmen, orators, and thinkers; the conservative texts offered no black economic future beyond wage-earning agricultural labor, while simultaneously extolling a domestic ideal centered on middle-class patterns of consumption far beyond the economic means of plantation workers (Child, 1865, pp. 8–9, 11, and *passim*).

The Textbooks and Race

It is already clear how race was constructed in the texts. Whether dealing with politics, culture, or economic issues, the conservative texts presented southern black students with an almost unrelievedly negative image of the black race and persistently contrasted the race's putative backwardness, lack of initiative, and subservience with whites' cultured presence, energy, and leadership. Blacks were referred to as Aunt Deborah or Uncle Toby, or "Beckie, Sam's Wife"; only whites were accorded the honor of a title: Mr. Smith, Miss Allen. White children were babies or children; black children were "pickaninnies." Blacks were only to be workers, to be plantation hands, to continue to live in the old slave quarters in many cases. They were depicted as naturally and inevitably dependent upon the benevolent, paternalistic assistance of white southerners. They were depicted as highly impressionable and imitative; they had only to be told that a thing was done by white folk and they could be expected to follow suit. In one story, whites were remarking with approval that the black race had made acceptable progress since emancipation. "And you ought to have seen them all pair off after church last Sunday," remarked one fictional white character, "and come trudging home arm in arm. I told George and Josie, when they were married, that they must do so, for it was the fashion for husbands and wives; and now they almost all do it. Whatever you tell one goes through the quarters like wildfire" (*Freedman, 4*, April 1867, p. 16).

The freed people were portrayed as docile, tractable, and fitted for paternalistic oversight. The white planter in one serialized story remarked that his work was no longer simply doing the business of the estate. He was now also "a teacher, who must patiently instruct, train, and discipline the hands; and a father, who must look after the interests of an immense family." The white protagonists in that story went on to plan a store and a bath house for the black subjects. The blacks were always pleased to do extra work for the northern white teacher in the story, for, like domesticated pets, "they seem always eager to do something to show their respect and affection" (*Freedman, 4*, May 1867, p. 20; *Freedman, 4*, June 1867, p. 24), but only white characters had the initiative and foresight to plan and implement.

The authors of the American Tract Society's textbooks repeatedly drilled home assumptions about black ignorance and mental inferiority. When the teacher in one of the *Freedmen's* reading lessons gave the freed people on the plantation a lesson in personal hygiene, the black women in the story were all made to exclaim, "Did you ever?" "Who ever heard of such things afore?" "Bless you, honey," cried Aunt Sally, "for 'structing us poor darkies this way! We don't know nothin'." As was typical in most of the conservative textbooks, the white former slaveholder was portrayed positively in this particular lesson (*Freedman, 4*, July 1867, p. 28). Yet all of the textbooks were written by northern authors.

In Brown's didactic novella, the freedmen sought to live and do "as the whites." They were pictured as childlike and easily led, but erring and given to wrong

impressions of the meaning of freedom. All the whites in Brown's book were constructed as pious, noble, selfless, and understanding, even if patronizing. The countenance of one "beamed with a genial, benevolent expression, calculated to inspire confidence and respect"; another had a "winning voice," "was always kind and gentle . . . respectful and polite"; a third white character worked "with an untiring zeal . . . busy, preserving order, instructing, counseling, and cheering the freedmen" (Brown, 1864, pp. 16, 25, 32–33, 70).

As contrasted with this energetic group, Brown's freedmen, excepting only her hero, John Freeman, were often "lounging under a tree," calling one another "lazy, mean niggers," living in quarters "completely littered and filthy," or controlled by "the old, lazy, filthy habits of the slave quarters." The novella's teachers assured each other that "we must have great patience with them" and "treat them as we do children." Some freedmen, like John Freeman's son-in-law, found liberty too trying and longed to escape to the security and ease of slavery (Brown, 1864, pp. 28, 31, 32, 36–42, 64–77).

The contrast between the conservative and progressive texts was more striking in the ways they constructed race than in any other area. The conservative texts constructed blacks as unrelentingly ignorant, retrograde, lazy, physically ugly, and immoral, a picture made more stark by the contrasting portrait of whites as cultured, benevolent, intelligent, constantly busy and efficient, handsome, and moral. In contrast to the conservative texts, the *Freedmen's Torchlight* spoke of the freedmen's desire for freedom, their courage in battle, and their independent actions to assure their own freedom. Its editors spoke affirmatively of northern white teachers, but told their southern black audience that it was black teachers, not white, who were best equipped to teach the freed people (*Freedmen's Torchlight*, 1, December 1866, pp. 1, 3).

Likewise, *The Freedmen's Book* never portrayed African Americans negatively, although, as seen in the biography of Toussaint L'Ouverture, when appropriate Child did not hesitate to portray whites as venal and treacherous nor to portray L'Ouverture himself as fallible. Child's biographies of Benjamin Banneker, Phillis Wheatley, James Forten, Frederick Douglass, Ignatius Sancho, William Boen, and others portrayed an articulate, courageous, inventive, independent, entrepreneurial, literate people, capable of leadership and independent action and worthy of emulation. Child did not construct the freedmen as docile, tractable children, but as active, independent women and men. Her stories affirmed the intellectual and moral equality of the races. Nowhere in her book would black students find African Americans living contentedly under the tutelage of whites, or any intimation of racial hierarchy as the inevitable and proper nature of society. Conservative writers invented kindly white teachers and genial white planters to gain black acceptance of white hegemony; Child wrote biographies and invented stories that challenged white hegemony and offered compelling visions of positive black action on the world (Child, 1865).

The closing paragraph of “Our Home,” a serialized story in the *Freedman*, encapsulated well many of the themes that dominated the conservative texts—political quiescence, patriarchal domination by benevolent whites, access to consumer goods, a synthetic, deracialized culture, and silence toward issues of class and wage-labor relationships. In the imagination of this writer, the community in “Our Home” had a benevolent employer, apparently the man who had previously held the freed people in slavery; the story’s black characters consistently referred to him as “master.” The community also had a white teacher, a store, and wages. It

was the picture of a free people, rising, by industry and virtue and knowledge, from the condition of brutes, to that of men. They saw the advantages of industry, and they were industrious. They found out the benefits of law and order; and conformed cheerfully to all necessary rules. They began to understand that work was in itself a blessing, and all chose to work. They noticed the difference between the sober and the drinking man, and strong drink found no favor among them. They made the discovery, that the alphabet was the key to knowledge; and every one, young and old, was eager to learn to read ... Kindness and good will everywhere prevailed ... No wonder that peace and happiness and prosperity smiled upon them. (*Freedman*, 4, August 1867, p. 32)

That picture tells us far more about the fears and fantasies of its author than about conditions in the South, of course. It speaks to the unhappiness of conservative evangelicals with emerging conditions in the North and fears of African Americans now free of the racial discipline of slavery. The texts relied on hopefully compelling word-pictures of a harmonious, orderly society in which African Americans accepted subservient places within a divinely ordained hierarchical society. The texts constructed an identity for African Americans to replace a slave identity, but the new identity was predicated on a life only slightly removed from the social relations of slavery.

CONCLUSIONS

If we had no evidence of alternative pedagogical material, criticism of the most heavily used curricular material might be muted by charges of presentism. Yet, as we have seen, there were alternatives. Further, there were contemporary critics of the sort of material pumped into the freedmen’s schools by the tract society. For at least a decade before the war, black abolitionists had called for inculcating a positive self-image for black students, and the American Freedmen’s Union Commission, the primary rival of the more conservative aid societies, explicitly opposed the idea of special textbooks for freedmen’s schools (Lang, 1974, pp. 149–151; *American Freedman*, 1, May 1866, p. 32). Progressive texts were written and available, but it was the conservative material that was most fully promoted.

R. E. BUTCHART

That conservative material sought, through verbal and engraved images, to normalize subordination. Its writers constructed an imaginary world in which African Americans had no political roles and sought none, and in which the freedmen were consumers, not producers, and in which their labor was portrayed consistently as subordinate workers in wage-labor relationships as opposed to land owners, independent producers, or a cooperative working community. They constructed a world that scorned southern black culture and privileged the passive consumption and display of white middle-class culture. Finally, these texts normalized, sanctified, and reinforced racial subordination through demeaning portrayals of the race itself.

NOTES

- ¹ In the case of the United States, historians have created a rich history of the nation's public school curriculum, though the primary carrier of the curriculum, the school textbook, has not received as much attention as the ideas about and the changes in the curriculum itself. Among good sources, see for example Anyon (1979), Elson (1964), FitzGerald (1979), Giordano (2003), Selden (1989), Tyack (1999), and Zimmerman (2002).
- ² Among others, see Andreasen (1985), Campos Pérez (2010), and Whitescarver (2002). Among the few writers to have spoken explicitly about textbooks and identity construction, see Nash (2009).
- ³ That rate of growth of southern black education continued through the 1870s. By the end of Reconstruction, there were more than 10,000 teachers in southern black schools, fully two thirds of them black teachers (Butchart, 2010, p. 187). Subsequent actions by southern legislators and increasing oppression and black poverty slowed the growth of black education after Reconstruction, however.
- ⁴ See *Publications of the American Tract Society* (catalogue, Boston, March 1867), p. 4, for a full list of American Tract Society publications intended for the freedmen's schools. The American Tract Society was the primary publisher of the texts reported in this chapter as conservative.
- ⁵ For evidence of the circulation of the tract society's material, see, for example, B. G. Bryan to George Whipple, December 1, 1865, and S. J. Whiton to Secretaries of the American Missionary Association, December 1, 1865, both in American Missionary Association Archives, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University; William C. Child to R. M. Manly, June 1866, Letters Received, Papers of the Virginia Superintendent of Education, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, National Archives (hereafter, records within the bureau are indicated as BRFAL); John Alvord to William C. Child, March 21, 1867, Letters Sent, Papers of the Education Division, BRFAL; *American Missionary*, 11 (October 1867), p. 218; William M. Colby to Thomas C. Williams, April 16, 1868, Letters Sent, Arkansas Superintendent of Education, BRFAL; Mary Atwater to R. L. Harper, October 26, 1868, Letters Received, Alabama Superintendent of Education, BRFAL; I. P. Warren to John Alvord, August 26, 1869, Letters Received, Education Division, BRFAL.
- ⁶ For a brief introduction to Child, see Butchart (1994, pp. 111–118). For a fuller treatment, see Meltzer (1965).
- ⁷ See particularly Grosvenor, Lawn, and Rousmaniere (1999), Nóvoa (2001, pp. 45–66), as well as other essays in this volume. Cohen (1999) is also helpful, but see the cautions in Palmer (1990).
- ⁸ For a particularly insightful reading of Fisk's textbook, see Farmer-Kaiser (2010), especially Chapter 1.
- ⁹ See also her fictional chapter in which she portrayed a group of slaves planning a revolt, a topic certainly never essayed by the more conservative writers. One slave remarked that education is the key to the white man's power. However, Child made little of that speech. The focus of the story was the black desire for freedom (Child, 1865, pp. 103–110).

WORKS CITED

**Primary Sources*

- * *American Freedman*. (1866–1869). New York, NY, monthly and then sporadically.
 American Missionary Association. (1866). *Twentieth annual report of the American Missionary Association*. New York, NY: Author.
- American Tract Society. (1865). *Fortieth annual report of the American Tract Society*. New York, NY: Author.
- Andreasen, B. (1985). Treason or truth: The New York City textbook controversy. *New York History*, 66, 397–419.
- Anyon, J. (1979). Ideology and U.S. history textbooks. *Harvard Educational Review*, 49, 361–386.
- Blum, E. J. (2005). *Reforging the white republic: Race, religion, and American nationalism, 1865–1898*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press.
- *Brinckerhoff, I. W. (1863). *Advice to freedmen*. New York, NY: American Tract Society.
- *Brinckerhoff, I. W. (1865a). *A warning to freedmen against intoxicating drinks*. New York, NY: American Tract Society.
- *Brinckerhoff, I. W. (1865b). *Gambling and lotteries*. New York, NY: American Tract Society.
- *Brown, H. E. (1864). *John Freeman and his family*. Boston, MA: American Tract Society.
- Bryant, J. M. (1994). “We have no chance of justice before the courts”: The freedmen’s struggle for power in Greene County, Georgia, 1865–1874. In J. C. Inscoe (Ed.), *Georgia in Black and White* (pp. 13–37). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- Butchart, R. E. (1980). *Northern schools, southern Blacks, and reconstruction: Freedmen’s education, 1862–1875*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Butchart, R. E. (1994). Lydia Maria Francis Child. In M. Seller (Ed.), *Women educators in the United States, 1820–1993: A bio-bibliographical sourcebook*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Butchart, R. E. (2007). Remapping racial boundaries: Teachers as border police and boundary transgressors in post-emancipation black education, USA, 1861–1876. *Paedagogica Historica*, 43, 61–78.
- Butchart, R. E. (2010). *Schooling the freed people: Teaching, learning, and the struggle for black freedom, 1861–1876*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Campos Pérez, L. (2010). Representing the enemy: The iconography of the ‘other’ in history schoolbooks during the first years of Franco’s regime. *Contributions to the History of Concepts*, 5, 140–161.
- *Child, L. M. (1865). *The Freedmen’s book*. Boston, MA: Ticknor and Fields. (Reprinted New York, NY: Arno, 1968)
- Cimbala, P. A., & Miller, R. M. (Eds.). (1999). *The Freedmen’s Bureau and reconstruction: Reconsiderations*. New York, NY: Fordham University Press.
- Clinton, C. (1992). Bloody terrain: Freedwomen, sexuality, and violence during reconstruction. *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 76, 313–332.
- Cohen, S. (1999). *Challenging orthodoxies: Toward a new cultural history of education*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Elson, R. M. (1964). *Guardians of tradition: American schoolbooks of the nineteenth century*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Farmer-Kaiser, M. (2010). *Freedwomen and the Freedmen’s Bureau: Race, gender, and public policy in the age of emancipation*. New York, NY: Fordham University Press.
- Finley, R. (1996). *From slavery to uncertain freedom: The Freedmen’s Bureau in Arkansas, 1865–1869*. Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press.
- *Fisk, C. B. (1866). *Plain counsels for freedmen: In sixteen brief lectures*. Boston, MA: American Tract Society.
- FitzGerald, F. (1979). *America revised: History schoolbooks in the twentieth century*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.
- Foner, E. (1988). *Reconstruction: America’s unfinished revolution, 1863–1877*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.

R. E. BUTCHART

- * *Freedman*. (1864–1868). Boston, MA, monthly.
- * *Freedmen's First [Second and Third] Reader*. (1866). Boston, MA: American Tract Society.
- * *Freedmen's Primer*. (1864). Boston, MA: American Tract Society.
- * *Freedmen's Spelling Book*. (1865?). Boston, MA: American Tract Society.
- * *Freedmen's Torchlight*. (1866–?). Brooklyn, NY, monthly.
- Giordano, G. (2003). *Twentieth-century textbook wars: A history of advocacy and opposition*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Grosvenor, I., Lawn, M., & Rousmaniere, K. (1999). *Silences and images: The social history of the classroom*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Holt, S. A. (2000). *Making freedom pay: North Carolina's freedpeople working for themselves, 1865–1900*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- Horst, S. L. (1987). *Education for manhood: The education of blacks in Virginia during the Civil War*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- Hunter, T. W. (1997). *To joy my freedom: Southern Black women's lives and labors after the Civil War*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Jaynes, G. D. (1986). *Branches without roots: Genesis of the black working class in the American South, 1862–1882*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Lang, W. L. (1974). *Black bootstraps: The abolitionist educators' ideology and the education of the northern freed Negro, 1828–1860* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Delaware, Newark, DE.
- Lemann, N. (2006). *Redemption*. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- * *Lincoln Primer*. (1866). New York, NY: American Tract Society.
- Litwack, L. F. (1979). *Been in the storm so long: The aftermath of slavery*. New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Mandle, J. R. (1972–1973). The re-establishment of the plantation economy in the South, 1865–1910. *Review of Black Political Economy*, 3, 68–88.
- Medford, E. G. (1992). Land and labor: The quest for Black economic independence on Virginia's lower peninsula, 1865–1880. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 100, 567–582.
- Meltzer, M. (1965). *Tongue of flame: The life of Lydia Maria Child*. New York, NY: Crowell.
- Morris, R. C. (1981). *Reading, 'riting, and reconstruction: The education of freedmen in the South, 1861–1870*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Nash, M. A. (2009). Contested identities: Nationalism, regionalism, and patriotism in early American textbooks. *History of Education Quarterly*, 49, 417–441.
- Nóvoa, A. (2001). Texts, images, and memories: Writing 'new' histories of education. In T. S. Popkewitz, B. M. Franklin, & M. A. Pereyra (Eds.), *Cultural history and education: Critical essays on knowledge and schooling*. New York, NY: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Palmer, B. D. (1990). *Descent into discourse: The reification of language and the writing of social history*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Rable, G. C. (1984). *But there was no peace: The role of violence in the politics of reconstruction*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- Ransom, R. L., & Sutch, R. (1977). *One kind of freedom: The economic consequences of emancipation*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Saville, J. (1996). *The work of reconstruction: From slave to wage laborer in South Carolina, 1860–1870*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Schwalm, L. (1997). *A hard fight for we: Women's transition from slavery to freedom in South Carolina*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Selden, S. (1989). The uses of biology to legitimate inequality: The eugenics movement within the high school biology textbook, 1914–1949. In W. Secada (Ed.), *Equity in education* (pp. 118–145). Newark, NJ: Falmer.
- Tyack, D. B. (1999). Monuments between covers: The politics of textbooks. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 42, 922–932.
- Whitescarver, K. (2002). School books, publishers, and southern nationalists: Refashioning the curriculum in North Carolina's schools, 1850–1861. *North Carolina Historical Review*, 79, 28–49.

NORMALIZING SUBORDINATION

Williams, H. A. (2005). *Self-taught: African American education in slavery and freedom*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Zimmerman, J. (2002). *Whose America? Culture wars in the public schools*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Ronald E. Butchart
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia, USA

AIMEE HOWLEY, KAREN EPPLEY AND MARGED H. DUDEK

5. FROM INGENIOUS TO IGNORANT, FROM IDYLIC TO BACKWARDS

*Representations of Rural Life in Six U.S. Textbooks
over Half a Century*

During the last six decades, rural America has changed in significant ways (Lobao & Meyer, 2001). Whereas many of these changes have been structural in nature—relating to economic changes and demographic shifts—others have been rhetorical, relating to how rural people, places, and contributions are viewed by the nation as a whole (Cook & Beck, 1991; Foster & Hummerl, 1997). These shifts are significant because the ways rural life figures in the national imagination have an influence on how rural interests are treated in the political arena (Bunce, 1982; Goodman, 2010; Webb, 2006). Arguably, the future of rural economies, communities, and residents depends, in part, on what Americans at large think about them in relation to their own worldviews and interests.

For a long time, literature and mass media have served as important channels through which representations of rural life are conveyed. Perhaps the most extensive treatment of how such representations have functioned to construct and, by means of such construction, to marginalize rural life is Raymond Williams's (1973) interpretative monograph, *The Country and the City*. Through an analysis of English novels, Williams revealed a contradictory portrait of rural experience: on the one hand, simple (in contrast to urban complexity), simple-minded (in contrast to cosmopolitan learnedness and sophistication), and backward (in contrast to urban innovativeness); and on the other hand, sacred (in contrast to urban secularity and even corruption). Within the framework of hegemony theory, Williams demonstrated how this literary construction of rural life ultimately drew on contradictory perspectives, both nostalgic and derogatory, to advance urban interests and rationalize capitalist production—outcomes that imposed serious limitations on rural futures in an increasingly urbanized world (Johnson & Howley, 2000).

The literature that Williams interpreted helped shape a view of rurality accessible primarily to the elite, since it was literature most often read (in 19th and early 20th century England) by a well-educated segment of the population with adequate leisure time for reading; it was hardly what might be called “mass media.” At the same time, these were the very readers most likely to have an influence on how the dominant

mode of production, capitalism, enclosed, exploited, and diminished the influence of rural people and places both in the developed and the colonized world.

Recent studies have examined representations of rural life and people in more popular media such as news articles, television news reporting and comedy shows, and movies (e.g., Frank, 2003; Lichter, Amundson, & Lichter, 2002, 2004; Menifield, Rose, Homa, & Cunningham, 2001). Many of these studies have discovered in popular media rhetorical content similar to what Williams discovered in English literature. These depictions treat rural life as at once idyllic (bucolic and pure) and chaotic (lawless, impoverished, and stupid). These studies, however, have also found some nuanced differences in the portrayals given in the different media. Major urban newspapers, for example, typically describe rural people and communities in positive or neutral ways but restrict their discussions mainly to topics of interest to urban readers—topics such as conflicts over land use and encroaching urbanization. Few articles in major urban newspapers consider issues related to agriculture (Lichter et al., 2002, 2004). By contrast, television news stories about rural life typically concentrate on violence and crime (Frank, 2003; Lichter et al., 2002; Menifield et al., 2001). For example, Menifield and associates (2001) found that television news reports focusing on acts of violence in rural schools were more detailed and presented events in a more sensationalized way than reports of similar acts of violence in urban schools.

With no obligation to represent actual events, portrayals of rural life and people in the entertainment media have blatantly drawn on negative stereotypes. Television shows from the 1960s—the *Beverly Hillbillies* and *Green Acres*, for example—perpetuated caricatures of rural Appalachians as ignorant, slovenly, and oversexed (Podber, 2008). More recently, one reality TV show created dramatic tension by placing purportedly racist adolescents from rural communities in shared housing with ethnically diverse counterparts from inner cities (Park, 2009). And despite the entertainment industry's generally progressive stance, writers and directors continue to see rural subgroups as an acceptable target for ridicule (Webb, 2004). Indeed, according to some commentators, "hillbillies" are the only group in the United States that can still be ridiculed with impunity (Billings, 1999). Perhaps even more troubling, similarly stereotypical representations can be seen in cartoon shows and even picture books developed for children (Eppley, 2010).

Whereas contemporary audiences, even those comprising children and adolescents, typically treat media representations with circumspection (e.g., Buckingham, 2000; Fisherkeller, 2002), they may have less reason to view textbooks from an equally skeptical vantage point. Even in our digital age, textbooks still provide an "official" version of knowledge (Apple, 2000), and students are likely to regard the ideas presented in textbooks as legitimate (Perlmutter, 1997; Sadker & Zittleman, 2007). Serving as powerful, though sometimes disputed, sources of information, moreover, textbooks help readers frame and revise their understandings of the world and themselves (Fleckenstein, 2003); they play a central role in defining what is "correct" and therefore what educators ought to teach (Apple, 2000; Gee, 2005).

Furthermore, schools' authority structures reinforce students' beliefs that textbook representations are truthful (Loewen, 2007).

According to several analyses of history textbooks in the United States, however, the apparent truths that textbooks put forward are hardly objective, but instead provide a view of America that fits with dominant ideological perspectives and agendas (e.g., Anyon, 1970; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Chappell, 2010; FitzGerald, 1979; Washburn, 1997). For example, Chappell wrote:

Social studies textbooks are an important part of school life, a key element in teachers' lessons and an important site in which adults construct history and culture for children's consumption and (re)performance ... These materials, along with the context of their use by teachers, structure students' imagination about history and culture, colonizing the imaginary as students interact with texts in the classroom and reiterating these narratives/performances as they extend their knowledge through play outside. (2010, p. 250)

As this line of inquiry suggests, the material presented in textbooks signifies "particular constructions of reality," or what Raymond Williams characterized as "selective tradition" (Apple, 2000). Consequently, interrogation of their content identifies not just determinations of "truth" and "falsehood," but also more profound questions relating to power and the construction of ideology (Apple, 2000). Studying what textbooks present over time, therefore, provides a critical basis for evaluating and in some cases challenging the content of the official school curriculum (Pinar, 2004).

To this end, some researchers have used content analysis to examine how textbooks treat particular topics. For example, Washburn (1997) explored how the portrayal of slavery changed in history textbooks published between 1900 and 1992, and Crawford (2003) compared the way Japanese and American textbooks talked about the bombing of Hiroshima. Searches of the academic literature using education, sociology, and media studies databases, however, did not reveal any studies in which textbooks' treatment of rural life, work, or residents was the focus of analysis. Our research thus addressed an important void in the literature by asking three related research questions:

1. How did U.S. secondary-school history textbooks' representations of rurality change over time?
2. How were those changes reflected in the narrative treatment of rural people (e.g., farmers and frontiersmen), land and land use, characteristically rural work (e.g., farming, mining), rural communities and their values, the political perspectives of rural citizens, and the qualities and value of the natural world?
3. How did the textbook treatment of rural people and places reinforce shifting ideologies functioning to sustain or counter relations of power between dominant and subordinate groups?

METHODOLOGY

The methodological perspective undergirding our study of high school textbooks' treatment of rural people and ways of life centered on two critical insights: (1) that authors "design" their texts to convey their views of reality and (2) that these constructions of reality position readers to see reality in a manner similar to that of the authors (Gee, 2005). In keeping with these insights, we chose to view our data through the lens of critical discourse analysis, a framework guiding the analysis of narrative that attends particularly to what Gee (2005) talked about as "language in use." Critical discourse analysis, broadly defined, refers to research that "grapples with questions of language, ideology, and power" (Collins, 2004, p. xii). The "critical" in "critical discourse analysis" refers to the propensity of such analysis to unmask power relations, ideological constructions, and hegemonic purposes (e.g., Collins, 2004). This type of inquiry is based on the idea that language is always political, used in particular political ways. From this perspective, the analysis of language must always interrogate, and sometimes even seek to influence, social and political issues (Gee, 2011). We discuss this approach further in our explanation below of the three tools we used to interrogate the discourse in the six textbooks we analyzed.

Background on Data Sources

Our analysis focused on high school American history textbooks published between 1956 and 2009 by Houghton-Mifflin.^{1,2} With help from librarians at our respective institutions, we located one textbook published within each decade. Although we had hoped to select books published exactly 10 years apart, Houghton-Mifflin did not appear to release high school history textbooks according to such a predictable publication schedule. [Table 1](#) provides a synoptic view of the books, and the subsequent narrative describes the books and their authors in somewhat greater detail.

The books we were able to obtain had the following sequence: 1956, 1968, 1975, 1985, 1993, and 2009, a sequence with gaps of 12 years, 7 years, 10 years, 8 years, and 16 years, respectively. We attempted to use only textbooks intended for high school students. However, the book we used in two of its editions, 1968 and 1975, *This Is America's Story*, had, in its first 1948 edition (and some subsequent editions), been written for junior high school audiences and then was modified for use with high school students in particular years. The edition we used from 1968 targeted high school readers, whereas the 1975 edition we used targeted junior high school readers.

The 1956 edition of the first textbook we analyzed, *The Making of Modern America*, was 784 pages in length and had two authors, Leon Canfield (b. 1886) and Howard Wilder (b. 1901). Altogether the publisher issued this textbook in six editions: 1950, 1952, 1956, 1960, 1964, and 1966. *The Making of Modern America*

FROM INGENIOUS TO IGNORANT, FROM IDYLIC TO BACKWARDS

Table 1. The textbooks

<i>Pub.date</i>	<i>Authors</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Editions</i>	<i>Pages</i>	<i>Audience level</i>
1956	Canfield & Wilder	<i>The Making of Modern America</i>	1950, 1952, 1956, 1960, 1964, 1966	784	High school
1968	Wilder, Ludlum, & McCune Brown	<i>This Is America's Story</i>	1948, 1952, 1956, 1960, 1963, 1966, 1968, 1970, 1975, 1978, 1981, 1983, 1986	714	High school
1975	Wilder, Ludlum, & McCune Brown	<i>This Is America's Story</i>	1948, 1952, 1956, 1960, 1963, 1966, 1968, 1970, 1975, 1978, 1981, 1983, 1986	808	Junior high school
1985	Graff	<i>America: The Glorious Republic</i>	1985, 1986, 1990	880	High school
1993	Dibacco	<i>History of the United States</i>	1991, 1993, 1995, 1997	888	High school
2009	Danzer, De Alva, & Krieger	<i>The Americans</i>	1998, 2002, 2006, 2009	1,119	High school

was the rewrite of an earlier book, *The United States in the Making*, first published in 1937 by the same authors. Canfield, who was listed as the first author of both books, taught college-level history for most of his life. Wilder, the second author of *The Making of Modern America*, later became the first author of two of the other textbooks we used in the analysis, namely the 1968 and 1975 editions of *This Is America's Story*. Over the course of his career, Wilder authored several history textbooks designed for use in public schools.

The 1968 and 1975 editions of *This Is America's Story* were 714 and 808 pages in length, respectively. This textbook went through 13 editions: it was used from 1948 to 1986, a period of 38 years, and it was edited each time the edition changed. The edition cycle was 1948, 1952, 1956, 1960, 1963, 1966, 1968, 1970, 1975, 1978, 1981, 1983, and 1986. The first author, Howard B. Wilder (b. 1901), had been the second author of *The Making of Modern America*. The second author, Robert Ludlum (b. 1909), also authored other books in the field of social studies, most of which focused on the operations of the U.S. government. We were unable to find information about the third author, Harriet McCune Brown (b. 1921).

The next textbook we analyzed, the 1985 edition of *America: The Glorious Republic*, had just one author and was printed in three editions: 1985, 1986, and

1990. The book was 880 pages in length, and its author, Henry F. Graff (b. 1921), spent much of his academic career teaching college history.

The fifth book we analyzed was the 1993 edition of a text entitled *History of the United States*, which was published in 1991, 1993, 1995, and 1997.³ Its 888 pages were divided into two volumes. First author Thomas V. Dibacco (b. late 1930s), a professor specializing in U.S. business history, not only wrote textbooks but also appeared as a “business expert” on television and radio shows and wrote columns for U.S. newspapers. The second author, Lorna Mason (1939–1998), wrote and published illustrated history and social studies books for children of various ages. The third author, Christian G. Appy (b. mid to late 1950s), also a professor, wrote several U.S. history books for adult audiences, most of which focused on the history of the working class.

The final textbook we analyzed, *The Americans* (Danzer, De Alva, & Krieger, 2009), was 1,119 pages in length and has thus far been published in four editions: 1998, 2002, 2006, and 2009. As was the case with the 1993 book, the authors’ backgrounds differed from those of earlier textbook authors, most of whom tended to be college history professors. The authors of *The Americans*, Gerald A. Danzer, J. Jorge Klor De Alva, and Larry S. Krieger, combined their careers in education with significant entrepreneurial ventures, such as serving in leadership roles in online, for-profit universities and writing “how-to” and “self-help” books.

Data Collection and Analysis

For each of the six textbooks, we identified relevant passages for analysis: the passages in each textbook in which the narrative concerned rural places, the people living there, and rural ways of life. For example, we considered as relevant all narrative describing daily life on the frontier as well as narrative illustrating the perspectives of rural people, such as the thoughts of “Mr. Countryman” during his first visit to the city (Wilder, Ludlum, & McCune Brown, 1975, p. 527). We included relevant text from the entire historical span of the books.

We did not analyze supplementary materials, such as workbooks or tests, or chapter summaries, vocabulary word lists, and end of chapter questions. We also excluded certain content *a priori*. First, we excluded descriptions of American Indian life. Whereas American Indian culture clearly was (and often still is) rural, American Indian culture has not influenced mainstream constructions of what constitutes rurality in the United States to an appreciable degree. Nevertheless, in two of the textbooks, the discussion of conflicts between settlers and American Indians had clear implications for the character of rural settlement. In these cases, we found the passages relevant to the consideration of rurality. Second, we excluded narrative that presented rural places solely in geographical terms. For example, the Appalachian Mountains are clearly in a rural place, but when the textbooks’ discussion of them

focused on their importance to U.S. geography and not to rurality, the definition or characterization of rural places and people, we did not judge the discussion to be relevant.

We used a two-part strategy for identifying the portions of the text that included representations of rurality. In order to get a broad idea about the kinds of rural topics the books might include, each member of the three-member team used the books' indexes to create a list of topics that seemed to refer to rural content. We then compared and merged our lists. This combined list enabled us to develop a sense of how the books in their entirety represented rural life. With that perspective in mind, we then each read two of the six books and created a new document for each book comprised only of the excerpted text that the researcher found to be relevant.⁴ These six documents became our data set.

In determining relevance, we took cues from the texts themselves rather than relying solely on our *a priori* understandings of what might be considered quintessentially rural topics. Generally, the authors of the books were explicit about identifying rural topics by using text organizers (e.g., headings, call-out boxes) with titles pointing to rural themes. This approach allowed us to be open to the characterizations of rural people, rural places, and rural pursuits that the textbook authors saw as important. For example, much of the relevant narrative portrayed rural people and ways of life in terms of "the land." The authors most often conveyed this agrarian perspective by using stereotypical discourse within which farming was portrayed as morally superior to other (typically more urban) pursuits, a discourse first popularized by Thomas Jefferson (Eppley, 2011; Fink, 1992; Hogg, 2007). The agrarian perspective also supported the authors' descriptions of rural life, which tended to focus on economic rather than sociocultural pursuits. In other words, descriptions of rural life drew attention to the production of agricultural goods and the extraction of natural resources far more frequently than they drew attention to other possible rural experiences such as living close to nature, engaging in religious observance, participating in activities with extended family, or working to preserve a particular set of community norms and practices.⁵

Once we had the six sets of excerpts, each member coded the passages by creating keywords and phrases to characterize the meaning of the passages. For each page from the six sets of excerpts,⁶ each of us produced from three to 20 codes, which we combined to produce a master list for each book. These codes reflected our best conjectures about what the authors of the book were trying to convey. For example, one of us used the short phrase—*frontiersmen sought adventure*—to code the following passage from the 2009 book: "As we know, there are always men who love adventure. The frontier attracted such men, even though they faced dangers and hardships" (Danzer et al., 2009, p. 114).

We then analyzed the lists of codes to create thematic categories. As part of the process of identifying themes, we made use of some of the tools that critical

discourse analysis offers (Gee, 2010, p. 195). We found three tools to be particularly useful, *The Fill in Tool*, *The Why This Way and Not That Way Tool*, and *The Doing and Not Just Saying Tool*.

The Fill in Tool prompts the researcher to consider what is omitted from the text. This tool is useful for analyzing the assumptions the text makes about what its readers already know about the topic at hand. For example, among our codes were the following:

1. Most farmers realize they need to know about scientific farming.
2. Technology will overcome the arid soil of the West.
3. Science and technology affect farming (yields and marketing).
4. Industry and technology are responsible for an improved way of life.

Implicit in these codes (and the excerpted passages underlying them) was the view that science, technology, and business are good—a perspective that the textbook authors probably believed student readers and their families would share. We determined that these codes and the large number of other similar codes supported a theme called “Science, technology, and business improve, but ultimately change, agriculture.”⁷

The Why This Way and Not That Way Tool can help researchers analyze authors’ decisions about what to say and how to say it. In other words, it assists interpretation of what the authors are “trying to mean and do” (Gee, 2011, p. 54). For example, we considered the following passage in the 1975 text: “At first, a good many farmers were suspicious of ‘new-fangled’ ideas” (Wilder et al., 1975, p. 507). What were the authors trying to convey when they chose to use the phrase “new-fangled” rather than the less reactive phrase, “new ideas about farming”? What did the authors want us to know about farmers? When we coded this passage, we were careful to use an in vivo approach in order to preserve the actual wording from the text. “Farmers are suspicious of ‘new-fangled’ ideas” was the wording that one of us used. By focusing on the authors’ intent, we determined that the authors were trying to paint farmers as resistant to scientific and technological change.

Finally, the Doing and Not Just Saying Tool enabled our interpretation to account for the fact that the texts were authored from particular perspectives and were therefore actively trying to *do* something (Gee, 2011). For example, one set of authors positioned westward expansion in a way that explicitly asked readers to view it from an emotional perspective:

The westward march of American pioneers is one of the most stirring chapters in the history of our country ... These people left us a heritage. By their courage and labor they changed vast stretches of unbroken wilderness into fruitful farmlands and thriving communities. In so doing, they also added to the nation’s wealth and power. Furthermore, in the new settlements that grew up, Americans developed a more democratic way of living than existed in other parts of the country at that time. (Wilder et al., 1968, p. 304)

To retain information about this intent, one member used the following code to characterize the meaning of the passage: “We should be thankful and moved by the story of the West.” Then, when we took account of the passage in our thematic categorization of codes, we interpreted it in terms of what we believed the authors were trying to *do*, namely to reinforce an ethos of nationalism or at least an emotional attachment to the nation among readers. We categorized the codes attached to the passage under the following two themes: “America dominates the world” and “Pioneers are exemplars of important American values.” This categorization acknowledged what the passage was *doing*, not just what it seemed to be *saying*.

Using this approach to categorization, we identified 22 themes with varying degrees of salience to rural-related excerpts from each book, with 12 of these themes subsuming codes from all six of the books. Because our analysis was looking for change over time, our interpretation centered on these 12 thematic categories: *Rural is an idyll*; *Science, technology, and business improve, but ultimately change agriculture*; *Rural people are political*; *The United States depends on human triumph over nature*; *Rural people and rural life are deficient*; *Agriculture is built on a legacy of slavery and indenture*; *Farmers have mixed responses to central government*; *America dominates the world*; *Geographical features influence settlement patterns, land use, and ultimately culture*; *The development of infrastructure provided crucial links between places*; *Agriculture feeds an industrial nation*; and *Rural and urban places diverge*.

Finally, we evaluated the salience of these themes in each of the books by counting the number of codes that fit under each theme. Because a discussion of 12 themes was unmanageable in one chapter, we confined our historical comparisons for the current chapter to two of the themes. An earlier publication (Howley, Howley, & Eppley, 2013) provided a detailed discussion of narrative categorized under the three themes relating to the impact of science and technology on agriculture.

RESULTS

The part of our interpretation that we present in this chapter concerns two significant thematic categories, both of which overlap substantially with other categories. Although both themes are salient to some degree in all of the books, one of them diminished in salience over the years and the other rose in salience. We named the decreasing theme “rural life is an idyll” and the increasing theme “rural people and rural life are deficient.” Despite the decrease in salience of the first of these themes and the increase in the second, the coexistence of the two themes within each book contributed to a contradictory message about the character of rural people and rural ways of life. [Figure 1](#) shows the relative salience of “*Rural life is an idyll*” across textbooks, and [Figure 2](#) shows the relative salience of “*Rural people and rural life are deficient*.”

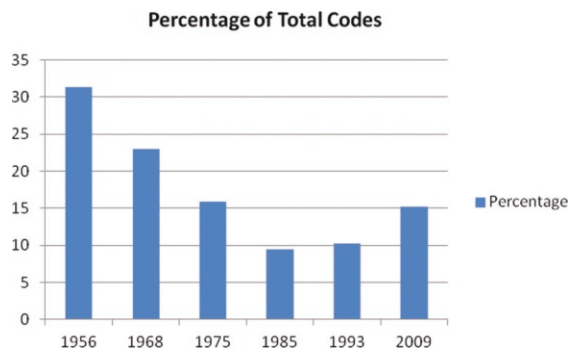


Figure 1. Salience of the theme, “Rural life is an idyll”

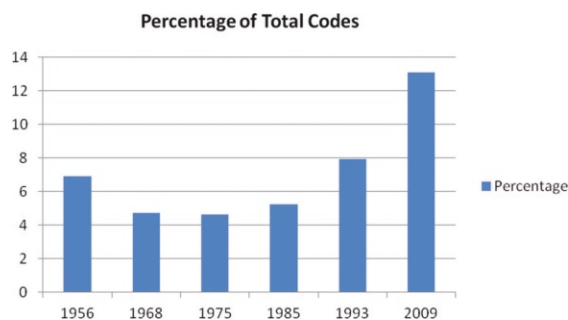


Figure 2. Salience of the theme, “Rural people and rural life are deficient”

*Rural Life Is an Idyll*⁸

The theme *Rural life is an idyll* characterizes narrative focusing on positive aspects of rural life, including the salutary contributions of small farms to the formation of the national character, the virtues associated with the adventurous pioneer life as well as those associated with the settled farming life, the contribution of small farming communities and the frontier to the American ethos of egalitarianism, and the benefits of rural pursuits (acquiring land, hunting, farming, mining, and timbering) for cultivating individual initiative. Illustrative text showing these subthemes revealed that positive characterizations of rural people and ways of life advanced the authors’ efforts to construct, from historical circumstances, support for ideologies that they saw as “American.” Not surprisingly, given the steady decline of the rural population between 1950 and 2009,⁹ the extent to which rurality figured as an important marker of national identity in these textbooks also decreased substantially over time. By 2009, the reduced tendency to characterize rural life as an idyll seems to reflect a waning need to ground American virtues in land ownership, agrarian production, and civic participation at the local level.

Analysis of the various subthemes also suggests that what the textbooks put forward as positive about rural life and people changed over time; there appeared to be diminishing concerns about an agrarian way of life (and way of thinking about life) and increasing concerns about an inevitable transformation from a sacred rural past into a more secular cosmopolitan present. Two illustrative quotes, one from the more agrarian 1956 book and one from the more cosmopolitan 2009 book, characterize the difference in focus.

American farmers ... have everything that it takes to provide the American people with a wide variety of nutritious foods ... The American farmer ... has worked hard and has had to show remarkable ingenuity and skill to produce so much food. (Canfield & Wilder, 1956, p. 6)

In the city, lonely migrants from the country often ached for home. Throughout the 1920s, Americans found themselves caught between rural and urban cultures—a tug that pitted what seemed to be a safe, small-town world of close ties, hard work, and strict morals against a big-city world of anonymous crowds, moneymakers, and pleasure seekers. (Danzer et al., 2009, p. 642)

As a close reading reveals, these two passages reflect quite different characterizations of rurality. The earlier one emphasizes the *necessity* of the “ingenious” farmer to the well-being of the United States, and the latter emphasizes the moral rigor of rural people, whose perspective is nonetheless *out of touch* with prevailing values and practices.

Despite such differences, the textbook authors all gave some credence to the idea that life in rural places is (or once was) generative of an American spirit. As an analysis of the subthemes reveals, however, the characterization of this spirit is deeply inconsistent. Americans, according to the subthemes at play to some degree in each textbook, are at their best when they are simultaneously independent and communal, settled and restless, materialistic and anti-materialistic, secular and sacred.

Small farms and communities. Especially in the earlier textbooks, authors emphasized the contributions to the emerging nation of the colonists and settlers who purchased relatively small amounts of land or acquired them through other sorts of agreements (e.g., homestead contracts) and established farms on these holdings. The textbooks portrayed these farmers, particularly those who settled the northern and middle colonies and later the West, as independent—*independent* both from various indenture and tenancy arrangements that limited the opportunities of the poorest settlers and from the debilitating legacy of aristocratic privilege that compromised the moral standing of the landed gentry in the South. In this rendering, “the small, independent farmers ... were really the backbone of the colonial population” (Canfield & Wilder, 1956, pp. 62–63).

All the textbooks depicted these farmers as embodying a range of virtues. They were hard-working, strong, simple, religious, self-sufficient, stable, brave, and inventive. According to the books, these salutary characteristics enabled small farmers and their families to endure the hardships of rural life, including the fickleness of the weather, the persistent threat of Indian retaliation, and the loneliness of living in relative isolation from others. Whereas the earlier books (1956 and 1968) conveyed a sense of the ongoing contribution of small farmers and their way of life to the success of the United States, the later books clearly positioned the small farmer as a relic of the American past. Almost clinical in this characterization, the 1993 text reported, “Gradually, large [farm] operators with capital to invest came to dominate the industry” (Dibacco, 1993, p. 317).

A far more extensive and wistful description of the change appeared in 1975, a year toward the end of a period of rapid decline in the number of farms and the proportion of the population working on farms.¹⁰ Two passages are especially poignant:

Small farms provide a living. Most American farms in the 1840’s ... were small. Except on special occasions, when his neighbors lent a helping hand, the farmer and his family did all their own work. Frequently the farmer had only a few simple tools with which to till the soil ... His farm was not a means of *earning a living* in the sense in which we use these words today. Nowadays most men work, are paid wages, and buy what they need with the money they receive. But the small farms of the 1840’s brought little money to the farmer. Instead, the farm *provided a living* for him and his family. The farmer raised most of his family’s food, as well as most of the materials from which they made their clothes. (Wilder et al., 1975, p. 496)

Larger farms are possible. With the new machinery, a farmer could take care of a small farm and have time to spare. Because the new machinery was expensive ... few farmers could afford to buy machines and let them stand idle ... If a farmer could plant larger crops, he could make greater use of his equipment. He could also earn larger profits ... Farmers who could afford to do so, therefore, decided to buy more land, and the size of farms grew. Today there are three and a half million fewer farms than in 1920, but the average farm is about 240 acres larger. As the average farmers increased the size of their farms and purchased expensive machinery, many of them found that it paid to devote all their land and time to raising a single crop, such as wheat or cotton ... So farming became more and more a means of *earning* a living rather than of *providing* a living. In fact, farming has become a business, and the farmer a businessman who depends on his profits for his living. (Wilder et al., 1975, pp. 498–499)

The distinction between “earning” and “providing” a living clearly evokes a contrast between the secular and the sacred. In fact, it seems to recall the sense

of “a living” that Jane Austen and others of her time meant when they referred to the support that landed gentry provided to the clergy in their communities (Oxford English Dictionary, 2000). In this case, however, the land itself, not the gentry, provides the “living” to the farmer and his family.

Restless pioneers and settled farmers. Across all of the textbooks, authors contrasted the virtues of pioneers with those of farmers. Both rural roles seemed, however, to demand traits that were useful in shaping a positive American ethos. In general, for example, the books characterized pioneers as “restless,” “sturdy,” “adventurous,” and “brave,” whereas they characterized farmers as “settled,” “hard-working,” “resourceful,” and “long-suffering.” In fact, in two of the books (1968 and 1975), the authors provided a sequential typology that distinguished among three waves of settlers: “long hunters,” “backwoodsmen,” and “pioneer farmers” (e.g., Wilder et al., 1975, p. 305).

The distinctions became less clear, however, in the textbooks’ treatment of the virtue of community-mindedness. Curiously, some of the books painted pioneers as more community-minded than farmers, even though the life of pioneers obviously restricted their connections to ongoing communities. According to the prevailing logic, however, farmers, particularly those in the Midwest and West, lived in such isolation and were so busy settling the land that community-building was difficult. Nevertheless, the authors seemed to want to attribute community-mindedness to rural people and therefore tended to locate its origins among the pioneers rather than among the farmers.

The authors of the 1993 book found a unique way to resolve the tension by contrasting two groups of pioneers:

Those who had moved west because they were poor often stayed to build a life for themselves and to become part of a community. Those for whom the West meant adventure and independence were likely to pick up and move on as soon as they could see the smoke from a neighbor’s chimney. (Dibacco, 1993, p. 182)

The ethos of egalitarianism. In the three earlier books (1956, 1968, and 1975), the type of community-mindedness attributed to pioneers entailed an egalitarian sensibility that was born of the need to live simply and confront a common set of hardships. A passage from the 1968 book explains this etiology quite explicitly:

The simple and rugged life of the pioneer helped him to develop ideas different from those found in older and more settled parts of the country. First of all, deep in the hearts of all frontiersmen was a strong feeling of equality. On the frontier every man was as good as the next man and had as good a chance to succeed. Each person had the same kind of house, ate the same kind of food, wore the same kind of clothes, did the same kind of work, and faced the same

dangers. It has been said that democracy means, not “I am as good as you are,” but “You are as good as I am.” (Wilder et al., 1968, p. 314)

In addition to this explanation, some of the earlier books also located the origins of America’s egalitarian democracy in the small farm: “Jefferson believed that the future of the country rested on its development as a nation of small farmers” (Wilder et al., 1975, p. 238). And the 1956 book in particular saw New England towns as the source of America’s democratic practices: “At the town meeting all the local problems were thrashed out, and representatives were elected to the colonial assembly. The town meeting was an example of pure or direct democracy in America” (Canfield & Wilder, 1956, p. 71). Whatever its locus, however, the earlier books tended to valorize local democratic engagement and to connect it to the rural experience, while the later books (1985, 1993, 2009) made no mention of equality or democracy in their treatment of rural topics.

Rural pursuits and the ethos of individualism. Although the connection between rural life and democracy appeared in the earlier books only, the connection between rural life and individualism was evident in all of the books. Passages throughout the full set of excerpts spoke about pioneers’, settlers’, homesteaders’, and farmers’ quest for independence. The textbooks variously characterized these rural people as seeking independence from British rule, tenancy, older (ostensibly more class-based) forms of government, living in one place, traditional ways of doing things, and the scrutiny of others.

In most of these characterizations, the textbook authors assumed that readers would know what they meant by terms like “independence,” “enterprise,” and “self-reliance.” Analysis guided by the Fill in Tool suggested that the textbook authors tended to rely on readers’ preexisting understanding of and sympathy for individualist values. The vagueness with which such ideas are presented in the two quotes below illustrates how such discussions were handled throughout the six books:

At the time, only about one third of the colonists had “independence in view.” This third was made up, for the most part, of the small tradesmen, mechanics, and farmers of New England, well-to-do planters of Virginia and other colonies, and pioneers all along the frontier. (Canfield & Wilder, 1956, p. 102)

Finally, there was a spirit of independence and restlessness in the air. People were on the move just to be on the move. (Danzer et al., 2009, p. 205)

Overall, then, the subthemes in which rurality appeared as an idyll comprised a substantial portion of the rurally relevant narrative in the textbooks. The diminishing need to ground American values in a rural past, however, may have accounted for a decline over time in the salience of the narrative attributing formative virtues to rural people and a rural way of life.

Rural People and Rural Life Are Deficient

While many of the perspectives on rurality diminished over time, one perspective remained clear and even gained in force between the years 1956 and 2009: that rural people and ways of life are deficient in comparison to urban and suburban people and ways of life. From this perspective, (1) rural people are ignorant and backward and thus in need of education; (2) they are lawless, reckless, and dangerous and thus in need of regulation; and (3) they live in places whose isolation and hardships constrain the development of full human potential. Passages relating to each of these ideas constituted subcategories under the broader theme.

Rural people are ignorant. Across all the books, the most common deficiency attributed to rural people was ignorance in its many forms: lack of up-to-date knowledge, insufficient formal education, backward-looking attitudes and beliefs, and old-fashioned practices. Interestingly, when the books portrayed rural people as possessing knowledge, they described a traditional and quaint sort of knowledge, a form of practical “know-how” that at once enabled rural people to survive under difficult circumstances and kept them from seeing the benefits of more modern practices. Echoing the purported quaintness of rural people, the three earlier textbooks (1956, 1968, and 1975) all used the word “new-fangled” to describe what rural people thought about the scientific and technological inventions that had supposedly “revolutionized” agriculture between 1865 and the present: “At first, a good many farmers were suspicious of ‘new-fangled’ ideas, but most farmers today realize that they need to know something about scientific farming to be successful” (Wilder et al., 1968, p. 494).

The presumption that rural people are uneducated and resistant to sensible modern innovations was not limited to the first three books, however. In the 2009 text, for example, their resistance was characterized as a lack of adaptability in an increasingly urban world:

For small-town migrants, adapting to the urban environment demanded changes in thinking as well as in everyday living. The city was a world of competition and change. City dwellers read and argued about current scientific and social ideas. (Danzer et al., 2009, p. 640)

In this passage, the authors used the contrast with city dwellers to imply that rural people were resistant to change (in comparison to urban people, who were adaptable) and complacent (in contrast to urban people, who were competitive). Rural people in this characterization, moreover, neither read nor engaged in debate about current ideas.

In the 1993 book, the authors put forward this same set of presumptions about rural people by providing an elaborate discussion of the Scopes Monkey Trial in

Tennessee: “Perhaps the most celebrated conflict between country and city values involved the theory of evolution” (Dibacco, 1993, p. 528). Here, the distinction between rural and urban people depended on the concordance of secular and scientific values on the one hand, and religious and primitive (or premodern) values on the other. Furthermore, the purported distinction between rural and urban people on the grounds of the extent of their allegiance to religious fundamentalism seemed curious in 1993, a time when Christian fundamentalism had become a pervasive force nationally (Emerson, Hartman, Cook, & Massey, 2006; Hunter, 1991).

In the 1993 book, an even more obvious characterization of rural people as “uneducated” appeared in the discussion of the Populist Party:

There were important differences between populism and progressivism: (1) Populism drew its strength from rural areas, while progressivism centered in cities. (2) Populists tended to be poor and uneducated, while most progressives were middle-class and well-educated. (Dibacco, 1993, p. 397)

This textbook also went so far as to categorize varieties of ignorance and backwardness among different subgroups of rural people. For instance, the authors characterized the Western frontiersman as “loud and boastful” and as “rough and ignorant, lacking in manners and education” (Dibacco, 1993, p. 314). By contrast, they described the Appalachian farmer as poor, unable to read or write, but also as “proud and independent” (p. 298). These mostly negative attributes contrasted with the more positive characterization of the Plains farmer of the 1880s, which had him “reading a farmer’s newspaper” and his children “studying the lessons they must have ready for school the next day” (p. 519).

The ignorance of rural people was also constructed in the textbooks by reference to their reliance on external experts. Among these sources of expertise were county extension agents, land-grant universities, and clubs for rural children and adolescents (e.g., 4-H clubs, Future Farmers of America clubs), all of which were initiatives sponsored primarily by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. As the 1968 book noted, “The United States government also began to spend millions of dollars every year to teach farmers how to do their work more efficiently” (Wilder et al., 1968, p. 568). In many of the books, the authors contrasted the improved productivity of farming that resulted from scientific expertise with the disastrous results that befell farmers who did not have access to such expertise. A quote from the 1956 book is illustrative:

And there was no one to tell him that his methods of plowing and farming often increased the harshness of nature’s blows. During a series of wet years, homesteaders pushed into lands that were normally too dry to support their crops. They prospered for a while. Then their hopes were dashed when periods of drought or plagues of grasshoppers came along. (Canfield & Wilder, 1956, p. 400)

Rural people are lawless. The image of rural people as deficient was also evident in the textbooks' portrayal of them as lawless, rowdy, reckless, careless, and ungovernable. In these passages, the typical approach was to focus on a particular, possibly marginalized, group of rural people, such as miners, colonists, or the unemployed, rather than to characterize all rural people in these ways. For example, the authors of the 1956 book claimed, "Many colonists indulged in drinking, smoking, and gambling" (Canfield & Wilder, 1956, p. 78). And a quote from 1968 attributed similar uncouth practices to miners in particular:

Among the miners the chief amusements were gambling, racing, and drinking. You can imagine how hard it was to keep law and order when thousands of men were bent on making fortunes by fair means or foul. (Wilder et al., 1968, p. 363)

Nevertheless, in a few cases, lawlessness and carelessness were even attributed to farmers, despite the fact that they were the one group of rural residents that all of the books also characterized as stable, moral, and risk-avoidant. In their discussions of Shay's Rebellion—a revolt by farmers against high taxation and resulting debt—the books portrayed farmers' lawlessness as understandable (the tax was "a severe blow to western farmers," Canfield & Wilder, 1956, p. 150), but also as having the potential to undermine the success of the nation:

Shay's Rebellion, as the farmers' protest came to be called, caused panic and dismay throughout the nation. Every state had debt-ridden farmers. Would rebellion spread from Massachusetts elsewhere? Not only was private property in danger, but so was the new nation's reputation. As George Washington himself exclaimed, "What a triumph for our enemies ... to find that we are incapable of governing ourselves." (Danzer et al., 2009, p. 140)

Similarly, the books viewed farmers' careless approach to resource management as destructive of the nation's natural resources:

American farmers had been in the habit of treating the land carelessly. When the first settlers landed in America, a wide continent stretched before them. Why worry if a little land should be worn out? There always was more to the west! Even after nearly all the land was occupied, farmers still acted as though they could wear out a piece of land and then move on to another. (Wilder et al., 1975, p. 502)

Summing up the view that a purported virtue of rural people, their independence, also contributed to the vice of being ungovernable was an apocryphal story in the 2009 book, which ended with the following punch-line: "A boy from a small farm in the backcountry replies that the government is only for town people" (Danzer et al., 2009, p. 181). This characterization contrasted with the clear message that

was evident in all of the books: that rural people depended on the government, particularly the federal government, for their well-being, productivity, and in times of stress such as the depression, their actual survival.

Rural people live in a debilitating environment. In addition to depicting rural people as ignorant and lawless, the books portrayed them as victims of deficient rural environments. The authors saw these rural places as isolated and dreary, thus contributing to loneliness and boredom among farmers and other residents. They also saw them as untamed and rugged, thus requiring “backbreaking” work from those who sought to make a life there. Indeed, in these characterizations, the words “loneliness” and “hardship” took on a range of different meanings.

“Loneliness,” for example, sometimes meant “dullness,” as in the following quote: “The lonely life of the frontier differed sharply from the bustling activity of Boston or Philadelphia or Charleston” (Canfield & Wilder, 1956, p. 80). In other instances, “loneliness” referred to remoteness: “It is night over the wide lands of Iowa. In the limitless darkness, each farmhouse, set far from its neighbors, seems as lonely as a ship at sea” (Wilder et al., 1968, p. 520). Several of the books talked about the “few pleasures [that] relieved the hard work and drabness” of rural life (Graff, 1985, p. 432). Among these were country fairs, meetings, and social outings arranged by local Granges, as well as church dinners.

The books characterized hardships in terms of physical labor, exposure to extreme weather, and endurance of poverty. The various occupations of rural people, most notably farming, called for hard work under difficult conditions, as the following passages illustrate:

First, however, they had to work very hard to make the land arable, or fit to cultivate. Many wooded areas had to be cleared before fields could be planted. (Danzer et al., 2009, p. 278)

The settlers endure hardships. The Great Plains forced Americans to use all the ingenuity they could muster. The region had far less rainfall than farmers east of the Mississippi were accustomed to. It also lacked the usual building materials for houses and fences ... Insects plagued the farmers too. No one was prepared for the invasion of grasshoppers that began in 1874 and lasted for three years. The insects first appeared in the form of a giant cloud; then they descended and chewed up everything green. When no crops were left, they went to work on farm tools, broom handles, the walls of houses, and even harnesses. Falling into the wells, the ’hoppers ruined water supplies ... Few pleasures relieved the hard work and drabness of farm life in the late 1800’s. (Graff, 1985, p. 432)

The fact that hard work in the face of challenging circumstances often led to crop failure, economic ruin, and abandonment of rural places supported the relatively seamless linkage that the textbook authors made between the hardships of rural

life and poverty: “The poor whites were really frontier people, encountering all the rigors faced by settlers on the western frontier” (Graff, 1985, p. 305). Whereas the earlier textbooks often characterized both rural places and inner cities as sites of poverty and attendant social problems, the later books in particular seemed to view rural poverty as particularly insidious. Two passages from the 1993 book illustrate the hyperbolic language with which the authors of the later books tended to discuss the poverty facing some rural residents:

The landowners’ insistence on growing cotton greatly harmed the southern economy. The repeated crops of cotton exhausted the soil and reduced the amount of land available for food crops. As a result, the fertile South had to import half its food. The higher cost of food was borne by those who could least afford it—the tenant farmers. These agricultural practices doomed the deep South to decades of rural poverty. (Dibacco, 1993, p. 270)

Tenements were a step up for people who had been homeless or living in rural shacks. (Dibacco, 1993, p. 356)

Not only did the textbooks draw linkages between rural hardships and poverty, they also connected these hardships to the limited and inadequate schooling that rural children received. Two illustrations, one from the 1993 book and one from the 2009 book, reflect a perspective that was evident across all of the texts:

In the West, many families were struggling so hard to get started in their new homes that they had little time to think about schooling. In the South, only the children of wealthy planters received much education. (Dibacco, 1993, p. 333)

Country children attended school only when they weren’t needed to do chores at home or in the fields. Schoolhouses were one-room log cabins and supplies were scarce. Younger and older children learned their lessons together by reciting spelling, multiplication tables, and verses from the Bible. Schoolmasters, seldom more learned than their students, punished wrong answers and restless behavior with severe beatings. (Danzer et al., 2009, p. 188)

As the 2009 passage in particular suggests, rural life entailed not only harshness and limitations associated with the natural environment but also harshness and limitations associated with the cultural practices of rural people, in this case teachers. Only one of the books, however, alluded to changes in rural schools that were intended to make them more modern and, as a result, better able to provide the educational services needed by rural as well as other Americans.

The number of schools has multiplied and the number of pupils in school has soared. About nine out of ten young people of school age attend school. The aim of most Americans is to complete at least a high school education. The “little-red school house,” where a single teacher taught children of different

grades in one room has almost disappeared. New, modern school buildings are to be found in most communities. In many cases, too, a regional high school has taken the place of several very small high schools in towns or farm areas. The high schools of today offer a wide variety of subjects and many extracurricular programs. (Wilder et al., 1968, p. 536)

Whereas this passage is the only one in all six books to position modern schools as a remedy for rural ignorance, several passages in each of the books discuss how science, technology, and industrial development have given rural people opportunities to escape hardships and improve their lives by enabling them to leave deficient rural environments for improved circumstances in cities and suburbs. The 1975 book viewed these changes somewhat wistfully from the vantage point of an older resident of a small town:

Grandmother Brown sat silently ... Then she said: "Life has changed greatly in Waterville. We are far more comfortable than we used to be ... Yet our young people are inclined to move away. They go to the cities. They think that they will find more opportunities there, or that life will be more exciting. I am worried. What will become of towns like ours if we cannot hold our young people?" (Wilder et al., 1975, pp. 533–534)

Its discussion nevertheless confirmed the inevitability of the exodus from rural places:

But today, because of modern farm machinery, it takes less manpower to supply food for the nation's needs. More farm people, therefore, have left the "old homestead" for jobs in the cities. (Wilder et al., 1975, p. 537)

DISCUSSION

As our analysis revealed, the textbooks embedded two opposing characterizations of rural people and ways of life. The first represented rurality as the wellspring for the disparate virtues of individualism and community spirit, stability and adventurousness. The second portrayed rural people as deficient, both ignorant and reckless, and rural life as harsh and demoralizing and inherently linked to poverty. Although both characterizations existed in all of the textbooks, earlier books focused more on the virtues associated with rural experience and later books more on its detriments and discontents.

Following Gee (2010, 2011) and Apple (2000), we believe these contradictory characterizations do not appear in the textbooks by chance, but instead function as identity markers, illuminating and at the same time circumscribing the meaning of nationhood and citizenship. In the earlier textbooks, for example, the rural idyll dominated, functioning as a "receptacle for national identity—a symbolic site for shoring up what it means to be [American]" (Bell, 2006, p. 151). The authors of these books imagined an American identity in which rural experience not only

FROM INGENIOUS TO IGNORANT, FROM IDYLIC TO BACKWARDS

served as a generative legacy, but also offered a guidepost for an industrial future: land ownership presaging and legitimizing individual and corporate ownership more broadly, agrarian production reaching its potential through scientific progress, and local civic participation providing a model for heightened nationalism. From this perspective, urbanization and industrialization might be construed as extensions of rural and small town life—older forms that nonetheless remain available as correctives to the alienation and corruption of the inner city. Of course, as Raymond Williams cautions,

As we read the abstract comparisons of rural virtue and urban greed, we must not be tempted to forget the regular, necessary and functional links between the social and moral orders which were so easily and conventionally contrasted. (1973, p. 48)

Indeed the contrast seems to have become less salient to the construction of American identity as the national project of urbanization matured.¹¹ The six decades during which these textbooks were written (and in several cases, rewritten) witnessed not only the industrialization of the American countryside (Lyson, 2006), but also the globalization of capitalist production (Bauman, 2004). In keeping with these shifts, the national ethos repositioned production as subordinate to consumption, community as subordinate to social networks, and culture as subordinate to individual attainment. Under this ethos, rural people and ways of life ceased to symbolize the American spirit. Instead, rurality came to represent a site for poverty, isolation, and ignorance, in other words, a social space so inhospitable that it stood in the way of consumption, social networks, and opportunity.

INTERPRETATION: RECLAIMING THE RURAL

This interpretation of changes in textbooks' representation of rurality over time is more than an exercise in narrative analysis and is not itself an idealization of rurality or a bid to return rurality to a special place in the national imagination. Instead, it is an occasion for critical, public pedagogy (Giroux, 1999)—the sort of critique that helps create a vision of a different, more just world. In that world, in contrast to the one represented in the textbooks, rural people and ways of life would contribute a variety of forceful meanings to the struggles between workers and capitalists, conservationists and resource extractors, localists and cosmopolitans, cultural preservationists and modernists.

Contributions of this sort would pose real challenges to dominant forces of capitalism and globalization, positioning rural people's recalcitrance not as the sentimental attachment to an "imagined homeland" (Bell, 2006, p. 154) but as a reasonable set of countermoves in the power relations of "a complex global economic and social network" (Donehower, Hogg, & Schell, 2007, p. xi).

With this possibility in mind, we viewed changes in the extent to which (and ways in which) the books linked rurality to democracy as indicative of wider

ideological shifts. Notably, we recognized a striking similarity between the books' emphasis on the role of early American communities in promoting democracy and their representations of the rural (agrarian) idyll. As the rural idyll decreased in salience across the books, so, apparently, did the emphasis on the contributions of rural communities to the country's fledging identity as a democracy. From our perspective, this shift, in fact, signaled a profound change in the construction of the national identity. Whereas the earlier textbooks seemed to reflect "unbridled enthusiasm for the [nation-] state" (Busch, 2003, p. 24), the later ones increasingly appeared to treat democracy and the citizen-state as subordinate to the nation's dominance in a globalized (capitalist) economy. In the 2009 book, for example, the authors counterposed the country's concern for the conservation of natural resources with its need to secure energy reserves in an increasingly competitive global marketplace. The discussion of this dilemma concluded with a question posed to readers: "Do you think the United States eventually will engage in greater domestic exploration of its natural resources to solve its growing energy needs?" (Danzer et al., 2009, p. 1123).

But why might we expect the textbooks' increased focus on globalization necessarily to correspond to a more restricted view of democracy? First, it is important to acknowledge that textbooks, like schooling in general, belong to the "ideological apparatus" of the state (Althusser, 1971, p. 133). Both purvey "'know-how', but in forms which ensure *subjection to the ruling ideology* or the mastery of its 'practice'" (p. 133). In other words, schools (and by extension, the textbooks used in schools) actively work to reinforce the dominant ideologies that sustain prevailing power relations. In this case, the books' simultaneous *increase* in attention to economic globalization and *decrease* in emphasis on the democratic foundations of the nation provide an example of how the state's ideological apparatus promotes its material interests.¹²

The second reason why the textbook authors seem to have found the emphasis on democracy incompatible with the emphasis on economic globalization is because "we"—that is, educators and school boards who purchase textbooks—have assented to this construction of the social world. As Klein (2009) argued, not just educators but U.S. residents in general have consented to a view of globalization that is exclusively economic in nature. In so doing, according to Klein, we have rejected other possibilities for global citizenship. On this view, we have abandoned our responsibilities as citizens, allowing the private sector to make a wide variety of decisions that affect fundamental parts of our everyday lives. For example, we have given consent to multinational corporations to author labor and human rights codes (Klein, 2009), to control most practices related to agricultural production and distribution (Bell & Hendricks, 2003), to conduct their own operations largely independent of the control of nation-states, and to blur boundaries between the public and private sectors (Busch, 2003).

Interestingly, this perspective on the ways that advanced, globalized capitalism has restricted the national imagination is completely in line with what Williams projected:

The negative effects will continue to show themselves, in a powerful and apparently irresistible pressure: physical effects on the environment; a simultaneous crisis of overcrowded cities and a depopulating countryside, not only within but between nations; physical and nervous stresses of certain characteristic kinds of work and characteristic kinds of career; the widening gap between the rich and poor of the world, within the threatening crisis of population and resources; the similarly widening gap between concern and decision, in a world in which all the fallout, military, technical, and social, is in the end inescapable. (Williams, 1973, p. 306)

For Williams, the alternative to this inevitable logic is to defy it: “We can overcome division only by refusing to be divided” (p. 306). Moreover, with Williams, we believe that an interrogation of significant texts from the past grounds our efforts to defy the dominant and domineering logic of the present. Requiring greater honesty about the past opens onto a conception of the future that imagines a more connected world: human nature in league with the natural world, rural people and ways of life understood in their complexity and fallibility (Eppley, 2010), democracy seen as an unfinished project in need of nurture (Bell & Hendricks, 2003; Theobald, 2006). In short, the stories of rural people and rural ways of life might encode meaningful alternatives to dominant ideologies—not because those alternatives exist in a rural idyll but because rurality itself, in its struggles and vistas, resists both the blandishments and the deprecations of global capitalism.

NOTES

- ¹ We chose the 1950s as our starting point because this decade is often used as a marker for comparisons (mid-century) (e.g., Wuthnow, 2011). For example, many of the tables that are available on number of people who live on farms, number of farms, etc. make comparisons by decade between 1950 and 2000 (e.g., <http://www.demographia.com/db-farm1950.htm>).
- ² The publisher of the last book (2009) is listed as Holt MacDougal—a company that was acquired by Houghton-Mifflin in 2007.
- ³ For some reason, only the first author was given attribution for the 1993 edition of the book even though it was very similar to the 1991 edition, which had three authors (Dibacco, Mason, & Appy, 1991).
- ⁴ Note that our method at this stage was inclusive. Determining inter-rater reliability was not a significant issue until later in the process when we induced themes from the codes.
- ⁵ As scholars in the field of rural education, we would be able to generate much longer lists of rurally relevant topics than the textbook authors actually addressed. Our goal, however, was to focus on what they saw as rurally relevant, not to try to read what we saw as rurally relevant topics into the text.
- ⁶ We had approximately 40 pages of single-spaced excerpts per book.
- ⁷ The somewhat wistful tone in the phrasing of the name for this theme reflects the spirit of the narrative in the books in which we first encountered the set of related ideas, namely the earlier texts. Arguably a

- somewhat reverse ordering of the words might better characterize the spirit of the narrative in the later books, particularly the 1993 and 2009 textbooks.
- ⁸ With Raymond Williams (1973), we use the term “idyll” to refer both to idyllic, though often unsustainable, pastoral circumstances and to narrative evocative of those circumstances.
- ⁹ Projections from United Nations data suggest that in the period between 1950 and 2010, the percentage of the population living in rural areas was cut in half, from approximately 36% to approximately 18% (Satterthwaite, 2005).
- ¹⁰ Data reported by the U.S. Department of Agriculture provide evidence of these trends (http://www.nass.usda.gov/Charts_and_Maps/Farm_Labor/fl_frmwk.asp).
- ¹¹ For a related discussion of the impact of urbanization on the systematic study of rural life, see Friedland (1982).
- ¹² For a deeper understanding of the view that globalization erodes democracy, we refer the reader to the works of Bauman (1998), Sassen (2007), and, with particular relevance to education, Spring (2007). Their interpretation of the association between globalization and democracy is not the only one on offer, of course (see, e.g., Doces, 2006; Lopez-Cordova & Meissner, 2005).

WORKS CITED

*Primary Sources

- Althusser, L. (1971). Ideology state apparatuses. In L. Althusser (Ed.), *Lenin and philosophy and other essays* (pp. 127–186). London, UK: New Left Books.
- Anyon, J. (1970). Ideology and United States history textbooks. *Harvard Educational Review*, 49, 361–386.
- Apple, M. W. (2000). *Official knowledge: Democratic education in a conservative age*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Apple, M. W., & Christian-Smith, L. K. (1991). *The politics of the textbook*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Bauman, Z. (1998). *Globalization: The human consequences*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Bauman, Z. (2004). *Wasted lives: Modernity and its outcasts*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Bell, D. (2006). Variations on the rural idyll. In P. Cloke, T. Marsden, & P. Mooney (Eds.), *Handbook of rural studies* (pp. 149–160). London, UK: Sage.
- Bell, M., & Hendricks, F. (2003). Introduction. In M. Bell & F. Hendricks (Eds.), *Walking towards justice: Democratization in rural life* (pp. 1–19). Oxford, UK: Elsevier.
- Billings, D. (1999). Introduction. In D. Billings, G. Norman, & K. Ledford (Eds.), *Confronting Appalachian stereotypes: Back talk from an American region* (pp. 3–20). Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky.
- Buckingham, D. (2000). *After the death of childhood: Growing up in the age of electronic media*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Bunce, M. (1982). *Rural settlements in an urban world*. Guilford, UK: Billing and Sons.
- Busch, L. (2003). Democracy: The missing element in the market celebration. In M. Bell & F. Hendricks (Eds.), *Walking towards justice: Democratization in rural life* (pp. 23–34). Oxford, UK: Elsevier.
- *Canfield, L., & Wilder, H. (1956). *The making of modern America*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Chappell, D. (2010). Training Americans: Ideology, performance, and social studies textbooks. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 38(2), 248–269.
- Collins, J. (2004). Foreword. In R. Rogers (Ed.), *An introduction to discourse analysis in education* (pp. xxi–xxiv). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Cook, A. K., & Beck, D. M. (1991). Metropolitan dominance versus decentralization in the information age. *Social Science Quarterly*, 72(2), 284–298.
- Crawford, K. (2003). Re-visiting Hiroshima: The role of US and Japanese history textbooks in the construction of national memory. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, 4(1), 108–117.
- Danzer, G., De Alva, J., & Krieger, L. (2009). *The Americans*. New York, NY: Houghton Mifflin/McDougal.
- *Dibacco, T. (1993). *History of the United States*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

FROM INGENIOUS TO IGNORANT, FROM IDYLIC TO BACKWARDS

- Dibacco, T., Mason, L., & Appy, C. G. (1991). *History of the United States*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Doces, J. A. (2006, November). *Globalization and democracy: An empirical analysis using a simultaneous equation approach*. Paper prepared for the first annual International Political Economy Conference, Princeton, NJ. Retrieved from http://www.princeton.edu/~pcglobal/conferences/IPES/papers/doces_S130_2.pdf
- Donehower, K., Hogg, C., & Schell, E. (2007). Constructing rural literacies: Moving beyond the rhetorics of lack, lag, and the rosy past. In K. Donehower, C. Hogg, & E. Schell (Eds.), *Rural literacies* (pp. 1–36). Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Emerson, M. O., Hartman, D., Cook, K. S., & Massey, D. S. (2006). The rise of religious fundamentalism. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 32(1), 127–144. doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.32.061604.123141
- Eppley, K. (2010). Picturing rural America: An analysis of the representation of contemporary rural America in picture books for children. *The Rural Educator*, 32(1), 1–10.
- Eppley, K. (2011). Teaching rural place: Pre-service teachers consider place-conscious pedagogy. *Pedagogies: An International Journal*, 6(2), 87–103. doi:10.1080/1554480X.2011.563495
- Fink, D. (1992). *Agrarian women: Wives and mothers in rural Nebraska, 1880–1940*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Fisher-Keller, J. (2002). *Growing up with television: Everyday learning among young adolescents*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- FitzGerald, F. (1979). *America revised: History schoolbooks in the twentieth century*. Boston, MA: Little and Brown.
- Fleckenstein, K. S. (2003). *Embodied literacies: Imageword and a poetics of teaching*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Foster, G. S., & Hummerl, R. L. (1997). Wham, bam, thank you, SAM: Critical dimensions of the persistence of hillbilly caricatures. *Sociological Spectrum*, 17(2), 157–176.
- Frank, R. (2003). When bad things happen in good places: Pastoralism in big-city newspaper coverage of small-town violence. *Rural Sociology*, 68, 207–214.
- Friedland, W. H. (1982). The end of rural society and the future of rural sociology. *Rural Sociology*, 47(4), 589–608.
- Gee, J. (2005). *An introduction to discourse analysis: Theory and method*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Gee, J. (2010). *An introduction to discourse analysis: Theory and method*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Gee, J. (2011). *How to do discourse analysis: A toolkit*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Giroux, H. (1999). Rethinking cultural politics and the radical pedagogy in the work of Antonio Gramsci. *Educational Theory*, 49, 1–19.
- Goodman, J. (2010, November). The future of redistricting and rural America: Redistricting is not likely to be kind to the political clout of rural areas. *Governing*. Retrieved from <http://www.governing.com/topics/politics?page=2>
- *Graff, H. (1985). *America: The glorious republic*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Hogg, C. (2007). Beyond agrarianism: Toward a critical pedagogy of place. In K. Donehower, C. Hogg, & E. Schell (Eds.), *Rural literacies* (pp. 120–154). Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Howley, M., Howley, A., & Eppley, K. (2013). How agricultural science trumps rural community in the discourse of selected U.S. history textbooks. *Theory and Research in Social Studies Education*, 41(2), 187–218.
- Hunter, J. (1991). *Culture wars: The struggle to define America*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Johnson, J., & Howley, C. (2000). Review of *The City and the Country*. *Journal of Research in Rural Education*, 16(2), 146–151.
- Klein, N. (2009). *No logo: 10th anniversary edition*. New York, NY: Picador.
- Lichter, S. R., Amundson, D., & Lichter, L. S. (2002). *Perceptions of rural America: Media coverage*. Battle Creek, MI: W. W. Kellogg Foundation. Retrieved from <http://www.wkcf.org/knowledge-center/resources/2004/04/Study-Broadcast-Print-Outlets-Portray-Vastly-Different-Images-Of-Rural-America.aspx>
- Lichter, S. R., Amundson, D., & Lichter, L. S. (2004). *The message from rural America: Media coverage of rural America 2002 vs. 2004*. Battle Creek, MI: W. W. Kellogg Foundation.

A. HOWLEY ET AL.

- Lobao, L., & Meyer, K. (2001). The great agricultural transition: Crisis, change, and social consequences of twentieth century farming. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 58, 347–365.
- Loewen, J. W. (2007). *Lies my teacher told me: Everything your American history textbook got wrong*. New York, NY: The New Press.
- Lopez-Cordova, E., & Meissner, C. (2005). *The globalization of trade and democracy, 1870–2000* (NBER Working Paper No. 11117). Retrieved from <http://www.nber.org/papers/w11117>
- Lyson, T. (2006). Global capital and the transformation of rural communities. In P. Cloke, T. Marsden, & P. Mooney (Eds.), *Handbook of rural studies* (pp. 292–303). London, UK: Sage.
- Menifield, C. E., Rose, W. H., Homa, J., & Cunningham, A. B. (2001). The media's portrayal of urban and rural school violence: A preliminary analysis. *Deviant Behavior*, 22, 447–464.
- Oxford English Dictionary*. (2000). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Park, J. H. (2009). The uncomfortable encounter between an urban Black and a rural White: The ideological implications of racial conflict on MTV's *The Real World*. *Journal of Communication*, 59, 152–171.
- Perlmutter, D. D. (1997). Manufacturing visions of society and history in textbooks. *Journal of Communication*, 47(3), 68–81.
- Pinar, W. F. (2004). *What is curriculum theory?* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Podber, J. J. (2008). Television's arrival in the Appalachian mountains of the USA: An oral history. *Media History*, 14(1), 35–52.
- Sadker, D., & Zittleman, K. (2007). Gender bias from colonial America to today's classrooms. In J. A. Banks & C. A. McGee Banks (Eds.), *Multicultural education: Issues and perspectives* (pp. 135–169). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Sassen, S. (2007). *Deciphering the global: Its scales, spaces and subjects*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Satterthwaite, D. (2005). *The scale of urban change worldwide 1950–2000 and its underpinnings*. London, UK: IIED. Retrieved from <http://pubs.iied.org/pubs/pdfs/9531IIED.pdf>
- Spring, J. (2007). *Deculturalization and the struggle for equality: A brief history of the education of dominated cultures in the United States*. Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill.
- Theobald, P. (2006). A case for inserting community into public school curriculum. *American Journal of Education*, 112(3), 315–334.
- Washburn, L. H. (1997). Accounts of slavery: An analysis of United States history textbooks from 1900 to 1992. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 25(4), 470–491.
- Webb, A. (2004, May). *Hillbillies v. Hollywood: How an advocacy group influences a network's programming decisions*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Communications Association, New Orleans, LA.
- Webb, A. (2006, June). *Reframing rural America*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Communications Association, Dresden, Germany.
- *Wilder, H., Ludlum, R., & McCune Brown, H. (1968). *This is America's story*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- *Wilder, H., Ludlum, R., & McCune Brown, H. (1975). *This is America's story*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Williams, R. (1973). *The country and the city*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Wuthnow, R. (2011). *Remaking the heartland: Middle America since the 1950s*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Aimee Howley
WordFarmers Associates
Albany, Ohio, USA

Karen Eppley
Pennsylvania State University
University Park, Pennsylvania, USA

FROM INGENIOUS TO IGNORANT, FROM IDYLLIC TO BACKWARDS

Marged H. Dudek
Mullin Independent School District
Mullin, Texas, USA

SANDRA J. SCHMIDT

6. “WITHIN THE SOUND OF SILENCE”

A Critical Examination of LGBQ Issues in National History Textbooks

INTRODUCTION

The Simon and Garfunkel classic, “The Sound of Silence,” criticizes silence that perpetuates oppression. Living amid familiar darkness, people struggle to hear others screaming for recognition. Social movements, some of which have used this song, have slowly changed the faces of oppression. History textbooks attend to some of these movements, their relative successes having finally broken the silence. But for others, textbooks remain silent and prevent necessary learning. This chapter takes up the silence around sexuality. The original proposal for this chapter was 20 blank pages. There is power in the iteration of absence (Schmidt, 2010; Thornton, 2003). Twenty blank pages within a volume dense with printed words would create a pedagogical moment of wonder. This political act, though, perpetuates the silence of “people talking without speaking, people hearing without listening.” Simon and Garfunkel seem to agree with Plato’s rendering of the cave, that to sit in darkness (the silence) is to not see other, more just ways of being (the light). This chapter explores the silence, wondering about what is being said without words and what is being said between the words. The silence thus holds clues as to what is being hidden and what is made possible.

The silence about sexuality inside schools reflects a long silence outside schools. Although social movements advocating for lesbian, gay, bisexual, or queer (LGBQ) recognition and rights have existed for decades across the globe, they still struggle to disturb the silence. These struggles are increasingly visible. Nations such as India, Uganda, and Nigeria that continue to criminalize homosexuality receive international pressure to change domestic policy (Banks, 2014; Smith, 2015). Activists try to educate people beyond their fear, while opponents seek to make LGBQ people invisible through nonrecognition. These opponents have not yet seen the light offered by courts and others. Even in countries with some level of LGBQ recognition, there is vast unevenness about the actualization of rights. Countries such as South Africa and the Netherlands wrestle with actualizing long-standing protections of LGBQ rights (Carter, 2013; Katz, 2014). Countries such as France and Australia face protests and legislative struggle as they wrestle with levels of protection (BBC, 2013; Carter, 2013). In the two nations at the core of this chapter—the United States and Canada—there are varying degrees of vocalization

S. J. SCHMIDT

of the issues in society and politics. Canada supposedly achieved sexuality equity in 1982 with the passage of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, while the United States reached partial equality when the Supreme Court declared the Defense of Marriage Act unconstitutional in June 2015 with the *Obergefell v. Hodges* decision. The disruption of silence reveals how sexuality is embedded in civic identity, colonial ideals, morality, and human rights. There is no clear end to the oppression, as there is little consensus about what constitutes LGBQ rights. In both the U.S. and Canada, the public and elected officials continue to ponder whether such rights include consumer recognition, protection from physical violence, access to information about LGBQ history, media coverage, tax and property sharing, and the right to wed a same-sex partner. Understanding the disruption of silence and advocacy for these rights must fit within the sociopolitical context. LGBQ rights are not the first rights advocated for and against in both of these countries. Placing the struggle for LGBQ rights alongside other social movements may help us both understand how different types of societies wrestle with equity while sharing other possible ways to speak in silence. In particular, we may note a distinction between an individual and a communitarian ethos.

This chapter intends to “disturb the sound of silence” about sexuality in social studies classrooms. I turn to national history textbooks given their role in teaching future citizens about their society. Sexuality justice is largely advocated for within nations; thus, it is reasonable to examine national history textbooks and the development of LGBQ recognitions as part of the national fabric they seek to produce. As I will evidence later, the loud silence and invisibility of LGBQ people, events, and social movements requires creative attention to how to understand emptiness. Issues of sexuality are salient concerns for citizens across the globe as issues of race and gender are and have been. The bulk of the chapter is dedicated to social critique. The first two sections argue that textbooks are texts that reflect and produce constructions of the nation, specifically the civic ideologies valued in pluralistic societies. These sections lay the foundation for the content and context analysis of U.S. and Canadian history textbooks that consumes the remainder of the chapter.

TEXTBOOKS AS SOCIAL TEXT

We wander through a text-rich world, often without posing questions about the texts we encounter. But we should. After all, texts are materials that shape our minds and how we understand the world. Textbooks are presented as authorities and authoritatively in schools, but they are authored just like novels, advertisements, and editorials. A volume on textbooks as discourse noted, “The authors [in this volume] make clear that as ideological works, textbooks play a critical part in shaping the consciousness of the students who use them and define who and what is an American [Canadian]” (Provenzo, Shaver, & Bello, 2010, p. 8). Their chapters acknowledge that textbooks’ authorship produces significant discourses;

they situate their words and images intentionally as part of a larger narrative, in this case about national identity. Textbooks use a variety of tools to create boundaries around their discursive realm and the intended conscience. Words and images are not passive elements in texts. How they are formatted, how they are framed, what is included, their arrangement on a page, and the interactions between them give rise to the authorship of a text (Rose, 2012; Werner, 2000). Through the author, social values and meanings are built into text, often reifying dominant understandings of knowledge. Texts have many layers and manners through which to convey multiple meanings to their readers, which makes social deconstruction of textbooks a complicated process.

National history texts are authored around dominant social paradigms. Jean Anyon (2010) argued:

If school knowledge is examined as a social product, it suggests a great deal about the society that produces and uses it. It reveals which groups have power and demonstrates that the views of these groups are expressed and legitimized in the school curriculum. It can also identify social groups that are not empowered by the economic and social patterns in our society and do not have their views, activities, and priorities represented in the school curriculum. (p. 126)

One purpose of history is to unify the people behind a collective identity and narrative (Levstik & Barton, 2001; Ravitch, 2001). National history textbooks purport to be the Story of a Nation; they help define what it means to be Canadian or American. It is worth attending to the positioning of different groups, particularly those who have historically been economically, socially, and politically removed from dominant systems, in evaluating the ways young people can imagine their role in their nation in relationship to this narrative. Critics in the U.S. and Canada have used content analyses of textbooks to draw attention to glaring oversights and misrepresentations of women and people of color (Barbour & Evans, 2008; Granatstein, 1998; Sadker, Sadker, & Zittleman, 2009; Tetreault, 1986; Trecker, 1971). These studies consistently demonstrate that history textbooks have rarely done justice to the lives and experiences of these groups, and when they do mention members of such groups, they use sideboxes or otherwise physically locate such discussions in the margins. In their implications, they suggest that textbooks are revised to recover these missing subjects and re-place them in history (Coloma, 2012; Schmidt, 2012). The few additional inclusions (Sadker et al., 2009) disrupt the breadth of who constitutes the nation but do not disrupt the lenses through which historical knowing is collected (Lerner, 1979). The places in history from which women and indigenous and Black peoples are recovered do not alter the general chronology and substantive matter of history.

This chapter expands such analyses to LGBQ issues, to groups that are almost entirely absent. Such absence, using Anyon (2010), likely reflects the existing status of LGBQ individuals when they assert their sexuality as a subject position, but the

S. J. SCHMIDT

absence also asserts a discourse and view of the nation that makes the darkness/the unknowing space acceptable.

The common position of the textbook in classrooms—as the objective truth through which to evaluate other texts and sources as opposed to being a “text” itself—makes efforts to break the silence important. Significant teachings of national textbooks are the aspects of citizenship. The books contribute to an understanding of what it means to make claims for rights in a country. They also indicate the parameters of engaged citizenship. Queries of textbooks such as this consider the narratives of the nation and resultant civic imaginations they make available to young readers.

THE CHALLENGE OF CITIZENSHIP

Citizenship is implicated in a variety of ways through a social critique of textbooks related to LGBTQ issues; we must contemplate what makes a good citizen and the actions we expect of a citizen. The conditions of good citizenship often arise from a liberal understanding in which good citizens act according to the rights and responsibilities afforded them by the state (Dalton, 2008; Macintosh & Loutzenheiser, 2006; Ravitch, 2001; Richardson, 2012). Today, views of good citizenship often also contain an economic element related to income generation and consumerism (Richardson, 2012). The struggle with LGBTQ citizenship rests in claims that, even though the state has legally conferred rights and people act accordingly, there are still instances wherein groups do not have full membership in society (Tupper, 2006). Marshall (1950) initiated claims in this matter, noting that citizenship has civic, political, *and* social components (see Glenn, 2011, and Marston & Mitchell, 2004). Liberal citizenship only attends to the first two; cultural citizenship attends to this final component. Richardson (2012) wrote:

It [cultural citizenship] can be conceptualized broadly in terms of the capacity to participate effectively, creatively, and successfully with a national culture. Cultural rights, institutionalized through the culture industries, would include the right to participate in the culture of a particular society and to representation in the media and popular culture. (p. 221)

Citizenship is also about membership, about what it takes (in the context of this study) to embrace Canadian or American as part of one’s identity. The theoretical wrestling around membership examines what conditions are necessary to belong. Charles Taylor’s (1992) theory of recognition is useful in framing queer belonging. Taylor contends that recognition is a vital human need. Recognition has elements of sameness, such as those that allow the state to assign group rights, but also elements of differentiation that challenge societies to recognize people even when they do not conform to the norms of membership. Fraser (1995) challenged Taylor on this point, contending that enabling full membership requires a redistribution of social resources and structures to redress Taylor’s misrecognitions. In the liberal tradition, claims for recognition involving differentiation and redistribution are

inconsistent with the assertion that basic rights can be conferred upon those who accept Canadian or American as their civic and political identity. This is the view utilized by textbook narratives. Kymlicka (1995) demonstrated that liberal theory and the politics of recognition, particularly at the group level, are compatible. He contended that individual decisions, even by those who strongly identify as “good citizens,” are contained within collective value systems.

LGBQ membership is well situated within recognition theory. LGBQ persons have rarely been denied basic political and civic rights on the basis on their sexual identity alone (Richardson, 2012). Their struggles toward cultural citizenship or full citizenship as Americans or Canadians are rooted in their failure to conform (Coloma, 2012; Macintosh & Loutzenheiser, 2006). Rampant homophobia constructs gay sex and queer activism as outside the right way of being a good member. The other side—adopting homonormative discourse that attempts to locate queer citizens within the heterosexual paradigm—further excludes many queer people (Ferguson, 2005; Warner, 1999). Taylor’s (1992) differentiation contends that cultural membership should make space for the queer.

Canada and the U.S. both wrestle with the distribution of citizenship to all their members. In each, only white male property owners were initially given the full responsibilities and rights of citizenship. Thereafter, other groups have slowly strived toward this status. Both nations gradually increased citizenship through the extension of political rights to different groups. Today, most groups with legal standing, including LGBQ people, can access basic political and civic rights. The actualization of membership and belonging is more difficult to legislate/protect. In the absence of law, opponents invoke claims of morality and special rights. This rhetoric is significant because it makes the current struggles for full inclusion a deliberation about whether citizenship does indeed have a social component. This has been more readily accepted in Canada than in the U.S. (Kymlicka, 1995). One result is that the silence is compounded. If the requisite rights are already extended, why are people still demanding more? Hence, the manner in which the nation becomes connoted and young people are taught to contemplate the full range of citizenship is central to the ongoing deliberation about LGBQ “rights.”

FRAMING CLAIMS FOR LGBQ RIGHTS

Textbooks reflect and produce society; therefore, we need a sense of the social landscape. Forty years ago, the political and social situation was similar for LGBQ people in the U.S. and Canada. Over the next 40 years, and in particular over the last 15, the paths for LGBQ rights have diverged. The respective national discourses produce a distinction between U.S. liberalism and Canadian communitarianism (Kymlicka, 1995).

The Canadian debate surrounding LGBQ issues is framed as one of equal rights, producing advocacy for same-sex marriage that is “increasingly anchored in a value with deep roots in the Canadian polity: the liberal value of equality” (Matthews,

2005, p. 5). LGBQ rights first disrupted silence in 1969 when the Canadian criminal code was amended to legalize homosexual acts between consenting adults. In 1982, Canada passed the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which allowed courts to challenge laws that discriminated against LGBQ individuals (Pettinicchio, 2010). The language of equality recognized individual and group rights (Schwartz & Tatalovich, 2010). In 2005, Canada passed federal legislation legalizing same-sex marriage, some 30 years after the first homosexual couple applied for a marriage license (Krauss, 2005). Prior to the passage of this act, same-sex marriage was legal in seven of 10 provinces as a result of court cases and resultant legislative activity (Matthews, 2005).

“Rights in the U.S. are defined in individual terms exclusively” (Schwartz & Tatalovich, 2010, p. 82). Dominant issues in the U.S. have been job protection, hate crimes, and same-sex marriage rights. The federalist system has consistently made these state issues, although some federal policies have supplemented or supplanted state policies. Beginning in 1962, states individually decriminalized homosexuality; full eradication of criminal homosexuality occurred with the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Lawrence v. Texas* in 2003. In 1996, the U.S. government passed the Defense of Marriage Act, which upheld state bans on same-sex marriage and prohibited state-recognized marriages from accessing federal benefits. Two recent Supreme Court decisions redefined the landscape of same-sex marriage. *Hollingsworth v. Perry* (2013) forced the federal government to extend benefits to state-recognized same-sex marriages (Howe, 2013), and *Obergefell v. Hodges* (2015) fully overturned the Defense of Marriage Act. Policy issues in the U.S. have focused on the right of an individual: the right of an individual to engage in his or her choice of sexual acts, the individual right to marry, the individual right not to be bullied.

Public opinion in the two nations is differently divided (Pettinicchio, 2010). In the United States, *USA Today* (Madhani, 2011) summarized the evolving message of proponents of same-sex marriage. Legislators have shifted “from an argument about equal rights to promoting the value of commitment.” The message may appear different, but it still makes U.S. equal rights about what individuals deserve in relation to the state of other individuals. In this new claim, the margins are normalizing toward the center (Warner, 1999). In Canada, equal rights claims are universalizing and about humanity—a set of broad human rights that apply to all Canadians. It is this difference between liberalism and communitarianism that guided the investigation of the textbooks. Are these ideas manifested in just these arguments or are they part of a school curriculum? If part of the curriculum, what impact does this have on the continued struggle for, identification of, and implementation of LGBQ rights in these nations and others?

OVERVIEW OF INQUIRY AND ANALYSIS

The U.S. and Canada were selected as the cases because of commonalities in their histories and social studies curriculum. Because it is home, I began with the

U.S., a country wrestling with how and where to locate LGBTQ rights. In seeking a comparative case, I sought to understand what was happening in a country that already had broad protections for LGBTQ individuals. This required a country with statements about LGBTQ rights beyond marriage (and materials written in English). Canada offers this, shares a history of integrating other group rights, and has a mandatory secondary national history course. No comparison is ideal, but insights from comparisons allow for broader contemplations about implications.

Selection of U.S. Textbooks

Determining the most commonly used high school textbooks is a difficult task (Wylie, 2012). Most states allow local school boards or individual schools to select their textbooks (Zinth, 2005). Publishers are reluctant to release sales data, and even with that information, variations in school and class size make those figures difficult to interpret (Stambaugh & Trank, 2010).

Of the 100 largest public school districts in the United States, 45 are found in just three states: California (12), Florida (14), and Texas (19) (Sable, Plotts, & Mitchell, 2010). Both Florida and Texas choose textbooks at the state level, whereas California chooses secondary textbooks at the district level (Zinth, 2005). The two largest school districts in the state of California are the Los Angeles Unified School District and the San Diego Unified School District, together comprising over 800,000 students (Sable et al., 2010). Therefore, I chose to examine textbooks from the approved adoption lists in Florida, Texas, and the Los Angeles and San Diego Unified School Districts. I analyzed the list of approved books and chose four titles, each from a different publishing company, representing widespread adoption in non-Advanced Placement U.S. History courses. The four textbooks are *American Nation* (Holt), *American Pathways* (Prentice Hall), *The Americans* (McDougal Littell [McDougal]), and *American History* (McGraw Hill [McGraw-U.S.]). When possible, I analyzed the same edition and publication year of the approved texts. In other instances, I analyzed editions that were slightly newer or older. This convenience sampling permitted me not to make generalizations about all U.S. history textbooks, but to seek common interpretations advanced by textbooks read by a large number of students.

Selection of Canadian Textbooks

Like the United States, Canada does not have a national curriculum or textbook adoption process. Curriculum is developed at the provincial level. The ministry provides a list of accepted textbooks, and districts make decisions from that list. There are a host of textbook companies whose materials cater to individual provincial needs.

Using a similar logic as developed for the U.S., I sought books used by large numbers of students. Unlike in the United States where a textbook used in Florida

S. J. SCHMIDT

may also be used in New York, Canadian textbooks tend to be provincially specific. In trying to access widely used texts, I looked to the provinces with the highest populations¹—Ontario, British Columbia, Alberta, and Manitoba²—and then contacted the board of education of the largest city in each province. The board identified the most popular text in their city. I chose textbooks whose focus was national history. For example, the most popular textbook in British Columbia was omitted because it is a regional history of the Northwest. While this perspective is interesting, it changes the scope of the task.

The Canadian history curriculum is split into two courses. In eighth-grade history, students study Canadian history until World War I, and in 10th grade they study the country after World War I. Although most of the LGBTQ content might be expected to appear in the later course, the earlier history course and textbooks lay the foundations of group struggles and rights. Therefore, it was necessary to choose books from both grades. In all, three publishers were included, the three largest publishing houses in the country. The examined books included *Shaping Canada* (McGraw-Hill Ryerson [McGraw-CA10]) and *Experience History* (Oxford) from Grade 10 and *Our Canada* (Thomson-Nelson [Thomson]) and *Canada* (McGraw-Hill Ryerson [McGraw-CA8]) from Grade 8.

Analysis of Textbooks

This study utilized content analysis (Babbie, 1998; Weber, 1990), which examines what was and was not present in the textbooks, and context analysis (Marshall & Young, 2006; Reinharz, 1992), which analyzes the situatedness of diversity, equality, and civil rights. The content analysis relied heavily on a search of indexes, glossaries, and texts. The preliminary search sought references to sexuality by searching for “gay,” “homosexual,” “sexuality,” or derivations of these terms as well as events or people that might elicit a reference to sexuality. This included events with which sexuality is often associated (i.e., AIDS, Holocaust), moments of gay activism (i.e., Brunswick Four, *Egan v. Canada*, and the Civil Marriage Act in Canada and the Harlem Renaissance, Stonewall, and 1987 March on Washington in the U.S.), famous LGBTQ people (e.g., Susan B. Anthony, Everett George Klippert, Langston Hughes, Chris Lea), and policies that limited or expanded LGBTQ rights. A secondary search located references to diversity and equality more broadly (e.g., human rights, civil rights, equality, multiculturalism, feminism, suffrage). I collected terms in U.S. and Canadian textbooks independently and then searched for the terms across all textbooks.

The context analysis explored the context that gives meaning, interpretation, and implication to the content (Marshall & Young, 2006; Reinharz, 1992). The analysis began with close examination in the text of each recorded mention of sexuality. In order to contextualize equity and diversity, I examined historical moments when tensions around rights and full citizenship arose. In Canada, the focus was on group

claims by women, the Francophone community, aboriginal peoples, and immigrants. In the U.S., the focus was on group claims by African Americans, immigrants, Native Americans, and women. The coding scheme used detailed notation about the way in which the reference arose—as its own chapter, a subsection, an untitled paragraph. The coding was developed deductively and included indication as to what types of rights were at issue; whether these rights were framed as individual, group, or human rights; the relation of these rights to other movements; and the amount of text and language dedicated to support and opposition of the rights. The following section explores what was learned through these different analyses.

ABSENCE, MULTICULTURALISM, AND RECOGNITION

This section sifts through the murky waters of presuming to know something from robust engagement with the eight texts but recognizing that mine is merely one interpretation. Other readers may take different meaning from the same process. I do not write to elevate this as *the* reading; rather, it is *a* reading that puts the many texts—images, tables, titles, captions, paragraphs, discussion questions, etc.—within the books into conversation with one another and social discourse around them. This section focuses on the context analysis, because this is where I try to understand the situatedness of LGBTQ and equity language and how it communicates particular ways to interpret words. The placement of a word is intentional, and we must always ask how such positioning allows us to know and not know.

Tables 1 and 2 summarize the findings of the content analysis. The tables have many empty boxes but generate two initial findings that are unpacked below. First, there are few references to LGBTQ issues in any of the books, but it is important to better understand moments of inclusion. Second, the two countries take up equity differently. The Canadian texts converge around ideas of culture, while the U.S. books converge around legal access to citizenship. The movement from LGBTQ issues/findings to equity more generally is significant in imagining the path that might be taken or should be taken as marginalized sexuality activists in these countries and elsewhere seek to disturb the silence.

A Quiet Struggle for LGBTQ Recognition

The findings reaffirm the hypotheses that informed this chapter: textbooks lacked substantive LGBTQ content. Table 1 summarizes the search for LGBTQ content. The data in the table were compiled by first searching the index and then scanning the text around particular events. The lack of inclusivity in the index was significant. Even though there were a number of LGBTQ references in the books (Oxford, McGraw Hill–U.S.), only a few were indexed. If indices collect significant references to help guide readers to passages and important content, LGBTQ issues were deemed insignificant. The textbooks that covered recent history provided whole chapters

Table 1. *LGBQ Content analysis*

	Canadian books					U.S. books					
	1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		
<i>LGBQ language</i>					<i>LGBQ language</i>						
Gay (rights)	I				Gay			I	I		
Heterosexuality					Heterosexuality						
Homosexual	T	T			Homosexual			T	T		
Lesbian					Lesbian			I	T		
Queer					Queer						
Same-sex marriage	I				Same-sex marriage				T		
Sexuality					Sexuality						
Sexual orientation					Sexual orientation						
<i>Events that contain an LGBQ reference</i>					<i>Events that contain an LGBQ reference</i>						
HIV/AIDS					HIV/AIDS			T	T	T	
Holocaust	T				Holocaust				T	T	
Brunswick Four					Stonewall					T	
Criminal Law of 1969			T		Boston Marriage					T	
<i>Egan v. Canada</i> 1995					Civil rights movement				I		
<i>M. v. H.</i> 1999					1987 March on Washington						
Human Rights Act					Harlem Renaissance						
Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms	T				Conservative Movement of the 1980s			T			
Notwithstanding clause	T				McCarthyism						
Civil Marriage Act	T				Defense of Marriage Act						
					Gay Liberation Movement					I	
<i>People associated with LGBQ content</i>					<i>People associated with LGBQ content</i>						
Everett George Klippert					Jane Addams				*	*	
Jan Waterman					Horatio Alger					T	
Chris Lea					Susan B. Anthony			*	*	*	*
					Langston Hughes						
					Harvey Milk						
					Eleanor Roosevelt						
					Bayard Rustin						
					Walt Whitman					T	

Note. Canadian books are as follows: (1) McGraw-Hill Ryerson, *Shaping Canada*; (2) Oxford, *Experience History*; (3) Thomson-Nelson, *Our Canada*; (4) McGraw-Hill Ryerson, *Canada*. U.S. books are as follows: (1) Holt, *American Nation*; (2) Prentice Hall, *American Pathways*; (3) McDougal Littell, *The Americans*; (4) McGraw Hill, *American History*. I indicates the word was found in the index and, thus, appears in the text. T indicates that the word or concept's reference to sexuality was found in the text. Often, we were led to the text inclusion through the index. * indicates that the person appeared, but no reference was made to sexuality.

about the political protests of the last four decades. Protests, court measures, and legislative actions that affected LGBQ persons were part of this unrest, but they were not present in the discourse of struggle. Events seemed not to appear, legislation was not discussed, and leaders were omitted. Some “famous” gay men and lesbians in U.S. history such as Jane Addams and Walt Whitman were included in most of the textbooks, but there was no reference to their sexuality. Absence was a significant finding, but it is also important to interrogate the inclusions.

The Canadian textbooks made passing references to LGBQ issues. As expected, the two pre–World War I Canadian textbooks contained no references. The two post–World War I Canadian textbooks each had one reference. Oxford mentioned the detachment of homosexuality and deviant crime as one of three examples of the “Just Society” promise of then Prime Minister Elliott Trudeau. The book did not offer more depth or context to this aspect of the policy. There was no discussion of problems with the old law, who may have wanted it overturned, and the impact of the decision. The inclusive context credited Trudeau as the source of change and situated it within a broader movement toward justice. McGraw-CA10 had a section on the “Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.” One subsection was dedicated to “The Charter and Same-Sex Marriage.” The three paragraphs outlined the Supreme Court’s decision to recognize the jurisdiction of the federal government to determine marriage law and the subsequent passage of the Civil Marriage Act in 2005. The section was silent about the arguments or identities of proponents, but did mention religious groups and a later prime minister who were opposed to the legislation. Together, these moments suggest that steps toward LGBQ justice did not arise from protest, but reflected what was necessary for the actualization of justice and multiculturalism.

In contrast, three U.S. history textbooks had sections with titles that referenced sexuality. Much of this inclusion occurred in relation to the AIDS “crisis” of the 1980s and the conservative response. Prentice Hall had a one-paragraph subsection entitled “Sexual Orientation” within a section about the conservative revolution. The paragraph identified “homosexual men” as the earliest victims of the AIDS epidemic. It connected the spread of AIDS to resistance to gay rights within the conservative movement. The McDougal textbook had a one-paragraph subsection called “The Gay Rights Movement Advances” within a chapter called “The Conservative Tide.” This book also cited opposition to gay rights as expressed in response to the AIDS crisis and at the 1992 Republican Convention, but it argued that civil rights for “gay men and lesbians” spread in spite of this. The most extensive and positive discussion of LGBQ rights occurred in a thorough 2-page section called “Gay Liberation” (McGraw-U.S.). The section noted the struggle of “homosexuals” to gain political, economic, and social rights and acceptance. It named historical figures whose homosexuality was ignored and traced the history of gay rights from Stonewall in 1969 through backlash in the 2004 elections. It cited numerous successes—personal acceptance, laws against discrimination, academic departments, elected

S. J. SCHMIDT

offices—before showing the backlash that began with President Clinton’s efforts to lift the military ban and culminated in the same-sex marriage bans of 2004. There was a blend of explanation of support and resistance, with both explored to some extent.

The analysis showed that the books in each country marginalized LGBTQ people and issues through their representation and lack thereof. Much of this absence reflected a longstanding silence and invisibility of LGBTQ people in the past and present in these countries. As textbooks are sources of dominant social and political representations, I did not have high expectations for what to find. But each country had a variety of places for possible inclusion. The McGraw-U.S. textbook contained the most substance about the ongoing struggle for recognition. It documented both the personal and political dynamics of this struggle. For a country that leads the world in the protection of LGBTQ rights, the Canadian textbooks provided a minimal account of how this came to be. The two instances discussed—the removal of the “deviant crime” label and same-sex marriage—were presented as uncomplicated without the agency and advocacy of LGBTQ rights leaders and organization. The political changes were largely attributed to the goodwill of the government (one dedicated to human rights for all—a theme of the books that is explored further). Textbooks in both the U.S. and Canada gave more attention to the language of opponents than the language of proponents. In the U.S. textbooks, particularly Prentice Hall and McDougal, it is important to consider the negative connotations related to where and how sexual orientation was mentioned in the text, in each case with reference to AIDS. These representations demonstrate growing recognition and a continued fear about LGBTQ difference (Taylor, 1992).

The Context of Rights and Equity

This chapter is potentially complete. The silence and limited discussion of LGBTQ issues in textbooks have been demonstrated. But imagining the path from darkness to envisioning LGBTQ social equity requires further inquiry. LGBTQ advocacy has distinct elements, but the politics of belonging resonates with other struggles for recognition in the two countries. To explore this, I turned to themes of diversity and citizenship more broadly in the textbooks. The content analysis summarized in [Table 2](#) located language related to equity in indexes and glossaries. Words that appeared in at least three of the Canadian texts were culture, human rights, multiculturalism, and suffrage. Affirmative action, civil rights, feminism, segregation, and suffrage appeared in at least three of the U.S. textbooks. The only word to consistently cross contexts was “suffrage.”

TEXTBOOKS AND SOCIAL TEXTS ABOUT CITIZENSHIP

The analysis of the textbooks produces an important discussion about what it will mean to be able to fully extend civic membership to LGBTQ persons. The texts

produced strong messages about what/whose history was part of the national narrative. Readers learned how to think about difference as citizens. The stories of the U.S. and Canada showed that each country experienced various threats to its democratic values, largely coming in the form of group claims for rights. Each showed its ability to adapt over time. This will continue in the future as new claims for rights and recognition arise. One such recognition is that of LGBQ people. In general, the textbooks gave little substantive voice to the movements and

Table 2. Language associated with rights and diversity

	Canadian books					U.S. books			
	1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4
<i>Rights, liberty, justice, and diversity terms</i>					<i>Rights, liberty, justice, and diversity terms</i>				
Affirmative action					Affirmative action	I	I/G	I/G	I
Citizenship	I				Citizenship	I/G	I		
Civil rights					Civil rights	I	I/G	I	I
Collectivist society		G			Collectivist society				
Common good					Common good				
Culture	I	I		I	Culture		I		I
Discrimination			I	I	Discrimination	I	I/G		
Distinct society	I	I/G			Distinct society				
Diversity	I				Diversity		I/G		
Equality/equal rights				I	Equality		I		I
Feminism	I/G				Feminism	I/G	I	I	
Homophobia					Homophobia				
Human rights	I	I	G		Human rights	I		I/G	
Individual rights	I/G				Individual rights				
Individualistic society		G			Individualistic society				
Minority rights	I/G				Minority rights				
Multiculturalism	I/G	I/G	I	I/G	Multiculturalism		I/G		I
Pluralism	I/G				Pluralism				
Racism	I	I			Racism	I	I/G		
Segregation					Segregation	I/G	I/G	I/G	
Sexism					Sexism			I	
Social justice		I			Social justice				
Suffrage	I/G	I	I	I/G	Suffrage	I	G	I/G	I

Note. I indicates the term was found in Indexes;
G indicates the term was found in Glossaries.

deliberations supporting this recognition. The minimal inclusion of LGBQ issues did not provide students with rich information about the groups and what was necessary for full membership in society (Tupper, 2006). In two of the U.S. instances, the single inclusion did not get to issues of rights and may have done more harm than good. Silence plus negative connotations is a troubling representation of the past and possibility for the future. All of these books were a few years old, and the debates and enactment of LGBQ rights are still being fought about in both countries. Perhaps later editions will provide greater representation. We can hypothesize from other presentations of group threats to democracy how these movements might be represented.

The Canadian textbooks praised a system of governance that has accommodated unique group and provincial needs, a celebration of the intersection of citizenship and diversity. The narrative in the Canadian texts showed that the threats to national unity changed the sense of self held by the nation. They gave attention to how people can belong and still be distinct, an idea taken up by Kymlicka (1995). The textbooks recognized those eras, times when injustices were dealt to groups, as errors in judgment. These were taught as ways of thinking and being in Canada that were no longer valued or accepted. The textbooks judged the national past in an effort to advance a particular sense of the nation. The narrative taught that unity and diversity can coexist. The textbooks argued that the nation works because it is diverse. It is unified because groups are allowed to retain their distinction; people share in a belief of the greatness of that multicultural state. This difference arises or is retained because a framework of collective rather than individual rights values a multitude of rights and a multitude of ways of being. The story of diversity in Canada suggested that not all group tensions result in the same allocation of rights. At times, groups needed ways of existing and being—such as dual language—that changed the set of fundamental beliefs available to Canadians. What was less clear in the presentation was how groups might advocate for their rights. The need for distinct rights rather than equal rights did not present a clear articulation of reasonable rights which people might seek. Educated within this system, young people may struggle to recognize that rights are group-specific. The more significant message then is how to claim these rights. Students did not learn about the tactics of predecessors but did come to understand the rhetorical stance necessary to present needs within the context of multiculturalism. This was the educative movement that informed young people when and why to make claims. When a group—for example, LGBQ people—could not act within their community in a way that was desired, they had an existing policy to access. In the end, because the emphasis was on belonging and social citizenship, the definition of that belonging was necessarily vague.

The U.S. textbooks framed the narrative of a nation through the changing definition of who is a citizen. The story was told through the increased acquisition of political and economic rights. Gay individuals, Black individuals, women, and immigrants had rights that were individually protected under the law. The U.S. uniqueness was

rooted in and celebrated through the Great Document—the Constitution (and Bill of Rights). This document enumerated many of the rights available to citizens. The sense of what those rights were remained stable; the change was who could access them. When groups challenged their civic standing, they did so in terms of accessing, “winning,” the rights already held by dominant groups. There was a somewhat assimilationist (or to be less controversial, unification) story here in that new groups became citizens of full standing when they had integrated into the existing ways of being politically and socially that were already valued. The rights and the conditions necessary for their acquisition were clearer. The fundamental rights were those of access in the public sphere, and the time to advocate for them was when there was a natural convergence of attention and visibility.

This study addressed the possibility for LGBQ rights as situated in the narratives in these texts. The textbooks were silent, even in Canada where the inclusion of LGBQ people into equal rights policies occurred more than 10 years ago. Hypothesizing why this might be the case affirms some similarities with past struggles and some uniqueness. Equity-related events and moments seemed to make it into the texts when there was finally harmony. In neither the U.S. nor Canada is there harmony around sexuality. One of the challenges confronting LGBQ equity policies is that they fully test the three-pronged—political, civic, and social—understanding of citizenship (Marshall, 1950). Unlike other groups, LGBQ persons largely have political and civic citizenship rights afforded, but struggle to actualize social/cultural citizenship. It is difficult to fully belong when a group is not afforded a distinct identity and when this identity is not seen as a threat to the state (Coloma, 2012; Fraser, 1995). Although the Canadian books do not yet reflect LGBQ values, they do demonstrate the need for political differentiation (Taylor, 1992). The emphasis on group recognition allows people to contend an exchange in which religious recognition also requires LGBQ recognition. In the U.S., the definition of good citizenship is more complicated. If the civil rights movements of the past have taken up political and workplace access, then LGBQ equity demands related to inheritance, adoption, health care, housing, and bullying fall into the contested social realm of citizenship. The imaginings necessary in these countries and across the globe entail what it means to see through the silence.

CONCLUSIONS

Textbooks may be social texts, but there is a lag time between social ideology and how textbooks address issues. This is noticeable in the analysis of these textbooks. LGBQ issues—whether increased access to rights or increased criminalization—regularly appear in news headlines. Countries face both internal and external pressure. When Russia created a gay ban in 2012 in advance of the 2014 Olympics, countries threatened to boycott the games, and worldwide leaders and organizations condemned the act (Levintova & Gordon, 2013). Countries across the globe threatened Uganda after it passed a draconian anti-gay law (Al Jazeera, 2014). These

S. J. SCHMIDT

and other headlines suggest that no nation is exempt from consideration about how to address the silence around sexuality equity in their country. The instinct will be for textbooks to remain silent; after all, as social reflections, there may be little to cite. But textbooks also construct society. What are the dispositions around equity they can develop? What can textbooks do toward representing equity issues such that they resonate socially and present the possibilities for moments when there is no silence?

Many Western democratic nations are moving toward LGBTQ equity, and the question remains how social studies texts and representation of citizenship can enable young people to learn to speak to one another and have a voice in governance. Noting this movement, there is something superior in the message from Canada. Remember that textbooks both reflect and contribute to the production of meaning for a nation. Thus, on some level, other nations, including the U.S., cannot merely mimic the language and intentions of the Canadian texts. Different societies will present different messages through their text. But as producers of society, the Canadian texts demonstrate how one can take a past wrought with inequality and struggle and be critical of it in hopes of creating a more tolerant citizenry of the present. This is not designed to increase silence but to decrease invisibility, the two eventually coming apart.

The lessons here are not only for the U.S. and Canada. In all countries, textbooks are socially reflexive, and writers and readers can hold high expectations for what this means. On one hand, there is the lesson for understanding and thinking about citizenship within the narrative of the nation. Recognize that it is there. But teachers and curriculum writers can also engage critically with this narrative. Texts and the courses in which they are used do not merely represent society; they can be used to produce society. Perhaps in addition to more talk about LGBTQ issues, we need more talk about textbooks and what we need from them to enable our work as educators.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author would like to thank Scott Wylie for his contributions to this chapter. Our discussions created the foundations of the chapter. He also located the U.S. textbooks and conducted a first round of analysis on these texts.

NOTES

- ¹ Quebec was excluded due to language.
- ² Manitoba is exceptional; the entire province uses one textbook.

WORKS CITED

Al Jazeera. (2014, February 25). Ugandan president signs anti-gay law. *Al Jazeera*. Retrieved from <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2014/02/ugandan-president-sign-anti-gay-bill-20142245119120579.html>

- Anyon, J. (2010). Ideology and United States history textbooks. In E. F. Provenzo, E. N. Shaver, & M. Bello (Eds.), *The textbook as discourse: Sociocultural dimensions of American schoolbooks* (pp. 109–132). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Babbie, E. (1998). *The practice of social research*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Banks, A. (2014, May 16). LGBT rights: The fight is far from over. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/may/16/lgbt-rights-fight-is-far-from-over>
- Barbour, M., & Evans, M. (2008). History by the minute: A representative national history or a common sense of the majority? *Canadian Social Studies*, 41(1). Retrieved from http://www2.education.ualberta.ca/css/css_41_1/ARBarbourEvans_history_by_minute.htm
- BBC. (2013, April 11). *Paris protest against 'homophobia' in gay marriage row*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-22106560>
- Carter, D. (2013, September 15). Where do each of the G20 countries stand on LGBT rights? *Pink News*. Retrieved from <http://www.pinknews.co.uk/2013/09/05/what-do-lgbt-people-living-each-of-the-g20-countries-face/2/>
- Coloma, R. S. (2012). What's queer got to do with it? Interrogating nationalism and imperialism. In E. R. Meiners & T. Quinn (Eds.), *Sexualities in education: A reader* (pp. 229–241). New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Dalton, R. J. (2008). *The good citizen: How a younger generation is reshaping American politics*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ferguson, R. A. (2005). Race-ing homonormativity: Citizenship, sociology, and gay identity. In E. P. Johnson & M. G. Henderson (Eds.), *Black queer studies: A critical anthology* (pp. 52–67). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Fraser, N. (1995). From redistribution to recognition? Dilemmas of justice in a 'post-socialist' age. *New Left Review*, 212, 68–93.
- Glenn, E. N. (2011). Constructing citizenship: Exclusion, subordination, and resistance. *American Sociological Review*, 76(1), 1–24.
- Granatstein, J. L. (1998). *Who killed Canadian history?* Toronto, Canada: HarperCollins Canada.
- Hollingsworth v. Perry*, 570 U.S. (2013).
- Howe, A. (2013, June 26). A home run but not a grand slam for gay-marriage advocates: In plain English. *SCOTUSBLOG*. Retrieved from <http://www.scotusblog.com/2013/06/a-home-run-but-not-a-grand-slam-for-gay-marriage-advocates-in-plain-english/>
- Katz, G. (2014, October 27). Gay marriage around the world: A look back at nations which accepted it before the US. *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/10/27/gay-marriage-around-the-world_n_6054492.html
- Krauss, C. (2005, June 29). Gay marriage is extended nationwide in Canada. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2005/06/29/world/americas/gay-marriage-is-extended-nationwide-in-canada.html?_r=0
- Kymlicka, W. (1995). *Multicultural citizenship: A liberal theory of minority rights*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press.
- Lerner, G. (1979). *The majority finds its past: Placing women in history*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Levintova, H., & Gordon, I. (2013, August 16). How Russia's anti-gay law could affect the 2014 Olympics, explained. *Mother Jones*. Retrieved from <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2013/08/sochi-olympics-putin-anti-gay-law-explained>
- Levstik, L. S., & Barton, K. C. (2001). Committing acts of history: Mediated action, humanistic education, and participatory democracy. In W. B. Stanley (Ed.), *Critical issues in social studies research* (pp. 119–147). Greenwich, CT: Information Age.
- Macintosh, L. B., & Loutzenheiser, L. W. (2006). Queering citizenship. In G. H. Richardson & D. W. Blades (Eds.), *Troubling the canon of citizenship education* (pp. 95–102). New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Madhani, A. (2011, November 7). Bipartisan group reframes case for legalizing gay marriage. *USA Today*. Retrieved from <http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/story/2011-11-06/gay-marriage-commitment-campaign/51098348/1>

S. J. SCHMIDT

- Marshall, T. H. (1950). *Citizenship and social class*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Marshall, C., & Young, M. D. (2006). Gender and methodology. In C. Skelton, B. Francis, & L. Smulyan (Eds.), *The sage handbook of gender and education* (pp. 63–78). London, UK: Sage.
- Marston, S. A., & Mitchell, K. (2004). Citizens and the state: Citizenship formations in space and time. In C. Barnett & M. Low (Eds.), *Spaces of democracy: Geographic perspectives on citizenship, participation, and representation* (pp. 93–112). London, UK: Sage.
- Matthews, J. S. (2005). The political foundations of support for same-sex marriage in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 38(4), 841–866.
- Obergfell v. Hodges*, 576 U.S. (2015).
- Pettinicchio, D. (2010). Public and elite policy preferences: Gay marriage in Canada. *International Journal of Canadian Studies*, 42, 125–153.
- Provenzo, E. F., Shaver, E. N., & Bello, M. (2010). *The textbook as discourse: Sociocultural dimensions of American schoolbooks*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Ravitch, D. (2001). Education and democracy. In D. Ravitch & J. P. Viteritti (Eds.), *Making good citizens: Education and civil society* (pp. 15–29). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Reinharz, S. (1992). *Feminist methods in social research*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Richardson, D. (2012). Citizenship and sexuality: What do we mean by “citizenship”? In E. R. Meiners & T. Quinn (Eds.), *Sexualities in education: A reader* (pp. 219–228). New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Rose, G. (2012). *Visual methodologies: An introduction to researching with visual materials*. London, UK: Sage.
- Sable, J., Plotts, C., & Mitchell, L. (2010). *Characteristics of the 100 largest public elementary and secondary school districts in the United States: 2008–09*. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics, US Department of Education Institute of Education Sciences. Retrieved from <http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2011/2011301.pdf>
- Sadker, D., Sadker, M., & Zittleman, K. (2009). *Still failing at fairness: How gender bias cheats girls and boys in school and what we can do about it*. New York, NY: Scribner.
- Schmidt, S. J. (2010). Queering social studies: A query of the space for sexual orientation and identity in the social studies. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 38(3), 314–335.
- Schmidt, S. J. (2012). Am I a woman? The production of woman in U.S. history. *Gender and Education*, 24(7), 707–724.
- Schwartz, M. A., & Tatalovich, R. (2009). Cultural and institutional factors affecting political contention over moral issues. *Comparative Sociology*, 8(1), 76–104.
- Smith, D. (2015, July 25). Barack Obama tells African states to abandon anti-gay discrimination. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/jul/25/barack-obama-african-states-abandon-anti-gay-discrimination>
- Stambaugh, J. E., & Trank, C. Q. (2010). Not so simple: Integrating new research into textbooks. *Academy of Management Learning & Education*, 9(4), 663–681.
- Taylor, C. (1992). The politics of recognition. In A. Gutmann (Ed.), *Multiculturalism: Examining the politics of recognition* (pp. 25–73). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Tetreault, M. T. (1986). Integrating women’s history: The case of United States history high school textbooks. *The History Teacher*, 19(2), 211–262.
- Thornton, S. J. (2003). Silence on gays and lesbians in social studies curriculum. *Social Education*, 67(4), 226–230.
- Trecker, J. L. (1971). Women in US history high school textbooks. *Social Education*, 35, 249–260, 338.
- Tupper, J. (2006). Education and the (im)possibilities of citizenship. In G. H. Richardson & D. W. Blades (Eds.), *Troubling the canon of citizenship education* (pp. 45–54). New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Warner, M. (1999). *The trouble with normal: Sex, politics, and the ethics of queer life*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Weber, R. P. (1990). *Basic content analysis* (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Werner, W. (2000). Reading authorship into texts. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 28(2), 193–219.

“WITHIN THE SOUND OF SILENCE”

- Wylie, S. S. (2012). Uncovering and destabilizing heteronormative narratives in world history text-books. In H. Hickman & B. Porfilio (Eds.), *The new politics of the textbook: Problematizing the portrayal of marginalized groups in textbooks* (pp. 129–148). Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers.
- Zinth, K. (2005). *State textbook adoption*. Denver, CO: Education Commission of the States. Retrieved from <http://www.ecs.org/clearinghouse/57/75/5775.htm>

Sandra J. Schmidt
Teachers College, Columbia University
New York, NY, USA

SECTION 2

WHO ARE WE? US AND THEM

BASABI KHAN BANERJEE AND GEORG STÖBER

7. THE PORTRAYAL OF “THE OTHER” IN PAKISTANI AND INDIAN SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

INTRODUCTION

The partition of British India into two states, India and Pakistan (West and East, since 1971: Bangladesh), on the eve of independence from colonial rule in 1947, resulted in a traumatic experience for both new “nations.” The enormous population exchange between the territories, the communal violence with the suffering and huge loss of life that resulted, and the fact that the partition took place against the wishes of the large majority of Indians formed a bitter starting point for the relationship between the new neighbors. Moreover, the conflicting philosophies of both states added further stress. Whereas Pakistan was created as a state for Muslims of the subcontinent, new India embraced a secular constitution—a state for Hindus, Muslims, and others alike—even if Hindu nationalist groups argued for a Hindu base of the Indian nation. Beyond such issues, both states fought several wars and skirmishes against one another about the unsettled Kashmir issue. This, along with transborder terrorist activities, kept animosity alive. The mutual relations, however, also have to be seen against the backdrop of internal developments, especially on the side of Pakistan: the need to legitimize its statehood against attack by regional forces from neighboring countries within the provinces of the new state as well as the emerging political structures with a dominant role of the military, its resulting Islamization policies, and so on.

This chapter addresses how these differences and internal policies have affected schooling. It looks into the presentation of “the other” in Indian and Pakistani social studies textbooks, focusing especially on the depiction of the neighbor and the treatment of the developments towards partition, which quite explicitly reflects Indo-Pakistani relations.

School textbooks are purposeful texts. They are developed with pedagogical but also political aims, which are among others set out, and sometimes masked, in curricula and syllabi. We aimed not just to contrast India and Pakistan but also to look into the different ways of presentation in both countries. Presentation is likely to reflect different political and pedagogical positions, and a number of textbooks were analyzed to reflect this spectrum.

Schools and Textbooks in Pakistan

As federal states, Pakistan and India have constitutions that allocate competencies to the central and the provincial or state governments. The concurrent (joint) list indicates areas of common concern to both levels. With the constitution of 1973, education was placed on the concurrent list in Pakistan, after having been a provincial affair. In a top-down manner, curriculum and textbook development was placed under the “Curriculum Wing” of the Ministry of Education. At the provincial level, provincial curriculum bureaus and textbook boards participated in development and planning and implemented the policy; among other tasks, they organized textbook development. With the 18th Constitutional Amendment, however, the concurrent list was abolished in 2010, and education again became the sole affair of the provinces (Malik, 2011, pp. 13–16). Only vocational education and related issues remain with the federal government and are administered by the new Ministry of Education and Trainings. On the provincial level, first steps seem to have been taken; however, the provincial institutions might not be fully equipped to take over their new responsibilities in general education. Also, some national coordination seems necessary¹ to prevent widely diverging provincial education systems.

Beside government schools, a large number of private schools exist. The government schools have to use the books published or prescribed by the state textbook boards, but the private schools can also use the books of private publishers that are approved by the state boards. Thus, state authorities wield a strong control over content and the way it is presented in the classrooms, particularly since teachers, in the absence of any other resources, strongly rely on textbooks in their teaching.

Social studies, as a compulsory subject comprising history, geography, and civics, is taught in Pakistan from class (grade) 1 to 8 with a strong focus on the Islamic heritage. In classes 9 and 10, “Pakistan studies” were introduced in 1972, also including the subjects mentioned, but with a strong focus on Pakistan and legitimizing its existence and promoting patriotism (Dean, 2005). The books discussed in this chapter include social studies textbooks (history, geography, civics) for classes 5 to 8 and Pakistan studies textbooks for class 9/10 published by the Punjab and Sindh textbook boards as well as the respective books of several private publishers.

Schools and Textbooks in India

In India, education is also on the concurrent list, i.e. it is a subject of central as well as state concern. On the central level, the National Council of Educational Reform and Training (NCERT), as an apex national body under the Ministry of Human Resource Development, develops curriculum frameworks and “model” textbooks, which are used in schools affiliated with the Central Board of Secondary Education in examination matters. In addition to government-run schools, a variety of private and community-run schools exist. On the state level, state boards of education

develop their own curricula and textbooks for the state schools. They can adapt or adopt the NCERT books or choose books of private publishers, which add to multiplicity and complexity.

There is no central textbook approval system in India, and many federal states lack such a system as well. States that do not produce textbooks for all levels review and approve some privately published books. In general, however, private publications are not subject to review. Therefore, books from different states vary in their focus and message (cf. Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education, 2005, pp. 8–10).

The states also vary in their concept of social studies. Some regard it as an umbrella subject, with separate textbooks and courses for history, geography, civics/political science, and economics. Others, including the Tamil Nadu Textbook Corporation and the NCERT curriculum of 2000, view social studies as an integrative subject, with one book covering the disciplines in separate parts, mostly without thematic integration. In this study, our samples were mainly social sciences books published by NCERT and the Tamil Nadu Textbook Corporation and a few West Bengal textbooks in order to include a variety of perspectives under different governments. Books of some private publishers were added to the list.

The analyzed Indian and Pakistani textbooks were chosen to cover a broad spectrum in terms of representation of content as well as envisaged teaching methods. One aim was to assess the range of these representations and detect possible patterns. The main state publishers on the national (India) and state/province levels were exemplarily represented. In addition to examining products of national private publishers, we included books by an international publishing house, Oxford University Press, which publishes school textbooks both in India and Pakistan. For the books published by NCERT, a diachronic analysis of three consecutive series (“generations”) of textbooks within a decade, printed between the late 1990s and 2008, was used to examine the political impact on the image of the neighbor and the interpretation of history.

In the following sections, we specifically analyze textbook representations of the (problematic) current relationship of India and Pakistan as neighbors and look into the ways books of both countries narrate the history of partition. In both sections, Pakistani books are discussed first, followed by Indian books. The chapter closes with a comparative discussion of representations of the other in the two countries. Patterns of representation are distinguished and contextualized.

INDIA AND PAKISTAN AS NEIGHBORS

After independence, Pakistan and India fought four major wars (1947–1949, 1965, 1971, 1999) and many skirmishes along their border. The main, even if not the only, issue was the controversial status of Kashmir. In addition, India holds Pakistan responsible for supporting terrorist attacks on Indian soil. On the other hand, both countries have cooperated under the umbrella of the South Asian Association for

Regional Cooperation (SAARC) since 1985. How did the textbooks, then, represent this relationship? And did they foster an antagonistic or a reconciliatory outlook?

Pakistani Textbooks

Pakistani textbooks have been criticized for quite some time from abroad² and from within.³ Critics have taken issue with the falsification of historical “facts,” the gendered and militaristic outlook, and missing educational concepts, as well as the ways religion has been instrumentalized. These criticisms have not been limited to madrasa education or to the products of private publishers. Textbooks published by the textbook boards of the provinces for the use in government schools have been especially criticized, as they reach the largest number of students. Major aspects of this criticism relate to the portrayal of India.

The mention of India as a neighbor, often in a geographical context, was sometimes restricted to the geographic position, but also hinted at a problematic relationship.⁴

India lies to the East of Pakistan. Pakistan shares a long boarder [*sic*] with India that runs from the disputed areas of Jammu and Kashmir in the North to the Arabian Sea in the South. (Dean, Qureshi, Datu, & Qazi, 2005, p. 2)

One book that discussed Pakistan in a South Asian frame pointed to the interdependence of the South Asian countries but mentioned the bilateral problems Pakistan and other states had with India—with India being the root cause of troubles.

There has been a general trend amongst the SAARC countries to cooperate with one another while ignoring political differences ... India is not ready to give the right of self-determination to Kashmiri people as asked by the United Nation’s [*sic*] Security Council in its various resolutions. Be it SAARC or bilateral agreements between Pakistan and India, the later [*sic*] is always interested only in trade and tourist facilities and not in resolving the Kashmir issue, despite the fact that no legal headway can be made in respect of mutual cooperation as long as Kashmir is burning ... Pakistan cannot forget the nefarious part played by India in its 1971 break-up ... This attitude of India towards its neighbours hinders restoration of peace in the region and has been a major obstacle in the way of SAARC. Despite the presence of SAARC, tension in the region has increased during the last two decades. All the six small neighbours of India have grievances against her attitude. The Indian policies and actions in the region over the years have now left no doubt that it wants only pawns in its neighbourhood. (Awan, n.d.-a, pp. 75–76)

The class 8 book added:

The freedom loving people of Kashmir demanded that there should be free and fair plebiscite to decide the matter of its accession to India and Pakistan.

Three-fourth of the territory of Kashmir is occupied by India while one-fourth of the territory is called Azad Kashmir.⁵ The Indian army kills the Kashmiris mercilessly and burns their houses and shops. (Awan, n.d.-b, p. 191)

The Kashmir issue as well as the genesis of Bangladesh were represented in highly emotionalizing tones and presented as a proof of India’s bad intentions not only towards Pakistan, but also towards other neighbors.

Social Studies 5 of the Punjab Textbook Board devoted most of the pages of its introductory chapter, “Islamic Republic of Pakistan,” to the Kashmir issue and the three wars with India. Also in this representation, India was the culprit, attacking Pakistan and treating the Kashmiri people cruelly. Additionally, Bangladesh’s independence was a result of India’s provocations. (Nothing was said about West Pakistan’s contributions to the situation, apart from obscuring them).⁶ In all the wars, for sure, the “Pakistan army fought very bravely” (Hussain, Sajjad, Shafique, Majoka, & Ahmed, 2011, pp. 4–5).

The book depicted both a strong enemy image, depreciation of the adversary, and appreciation (and whitewashing) of their own side. Further, the book advocated a strong militarization,⁷ even Jihad.

If our country is strong, no enemy will dare to look with dirty eyes at our country ... The spirit for Jihad may be inculcated among the people and Islamic view points may be propagated. There should be brother-hood and unity among all the people of Pakistan, no matter from where they belong to. For the defence of Islam and Pakistan, our armies should have the latest equipments so that no enemies of Pakistan or Islam may have a dirty look at us. (Hussain et al., 2011, pp. 5, 7)

In a chapter on safety, the textbook added:

Our forces are well known for their bravery, courage, superior training and professional skill ... Whenever an enemy of Pakistan looked at our territories with dirty eye, they repulse them with full force so that they could never think of attacking us ... If there is a situation where unlawful activities and civil disobedience become uncontrollable by civil administration, the defence forces are called to restore peace and order. Our defence forces always are ready to serve the nation whether they are required during war period or internal unrest period. (Hussain et al., 2011, pp. 53–54)

This text is interesting in that not only did it not name the external enemy, India—which every student knew after the introductory chapter—but it also mentioned internal troubles, which are otherwise denied or camouflaged by appeals to Islamic brotherhood,⁸ as the *raison d’être* of the military.

The promotion of military virtues and militarization and the depiction of India as the enemy were also conveyed in a personalized way, especially by private publishers:

Major Raja Abdul Aziz Bhatti was one of the heroes of the 1965 war against India ... In the 1965 war, ... [he] fought against the enemy for six days and nights without rest. He performed his duties bravely. He laid down his life for the defence of the country. (Khurshid, n.d., p. 46)

The same story was presented in other social science books,⁹ as it is a standard topic in Urdu language courses.¹⁰ The more recent series of Textbook Board publications, however, have omitted these military heroes from their social studies content.

The discussion of conflicts does not necessarily have to evoke emotions and could abstain from a one-sided assignment of guilt, as demonstrated by a small number of Pakistani social studies series. Regional conflicts were discussed here as one of the issues in contemporary South Asia:

Many countries in South Asia have long-standing disputes and there have been wars. Pakistan and India have fought three wars since 1947 over the problem of Kashmir and Bangladesh ... If these disputes could be solved through discussion and agreement instead of war, then there can be an increase in trade and peaceful activities which would bring more happiness to the people. (Shafique, 2003a, p. 25)¹¹

Besides wars and conflicts with India, the other important focus of Pakistani books was religion.

India lies to the east of Pakistan. India is a big country with a large population. There is quite a great number of Muslims living in India. The Muslims ruled over India for about 750 years. Delhi is the capital of India. (A. Khan, n.d.-b, p. 51)

An exercise question asks: “How many years did the Muslims rule over the subcontinent?” (A. Khan, n.d.-b, p. 53). Admittedly, the focus on Muslims seems strange in the context of India, but might evoke self-esteem in relation to their former subjects. Mostly, however, India was depicted as the land of Hindus, to the extent that one book regularly used the Hindi name *Bharat* for India also in the English texts.¹² This might refer to the Hindu character of the state and denote that India was divided into Muslim Pakistan and Hindu Bharat.

The textbooks described Pakistan as a land of Muslims,¹³ even if a number of other religions¹⁴ exist there and are also allowed to be practiced.¹⁵ In India, Hindus dominate. The books often addressed Hindu-Muslim differences in a general way, not in the context of present-day India. For example, introducing the historical background of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, a class 5 book constructed a deep divide between Muslims and Hindus, based on faith, social stratification, and the position of women.

The Religious beliefs of the Muslims and the Hindus are absolutely different. The Hindus worship many idols. They have many gods and goddesses ... The Muslims worship Allah. In the Hindu religion the men are divided into different

classes by their system of caste and creed, whereas in Islam all the Muslims are equal and are brotherly with one another. In Hindu religion the women are given a low status. Whereas Islam teaches to give due respect to the women.

The Hindus and the Muslims lived together for a very long time in India before partition, but the identity of these two nations, their religions, their socio-economic system and their way of life are absolutely different ... The Hindus and the Muslims formed two major and different religions of India therefore they were two different nations. (Hussain et al., 2011, pp. 2–3)

This fundamental opposition, constructed as an argument for partition, is not neutral, but value loaded. Even if the language in the case of the Hindus was not overtly derogatory, words with positive connotations were used for Muslims—“equal,” “brotherly,” “with respect”—but were conspicuously missing in depicting the other side. This dichotomy is discussed more in the context of partition.

Indian Textbooks

Pakistan was discussed in Indian textbooks generally in the context of “India and her neighbours.” It is one state out of eight (or nine if Afghanistan is included, based on accepting the Indian claim to the whole of Kashmir, see below), not “the Other” per se. And India was said to have “always wanted to have good neighborly relations with China, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, Myanmar (Burma) and Maldives” (Vasantha, Ravindranathan, Subramanian, Dhanapackiam, & Mathaiyan, 2005, p. 121). Sometimes, the textbooks devoted only a very few lines to the Indo-Pakistani relationship, as in those of Tamil Nadu. Here, India was depicted as “promoter of world peace,” “called by the name of ‘A great Peace Maker.’” The “cordial relationship with neighbouring countries” was highlighted, also in the context of Pakistan. “In spite of past conflicts both India and Pakistan are trying to come closer” (Subramanian et al., 2011, pp. 212, 214). The establishment of the Delhi-Lahore bus service and pipeline negotiations were mentioned as proof.

Nevertheless, Pakistan was seen as a difficult neighbor; the relationship was even a problematic one, as most series conceded. This was described in an NCERT book of the 1990s in the following way:

The policy of good neighbourliness has guided India’s relations with Pakistan. Historically, geographically and economically, we have many things in common with Pakistan. In 1947 Pakistan was created as a result of partition. Since then there have been disputes over issues like property, border, distribution of river water, etc. India had to defend herself three times against aggression from Pakistan. But we have always believed that wars cannot settle our disputes. It is only through peaceful talks and negotiations that we can solve our mutual problems. India has taken steps to widen political, economic and cultural

exchange with Pakistan ... However, India does not like certain things that Pakistan does. For example, Pakistan frequently raises the Kashmir issue in various international conferences and meetings. India has also expressed its concern over Pakistan acquiring more and more deadly weapons including the nuclear one ... But these irritants have not stopped our country from trying to resolve the disputes peacefully and normalise the relations with Pakistan [*sic*]. (Muley, Das, Chandra, & Rani, 1996, pp. 108–109)

Pakistan ... is simultaneously the closest and the most distant neighbour of India. It is also the most important and the most difficult neighbour. It is closest in ethnic, cultural and historic links, and farthest in its political orientation and foreign policy perspective. It is a land where common blood flows. But unfortunately it is also a land where needless fratricidal blood has been shed due to the communal violence in 1947, and three avoidable wars in 1948, 1965 and 1971. Pakistan is important because developments there have a direct relevance to the problems of peace and security in India and the South-Asia region. (R. Khan, 1995, p. 185)

The author described the relationship in a specific way. While it can be seen that the relationship is problematic, and even traumatic, the metaphors of common and fratricidal blood and the abstract style do not describe the issues clearly and understandably, but cover or soften them to some extent by vagueness. Additionally, there is a hopeful outlook:

However, there are indications that India and Pakistan are trying to overcome the past, and build a future of mutual trust and understanding, as independent members of a common fraternity, in the newly constituted South Asian association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). (R. Khan, 1995, p. 185)

This text, too, used euphemistic phraseology: the author spoke of “common fraternity”—in accordance with the “fratricidal blood” that was spilled needlessly.

The text stands as one example of a low-profile treatment of the Pakistan question at school in the 1990s, where issues of potential conflict were seldom addressed. This tendency can also be found in more recent books of private publishers, for example Oxford University Press. Here, too, cultural links between India and Pakistan¹⁶ were emphasized. By references to “soft factors” in the relationship and appeals to normalize it peacefully, however, the books refrained mostly from reinforcing the frontline of conflict between the two countries.

Both countries seem once again keen on settling disputes through talks. But deep-seated prejudices and mutual distrust are not easy to overcome. It is imperative for both the countries to settle all the outstanding issues quickly so that both can move ahead in their economic development. (Srinivas & Bhandari, 2005, p. 234)

In the NCERT books of the 1990s, sensitive issues related to (religious) minorities and communalism were excluded to avoid “hurting” somebody, triggering strife in and outside the classroom, and disturbing the national “harmony” (cf. Khan Banerjee & Stöber, 2014). This approach also affected the representation of the Kashmir issue and of the relation to Pakistan (cf. Kumar, 2002; also 1996, 2003, 2007). As far as the role of Muslims in India was concerned, opponents addressed this precaution as “whitewashing” history from the bad deeds of invaders (cf. Khan Banerjee, 2007, p. 362).

This policy of the 1990s changed when the National Democratic Alliance took over government from Congress in 1999. A Hindu nationalist outlook¹⁷ became apparent also in NCERT textbooks, especially in history, triggering a huge controversy among historians, in the media, and beyond (cf. Gottlob, 2007, 2011). After a curriculum revision in 2000, NCERT published new textbooks that addressed the Pakistan issue in a less metaphorical way.

India has always sought peaceful, cordial and friendly relations with Pakistan. But Pakistan has yet to respond to India’s friendly gestures and help establish healthy neighbourly relations. This is possible only when Pakistan stops cross-border terrorism, a kind of undeclared war against India. (Sinha, Dube, Madal, & Srinivasan, 2004, p. 281)

The main issue, however, was the Kashmir issue.

Things would certainly improve once Pakistan appreciates the Indian view point [towards Kashmir], and comes forward to discuss all the bilateral issues under the Simla Agreement.¹⁸ (Om, Sinha, Das, & Rashmi, 2002, p. 62)

The NCERT books of the second generation (2002–2004) tackled Indo-Pakistani relations with more clarity. They used strong words to present the official governmental position towards Pakistan. Here, India played the peace-loving part; Pakistan, however, was the culprit, and all difficulties were related to Pakistan’s attitude. To resolve the issues, Pakistan had to bow to the Indian stance.

This attitude was also mirrored by some of the private publishers when they allocated responsibility to Pakistan for complicating mutual relations.

In spite of her best efforts, India has not been able to establish cordial and friendly relations with Pakistan ... But Pakistan is still bent on mischief. Her attempts to acquire latest sophisticated weapons and her help to extremists Kashmir [*sic*] are some factors which still act as irritants between India and Pakistan. (Kundra, 2005, p. 213)¹⁹

After national elections in 2004, the National Democratic Alliance government was replaced by a Congress-led coalition. Subsequently, NCERT again revised curricula, syllabi, and textbooks. The new NCERT books published after 2005 took a very different stance on the issue and did not clearly indicate a “villain.”

But both the governments continue to be suspicious of each other. The Indian government has blamed the Pakistan government for using a strategy of low key violence by helping the Kashmiri militants with arms ... The government of Pakistan, in turn, blames the Indian government and its security agencies for fomenting trouble in the provinces of Sindh and Balochistan. (*Contemporary World Politics*, 2008, pp. 74–75)

Thus, the new books refrained from assigning one-sided guilt. In these texts, both governments were shown as blaming one another. The other perspective was also taken into account. Additionally, the official Indian position was also questioned. Thus, the students had a chance to reach their own judgments. And the book did not promise a quick or simple solution.

In *Politics in India Since Independence*, the Kashmir issue was discussed in detail: “It was not only a conflict between India and Pakistan. More than that, it was a question of the political aspirations of the people of Kashmir valley” (2007, p. 150).²⁰ Thus, the book refrained from judging the issue solely as a conflict between states, but pointed to parallel cases of separatist movements in other parts of the country and the “many dimensions” of the Kashmir conflict, involving “the issue of Kashmiri identity known as Kashmiriyat and the aspirations of the people of J&K [Jammu and Kashmir] for political autonomy” (*Politics in India Since Independence*, 2007, p. 151). Under this perspective from within, Pakistan appeared not as the driving force, but as the supporter of militants, who were only one group of protagonists. Also, the violence of the Indian army was mentioned, albeit with caution (*Politics in India Since Independence*, 2007, p. 157). These internal aspects were mostly left aside, where in other book series the Kashmir issue was referred to in the context of a chapter on India and her neighbors.

The Kashmir issue is decisive for both sides, India and Pakistan. Pakistan insists on self-determination of the population and third-party mediation to solve the conflict, while India argues with accession rules²¹ and demands bilateral talks without foreign interference, textbooks write.

The different positions on Kashmir are also reflected in maps (cf. Stöber, 2009, p. 8). Pakistani books included Kashmir/Jammu & Kashmir in the “map of Pakistan.” Some maps did not design a specific status to this area.²² Others distinguished it visually from the rest of Pakistan²³ or defined it as “disputed territory.” Whereas this in former series refers to the whole area, many more recent books distinguished between Jammu and Kashmir (including “Azad Kashmir” or not) and the former Gilgit Agency in the Northwest, whose status as being part of Kashmir was already controversial in colonial times,²⁴ or the Northern Areas/Gilgit-Baltistan under today’s Pakistani administration (e.g., Dean, Qureshi, & Datu, 2005, p. 9). Several of these books included the Gilgit area in the territory of Pakistan.²⁵ A few differentiated between the areas of both sides of the line of

control, defining only the Indian part as “disputed territory” (Khurshid, n.d., p. 11). In one case only, the line of control was shown as the current, albeit disputed, Pakistani border (Shafique, 2003a, pp. 17, 45).

The Indian books, on the other hand, followed the official course and incorporated the whole area, including the former Gilgit Agency, into the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir, mostly without distinguishing between the areas administered by India and Pakistan. Only in some specific thematic maps did this difference become visible, but without being explained.²⁶

Pakistani social study textbooks promoted the Islamic state, and their social science curricula defined as a teaching objective to “establish strong identity with and belongingness to the Muslim heritage” (Arif, Warsi, & Khan, n.d., p. ii; cf. Dean, 2005). In contrast, in India the objective was secularism. The topic belonged to the value framework (“directive principles”) of the constitution and was one of the “curricular concerns” prescribed in the National Curriculum Framework (2005, p. 53). Thus, Indian textbooks described the constitutional features²⁷ or argued in favor of secularism, as the older NCERT books,²⁸ but only a few new books really discussed and promoted it. The protection of the (religious) minority from being dominated by the majority, but also the protection of the individual from pressure by his community and the neutrality of the state towards all religious communities, were mentioned as positive features of secularism (*Social and Political Life III*, 2008, pp. 20–21). Sometimes, the texts directly compared India and Pakistan. “When India was divided into two countries, India followed the secular path, whereas Pakistan preferred for a theocratic state” (Singh, 2006–07, p. 296).²⁹

Additionally, the Indian books discussed in length the functioning of a democratic state, whereas Pakistani books distanced themselves to some extent from democracy³⁰ and an Indian book cited positions towards democracy in South Asia, with Pakistani respondents appearing to be quite indifferent towards their form of government.³¹ Thus, apart from their mutual representation, the conflicting self-images figured in the textbooks, although this contradiction was only partly addressed directly.

THE WAY TO PARTITION

When British India, “the jewel of the British crown,” reached independence in 1947 after a long struggle, the subcontinent was divided into a state for Muslims, West and East Pakistan (today’s Bangladesh), and one that defined itself as secular, Bharat or India. Partition and the way that led to it became a traumatic experience for many and contributed substantially to the poisoned relations of both countries. The interpretation of this development towards partition was greatly contested and figured high in Indian and Pakistani memory and politics, also affecting the textbooks.

Pakistani Textbooks

The Pakistani social studies curricula referred to Pakistan's history in class 5, but also in the context of South Asia (class 6), the Muslim world (class 7), and the universe (class 8). History was often put into the same context, but might also shift—for example, from global history (age of discoveries) to South Asian history (“British arrival in the subcontinent” etc.³²)—or was covered unconnected in a separate chapter on the “Ideology of Pakistan.”³³ The same story was told several times and was repeated again as part of Pakistan Studies in class 9/10.

In general lines, the story was as follows: After a benevolent Muslim rule over India, Muslims had to suffer a lot under British occupation. In 1857, this led to the “war of independence” (the “Mutiny” in British tradition), at the end of which Muslims had to suffer even more, as Hindus joined hands with the British.³⁴ In their quest for self-protection, the Muslims had to rely on their own party, the Muslim League, as the Indian National Congress worked entirely for Hindu interests. Also “Quaid-e Azam” Jinnah, despite his efforts to bring Hindus and Muslims together, had to realize the futility of this effort and the danger Muslims would experience in an independent, Hindu-dominated India. This danger became obvious, for example, with the rejection of Jinnah’s “Fourteen Points” or the anti-Muslim activities of Congress rule after 1935, which led the Muslims to celebrate the ‘Deliverance Day’ after the resignation of Congress ministers in 1939. Therefore, the quest for a separate Muslim state, Pakistan, had to come on the agenda and was realized in 1947. However, conditions of partition were to the disadvantage of the Muslims/Pakistan, because all Muslim-dominated areas did not come under Pakistani control and the new state did not get her due share of state property.

It is striking how much history was presented as Hindu-Muslim opposition, as a strict Hindu-Muslim divide.³⁵ The books of the private publishers mostly reflected the positions of the state board publications, for example, *Social Studies Book 5* (n.d.). As one of these books put it,

The demand for Pakistan was based on the feeling that the Muslims should be emancipated from the clutches of eternal Hindu domination. (Awan, n.d.-b, p. 163)³⁶

Eternalizing the divide and even Hindu domination, the books disregarded the modern emergence of “Hindu” as a category.³⁷ Additionally, they took no note of “secular” or noncommunal positions or personal motives behind political maneuvers. Only the Muslims mattered. Thus, the way to partition was categorized as a “Struggle for Pakistan 1937–1947” (*Social Studies for Class VII*, 2005, p. 45) or the “Making of Pakistan” (A. Q. Khan, 2011, p. 15), not as a freedom struggle in British India or the like. And, if not “eternal,” the opposition traces back in history.

Much so in South Asia which had seen glorious Muslim rule for more than six hundred years, and experienced a period of progress and prosperity,

religious freedom coupled with tolerance and benevolence of rare kind. The Muslims had to face brutalities, hardship and insults as a reward for their kindness, generosity and equal treatment to non-Muslims when the British usurped power from them and encouraged Hindus to support them to crush the erstwhile ruling Muslims. This they gladly did ... Islam and Hinduism were not only two religions but often stood for conflicting ideas, actions and traditions. This could have never allowed them to live in peace in one country. Islam preaches equality of mankind as against the rigid cast system of Hindus. The heroes of one are the enemies of the other ... Hindus hated Muslims as unclean ... Muslims treated them as non-believers. (*Social Studies for Class VII*, 2005, p. 45)

One cannot overlook how in one paragraph apparently contradictory arguments are fabricated (equating Muslim rule with tolerance and justice for all; indicating that in the post-British period the creation of Pakistan was necessary as Hindus “could have never allowed them to live in peace in one country”). Since only Muslims were tolerant, majority rule would have degraded Muslims to be subjects of the intolerant Hindus. In this narrative, Hindus and Muslims were not just different; they were enemies and therefore better kept apart.

The Muslims of the sub-continent, under the dynamic leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam, became organized and solid like a rock. They forced the two enemies, the British and the Hindus, to accept the demand for an independent Pakistan. (Shamim & Ahmed, 2012, p. 83)³⁸

The stressing of constructed homogeneity and the combined action of the in-group and the depersonalization and homogenization of the others are important elements of enemy images; “the Hindus” served as Pakistani bogeymen.

Despite the emphasis on Muslim determination, the books depicted an image of Muslim victimhood. This was exemplified by a paragraph describing the bad prospects when non-Muslims were in power and was given as a proof that partition was a necessity. The event figured also in the Indian narratives, but with the opposite connotation.

Elections were held in all provinces under the Act of 1935. The Congress party won majority in 7 out of 11 provinces; and formed its ministries in 1937 AD. The Hindus showed their true colors and started demolishing the Muslim culture and civilization. Hindi was made the learning of compulsory in the schools [*sic*] and every attempt was made to eliminate Urdu from educational instructions. The Tranga (Three colour [*sic*]) flag of the Congress was hoisted on all government buildings forcing Muslims to show respect of [*sic*] their flag. The Vand-e-mataram hymn and on which around anti-Muslim feelings was made the national anthem [*sic*]. Bands and flutes were being played in front [*sic*] of mosques at the prayer time. At some places, unarmed Muslims were killed. The Muslims were denied all rights. In short there was no end to

atrocities inflicted on the Muslims and their life was made a hell. Due to certain differences with the British Government of India, the Congress ministries resigned in 1939 AD. The Muslims heaved a sigh of relief the Quaid-i-Azam's, direction observed the day of deliverance [*sic*]. The Pirpur-Report disclosed the Hindu excesses upon Muslims, and proved that the Hindu majority could never be sympathetic towards the Muslims. (*Social Studies for Class VII*, 2005, p. 47)

Nevertheless, in one sentence, the same book acknowledged that not only the Congress, but also "some Muslim parties ... were also deadly against the Muslim League" and partition. But nowhere was this really discussed, and in the end, "the demand of the Muslims of South Asia for partition of India was accepted by all the parties who martyred under the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam" (*Social Studies for Class VII*, 2005, pp. 48–49).

Beside the Hindu-Muslim dichotomy, which governed the narration, there was a strong personalization of the historic events with a focus on one man. The creation of Pakistan was portrayed as the achievement of mostly "Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah," "our dearly loved leader, who led the Muslims of South Asia in their freedom struggle. Due to his untiring efforts, the struggle succeeded" (*Social Studies for Class VII*, 2005, p. 37).³⁹

He was a great patriot and a Muslim nationalist; and wished freedom for his country and the nation, at the core of his heart. For this purpose, he became a member of the Indian National Congress ... By the time, he realized that Congress is a Hindu party and works for Hindu interests. Therefore, he speeded up the organization of the Muslim League; and, in a short time, got it recognized as the sole representative party of the Muslims. A resolution was passed ... which demanded a separate homeland for [t]he Muslims. Hindus opposed it strongly; but the Quaid remained steadfast on the demand of a separate state. At least, he succeeded and the new Muslim state of Pakistan came into existence in 1947 ... There is no doubt that without Quaid-i-Azam, the Muslims of South Asia could have hardly achieved Pakistan. (*Social Studies for Class VII*, 2005, pp. 38–39)

Had there been no Quaid-e-Azam, we could not have won our freedom. He defeated the British and the Hindu machinations with great care and confidence. (Bokhari & Tahir, 2012, p. 52)

As Hoodbhoy and Nayyar (1985) and Powell (1996, pp. 217–219) have pointed out, the portrayals of Jinnah were made to fit into the teleological view of Pakistani history towards an Islamic state.⁴⁰ Sometimes, Jinnah, always called by the title "Quaid-i-Azam" ("Great Leader"), was named "Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity" (before the Hindus proved him wrong) (Shamim & Ahmed, 2012, p. 76).⁴¹ On the contrary, "Mr. Gandhi" was described as a "shrewd politician," working

in caste-Hindu interests (Shamim & Ahmed, 2012, pp. 81–82). Even if Gandhi was categorized as a Hindu politician, some books used the term “Ghandiji,” an expression of veneration (*Social Studies for Class VII*, 2005, pp. 48–49). Even “Mahatma” (“Great Soul”) was incidentally used, albeit in negative contexts (Ahmed, Khokhar, & Dhanani, 2005, p. 26), a title that Jinnah disapproved of.

Besides the narration of the independence—or Pakistan—movement, whole chapters covered biographies of Muslim leaders, beside Jinnah, such as Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar and Allama Iqbal (*Social Studies for Class VII*, 2005, pp. 35–39).⁴² Hindu personalities of the freedom struggle were sometimes mentioned, mostly as adversaries of Jinnah, but were not portrayed.

Narratives in books of private publishers were hardly different. Whereas most books concentrated on Muslim protagonists, one series only gave the same weight to Hindu leaders in the context of the freedom movement with neutral or positive connotations in the form of short biographies. Here, “M. K. Gandhi,” for example, was described as “political leader, reformer, writer,” and “opposed to the idea of a separate homeland for Muslims” in opposition to Jinnah, but not as a Hindu communalist (cf. the boxes in Shafique, 2003c, pp. 74–75 and 70–71, respectively). The books of this series also provided background information and discussed motives to make events more understandable.

Despite the general emphasis on Muslim victimhood, the allegation was rarely substantiated.⁴³ Also, the books were mostly silent about the communal riots in the context of partition and narrated the foundation of Pakistan as a success story. Occasionally, in the higher grades, the riots were mentioned, mostly in a way that fit the victimhood story.

After the creation of Pakistan the problem of refugees became a serious and difficult issue for the government. The Hindus and Sikhs had organised armed gangs to massacre Muslim refugees migrating to Pakistan. Arms and ammunition were provided by the government to Sikhs and Hindus for killing the Muslims. Children were killed, women were raped and young girls were abducted. The trains of refugees were stopped at certain places and Hindus and Sikhs looted and killed the hapless refugees. (Awan, n.d.-b, p. 177)

Muslims, again, were only victims. And here, the killing was even incited by the (Indian) government.⁴⁴

Only one Pakistani series did not join the others in drawing this one-sided picture. This series did not put blame on one side only and mentioned the riots also in books for the lower grades.

There was a lot of violence at the time of partition. Hundreds of thousands of people were killed, and many more were forced to leave their homelands. Nearly all the Hindus from provinces like Sindh and Punjab migrated to India, and hundreds of thousands of Muslims from India migrated to Pakistan. On their way they were attacked and plundered. (Shafique, 2003a, p. 77)

At the time of independence there were large scale riots throughout South Asia. Many Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs were massacred, women were abducted and hundreds of thousands of people were forced to leave their homelands. Non Muslims from Pakistan left for India, while Muslims from India left in great numbers for Pakistan. This caused serious problems for both the governments, especially in Pakistan. Here, the government did not have enough resources to settle the refugees. (Shafique, 2003c, p. 87)

Pakistan, like independent India, started its existence with an experience that challenged any narration of history as a success story. Since inculcating historical consciousness is not the aim of history teaching in Pakistan, the course fabricated a historical image to foster a state concept based on Islam. Therefore, contradictory events had to be left aside or explained away. For India, however, the event of partition is such a tragic and undesired experience that no history teacher could be mute about it.

Indian Textbooks

The struggle for independence is an important content area in Indian history education. The study of school history typically ended with discussion of this struggle and independence. In this context, the process that led to partition received quite some coverage. Unlike Pakistani books, Indian books condemned the demand for separate statehood and criticized the developments that occurred as an aftermath. However, the narrations varied, and we can distinguish different patterns of treatment and assessment of causes.

In the textbooks of the south Indian state of Tamil Nadu, for example, the events in northern India seemed to be regarded as less important. In the class 8 textbook, a chapter discussed the way to independence, but especially the role of Tamil Nadu in the freedom struggle. In a very laconic way, the chapter ended:

The interim government headed by Nehru assumed the office and Rajaji became the Home Minister of India in 1946. Mountbatten plan was accepted. The Indian Independence Act was passed in the British Parliament. India attained independence from the clutches of the British on 15th August 1947 after the heroic struggle. (Bhanumathi, Meenakshi, Jayalakshmi, Sobana, & Bakthavatchalam, 2007, p. 40)

There was no reference to Pakistan, no mention of the Muslim League, and no indication of partition apart from intrinsically mentioning the Mountbatten plan, which, however, was not explained.

In class 10, the “Indian struggle for freedom” was again discussed, now in the overall Indian context. However, here, too, the treatment was limited, doing little other than dropping names.

Muhammed Ali Jinnah put forth the Two Nation Theory in 1940. He demanded a separate nation Pakistan for the Muslims. (Vasantha et al., 2005, p. 87)

In 1947 Lord Mount Batten became the Governor-General of India ... He provided a solution for the political and constitutional deadlock created by the Muslim League. According to his plan India had to be divided into two independent countries namely the Indian Union and the Pakistan Union ... Both the Congress and the Muslim League accepted the plan. The British Government passed the Indian Independence Act in July 1947 on the basis of this plan. Partition of India was effected in 1947. Powers were transferred to the two states, India and Pakistan. (Vasantha et al., 2005, pp. 90–91)

There was no mention of the riots or of population transfers. The lack of emotion with which this topic (and others, too) was handled by just stating some facts is striking. Additionally, the British were described as resolving the deadlock that the Muslim League produced. Also discussed were British supporters of India’s independence, such as Annie Besant⁴⁵ or Prime Minister Clement Attlee after the Second World War, “the supporter of Indian freedom struggle” (Vasantha et al., 2005, p. 90).

In the 2011 edition of the social science textbooks, both the struggle for independence in India and Tamil Nadu’s contribution were covered in class 10. Here, the text was more detailed and thus more approachable for the students. Also, the partition and Pakistan received more coverage. It was mentioned that “Ghandiji worked for Hindu Muslim Unity” in 1922 (Subramanian et al., 2011, p. 75). In 1939, with the resignation of Congress ministers, “Mohamad Ali Jinnah, the leader of Muslim League became so much over enjoyed and he celebrated this as ‘the day of deliverance’” and “began to preach that the Hindus and the Muslims were not one but the two separate nations” (p. 78). The demand for Pakistan followed. As “Jinnah refused to Co-operate with Nehru, ... partition of India became inevitable” (p. 80). “The announcement about the partition led to riots in many places. Gandhiji tried his best to maintain peace and unity among the Hindus and Muslims” (p. 81). Thus, riots were at least mentioned. Blame for the partition was very personalized, centering on Jinnah, with Gandhi as adversary. But here, too, the narrative was provided without any emotion.

The issue was put somewhat differently in books from West Bengal. Here the British were blamed for dividing Indian society, and beside Jinnah, Muslim society was referred to as paving the way for partition. Especially in the context of the British, the language was highly emotional:

India is a land of diversity. Here people of different religions and origins live. Among them, the two main religious communities are the Hindus and the Muslims. For a long, long time, they lived together harmoniously as two brothers. But the British put their peaceful home into flames ... Narrow communal politics were rooted in the mean and divisive administration

policies of the British, which took their shape from Sir Syed Mohammed's *Aligarh Revolt* ... The shrewd British made the rift between the Hindus and Muslims stronger by enacting the Morle-Minto Act of 1909. This Act approved the demand for a reservation quota for the Muslims in the Parliament. Thus was sown the seed of the two-nation theory. (Patra & Chakraborty, 2005, p. 249, translated by B.K.B.)

During the Second World War, Congress was hostile to the British decision to announce India as a fighting country and party. The Congress ministers resigned in protest. But Jinnah and the Muslim society, instead of protesting, were overjoyed and declared the day the 'Day of Deliverance' and celebrated. In 1940, the Jinnah-led Muslim League demanded a separate Muslim state based on this two-nation theory. On 15 August, 1945, Jinnah persuaded all Muslims to observe it as the 'day of direct war for freedom.' The same day is known as the Black Day in Indian history. A hundred thousand years old, India was torn and fragmented. And thus was born the two separate countries of India and Pakistan. (Patra & Chakraborty, 2005, pp. 250–251,⁴⁶ translated by B.K.B.)

This text is more emotionally charged than that in the Tamil Nadu books. Instead of providing scopes for discussion to make the historical process understandable, the text tended to focus more on the "blame game," first on the British and then on Jinnah. The text mentioned the "Day of Deliverance," the same event that figured so prominently in Pakistani narratives, but of course with the opposite appraisal. Apart from Jinnah, the text mentioned "Muslim society" and not "the Muslims," as Pakistani books would have stated.

The books published by NCERT in New Delhi painted a more complex and maybe less personalized picture. In Bipan Chandra's (1996) book on Indian history for class 12, the main actors were the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League, not individuals.

The Muslim League, led by Jinnah, turned a bitter opposition to the Congress. It began to spread the cry that the Muslim minority was in danger of being engulfed by the Hindu majority. It propagated the unhistorical theory that Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations which could therefore, never live together. In 1940, the Muslim League passed a resolution demanding partition of the country and the creation of a state to be called Pakistan after independence. (Chandra, 1996, pp. 258–259)

But, according to Chandra, the existence of Hindu communalist groups was grist to the mill of Muslim separatist propaganda, especially as they, too, declared Hindus a distinct nation and India the land of Hindus. This conveyed a feeling of unsafety for the minorities. Additionally, Muslim League and Hindu communalists joined hands against the Congress. None of them participated actively in the struggle against

foreign rule or demanded socioeconomic reforms. Thus, the creation of Pakistan was not only the result of Muslim malevolence. The conflict depicted was that of politics based on group identities defined by religion communalists versus a secular national movement, not Muslims against the rest. According to Chandra, the secular forces failed as they tried to conciliate the communalists instead of fighting them politically.

However, the success of secular nationalism should not be underrated. Despite the partition riots and the resurgence of communal forces during 1946–7, India did succeed after independence in framing a secular constitution and in building a basically secular polity and society. Hindu communalism did make deep inroads in society and even in the ranks of the nationalists. But it remained a minority force among the Hindus. While many Muslims were swept away by the tide of religious fanaticism and communalism during 1946–7, others stood like a rock against communalism. (Chandra, 1996, p. 261)

Interestingly, the argument shifted. In the end, it was not the external enemy the book was opposing, but the internal enemy—less the Muslims than the Hindu nationalists. Even the foundation of Pakistan did not obscure this political faultline.

The Indian nationalists accepted partition not because there were two nations in India—a Hindu nation and a Muslim nation—but because the historical development of communalism, both Hindu and Muslim, over the past 70 years or so had created a situation where the alternative to partition was mass killing of lakhs of innocent people in senseless and barbaric communal riots. (Chandra, 1996, p. 269)

Of course, hundreds of thousands of people were killed in mass killings, which took place despite partition. The book attributed it not only to the Indian protagonists, but also to the colonial power, with its “divisive policies” (p. 270). But this was not presented as a dominant factor. Communalism was the focus also when discussing independence.

But the sense of joy, which should have been overwhelming and unlimited, was mixed with pain and sadness. The dream of Indian unity had been shattered and brother had been torn from brother; what was worse, even at the very moment of freedom a communal orgy, accompanied by indescribable brutalities, was consuming thousands of lives in both India and Pakistan. (Chandra, 1996, p. 217)

Thus, partition stirred up emotions, in 1947 and today, and only metaphors could reveal them.

A somewhat different story was told in the next generation (2002–2004) of NCERT social studies books. Hari Om, the author of the history chapters in *Contemporary India*, for example, wrote:

The failure of the various reform schemes, the utmost emphasis of the British Government on communalism and the bitter campaign of the Muslim League against the Congress and the Hindus provoked the Congress to adopt more radical methods. (Om et al., 2002, p. 53)

Om's text centered on the Congress/Indians, the Muslim League, and the British, with a few digs at the communists who were depicted as under the spell of Moscow. The British were divided in their desire to rule,⁴⁷ the Muslim League took it up; Jinnah's "whole objective was to inflame communal feelings among Muslims and prepare the ground for separation" (p. 48). The British and the Muslim League were opposed by "Indians" (this general term is used whenever the author does not refer to the Congress establishment specifically). In the last phase, the British were looking for a solution.

The attitude of Jinnah and his Muslim League was not positive [towards the Cabinet Mission of 1946]. They wanted the Cabinet Mission to make a categorical statement that India will be partitioned on the basis of the two-nation theory. When it became clear that the Congress will accept the Cabinet Mission proposals and form an interim government at the Centre under Jawaharlal Nehru on 2 September 1946, the Muslim League declared that it would bid goodbye to constitutional methods and observe 16 August as 'Direct Action Day'. As a result, some places in East Bengal, Calcutta, Bihar and Punjab witnessed riots, murder, pillage and arson ... In short, the Muslim League communalised the country's political situation which, in its turn, produced disastrous results. (Om et al., 2002, p. 57)

Thus, the Muslim League was not only blamed for partition, but also clearly depicted as the responsible force behind the communal riots in the prelude to independence. In fact, they were the only communalists found on these pages, contrary to the older generation of books.

The textbooks appearing after 2005 had a new approach compared with the Indian textbooks preceding them, helping the students to develop "critical thinking," not just internalizing "facts." In class 8, one unit discussed "the making of the national movement: 1870s–1947" (*Our Pasts III*, 2008, pp. 141–159). This section looked into the emergence of nationalism in India, its growth into a mass movement, and the way "towards independence and partition." It depicted the parties, the Congress, and the Muslim League, as well as individual leaders with their positions as actors. In particular, the role of Gandhi in influencing the masses was discussed. Pictures and short biographies presented other leaders, Muslim and non-Muslim, with only Jinnah being in favor of partition. The text described the development from a united fight for independence⁴⁸ to the growing demands for more Muslim autonomy, until at the end a complete separation was seen as the only solution to deadlock by the principal actors. The book stressed that even the Muslim League's resolution of 1940, demanding independent states for Muslims, "did not mention partition or

Pakistan” (p. 155). It reasoned that the tensions between Hindu and Muslim groups during the 1920s and 1930s might have contributed to the development of the notion of a separate Muslim “nation.” More relevantly, the impression developed that, as a minority, Muslims “would always have to play second fiddle in any democratic structure.” Party politics also mattered, as the League demanded that it be the sole spokesmen for Indian Muslims, while many Muslims supported the Congress and were annoyed by the rejection of a joint provincial government in the United Provinces after the 1937 election. Additionally, they managed to mobilize Muslim voters in the subsequent decade, strengthening their position (p. 157).

Thus, political developments drove towards partition, which, nevertheless, came for many as a sudden shock. The “Direct Action Day” 1946 announced by the Muslim League in support for their demand for Pakistan led to riots and violence spreading to several parts of northern India.

Many hundred thousand people were killed and numerous women had to face untold brutalities during the Partition. Millions of people were forced to flee their homes. Torn asunder from their homelands, they were reduced to being refugees in alien lands. (*Our Pasts III*, 2008, p. 158)

Interestingly, this text turned towards addressing the partition riots in a general literary way, deploring the victims without distinguishing between groups, but also without asking about the offenders. It seems that this kind of violence cannot be made understandable.

However, in class 12, the topic was taken up again, and a whole chapter was devoted to the issue: “Understanding Partition” (*Themes in Indian History III*, 2007, pp. 376–404).⁴⁹ The chapter started with the communal riots and asked “how those who had lived more or less harmoniously for generations inflicted so much violence on each other in 1947” (p. 377). The text proceeded, not by concealing but by using the most critical aspect of modern Indian history as the starting point.⁵⁰ Three sources of oral history described experiences of post-partition violence, but also a spectrum of positions from a Pakistani perspective towards India/Hindus/Sikhs, justified by these experiences. The next subchapter addressed the topic on a general level, pointing out the role of stereotypes and the huge importance the mass killing has had on Indian-Pakistani relations. It also demonstrated the instrumental character of history telling:

Stories of partition violence are recounted by communal groups to deepen the divide between communities: creating in people’s minds feelings of suspicion and distrust, consolidating the power of communal stereotypes, creating the deeply problematic notion that Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims are communities with sharply defined boundaries, and fundamentally opposed interests.

The relationship between Pakistan and India has been profoundly shaped by this legacy of Partition. Perceptions of communities on both sides have been

structured by the conflicting memories of those momentous times. (*Themes in Indian History III*, 2007, p. 382)

Only then did the text ask the question—“Why and how did partition happen?” (p. 383)—and answer it in the same lines as the book for class 8, but in more detail, pointing also to the role of communalist Hindu groups and the socialist and secular rhetoric of the Congress leaders, which was not accepted even by supporters. The main focus, however, was on the riots. The text discussed the “withdrawal of law and order” in the transgression period, when even soldiers and policemen acted according to communal lines and participated in the riots. It encompassed “recovering’ women” and women as targets of violence, but also highlighted acts of humanity. The chapter ended by evaluating oral history—the main source for the discussed topics. Thus, history is presented not just as a narrative, but as a subject of inquiry and debate, an approach which is new in the Indian school context.

CONCLUSIONS

The portrayal of “the other” in Pakistani and Indian school textbooks varied for several broad reasons: the impact of partition and its associated events as well as individual and public memories, which drove feelings in both societies apart and led to the development of images of an enemy; the government parties in power, which used memory politics for their respective aims and had the power to influence textbooks in different directions; and diversified and decentralized schooling systems, governmental, private, or community based, with diverse interests and with different producers of textbooks. Apart from being politically instrumental, textbooks were also shaped by different pedagogical concerns and strategies.

These aspects do not necessarily work towards a clear Indo-Pakistani divide in the patterns of representation. One aspect, however, does: the constitutions, secular in India and Islamic in Pakistan, which have guided and influenced core curricular concerns in both countries. In this context, it might not be too astonishing that social studies in Pakistan includes religious topics. As Dean (2005, p. 40) has stated, in Pakistan, “the curriculum makes no distinction between Islamic education and citizenship education.” The use of religious categories, Muslims and Hindus, in describing society might also be related to this orientation. However, this does not explain the militant outlook in many Pakistani books. As several studies have pointed out, the focus on Islam in Pakistan was politically instrumental as a remedy to curb centrifugal, ethnolinguistic movements in the provinces by focusing on the common Islamic identity of the nation. Additionally, the military—which consumes a high proportion of the country’s financial resources, even as the country was lacking in other areas such as health or education—had to prove its relevance.⁵¹ Defining the national “we” on the basis of Islam and a strong ideological delimitation from the Indian neighbor served these objectives.⁵²

This attitude was not the direct outcome of partition, but the textbooks developed these religious and anti-Indian positions especially from the 1980s (Hoodbhoy & Nayyar, 1985). When in 2004, a generation later, the opposition parties moved out of parliament because of the alleged removal of Jihad verses from biology textbooks (Naseem, 2010, p. 119; Dorschner & Sherlock, 2007, p. 309), one realizes how far Islamization has impacted Pakistani society. The religious homogeneity that is claimed defines an authoritative position, leaving aside the deviant perspectives of even Muslim minorities and dissenters. This does not remain uncontested. Not only the non-Muslim communities complain.⁵³ For example, in the “Gilgit textbook controversy,” the Shiite community protested against the imposition of Sunni views in schools (Stöber, 2007). More liberal and secular positions, as held by several Pakistani critics of the textbooks, also reflected by the English language media, seemed to reach neither the policy makers nor a stronger segment of the society. These views may be partly reflected in some privately published books, which are used in O-level courses of private elite schools and are of a higher quality (cf. Dorschner & Sherlock, 2007, p. 307).⁵⁴

In India, too, there are mostly internal lines of conflict, which result in different representations of Pakistan. But in this context, the secularity of the constitution or its interpretation is disputed, which is reflected by the first and second generation of NCERT books discussed here. The first, ‘secular’ one associated with “Congress rule,” regarded India as a composite culture, where communalism represented one of the major challenges of modern India and one of the root causes of partition.⁵⁵ Under the Hindu nationalist perspective, the Hindu inheritance formed the root of Indian culture and identity, and Muslims, as invaders, contributed to the decline of Indian culture. The national “we” of the “seculars” was inclusive, comprising Hindus, Muslims, and other groups. Hindu nationalists restricted the “we” to Indian Hindus, mirroring the Pakistani approach. In national-level education policies, both views conflicted and raised public debate during the Janata rule in 1977 and the National Democratic Alliance government from 1999 to 2004 (cf. Rudolph & Hoeber Rudolph, 1982; Gottlob, 2007, 2011). However, because of the decentralized school system, these different interpretations of the past coexist. Because of the different political orientations of state governments, state textbooks reflect “secular” but also Hindu-national positions (cf. National Steering Committee on Textbook Evaluation, 1993, 1994; Apoorvanand, 2007; Khan Banerjee, 2007; Visweswaran, Witzel, Manjrekar, Bhog, & Chakravati, 2009). Additionally, in community-based schools such as madrasas (cf. Aleaz, 2005) or schools run by Saraswati Shishu Mandir Prakashan or Vidya Bharati, the educational organization of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, overt communal positions are promoted (National Steering Committee on Textbook Evaluation, 1993, 1994; Sundar, 2004), going beyond the Hindu nationalistic influence on the NCERT curricula framework and textbooks.

This background, in addition to pedagogical concerns, explains the different patterns of presentation in the textbooks. Many of the Pakistani books, both state and privately published, used a dichotomizing pattern of presentation: Hindus versus Muslims, Pakistan versus Bharat. This pattern was not totally absent in the Indian case; Hindu nationalists also look at history with a similar focus.⁵⁶ However, most Indian books differentiated between people and parties and between different groups. The number of protagonists illustrates this. In most Pakistani books, only groups defined by their broad religious identity—Muslims and Hindus—and a small number of individuals, such as Jinnah, played a role, and the creation of Pakistan was totally personalized. In contrast, in most Indian books, political parties and their leaders were the protagonists, as well as social groups and organizations. While in several (not all) Pakistani books, Hindus and India were presented as the “eternal other” and enemy, Indian books generally did not generalize in a way that link historic events directly with today’s population groups and obstructed historical judgment. In line with these arguments, the Pakistani self-image of victimhood negated both positive experiences and responsibility. The other side and/or a third party was to be blamed (a pattern also found in several Indian books). Thus, partition was the achievement (Pakistan) or misdeed (India) of Jinnah, “the” Muslims, the British, or (also) of Indian communalists (Muslims and Hindus). Only a few series refrained from this kind of argumentation and looked into the issues in a more nuanced manner. We have to register that the books of the international publishing house also fit into the Pakistani and Indian patterns. They were “national” products, following the educational policies and standards of the respective country.

Apart from blaming the other side, the approach to conflicting topics varied greatly through the whole corpus—from concealing the riots, to simply stating the event, to showing a moral regret or condemnation, and finally to analyzing it in a way that enabled understanding the perspectives and actions of different protagonists, including those of “the other side.” The pre-2000 NCERT textbooks, for example, adopted “silence” (Bhattachaya, 1996, p. ix) as a conscious decision, so as not to promote “hatred” among children. Only the new NCERT textbooks managed to present the issues in an analytical and reflective way with the best prospects of inculcating historical and political thinking. A few Pakistani books of private publishers linked, at least, (historic) events with one another, a prerequisite for historical understanding.

In this treatment, the role of emotions also varied. On one hand, the construction of the enemy image in Pakistani books was highly emotionalizing. More neutral presentations refrained from an emotional tone and limited themselves to factual arguments. In Indian books, for example, the clinical stating of events in the Tamil Nadu series contrasted with the moving words and condemnations that appeared in the earlier NCERT series. This discussion, however, was not related to an “external other” (Pakistan) but to internal friction lines. Moreover, the author might have been moved because the sheer dimension of unbelievable events seemed to make other

presentations impossible. At the end of the spectrum, in the latest NCERT series, emotions were not excluded but were addressed and made a point of reflection.

Beside pedagogical concerns, we should keep in mind that individual memories on partition and its impact varied. They were intense in northern India and strongest in the divided provinces of Punjab and Bengal, which had to pay the highest tribute in terms of lost property, people, and displacement. Here, memories were very vivid and were passed on to the next generation, not only by schools. In South India, in the absence of such close encounters, these events were seen from a larger distance. To some extent, the unemotional presentations in Tamil Nadu books are also due to this distance.

After 2005, NCERT textbooks tried to reflect on memories, positions of memory policies, and the symbolism they used, making them subject to debate in the classroom. Whether this concept will succeed pedagogically is still to be seen. It may soon become clear whether with this new strategy the educational institutions and organizations will be able to safeguard their independence from direct political interference and reduce the influence of political change.

The portrayal of “the other” in Indian and Pakistani school textbooks is not independent from the image of “the self.” Often setting aside pedagogical concerns, identity politics affect both. In our case, the prime concern is whether their own society is depicted as secular or (predominantly) Hindu or Islamic and whether there is a need for an antagonistic “other” outside or inside the country and how this “other” should be defined. The cases, however, show that those conceptions are internally disputed. Their dominance can change with a shift of power, as seen in India, and identity politics sometimes even becomes an aspect of internal violent conflicts, as in the “Gilgit” case. The external representations depend on the internal strategies. The patterns described in this chapter—the frequent use of enemy images, especially in the case of Pakistani books, for example—cry for reducing tensions, prejudices, and xenophobic feelings in the representations of the neighbor. There have been several bilateral attempts by concerned Indians and Pakistani academics in this direction. To be successful, they will need to focus on the internal entrenchment of “the image of the other.”

NOTES

- ¹ Government of Pakistan (2012), Institute of Social and Policy Sciences (n.d.-a, n.d.-b). In Sindh at least, a review committee is looking into the curriculum (Roghay, 2012). On Pakistani education in general, cf. Benz (2012).
- ² See, e.g., Coulson (2004), Powell (1996), Rosser (2003a, 2003b), and Sökefeld (1996).
- ³ E.g., Aziz (1993), Jalal (1995), Hasanain and Nayyar (1998), Hoodbhoy and Nayyar (1985), Nayyar and Salim (2003), Saigol (2004, 2005), Naseem (2007, 2010, 2014), and Zaidi (2010).
- ⁴ Cf. A. W. Khan, Khan, Ghafoor, and Jhangir (2008, p. 14). The book painted, however, an optimistic picture towards the betterment of the mutual relations.
- ⁵ It might be remarked that Gilgit-Baltistan, which from an Indian perspective is part of Jammu and Kashmir, is excluded implicitly as it does not form part of Azad Kashmir.

- ⁶ Serious accounts of the developments in East Pakistan were rare in our sample. Horsburgh (n.d., pp. 37–38) at least mentioned differences between the two wings of the country and asked the teacher to explain them. We learn that the West did not accept the demands of the democratically elected majority of the East and that, with “the help of India, the people of East Pakistan fought against the rule of West Pakistan.” This does not sound like an unjust cause. A quite complex and detailed text, also mentioning massacres by the Pakistani army, even if as allegations, is A. Q. Khan (2011, pp. 56–61). The text placed much blame on the influence of Hindu teachers in East Pakistan’s education system, “breeding anti-Pakistan and secessionist intelligentsia” (p. 57). Another example, putting less stress on India’s involvement, but also omitting mostly the black side of West Pakistan’s activities, is found in Shafique (2003c, pp. 91–92).
- ⁷ Also by clandestine messages; thus, the paragraph on “Seaways” was illustrated by a battleship (Hussain et al., 2011, p. 69). This, however, was the only example among the visuals in the book. Urdu language books, which formerly contained many militaristic illustrations (cf. Sökefeld, 1996), recently depicted only a few pictures of parading soldiers, e.g., a visual disarmament must be stated.
- ⁸ E.g., “People of Pakistan ... have very cordial relationships ... They have cultural and religious harmony ... There is an atmosphere of cooperation among them due to Islamic teachings” (Hussain et al., 2011, p. 50).
- ⁹ Cf. Q. Khan (n.d., p. 13). However, not every social studies book that covered national heroes mentioned heroes from the wars against India. A. Khan (n.d.-a), e.g., referred only to pre-independence leaders who worked for the creation of Pakistan: Jinnah, Iqbal Syed Ahmed Khan, and Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, the first governor of Sindh; see below.
- ¹⁰ Cf. Sökefeld (1996, pp. 299–300). Also, the newest Urdu courses contained comparable topics. Jalapuri, Sheikh, Fatheme, and Ahdipuri (2012, pp. 32–33), e.g., introduced Kamsin Shahid, a hero from the 1971 war. The military content, however, seemed to have decreased. See also Kamal (1995) and Rahman (1999).
- ¹¹ Also, in his teaching guide, Horsburgh (n.d., p. 26) asked the teachers to discuss the reasons for the bad relations with India, the Kashmir issue, and India’s role in the creation of Bangladesh. The author indicated, however, that it “is important to adopt a balanced approach and stress the value of peaceful negotiations for the security and progress of a country.” He suggested asking the pupils (of class 5) to discuss whether Kashmir should be ruled by India or Pakistan or as an independent state by the Kashmiris themselves (p. 37).
- ¹² Thus, quite regularly in Shamim and Ahmed (2012, pp. 25, 52, 86–87). On p. 91, however, “India” was used in a modern context—a “mistake”?
- ¹³ The books also discussed religious issues: the “Holy Ka’aba” and “Holy Madina” (Khurshid, n.d., p. 35–39) and “The Holy Prophet Hazrat Muhammad (peace be upon Him)” as well as his wives Khadija and Aisha (A. Khan, n.d.-b, pp. 64–73). They even generalized, “Islam is our religion. We are Muslims.” And a question asked, “What is our religion?” (A. Khan & Siddiqui, n.d., pp. 33–34). The preface mentioned, “In Pakistan, social studies has the special purpose of preparing young children, the citizens of tomorrow, to become well informed and worthy participants in Pakistani society embodied with Pakistan’s ideology and Islamic concepts” (A. Khan & Siddiqui, n.d., Preface).
- ¹⁴ Thus, “We are Muslims. We believe in Allah ... But other people in this world have different religions ... Hindus believe in many gods. They do not believe in one God. They worship idols” (Arif et al., n.d., p. 50). However, the class 8 book of this series devoted a whole paragraph to the “Role of Minorities in the Creation of Pakistan” and stated, “Of course the people who belonged to other religions also made enduring efforts to make the dream of Pakistan a reality ... Nevertheless Christians, Sikhs and Parsees struggled and sacrificed [*sic*] themselves to create Pakistan. However, at every stage their heroes shed their blood to protect the right of freedom. One representative of minorities said to Jinnah that, ‘We are ready to accept martyrdom in your name’” (A. W. Khan et al., 2008, p. 66). Hindus, however, now a minority in Pakistan, were not included in the list.
- ¹⁵ E.g., Dean, Qureshi, Datu, and Qazi (2005, p. 68) and Awan (n.d.-a, p. 59). In the last book, South Asia was the reference point and the other countries besides Pakistan were included in the discussion. Regarding India, the book wrote, “Hindus are in a majority in India but a large number of Muslims

THE PORTRAYAL OF “THE OTHER” IN PAKISTANI AND INDIAN SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

- also live there. Beside the followers of these two religions, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, Parsees and Jains also live in India” (Awan, n.d.-a, p. 59).
- ¹⁶ Cf., “We Share our Culture with Other Parts of the Subcontinent” (Sharma & Prasad, 2005, p. 4); “Historically, geographically, linguistically, economically and culturally, Pakistan and India have much in common” (Sengupta, 2004, p. 210), and “We share many common things—the same colonial experience, food, dress, language, music and dance. If you see Indians and Pakistanis together, it will be difficult to differentiate between them. Many people of one country have close relatives in the other country” (Srinivas & Bhandari, 2005, p. 233).
- ¹⁷ This refers especially to a Hindu base of the Indian nation. Foreign influences, including Muslim ones, are regarded as alien and a threat to Indian culture. The ‘secular’ perspective, on the other hand, also regards Muslim influence as part of the common Indian heritage, according to the slogan ‘unity in diversity.’
- ¹⁸ The Simla Agreement of 1972, ending the Indo-Pakistani war of 1971, stated among other things that both countries will settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations—without the involvement of third parties. This remains the official Indian position despite attempts of Pakistan to internationalize conflict resolution.
- ¹⁹ Broader than many others, Singh (2006–07, pp. 295–298) discussed Indo-Pakistani relations from an Indian perspective.
- ²⁰ According to Singh (2006–07, p. 149), however, “In October 1947, Pakistani raiders invaded Kashmir” and “The accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India had been made with the full consent of the people of Jammu and Kashmir through their leader Shiekh [*sic*] Mohammad Abdullah.” That the population of the territories occupied by Kashmir in the 19th and 20th centuries rebelled against felt oppression by the maharaja was totally ignored; instead they were labeled as “raiders,” shifting the movement from the political to the criminal sphere (cf. Lamb, 1991).
- ²¹ Sometimes, self-determination was—wrongly—even included in the arguments of Indian books. “Although the people and then government of Jammu and Kashmir opted for accession to India in October 1947, yet Pakistan wants Kashmir to be part of its territory” (Singh, 2006–07, p. 295).
- ²² E.g., A. Khan (n.d.-b, p. 18), Awan (n.d.-a, p. 7), and Horsburgh (2005a, pp. 12, 47) did not draw the eastern border of J&K, keeping the borders to India undefined in this area.
- ²³ E.g., Fayyaz and Abbas (2012, p. 23), who kept the area white but colored the four Pakistani provinces, or Bokhari and Tahir (2012, p. 7).
- ²⁴ E.g., Dean, Qureshi, Datu, and Qazi (2005, p. 4); Arif, Warsi, and Khan (2007, p. 79).
- ²⁵ E.g., Hussain et al. (2011, p. 31), A. Q. Khan (2011, p. 127), Horsburgh (2005b, p. 56).
- ²⁶ Thus, a map, “Lok sabha election results 2004,” depicted the areas under Pakistan in light blue, without this signature being explained in the legend (*Politics in India Since Independence*, 2007, p. 191).
- ²⁷ Om et al. (2002, pp. 75–76); Pande, Singh, Dubey, Rashmi, and Srinivasan (2003, p. 148); Palanisami, Kumaresan Raja, Sundararaman, and Vasumathi (2011, pp. 106–107).
- ²⁸ Cf. R. Khan (1995, pp. 149–151); shortly, explaining the preamble of the Indian constitution, also Muley, Das, Chandra, and Rani (1996, p. 9).
- ²⁹ The term “theocratic” might not be justified in this context. “Naturally, Pakistan could not reconcile its policies based on expanding the frontiers of Islam with secular policies of India” (Singh, 2006–07, p. 295).
- ³⁰ Cf. “The concept of democracy in Islam is different from the one prevailing in rest [*sic*] of the world” (Ahmed et al., 2005, p. 8). Horsburgh (n.d., pp. 37, 39) defined democracy as “the people elect a leader of their choice to run the government,” but later also as “government of the people, by the people and for the people” and asked readers “to guess why democracy has never been successful in Pakistan.”
- ³¹ Table “Democracy is preferred over dictatorship everywhere except Pakistan” (*Democratic Politics II*, 2007, p. 92).
- ³² E.g., Shamim and Ahmed (2012).

³³ E.g., chapter “Ideology of Pakistan” in *Social Studies for Class VIII* (2005). For a discussion of the genesis of the term, which became a national dogma, see Hoodbhoy and Nayyar (1985) and Powell (1996, p. 194).

³⁴ E.g., “Although Hindus and other nations had also taken part in the war, yet only the Muslims had to bear wrath of the British who put the whole responsibility of the war on them ... The British carried out a large scale massacre of the Muslims after the war and did everything to crush them completely” (Awan, n.d.-b, p. 170). Every religious community is here, in accordance with the “two-nation theory,” defined as a “nation.”

³⁵ Awan (n.d.-b) traced back the idea of a separate Muslim identity, which had to be preserved, to the “threads of amalgamation with Hinduism” (p. 161) under Akbar, who “innovated a new religion, Deen-e-Illahi, which was an abhorrent mixture of all the religions of the subcontinent with dominating elements from Hinduism ... Islam was faced with the threat of being brought down to the status of these religions” (p. 162). In Indian books (especially the ‘secular’ NCERT series), it might be remarked, this anti-communal policy of Akbar had positive connotations. In Pakistan, the books’ negative position was authoritative, even if sometimes the phrasing was less pronounced. Iftikhar and Butt (2008a, p. 61), e.g., stated that “only two persons in the Mughal elite” really believed in this “volatile religion.” It is dispensable to condemn, when immanently devaluated. Cf. Powell (1996, pp. 205–212).

³⁶ With a more restrained phrasing, though retaining the Hindu-Muslim divide, Oxford University Press remained in line with the intents of the curriculum.

Most of the leaders of the National Congress were Hindus ... The Muslims knew that if the British left India, the Hindus would take control of the country. What would then be the future for the Muslims in the country? The Muslims had to make sure that their voice, too, was heard. (Horsburgh, 2005b, p. 68)

³⁷ Originally a European exonym, “the modern postulation of a distinct Hindu community dates back to the second half of the nineteenth century” (Lele, 1996, p. 323).

³⁸ The second edition did not change much compared with the first one, as citations by Dorschner and Sherlock (2007, pp. 283–284) prove. Also, the Oxford books advocated the same perspective: “We were ruled by two groups of people: the British and the Indians, mainly the Hindus. The British ruled India, and the Indians[,] i.e. the Hindus, because they were the majority, tried to rule us” (Horsburgh, n.d., p. 32).

³⁹ Also, “He worked for the unity of Muslims to save them from Hindu rule” (Arif et al., n.d., p. 57).

⁴⁰ In their criticism, Hoodbhoy and Nayyar (1985) discussed “Jinnah’s mind: secular or communal” and described him as wanting a Western style democracy for Pakistan and rejecting “the basis for a theocratic state.”

⁴¹ Hussain et al. (2011, p. 98) wrote:

Quaid-e-Azam believed that the Hindus and the Muslims were one nation. But soon he realized that the Hindus were not sincere with the Muslims and they wanted to rule over the freed sub-continent solely. He was sure that the Hindus would never do justice with the Muslims and would dominate them in every field.

The blame for partition is surely with them (the Hindus and the Congress).

⁴² See also the chapter “Some Important Personalities” in Dean, Qureshi, and Datu (2005, pp. 91–98), which starts with the prophet Muhammad.

⁴³ Cf. only the Muslims were suffering “a lot at the hands of Hindus and Sikhs” (Ahmed et al., 2005, p. 35). An exception is to be found in A. W. Khan et al. (2008), where—in line with the general Pakistani narrative—the developments are depicted in a comprehensible way.

⁴⁴ There were differences in phrasing. A book published by Oxford University Press and written by British authors discussed partition-related violence more cautiously:

Mob violence broke out in many areas, especially among the Sikhs who, with groups of enraged Hindus, massacred hundreds of innocent Muslims, looted their homes, burned their villages and committed unspeakable atrocities ... The leaders of both

THE PORTRAYAL OF “THE OTHER” IN PAKISTANI AND INDIAN SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

sides appealed for calm, but the slaughter increased when the Muslims began to retaliate ... Up to one million people were killed before there was any semblance of peace. (Moss, 2004, p. 88)

The guilt question was clear: atrocities of all kind were committed by Sikhs and Hindus; Muslims only retaliated. Nevertheless, the leaders of both sides were exculpated and the language was less aggressive than with the state publishers.

- ⁴⁵ “She induced the people through her patriotic ideas... Her writings and speeches helped the freedom fighters to achieve their goals” in the context of the “home rule movement” started in 1916 (Bhanumathi et al., 2007, p. 37).
- ⁴⁶ The paragraph is part of the chapter “India Towards Freedom,” subchapter “Two Nations Theory” (Patra & Chakraborty, 2005, pp. 249–252).
- ⁴⁷ So with the introduction of communal electorates in the Government of India Act of 1919 (Om et al., 2002, p. 34).
- ⁴⁸ In this context, as in a Pakistani book, Jinnah was termed “ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity until 1920.” However, “he reorganised the Muslim League after 1934 and became the major spokesperson for the demand for Pakistan” (*Our Pasts III*, 2008, p. 156).
- ⁴⁹ Already in class 10, the rise of nationalism was discussed on a world scale with one chapter dedicated to India. Here, too, the positions of Muslim political organizations were explained. “From the mid-1920s the Congress came more visibly associated with openly Hindu religious nationalist groups like the Hindu Mahasabha. As relations between Hindus and Muslims worsened, each community organised religious processions with militant fervour, provoking Hindu-Muslim communal clashes and riots in various cities. Every riot deepened the distance between the two communities,” the Hindu nationalists opposing any compromise with the Muslim groups (*India and the Contemporary World-II*, 2007, pp. 68–69). Here, the narration converged to some extent with the Pakistani one; however, it described it as a historical process, not as an eternal conflict between the groups. Only a very few Pakistani books argued historically, e.g., A. W. Khan et al. (2008).
- ⁵⁰ See also Kumar (1996), who already advocated for this approach.
- ⁵¹ Not to forget also the influences of foreign policy. For a more detailed discussion, see, e.g., Giunchi (2007) and Nayyar and Salim (2003, pp. 2–7). On the influence of militarism on textbooks, see also Naseem (2014).
- ⁵² Cf. Aziz (1993), Naseem (2010), Rosser (2003a, 2003b), Saigol (2005), and Sökefeld (1996).
- ⁵³ Cf. National Commission for Justice and Peace (2012), Malik (2012), and Waqar (2006). Malik (2012) cited a curriculum maker stating that even recently “‘Islamic education’ was inserted in the education policy from ‘backdoor.’”
- ⁵⁴ Another example, not in our list, was cited by Dorschner and Sherlock (2007, pp. 307–308). The book, *Pakistan: A Historical and Contemporary Look* by Farooq Bajwa, designed for O-level examinations and published by Oxford University Press Karachi, was highlighted for balanced representations and “positive nationalism.”
- ⁵⁵ Contrary to the interpretation of Dorschner and Sherlock (2007, p. 299), this refers not only to the Muslim League, but also to Hindu nationalist groups. See also Khan Banerjee and Stöber (2014).
- ⁵⁶ Thus, the history chapters of several NCERT textbooks published between 2002 and 2004 were criticized to reduce “the socio-religious diversities ... into two homogeneous categories: the ‘Hindus’ and the ‘Muslims’” (NCERT 2004, chapter 5.2; also 5.7).

WORKS CITED

**Curricular Materials Examined*

- *Ahmed, S. Q., Khokhar, F. H., & Dhanani, M. R. (2005). *Pakistan studies for classes IX–X*. Jamshoro, Pakistan: Sindh Textbook Board.
- Aleaz, B. (2005). Madrasa education, state and community consciousness: Muslims in West Bengal. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 40(6), 555–564.

- *Apoorvanand. (2007, January 7). *Return of rightwing textbook*. Retrieved from <http://www.sacw.net/HateEducation/apoorvJan07.html>
- *Arif, S., Warsi, S., & Khan, M. I. (n.d.). *Social studies class 2*. Lahore, Pakistan: AFAQ.
- *Arif, S., Warsi, S., & Khan, M. I. (2007). *Social studies class 4*. Lahore, Pakistan: AFAQ.
- *Awan, A. A. (n.d.-a). *Social studies 6*. Karachi, Pakistan: Gaba Educational Books.
- *Awan, A. A. (n.d.-b). *Social studies 8*. Karachi, Pakistan: Gaba Educational Books.
- Aziz, K. K. (1993). *The murder of history in Pakistan. A critique of history textbooks used in Pakistan*. Lahore, Pakistan: Vanguard.
- Benz, A. (2012). Educational challenges for Pakistan. In H. Kreutzmann & T. Mahmood (Eds.), *Understanding Pakistan* (pp. 37–89). Berlin, Germany: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Berlin.
- *Bhanumathi, P. C., Meenakshi, V., Jayalakshmi, S., Sobana, K., & Bakthavatchalam, T. S. (2007). *Social science standard VIII*. Chennai, India: Tamilnadu Textbook Corporation.
- Bhattachaya, N. (1996). Editorial preface. In K. Kumar (Ed.), *Learning from conflict*. Hyderabad, India: Orient Longman.
- *Bokhari, M. H., & Tahir, S. H. (2012). *Social studies 7*. Lahore, Pakistan: Punjab Textbook Board.
- *Chandra, B. (1996). *Modern India. A history textbook for class XII* (4th reprint ed.). New Delhi, India: NCERT.
- Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education. (2005). *Regulatory mechanisms for textbooks and parallel textbooks taught in schools outside the government system: A report*. New Delhi: Government of India, Ministry of Human Resource Development.
- **Contemporary world politics. Textbook in political science for class XII*. (2008). New Delhi, India: NCERT.
- *Coulson, A. (2004, March 11). *Education and indoctrination in the Muslim world. Is there a problem? What can we do about it?* (Policy Analysis 511). Washington, DC: Cato Institute. Retrieved from <http://www.cato.org/pubs/pas/pa511.pdf>
- Dean, B. L. (2005). Citizenship education in Pakistani schools: Problems and possibilities. *International Journal of Citizenship and Teacher Education*, 1(2), 35–55.
- *Dean, B. L., Qureshi, R. A., & Datu, A. K. (2005). *Social studies for class III*. Jamshoro, Pakistan: Sindh Textbook Board.
- *Dean, B. L., Qureshi, R. A., Datu, A. K., & Qazi, N. A. (2005). *Social studies for class V. Learning about our world*. Jamshoro, Pakistan: Sindh Textbook Board.
- **Democratic politics–II. Textbook in political science for class X*. (2008). New Delhi, India: NCERT.
- Dorschner, J., & Sherlock, T. (2007). The role of history textbooks in shaping collective identities in India and Pakistan. In E. A. Cole (Ed.), *Teaching the violent past. History education and reconciliation* (pp. 275–315). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- *Fayyaz, N., & Abbas, M. (2012). *Geography 6*. Lahore, Pakistan: Punjab Textbook Board, Employees Welfare Society.
- Giunchi, E. (2007). Rewriting the past: Political imperatives and curricular reform in Pakistan. *Internationale Schulbuchforschung*, 29(4), 375–388.
- Gottlob, M. (2007). Changing concepts of identity in the Indian textbook controversy. *Internationale Schulbuchforschung*, 29(4), 341–353.
- Gottlob, M. (2011). *History and politics in post-colonial India*. New Delhi, India: Oxford University Press.
- Government of Pakistan. (2012). *Introduction to ministry of education and training*. Retrieved from http://202.83.164.25/wps/portal/Moya!/ut/p/c0/04_SB8K8xLLM9MSSzPy8xBz9CP0os_hQN68AZ3dnIwML82BTayNXTz9jE0NfQwNLE_2CbEdFACM6vXU!/?WCM_PORTLET=PC_7_UFJPCGC20OUQE02ET9FMPJ3000_WCM&WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=/wps/wcm/connect/MoyaCL/ministry/about/04introduction+to+ministry+of+professional
- Hasanain, K., & Nayyar, A. H. (1998). Conflict and violence in the educational process. In Z. Mian & I. Ahmad (Eds.), *Making enemies, creating conflict: Pakistan's crises of state and society*. Lahore, Pakistan: Mashal. Retrieved from http://members.tripod.com/~no_nukes_sa/chapter_8.html
- Hoodbhoy, P. A., & Nayyar, A. H. (1985). Rewriting the history of Pakistan. In A. Khan (Ed.), *Islam, politics and the state: The Pakistan experience* (pp. 164–177). London, UK: Zed Books. Retrieved from <http://www.sacw.net/HateEducation/1985HoodbhoyNayyar06022005.html>

THE PORTRAYAL OF “THE OTHER” IN PAKISTANI AND INDIAN SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

- *Horsburgh, N. (2005a). *New Oxford social studies for Pakistan 3* (Rev. ed.). Karachi, Pakistan: Oxford University Press.
- *Horsburgh, N. (2005b). *New Oxford social studies for Pakistan 5* (Rev. ed.). Karachi, Pakistan: Oxford University Press.
- *Horsburgh, N. (n.d., ca. 2009). *New Oxford social studies for Pakistan 5* (Rev. ed.). *Teaching guide*. Karachi, Pakistan: Oxford University Press. Retrieved from <http://www.oup.com.pak/download.asp?id=1809>
- *Hussain, F., Sajjad, S. H., Shafique, K., Majoka, S. A., & Ahmed, M. (2011). *Social studies 5*. Lahore, Pakistan: Punjab Textbook Board.
- *Iftikhar, N., & Butt, T. (2008a). *Social studies class 7A*. Lahore, Pakistan: AFAQ.
- *Iftikhar, N., & Butt, T. (2008b). *Social studies class 7B*. Lahore, Pakistan: AFAQ.
- *Iftikhar, N., & Butt, T. (2008c). *Social studies class 8A*. Lahore, Pakistan: AFAQ.
- *Iftikhar, N., Khan, A. A., & Rauf, A. (2008). *Social studies class 6B*. Lahore, Pakistan: AFAQ.
- **India and the contemporary world–II. Textbook in history for class X*. (2007). New Delhi, India: NCERT. Institute of Social and Policy Sciences. (n.d.-a). *18th Constitutional amendment: Issues and challenges in curriculum and standards*. Islamabad, Pakistan: Author. Retrieved from <http://i-saps.org/Publications/Info/18th%20Amendment%20pdf.pdf>
- Institute of Social and Policy Sciences. (n.d.-b). *Eighteenth constitutional amendment: Federal and provincial roles in education*. Islamabad, Pakistan: Author. Retrieved from <http://i-saps.org/Publications/Eighteenth%20Amendment%20Study-Federal%20and%20Provincial%20Roles.php>
- Jalal, A. (1995). Conjuring Pakistan: History as official imagining. *International Journal of Middle East Studies: IJMES*, 27, 73–89.
- *Jalapuri, M. I., Sheikh, E. A., Fatheme, A., & Ahdipuri, S. (2012). *Urdu ki cothi kitab 4*. Lahore, Pakistan: Punjab Textbook Board.
- Kamal, A. (1995). Censorship in Pakistani Urdu textbooks. *Annual of Urdu Studies*, 10, 125–133. Retrieved from <http://www.urdustudies.com/pdf/10/16censorship.pdf>
- *Khan, A. (n.d.-a). *Social studies 4*. Karachi, Pakistan: Gaba.
- *Khan, A. (n.d.-b). *Social studies book 5*. Karachi, Pakistan: Gaba Educational Books.
- *Khan, A., & Siddiqui, M. R. A. (n.d.). *Social studies book 2* (Rev. ed.). Karachi, Pakistan: Gaba Educational Books.
- *Khan, A. Q. (2011). *Pakistan studies for secondary classes*. Islamabad, Pakistan: National Book Foundation.
- *Khan, A. W., Khan, A. A., Ghafoor, A., & Jhangir, N. (2008). *Social studies class 8B*. Lahore, Pakistan: AFAQ.
- *Khan, Q. (n.d.-ca. 2005). *Social studies book 2* (rev. ed.). Karachi, Pakistan: Rehbar.
- *Khan, R. (1995). *Democracy in India. A textbook in political science for class XII*. New Delhi, India: NCERT.
- Khan Banerjee, B. (2007). West Bengal history textbooks and the Indian textbook controversy. *Internationale Schulbuchforschung*, 29(4), 355–374.
- Khan Banerjee, B., & Stöber, G. (2014). Living in harmony? “Casteism,” communalism, and regionalism in Indian social science textbooks. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society*, 6(2), 42–86.
- *Khurshid, T. (n.d.). *Gaba social studies for Pakistan book 2*. Karachi, Pakistan: Gaba Educational Books.
- Kumar, K. (1996). *Learning from conflict*. Hyderabad, Pakistan: Orient Longman.
- Kumar, K. (2002). *Prejudice and pride. School histories of the freedom struggle in India and Pakistan*. New Delhi, India: Penguin.
- Kumar, K. (2003). Peace with the past. In *Rewriting history: A symposium on ways of representing our shared past* (Seminar No. 522). Retrieved from <http://www.india-seminar.com/2003/522/522%20krishna%20Kumar.htm>
- Kumar, K. (2007). *Battle for peace*. New Delhi, India: Penguin Books India.
- *Kundra, D. N. (2005). *A textbook of social sciences for class 8*. New Delhi, India: Goyal Brothers Prakashan.
- Lamb, A. (1991). *Kashmir. A disputed legacy 1846–1990*. Hertingfordbury, UK: Roxford.
- Lele, J. (1996). Hindutva as pedagogic violence. In N. Crook (Ed.), *The transmission of knowledge in South Asia* (pp. 316–336). Delhi, India: Oxford University Press.

- Malik, A. B. (2011). *Policy analysis of education in Punjab Province*. Islamabad, Pakistan: UNESCO. Retrieved from http://unesco.org.pk/education/documents/situationanalysis/Education_Policy_Analysis_for_Punjab.pdf
- Malik, M. (2012, September 3). Hate content in Punjab, Sinh school curricula. *Dawn*. Retrieved from <http://dawn.com/2012/09/03/hate-content-in-punjab-sindh-school-curricula/comment-page-1/>
- *Moss, P. (2004). *Oxford history for Pakistan. Book Three*. Karachi, Pakistan: Oxford University Press.
- *Muley, D. S., Das, S., Chandra, R., & Rani, M. (1996). *Our country today. Problems and challenges. A textbook in civics for class VIII* (8th reprint ed.). New Delhi, India: NCERT.
- *Muley, D. S., Sharma, A. C., & Das, S. (1996). *How we govern ourselves. A textbook of civics for class VII* (8th reprint ed.). New Delhi, India: NCERT.
- Naseem, M. A. (2007). Texts of war/texts of peace: Dismantling violence and constructing peace in textbooks and educational media. In M. Horsley, J. McCall, & S. Henley (Eds.), *Peace, democratization and reconciliation in textbooks and educational media. Ninth International Conference on Research on Textbooks and Educational Media, September 2007, Tonsberg, Norway*. IARTEM.
- Naseem, M. A. (2010). *Education and gendered citizenship in Pakistan*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Naseem, M. A. (2014). Deconstructing militarism in Pakistani textbooks. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society*, 6(2), 10–24.
- National Commission for Justice and Peace. (2012). *Specimen of hate material in Punjab, Balochistan, Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa textbooks*. Retrieved from <http://www.ncjppk.org/specimen.pdf>
- *National curriculum framework 2005. (2005). New Delhi, India: NCERT.
- *National curriculum framework for school education. (2000). New Delhi, India: NCERT.
- National Steering Committee on Textbook Evaluation. (1993, 1994). *Recommendations and reports*. Part I & II. [typescript].
- Nayyar, A. H., & Salim, A. (2003). *The subtle subversion. The state of curricula and textbooks in Pakistan. Urdu, English, social studies and civics*. Islamabad, Pakistan: Sustainable Development Policy Institute.
- *NCERT (2004). *Learning history without burden. A note to school teachers*. New Delhi, India: Author. Retrieved from <http://indology.wordpress.com/ncert-note-to-school-teachers/>
- *Om, H., Sinha, S., Das, S., & Rashmi, N. (2002). *Contemporary India. Textbook in social sciences for class IX*. New Delhi, India: NCERT.
- *Our pasts–II. *Textbook in history for class VII*. (2007). New Delhi, India: NCERT.
- *Our pasts–III. *Textbook in history for class VIII*. (2008). New Delhi, India: NCERT.
- *Palanisami, K., Kumaresan Raja, N. K., Sundararaman, G., & Vasumathi, G. (2011). *Political science. Higher secondary–second year*. Chennai, India: Tamilnadu Textbook Corporation.
- *Pande, B. M., Singh, J. P., Dubey, S., Rashmi, N., & Srinivasan, M. V. (2003). *Contemporary India. A social science textbook for class X*. New Delhi, India: NCERT.
- *Patra, M. S., & Chakraborty, N. S. (2005). *Bharater/ Itihas/ [History of India]–IX–X*. Kolkata: Rajkrishna Pustakalaya [in Bangla].
- *Politics in India since independence. *Textbook in political science for class XII*. (2007). New Delhi, India: NCERT.
- Powell, A. (1996). Perceptions of the South Asian past: Ideology, nationalism and school history textbooks. In N. Crook (Ed.), *The transmission of knowledge in South Asia* (pp. 190–228). Delhi, India: Oxford University Press.
- Rahman, T. (1999). *Language teaching and worldview in Pakistani schools* (Working Paper Series #41). Islamabad, Pakistan: SDPI.
- *Roghay, S. (2012, September 3). Pakistan studies: A concoction of half truths and distorted facts. *The News*. Retrieved from <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-4-129643-Pakistan-Studies-a-concoction-of-half-truths-and-distorted-facts>
- Rosser, Y. C. (2003a). *Curriculum as destiny: Forging national identity in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh* [UMI No. 3118068] (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). The University of Texas, Austin, TX.
- Rosser, Y. C. (2003b). *Islamisation of Pakistani social studies textbooks*. New Delhi, India: ORF-Rupa [Observer Research Foundation].

THE PORTRAYAL OF “THE OTHER” IN PAKISTANI AND INDIAN SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

- Rudolph, L. I., & Hoeber Rudolph, S. (1982). Cultural policy, the textbook controversy and Indian identity. In A. J. Wilson & D. Dalton (Eds.), *The states of South Asia. Problems of national integration* (pp. 131–154). London, UK: Hurst & Co.
- Saigol, R. (2004). Curriculum in India and Pakistan. *South Asian Journal*, 2004(6). Retrieved from http://www.southasianmedia.net/Magazine/Journal/6_curriculum_india.htm
- Saigol, R. (2005). Enemies within and enemies without: The besieged self in Pakistani textbooks. *Futures: The Journal of Forecasting and Planning*, 37, 1005–1035.
- *Sengupta, J. (2004). *The trail. History and civics for middle school book 3*. New Delhi, India: Oxford University Press.
- *Shafique, K. A. (2003a). *Top line social studies programme 6*. Karachi, Pakistan: Top Line.
- *Shafique, K. A. (2003b). *Top line social studies programme 7*. Karachi, Pakistan: Top Line.
- *Shafique, K. A. (2003c). *Top line social studies programme 8*. Karachi, Pakistan: Top Line.
- *Shamim, I., & Ahmed, F. (2012). *Social studies 8* (2nd ed.). Lahore, Pakistan: Punjab Textbook Board.
- *Sharif, M. M., & Shazad, T. (2012). *History 6*. Lahore, Pakistan: Kitabistan.
- *Sharma, M., & Prasad, A. (2005). *Time travel. History and civics for the primary school class V*. New Delhi, India: Oxford University Press.
- *Singh, Y. P. (2006–07). *FK social science class VIII (India and the world)*. New Delhi, India: FK Publications.
- *Sinha, S., Dube, S., Madal, P. K., & Srinivasan, M. V. (2004). *India and the world: Textbook in social science for class VIII*. New Delhi, India: NCERT.
- **Social and political life—III. Textbook for class VIII*. (2008). New Delhi, India: NCERT.
- **Social studies book 5* (Rev. ed.). (n.d.-ca. 2005). Karachi, Pakistan: Rehbar.
- **Social studies for class VII for English medium schools*. (2005). Jamshoro, Pakistan: Sindh Textbook Board.
- **Social studies for class VIII*. (2005). Jamshoro, Pakistan: Sindh Textbook Board.
- Sökefeld, M. (1996). Teaching the values of nation and Islam in Pakistani textbooks. *Internationale Schulbuchforschung*, 18(3), 289–306.
- *Srinivas, C., & Bhandari, R. (2005). *Time, space & people class 8*. New Delhi, India: Oxford University Press.
- Stöber, G. (2007). Religious identities provoked: The Gilgit ‘textbook controversy’ and its conflictual context. *Internationale Schulbuchforschung*, 29(4), 389–411.
- Stöber, G. (2009). Schulbuch, Karten und Konflikte. In *Die Macht der Karten oder: Was man mit Karten machen kann. Eckert Dossier 2*. Retrieved from <http://www.edumeres.net/urn/urn:nbn:de:0220-2009-0002-021>
- *Subramanian, A., Saminathan, T. M., Selva, M., Shanmugam, P. G., Govindarajan, T. K., Hemalatha, ... Thiagarajan, T. P. (2011). *Social science X—standard*. Chennai, India: Government of Tamilnadu, Dept. of School Education.
- *Sundar, N. (2004, April 17). Teaching to hate. RSS’ pedagogical programme. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 1605–1611.
- **Themes in Indian history, part III. Textbook in history for Class XII*. (2007). New Delhi, India: NCERT.
- *Vasantha, S., Ravindranathan, R., Subramanian, S., Dhanapackiam, A., & Mathaiyan, R. (2005). *Social science (history—civics—geography) standard X*. Chennai, India: Tamilnadu Textbook Corporation.
- Visweswaran, K., Witzel, M., Manjrekar, N., Bhog, D., & Chakravati, U. (2009). The Hindutva view of history: Rewriting textbooks in India and the United States. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* (Winter/Spring), 101–112.
- *Waqar, A. (2006, April 25). Hate mongering worries minorities. *Daily Times*. Retrieved from http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2006\04\25\story_25-4-2006_pg7_26
- Zaidi, S. M. A. (2010). *SAN analysis: Polarization of social studies in textbooks in Pakistan*. Islamabad, Pakistan: Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies. Retrieved from <http://san-pips.com/download.php?f=65.pdf>

B. K. BANERJEE & G. STÖBER

Basabi Khan Banerjee
Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research
Braunschweig, Germany

Georg Stöber
Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research
Braunschweig, Germany

ADELINE KOH

8. ASIAN BODIES, ENGLISH VALUES

Creating an Anglophone Elite in British Malaya

In *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (1922/1965), Frederick Lugard, high commissioner of Northern Nigeria from 1899 to 1906, argued for a system in which the most important executive powers of a territory (military control, taxation, and certain executive powers of governance) would be controlled by the British, but all other less central aspects would be left to local precolonial aristocracies who would maintain the outward appearance of control. This system has come to be known as Lugard's policy of "indirect rule." While the concept of indirect rule was developed through Lugard's experience in Africa, the largest application of indirect rule has been across British Asia, including the Indian subcontinent, Burma, and British territories in Southeast Asia.

This essay explores the role that education, particularly colonial English education, played in indirect rule in British Malaya (now contemporary Malaysia, Singapore, and Brunei). Malaya largely came under British indirect rule with the signing of the Pangkor Engagement Treaty of 1874, in which the sultans of various Malay states agreed to accommodate a British resident, who would "advise" the sultans on all matters outside of cultural issues. Malay gentry were the local aristocrats chosen to serve as middlemen under the umbrella of indirect rule, and they were educated in English. This contrasted with the situation for the majority of local populations, in Malaya and virtually everywhere else under British colonial rule, which were educated in vernacular language schools.

By conducting close readings of a series of textbooks published in the 1930s to 1940s, this chapter makes the argument that the English education policy in Malaya was directed at creating a local Anglophone elite that would assist the British in maintaining control. It shows how these textbooks attempted to create a compliant elite through the juxtaposition of local elements, or a "nativized" curriculum, with English values. This juxtaposition was integral to simultaneously instilling a sense of cultural belonging in the local elite while ensuring identification with British ideals and political priorities. The chapter establishes this direction in education policy through an ideological reading of these textbooks, applying Louis Althusser's notions of "ideology and ideological state apparatuses" (1972/2001). Ultimately, it argues that the ideological effect of combining elements of "local color" with British values was a critical supportive element for indirect rule.

A. KOH

This reading was conducted in service of two larger goals. The first was to connect education policy in Malaya to studies of education and ideology in other parts of the British Empire. The second was to counter a growing wave of scholarship on colonial education in British Asian territories that argues against the deliberateness of colonial policy. Such scholarship, found for example on the British territory of Hong Kong (Sweeting & Vickers, 2007; Evans, 2008), makes the case that colonial education did not indicate a concerted attempt at control but was ultimately disorganized, because the disparate agencies that controlled colonial education were not in accord in policy decisions. I argue that this is a fraught perspective. The rhetoric of this argument is reminiscent of John Robert Seeley's (1971/1883) infamous statement that the British Empire was acquired "in a fit of absence of mind" (p. 12), implying that multiple disjointed ventures, with no clear agenda, had resulted in the development of the empire. In contrast, I conclude that a close reading of content in these textbooks demonstrates a deliberate attempt to ideologically control Malayan subjects. Ultimately, my intention was to establish that education policy in Malaya was distinctly not *laissez-faire*, but on the contrary, linked very clearly to political control and part of a larger strategy of indirect rule.

EXISTING LITERATURE ON COLONIAL ENGLISH EDUCATION

While scholars have devoted much attention to the effect of education in colonial languages in Africa, India, and the Caribbean, the similar ideological cast to education in British Malaya's history has been neglected. The earliest works on this subject stem from the 1950s to 1960s, with the work of Frantz Fanon (1952/2008) and Ngugi wa Thiong'O (1981/1994). In later years, however, perhaps the most influential text in the general field of the ideological effects of colonial education has been Gauri Viswanathan's landmark volume, *Masks of Conquest* (1989), which argued that English literature developed first in British India as a method of creating ideological compliance within the colony. Viswanathan's book went on to inspire similar studies in different geographical contexts. Stephanie Newell's study, *Literary Culture in Colonial Ghana* (2002), studied the growth of the middle-class, English-literature-reading public in colonial Ghana. Simon Gikandi's *Maps of Englishness* (1996) examined imperial readings of English literature across the British Empire, and Gaurav Desai (2001) problematized the subject of education in knowledge-creation of the African in his book *Subject to Colonialism*. Historians studying West Africa have also observed something similar in the French Empire: in *A Mission to Civilize*, Alice Conklin (2000) showed how colonial education systems in French West Africa were tailored to create a specific "republican subject" that would be compliant towards French rule.

This approach of studying the ideological effects of English education, however, has been overlooked in the British Malayan context. Other than Karen Teoh (2010), who examined female education in colonial Malaya and its link to cosmopolitan discourses of globalization, there has been little academic interest in the subject

of colonial education. The majority of research on education focuses on the postcolonial context of Singapore and Malaysia and its relation to nation-building. In the Singaporean context, studies on education have largely focused on changes in language policy in education in the postcolonial years (Gopinathan, 1980, 1998; Rappa & Wee, 2006). Scholars have also been interested in how educational policy in the postcolonial context connects to state policy (Wilson, 1977, 1978; Rappa & Wee, 2006). In the Malaysian context, the majority of work focuses on the divisiveness of education in the postcolonial state.¹

There has been scant interest in how the ideological effects of English education can provide a link between the colonial and postcolonial histories of Singapore and Malaysia. Surprisingly, the most recent work that addresses this connection is Charles Hirschman's 1970s research in Malayan education. In an article on educational patterns in postcolonial Malaya, Hirschman argued that "the effects of the colonial educational structure will continue to permeate Malayan society for a long time" (1972, p. 486).

The scholarly neglect of the impact of colonial education is borne out by the fact that very few full-length books have been published on the subject. The oldest of these, David D. Chelliah's *A History of the Educational Policy of the Straits Settlements with a Recommendation for a New System Based on Vernaculars* (1948), is still often cited in articles that refer to colonial education. The two texts that have been most influential in shaping the present understanding of colonial education are Philip Loh Kah Seng's *Seeds of Separatism: Educational Policy in Malaya 1874–1940* (1975) and Rex Stevenson's *Cultivators and Administrators: British Educational Policy Towards the Malays, 1875–1906* (1975). Loh's book argued that the separate language policy in the colonial education system laid the foundations for ethnic unrest in the postcolonial state, while Stevenson showed how the British used language policy to separate the Malays into the ruling elite class and the cultivator "peasant" class. Ruling elites were taught English to enable them to assimilate into the British administrative system, and the bulk of the population was educated in Malay.

By examining the use of ideology in colonial education, I intend to further explore two of the important points raised by Loh's and Stevenson's studies: that the strategic deployment of English education was part of a larger political agenda, and that the structure of English education in Malaya mirrored that in other parts of the British empire. In doing this, I intend to connect education in Malaya to paradigms established for other parts of the British Empire by showing how the British, along with creating compliant Indians and Africans, tried to use English education to create a Malayan elite that would serve British interests.

THEORETICAL APPROACH

This paper employed a reading of Louis Althusser's "ideological state apparatus" to make the case that colonial education was used to create a compliant local elite.

A. KOH

Althusser's work drew from a Marxist tradition stemming from Marx, Comte, and Durkheim. In his influential essay, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" (1972/2001), Althusser argued that the capitalist class managed to reproduce relations of production—in other words, that the appointed class of capitalists would remain in power—through the intervention of important state institutions, which he called "ideological state apparatuses." These state institutions would propagate certain ideologies, or ways of understanding the world, which would entrench in the majority of the population the idea that things should continue the way they were, and that it would be wrong to upset the order of things as they had been. These ideological state apparatuses, or ISAs as he called them, took different forms: the religious ISA in terms of the system of different churches, the educational ISA, the family ISA, the legal ISA, the political ISA (the political system), the trade union ISA, the communications ISA (the media), and the cultural ISA (literature, sports, the arts, etc.). Althusser stressed that these ISAs ensured order not through repression, or brute force, but through subtle means of persuasion—in other words, through the establishment of an ideology that would be taken to be real.

Althusser's (1972/2001) ISAs worked by producing ideology that "interpellated" people into social and political subject positions. In other words, they worked by producing a worldview in which people would learn to recognize themselves in certain roles in society and accept that these prescribed roles were part of the natural order of the world: "Ideology represents the imaginary relationship of the individuals to their conditions of existence" (p. 162).

In essence, Althusser (1972/2001) argued that ideology functioned as a fictional worldview, which explained the social relationship between groups of people and asserted what the "natural" order of this relationship was. Inhabiting these ideological worldviews were subjects: mirror images of real people with particular characteristics and roles within the larger social order. These subjects inhabited their own "subject positions"—certain positions within the larger social order. The process of interpellation worked, Althusser argued, by "hailing" the person: it "called" the person to identify with his or her mirror image within the ideological discourse, or subject positions. Once the person was "hailed" or "interpellated" by his or her mirror image within the ideological discourse, he or she would begin the process of identification with the mirror image:

I shall then suggest that ideology "acts" or "functions" in such a way that it "recruits" subjects among the individuals (it recruits them all), or "transforms" the individuals into subjects (it transforms them all) by that very precise operation which I have called interpellation, or hailing, and which can be imagined along the lines of the most commonplace everyday police (or other) hailing, "Hey, you there!" (p. 174)

People were "hailed" or "interpellated" into ideology through identification with their mirror images, or subject positions—the identities and roles laid out for them within the ideological system. Accordingly, workers were to be "interpellated" by the

worker “mirror image” within the ideological system, and elites were “interpellated” by their corresponding mirror images. Furthermore, Althusser (1972/2001) argued that within “mature capitalist formations,” the chief ideological apparatus was education (p. 152), and the power of the church had been replaced by that of the school (p. 157).

Althusser’s work on ideology has been especially influential in the development of theories of the sociology of education in Britain in the 1970s, as part of a larger tradition inspired by Marxist social theory that emphasized that capitalist forces had a large role in determining the educational curriculum of schools² (Cole, 2008, p. 32). However, despite his popularity in the 1970s, Althusser’s work has grown less attractive to contemporary educational sociologists; scholars now argue that Althusser put undue weight on the influence of education in determining the reproduction of economic relations within a capitalist society (Barcan, 1993; Gandin, 2006). At the same time, critics have argued that Althusser’s work “overdetermined” the subject, stripping it of all agency (Gandin, 2006, p. 193; Barcan, 1993, p. 154).

Yet in spite of his dwindling popularity, Althusser’s work remains particularly germane to a study of how textbooks attempt to create a convincing ideology for students who are being groomed to become future citizens. His work is particularly germane because of the context of colonial education, in which education is often seen as a necessary tool to ensure compliance (Carnoy, 1974). The politics of race also fits in with Althusser’s views, because race theorists argue that race is an ideological concept that teaches subjects about their role within a larger social order (Leonardo, 2009, pp. 27–44).

Additionally, Althusser’s work is useful for this study of Malayan textbooks because I am interested in showing the attempt at interpellation within the narratives in the textbooks. I am not concerned with the effectiveness of this attempt. The study did not explore how successful these textbooks were in actually convincing students of a prescribed ideology; neither did it make an argument about how successful textbooks were in comparison with other ideological state apparatuses. Rather, the main objective was to demonstrate that these textbooks represented a concerted attempt to ensure ideological compliance in a local elite. The chapter concludes that the interpellation of local Malayan subjects into a hybrid worldview with British values was part of a larger strategy of political control. Althusser’s concept of interpellation was particularly useful for this effort because of the detail in which he documented the process of interpellation.

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN MALAYA

The effectiveness of using Althusser’s theory of the ideological state apparatus becomes very apparent when considering the way education—particularly English education—historically developed in Malaya. A careful study of the history of colonialism in Malaya reveals how English education was strategically deployed as an integral component of colonial policy. British Malaya, created in 1874 with the

A. KOH

formal annexation of the Federated Malay States, spans the countries of Malaysia, Singapore, and Brunei today. British imperial interest in the territory initially grew because of the importance of finding ports of call along their trade routes between India and China, and partially because of the spice trade. Until the late 1800s, the British limited their influence in Malaysia to a few colonial port cities known as the Straits Settlements: Penang, Malacca, and Singapore. This changed in 1874 with the creation of British Malaya, which placed the rest of the territory under British control as the Federated Malay States. State-sponsored educational initiatives only began in earnest after the complete colonization of Malaya.

Colonial education was deployed for two purposes: to keep the rapidly expanding multiethnic population separate from each other and to create a small collaborative elite, whose function was to serve as middlemen for “indirect rule.” Specifically, education in “the vernacular” (or local languages) was used to solidify the “alien” versus “native” dichotomy, while education in English was sparingly used to create a multiethnic Malayan elite.

“Vernacular” Education and the “Aliens” Versus the “Natives”

“Vernacular” education was used to contain and control the multiethnic population. Education was divided into four separate school systems, based on the languages spoken: English schools, Malay schools, Chinese schools, and Indian schools. Chinese and Indian schools were mostly set up by private foundations and philanthropic interests and remained largely ignored by the colonial government, unless the particular ethnic group was considered to pose a political threat to the harmony of the colonial society. In effect, the state thus used “vernacular” education (education in Chinese languages, Indian languages, and the Malay language) to play an important role in reifying the historical tension between the Malayan “alien” and “native” races. This terminology of “alien” versus “native” comes from the work of Mahmood Mamdani (2002), who in his book *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism and the Genocide in Rwanda*, argued that the Rwandan genocide of 1994 stemmed from distinctions between “alien” and “native” populations developed as a matter of colonial policy and control. A similar dynamic took place in Malaya: employing Social Darwinist rhetoric, British colonial officials portrayed the “native” Malay people as being biologically weaker as a race and doomed to fail compared with the “alien” Chinese and Indian races. This tension between the “alien” and the “native” was especially politically strategic as Indian and Chinese immigration into Malaya increased exponentially from the middle part of the 19th century, fueled by the growth of the tin and rubber industries. Chinese immigration into Malaya was especially dramatic, exacerbated by long droughts and famine in Southern China. By 1860, 65% of Singapore’s population was Chinese, with increasingly large immigration rates: 50,000 Chinese landed in Singapore in 1880, 200,000 in 1900, 227,000 in 1907, and 270,000 in 1911 (Turnbull, 1981, pp. 104, 189).

The tension between “alien” and “native” was exacerbated by the separation of the races into different languages and language schools. Keeping the different ethnic groups in separate language containers—a method enhanced through the separation of language education—was an efficient method of rule. Philip Loh Fook Seng (1975) termed this separation of Malayan subjects into four different educational tracts the “seeds of separatism”—the foundations for the later clashes between the “alien” and the “native” subjects in colonial and postcolonial history.

English Education and Forming an Anglophone Elite

English education was the only multiethnic language school system. While it was limited to the elite members of the population, English education was the only medium in which Malay, Chinese, Indian, and European students could coexist by being taught a similar curriculum. While some English schools were set up only for the Malay elite (such as the Malay College at Kuala Kangsar), many English schools took in pupils from different ethnic backgrounds.

As the language of the administration and of the colonial power, English had the potential to become a dangerous ideological tool. While it could create the semblance of unity across different ethnicities and was essential for the functioning of state bureaucracy, its association with prestige had the potential to create unrest and insubordination. Frank Swettenham, an important figure who shaped colonial policy in Malaya,³ cautioned against the “indiscriminate” teaching of English in his annual report on the State of Perak in 1890:

The one danger to be guarded against is to teach English indiscriminately. It could not be well taught except in a few schools, and I do not think it all advisable to give to the children of an agricultural population an indifferent knowledge of a language that to all but the very few would only unfit them from the duties of life and make them discontented with anything like manual labor. (quoted in Stevenson, 1975, p. 57)

Colonial officials found English education to be a potentially threatening undertaking. While it was necessary to teach English to a portion of the population to serve as clerks within the colonial bureaucracy, English education was also seen as a necessary evil, particularly for the “native” rulers of Malaya, the Malays. As Rex Stevenson (1975) noted in his study, *Cultivators and Administrators*, the British used language education to separate the different classes of Malays: English education for the high-born princes and other aristocrats, and Malay education for the bulk of the population, romanticized by the British as a pastoral, farming group of “cultivators.” Educating the majority of the Malay population in their “vernacular” language was considered essential to maintaining peace within the colony. Swettenham argued: “While we teach children to read and write and count in their own language, or in Malay, the ‘lingua franca’ of the Peninsula and the Archipelago, we are safe” (quoted in Stevenson, 1975, p. 58). Further, as an editorial in a local English-language

A. KOH

newspaper insisted, giving the Malays a higher education “would be to put in their hands an intellectual weapon whereby they might attempt our undoing” (quoted in Stevenson, 1975, p. 58).

Consequently, while the British felt that they needed to educate a small part of the population in English in order to create a collaborative elite, it was integral that this elite would become ideologically convinced of the superiority of the British and of the need for the British in Malaya. In other words, impressing English-educated students of colonial ideology was of paramount importance because of the potential threat English-language education posed to the harmony of colonial rule. Thus, paying close attention to the ideological messages within the syllabus suggests both British anxieties and strategies for rule.

ANALYSIS OF TEXTBOOKS

To examine these ideas, I analyzed a group of English-language textbooks produced in the 1930s to 1950s specifically for Malayan students, known as “Nelson’s Malayan Readers,” most of them published under the “MPH” acronym (Malayan Publishing House).⁴ My analysis focuses on several examples chosen from different parts of the curriculum: one aimed at younger pupils and several aimed at a graduating class or a class close to graduation. My examples consist of lessons constructed for students from the ages of 8 to 16.⁵ I selected passages that dealt specifically with issues of race, ethnicity, and culture.

In this reading of the textbooks, I focus on five dynamics: (1) the early interpellation of children in British colonial discourse through its juxtaposition with colonial imagery; (2) a sense of “progression” in the narratives, whereby “local” images are for younger children and purely “British” values and epistemology are only for older students; (3) the acceptance of racialization in the narratives, which provides a rationale for British control of the territory; (4) the glorification of British values and British authority; and (5) the interpellation of children in knowing and accepting their identities as an “elite” class, one that understands the leadership role it is supposed to play in colonial society. These five dynamics are interwoven throughout the entire syllabus, as demonstrated by close readings of stories within the various readers.

The first and second points can be demonstrated from the 1939 syllabus, which addresses the spirit in which these textbooks were constructed. The authors of the 1939 syllabus explicitly states that effective education of Malayan subjects can take place only through the mixture of “local color” elements with British values:

The intensive reader must be a Malayan reader. A book intended for children in an English school will contain such ideas such as English toys, Santa Claus, snow buildings, fireside storytelling, animals in winter, nursery tea, Christmas food, pantomimes, seaside, Punch and Judy, maypoles, and village greens.

It may also contain such difficulties as fantasy, dreams, impersonation of inanimate objects and a story within a story. These ideas are foreign to our pupils, and, if we choose such books, we are making the grave technical error of requiring them to assimilate new ideas and new language at the same time. Such topics as those mentioned above, may be read about in later years when the pupils are more ready to accept alien ideas and have acquired an English vocabulary in which to assimilate the necessary explanation. (Federated Malay States, 1939, p. 47)

The text above is indicative of two dynamics. First, ideology works through initiating the young reader and “interpellating” him or her into the discourse through “local color” images that ensure the successful initiation of the interpellation process. Second, British values and culture (such as English toys, Santa Claus, snow buildings, etc.) are left for older pupils. The use of “local color” to promote familiarity thus encourages the beginning of the alienation of the young reader from his or her cultural context and values. This is a form of social alienation in which Malaysians learn to interpret their own culture from the British point of view. At the same time, this alienation is an essential procedure that creates space for the young reader to identify with the British worldview. In Althusserian terms, the subject is “hailed” into the ideological worldview through the identification with something within the ideological discourse. Localized elements, then, function as the nodes that encourage the subject’s identification with his or her mirror image within the ideological discourse. This represents the “nativization” of the curriculum, which functions as the “hook” for Malayan students to begin their “hailing” into this larger ideological worldview. These two dynamics work as a system of progression: “local” things are left for young children, and British images and stories are reserved for the older students. British images and stories, then, are wrapped in elements of social prestige for the students—the older they get, the more they are allowed entry into the forbidden library of British images and culture.

In summary, several dynamics take place through the mixing of local elements and English values throughout the series of readers. The early readers, through their strategic deployment of the “local,” encourage the initial interpellation of the Malayan subject. This early interpellation then leads to other important steps: the acceptance of the Orientalized view of Malaysians constructed by these colonial textbooks, an acceptance of British values, an encouragement of reverence for British “great men,” and, finally, a slow identification with British images and culture. This interpellation also takes place along with the acceptance of colonial racializations and the self-identification of the subjects as an elite class. All of these steps are critical to instilling an ideology of compliance in what has the potential to become a politically subversive class. I show how these steps work throughout the curriculum by conducting close readings of the examples below.

A. KOH

Example 1: Elementary Education

My first analysis comes from *The MPH Malayan Primer: Now We Can Read*, written for children in “Primary Two,” around 8 years of age (McNeish & Lewis, 1932). Written by K. McNeish and M. B. Lewis, this textbook was aimed at children starting their second year of elementary education. I outline three important dynamics that take place in this early reader: (1) the creation of an ideological “hook” that allows the young reader to become interpellated into British ideology, (2) the introduction of English images to build familiarity with British culture, and (3) the cultivation of a sense of social class.

The textbook’s preface clearly indicates that these early texts function as the basis of an “ideological hook” into the British worldview. The instructions to the teacher state, “Finally we would emphasize once again the necessity of using to the full all avenues of approach to the child’s consciousness, let him draw what he reads about, let him model it, above all let him act it.” This teaching technique directly connects with Althusser’s theory of ideological interpellation: the young children learn their role in society through a series of activities that are designed for them to assume a certain social identity. They are encouraged to draw what they read, to picture it in relation to them, to model their reading of this worldview, and, most importantly, to act this worldview.

The cover of the reader allows the first point of identification. The cover has an image of a little Malay boy and a little Malay girl wearing traditional Malay clothes; the little boy is drawn with the religious Muslim hat known as a songkok. This first image is an attempt to interpellate Malayan subjects through the idea that the image represents them.

Next, when the young readers open the textbook, they learn that it is composed of simple sentences with simple sounds that can be used to teach vowel sounds as well as introduce them to the rhythm and structure of the English language. Importantly, we see Malayan-based images and content accompanied by a smattering of English images and rhymes. For example, the localized image of a Malay boy is juxtaposed with English rhymes. On page 16, the text teaches the English tongue-twister, “She sells sea shells by the sea shore.” A few pages down, the text describes the life of a Malay man in a kampong:

Hamid bin Arifin lives in a kampong in Kuala Kangsar. His patch of padi is on the left of his atap house. You can see his hens and little chicks running about the house, scratching for bits to eat. Hamid is chopping a log. The chips are flying here and there. Aminah is fetching water from the well. The children are running round and round the guava tree catching each other. They are having such fun! (p. 23)

In this short description of Hamid, sensory imagery is used on a number of levels: the visual, the aural, and the kinesthetic. The young children “see” the hen and little chicks and Hamid chopping a log. They also hear the “scratching” of the chicks

that are looking for things to eat. At the same time, they experience the sense of movement in the picture, with flying chips, chicks running around, and children running around. The use of sensory imagery in all these dimensions allows the young readers to insert themselves into the scene and identify with the position of the viewer. The local content of these images creates the position of identification of the viewer with the scene, allowing for the first point of interpellation.

This, juxtaposed by the insertions of episodes of English culture (“She sells sea shells by the sea shore”), creates the identification of the young child with both Malayan culture and English values. After we read about Hamid the Malay villager, we are presented with a short story about white women in England wearing coats (something that would not be practical in Malaya’s tropical climate) during a rainstorm. The young reader learns:

Isn’t it a rainy day? The streets are wet and the drains are full of water. Isabel and Margaret have put up their umbrellas. They are afraid of getting wet. They live in that big green house. The rain water is streaming down the spout into a pail. (p. 25)

This short vignette intersperses some European imagery into the description of “local” people and themes. Hamid bin Arifin is inserted into the text for the young readers to identify with, just as they also learn about the importance of wearing coats in a rainstorm and about young Englishwomen such as Isabel and Margaret. All of these techniques—expressive local imagery, coupled with a smattering of English cultural values—would seem an effective method of beginning to interpellate the young readers.

The third lesson that the text ideologically imparts is educating the young readers about their social standing. Observe the dynamics that take place in the following vignette:

Yeoh Lan and Cheng Lan went with their amah to a shop to get some shoes made. The shoemaker was sitting on a stool making boots for Yoon Hin to wear when he plays cricket. The shoemaker had the glue in a pot by his side. He had his tools on a bench. His wife came and put his food on a round table at the back of the shop. A spoon was in the dish. (p. 30)

Yeoh Lan and Cheng Lan are both Chinese children who function as the point of interpellation for the young reader. The children reading the text are supposed to identify with both of them. The text creates this node of interpellation by casting an ethnographic eye onto the shoemaker: they are engrossed in watching the shoemaker work, with his glue and his tools. By allowing the young reader to watch the shoemaker through the embellishment of detail in how the shoemaker works (the explicit description of the “glue in a pot by his side,” “his tools on the bench,” and even his wife coming and placing his food on the bench), young readers are drawn into the story and encouraged to identify with the perspective of these two Chinese children watching the tailor.

A. KOH

In this way, the young readers are also interpellated into their social class and, at the same time, English values. The young children are used to servants—they go to their tailor with their amah, a local term for a Malayan nanny. Having an amah implies that they are of a certain social stature, because only upper-middle-class Malayan families and above could afford to employ amahs. At the same time, they are used to having things bought for them and made for them—such as their shoes. They watch as the shoemaker makes boots for Yoon Hin, another Chinese name—a boy whose relationship to Yeoh Lan and Cheng Lan is not named but is presumably a relative of some sort. Significantly, Yoon Hin is being made cricket boots—because he is learning an important British sport. In this manner, the young child is taught several things—to identify with an upper-middle-class social position and to accept that elements of British culture that surround them (such as the cricket boots) are normal and desirable.

This early reader, aimed at children in their second year of elementary education, thus fulfills three objectives: (1) the creation of an ideological “hook” using local imagery, which encourages young readers to see themselves within British colonial discourse; (2) the introduction of British images to build familiarity with British culture; and (3) the fostering of a sense of their elite social standing.

Example 2: Secondary Education

My second example draws from an advanced reader, Book V of the Nelson’s Malayan Reader series, edited by H. R. Cheeseman and Eric Gillett (1940a). Book V, aimed at students in Standard VI and Standard VII (ages 13 and 14), is full of short stories depicting wildlife, culture, and people in Malaya for both Malaysians and the British. Story titles include “The Orang-Utan,” “History of British North Borneo,” “Birds’-Nests and Flying Foxes,” “A Tale by the Wayside,” “A Narrow Escape from an Elephant,” “A Rubber King,” “Sakais,” “The Blow Pipe,” and “British Malaya—General and Historical.”

Of particular interest is lesson 15, “A Sino-Malay Deal in Sand,” a short story originally published in a collection by Mark Casey titled *Amusing Malay Musings*. This short story caricatures an attempt by Chinese and Malays to work together in Malaya. Two important dynamics are taught in this lesson, which correspond to the three points laid out in the introductory analysis section: point 3, the acceptance of racialization in the narratives, which provides rationale for British control of Malaya, and point 4, the glorification of British values and British authority.

In the story, a deal between a Malay man, Ali Bin Muhammad, and a Chinese man, Ah Seng, went south. Ali had received small contracts for clearing the jungle, and he heard that the government was seeking bids for sand in the construction of a water-supply reservoir on the neighboring hill. Ali told Ah Seng about it, saying that he knew how much his competitors would bid and assuring Ah Seng that they could offer a lower bid and still make money. Ah Seng was excited by the prospect of profits, but upon visiting the site realized that there was a large hill that would

make the carting of the sand up the hill too difficult and possibly make the endeavor unprofitable. However, upon Ali's assurances, Ah Seng decided to lay out the capital to bid for the job and win the government contract. Once the project started, however, Ah Seng's fears proved to be correct: the hill was so steep that no ordinary bull was able to get up the hill with the sand. Ah Seng then began to hound Ali to get the job done, leading Ali to finally engage his water buffalo, an animal much larger than a typical bull, to drag the sand up the hill. When the water buffalo refused to move, Ali lashed it until it bled. This caused the water buffalo to careen madly up the hill, flying into Ah Seng (who was on the hill) and landing him in the hospital.

The entire tale is a comedy of errors that stems from an underlying racist assumption about more or less fixed ethnic differences between the Malays and Chinese. The narrative teaches that Chinese and Malays are bound to misunderstand each other: the Chinese are driven by money, while the Malays are lackadaisical and on the slow side, unable to understand how to generate profit. Ah Seng became frustrated with Ali and suspected Ali was using him. But as the narrative suggested, Ali, in a childlike way, was oblivious to basic mathematics and the difference between profit and loss. Ali encouraged Ah Seng to bid for the job because he saw other people making money from government contracts; he did not know how to actually make the bid profitable:

It should be explained here that Ali's attitude about a contract was, that he was creating a business out of which, one way or another, some money would come his way without the need of working too hard for it. He had not deliberately set out to cheat Ah Seng. He happened to have received information as to what others were going to tender for the work, and his idea of the business was that a lower offer was all that was necessary for him to get some of the profits. He would quite as readily have tendered for the work himself, if he had enough capital. The details of cost did not trouble him ... Ali probably realized that the carting would be a little dearer owing to the steep bit of road, than it would otherwise have been, but he honestly didn't realize that it made all the difference between profit and loss. (Cheeseman & Gillett, 1940a, pp. 122–123)

The drama of the story relies on both characters serving as extreme examples of racial stereotypes: Ah Seng, as Chinese, is miserly, conniving, always looking for a way to cheat someone out of their money, while Ali Bin Muhammad, as a "typical" Malay, is carefree, spendthrift, happy-go-lucky, and as such easy prey for the "evil" Chinese. This is quickly discerned from an opening description of both Ah Seng and Ali:

Ah Seng was an oldish Chinese. Ali supplied water to Ah Seng, and knew him, as every one else did, for an alert man with a little capital, always on the look out to make money. In fact, Ali had once or twice made suggestions to Ah Seng which had resulted in certain profits to Ah Seng, and so Ali had sometimes been able to borrow a five-dollar note, which he did not repay. (p. 115)

A. KOH

Ali, as the typical profligate Malay, was prone to borrowing money and not paying it back. On the other hand, Ah Seng, as the typical Chinese stereotype, was “always on the look out to make money.” Ah Seng was so concerned about money, the reader is told, that he was constantly conniving ways to get things on the cheap, even a rickshaw-puller’s fare: “Besides, Ah Seng was a little worried about the appearance of that distant rickshaw-puller: he didn’t look like a man who would take a reduced fare at the end of a journey, and Ah Seng considered the legal fare absurdly excessive” (p. 118).

What ultimately emerges from this story is that if the Chinese and Malays decide to work together, chaos will eventually result. The Chinese and Malays are lost without the British, who are there to save them from their childlike bickering. The British are manifest in a “benevolent Government Department” who, “when petitioned, decided to cancel his [Ah Seng’s] contract and return his [Ah Seng’s] deposit” (p. 129). A young Malayan reader, then, internalizing the worldview of this story, is asked to accept the need for the “benevolent” government, which is there to provide support for the unruly locals, who are unable to get along without the British. This claim, based in 19th-century scientific racism, argues that the British are the only “neutral” parties who are able to arbitrate between Chinese and Malays, making it imperative that the British remain in Malaya in order to keep the peace. In this way, the ideological worldview prescribed by this short story in this authoritative textbook interpellates the young reader to believe in the value of the British Empire and in his or her dependence on the British. Nestled in between the other “authoritative” and “scientific” texts, ranging from issues of botany and zoology (“The Orang-Utan,” stories 2 and 3), “scientific” anthropology (“The Sakais,” on the indigenous tribes of Malaya, story 13), and history (“The Coming of the Malays,” story 21), the lessons of “A Sino-Malay Deal in Sand” make a convincing ideological argument that these colonial racializations are indisputably true.

Example 3: Secondary Education

The final part of my analysis is drawn from two lessons—“Stamford Raffles” and “Singapore”—in the final textbook in Nelson’s Malayan Reader Series, Book VI, edited by H. R. Cheeseman and Eric Gillett (1940b). Students reading this textbook are assumed to be in Standard VII or Standard VIII, ages 15 or 16. At the end of Standard VIII, students would take the first of two cumulative baccalaureate examinations (the Junior Cambridge Certificate, which will lead to the Senior Cambridge Certificate).

Several important ideological dynamics are manifest in this textbook. One of these is a demonstration of the idea of progression: at this point, the student is assumed to have been fully interpellated into British colonial discourse, and as such, is assumed to have fully internalized how the British see themselves in Malaya. The next dynamic is the glorification of British values and British authority, which these two narratives attempt to fix in the minds of students about

to graduate from secondary education. These ideas are encapsulated in the preface to the textbook:

The reading lessons have not been specially written for these books in a style such as is necessary for younger pupils. They are passages selected from well-known books written for English readers by men of distinction in various spheres, with only such alterations as will avoid special difficulties in the school. The pupil is introduced to books which are to be found in the great libraries of the world. He learns that notable books have been written about Malaya by many authors, and finds that it is within his power to read these books. (Cheeseman & Gillett, 1940b, pp. iii–iv)

This passage shows that a mature student, unlike his younger contemporary, is expected to be able to easily assimilate the lessons of British men, “men of distinction in various spheres.” Indeed, the reader is taught to assimilate the picture of the Malayan people that has been written about in the library of colonialism: “books which are to be found in the great libraries of the world.” While the young Malayan readers are first enticed to identify themselves in the narrative through the use of local elements interspersed with British values, the sign of maturity indicated by the progression of the readers shows that older students have to now read local elements in British terms. This comes in the form of short stories, used as lessons, written by people ranging from colonial administrators Hugh Clifford and R. O. Winstedt to the naturalist Alfred Russel Wallace and Joseph Conrad. To be a mature colonized subject is to see as the British do.

At this point in the curriculum, the student is taught to fully assimilate an image of Malaya that has been constructed by what V. Y. Mudimbe (1988) has influentially termed the “colonial library”: a set of texts and images that have come to define all knowledge about the colonial world. This “colonial library” consists of the “notable books that have been written about Malaya by many authors,” books that “are to be found in the great libraries of the world.” The student is asked to assimilate these “truths” about Malaya that have been created by “great men” and to assimilate these images into their understanding of themselves.

In Althusserian terms, the “interpellation” of the subject is almost complete at this juncture in the curriculum. The Malayan students have now seen themselves definitively within the British ideological worldview. After first being enticed to recognize themselves through the use of “local color,” they are now fully interpellated into colonial discourse. By reading these final texts—works not adjusted for the “younger reader”—the mature student is expected to be able to assume British values and British superiority and accept the picture created by the British of the colonized subject without needing to think twice. This is manifest in the first and last lessons of the text, which are on Sir Stamford Raffles, or the British “founder” of the colony of Singapore.

Raffles was a minor statesman within the British Empire who managed to secure the British foothold into the Malay Peninsula in the early part of the 18th century.

A. KOH

Prior to the establishment of Singapore as a British “port city,” the British had only two port cities in the area (Penang and Malacca), both of which were not ideal for a stop along British trading routes. The Dutch posed the biggest competition for colonial control in the area at this time, and the British and Dutch only managed to carve up and settle their various “spheres of influence” in 1824, with the signing of the Anglo-Dutch treaties at the end of the Napoleonic Wars.

It is significant that the book begins with the lesson “Sir Stamford Raffles” and ends with the lesson “Singapore,” because Raffles is depicted as a hybrid “father” of Malayan culture. By beginning and ending with these stories, the narrative frames the British colonial narrative that mature students are invited to accept.

The first short story is an introduction to Raffles’ life and legacy, in particular his contribution to cementing British influence in the Dutch-occupied Java (contemporary Indonesia). The story glorifies Raffles’ “Java Expedition” in the manner of a hero bringing good to a place of “evil” (an “evil” caused by the Dutch presence). The narrative paints Raffles as a glorious, magnificent ruler with great vision, as a father of the Malayan peoples and the harbinger of a fair and modern empire (the British), while the Dutch—the greatest threats to British trade and influence—are accordingly demonized. The “good” that the British bring comes in the form of “free trade” to the area, harbingers of light which the Dutch, as their evil counterparts, are determined to resist through their evil monopolies: “The Dutch did not bring liberty to Java. They were traders rather than statesmen” (p. 15).

At the same time, Raffles is projected as a great ruler of the Malay people because he dreamed of uniting the Malay people using the older, precolonial networks of the Malay Empire:

Raffles, Olivia and John Leyden were great friends, all full of the same hopes. They dreamed of a new Malay Empire like the ancient Malay Empire. Long ago the many States had been united under one ruler: He was the Bĕtara, or Lord Protector, and ruled in Java. (p. 23)

In this manner, the narrative inserts Raffles as the lord protector. Like the former lord protector, Raffles was interested in ruling over Java. He was heavily involved in the conquest of Java from Dutch and French military forces during the Napoleonic Wars.

Several dynamics are important here. First, Raffles is equated with the lord protector, a benign, noble ruler who is interested only in bringing freedom and justice for his people. Second, Raffles is painted not as a foreign, alien ruler, but as one who is deeply committed to Malay cultural values and the propagation of a mythologized Malay past. In this sense, the “local” and the “British” collide to form a hybridized, romanticized vision of Raffles—who, because of his deep commitment to the Malay people, deserves to rule over the Malays because of his association with strength, freedom, morality, and free trade. Because of his modern colonial might, he is able to vanquish the evil Dutch colonizers, who are not equal to him either in arms or in morality. This picture of Raffles is the apotheosis of English education for colonized

subjects: an Englishman who has appropriated Malayan values and is considered more suitable to rule over the Malays than the Malays themselves.

This presentation of Raffles as the “lord protector” of the Malays creates an image that the Malays are an imperiled race that has to be “saved” by the British from evil conspirators. In the case of Raffles and Java, the Dutch occupy the “evil” side of the equation. But, as indicated in the quotes above, in Malaya itself, “evil” becomes racialized into the “foreign” immigrants—the Chinese and the Indians who are beginning to populate Malaya in droves. Ultimately, in this narrative, the Malays are depicted as being slow and weak, while the “foreign” Chinese and Indians are more alert and successful. Maintaining order between the Malays and the “alien” races is the role that the lord protector has to serve, because without this maintenance of order, chaos will result.

This vision of Raffles as a noble, paternalistic new lord protector of the Malays is crystallized in the final lesson, “Singapore.” Raffles’ final contribution to Singapore is represented in all the same tropes: bringing industry and free trade to the area and a benevolence towards the imperiled Malay people. The narrative begins by praising Raffles’ intervention in the creation of Singapore as a British port:

In January, when Raffles landed, it was little more than a derelict native village—its ancient fame a half-forgotten story—with a handful of inhabitants and practically no trade. But the native traders quickly discovered the advantages of a post so central and so free from Dutch restrictions. And with trade came people. (p. 214)

Raffles is associated with bringing modernity through trade; the narrative insists that prior to Raffles’ entry in Singapore, there was “little more than a derelict native village.” This association with Raffles’ benevolence—his ability to have brought modernity, order, and law through the modernization of Malay customs and the vanquishing of evil “native” potentates—swarms with Orientalist tropes:

In course of time the whole of the Malay Peninsula, from the British coastal colonies to the borders of Siam, became a British Protectorate. And the methods and results of this Protectorate have been as efficient and as benignant as if Raffles himself had controlled it. Slavery, serfdom, piracy, rapine—all the worst miseries and savageries of that ancient land, have long died out. The deadly *kris* has lost its edge. Peace, order, justice are everywhere maintained. More than six hundred thousand schools have been established. Over a thousand miles of railway have been built, and between two and three thousand miles of metalled roads. Tin mines have been opened up, and rubber plantations introduced. The material development of Malaya has been one of the economic wonders of the world. But the feature of the Protectorate which Raffles would observe with the deepest pride, were he alive today, is the happiness of the people. More prosperous than they have ever been, safe at last from the old haunting fears, the old perpetual insecurity, tyranny, and wars, the Malays

A. KOH

are unquestionably happy. Singapore, then, the Queen of British Malaya, is Raffles' true memorial. He has been forgotten at times in London; he has never been forgotten there. Raffles Quay, Raffles Place, Raffles Museum, Raffles Hotel, Raffles Library, Raffles Institution, Raffles College—everywhere the city cries out his name. And in the centre of Raffles Plain, in front of him the azure roadstead with its crowd of ships from all the world, behind him the green peninsula with its millions of contented villagers, stands Raffles' statue, watching for all time over his child. There, if anywhere on earth, his spirit lingers at peace, his dream fulfilled. (pp. 219–221)

Perhaps the most important note here is that “the Malays are unquestionably happy” because Raffles and his legacy have saved them from the anarchy that their leaders had promoted: “slavery, serfdom, piracy, rapine.” These vices, all of which come together in the image of a Malay sword (“the deadly kris”), are drawn from the colonial library of evil despots of the Orient: irrational, primitive, and savage individuals who cannot be trusted to rule over their own people. This image of the evil leaders of the Orient has traditionally been the rationale for colonial intervention (Said, 1979), and in this passage, the same logic resonates: “Peace, order and justice are everywhere maintained” because of British intervention into the Malay states, an intervention that causes “the deadly kris” to lose its edge. Raffles, a metonym of a larger British presence, has rolled out a constant stream of tropes of progress and modernity, “six hundred thousand schools,” “a thousand miles of railway,” “three thousand miles of metallated roads,” the opening of “tin mines and rubber plantations.”

Because Raffles has brought modernity and vanquished the evils of the Malay rulers, “the Malays are unquestionably happy”; they are now “more prosperous than they have ever been, safe at last from the old haunting fears, the old perpetual insecurity, tyranny, and wars” (p. 219). For this reason, his name now adorns the most significant areas of Singapore: “Raffles Quay, Raffles Place, Raffles Museum, Raffles Hotel, Raffles Library, Raffles Institution,” and everywhere, “the city cries out his name.” And Raffles, in the form of a statue, guards over his prized possession, benevolently “watching for all time over his child.”

The fact that the reader begins and ends with these two narratives is significant. Students who are about to take their high school baccalaureate examination are tasked with reading about the British as benevolent protectors of the Malays. Now that they have reached intellectual maturity, they are asked to fully identify with the British images of the Malays: a combination of evil, despotic rulers and the rest of the population as abused children.

The final reader in the series is thus an explicit call to convince the Malayan students of British munificence and of their need for and dependence on the British. The lesson makes the statement that colonized subjects have to feel grateful to the British for their “protection,” because of how the British have brought trade, wealth, and peace to the Malay people—implicitly, something that the Malays have been unable to achieve on their own. Earlier lessons have also taught the Malays that

they will be unable to get along with the “alien” races (the Chinese and the Indians) without British intervention. It is poignant that this lesson is drilled into students near what will probably be, for most of them, the very end of their academic tenure and a beginning of a career in the colonial civil service. It is consequently no surprise that these jingoistic lessons occur at this point in the curriculum—it is imperative that these future civil servants demonstrate compliance and gratitude for the British presence in Malaya.

CONCLUSIONS

Some may argue that these textbooks represent only part of the picture and that disorganization throughout the different educational agencies (in British India, etc.) represents a much more convoluted image of education policy. Indeed, as Loh noted at the start of *Seeds of Separatism*, the colonial education policy in Malaya was greatly influenced by the Orientalist versus Anglicist debates. While in India, British Orientalists had for a long time championed the use of local languages as the medium of instruction, Lord Macaulay’s infamous *Minute on Indian Education* declared:

English is better worth knowing than Sanskrit or Arabic; that the natives desirous to be taught English, and are not desirous to be taught Sanskrit and Arabic; that neither as the languages of law, nor as the languages of religion, have the Sanskrit and Arabic any peculiar claim to our encouragement; that it is possible to make natives of this country thoroughly good English scholars, and that to this end our efforts ought to be directed. (quoted in Loh, 1975, p. 2)

Whether English education in the colonies should pursue Orientalist aims or Anglicist ones is a debate that is also reflected in the Malayan curriculum.

But the argument made here does not rely on different agencies having streamlined goals. The primary goal of this paper was to argue that the education system in Malaya was programmed to control a potentially rebellious population; education was used as an ideological tool as part of the strategy of “indirect rule.” In this essay, I have attempted to demonstrate this system of control through the five dynamics laid out in the analysis of textbooks: the early interpellation of children in British colonial discourse, a sense of progression in the narratives, encouragement to accept Orientalized portraits of Malaysians as “truth,” glorification of British values, and cultivation of consciousness of an elite class.

The interplay of these five dynamics at various points of the curriculum illustrates that the English syllabus was geared towards creating an ideological compliant local elite. However, whether this curriculum was ideologically effective, while certainly a worthwhile concern, is an approach that lies outside of the purview of this essay. I have attempted to pay close attention, rather, to how the interpellation of colonized subjects was structured, and to what purpose.

By showing how these textbooks represented a concerted attempt at ideological control, I thus hope to have demonstrated that British colonization of Malaya

A. KOH

was certainly not “laissez-faire” or conducted “in a fit of absence of mind,” but deliberately geared towards instilling compliance in Malayan subjects. In this regard, the function of colonial education in Malaya can be clearly connected to other studies on education and subject-formation in various parts of the British Empire. If this essay has made an adequate argument about the attempt to instill ideological compliance in colonized subjects, it should fulfill its goal of connecting education in Malaya to studies of education in India, Africa, and the Caribbean. This past ideological use of English education continues to play an important role in contemporary Malaysia and Singapore. Acknowledging its effects should lead to a greater understanding of how English functions today in both countries.

NOTES

- ¹ Postcolonial Malaysia largely inherited the model for education handed down by the colonial state; education remains separated by language and ethnicity. Malay replaced English as the official state language in 1967, turning it into the official language for state schools. Private schools continued to flourish for the “alien” ethnicities, however: Chinese schools for the Malaysian Chinese, and Indian schools for the Malaysian Indians. English education, as in the colonial period, continued to serve as the educational language for the elite class. For representative work that explores the divisiveness in Malaysian national education, see Bakri Musa (2003), Baginda and Schier (2004), and Tan Liok Ee’s essay on Chinese language education in Singapore and Malaysia (1989).
- ² Mike Cole (2008) attributes this to the impact of Bowles and Gintis’ book, *Schooling in Capitalist America* (1976), which rose to prominence in Britain in the wake of an open university sociology of education module, *Schooling and Society*.
- ³ Swettenham served as governor of the Straits Settlements and high commissioner of the Federated Malay States.
- ⁴ The majority of these readers were produced under the direction of several officials, including H. R. Cheeseman, who served as the deputy director of education in the Straits Settlements and adviser to education in the Malay States.
- ⁵ The exact correspondence of ages to grades in the colonial curriculum can be found in Loh, 1975, Appendix III:

English primary school refers to the segment of schooling, with English as the language of instruction, which ends with the completion of Standard Five (the local nomenclature was as follows: Primary 1, Primary 2, Standards 1 to 5). For pupils promoted to the next segment, the *secondary school* (with standards 6–9), their terminal examination could be either the Junior Cambridge Certificate (taken at the end of Standard 8) or the Senior Cambridge Certificate (taken at the end of Standard 9). Both these examinations were run by an external board of examiners in London. (p. 135)

WORKS CITED

*Primary Sources

- Althusser, L. (1972/2001). Ideology and ideological state apparatuses. In *Lenin and philosophy and other essays*. New York, NY: Monthly Review Press.
- Baginda, A. R. A., & Schier, P. (2004). *Education in Malaysia: Unifying or divisive?* Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Malaysian Strategic Research Centre.
- Barcan, A. (1993). *Sociological theory and educational reality: Education and society in Australia since 1949*. Sydney, Australia: UNSW Press.

- Bowles, S., & Gintis, H. (1976). *Schooling in capitalist America*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Carnoy, M. (1974). *Education as cultural imperialism*. New York, NY: Longman.
- *Cheeseman, H. R., & Gillett, E. (1940?). *Nelson's Malayan readers, Book V*. Singapore: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd. and Malaya Publishing House. NL 0014/147-149. Microfilm collection, National Library of Singapore.
- *Cheeseman, H. R., & Gillett, E. (1940?). *Nelson's Malayan readers Book VI*. Singapore: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd. and Malaya Publishing House. NL 0015/002-004. Microfilm collection, National Library of Singapore.
- Chelliah, D. D. (1948). *A history of the educational policy of the Straits Settlements with recommendations for a new system based on vernaculars*. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Government Press.
- Cole, M. (2008). *Marxism and educational theory: Origins and issues*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Conklin, A. (2000). *A mission to civilize: The republican idea of empire in France and West Africa, 1895–1930*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Desai, G. G. (2001). *Subject to colonialism: African self-fashioning and the colonial library*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Evans, S. (2008). The making of a colonial school: A study of language policies and practices in nineteenth-century Hong Kong. *Language & Education: An International Journal*, 22, 345–362.
- Fanon, F. (1952/2008). *Black skin, White masks*. New York, NY: Grove Press.
- *Federated Malay States. (1939). *Suggested course of instruction and syllabus for English schools in the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States, 1939*. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Government Press. NL 25923, Microfilm collection, National Library of Singapore.
- Gandin, L. A. (2006). Situating education: Michael Apple's scholarship and political commitment in the Brazilian context. In L. Weis, C. McCarthy, & G. Dimitriadis (Eds.), *Ideology, curriculum, and the new sociology of education: Revisiting the work of Michael Apple*. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.
- Gikandi, S. (1996). *Maps of Englishness: Writing identity in the culture of colonialism*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Gopinathan, S. (1980). Language policy in education: A Singapore perspective. In E. A. Afendras & E. C. Y. Kuo (Eds.), *Language, society and education in Singapore: Issues and trends*. Singapore: National University of Singapore Press.
- Gopinathan, S. (1998). *Language, society and education in Singapore: Issues and trends* (2nd ed.). Singapore: Times Academic Press.
- Hirschman, C. (1972). Educational patterns in colonial Malaya. *Comparative Education Review*, 16, 486–502.
- Leonardo, Z. (2009). *Race, whiteness, and education*. New York, NY: Taylor & Francis.
- Loh, P. F. S. (1975). *Seeds of separatism: Educational policy in Malaya, 1874–1940*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Lugard, F. J. D. (1965). *The dual mandate in British tropical Africa*. London, UK: Frank Cass. (Originally published in 1922)
- Mamdani, M. (2002). *When victims become killers: Colonialism, nativism, and the genocide in Rwanda*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- *McNeish, K., & Lewis, M. B. (1932). *The MPH Malayan primer: Now we can read*. Singapore: Malaya Publishing House. NL 0009/119. Microfilm collection, National Library of Singapore.
- Mudimbe, V. Y. (1988). *The invention of Africa: Gnosis, philosophy and the order of knowledge*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Musa, B. (2003). *An education system worthy of Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: iUniverse.
- Newell, S. (2002). *Literary culture in colonial Ghana: "How to play the game of life."* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Rappa, A. L., & Wee, L. (2006). *Language policy and modernity in Southeast Asia: Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand*. New York, NY: Springer.
- Said, E. (1979). *Orientalism*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.
- Seeley, J. R. (1971). *The expansion of England*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. (Originally published in 1883)
- Stevenson, R. (1975). *Cultivators and administrators*. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Oxford University Press.

A. KOH

- Sweeting, A., & Vickers, E. (2007). Language and the history of colonial education: The case of Hong Kong. *Modern Asian Studies*, 41, 1–40.
- Tan, L. E. (1989). Chapter 5: Chinese education in Malaysia and Singapore. In L. Suryadinata (Ed.), *The ethnic Chinese in the ASEAN states: Bibliographical essays* (pp. 166–202). Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Teoh, K. M. (2010). Exotic flowers, modern girls, good citizens: Female education and overseas Chinese identity in British Malaya and Singapore, 1900s–1950s. *Twentieth-Century China*, 35(2), 25–51.
- Thiong’O, N. W. (1981/1994). *Decolonising the mind: The politics of language in African literature*. Nairobi, Kenya: East African Educational Publishers.
- Turnbull, C. M. (1981). *A short history of Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei*. Singapore: Graham Brash.
- Viswanathan, G. (1989). *Masks of conquest: Literary study and British rule in India*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Wilson, H. E. (1977). Education as an instrument of policy in Southeast Asia: The Singapore example. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 8(1), 75–84.
- Wilson, H. E. (1978). *Social engineering in Singapore: Educational policies and social change, 1819–1972*. Singapore: Singapore University Press.

Adeline Koh
Richard Stockton College
Pomona, NJ, USA

CAROL ANNE SPREEN AND CHRISSIE MONAGHAN

9. HISTORY AND CIVIC EDUCATION IN THE RAINBOW NATION

Citizenship, Identity, and Xenophobia in the New South Africa

INTRODUCTION

In 1966, the United Nations proclaimed March 21 the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination to commemorate the events of March 21, 1960, when South African police opened fire and killed 69 people at a peaceful demonstration against the apartheid “pass laws” in Sharpeville (an apartheid era “African” designated township community). Four decades later, in 2001, South Africa hosted the United Nations World Conference on Racism, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance. High on the agenda was the growing concern over the level of xenophobia and increased violence toward those perceived as “foreigners.” Unfortunately, in the years following the conference, the participants’ warnings of xenophobia became a reality. Violence against other African nationals grew more frequent and finally spiraled out of control in 2008, when violent attacks throughout the country killed over 67 people and injured several hundred.

The xenophobic violence over the last two decades has led to the voluntary deportation of many immigrants as well as considerable destruction to township communities and immigrant owned businesses. A massacre of 34 mineworkers in August 2012 by police at the Lonmin Marikana mine was eerily reminiscent of the Sharpeville massacre. This event, together with the continuing high levels of violence, highlights deep, persistent pathologies in post-apartheid South Africa and underlines the failure of redress policies to address continuing inequality and protracted poverty. Today, South Africa evinces the highest level of inequality in the world, with a Gini coefficient (a common measure of income disparity) of 0.63 (UNDP, 2013). The end of apartheid, though a stunning victory for human rights and democracy, has not translated into the expected end to various forms of discrimination, social exclusion, and violence for the majority of the country.

Why has South Africa’s transition from apartheid to a multicultural democracy created fertile ground for xenophobia and violent attacks on other African nationals, rather than promoting greater equality and social justice? The answer, we suggest, can be found in the particular reconstruction of South African national identity as well as the country’s approach to civic education.

This essay explores the role of education in South Africa's recent project of nation-building. A core element of the problem, we argue, is that far from "building a rainbow," the imagined community of South Africa has been constructed against a distant African "other." Incendiary interpretations of South Africa's past, represented in history and civics classrooms throughout the country, feed ethnocentrism and xenophobia in the present.

We focus particularly on why and how national narratives continue to be constructed around migration, citizenship, and belonging. We then explore the ways in which these phenomena are represented in history and civics textbooks and classrooms throughout South Africa and the suggested consequences of these representations. We conclude by considering the ways that critical citizenship education might provide a different foundation upon which to build a truly rainbow nation for South Africa.

CONSTRUCTING THE NATIONAL NARRATIVE FOR A RAINBOW NATION

Over the last two decades, through various symbols and icons, the newly democratic South African state has inspired the multicultural image of the "Rainbow Nation." By evoking the iconography of Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki's promotion of the African Renaissance, singing the multilingual national anthem, waving images of the new flag at various celebrations, and glorifying its racially integrated sports teams at events like the 2010 World Cup, "South Africa has powerfully created the semiotic elements to unify rather than separate divided communities through patriotic tropes" (Keet & Carrim, 2006). In policy statements and public debates, it is easy to recognize the ways in which South Africans have begun their project of nation-building through rewriting their history and renaming their symbols and legends. Education has been one of the primary vehicles for doing this.

Yet, official as well as symbolic notions of citizenship and democracy ring hollow because they rely too heavily on the myth of the "homogeneous nation" in a society where all are still not treated equally and where social unrest continues to characterize ethnic and social relations. Although much of the recent violence—whether social unrest among Africans and so-called "coloreds" in the Eastern and Western Capes or attacks against other African nationals in many migrant and township communities—centers on the distribution of power and limited resources, in essence it is a struggle over citizenship and identity, or who "belongs" and who should have rights and access to housing, public services, and other resources.

"Race," Inequality, and Rights in the South African Constitution

Why is it that in spite of a constitution that was arrived at in a 20th century model of democratic bargaining and consensus-building and in which are enshrined some of the noblest sentiments and insights concerning human

rights, we are living in a situation where very few of those rights appear to be realised, or even realisable, in practice? (Alexander, 2010, n.p.)

Emerging from an unequal past, the new African National Congress (ANC) government set out to transform political, social, economic, and cultural rights by developing a “transformative” Constitution in 1996. The Preamble to the Constitution states, “South Africa belongs to all who live in it” and calls for the realization of “a unity in our diversity.” The stated purpose of the Constitution is to “heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights.” It embraces the most progressive human rights codified into law anywhere, including socioeconomic rights, the rights of children, and specifically the right to education. Discrimination based on race, gender, sexual orientation, marital status, and ethnic origin are also prohibited by the Constitution. According to Enslin (2003), “One of the founding principles of the Constitution is common citizenship and the equal enjoyment of an array of citizen rights including security of the person, freedom of belief, religion and opinion, expression, assembly and association” (p. 76).

Yet, it has been argued that the notions of citizenship and democracy in South Africa’s Constitution, while laudable goals, are also deeply flawed because they ignore diversity and inequality, implying that all citizens are equal and that the state treats them all the same (Bentley & Habib, 2010; Keet, 2007; Spreen & Vally, 2012a,b; Vally & Jennah, 2008). Reilly (2001) has argued that, since the transition to democracy, the South African state

has chosen to define ethnicity non-rationally, and instead has focused on promoting national citizenship as the cultural determinant of South African identity. While many might argue that such a concept is inclusive of all South Africans, its acceptance has, in fact, *denied basic rights to a large number of people within South Africa’s borders* and has promoted an atmosphere of fear and resentment toward a group of people who, during the apartheid regime, were accepted within South Africa. (p. 9)

In a sense, then, in spite of being progressive in rhetoric and policy, the long shadow of apartheid ideology based on racial and class division continues.

Whither the Rainbow? Citizenship vs. Human Rights

Nation-states have always rigorously sought to define what their national cultures are, and have promulgated it through the school. (Chisholm, 2007, p. 3)

One very significant dimension in constructing a national identity has been the exercise of determining who is a “citizen” and who is not. This debate has raised important questions over defining what it means to be South African—whether one is described as “indigenous” (a title reserved for the very few Koi San communities), or as belonging to another of South Africa’s clearly delineated ethnic or cultural

categories of later arrivals, or by current location of birth. When some are defined as “citizens” and others as “migrants,” questions about identity and belonging become paramount in struggles over access to services and realization of rights.

South Africa is experiencing a dramatic shift and increase in people crossing over its borders (Chisholm, 2008; Crush & Williams, 2003; Moodley, 2009). In the past, cross-border migrants were mainly from South Africa’s immediate neighbors (Mozambique, Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi, Zimbabwe, and Botswana). During the 1970s and 1980s, there was increasing migration from Nigeria and the Congo, along with other parts of Africa, Europe, Asia, and the Indian subcontinent (Crush & Peberdy, 2007). Current estimates suggest that in 2011, between 3 and 6 million “undocumented foreigners” lived in South Africa; in addition, more than 400,000 asylum seekers and 50,000 refugees lived in the country, with large representations from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Somalia, and Ethiopia (Chaykowski, 2011). Some of this recent migration may arise from the perception of people in neighboring states that they will find greater economic and social opportunities in the new democratic South African state. But it has also been due in large part to wars, social and economic devastation, extreme poverty, and political turmoil in neighboring countries and other parts of the continent. South Africa’s Constitution actively supports socioeconomic rights alongside the rights of refugees and asylum seekers. Because of prior relationships with other African countries during the apartheid era, particularly those countries that supported and hosted South African political refugees and sponsored the ANC government in exile, South Africa now carries a responsibility of opening its borders and sponsoring economic and political refugees from across the continent who face similar oppression and violence in their brutal homeland regimes.

Studies on migration increasingly distinguish between the universal rights of human beings and the specific rights of citizens. Citizens are identifiable by the status conferred upon them by rules concerning the administration of justice and political participation within a country. Human rights, on the other hand, are recognizable regardless of political status. While the courts and public intellectuals in South Africa wholeheartedly embrace the more inclusive and universal human rights approach, this view has not been shared by large numbers of people. In the view of many South Africans (including some whose own rights are not secure), rights are synonymous with citizenship rights held for those exclusively within South Africa’s borders. Despite the adoption of numerous international conventions, and despite the human rights claims made in the South African Constitution and the new Refugees Act, newspaper headlines attest to the increased violence and negative attitudes toward immigrants on the part of both government officials and South African citizens (see, e.g., Quigley, 2012).

South Africans were initially reluctant to admit that the anti-immigrant abuses reported by human rights groups were motivated by xenophobia. However, after the rise of xenophobic attacks in 2008, it is well recognized that those perceived as foreigners are being singled out for abuse today. Research by Monson (2010)

suggests that recent community protest movements and related xenophobic violence are “not inchoate mobs, but are characterized by an explicit discourse about human and democratic rights” and constitute what others have called an “insurgent citizenship struggle” against the differentiation of citizenship rights (Landau, 2010; Von Holdt et al., 2010). The related report by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) and the Society, Work, and Development Institute (SWDI) further explains:

The xenophobic attitudes and xenophobic attacks should be seen, therefore, as a struggle to establish or re-inform barriers of exclusion along lines of ‘citizenship’; such barriers are simultaneously barriers of inclusion for the locals who perpetuate such attacks. Such attacks constitute an attempt to enforce a new order of citizenship in South Africa post-apartheid, particularly in light of the perceived inability or unwillingness of the government to impose such an order of citizenship. (von Holdt et al., 2010, p. 24)

In this way, xenophobia is not merely a “struggle for an expanded concept of citizenship created by processes of class formation,” as the CSVR/SWDI report suggests; it is also a struggle for new forms of differentiation that exclude other groups and entrench racial, ethnic, and national identity. The targets of xenophobia in this case were not all “foreigners,” but “other” black African nationals. (There are nine other African language classification groups, as well as many different “ethnic” or “tribal” communities in South Africa.) Further analysis of recent xenophobic attacks shows that the “meaning of citizenship is not an abstract struggle over ideas, but a concrete struggle over who belongs and who does not, and that citizenship is, through such struggles, constituted as an ethnic citizenship” (von Holdt et al., 2010, p. 25).

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN CREATING A DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY

In th[e] context of increasingly heated political controversy, the question of how to strengthen and support the democracy for [South African] citizens, won after such a protracted struggle and at such a high price, demands to be assessed with care. The recent spate of xenophobic attacks, heightened racist polemic, and community and labor disputes, have all highlighted the problems of human rights, democratic governance and the powers of the judiciary. And these issues have thrown the spotlight on the role of education and education institutions in promoting the constitution and a culture of democracy and human rights. (Kallaway, 2010, p. 16)

South Africa today is attempting to address its legacy of racism and inequality through policies on integration and changes in the curriculum. After coming to power in 1948, the Nationalist government pursued an apartheid agenda of enforced segregation between black and white people for various political, ideological, and

economic purposes. Bantu education for black students was introduced to separate and discriminate groups from one another, and the management and funding of education was placed under 11 administrative bodies based on different racial and ethnic categories. Under apartheid education, both Afrikaans and English (colonial “white” languages) were designated as the primary languages of instruction and assessment in schools. Ultimately, language usage and cultural representation helped ignite mass student demonstrations among township youth and eventually launched the broader anti-apartheid struggle. “The 1976 uprisings and the school boycotts of the 1980s demonstrated the extent to which educational institutions had become sites of political struggle” (Kallaway, 1986, p. 20). These struggles were rooted in an opposition to the racist, discriminatory practices that were constructed through the policies of the Nationalist government (Keet & Carrim, 2006).

The Curriculum

The new post-apartheid government sought to reverse the ravages of the apartheid education system, primarily through significant curriculum policy changes. Practically, the government has created a unified system of education that guarantees all children access to school and quality learning outcomes. The new policy, “Curriculum 2005” (also known as Outcomes-Based Education), was intended as a metaphor of unity, much like the language used to describe many education campaigns such as *tiriso* (working together), *the rainbow nation*, and *batu pele* (people first). Aspects of the history and civics curriculum, specifically the adoption of a human rights curriculum, became the foundation for reconciliation and efforts to address inequality. Due to considerable confusion among teachers and lack of implementation of Outcomes-Based Education in classrooms, the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) was launched in 2002 to streamline the multiple learning areas and outcomes. The RNCS made two important recommendations: (1) adopting a high-knowledge and high-skill curriculum as a means of promoting social justice, equity, and development; and (2) infusing human rights education and civic responsibility through all the learning areas (Chisholm, 2005; Chisholm, 2003). Issues of anti-discrimination, anti-racism, anti-sexism, and special needs were also designated for particular and enhanced attention throughout the curriculum (Department of Education, 2002, p. 2, as cited in Keet & Carrim, 2010).

Also in 2001, the government introduced the *Manifesto of Values, Education and Democracy* which sought to promote values as important for personal development and to build a “national South African identity on values different from apartheid education. The new qualities that were desired: respect for democracy, equality, human dignity, life and social justice” (Centre for Education Policy Development, 2005, p. 5). Keet and Carrim (2006) suggested that the reasons for the formalization of human rights education as a policy concern were partly rooted in the country’s history of the People’s Education movement and links to Freirean social justice pedagogies. This intention was very clearly articulated in the RNCS statement:

The curriculum can play a vital role in creating awareness of the relationship between human rights, a healthy environment, social justice and inclusivity. The RNCS has tried to ensure that all Learning Area Statements reflect the principles and practices of social justice, respect for the environment and human rights as defined in the Constitution. In particular, the curriculum attempts to be sensitive to issues of poverty, inequality, race, gender, age, disability, and such challenges as HIV/AIDS. (Department of Education, 2002, p. 10)

It is important to recognize that the processes and ideas around human rights and redress described in many policy statements reflected a very thoughtful and highly coherent strategy, designed and negotiated by over 150 curriculum developers that were part of a Ministerial Working Group. Details of the mission and process of this working group, and the resulting report, have been described elsewhere (Keet et al., 2001). The point is not to dismiss or diminish the important (and even revolutionary) thinking that went into curriculum planning around rights and citizenship education, but instead to uncover how it is understood and implemented in classrooms, and if it is not being implemented, why not.

In many ways, the state has focused laser-like attention on creating a curriculum and policies to address inequality, integrate schools, and more equitably distribute resources; however, considerable residual structural and systemic issues have continued to undermine these attempts and contribute to educational inequality. (These inequalities have been alluded to earlier and are described elsewhere by numerous authors; see Chisholm, 2010; Spreen & Vally, 2006, 2010, 2012a,b; Pampalis & Motala, 2010). Despite imbuing the curriculum with the noblest of ideals and intentions, economic and social realities revealed a “mocking discrepancy between promise and fulfillment” (Centre for Education Policy Development, 2005, p. 12).

For example, 20 years after the end of apartheid, over 25% of schools still do not have water or electric facilities, some 15% do not have sanitation, and 90% do not have libraries. Classrooms are not only woefully short of needed educational materials, they are also overcrowded. According to Education Minister Angie Motshekga, in 2012 South Africa still needed 3,000 more schools and 60,000 more classrooms. The additional infrastructural needs determined by a recent school audit included 13,617 computer centers, 14,989 libraries, 15,368 multipurpose rooms, 15,435 nutrition centers, 16,516 administration blocks, and 18,258 laboratories (Department of Basic Education, 2012). Moreover, low teacher morale, HIV/AIDS, retirement, and the search for better employment opportunities have led to 20,000 teachers leaving the profession each year and only 5,000 entering it (Department of Basic Education, 2012). These conditions greatly undermine the ability of educational institutions to play a role in social transformation.

Particularly relevant to the capacity of schools to foster social change are the lack of materials to support learners and the vague guidelines for the content of the new curriculum. Amid vagueness about the teaching of history and the selection of

history textbooks, schools have been left to determine how to teach citizenship and identity and which important historical events to include. Eventually, an expert-driven approach to teaching methods won out over critical historical analysis, which has dramatically reduced the power of history to transform through engaging civic lessons.

Given that books and what is in them have not reached the majority of classrooms, they cannot be an accurate reflection of history teaching or learning. Rather than examine the specific content of the different history textbooks, we explore the history curriculum policy statements, which reflect the interests, values, and preferences of education policymakers and professional historians in rewriting the history and civic education curriculum. We describe these ideas in the contexts in which these curricular goals were determined.

Teaching History and Textbooks

While history textbooks are often considered the central tool for transmitting national values, they do not do so in isolation but are a piece of historical events, people, and processes. Also, it is difficult to draw causal connections between textbooks and their influences on different forms of identity or attitudes about society. “Values are promoted through historical reference, memory in other parts of the formal and hidden curriculum, public monuments and ceremonies” (Chisholm, 2008, 356). Therefore, an approach that focuses only on ideology, discourses, and symbols in texts gives little sense of what is in use and what is in practice. For example, a survey of history textbooks in school by Bekker (2010) found that in South African secondary schools, “old era texts” continue to be used more often in history classes than new era texts; this was more apparent in rural, former homeland schools than in urban schools. Just because new values and textbooks exist and are promoted does not mean they are used or embraced in classrooms—nor does this say anything about how the ideas are understood.

History textbooks have long been considered an expression of “imaginings of a nation” (Anderson, 2006). Earlier studies of apartheid textbooks evolved from the use of assessment scales to measure bias and applied these measures to topics in history books in the 1960s, analysis of ideology during the 1970s, and an examination of master narratives and symbols in the 1980s (Chisholm, 2008). Recent comparative analyses of South African history textbooks have emphasized a profound skepticism about master narratives that privilege some histories and events while excluding others (Chisholm, 2007; Kallaway, 2002). As Nicholls (2006) stated:

These contemporary comparative approaches urge not only an examination of textual messages contained in textbooks, but also an understanding of ‘how they are situated in complex local contexts.’ In these approaches, the role of history textbooks in articulating and attempting to cultivate a sense of national

identity is as important, for example, as their role, form and use in actual classrooms. (p. 12)

A summary of secondary sources and primary documentation of officially distributed history texts by Chisholm (2007) offers several significant insights on the constructions of nationality and citizenship in post-apartheid approaches to history. Chisholm explained: “The dominant approach to textbook analysis has to date been informed by a national discourse *concerned with the constitution of the South African nation internal to itself*: with race, racial discrimination, inclusion and exclusion” (2008, p. 357). And as Soudien, Carrim, and Sayed (2004) pointed out, “New inclusions can and often do produce new exclusions, as boundaries are redrawn simply to exclude newly defined others” (p. 14). Chisholm (2007) added:

As concern focuses on excluded black South Africans within a new South African nation, new outsiders are created, those not defined as citizens, but as foreigners. An examination of contemporary history textbooks from the point of xenophobia may tell us as much about who is being included and excluded as the new nation is being constructed, as it does about the limits and borders of the new nation. (p. 5)

A look at the RNCS is telling. In its overview of the aim of the South African curriculum, two of the five key curriculum principles are “*valuing indigenous knowledge systems*—acknowledging the rich history and heritage of this country as important contributors to nurturing the values contained in the Constitution”; and “*credibility, quality and efficiency*—providing an education that is comparable in quality, breadth and depth to those of other countries” (Department of Education, 2010, p. 3). Focusing on the first principle, the “history and heritage” that undergirds the South African Constitution, is to our minds a clear demarcation of South Africa establishing itself as a constitutional democracy and legitimating itself among the ranks of ordered and established democracies that not only have voting rights in place, but also have legal, social, cultural, and other political institutions to support and maintain democracy. This symbolically sets apart South Africa from other regions of the continent that are struggling to build stronger institutional democratic infrastructure.

The next principle, concerned with “credibility, quality and efficiency,” attempts to parallel the South African educational system with that of other developed countries and juxtapose itself with the other African school systems (which are thought to be plagued by corruption, inefficiency, and poor quality). The document suggested that “the comparative approach employed shows the connectedness between local and world events—what happens in the rest of the world has an effect on what happens in South Africa and vice versa” (Department of Education, 2010, p. 8). Importantly, throughout the nearly 50-page curriculum statement, comparative

references to historical events are extensively made and framed through Europe, Asia, or the Middle East (coverage of the Cold War and World War II) or the U.S. (the civil rights movements). Strikingly, very little mention is made of other African countries, not least their political struggles against colonization or oppression. The one exception is a brief case study of the Congo from 1960 to 1980, which is limited to a discussion of the political ideologies of Lumumba, the country's connection to the Cold War, U.S. and Western involvement, and the economic and environmental degradation that occurred during this period. Importantly, the entire discussion of "African independence" is lodged within the section on the Cold War under the unit heading "How did the cold war influence independent Africa?" (Department of Education, 2010, pp. 42–43).

The second point draws on Bundy's characterization of different nation-building discourses at work in the making of South African history school curricula and textbooks. Referring to Bundy's work in her review of the construction of history curriculum, Chisholm (2008) described how, in the relationship between professional historians and the development of the new curriculum, there was a "swirl of activity" among academics, teachers, publishers, and civil servants. This resulted in different approaches to textbook writing in the 1994 to 1999 post-apartheid era: the conservative pluralist approach, which focused on ethnically defined groups or communities whose history should be equally shared; the nation-building pluralist approach, which focused on correction of the past and emphasized the political uses of history in nation-building; and a new model textbook approach, concerned with the content and interpretation of history and emphasizing that history should reflect advances in the discipline of history. Not surprisingly, history was one of the most contested areas of the curriculum, and while work was being done to rewrite the curriculum, history was moved to the back burner. Chisholm described how, in 1999 when the new minister of education decided to put history back on the table, "the 'new model textbook' approach became the embodied form." This approach suggests that

school texts should reflect recent and current debates about the past; the approach to the past should be inclusive and democratic; the approach to historical knowledge should be analytical and explanatory; skills and content should be inseparable so that the curriculum conveys how knowledge is produced and history not presented as a set of given facts. Historical education should develop 'empathetic understanding, emotional and moral commitment with the past' and an awareness of the constant interrelationship of the past and the present. South African history should reflect the diversity of its population while also accounting for processes that have created a single society; and should locate the country's history within regional, continental and global events and processes. (Bundy, 2007, as cited in Chisholm, 2008, p. 358)

A view toward making history and citizenship education central to social transformation is also obvious in the new policy documents, which reflect a very

thoughtful approach to critical historical understanding. For example, the national history curriculum statement begins with a discussion on “What is history?” and reads:

History is the study of change and development in society over time. The study of history enables us to understand and evaluate how past human action impacts on the present and influences our future ... History is about learning how to think about the past, and by implication the present, in a disciplined way. History is a process of enquiry and is about asking questions of the past: What happened? When did it happen? Why did it happen then? It involves thinking critically about the stories people tell us about the past and what we tell ourselves.

The study of history also supports citizenship within a democracy by:

- Understanding and upholding the values of the Constitution
- Encouraging civic responsibility and responsible leadership, including raising current social and environmental concerns
- Promoting human rights and peace by challenging prejudices involving race, class, gender, ethnicity and xenophobia
- Preparing young people for local, regional, national, continental and global responsibility (Department of Education, 2010, p. 6).

So, given this strong emancipatory view of history and the clear suggestion to use the past to critique, question, and analyze stories and experiences of the present, what went wrong?

Tackling injustice is a big responsibility; even in the best of circumstances, many people feel unprepared to grapple with these challenging issues given the limited resources available. But when less than 10% of schools have libraries, there are no media, primary source materials, newspapers, or literature available for learners to engage with. For others, the wounds of apartheid are still too raw. “I am a survivor of apartheid education” characterizes the voices of many teachers currently in the system, and dismantling it as an inferior and degrading system opens up a personal vulnerability that might take away their authority in the classroom. To recognize and face injustice and oppression is a Sisyphean task, particularly when inequality is right in front of you and you feel powerless to change it. When you are asked to do that with 60 or more learners in an overcrowded and under-resourced classroom, and in spite of the injustice you see around you, it becomes virtually impossible. Instead, it is easier to focus on the “ideal future” of the rights rhetoric and Constitution, rather than opening up the past as a window into today’s conditions.

There is a particular role in teaching history for shaping and articulating a new form of active and engaged citizenship, which is as important as (if not more important than) the use and form of textbooks in classrooms that teach history as a subject. Kallaway (2010) called for the reassessment of the meaning of civic education as an aspect of teaching and learning about history and suggested the need

for research related to the promotion of civic education in the context of contemporary struggles to foster an ethos of democracy in schools. Yet, while many contemporary scholars would agree on the surface that civic education is a good thing, there is little or no consensus on what it is or how it is to be achieved. In contemplating the role of civic education, Kallaway (2010) conceded, “In a world where secular values dominate public education, this is often the space selected by policy-makers for the inculcation of the ideas of the good life or the moral order to the next generation, yet the ambiguities of teaching values in a non-partisan democratic schools context have often been noted” (p. 15). However, through the RNCS, and specifically through the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement, South Africa has envisioned a powerful and distinctive role and purpose for teaching history to support citizenship (Chisholm et al., 2002). This should be applauded, but it must also be supported to make it meaningful.

THE WAY FORWARD: CRITICAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

The recent death of historian Howard Zinn reminds us of the consequences of the omissions of alternate perspectives and shows us the limitations of focusing on the facts and myths of history’s victors. Similar to Zinn’s ideas, South Africa’s new model of citizenship and human rights education argues for helping students to analyze history critically and understand its relevance for today more complexly. Yet, ignoring political history, particularly one that can emphasize the continued struggle against oppression and structural inequality, has been one of the biggest shortcomings of the current approach to teaching history and civic responsibility in South Africa. Teaching history and democracy by declaring, as a policy act, which values South Africa’s citizens should hold, or by celebrating the impressive compendium of laws and rights in the Constitution, is woefully inadequate and illusory, given that the majority of citizens still live in oppressively violent and unequal conditions. Instead, lessons must focus on democratic praxis and agency and incorporate the views and recent lived experiences of the victims of apartheid (past and present). The teaching of history and ideas about democracy and citizenship to South African schoolchildren should instead be informed by critical historical inquiry.

Concepts of Civic Education

Civic education is not just a matter of teaching “good values”; it is always difficult to arrive at an adequate social consensus regarding what and whose values to prioritize. All education is value-driven, and we have to decide what (and what not) to teach. Governments also have to determine what and how students are taught, and in doing so, acknowledge that “the values and preferences integral to policy reflect not only different goals, but different means of achieving goals” (Christie, as cited in Kallaway, 2010, p. 18). In a general sense, civic education is concerned

with promoting effective and active citizenship and preparing youth to participate in democratic processes. We would also argue that it should be done as educational praxis—learning not just about the new South Africa Constitution and the “values” it holds, but also about ways to support social transformation and challenging inequality. And, as Keet and Carrim explained, these ideals are part and parcel of the human rights curriculum: “In South Africa the notions and ideals of nation-building, reconciliation, social solidarity, social cohesion, inclusivity and anti-discrimination seem to provide the basis for the rationale, purpose and structure of [human rights] in the curriculum, and are linked to the popular education movement [of the 1970s–1980s] and the broader anti-apartheid struggle” (2006, p. 91).

Moreover, the agency and action of South African social movements from the 1980s through today, and the continued struggles led by the majority (the world’s 99%) over global inequities and power, provide important lessons that can inform the teaching of history and citizenship in South Africa. Identifying with existing popular struggles in many parts of the world could be instrumental in mobilizing different forms of participatory democracy and active citizenship. The current global protests against totalitarianism, inequality, global capitalism, youth disenfranchisement, and unemployment—starting with the Arab spring in Tunisia and blossoming around the world and back to Africa—present another opportunity to expand on this history. Youth disaffection has to do with political process, governmental abuse of power, and the general lack of regard for the working poor by governments worldwide. Gutmann noted that civic education requires schools to support “the intellectual and emotional preconditions for democratic deliberation among future generations of citizens” and that the “teaching of mutual respect is instrumental to assuring all children the freedom to choose in the future” (as cited in Crittenden, 2007, pp. 1, 15).

There are many practical ways of incorporating these ideas and lessons into the curriculum, and teachers must be encouraged to do this. The narrowing of the curriculum abetted by testing in mathematics and reading and the focus on technical skills have sidelined the broader goals and purposes of education for democratic nation-building and citizenship. The challenge in using civic education to promote historical understanding and democratic values is to support teachers in equipping young people with critical perspectives on the legacy of apartheid while linking them to the contemporary struggles against continuing inequality. This requires informing teachers and learners about the rights and responsibilities of citizenship—albeit in a contested and still largely unequal world—but also arming them with the resources, experiences, and skills to act on this knowledge in their own lives.

The official nation-building project in South Africa has been agnostic about the very active protests and continuing struggle for equality, as well as the public debate and contestation over differential access to rights and resources. Instead, the tropes of “the new rights” ensured by the Constitution and the curriculum have been

brought out to heal wounds in a manner that has been intentional and instrumental (Keet, 2004, p. 18), signaling and affirming a new and reconciled society without looking back at its history and apartheid legacy or on-the-ground realities. What is needed is to redefine citizenship through education and to place social justice more firmly in the curriculum in a way that explicitly addresses inequality and contributes to the true project of social transformation.

Elsewhere we suggest in more detail a new approach to teaching critical citizenship education that would fundamentally rest on new ways of understanding democracy and social justice—specifically, as part of a continued struggle to build solidarity and a sense of belonging for all those who comprise South African society, regardless of status, origin, language, culture, gender, or “race” (Spreen & Monaghan, in press; Spreen & Vally, 2012a). Considering the persistent social, economic, and political inequalities and the ongoing social unrest, education could be informed by the lived experiences of those whose rights have been and continue to be violated. It is not just “rights and responsibilities” but poverty and pervasive inequality that ought to be better understood and more intentionally incorporated into the curriculum. Greater attention should also be given to the role of social movements and political struggle in creating deliberative spaces for democracy. These core ideas should be an essential part of democratic praxis that not only informs the teaching of citizenship but also plays a much more important role in building a just, equitable, and open democratic society.

While the infusion of human rights, social justice, and conceptions of democratic citizenship in the new curriculum has been extensive and largely positive, a more deliberative and socially responsible citizenry is required. Under conditions where teachers are not provided with adequate training to understand, internalize, and impart these views and where schools are not provided with adequate resources, this noble intention has not and will not succeed. Clearly, the conditions and context for effective implementation of both the new curriculum and values in education are still not in place in most schools. Scholars studying the implementation of human rights, democratic education, and citizenship education have noted that “teachers appear to make limited use of them, preferring to rely on their own notes” (Chisholm, 2008, p. 367; also see Dryden-Peterson & Siebörger, 2006; Hammett & Staeheli, 2011; Pillay & Ragpot, 2011; Spreen & Vally, 2012a).

From Racial Apartheid to Democratic (Rainbow) Nation-Building

From being an “international beacon of hope for equity and democracy in the 1990s, in this decade, the shine of the Mandela honeymoon period has begun to rub off” (Kallaway, 2010, p. 16). Many South Africans have begun to grumble about the missing “pot of gold at the end of the rainbow.” They describe being left with the “apartheid hangover,” which involves coming to terms with the apartheid “burden of ‘race’” and new and competing constructions of “diversity and difference” in a

continually unequal society. In a much-referenced speech (Mbeki, 1998), former President Thabo Mbeki described today's South Africa as being "two nations, one white and the other black," and explained that "whites are able to exercise all rights and privileges under the new Constitution, with the latter still living in under-developed conditions" with little possibility of exercising their new rights. Some have criticized Mbeki's "two nations" thesis for reducing issues of inequality to black/white issues and misunderstanding the dramatic changes in the nature of social and class inequality in post-apartheid South Africa, particularly the role of the new black elite and middle class. Still, the two nations thesis is useful in explaining the ongoing perception that links "race" to poverty and the underlying need for building one nation that reflects "equality for the majority." So, while social and economic divisions may no longer fall along racial or ethnic lines, and while political communities transcend class and other economic divisions, South Africa is still a very divided and grossly unequal society. Part of the task of forging a new national identity involves overcoming the racist legacy of apartheid inequality and discarding the view of South Africa as less "African" than the rest of the continent.

Armed with its glossy rhetoric and images of an open and free democratic society, the ideology of South African exceptionalism⁴ continues to permeate public discourse, enabling citizens to view themselves as above and apart from the *rest of the continent* (which is largely portrayed in the media as plagued by famine, political unrest, and other "deprivations"). Reflecting on the xenophobic attacks and social unrest, Jansen (2011) asked:

Why would people who once fought side by side to end apartheid start to turn on each other? It's quite simple really and has happened in other postcolonial societies. As governments fail to deliver on their promises to people, the poor and desperate turn on themselves. And what better target than other poor people who are perceived to be relatively better off? (p. 1)

Public statements that are racially derogatory contradict the messages coming from the Constitution or state policy. Also, while the rhetoric and policy symbols of a nonracial, equal democratic state are displayed prominently, we continue to hear state officials and politicians contradict these ideals. A case in point is the continued and gratuitous use of apartheid-based racial classifications by state departments as well as in academia (Spren & Vally, 2012b).

Enver Motala, in an article (2010) titled, "Are racial categories useful for explanatory purposes in social science research and analysis," raised a number of questions pertinent to any discussion of citizenship, social justice, and the curriculum. He asked, for example, "What indeed is the meaning of the constant refrain about 'national unity,' 'healing the nation,' and such phrases in the Constitution which signify the intention to overcome the trauma of a racist and violent past?" (p. 1). Motala argued compellingly that the use of "race" and racial classifications in the social sciences needs to be subjected to critical scrutiny. He stated:

Its use reveals only the weakness of analysis since it has less explanatory power than might be understood through a much broader range of analytical categories, including income and poverty levels, social class, gender, geographic location, nationality and a wide a range of characteristics attributable to the title of ‘citizenship’—characteristics often obscured by the bluntness of racial classification ... Nothing here can or should be interpreted as a negation of the considerable effects and the impact of apartheid’s racist policies, its emotional and personal consequences on the great majority of the population facilitated by the use of racialized descriptions which have now sunk deep into the very psyche of the nation struggling to reconstitute the identity of its citizenry as that of human beings entitled to equal freedoms and social justice. (2010, p. 15)

The success of South African democracy will depend on all South African citizens developing new attitudes towards each other and towards the collective, accepting responsibility towards the collective, understanding that everyone’s interests count equally, and identifying a common good and being prepared to make certain sacrifices for that common good, even if an individual does not necessarily reap any reward (Motala, Vally, & Spreen, 2010; Spreen & Vally, 2010).

Bentley and Habib (2010) also correctly added that, “what is required is a more *inclusive* notion of national identity, which would entail empathy for the fate of others and an ability to identify with them” (p. 12). The way to achieve this sense of solidarity, they maintained, is by sharing institutions and reducing material inequalities. “What is frequently seen as a cultural difference is in fact one of material circumstance,” they stated. “While it is true that the very rich and the very poor may have difficulty in empathizing and identifying with one another, this is not a matter of cultural diversity and nor should it to be treated as congruent with racial identity” (Bentley & Habib, 2010, p. 124). As Habermas (1992) famously noted, “The nation of citizens does not derive its identity from some common ethnic and cultural properties, but rather from the praxis of citizens who actively exercise their civil rights” (p. 3).

The violent xenophobic events described earlier in this chapter provide an important reminder for thinking about how and why history and civic education can play a unique and significant role in democratic and social transformation at this point in South Africa’s nation-building project. As this essay illustrates, South Africa has been no different than other transitional democracies. But what is unique to South Africa is that its transition to democracy through mass resistance and protest has been based on human rights, deliberative democracy, and equity as core principles. While these have occurred simultaneously with unprecedented migration into the country, they remain core values. The Human Rights Commission helpfully concluded its report on education and values with Neville Alexander’s encouraging metaphor of South African society as the Groot Gariep (Orange River) in which different tributaries flow into the broader river:

The tributaries are cultural practices and beliefs originating from different parts of the world at different points: something peculiar to South African history ... The influences of Africa, Europe, Asia and modern America (in that order) can be discerned in every aspect of the lives of South Africans. These influences have impacted on our religions, languages, music, dancing, sport and even dietary preferences. While some influences might be stronger than others we need to recognize that in this integrative dynamic there is no dominant mainstream that should assimilate and submerge other influences. The essential point is to use this dynamic to build integration and a sense of nationhood without denying cherished practices and beliefs and without undermining diversity. It should be understood that the mainstream of a common South African culture and nation is in the process of being formed through the convergence of all present and future tributaries. (Education Rights Project, 2005)

Through understanding culture, history, and politics, and the movements and migrations in and through South African society, schools can become sustainable community institutions that can be mobilized to care for all children. This is not happening in most schools. Quality education is not only about the curriculum, learning outcomes, and Constitutional symbolism; issues of poverty and inequality, as well as empathy, solidarity, and action matter as well. The public space of schools must be re-envisioned and reclaimed for public deliberation and community engagement, particularly through teaching oral history and other forms of intergenerational learning and through building reciprocal relationships for support and social development.

The construction of the Rainbow Nation and democratic rights must go beyond the symbolism and declarations of rights, national unity, and constitutionalism (Keet, 2010). Instead, these concepts must be understood in a way that critically considers persistent social, economic, and political inequalities (Keet, 2010; Spreen & Vally, 2012b) and is informed by the lived experiences of those whose rights have been and continue to be violated. Notions of “active citizenship” and “democratic participation” borne out of the mass democratic movement must be revived to build a coherent critical stance. This stance would meaningfully embrace and recognize cultural or class differences, focus on continued struggle for equality, and highlight the contestation over differential access to rights and resources (Spreen & Monaghan, in press). Lastly, persisting inequality and continued xenophobia and social unrest should not only inform the curriculum, but also play a much more important role in building a just, equitable, and open democratic society. The nation must be imagined by looking back and understanding history, and looking forward through teaching and practicing democracy and rights. In this way, schools and communities can eschew the dominant technical rationality that is currently parading as a “solution” to the education crisis.

WORKS CITED

- Alexander, N. (2010, May 13). *An unfinished journey*. The 4th Strini Moodley Annual Memorial Lecture, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa.
- Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. New York, NY: Verso.
- Bekker, S. (2010). Explaining violence against foreigners and strangers in urban South Africa: Outbursts during May and June 2008. *African Yearbook of International Law*, 16, 125–149.
- Bentley, K., & Habib, A. (2008). Racial redress and citizenship in South Africa. *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa*, 71, 125–128.
- Bundy, C. (2007). New nation, new history: Constructing the past in post-apartheid South Africa. In H. Stolten (Ed.), *History making and present day politics: The meaning of collective memory in South Africa*. Stockholm, Sweden: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
- Centre for Education Policy Development. (2005). *A review of the state of education in South Africa ten years after 1994: Summary report* (Version 2). Johannesburg, South Africa: Author unknown.
- Chaykowski, K. (2011, July 4). Avoiding the X word—Jo’burg responds to refugees. *Mail and Guardian*, pp. 20–21.
- Chisholm, L. (2007, June 24–27). *Migration, Xenophobia and South African history textbooks*. Paper presented at South African History Society Conference, University of Johannesburg, South Africa.
- Chisholm, L. (2008). Migration, citizenship and South African history textbooks. *South Africa Historical Journal*, 60, 353–374.
- Chisholm, L. (2005). The making of South Africa’s national curriculum statement. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 37(2), 193–208. doi:10.1080/0022027042000236163
- Chisholm, L. (2003, September 11). *The politics of curriculum review and revision in South Africa*. Paper presented at Oxford International Conference on Education and Development, at the session on Culture, Context, and the Quality of Education.
- Crittenden, J. (2007). *Civic education* [online]. Retrieved from <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/civiceducation>
- Crush, J., & Williams, V. (2003). *Criminal tendencies: Immigrants and illegality in South Africa* (Migration Policy Brief 10). Waterloo, Canada: Southern African Migration Programme.
- Crush & Peberdy. (2007). Histories, realities and negotiating free movement in southern Africa. In *Migration without border: Essays on the free movement of people* (pp. 175–197). Paris: UNESCO Publishing.
- Department of Basic Education. (2012, April 10). *Keynote address by the minister of basic education, Mrs Angie Motshekga, MP, on the Mandela day 2012 “94+ schools project” launch* (Press statement). Retrieved from <http://www.education.gov.za/Newsroom/Speeches/tabid/298/ctl/Details/mid/1929/ItemID/3325/Default.aspx>
- Department of Education. (2001). *Manifesto on values, education and democracy*. Pretoria, South Africa: Government Printers.
- Department of Education. (2010). *Curriculum and assessment policy statement*. Pretoria, South Africa: Government Printers.
- Dryden-Peterson, S., & Siebörger, R. (2006). Teachers as memory makers: Testimony in the making of a new history in South Africa. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 26, 394–403.
- Education Rights Project. (2005). *Racism in education*. Johannesburg, South Africa: University of Witwatersrand Education Policy Unit.
- Enslin, P. (2003). Citizenship education in post-apartheid South Africa. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 33(1), 73–83.
- Habermas, J. (1992). Citizenship and national identity. *Praxis International*, 2(1), 1–9.
- Hammett, D., & Staeheli, L. (2011). Respect and responsibility: Teaching citizenship in South African high schools. *International Journal of Education Development*, 32, 269–276.
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (2013). *Human development report 2013 The rise of the South: Human progress in a diverse world*. New York, NY: UNDP.

- Jansen, J. (2011, March 4). Manyi is not alone in his racism. *Mail and Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://mg.co.za/article/2011-03-04-manyi-is-not-alone-in-his-racism>
- Kallaway, P. (1986). *Apartheid and education: The education of Black South Africans*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Ravan Press.
- Kallaway, P. (Ed.). (2002). *The history of education under apartheid, 1948–1994*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman.
- Kallaway, P. (2010). Civic education in the context of South Africa's history and political struggle. *Southern African Review of Education*, 16(1), 15–37.
- Keet, A. (2004, November 25–30). *Education as a human right, conceptual challenges and practical concerns: A South African experience*. Presented at the World Conference on the Right to and Rights in Education, The Netherlands.
- Keet, A. (2007). *Human rights education or human rights in education: A conceptual analysis* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from UPSpace Institutional Repository website: <http://repository.up.ac.za/handle/2263/25653>
- Keet, A. (2010). *Human rights education: A conceptual analysis*. Saarbrücken, Germany: Lambert.
- Keet, A., & Carrim, N. (2006). Human rights education and curricular reform in South Africa. *Journal of Social Science Education*, 1. doi:10.2390/jsse-v5-i1-1003
- Keet, A., Govender, K., Meyers, A., Carrim, N., Farasani, M., & Musuku, N. (2001). *Guidelines document-the national curriculum statement and the promotion and protection of human rights, values and inclusivity. Working group on human rights values and inclusivity*. (Unpublished).
- Landau, L. B. (2010). Loving the alien? Citizenship, law, and the future in South Africa's demonic society. *African Affairs*, 109, 213–230.
- Mbeki, T. (1998). *Statement of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki at the opening of the debate in the national assembly, on 'Reconciliation and Nation Building'* [speech]. Retrieved from <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/1998/mbek0529.htm>
- Monson, T. (2011). Making the law, breaking the law, taking the law into our own hands: Sovereignty and territorial control in three South African settlements. In Loren B. Landau (Ed.), *Exorcising the demons within: Xenophobia, violence, and statecraft in contemporary South Africa*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Motala, E. (2010, December 6–7). *Are racial categories useful for explanatory purposes in social science research and analysis?* Presentation at 3Rs research workshop, Centre for Education Policy Development, Johannesburg, South Africa.
- Motala, E., Vally, S., & Spreen, C. A. (2010). Reconstituting power and privilege or transforming education and training? In P. Bond, B. Maharaj, & A. Desai (Eds.), *Zuma's own goal: Losing South Africa's war on poverty*. Asmara, Eritrea: Africa World Press.
- Nicholls, J. (2006). Introduction. School history textbooks across cultures from the perspective of comparative education. In J. Nicholls (Ed.), *School history textbooks across cultures: International debates and perspectives*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Pillay, J., & Raggot, L. (2011). Values, education and democracy: Manifesto or myth. *Journal of Education Studies*, Special Issue 1, 104–120.
- Quigley, M. (2012, March 22). Apple workers lose out as Grabouw goes pear-shaped. *Mail and Guardian*.
- Reilly, J. (2001). Nation-building and the construction of identity: Xenophobia in South Africa. *Refuge*, 19(6), 4–11.
- Republic of South Africa. (1996). Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996. *Government Gazette*, 378.
- Soudien, C., Carrim, N., & Sayed, Y. (2004). School inclusion and exclusion in South Africa. In M. Nkomo & C. McKinley (Eds.), *Conference on integration in South African schools*. Pretoria, South Africa: HSRC Press.
- Spreen, C. A., & Monaghan, C. (in press). Leveraging diversity to teach human rights and global citizenship. In M. Bajaj (Ed.), *Human rights education*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

C. A. SPREEN & C. MONAGHAN

- Spreen, C. A., & Vally, S. (2006). Education rights, education policies and inequality in South Africa. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 26(4), 352–362.
- Spreen, C. A., & Vally, S. (2010). Prospects and pitfalls: A review of post-apartheid education policy research and analysis in South Africa. *Comparative Education*, 46(4), 429–448.
- Spreen, C. A., & Vally, S. (2012a). The curriculum and citizenship education in the context of inequality: Seeking a praxis of hope. *Perspectives in Education*, 30(4), 88–97.
- Spreen, C. A., & Vally, S. (2012b). Measuring the right to education for refugees: Possibilities and challenges. *Southern African Review of Education*, 18(2), 71–89.
- Vally, S., & Jennah, N. (2008). *The national question and a future Palestinian/Israeli state and society: Comparisons with South Africa*. Presented at Israel/Palestine: Mapping Models of Statehood and Paths to Peace, York University, Toronto, Canada.
- Von Holdt, K., Langa, M., Molapo, S., Mogapi, N., Ngubeni, K., Dlamini, J., & Kirsten, A. (2010). *The smoke that calls: Insurgent citizenship, collective violence and the struggle for a place in the new South Africa. Eight case studies of community protest and xenophobic violence*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation & Society, Work and Development Institute.

Carol Anne Spreen
Visiting Professor, University of Johannesburg, South Africa
Associate Professor, New York University
New York, NY, USA

Chrissie Monaghan
New York University
New York, NY, USA

TRAVIS NESBITT AND VAL RUST

10. RE-IMAGINING BROTHERHOOD

Republican Values and Representations of Nationhood in a Diversifying France

In late October 2009, French President Nicolas Sarkozy directed one of his cabinet members to organize a large-scale nationwide “debate” on national identity. Announced and directed by Eric Besson, the minister of immigration, integration, and national identity, the debate aimed to address “the values of national identity” and what “it is to be French” and took place in public forums across the country (*L’Express*, 2009). Although quickly criticized by the political left as an unnecessary and transparent electoral ploy to appeal to right-wing voters weeks before regional elections (*Le Monde*, 2009), the mere existence of such a debate and subsequent media coverage reflects a burning preoccupation with questions of national identity in contemporary France, a preoccupation that has only intensified with the increasing racial, ethnic, cultural, religious, and sexual heterogeneity of the nation. How diverse populations interact with the values upon which the republic was founded and relate to traditional conceptions of “Frenchness” has been the topic of increasing debate. And France’s traditional approach to integration and citizenship—one that is universal, liberal, and assimilationist—has been called into question in the context of demographic diversification, social unrest, and terrorist attacks. Riots by youth in minority-populated suburbs, the continued popularity of extreme-right, anti-immigrant political parties, and public debate on the presence of Muslim headscarves in schools and full-body-covering *niqabs* or *burqas* on France’s streets exemplify areas in which national identity, republican values, and demographic changes have recently collided.

One important context where these challenges and realignments play out has been the education system. The school has been viewed in France, at least since the beginning of the Third Republic, as the forum in which integration into a national culture could and should take place. Specifically, with the goal of educating for citizenship, schooling has been intended to help integrate a diverse population into a single national culture based on republican values (Osler & Starkey, 2004). These republican values, captured in the slogan “Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité” (Liberty, Equality, Brotherhood), have traditionally been framed within the liberal paradigm, with its emphasis on the rights of the individual and the unifying ideals of brotherhood.

In this chapter, we used this third pillar, brotherhood, as a lens through which to examine representations of nationhood in high school history textbooks. Utilizing qualitative analyses of content, theory, and epistemology, we elucidated the evolution of the national history's master narrative as it was presented in French textbooks, focusing specifically on the representations of values and actors across three periods: the birth of the republic, colonization and decolonization, and contemporary reactions to immigration and globalization. By focusing on how different people and groups were portrayed as fitting into or being excluded from the French "brotherhood," we hoped to shed light on how nationhood has evolved in France over the period studied.

CONTEXTUALIZING THE STUDY

From a distant perspective, it may be tempting to classify the French nation as static and homogenous, but membership in this group has shifted constantly even since the consolidation of the medieval Kingdom of France and the eventual establishment of the Republic of France in the late 18th century. The land within the borders of the contemporary French *Métropole* (mainland France plus Corsica) has been a site of immigration and conquest since first occupied by the Cro-Magnons over 40,000 years ago. The Gauls, Romans, Germanic Franks, and others, interacting with various indigenous and exterior subgroups, greatly modified borders, demographics, and culture in this region over centuries. Numerous expeditions set out from this land, from the Norman invasion of England in the 11th century to colonial conquests in the Americas, Africa, and Asia, sending back ideas and peoples in the process. The land was itself invaded by Romans, Vikings, and Germans, while also being a site of peaceful immigration and emigration. Thus, the influence of people and ideas originating outside the territory has been prominent throughout the history of France.

However, recent history has seen unprecedented changes to France's demographics. To recover from heavy losses in World War I and a low fertility rate, France opened its doors to millions of immigrants. During this time, most came to France from southern and eastern Europe. After World War II and especially after decolonization, France witnessed a mass influx of immigrants from former colonies, notably the Maghreb, or North Africa. Whereas countries such as Spain, Portugal, and Italy sent the largest number of immigrants to France in the earlier part of the century, it was from countries like Algeria and Morocco that a significant number would hail in the 1960s and 1970s (Institut National de la Statistique et des Études Économiques, 1996). This demographic shift created new barriers to integration and assimilation in that racial, ethnic, and religious differences were compounded with national differences between immigrant and host communities.

Such demographic shifts occurred in France during a time in which accelerating globalization brought exposure to other models of integration that presented challenges to the historically assimilationist republican approach. The republican

model, rooted in the revolutionary struggle, gave rise to a nation-state that brought citizens together not because of cultural or genetic linkages but through shared adherence to common principles governing a political community (Raynaud & Rials, 1996). These principles were to be universally accepted by the citizenry and, in the liberal sense, related rights were given supreme value. Respecting these principles, citizens assimilated into the nation by shedding any values, identities, or group attachments that might threaten or potentially supersede the nation-state. Although this model dominated for most of the history of the republic, it has recently been called into question. As Galichet (1998) noted, “With the development of international exchanges and confrontations, our model of citizenship does not seem as uncontested as it did before” (p. 7). Increased exposure to other models, such as Australian and American multicultural models, pressure from supranational and international organizations, such as the European Union, neoliberal tendencies toward decentralization, and a resurgence of local influences in an era of globalizing homogenization are but a few of the factors that have given rise to new approaches to integration, citizenship, and education. These factors have been captured by Doytcheva (2005) as follows:

Integration in the republican tradition continues to incarnate, in political life and public debate, a frontier that cannot be crossed. ... There are nevertheless structural factors here that, by profoundly affecting the logic of public intervention, seem to challenge republican axiology and work toward increased recognition of cultural diversity. In this way, in the wake of political decentralization, the emergence of local spaces of political participation ... has had, as a corollary, the deepened opening of civil society and the multiplication of viewpoints and interests that make it up, including “ethnic ones” of migrants and their descendants. The construction of the European Union has introduced into the national sphere atypical political objects that were previously “contrary” to its traditions: this is notably the story of the French “invention” of the fight against racial discrimination that marks, for certain authors, a veritable turning point in the politics of integration. (Doytcheva, 2005, as cited in Nesbitt, 2013, p. 41)

The republican model has not allowed for the recognition of difference, and it is telling that Doytcheva surrounds the word “ethnic” with quotation marks, especially as post–World War II immigration increased the presence of nonwhite ethnic groups. France is indeed grappling with the place of difference in the nation today and, in our view, it is not coincidental that the notion of brotherhood has recently resurfaced in the public discourse in this context.

The notion of brotherhood was long present in the Christian tradition in France, but it was incorporated into the revolutionary struggle despite the anti-religious fervor of the time. The historian Robert Damien (2009) argued that “brotherhood” came about as a collective emotion with political significance during the revolution and was one of the three fundamental principles of the French republic. Its

significance is evidenced by the notable greeting shared by the *sans-culottes*, “*salut et fraternité*.” Damien also pointed to the *sans-culottes*,¹ considering them to be representatives of “the people” who forged the notion of brotherhood as a reaction to threats that endangered the revolutionary project. However, brotherhood was not officially recognized or incorporated until the constitution of 1848, nearly 70 years after the revolution. Gerald Antoine (1981) pointed out, however, that the idea of brotherhood has always suffered in the eyes of many from its “excessive ambition” and the “vague scope” that it encompasses. It has been seen as being limited to sentimentality, kindness, and emotion (Guillebaud, 2009). Some have argued that it lacks the concrete substance that is embodied in the principles of equality or freedom.

Damien (2009) defined brotherhood as “this feeling of belonging to something that goes beyond us but something of which we are constituent members.” It augments individual power with the transcendental force of the collective. The power of “us,” he continued, is cultivated through participation, but he distinguished between the notion of brotherhood and comparable concepts of community or solidarity. *Fraternité*, or brotherhood, is inextricably linked to the expression *patrie*, or fatherland. Damien laid it out in simple terms, saying, “We are brothers because we have the same father, that *we* created *ourselves*.” It is apparent to us that he has emphasized the collective and collectively constructed nature of brotherhood in the fatherland, in order to differentiate it from an involuntary relationship that a subject has with a king or that a human being has with its creator. Finally, because of brotherhood’s constructed nature, one that is often timely and spontaneous, Damien reminded us that it carries with it “the risks of this spontaneity.” Brotherhood can shift, and membership is often contested. This is perhaps best exemplified by women gaining the right to vote and thus gaining full membership in the ‘brotherhood’ in 1944.

The contested nature of brotherhood makes it essential to continually investigate its past, present, and future manifestations. Pierre Manent (2009) placed the dynamism of brotherhood within the void created by liberalism. He presented the view that liberalism’s focus on individual rights freed men from the old order and past oppression. However, where liberalism fell short was in its prescription for the future, leaving that plan up to the people after their liberation. Historically, humans responded to this void by coming together in two main ways: through the nation and through social class, supported by concepts of brotherhood by which citizens valued assimilation into the group identity above their own individual identities. In today’s world, Manent considered these two rallying forces weakened, leaving an opening for new manifestations of “brotherhoods.” In his most recent book, *Le Moment Fraternité*, Régis Debray (2009) echoed the same sentiment and called for the national political project to return to brotherhood at a time when individualism reigns supreme. Even politicians have come back to the third principle of the national motto in forging their projects for the future. Ségolène Royal, the losing candidate in the final round of the 2007 presidential elections, placed brotherhood at the heart

of upcoming political struggles, organizing an ambitious colloquium on the topic in April 2009. “The concept, the ideal, the word, the moral standard of brotherhood has perhaps never been as relevant as it is today,” she said in introducing the conference. Given its current relevance, it is informative to use brotherhood as a lens in examining the portrayal of key events, actors, and values in French history textbooks.

GROUNDING THE STUDY THEORETICALLY

Critics of previously conducted research into textbooks have pointed to weak theoretical and philosophical underpinnings or at least an absence of explicit discussion concerning them (Nicholls, 2005). The deliberate choice of brotherhood as a focal point of this study reflects our underlying critical theoretical framework. As demonstrated in the above sections, brotherhood has either been pushed aside in the national discourse in favor of equality and freedom, or it has been used by those in authority to promote an assimilationist approach to integration into the national community, quashing difference in the name of unity. Critical theory in education, arising from the Frankfurt school, breaks away from a liberal tradition that stresses historical continuity and development. As Giroux (2003) explained, “Critical theory points educators toward a mode of analysis that stresses the breaks, discontinuities, and tensions in history, all of which become valuable in that they highlight the centrality of human agency and struggle while simultaneously revealing the gap between society as it presently exists and society as it might be” (p. 36). Giroux’s comment reflects three of the approaches underlying our analysis: a dialectical investigation that replaces a traditionally positivist approach, an examination of human agency in periods of struggle, and a focus on a prescription for the future that is emancipatory.

Two important offshoots of critical theory also shaped our investigation. It is undeniable that the recognition of ethnic and racial difference challenges traditionally French conceptions of nationhood, but as Doytcheva highlighted above, recent waves of immigration have required France to revisit this question. We did so in our analysis of history textbooks by finding inspiration in critical race theory, specifically in Solorzano and Yosso’s (2001) contribution synthesizing such an approach to education. They placed race and racism at the center of analyses of subordination, challenged dominant ideologies, emphasized a commitment to social justice, favored experiential knowledge, and promoted an interdisciplinary perspective. As we embraced these principles in our study, we also looked to critical media literacy for both theoretical and methodological support. This is especially fitting as textbooks are prime examples of media objects. Critical media literacy is grounded in the idea that students in a multicultural society must be sensitized to inequities and injustices based on gender, race, and class (Kellner & Share, 2005). Media literacy provides students and practitioners with tools to deconstruct media messages and points of view in order to forge their own, resulting in both empowerment and transformation.

SETTING UP THE STUDY AND METHODS OF INQUIRY

History textbooks are powerful symbols and rich sources of information that chronologically trace how a nation-state presents itself to its citizens. The question of whether or not they are “mirrors of the nation” has even inspired a recent collection of essays in France on national models, representations of the “other,” language questions, images, and national values (Verdelhan-Bourgade, Bakhouché, Boutan, & Etienne, 2007). Teachers obviously have freedom and flexibility in how they use these “mirrors of the nation” in their classrooms, but the textbooks nevertheless provide a significant level of uniformity that provides a foundation for generalization. This is especially true in a country like France, where curricula are centrally created and provide the basis for national examinations and the inspection of teacher performance throughout the country. Although the Ministry of Education does not produce textbooks or assess those sold to students by private publishing houses, the handful of existing publishers diverge only narrowly from national curricula, especially at the high school level where students end their studies with the national baccalaureate examination.

In addition, Bergeron (1992) noted that there is no integrated instruction of history and the social sciences in France. Today, students take separate courses in history, economic and social sciences, and civic, legal, and social education, and content may vary slightly in each depending on the disciplinary track students choose for their diploma: scientific, literary, economic and social sciences, or other. Courses in both social sciences and civics education devote units to solidarity, immigration, and integration. Our focus, however, remained on history texts and historical representations of nationhood.

For our research, we chose to take advantage of the accessible history of history textbooks in order to design a chronological study. Selecting books from the French equivalent of sophomore, junior, and senior years (*seconde*, *première*, and *terminale*), we focused our investigation on the portrayal of three periods in the history of France: (a) the revolution of 1789 and the founding of the republic; (b) colonization and the eventual emancipation of the colonies; and (c) current events, especially as they relate to globalization, immigration, and integration. Interested in the evolution of representations of brotherhood within the nation-state context, we analyzed three textbooks from the 1960s, three from the 1980s, and three from the 2000s (see [Table 1](#)). They came from a variety of publishers and were chosen for their accessibility and range and not for their association with a particular publishing house.

Although the representations of nationhood have elicited attention in recent scholarship on textbooks, in-depth textual analysis is missing. Nuhoglu-Soysal, Bertilotti, and Mannitz (2005) made a valuable contribution to the literature by looking at nationhood in France and Germany in the context of European integration, focusing on how the nation is valued in contemporary textbooks, how Europe is celebrated, and how diversity is recognized. They relied on civics textbooks in

Table 1. Textbooks studied

<i>Year</i>	<i>Publisher</i>	<i>Level</i>
1960	Nathan	Seconde
1962	Hachette	Première
1966	Hachette	Terminale
1987	Bordas	Seconde
1988	Delagrave	Première
1989	Nathan	Terminale
2005	Nathan	Seconde
2003	Bertrand Lacoste	Première
2004	Hatier	Terminale

examining diversity and concluded that in those published since the 1980s, “ample space is devoted to substantiate and prescribe plurality and tolerance as correctives to racism and discrimination” (p. 29). This conclusion served as a starting point for our research. Limage (2003) also examined the place of cultural and religious minority perspectives in French education but took a systemic approach as opposed to the text-based investigation we present here.

Rust (2003) distinguished between methodology and research methods, and it is toward the latter that we now turn in order to introduce how we collected, interpreted, and analyzed data for this study. Noting Weinbrenner’s (1992) critique that “schoolbook research needs to include much more than the ‘analysis of content’ usually associated with the term” (p. 34), we relied on the taxonomy he created to propose “product-oriented” textbook research that focuses on theory of knowledge, subject content, and subject theory. The discussion of results below reflects our respect of Weinbrenner’s understanding of “theory of knowledge” as including analyses of epistemologies, statements, concepts, value judgments, and ideologies; “subject content” as consisting of curriculum models, methods, and the treatment of controversy; and “subject theory” principally as a question of problem orientation. We have found concrete examples and inspiration in the work of Avery and Simmons (2000) and Foster (1999). Avery and Simmons’ (2000) study of civic life and its portrayal in civics and history textbooks in the United States, part of a larger International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement Civic Education Project, included a meta-analysis of content studies conducted on history books in the 1980s and also presented an original study of the “meaning of civic life” and how “ethnic and gender inclusivity, issues orientation, and contextualization are all part of that larger picture.” Of particular interest were their investigations into national identity and diversity. In looking at national identity, they reminded us that, “part of civic socialization is enabling young people to see themselves as part

of a grander, ongoing narrative” (as cited in Nesbitt, 2015, p. 70). To measure this, they performed a series of quantitative analyses, counting the number of references to citizens’ rights versus those referencing their responsibilities, enumerating what types of figures and personalities were most represented, and examining how textbooks framed a nation’s relationship to the international community. In a similar vein, Foster (1999) studied the treatment of ethnic groups in history textbooks in the United States. He performed a more classical, qualitative content analysis, concluding that despite efforts to portray the contested and pluralistic nature of nationhood, conservative forces ensured that “American history textbooks cling to an idealized image of society based on common traditions established more than two centuries ago” (p. 274). With these conclusions and research methods in mind, the stage is set for our study on representations of nationhood and brotherhood in French history textbooks from the 1960s to the present day.

RESULTS

The Revolution of 1789 and the Birth of the French Nation-State

The French Revolution occupies a uniquely valuable place not only in the history of France, but in the social, political, and human history of the world. Given this significance, it has also been the object of countless historical analyses and presentations since events took place in the late 18th century replacing the old order with a new republic. These representations have continually evolved, as is evidenced by notable differences between sophomore-level (*seconde*) textbooks from 1960 (Nathan), 1987 (Bordas), and 2005 (Bordas). Before discussing these changes in more detail, it is important to note the amount of attention given to revolutionary events in each of the textbooks. In 1960, 139 text-rich pages were devoted to the 1789–1799 period; in the 1987 textbook, only 48 pages treated the events of the “eve” of the revolution to the installation of the consulate; and in the 2005 textbook, a single chapter of 22 pages was dedicated to the revolution. This is noteworthy, as diminishing amounts of textual treatment have indisputable impacts on what Weinbrenner (1992) labeled “theory of knowledge,” “subject content,” and “subject theory.”

Within the different contexts encompassed by the various curricula, the revolution was framed differently. In 1960, the sophomore program of study included French history from 1789 to 1848 with minor chapters on England, Europe, and the United States. In 1987, the curriculum shifted to include greater coverage of European and world history and was chronologically limited to roughly 1789 to 1890. Finally, in 2005 the French Revolution was covered, but in a curriculum that addressed “foundations of the contemporary world.” These “foundations” included six themes: (1) citizenship in ancient Greece; (2) the birth and diffusion of Christianity; (3) the Mediterranean of the 12th century as a crossroads of three civilizations; (4) humanism and the Renaissance; (5) the French Revolution and

politics in France through 1851; and (6) transformations in Europe in the first half of the 19th century. These changes in the framing of the revolution reveal substantial divergences in “concept formation,” one of Weinbrenner’s subcomponents of “theory of knowledge.” Specifically, this shift gave rise to two different portrayals of the French Revolution: in earlier textbooks, where events were presented chronologically in an isolated French context, a chaotic and bloody struggle between competing interest groups was recounted; in contrast, in later textbooks, where the revolution was presented thematically in a global context, a more coherent, more singular, and more ideologically rooted *national* story was told.

Both approaches revealed changes in ideology and political philosophy that motivated participants in the revolution, and both addressed the contested nature of struggles between interest groups; it was their treatment of human agency and participation that differed. This, in our view, has the greatest impact on how readers conceive of brotherhood. In the 2005 text, the terms “the nation” and “the French people” were more often used, reflecting a more cohesive movement against the monarchy. In the 1960 and 1987 texts, individuals or subgroups were the mobilizing forces. A concrete example can be found in the explanation of the *cahiers de doléances*, tablets in which grievances were noted by the three Estates before the meeting of the Estates General in May 1789. In the most recent textbook (Bordas, 2005), a stand-alone section was devoted to the *cahiers* with the title “The French People Speak Out.” The subsection headings, introducing primary source documents, all used the same expression, “The French People Thank Their King,” “The French People Denounce the Abuses of the Nobility and the Clergy,” “The French People Make Propositions for a Better Future.” To the uncritical eye or casual reader, it may not be clear that “the French people” presented here are actually just the Third Estate. Beyond that, divergent opinions from within the Third Estate were not presented. In the 1960 textbook, however, the *cahiers* were simply presented in the chronological recounting of events and not as a “phenomenon” like the French people “speaking out.” There was not a singular focus on those created by the Third Estate, and the text even explicitly reminded the reader that “these *cahiers* bring to the surface the extreme diversity of the country.” The 1987 textbook made two poignant observations not included in the most recent version: (1) “the ‘little people’ were barely able to make their voices heard,” and (2) “one observes [in the *cahiers*] that the interests are often contradictory between the orders and within the orders.”

Whereas the focus in 2005 was on the *idea* that “the major lines of a new world are already being drawn,” earlier volumes drew attention to a plurality of voices and actors. This may lead one to believe that the notion of brotherhood stressed in recent works as the collective voice is given value by the historian, but the creative communion that gives rise to brotherhood is not explained or problematized. It is simply given as a historical fact. Historiographically and retroactively establishing brotherhood does a disservice to students, preventing them from understanding the dynamics of how brotherhood actually came about, consequently leaving them

in the dark as to how to go about creating it themselves. The earlier texts at least allowed the students to do the historiographic work themselves, coming to their own conclusions about how brotherhood was formed.

Finally, the 2005 textbook grafted onto the revolutionary story interests and values that have arisen in contemporary society since 1960, when the first textbook we studied was published. These included emphases on the role of women in the revolution, greater attention to the influence of global actors such as the American revolutionaries or English thinkers, and a historical revisiting of the abolition of slavery. The dossier on the participation of women fell victim to a problem that plagued many earlier multicultural histories of the United States: the added content was disjointed and not woven into the larger narrative in a dynamic way, ironically leaving the story of women more isolated. The additional coverage on the dismantling of slavery was linked ideologically to the same Enlightenment thinkers who fueled the revolution with ideas of freedom and equality. No voice was given to the slaves themselves, as the three primary sources included only French “explorers” and administrators of the king. This dossier was even more awkwardly joined to the chronological history being discussed, and the conclusion was the vague notion that Enlightenment ideas in Europe led to the end of slavery.

The ultimate irony in the most recent textbook is that it attempted to include multiple perspectives but took on a posture that could be labeled conservative at best, reactionary at worst. This is exemplified by the preponderance of national symbols in the 2005 textbook. The cover was adorned with a painting of 18th-century French people gathered in the street, waving French flags and passing in front of a statue of Marianne, who is holding a torch in one hand and a tablet with “the rights of man” in the other. An entire section in the 2005 book was devoted to “symbols of the revolution,” with presentations of the tricolored flag, Marianne, the national anthem, and the motto of “liberty, equality, fraternity.”

The Colonial Experience

France’s colonial enterprise began even before the republic rose from the revolution and extended to new continents in the 19th century. The vestiges of the colonial experience have inspired a flurry of recent scholarship and debate in France, as exemplified by the publication of *La Fracture Coloniale* in 2005 (Blanchard, Bancel, Lemaire, & Barlet, 2005). A play on words of the expression *fracture sociale*, meaning “social inequalities,” the volume interrogated the “colonial inequalities” that plagued social relations in the contemporary French *Métropole*. It specifically linked current social questions like the ghettoization of *banlieues*, intercommunity relations, integration and national identity, and secularism and Islam to France’s colonial heritage. Interest in such questions has spilled over into scholarship on textbooks, notably in Morand’s (2008) work on interpretations and representations of war in textbooks and Lanier’s (2008) examination of colonization and decolonization in middle-school history books. In concluding that the history of colonization was

presented in dually partial ways—“partial” in that it was incomplete and “partial” in that it was biased—Lanier (2008) drew our attention to a “dehumanizing” story and simple succession of “facts.” Her analyses revealed the omission of accounts from the perspective of the colonized and a focus on the economic benefits of colonization for the West, the legitimization of Western actions, and the minimization of their failures. Lanier’s study, alongside our examination of high school textbooks across five decades, sheds light on how the evolving history of colonization and decolonization shapes notions of brotherhood and nationhood.

Our study focused on colonization and emancipation in Africa and Asia and was book-ended chronologically by the 1830 entry into Algeria and the 1962 end of the Algerian war. Covering such a span of time, related events were presented in the sophomore, junior, and senior curricula (*seconde*, *première*, and *terminale*). As with the revolution, colonization and decolonization were treated more thematically in recent texts and chronologically in earlier ones. Another similarity was the central focus on individuals as motors of change in the 1960s textbooks and, to some extent, the 1980s textbooks. In the 2000s textbooks, individual stories and perspectives were presented but were shown as riding the waves of larger movements as opposed to catalyzing them. For example, in the 2000s, the 1830s Algerian conquest was not even mentioned and later colonial expansion there was portrayed in the larger framework of competition among European powers for domination of the globe and its resources. But it is precisely the turning point of 1830 that hinges upon individual acts. In 1960, the Nathan text gave credit to the singular Baron Portal, minister of the Navy, for deciding to rebuild a naval flotilla to make up for what he saw as disgraceful French losses in the Americas and laying the groundwork for French “landing” in Algeria. The 1987 Bordas text shifted slightly, giving credit to an individual, but one who more deeply represented centralized state power, Charles X. In the decades studied, in this light, the role of the “nation” in the colonial enterprise was portrayed differently.

Such a shift was also reflected in the usage of different possessive pronouns depending upon the era. In the 1960s, the first-person plural pronouns of we, us, and our were frequently used. For example, Nathan (1960) spoke of “our navy” and “our commerce” and stated that “we ran up against British policy.” In the 1980s, reflecting increasing distance, it was more common to find the third-person pronouns of it, her, and she. Delagrave (1988) commented that by 1914, France owed her vast colonial empire to “her statesmen,” “her officers and explorers,” “her conquering admirals,” and “her missionaries.” By the 2000s, such personal pronouns disappeared completely, and the colonialism was framed as being not so much French as a project of the European superpowers.

Delagrave’s (1988) mention of missionaries turned our attention to the presentation of Catholic forces during the period of colonization and decolonization. It was commonly recognized across the periods studied that missionaries, businessmen, and the military forged colonial expansion, often pulling a reticent public behind them. The editorial and apparently contradictory comment of Delagrave (1988) that

the regime in power encouraged missionary zeal despite its “anticlerical” positions piqued our interest and reminded us of the revolutionary period when, despite violent assaults on the church and its possessions, the revolutionaries found inspiration in the Christian tradition of brotherhood. The commonly embraced master narrative of French history and the principles enshrined in its policies call for distinct separation of church and state and relegate religious practice to the private sphere. We argue, however, that while perhaps lacking official recognition from the apparatus of the state, Frenchness was often portrayed as embodying Christianity in history textbooks covering colonization and decolonization, especially in the earlier decades of the works studied. Hachette (1962) told us that under the banner of Christianity, Napoleon III fought for a “Latin” state in Romania, went to the aid of a Christian minority in Syria, intervened in Indochina to protect Catholics in Annam, and “adventured” in to Mexico to spread the light of Roman Catholicism, along with business and French political interests. The textbook also explicitly stated that Algerians, in order to gain political rights in the colony, had to abandon “the Koranic status to which they were attached by traditions and values.” So, in order to become “French,” those on Algerian soil had to abandon Islam. By the 2000s, this fact disappeared from the textbooks. There are several possible explanations for this, including shame about forced assimilation practices and the desire to promote secular principles of the separation of church and state in contemporary society. Neglecting to dissect and problematize the role of the church and its followers, however, particularly in these episodes of French history, is, in our view, detrimental to the goal of forging “new brotherhoods” as Manent (2009) called for. Also, omission from historical accounts does not negate historical realities. Finally, when these realities were part of older citizens’ historical education, their omission today makes intergenerational dialogue more difficult.

Finally, Lanier (2008) noted the absence of the voice and perspective of the colonized. We observed, actually, that recent textbooks attempted to give voice to a plurality of actors, including those of resistance from within the colonies, but a Euro-centric stance prevailed. Today, we are far from the condescending and exoticized descriptions of Abd-el-Kader found in the 1960 Nathan text, but nevertheless, the resistant voices given value were those that were trained or spent time in the West. Nathan (1989) profiled Léopold Sédar Senghor and emphasized his training in France and his promotion of French language and culture. Similarly, Lacoste (2003) presented a biography of Ho Chi Minh that highlighted his Western training and experiences. Not only did Western backgrounds presumably have value in these texts, but Western ideals and practices were also portrayed as allowing for the emancipation of the colonized. A common thread running through the textbooks of the 1960s, 1980s, and 2000s was that decolonization occurred only because Europe was weakened by World War II and because the colonized were inspired by “Western” values of freedom, equality, and brotherhood. Even under the guise of a more inclusive and pluralistic approach to history education today, Eurocentric accounts prevail. One must wonder how students of African and Asian origin react

to this fact in French classrooms and how this might impact the cultivation of brotherhood in contemporary France.

The Current State of Affairs

Historicizing current events is a difficult task given their recent nature and relative proximity. This closeness, however, gives us access to historical understandings, to current social and political conceptualizations, and to prescriptions for the future. The contemporary period is studied in history classes in the senior (*terminale*) year, which in the 1966 (Hachette) text was considered to begin in 1914. In the 1989 (Nathan) textbook, the context began with World War II, and in the 2004 (Hatier) book, it covered from 1945 to the date of publication. For our analysis here, we focus on how immigration, integration, and national identity were evoked and treated, attempting to place these themes in our framework of brotherhood.

As contemporary phenomena attract the attention of historians and social scientists alike, literature abounds on these topics, including the ways they are treated in textbooks. Of growing richness is scholarship on the teaching of immigration, including a special issue of the journal *Diversité: Ville, École, Intégration* presenting the work of Falaize (2007) and others; the opening of the *Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration* in 2007; the publication of an edited volume on “Migration in the Classroom: Otherness, Identities and Humanity” (Marie & Lucas, 2009); and ongoing research by Hanauer (2009). This is still a young field, as most authors lament the absence of coverage of immigration history and provide prescriptions for change. The stakes that teachers see as essential, as Falaize (2007) formulated it, fall around students’ questions of identity and their personal history. “Here, we see a will to work toward recognizing students, revaluing self-esteem and legitimizing their presence in France.” In this research, we also attempted to elucidate this process of legitimization, the associated vectors of influence between individuals, communities, and the nation-state, and also the development of brotherhood in this context.

Questions of immigration and integration were barely evoked in the 1966 (Hachette) textbook despite the fact that immigration occurred throughout the period covered (1914–1966). “Problems for today’s world” at that time included Americanization, the Cold War, the debate between collectivism and individualism, and the role of the West in the newly christened “Third World.” Two ironies are related to this last question: the editors already warned of the pitfalls of neocolonialism in discussing international development aid, and one of the solutions they offered to alleviate poverty was to encourage emigration. This would lead one to believe that France was not preoccupied by “problems” of immigration and integration at that juncture. By 1989 (Nathan) and 2004 (Hatier), these questions had moved to the fore.

Nathan (1989) included a one-page isolated presentation of “Immigration and Growth” during the *Trente Glorieuses*, the 30-year period of postwar prosperity, and concluded the textbook with a dossier devoted to French identity, how the

“French view themselves” and how “others see them.” The section on immigration and growth focused primarily on the contribution of immigrant workers to the economic development of France. Divided into four primary source documents with a minor introduction, two portrayed immigrants as faceless and inhuman cogs in the country’s economic machine, but the other two revealed the day-to-day struggle of immigrants’ lived experience. The caption of a photo reminded readers that immigrants took on the most taxing and laborious tasks. Finally, an excerpt from a historical essay revealed that immigrants were unequally burdened: (1) economically, earning low salaries that were often in large portion repatriated; (2) administratively, being passed over for subsidized housing in favor of nationals; and (3) socially, as the victims of discrimination and xenophobia. “He is exploited in work, in lodging and ... is the preferred target of collective and individual hostility despite his fundamental role in the economic growth of industrialized countries” (Nathan, 1989). Although these observations provided a more complete picture and began to sow the seeds of an immigrant counter-story, they still omitted the immigrants’ own voice, reflections upon how they interacted with other immigrants and other elements of the host society, and the variation of experiences within immigrant and host communities. The textbook ended with an examination of national identity that focused on the diverse nature and history of all French people and an emphasis on the values and principles that unite them, much in the universalistic vein that ran through the history of the republic but with some recognition of difference. In 1989, however, the only differences explicitly noted were regional and not ethnic, racial, or religious; mentioned in one of the excerpts, for example, were Occitans, Bretons, Basques, and Alsations.

In 2004 (Hatier), racial differences were alluded to but were not explicit. A chapter was devoted to “The French People since 1945,” and the 2-page introductory section carried the headline, “Who are the French people after the war ... and today?” The spread was dominated by two photos: one was of approximately 50 formally dressed, perceivably white men and women posing for a picture with the caption reading, “The French people in 1954, as seen by the magazine *Réalités* in 1954”; the other portrayed a crowded train station, filled with a racially diverse group of casually dressed travelers with the caption of “the French people today, Gare de Lyon Station in Paris, August, 2003.” No further explanation or textual support was given, and it was up to the teacher and student to compare the images as they were asked to do in the guiding questions at the bottom of the page. This approach was indicative of the rest of the discussion of immigration and national identity in this text. It was superficial, vague, and approached controversy only indirectly.

A dossier on “immigration and the crisis of integration” included six elements on a 2-page spread: one graph, one timeline, three photos, and an excerpt from an article from a popular magazine. It was visually busy and lacked logical coherence and a narrative thread. The magazine article presented a glorified story of a diversifying Paris where immigrants easily found work, and the graphics broke down the origins of foreigners in France and the difficulty children born to foreign parents faced in

accessing higher education. The three photos portrayed a shanty-town occupied by Portuguese immigrants in 1960, the Algerian-born gold medalist boxer Brahim Asloum, and a sea of signs being held in a demonstration that depicted the yellow-hand logo of the organization SOS Racisme. The caption of this last photo simply said, “Integration at the heart of public debate: a protest of the organization SOS Racisme in Paris, September 27, 1997.” No context, narrative, or commentary text accompanied the picture.

Using a “subject content” approach to analyze this mishmash presentation of a complex set of issues, one is able to isolate the editor’s treatment of controversy. The role of the historian and author of the text is limited to choosing documents that represent, sometimes in unclear ways, the multiple facets of an issue and then allowing teachers and students to dissect, analyze, and contextualize them historically. This has the potential to both fuel agency and cultivate brotherhood if carried out in thoughtful and empowering ways. Unfortunately, it may also be brushed over or omitted, especially as it falls at the end of a senior-year book and will not likely appear on the baccalaureate examination. It is particularly apparent in this case that textbook research may only be a starting point for research on complex social issues and their treatment in schools.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The study presented here, although focused on the evolution of representations of brotherhood and national identity, also sheds light on the evolution of history education in France. This is evidenced by the last example given in the previous section and by most of the analysis of textbooks from the 2000s. The analysis illustrated an attempt to transition to the “new history” from a traditional approach. Instead of focusing on knowledge transmission, chronological surveys, political and constitutional history, events and personalities, and national histories that incorporate only the largest national groups and dominant cultures, the “new history” has a greater emphasis on “students learning how to analyze, interpret and synthesise evidence obtained from a variety of primary and secondary sources” (Stradling, 2003, p. 10). The 1980s and 2000s textbooks included progressively more primary and secondary sources and most, if not all, historical narrative fell by the wayside. It is important to note, however, that textbooks even in the 1960s, rich with the historian’s voice and narrative, included an abundance of primary and secondary sources, usually found as appendices at the end of chapters. Finally, the “new history” aims to be multiperspectival, including a “clearer focus on the history of social categories and groups who had previously been largely ignored: women, the poor, ethnic minorities, children, family and migrants” (Stradling, 2003, p. 10).

In our view, two problems arise in the application of the “new history” approach to French textbooks. First, the attempt at multiperspectivity fails to fully integrate the viewpoint of those whose voice was previously ignored, often simply adding perspectives to the end of a subject’s treatment in a disjointed way. Second, the

reliance on primary and secondary sources gives the false impression of the historian's objectivity or even absence. It is a desirable goal to put students in the position of historian and to give them the tools to think historically. Unfortunately, cutting out the historian's narrative from the text removes an important and valuable historiographic model. Greater burden falls on the teacher in this context, which leaves room for diverging approaches. Finally, the amount of text has greatly decreased, forcing editors to make even more difficult choices about what to include and what to omit.

To cultivate brotherhood in a period of significant transformation in both the nation's demographics and its approach to history education, France would benefit from considering two questions that run counter to its historically universalistic orientation: that of group identifications/rights and that of race/racism. Going beyond the 19th century's liberal approach to individual rights, "the 21st century individual is infused with broad cultural rights reflecting cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism. As a result, all sorts of collective identities are activated ... as group rights" (Ramirez, Bromley, & Garnett-Russell, 2009, p. 37). The traditionally French reflex in discussion of group identities is to warn of *communautarisme*, or the placing of group affiliations above national affiliations. Although this may be ideologically justifiable, the uncritical reflex and the concept of *communautarisme* must be discussed and problematized for new brotherhoods to come about. Finally, discussions of race would benefit from moving beyond simply recognizing and denouncing acts of racism to exploring the construction of whiteness and the notion of white privilege, especially as they relate to "Frenchness" (Hughes, 2007). This would bring all students into the dialogue, allowing them to dissect and understand oppression and to eventually re-imagine brotherhood in a diversifying national context.

NOTE

- ¹ "Without knee-breeches" was a term used by the French in the 1790s to describe the poorer members of the Third Estate. The term is in reference to those who usually wore full-length trousers instead of the more fashionable knee-length *culotte*.

WORKS CITED

- Antoine, G. (1981). *Liberté, égalité, fraternité: Ou fluctuations d'une devise*. Paris, France: UNESCO.
- Avery, P., & Simmons, A. (2000). Civic life as conveyed in United States civics and history textbooks. *International Journal of Social Education, 15*(2), 105–130.
- Bergeron, H. (1992). School textbooks: Books like any other? In H. Bourdillon (Ed.), *History and the social studies: Methodologies of textbook analysis: Report of the educational research workshop held in Braunschweig (Germany), 11–14 September 1990*. Amsterdam, the Netherlands: Swets & Zeitlinger.
- Blanchard, P., Bancel, N., Lemaire, S., & Barlet, O. (2005). *La fracture coloniale: La société française au prisme de l'héritage colonial*. Paris, France: La Découverte.

- Damien, R. (2009). La tradition républicaine et la tradition libéral. *Proceedings of the Université populaire participative*. Retrieved from <http://www.desirsdavenir.org/upp/universites-populaires-et-participatives/81-la-fraternite-en-debats-autour-de-regis-debray.html>
- Debray, R. (2009). *Le moment fraternité*. Paris, France: Gallimard.
- Doytcheva, M. (2005). Le multiculturalisme. Paris, France: La Découverte.
- Falaize, B. (2007). Histoire de l'immigration et pratiques scolaires. *Diversité: Ville, École, Integration*, 149, 79–84.
- Foster, S. (1999). The struggle for American identity: Treatment of ethnic groups in United States history textbooks. *History of Education*, 28, 251–278.
- Galichet, F. (1998). *L'éducation à la citoyenneté*. Paris, France: Anthropos.
- Giroux, H. (2003). Critical theory in educational practice. In A. Darder, M. Baltodano, & R. Torres (Eds.), *The critical pedagogy reader*. New York, NY: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Guillebaud, J.-C. (2009). La fraternité, de l'histoire républicaine à la France d'aujourd'hui. *Proceedings of the Université populaire participative*. Retrieved from <http://www.desirsdavenir.org/upp/universites-populaires-et-participatives/81-la-fraternite-en-debats-autour-de-regis-debray.html>
- Hanauer, E. (2009, March). *Collective identity formation in the French classroom: The discourse and incorporation of immigration history*. Paper presented at the annual conference of the Comparative and International Education Society, Chicago, IL.
- Hughes, R. (2007). A hint of whiteness: History textbooks and social construction of race in the wake of the sixties. *Social Studies*, 98, 201–207.
- Institut National de la Statistique et des Études Économiques. (1996). La population immigrée: Le résultat d'une longue histoire. *INSEE Première*, 458, 1–4. Retrieved from http://www.insee.fr/FR/FFC/DOCS_FFC/ip458.pdf
- Kellner, D., & Share, J. (2005). Toward critical media literacy: Core concepts, debates, organizations, and policy. *Discourse Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 26, 369–386.
- Lanier, V. (2008, September). Les colonisations et décolonisations dans les manuels d'histoire de collège: Une histoire partielle et partielle. *Esquisses: Recueil Alexandres*, 17. Retrieved from <http://www.reseau-terra.eu/article823.html>
- L'Express*. (2009, October 25). Besson relance le débat sur l'identité nationale. *L'Express*.
- Le Monde*. (2009, November 29). Identité nationale: les Français voient le débat comme une 'stratégie' électorale. *Le Monde*.
- Limage, L. (2003). Cultural and religious minority education in France: Limits to diversity and equality. In Y. Iram (Ed.), *Education of minorities and peace education in pluralistic societies*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Manent, P. (2009). La tradition républicaine et la tradition libérale. *Proceedings of the Université populaire participative*. Retrieved from <http://www.desirsdavenir.org/upp/universites-populaires-et-participatives/81-la-fraternite-en-debats-autour-de-regis-debray.html>
- Marie, V., & Lucas, N. (2009). *Les migrations dans la classe: Alterité, identités et humanité*. Paris, France: Le Manuscrit.
- Morand, B. (2008). Guerres et conflits dans les manuels et dans l'enseignement: Interprétations, représentations. *Tréma*, 29, 1–4.
- Nicholls, J. (2005). The philosophical underpinnings of school textbook research. *Paradigm*, 3(1). Retrieved from <http://faculty.ed.uiuc.edu/westbury/paradigm/vol3/Nicholls.pdf>
- Nuhoglu-Soysal, Y., Bertilotti, T., & Mannitz, S. (2005). Projections of identity in French and German history and civics textbooks. In H. Schillser & Y. Nuhoglu-Soysal (Eds.), *The nation, Europe, and the world: Textbooks and curricula in transition*. New York, NY: Bergham.
- Osler, A., & Starkey, H. (2004). Citizenship education and cultural diversity in France and England. In J. Demaine (Ed.), *Citizenship and political education today*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ramirez, F., Bromley, P., & Garnett-Russell, S. (2009, May). *The valorization of humanity and diversity*. Paper prepared for the KAME International Conference, Seoul, South Korea.
- Raynaud, P., & Rials, S. (1996). *Dictionnaire de philosophie politique*. Paris, France: Presses Universitaires de France.

T. NESBITT & V. RUST

- Rust, V. (2003). Method and methodology in comparative education. *Comparative Education Review*, 47(3), iii–vi.
- Solorzano, D., & Yosso, T. (2001). Critical race and LatCrit theory and method: Counter-storytelling. *Qualitative Studies in Education*, 14, 471–495.
- Stradling, R. (2003). *Multiperspectivity in history teaching: A guide for teachers*. Strasbourg, France: The Council of Europe.
- Verdelhan-Bourgade, M., Bakhouche, B., Boutan, P., & Etienne, R. (2007). *Les manuels scolaires: Miroirs de la nation?* Paris, France: L'Harmattan.
- Weinbrenner, P. (1992). Methodologies of textbook analysis used to date. In H. Bourdillon (Ed.), *History and the social studies: Methodologies of textbook analysis: Report of the educational research workshop held in Braunschweig (Germany), 11–14 September 1990*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Swets & Zeitlinger.

Travis Nesbitt
University of California, Los Angeles, USA

Val Rust
University of California, Los Angeles, USA

SECTION 3

WHO ARE WE? (RE)NEGOTIATING COMPLEX IDENTITIES

CLAUDIA MESSINA, VANITA SUNDARAM AND IAN DAVIES

11. DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN TEXTBOOKS IN SPAIN AND ENGLAND

In this chapter we discuss the characterization of citizenship education as shown in a sample of textbooks in Spain and England. Textbook research that focuses on individual countries such as that undertaken by Lisovskaya and Karpov (1999), Usher and Edwards (1994), Cowans (1996), Kwang (1985), and Washburn (1997) is well established and valuable. We seek, however, to pursue a comparative analysis, following the extensive work undertaken by such bodies as the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig, Germany. We recognize the potential for improvements to national policies and practice as a consequence of comparative and evaluative research in multiple settings through a clear recognition of contextual specificity. We see textbooks not as straightforward accounts of ‘what is,’ but as an indication of how a field is represented and of the particular positions that are taken up in such accounts (Altbach, 1991; Crawford, 2000; Demel, 1996; Foster, 1999; Issitt, 2004). Thinking specifically of textbooks and curricula developed for citizenship education, the issues that characterize citizenship education are ones that have been “conceived, designed and authored by real people with real interests” (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991, p. 9) or, less explicitly and insidiously, as argued by authors such as Osler (1994), by those who follow existing norms. As such, we recognize the need to explore the different forms in which the relatively new curriculum area of citizenship education is being displayed.

There has been an increasing emphasis on citizenship education since the late 1980s. Discussions start frequently with lamentations about the state of democracy (Haste & Hogan, 2006). Arguments have been presented in which education in general, and citizenship education in particular, are seen as possible ways forward in addressing challenges about the perceived decline in formal participation, the growth of economic inequalities, and the rise of social challenges (Osler & Starkey, 2004). As such, it is not surprising that different discourses and meanings of citizenship have emerged over time and inform distinct teaching practices (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006). The different perspectives can be loosely summarized by making a distinction between a *contractual* and a *communal* vision of citizenship. On one hand, contractual citizenship tends to be legalistic and has a strong conception of individualism and individual rights at its core (Johnston Conover, Crewe, & Searing, 1991). Citizens are regarded as autonomous individuals bound together by a social contract. Political participation within this contract becomes

merely instrumental and mainly serves private interests rather than the common good (Johnston Conover et al., 1991). On the other hand, the communal vision sees citizens as social and political actors whose lives are intertwined (Barber, 1984, and Sandel, 1984, as discussed in Johnston Conover et al., 1991). Citizens share common traditions and understandings, which form the basis for their public pursuit of a common good. Citizenship education in this sense adopts a social initiation purpose or a social reformation one. Whereas the contractual approach perceives society as in need of defense and reproduction, the communal vision assumes that society is in need of improvement.

Our discussion in this chapter concerns a comparative reflection on citizenship in Spain and England, based on an analysis of a sample of citizenship education textbooks commonly in use in schools in Spain and England during 2007–2008. The questions we consider include: What sort of society is proposed? What is the role of a citizen in such a society? How should a citizen be prepared through education for that role? Our main purpose throughout this chapter is to discuss the contexts that lead to characterizations of citizenship; to investigate, through an analysis of a sample of textbooks, which forms of citizenship are promoted to educate students for citizenship; to examine how citizenship is positioned in schools (i.e., as discrete activities or infused through other subjects such as history, religion, etc.); and to consider what kinds of activities are suggested within and beyond schools. In short, our aim is to analyze how our sample of textbooks reflects the key elements of debates about citizenship and citizenship education in relation to knowledge, active participation in civic life, and commitment to pluralism (Sears, Clarke, & Hughes, 1998).

COMPARATIVE RESEARCH IN SPAIN AND ENGLAND

Comparative educational research explores differences and similarities in educational systems, processes, and outcomes across contexts and develops understanding of how these arise. In such analyses, it is necessary to demonstrate both that there is a sufficient level of understanding of the contexts that are examined and that the basis for that understanding is one from which comparative insight may reasonably be made (Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2009). A number of key components of statal contexts are pertinent to consider in such comparative analyses, including the economy, Europe as a union, population (including age distribution, ethnic diversity, and immigration), national identity (including centralization and devolution), and religion. Each of these is connected to particular conceptions of citizenship.

In the first place, population factors impinge directly and indirectly on the nature of citizenship education. Both Spain and the United Kingdom (UK) are members of the European Union, have developed economies, and have similar population sizes (46.5 million in Spain and 61.1 million in England in 2009). There are some similarities in relation to the age distribution of populations in the two countries.

In Spain in 2013, approximately 15.4% of the population was 0 to 14 years old; 67.2% were 15 to 64 years old; and 17.5% were 65 years or older. Corresponding figures for the UK were 17.3%, 65.1%, and 17.5% (Central Intelligence Agency, 2014). These particular age distributions impact definitions of citizenship. Aging populations in developed economies have the effect of shifting expectations of what may be provided by the state. There may be perceived pressures on societies that have in the past been considered welfare states to move to what, very broadly, may be thought of as a more individualized framed enterprise economy. It is possible that such shifts may influence the perception of citizenship towards more neoliberal perspectives. It is not suggested that liberal notions of citizenship are completely exclusive to civic republican conceptions (Heater, 1999), but there may be, generally, a greater emphasis on the significance of individuals' rights than collective responsibilities. In part as a result of a perceived need to maintain the economy at a time of changes to the population, immigration has recently increased in both Spain and England. This has had a significant impact on notions of citizenship education, both in terms of support for—or opposition to—it as well as the nature of the debates that surround the particular type of education that is favored or rejected.

This trend towards increasing ethnic diversity is very relevant to the growth and character of citizenship education. In January 2008, there were in excess of 5.2 million foreign residents in Spain, representing unprecedented movement into the country. Between 1975 and 1985, the number of people born abroad increased to 76,682 persons, and between 1999 and 2008, the number of foreign residents had grown to 5,440,948 persons (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2009). These trends have resulted in a growing representation of international migration in the Spanish population (around 10.2% in 2006). General figures showing immigration as a whole in Spain obviously are reflected in schools. There were 80,587 immigrant pupils in 1998–99; the number increased to 746,696 in 2008–09 (Ministerio de Educación, 2009). Spain has been hosting a large number of people from Morocco, Ecuador, Colombia, and Romania for many years. According to a report of the Spanish Education Ministry, most foreign-born children, 82.7%, go to public schools; 14.7% are in schools subsidized by the regional governments, and only 3.1% go to private establishments.

Institutionally-based education appears to have a twofold effect on the situation of excluded groups (Santibañez & Maiztegui, 2007). Schooling offers the opportunity to get ahead in society, but any decreases in acts of discrimination have led only to a small reduction in certain (economic, political, and psychological) dynamics that immobilize certain groups and which constitute barriers to their self-determination (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2000). Due to the economic crisis that affected Spain since academic year 2008–09, these trends towards increasing diversification in schools started to decrease in primary school, in which there are 4.7% fewer foreign students than in the previous course. Some immigrant families have decided to return to their original countries, and fewer new immigrants are coming to Spain (Ministerio de Educación, Cultura, y Deporte, 2012).

The situation in England is similar. Research by the Institute for Public Policy Research, as reported by the British Broadcasting Corporation (2005), showed that between 1991 and 2001, half of Britain's population growth was due to immigration. Some further details that pertain to that situation are shown in [Table 1](#).

Table 1. Usual residents by country of birth in England and Wales, 1991–2011, by percentage of total population

<i>Year</i>	<i>UK born</i>	<i>Non–UK born</i>
2011	87%	13%
2001	91%	9%
1991	93%	7%

In Britain, some have reacted in alarmist ways to these and similar data. For example, Green (2007) described Britain's demographics as follows:

News today that one in four children born in Britain has a foreign parent is the clearest possible evidence of the effect of mass immigration on our society. This mass immigration is dividing England into two zones. In the countryside, life continues much as usual. In the cities, multiculturalism is rapidly taking over. In London, one third of the population is immigrant and half of all children are born to foreign mothers. In many city schools, immigrant children can find little British culture to adhere to, even if they wished to do so. Trevor Philips was right to suggest that we are “sleep-walking towards segregation ... Second-generation Muslims have not only failed to integrate; a small, dangerous minority are so filled with hatred for our country that they turn into suicide bombers. (para. 10)

The former prime minister of the UK, Gordon Brown, revealed his concern about such matters by writing an introduction for a book titled *Being British* by D'Ancona (2009). Robinson (2008) explained that Brown is reportedly

... worried about social cohesion and he's also concerned about the threat posed to what you might call social democratic values by the growing sense of “unfairness” felt by most voters in response to mass immigration. (para. 5)

The impact of immigration prompted by the need to maintain a developed economy has a particularly striking effect at times of economic crisis. Whereas in 2007 Spain was said to thrive on immigration (Matlock, 2007), by January 2009 the Rodríguez Zapatero government was offering immigrants an incentive to leave (Percept & Perrouault, 2009). Although concrete manifestations of xenophobia are isolated incidents (Lorente & Alonso, 2007), there are very worrying indications of a lack of integration, with children of immigrants suffering more violence than others, as well as more subtle forms of discrimination (Aguado, 2006).

It is important not to conflate information about religious identity with discussions about ethnicity. Further, it is vital not to make simple assumptions about connections between terrorism, immigration, and ethnicity. Kymlicka (2010) has, however, referred to opinion poll data that suggested a positive identification in national identity in Britain among those who belong to ethnic minority communities:

When the 2003 UK Home Office Citizenship Survey asked “how strongly you belong to Britain”, 85.95% of Indians, 86.38% of Pakistanis, and 86.85% of Bangladeshis said that they belong either “fairly” or “very” strongly to Britain—numbers that are essentially identical to the 86.7% of whites who said they either fairly or very strongly belong. As Rahsaan Maxwell says, these results “encourage scepticism towards the notion of a national identification crisis among Muslims and South Asians in Britain.” (p. 35)

Even when there is some connection between immigration and crime and terrorism, the alarm expressed is often out of proportion to real and fundamentally unchanging situations. Consideration of these matters shows that diversity exists within a rather traditional context:

The 2001 Census collected information about ethnicity and religious identity. Combining these results shows that while the population is more culturally diverse than ever before, White Christians remain the largest single group by far. In England and Wales, 36 million people (nearly 7 out of 10) described their ethnicity as White and their religion as Christian. (Office for National Statistics, 2004, p. 6)

But it is necessary to be aware of the possible influence exercised on the development of policy and practice by those who make simplistic connections between immigrants, ‘minorities,’ and forms of disengagement. Obviously, the background to the development of citizenship education is not divorced entirely from perceptions about the Madrid 2004 train bombings and murders on the London transport network in 2005 and 2007. Multicultural and diverse societies bring many opportunities but also may be associated by some with challenges of identification, integration, and exclusion, for which it is necessary to find an educational (and not only legislative and punitive) response. There have been dramatic changes in the opinions expressed by respondents about social and political issues, including views about immigrants and ethnic minorities, since the economic crisis from 2008 (Guardian, 2014), with the results of the elections to the European Parliament showing support for anti-European parties.

These matters about the characterization of the state and loyalty to it are reflected in debates about and developments in religion. Notably, Spain has a strong Catholic tradition even though, since the 1978 Constitution, it has lacked an official religion, and the head of state in England also occupies the role of head of the Church of England. In England, “Around one-third of maintained primary and secondary schools in England are faith schools and just under one-quarter of pupils attend such

schools” (Bolton & Gillie, 2009, p. 1). In Spain, it would not be an exaggeration to say that the current Spanish political context has been characterized by the confrontation between the main political parties (Socialist Party and Popular Party), which have different attitudes towards religion and to the church. The Socialist party is, generally, more critical of the church than the Popular Party, and debates of these matters impinge directly on the nature of preferred forms of citizenship education. In Spain, the Catholic Church exerts a significant influence on educational debates and directly manages many schools. The Catholic Church has exerted strong resistance to the introduction of citizenship education, insisting such education is principally the responsibility of parents. In some cases, teachers and parents have been encouraged to vindicate their right to ‘conscious objection,’ although this right is only provided for the military service regarding the Constitución Española in Article 30.2. The church also argues that parents have the right to choose the education they want for their children, a right that is written in a rather complex manner in Article 27 of the Spanish Constitution.

The background to citizenship education, which is infused with so many strong currents that spiral outwards from debates about ethnicity and immigration, is also directly related to notions of multiculturalism and multinationalism. In both the UK with its four nations and in Spain whose 1978 Constitution recognizes 17 autonomous regions and two autonomous cities, characterizations of the center and periphery are extremely important. The determination to allow for a form of inclusion that is both democratic and has the effect of sidelining organizations such as the Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (Basque Homeland and Freedom; ETA) and Irish Republican Army (IRA) has led to some evidence of decentralization. The nature of citizenship that is being promoted in such circumstances needs to be carefully considered. Kymlicka (2010), while developing a positive stance towards such devolved arrangements, helpfully warns us against the problems that these sorts of states bring. New immigrants may, for example, be dominated or their support used against longer established minorities. It would not be helpful if, for example, recent immigrants to the UK were used by the state in an effort to work against the 8.5% of Catholics in Northern Ireland who see themselves as being British or the 33% in Scotland who reject even a partial British identity. Characterizations of citizenship education may reflect larger issues related to centralization and devolution. Teachers and students, when developing citizenship education, have to find a way of exploring these matters.

With this discussion of some of the key considerations for the context of citizenship education in England and Spain, we now turn to an introduction of citizenship education in both countries, which is then followed by an analysis of a sample of textbooks on the topic.

THE INTRODUCTION OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN SPAIN AND ENGLAND

Both Spain and England experienced similar patterns of policy development and attempted implementation of citizenship education: a long period of neglect

followed by rapid action involving an appointment of a committee of experts, the development of a national curriculum, the use of change agents and, most recently, increasing ambivalence and loss of interest on the part of significant policy actors. Given the devolved nature of the education systems within the UK, many of our comments are related to England.

Long Neglect

In England, various unsuccessful attempts to introduce some form of political or social or citizenship education had been hampered by inconsistent support from politicians. The political education project of the 1970s had gained some official support (Crick & Porter, 1978), but that faded rapidly in the face of the first Thatcher government from 1979. By the time the Conservatives had begun to think about education generally, and citizenship education in particular, by introducing a cross-curricular theme of education for citizenship in 1990, Thatcher was about to fall from power and there was little prospect of any innovation succeeding. However, one of the early actions of the Blair government (and closely connected to his sense of communitarianism of ‘New Labour’; Giddens, 1994) was related to citizenship education. The national curriculum for citizenship was introduced in England in September 2002. There have subsequently been further citizenship education opportunities for students 16 years and older as well as other non-compulsory opportunities for all ages, including those associated with community development programs.

A similar pattern of neglect of explicitly stated democratic citizenship education is evident in Spain, although the context within which that neglect occurred is strikingly different. The death of Franco in 1975 brought to an end a long period of fascism during which schools were expected to promote thinking and action in relation to the authoritarian state that he led. Until 2004, and very similar to the position in England prior to 1997, citizenship was not a specific content area or subject, but had been considered across the educational system through different kinds of subjects called *contenidos transversales* (literally, ‘cross contents’ and close to what has been described in debates in other areas as cross-curricular dimensions, themes, and issues). In that year, 2004, the Spanish Ministry of Education published a document entitled “An Education of Quality for All and Among All” which spoke explicitly of citizenship education that allows for active participation in democratic society.

A Committee of Experts

In both Spain and England, a committee was established that defined and characterized citizenship education in a deliberate attempt to be high profile, politically nonpartisan, intellectually insightful, and practically relevant. Addressing the UK context, Kerr (2001) discussed the construction of the Citizenship Advisory

Group (CAG) and the wide-ranging debates that took place within it over definitions, scope, status, approach, and support. Within those constraints and in relation to those opportunities, Kerr became extremely influential in the development of the curriculum and of the research into its implementation. There was clear evidence of higher standards being achieved around a conceptually based, contemporary focused, actively taught and learned curriculum. Kiwan (2008) also examined the workings of the CAG, drawing attention to particular challenges concerning identity and citizenship. Her work was influential in helping to move the characterization of citizenship more explicitly towards a recognition of the connection with and reliance on diverse perspectives.

In 2004, the Spanish Ministry of Education, supported by the socialist government under President Rodríguez Zapatero, opened a national debate about the new Spanish Educational Law, including the introduction of a new compulsory subject called citizenship education. The ministry created six online forums, one of which was called “Values and the Civic Education.” Five seminars were organized by the Educational Ministry (sometimes in collaboration with other institutions such as the OIE—Latin-American States Organization), and other events were hosted by universities, trade unions, and political parties. Publications were produced as a result of these discussions, including one produced by El Consejo Escolar del Estado (the State School Council), which involved a wide range of groups and individuals. The State School Council pointed out that including a reinforcement of education in values was welcome in light of a perceived lack of positive values among the young generation of Spaniards, which many educational research reports had remarked upon (Consejo Escolar del Estado, 2005). The council also suggested that, in light of increasing immigration to Spain, it would be necessary to introduce precise and specific knowledge regarding citizenship education. For example, they saw it necessary to include the principles of the Spanish Constitutional Law that, among other things, guarantees the social rights of all people living in the country regardless of their origin.

Many—mainly from conservative sectors—rose against the proposed Education Law in a strong public debate. For example, the political party in opposition at that time, the Partido Popular, through its former education adviser Alicia Delibes, criticized the proposed Values and Civic Education curriculum for its biased moral and political content (Actualidad Económica, 2007). Also, the Catholic Church criticized the curriculum’s content on sex education, the teaching of diverse family structures (many parents or homosexual parents), and its alleged secular emphasis (Libertad Digital, 2007). Complaints also came from others, including some anarchist groups. They criticized it on the grounds that the democratic system was preferred in the curriculum to the detriment of other forms of social organization (anarchy, for example) and that it had a citizenship ideology instead of the traditional socialist emphasis on class conflict (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, 2006).

Change Agents

Following the acceptance of the Crick Report in 1998, citizenship teams were established in England within the central government Department for Education and Skills (later the Department for Education and Employment, DfEE) and the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA). The Association for Citizenship Teaching was established, schemes of work were produced by the QCA, and the Training and Development Agency for Schools funded the citized network to strengthen teacher education for citizenship education. Almost all educational publishers active in the schools sector produced materials for the new commercial market in citizenship education, and there was close collaboration with several nongovernmental organizations (e.g., the Citizenship Foundation) and linkages with international bodies such as the Council of Europe. Evaluation was undertaken by the National Foundation for Educational Research (see Keating, Kerr, Benton, Mundy, & Lopes, 2010) as well as by the government inspection agency Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted). The latter reported in 2006:

Significant progress has been made in implementing National Curriculum citizenship in many secondary schools. However, there is not yet a strong consensus about the aims of citizenship education or about how to incorporate it into the curriculum. In a quarter of schools surveyed, provision is still inadequate, reflecting weak leadership and lack of specialist teaching. (Ofsted, 2006, p. 1)

A more recent Ofsted (2010) report confirmed these earlier findings. Despite these positive evaluations, since 2008, the UK government appears to have placed less emphasis on citizenship education in favor of traditional subjects such as history and community involvement in what is currently termed by the prime minister the “big society.”

The development of citizenship education is so new in Spain that change agents have not developed as clearly as in England. But there have been significant inputs by nongovernmental organizations (Maiztegui, 2006). UNICEF Spain, for example, wrote positively about the development of citizenship education, wishing to make it mandatory throughout the compulsory years of schooling; UNICEF also made a wide range of recommendations for its development and made didactic material for teachers freely available on the Internet (UNICEF, 2005, p. 36). A group of professionals from different fields gathered in a project called “Proyecto Atlántida,” which started in 1996 to reflect on public schooling’s role in promoting democratic values. The group has organized seminars, offered workshops for teacher training, written position papers, and provided curricular materials for teachers and others that were later incorporated into the citizenship education curriculum (Proyecto Atlántida, 2004).

Key Features of Citizenship Education in England and Spain

We outline below the policy developments that relate to the production of the textbooks that we examined. The changes in both Spain and England (referred to above) that have changed the nature of citizenship education have not yet led to the publication of new textbooks and so are considered only very briefly.

In England the Crick report (DfEE & QCA, 1998) characterized citizenship education as consisting of social and moral responsibility, community involvement, and political literacy:

We aim at no less than a change in the political culture of this country both nationally and locally: for people to think of themselves as active citizens, willing, able and equipped to have an influence in public life and with the critical capacities to weigh evidence before speaking and acting; to build on and to extend radically to young people the best in existing traditions of community involvement and public service and to make them individually confident in finding new forms of involvement and action among themselves. (pp. 7–8)

Crick's intention was to give teachers the 'strong bare bones' of a curriculum framework that would allow for the possibility of collaboration across subject boundaries but which would see citizenship education as being "a vital and distinct statutory part of the curriculum, an entitlement for all pupils in its own right" (DfEE & QCA, 1998, p. 13). The National Curriculum Order for citizenship became compulsory for secondary schools in September 2002. The requirements had three key aspects: "Teaching should ensure that knowledge and understanding about becoming informed citizens are acquired and applied when developing skills of enquiry and communication, and participation and responsible action" (DfEE & QCA, 1999, p. 14). The national curriculum has been revised and since 2008 has focused on the key concepts of democracy and justice, rights and responsibilities, and identities and diversity, with key processes covering the need for critical thinking and inquiry, advocacy and representation, and taking informed and responsible action.

The Spanish compulsory educational system extends for students aged 6 to 16 years. The stage of obligatory secondary education includes 4 years that correspond with the first years of secondary school (12–16 years), divided into two cycles of 2 years each. A further 2 years of nonobligatory education allows students to take an exam, which together with work undertaken throughout their final 2 years at school may give them the right to access higher education.

The new Statutory Educational Law of 2006 (Ley Orgánica de Educación, 2006) indicated that the aim of education for citizenship

is to give all students a space for reflection, analysis and study about the fundamental characteristics and the way a democratic system works, the

principles and rights established in the Spanish Constitutional Law and in the treaties and universal declarations of human rights, as well as the common values that constitute the foundation of a democratic citizenship within a global context. (Ley Orgánica de Educación, 2006, p. 17163)

The national curriculum of education for citizenship and human rights in primary education covers three key sections: individuals and interpersonal and social relationships, life in the community, and living in society. The mandatory subject of citizenship is also included in the national curriculum for secondary education. This is divided into five parts: diversity, interpersonal relations and participation, duties and rights, democratic societies in the 21st century, and citizenship in a global world. Finally, there is a policy for ethics-civic education which is placed in the fourth course of secondary compulsory education. The introduction of this subject into the national Spanish curriculum responds to the 2002 recommendation of the Council of Europe, so its main aim is to prepare students to be active citizens committed to pluralism and democratic societies (Maiztegui, 2006).

The above consideration of the nature of citizenship education in Spain and England is too brief and the situations too complex to allow for an easy summary of what sort of citizenship education we perhaps should expect to see in textbooks. However, these key features of citizenship education, as well as the broader considerations of context, were useful in framing our analysis of textbooks.

METHODOLOGY

To inform our approach, we reviewed three types of methodological literature: literature on general issues relevant to textbook research, such as Beck and Mckeown (1991) and Venezky (1992); examples of textbook analysis from England (Osler, 1994); and examples of textbook analysis from Spain (De la Caba Collado & López Atxurra, 2006). Based on this review, our initial analysis focused on three key areas: knowledge, active participation in civic life, and commitment to pluralism. We paid attention also to the pedagogical framing of these areas (what is implied about the sort of structures that should exist in schools for the teaching of citizenship education and what more detailed pedagogical methods are suggested). We addressed the following specific questions about our key areas for analysis:

- *The fundamental nature of citizenship education:* Is citizenship related to rights and/or duties? Is it related to politics, morals, religion, economics, or something else? Is it based on a community approach? Is it local, national, and/or global?
- *The significance and focus of active participation:* Are personal relationships emphasized in citizenship? Does citizenship have an academic focus? Are learners encouraged to act within and beyond school?
- *The emphasis on a diverse society:* What information and images about immigration, diversity, and inequality are offered to students in the books? Which

values do the textbooks highlight regarding diversity? Do the text-books introduce news from the media that shows immigration and cultural diversity positively?

- *The structure and processes for teaching citizenship*: Do the books focus on infusing citizenship through “traditional” school subjects (such as history, English, religious education)? Are contemporary issues used? Do the activities encourage students to repeat and memorize or to reflect and criticize?

Eight books were included, spanning from 2002 to 2008 (see [Table 2](#)). This number is similar to samples used by other researchers: Lisovskaya and Karpov (1999) examined 12 books, and De la Caba Collado and López Atxurra (2006) analyzed 24 books but from a wide range of subject areas. All books were produced by mainstream publishers and, based on our professional and academic experience in schools in England and Spain, commonly in use. In the case of Spain, the books were also among the first published textbooks on citizenship education. All books were designed for use in explicit programs of citizenship education. All the texts focused on part of the secondary age range (11–14 years) in which students receive the opportunity to become engaged in explicit programs of citizenship education.

Table 2. Textbooks analyzed

Country	Textbooks
Spain	Aguilar García, T., Caballero García, A., Dausà Riu, N., Mestre Chust, J. V., & Vilaseca Baró, S. (2007). <i>Educación para la ciudadanía/ESO</i> [Citizenship education]. Madrid, Spain: Edebé. González Lucini, F. (2007). <i>Educación para la ciudadanía</i> [Citizenship education]. Madrid, Spain: Edelvives. González Lucini, F. (2008). <i>Educación ético-cívica</i> [Ethics-civic education]. Madrid, Spain: Edelvives.
England	Algarra, B., & Lee, J. (2002). <i>Activate 3: Enquiries into global citizenship</i> . Cheltenham, UK: Nelson Thornes/Institute for Citizenship. Edwards, S., Griffith, A., Norton, P., Ord, W., & Ricketts, C. (2003). <i>Citizenship in action 1</i> . Oxford, UK: Heinemann. Galligan, F., Griffith, A., Norton, P., & Riley, A. (2003). <i>Citizenship in action 1</i> . Oxford, UK: Heinemann. Hudson, J., & Erlewynn-Lajeunesse, S. (2002). <i>Activate 1: Enquiries into local citizenship</i> . Cheltenham, UK: Nelson Thornes/Institute for Citizenship. Radley, P., & Knapp, A. (2002). <i>Activate 2: Enquiries into national citizenship</i> . Cheltenham, UK: Nelson Thornes/Institute for Citizenship.

Two people in England and one person in Spain analyzed the books within and, in the case of the Spanish colleague, across countries. Each text was described and then a series of answers given to the research questions with supporting quantitative evidence. Texts were described after reading the index of the books and then completing a detailed and deep reading of each unit by highlighting words,

phrases, included texts, pictures, and activities that drew attention to one of the categories of analysis and questions. We loosely followed the procedure used by De la Caba Collado and López Atxurra (2006), who in turn followed the work of Johnsen (1996) and Nannes (2002). We began by completing page-by-page analyses in order to determine the space dedicated to each category using the page as the unit of reference: 1 page, 1/2 page, 1/4 page. This approach to counting proved to be too mechanistic to capture the nuances of the extremely lengthy and complex discussions that developed face to face and electronically. We decided, following protracted deliberation, not to proceed with the counting frames and instead to portray our discussions more dynamically. Such an approach may be considered by some as a failure to demonstrate the evidence base. We feel the force of such an argument but suggest that some of the counting that occurs in educational research is not always possible or helpful and may at times serve only to display a rather spurious objectivity (Creswell, 2013). This article is not the place to pursue such matters in any detail, and as such we present our discussion not in order to persuade others of our objectively demonstrated argument but rather to illustrate our reflections about the issues we felt are revealed in the textbooks and to be honest about the technical difficulties we faced when completing our tables and charts and about the more substantial philosophical discussions that emerged regarding our approach to evidence and objectivity.

DISCUSSION

We suggest that our textbooks from Spain and England showed direct and explicit attention to citizenship through references to moral and social engagement in contemporary society with some attention to diversity. In Spain, the focus was principally on moral issues; in England, the emphasis was on social responsibility (and as such political literacy was not highlighted). There were explicit considerations of contemporary society, but the strong emphasis that we had expected on diversity was not present. In addition, the books suggested a direct approach to the teaching of citizenship, which may not reflect the reality of most schools.

Emphasizing Moral Responsibility and Social Engagement in Contemporary Society

The Spanish books in our sample tended to emphasize moral responsibility, while the books from England highlighted the significance of social engagement. The first way in which we wish to develop this argument is by referring to the relative absence of a civics approach in both countries. Crick suggested that because of its emphasis on institutions and constitutions, civics is likely to be seen as irrelevant and boring; worse, it could be misleading, since in ‘real’ politics, little is done according to the rules—that is, the interplay of personalities and issues is often the most significant factor in determining outcomes. This message seemed to

have been accepted by the authors of our books. We do not wish to overstate this position. There were some sections on formal decision-making in local, national, and international contexts. One chapter in each of the Activate books (England) dealt with formal democratic processes (e.g., “Democracy: Our Representatives”). In the Spanish sample by Edebé, the book *Citizenship Education* (Aguilar García, Caballero García, Dausà Riu, Mestre Chust, & Vilseca Baró, 2007) gave a very short description of the different steps during the construction of the European Union and how it affected Spanish people being Europeans. The books also gave information about human rights; some provided the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in an appendix and explained its historical evolution. *Citizenship Education* (González Lucini, 2007) provided information on the Spanish Constitutional Law, specifically stressing those articles referring to respect for human rights. In the case of the book for the fourth course, *Ethics-Civic Education*, the authors provided information about the origin of the United Nations and various declarations, agreements, and international conventions of the United Nations related to human rights (González Lucini, 2008). However, these presentations provided little emphasis on parliamentary procedures and, as such, the comment above about the relative absence of civics is reinforced.

Implied in the above discussion is a clear focus on contemporary matters (which is always a challenge for textbooks that rapidly become dated). The English books included on almost every page contemporary references (to crime, youth groups, money, etc.). Spanish textbooks gave information about contemporary issues such as the status of women in different countries (e.g., Aguilar García et al., 2007, p. 45) or conflicts around the world (p. 95). The second course textbook published by Edelvives dedicated two pages to peace by talking about Daniel Barenboim and his project West-Eastern Divan Orchestra and by featuring a famous Spanish singer who has created a platform for Artist Women Against Sex Violence (pp. 72–73), a very controversial issue for Spanish society.

Our principal argument here is that an avoidance of civics and a focus on contemporary matters existed within an approach that emphasized moral responsibilities in Spain and social engagement in England. The general focus of the Spanish books showed intentions to provide moral guidance. *Citizenship Education* (González Lucini, 2007) introduced an idea of citizenship related to rights and duties and stressed values such as freedom, solidarity, and respect that people share and have the obligation to respect. The authors talked about “big values,” which are “the essential values over which life and living together in democracy are built and based. Among them, we can highlight the following: freedom, justice, peace, and solidarity” (p. 10). These values were referred to throughout the book. In the case of the Aguilar García et al. (2007) textbook, citizens’ duties were related to paying taxes, working, defending Spain, contributing in case of catastrophe, protecting the environment, etc. The authors also highlighted in a text box, printed in another color and font, a “moral dilemma” (as they called it) regarding paying taxes. The situation could be summarized as follows:

A man who owns a small company runs into economic difficulty because of his large investment in his company. To avoid paying taxes, his account manager proposes that he include some personal expenses as company expenses, but the man refuses. (Aguilar García et al., 2007, p. 42)

Students were asked to think from the perspective of the business owner and justify his behavior. They were given five possible answers related to what we could call “different levels of moral reasoning”—ranging from acting to avoid punishment to acting based on an ethical universal principle that states: “All citizens are obliged to pay taxes. Not paying them or paying less than I’m supposed to means taking money from people that are less fortunate than I am, and that goes against my ethical principles” (González Lucini, 2007, p 42). The ‘correct’ answer students should give is clear.

This emphasis on moral decision-making, however, was not aligned with religion. Although Edelvives (the publisher of González Lucini’s books) is a Catholic publisher, religion was mentioned as a human right, with freedom to choose one’s own beliefs. In the case of the book *Ethics-Civic Education*, mention was made of the first Parliament of Religions that took place in Chicago in 1893. There was specific discussion of building a universal ethic that could transcend any ideology or religion (pp. 44–47).

In the English books, the principal emphasis was on social engagement. This was often shown positively. Very often there was an explicit recognition of injustice—that certain groups may be particularly subject to prejudice and discrimination and that a community is a valued aspect of society. There was an emphasis on values; however, unlike some character education programs that offered explicit expectations of what must be done to achieve a decent society, there was a sense of the individual being able to make a difference by recognizing responsibilities through social engagement. The overall message was that a positive and valued community would be formed should individuals contribute. The form of this contribution could be seen in relation to three standpoints: behavioral, procedural, and substantive. Young people were seen as good if they volunteered in projects that aimed to help others; they should be committed to engaging in ways that were true, honest, and decent, and they should be able to take part in a democracy in which groups were valued within the rule of law. As such, earlier approaches in which controversial issues were discussed by means of a neutral chair in order to allow for values clarification (Stenhouse, 1968) were not being used.

The importance of this approach to moral responsibility and social engagement may be seen in relation to the sort of active participation that was proposed. In both countries, politics and economics were principally used in the form of frameworks that provide context for the enactment of moral responsibilities and social engagement. Political literacy—as espoused by Crick in the 1970s Program for Political Education and his concern for developing citizenship education in the 1990s until his death in 2008—did not seem to have been incorporated into textbooks.

In the Spanish textbooks, examples to illustrate this point include material from Aguilar García et al. (2007), who suggested that citizens must respect the services given to them by the local government. The text is as follows:

The Municipality

Your municipality offers you many basic services you must respect and, at the same time, you have the opportunity to actively participate in.

Form six groups. Each group has to choose, in 6 minutes, one of these themes: acoustic contamination, taking care of urban goods, helping the third age, recycling, abandoned pets, dirt.

In 6 minutes each group has to make a presentation to the class and contribute to a discussion. Write down the comments and critiques of classmates to improve your work. (Aguilar García et al., 2007, p. 27)

Typically, a good citizen was shown as someone who practices the values of justice and solidarity by paying taxes, using community services correctly and honestly, and being willing to help those in need. There was the possibility of lively discussion in relation to community issues. The focus was on moral responsibility and social engagement, and there was very little about how to influence, as citizens, key societal structures or governmental decisions.

Diversity

In light of references to the focus in Spain and England on immigration, nationality, and social cohesion, we expected considerable attention devoted to questions of identity and diversity. The 2008 version of the national curriculum for citizenship in England included a theme specifically devoted to these matters. It is interesting that books commonly used in schools recognized diversity but did not seem to emphasize it in significant ways.

This surprise does not lead us to suggest that the books in our sample were racist. A range of ethnicities were represented in the photos, and there were examples of different situations experienced by individuals and families from diverse ethnic backgrounds. Indeed, there was a very clear commitment to anti-racism. For example, in one book alone (Galligan, Griffith, Norton, & Riley, 2003), the “Kick Racism Out of Football” campaign was described; a Pakistani tennis player was praised for collaborating with an Israeli colleague despite the tension existing between their countries; and the difficulties faced by Muslims in the UK since 9/11 were discussed. In Activate 1, a chapter entitled “What Is Diversity?” discussed “dealing with ethnic diversity” and promoting equality between individuals and groups. Diversity was discussed not only in terms of ethnicity, but also in terms of gender and disability. However, the overall impression of the books did not lead us to suggest that identity and diversity were the priorities that we had expected. The number of pages devoted

to such matters was relatively few, and the chapter headings did not deal with identity and diversity explicitly. Diversity in terms of sexuality and age was not considered. It is interesting that diversity was not mainstreamed and discussed in relation to other social issues, such as democracy, community action, and bullying in schools, although young people from various ethnic backgrounds were included in many examples. Activate 2 had a section on “Britishness” and multiculturalism, and Activate 3 similarly dealt with religious and linguistic diversity. As such, there was a sense that the books were implicitly advocating or perhaps even celebrating a multicultural society without exploring what that might mean and without a proper consideration of the challenging issues that need to be considered.

We drew a similar conclusion in relation to Spain. The Spanish national curriculum includes specific themes related to identity and the problems of racism, xenophobia, and discrimination, but these topics—although present in these books—were not specifically framed or extensively represented, considering the impact that immigration has had on Spanish society. Some attention was given to diversity. For example, *Ethics-Civic Education* (González Lucini, 2008) presented unfair situations (e.g., starvation) and used some extracts from a speech by Jose Saramago (a Portuguese writer) given at the Social World Forum in 2002, in which he stated that the causes that provoked injustice could be summarized in only one: “the death of Justice” (p. 17). In one book published by Edebé (Aguilar García et al., 2007), students were asked to reflect on the positive and negative aspects of immigration and to relate this topic with cultural identity. Some material clearly showed the possibility of discrimination towards immigrants regarding, for example, employment. Under the title “Learning To Be Critical,” students were asked to reflect on a dilemma: a profitable Spanish company that produces in Mozambique and is therefore able to sell at very cheap prices due to the reduced costs of production. The company argued that by buying its products, consumers helped hundreds of families in that country. Another dilemma dealt with finding ways of solving the high level of unemployment among Spaniards. Students were asked to consider whether immigrant workers should be dismissed and replaced with local people (pp. 82, 84). But, again, these matters were covered only briefly, and in light of the present situation of Spain, there was little that significantly encouraged students’ capacity to develop skills of critical reflection. There was, instead, a rather superficial and general encouragement for young people to recognize their moral responsibilities to others. This is not without value but tends to suggest that a clear distinction is not being made between “person” and the more politically characterized “citizen.”

Teaching Citizenship as a Discrete Subject

An in-depth contribution to debates about explicit or infused approaches to teaching citizenship is beyond the scope of this chapter. Our sample included only citizenship education books rather than a comprehensive overview of resources for all school

subjects. And yet it is possible to suggest that within our books, there was little connection between longer-established school subjects and citizenship education. There is some risk in this discrete approach that without the academic scaffolding of a longer-established subject or its higher status, citizenship risks appearing rather fragmented, crisis ridden, and unimportant. However, generally, the discrete approach is a welcome development, as it allows for citizenship to be developed without the difficulties of students having to distinguish between the “hook” of supposedly motivational material and the “substance” of what teachers are really focusing on. This explicit approach has been recommended as most likely to lead to successful teaching and learning (Ofsted, 2010).

The English books were structured in a more clear, more integrated, and more direct way regarding what citizenship education should be according to the English national curriculum. However, the updates of the national curriculum in 2005 and 2008 meant that schools were faced, in difficult economic times when purchasing new resources may not be possible, with a real challenge in staying current. The Spanish textbooks used literary sources to discuss the content at times. Issues and ideas in the Spanish sample were not always as clearly differentiated—for example, regarding local, national, and global issues—as they were in the English books.

We accept that there is some fairly slight evidence of a connection between citizenship and history. For example, two chapters (Galligan et al., 2003; Edwards, Griffith, Norton, Ord, & Ricketts, 2003) were titled “Citizenship and History: Voting” and “Citizenship and History: World Peace.” There was, as the title suggested, some inclusion of material about the struggle by women for the vote and some mention of Vietnam. But very little historical material was used, and there was very little explicit attempt to deal with the central concerns of the history teacher (evidence, causation, chronology, etc.). In the case of Spain, we can say the same. Information was provided about historical processes—for example, about human rights and women’s rights locally and in other parts of the world. Summaries of some key documents (e.g., the Universal Declaration of Human Rights) were included, but these books were about citizenship, not history. There was very little or no connection with other subjects or curriculum areas.

CONCLUSIONS

We have argued that the characterization of citizenship education through textbooks in Spain and England focuses on contemporary society by emphasizing moral responsibility and social engagement through activities in discrete lessons. Little attention is paid to the development of political literacy and, given the context in which citizenship has been discussed, of issues related to diversity and identity. We do not wish to present this as a simplistic position in which young people are being used by those who seek to exercise moral or social positions in society so that people are forced to be “good.” There is certainly evidence in our sample of textbooks of a range of different emphases about and for citizenship in which there is consideration

of formal political processes, an implicit commitment to a multicultural society, a limited exploration of controversial matters in which some of society's failings are shown, and an emphasis on the need for engagement. We are also not claiming that the authors or publishers are committed to a quietist approach in which the status quo is preserved. But we have no evidence to suggest that these books are adopting what some might regard as a transformative position. Indeed, what seems to be most apparent from our sample of textbooks is a commitment to what we have come to think of as a common-sense goodness in which it is likely that only certain forms of contractual citizenships are deemed possible. Young people should know something about the world around them and be active in a responsible way to make their own lives and the lives of others better. It would be difficult to disagree with such a position. It is, however, necessary to consider what "common sense" means in the context of the demographic and other challenges faced by Spain and England and, specifically, what motivated the introduction of citizenship education in both countries. If there is the possibility that perceived challenges to the existing norms of society are being countered by a commitment to moderation and decency, we need to recognize the value-laden nature of these terms and alert young people to the nature of the forces they are subject to. It would be possible to explore these matters further by additional research on the impact of citizenship education and, more particularly, work that seeks to develop political literacy.

For the moment, however, it appears not only as if our sample of textbooks may reflect societies that neglect critical civic education, but perhaps also that the societies themselves are active participants in such developments. As the textbooks were produced at a time of relatively high support for citizenship education, we are not sanguine about the appearance of more noticeably critical perspectives in those textbooks that will be produced to support the revised curricula that emerge during the current age of austerity.

It is important to add a final comment about the state of citizenship education in Spain and England. The work discussed above took place largely during a time when citizenship education was officially strongly supported. We are currently witnessing significant changes in the nature of citizenship education in both Spain and England. There is now something of a return to the general pattern of neglect. Suspicion of the value of critical civic education has returned. The most significant contextual changes since the publication of the textbooks and our analysis of them have included the economic crises that have impacted Europe particularly harshly and the change of national governments.

The 2010 Conservative-led coalition government in the UK arguably placed a greater emphasis on neoliberal policies and has been noticeably less enthusiastic about citizenship education generally and has changed its focus. This tendency has been strengthened following the general election result of 2015 in which a Conservative government took charge. There has recently been a much greater emphasis on character education (although citizenship education remains a national curriculum subject). The most recent developments in citizenship education

in England (to be introduced in schools from September 2014) have led to the characterization of the field as the need to emphasize constitutional and legal knowledge, volunteering, and economic awareness, with an emphasis on the skills needed for managing personal finances.

In 2011 in Spain, the Partido Popular won the general election with approximately 44% of the votes cast. The newly elected educational minister proposed changes in the Educational Law, including the elimination of the subject and its replacement with a new one called Civic and Constitutional Education (Educación Cívica y Constitucional). The new government argues that the former subject was an example of indoctrination. The new law (Ley Orgánica para la Mejora de la Calidad Educativa, LOMCE) will partially modify the previous one. In Spain, there are plans and actions for changes, with greater emphasis on religion, the family, and private economic initiatives, as well as the need to learn the context of problems such as terrorism and ideological fanaticism (González Pérez, 2014). The outcomes of future elections cannot be predicted with any certainty, especially in light of the rise of new political groupings such as Podemos, which reflect a willingness on the part of some to recognize citizen engagement. It will be interesting to monitor the development of textbooks in the future.

WORKS CITED

**Primary Sources*

- Abowitz, K. K., & Harnish, J. (2006). Contemporary discourses of citizenship. *Review of Educational Research*, 76, 653–690.
- Actualidad Económica. (2007, December 6). *Cuando se enseña algo más* [When something more is taught]. Retrieved from <http://www.actualidadeconomica.com/2007/11/29/mercado4.html>
- Aguado, T. (Ed.). (2006). *Racismo, adolescencia e inmigración: Imágenes y experiencia del racismo en adolescentes y jóvenes* [Racism, adolescence and immigration: Images and experience of racism in adolescents and young people]. Madrid, Spain: Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales.
- *Aguilar García, T., Caballero García, A., Dausà Riu, N., Mestre Chust, J. V., & Vilaseca Baró, S. (2007). *Educación para la ciudadanía/ESO* [Citizenship education]. Madrid, Spain: Edebé.
- *Algarra, B., & Lee, J. (2002). *Activate 3: Enquiries into global citizenship*. Cheltenham, UK: Nelson Thornes/Institute for Citizenship.
- Altbach, P. G. (1991). Textbooks: The international dimension. In M. Apple & L. Christian-Smith (Eds.), *The politics of the textbook* (pp. 242–258). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Apple, M., & Christian-Smith, L. (1991). The politics of the textbook. In M. Apple & L. Christian-Smith (Eds.), *The politics of the textbook* (pp. 1–21). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Beck, I. L., & Mckeown, M. G. (1991). Substantive and methodological considerations for productive textbook analysis. In J. P. Shaver (Ed.), *Handbook of research on social studies teaching and learning* (pp. 496–512). New York, NY: Macmillan.
- Bolton, P., & Gillie, C. (2009). *Faith schools: Admissions and performance* [Standard Note: SN/SG4405]. London, UK: Library of the House of Commons.
- British Broadcasting Corporation. (2005). *Born abroad*. London, UK: Author.
- Central Intelligence Agency. (2014). *CIA world factbook*. Washington, DC: Office of Public Affairs.
- Confederación Nacional del Trabajo. (2006, August 31). *Ciudadanos a nuestro pesar* [Citizens to our regret]. Retrieved from <http://www.cntvalladolid.es/spip.php?article239>

DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN TEXTBOOKS IN SPAIN AND ENGLAND

- Consejo Escolar del Estado. (2005). *Una educación de calidad para todos y entre todos. Documento de propuestas del Consejo Escolar del Estado* [An education of quality for all and among all. Document of proposals by the State School Council]. Retrieved from <http://www.debateeducativo.mec.es/>
- Cowans, P. (1996). Reading about the enemy: School textbook representation of Germany's role in the war with Britain during the period from April 1940 to May 1941. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 17*, 327–339.
- Crawford, K. (2000). Researching the ideological and political role of the history textbook: Issues and methods. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research, 1*(1), 81–91.
- Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
- Crick, B., & Porter, A. (1978). *Political education and political literacy*. London, UK: Longman.
- D'Ancona, M. (2009). *Being British: The search for the values that bind the nation. Introduction by Gordon Brown*. London, UK: Mainstream.
- De la Caba Collado, M., & López Atxurra, R. (2006). Democratic citizenship in textbooks in Spanish primary curriculum. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 38*, 205–228.
- Demel, K. (1996). *History and identity*. Strasbourg, France: Council of Europe.
- Department for Education and Employment & Qualifications and Curriculum Authority. (1998). *Education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools*. London, UK: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
- Department for Education and Employment & Qualifications and Curriculum Authority. (1999). *The national curriculum for citizenship*. London, UK: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
- *Edwards, S., Griffith, A., Norton, P., Ord, W., & Ricketts, C. (2003). *Citizenship in action 1*. Oxford, UK: Heinemann.
- Foster, S. J. (1999). The struggle for American identity: Treatment of ethnic groups in United States history textbooks. *History of Education, 28*, 251–227.
- *Galligan, F., Griffith, A., Norton, P., & Riley, A. (2003). *Citizenship in action 1*. Oxford, UK: Heinemann.
- Giddens, A. (1994). *Beyond left and right: The future of radical politics*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- *González Lucini, F. (2007). *Educación para la ciudadanía* [Citizenship education]. Madrid, Spain: Edelvives.
- *González Lucini, F. (2008). *Educación ético-cívica* [Ethics-civic education]. Madrid, Spain: Edelvives.
- González Pérez, T. (2014). La educación cívica en España: Retrospectiva y perspectiva [Civic education in Spain: Past and future]. *History Education, 18*(42), 115–130.
- Green, A. (2007, August 13). Immigration divides England into two zones. *Daily Telegraph*. Retrieved from www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1561074/Immigration-divides-England-into-two-zones.html
- Guardian. (2014, June 17). *British attitudes harden towards immigrants*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/jun/17/immigration-british-attitudes-harden-benefits>
- Haste, H., & Hogan, A. (2006). Beyond conventional civic participation, beyond the moral-political divide: Young people and contemporary debates about citizenship. *Journal of Moral Education, 35*(4), 473–493.
- Heater, D. (1999). *What is citizenship?* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- *Hudson, J., & Erlewynn-Lajeunesse, S. (2002). *Activate 1: Enquiries into local citizenship*. Cheltenham, UK: Nelson Thornes/Institute for Citizenship.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística de España. (2009). *Inmigraciones procedentes del extranjero clasificadas por países de procedencia. Extranjeros. Decenio 1999–2008* [Migrations coming from abroad classified by country of origin. Foreigners. Decade 1999–2008]. Retrieved from http://www.ine.es/inebmenu/mnu_migrac.htm
- Issitt, J. (2004). Reflections on the study of textbooks. *History of Education, 33*, 683–696.
- Johnsen, E. B. (1996). *Libros de texto en el calidoscopio: Estudio crítico de la literatura y la investigación sobre los textos escolares* [Textbooks in the kaleidoscope: Critical study of the literature and research about school texts]. Barcelona, Spain: Pomares Corredor.
- Johnston Conover, P., Creve, I. M., & Searing, D. D. (1991). The nature of citizenship in the United States and Great Britain: Empirical comments on theoretical themes. *Journal of Politics, 53*, 800–832.

- Keating, A., Kerr, D., Benton, T., Mundy, E., & Lopes, J. (2010). *Citizenship education in England 2001–2010: Young people's practices and prospects for the future: The eighth and final report from the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS)*. London, UK: Department for Education.
- Kerr, D. (2001). Citizenship education and education policy making. In J. Arthur, I. Davies, T. Haydn, D. Kerr, & A. Wrenn (Eds.), *Citizenship through secondary history*. London, UK: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Kincheloe, J. L., & Steinberg, S. R. (2000). *Cultura infantil y multinacionales. La construcción de la identidad en la infancia* [Child culture and multinationals: The construction of identity during childhood]. Madrid, Spain: Morata.
- Kiwan, D. (2008). *Education for inclusive citizenship*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Kwang, J. (1985). Changing political culture and changing curriculum: An analysis of language textbooks in the People's Republic of China. *Comparative Education Review*, 21, 197–207.
- Kymlicka, W. (2010). The rise and fall of multiculturalism? New debates on inclusion and accommodation in diverse societies. In S. Vertovec & S. Wessendorf (Eds.), *The multiculturalism backlash: European discourses, policies and practices* (pp. 32–49). Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Ley Orgánica de Educación. (2006, May 3). [Spanish Educational Law]. *Boletín Oficial del Estado. Número, 106*, 17158–17207.
- Libertad Digital. (2007, April 24). *Monseñor Cañizares denuncia que Educación para la Ciudadanía llevará a la sociedad "cuesta abajo hacia el totalitarismo"* [Monsignor Cañizares denounces Education for Citizenship will take society "downhill to totalitarianism"]. Retrieved from <http://www.libertaddigital.com/sociedad/monsenor-canizares-denuncia-que-educacion-para-la-ciudadania-llevara-a-la-sociedad-cuesta-abajo-hacia-el-totalitarismo-1276303988/>
- Lisovskaya, E., & Karpov, V. (1999). New ideologies in postcommunist Russian textbooks. *Comparative Education Review*, 43, 522–541.
- Lorente, D., & Alonso, L. (2007). *Racism in Spain* [ENAR Shadow Report 2006]. Brussels, Belgium: European Network Against Racism.
- Maiztegui, C. (Dir.). (2006). *De la ciudadanía local a la global y de la ciudadanía global a la local. El camino andado* [From local to global citizenship and from global to local citizenship: The way already done]. Bilbao, Spain: Alboan.
- Matlock, C. (2007). How Spain thrives on immigration: The open border policy under José Luis Zapatero is driving a Spanish economic and social revival. *BusinessWeek*. Retrieved from http://www.businessweek.com/print/globalbiz/content/may2007/gb20070509_505675.htm
- Ministerio de Educación. (2009). *Datos y cifras curso escolar 2009/2010* [Datum and figures, school year 2009/2010]. Madrid, Spain: Ministerio de Educación.
- Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte. (2012). *Evolución y situación actual de la presencia del alumnado extranjero en el sistema educativo Español (2011–2012)* [Evolution and present situation of foreign pupils at the Spanish Educational System]. Madrid, Spain: Author.
- Ninnes, P. (2002). Discursive space(s) in science curriculum materials in Canada, Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 34, 557–570.
- Office for National Statistics. (2004). *Focus on ethnicity and identity*. London, UK: Author.
- Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted). (2006). *Towards consensus: Citizenship education in secondary schools*. London, UK: HMSO.
- Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted). (2010). *Citizenship established? Citizenship in schools 2006/9*. Retrieved from www.ofsted.gov.uk/publications/090159
- Osler, A. (1994). Still hidden from history? The representation of women in recently published history textbooks. *Oxford Review of Education*, 20, 219–235.
- Osler, A., & Starkey, H. (2004). Estudio acerca de los avances en educación cívica en los sistemas educativos: Prácticas de calidad en países industrializados [Survey about progress in civic education in the education systems. Quality practice in industrialized countries]. In *Informe presentado por la Oficina Internacional de Educación UNESCO* [Report presented to the International Educational Office. UNESCO]. Retrieved from <http://www.iadb.org/int/DRP/esp/Red4/Documentos/UNESCO-IBE-02-05esp.pdf>
- Percept, A., & Perrouault, C. (2009). *Spain offers immigrants an incentive to leave*. Retrieved from <http://www.france24.com/en/20090122-spain-immigration-zapetero-financial-crisis.htm>

DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN TEXTBOOKS IN SPAIN AND ENGLAND

- Phillips, D., & Schweisfurth, M. (2009). *Comparative and international education: An introduction to theory, method and practice*. London, UK: Continuum.
- Proyecto Atlántida. (2004). *Borrador de debate Atlántida sobre ciudadanía comunitaria y democrática* [Draft of the Atlántida debate about community and democratic citizenship]. Retrieved from <http://www.debateeducativo.mec.es>
- *Radley, P., & Knapp, A. (2002). *Activate 2: Enquiries into national citizenship*. Cheltenham, UK: Nelson Thornes/Institute for Citizenship.
- Robinson, N. (2008). *Celebrating Britishness* [Blog posting]. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/nickrobinson/2008/03/is_it_really_un.html
- Santibañez, R., & Maiztegui, C. (Eds.). (2007). *Inmigración: miradas y reflejos* [Immigration: Glances and reflections]. Bilbao, Spain: University of Deusto.
- Sears, A., Clarke, G. M., & Hughes, A. S. (1998). *Learning democracy in a pluralist society: Building a research base for citizenship education in Canada*. A discussion paper prepared for the Councils of Ministers of Education, Canada. Toronto, Canada: Canadian Education Association.
- Stenhouse, L. (1968). The humanities curriculum project. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 1(1), 26–33.
- UNICEF, Spanish Committee. (2005). *Educación para la Ciudadanía. Aportaciones a la propuesta para el debate del Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia "Una Educación de Calidad para todos y entre todos"* [Citizenship education. Contributions to the proposal for the debate by the Ministry of Educational and Science "An education of quality for all and among all"]. Retrieved from <http://www.debateeducativo.mec.es>
- Usher, R., & Edwards, R. (1994). *Postmodernism and education*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Venezky, R. L. (1992). Textbook in school and society. In P. W. Jackson (Ed.), *Handbook of research on curriculum* (pp. 436–461). New York, NY: Macmillan.
- Washburn, L. (1997). Accounts of slavery. An analysis of the United States history textbooks from 1900–1992. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 25, 478.

Claudia Messina
Albarenque, Autonomous University of Madrid, Spain

Vanita Sundaram
University of York, UK

Ian Davies
University of York, UK

JOE TIN-YAU LO

12. TEXTBOOK AND IDENTITY

A Comparative Study of the Primary Social Education Curricula in Hong Kong and Singapore

The forces of globalization have exerted considerable impact on the educational landscape across the world. On one hand, nation-states have to embark on educational reforms in order to equip their students with the knowledge, skills, and competencies required for coping with challenges brought about by various aspects of globalization. As a consequence, there is an increasing emphasis on knowledge economy, thinking skills, multilingual aptitude, and information technology competency in the educational reforms of some nation-states (Green, 1997; Reed, 2004). On the other hand, chary of the corrosive impact of global (mainly Western) culture, a number of nation-states (e.g., China, Japan, Korea, Singapore) are keen on reviving local and traditional values as a counterbalance (Kennedy, 2004; Yuen, 2006). Since education in general and curriculum in particular are vehicles for socialization in accordance with “local” cultural values and norms, they naturally bear the brunt of reforms that aim ultimately at finding a place for individual nations in the world (Baildon & Sim, 2010; Reid, Gill, & Sears, 2010). This is where the dialectic of the global and the local lies when the two forces cannibalize each other (Appadurai, 1994). In this way, globalization has added new meaning and dimension to comparative education, which serves as a window through which policymakers and educationists learn from the experiences or practices of other nations, while functioning as a mirror for them to reflect on their own issues and problems in charting the course of educational reforms (Arnove, 2007; Evans & Robinson-Pant, 2007).

FOCI AND CONTEXT

This chapter focuses on a comparative study of the primary social education curricula of Hong Kong and Singapore with a view to (1) analyzing the differences and similarities in the two Asian cities’¹ responses to the forces of globalization via educational changes, as can be seen from the curriculum guides and texts; (2) revealing the intentions, tensions, and contentions in the renegotiation for and rebuilding of national identity; and (3) exploring the implications and complications for the future development of social education in the two Asian cities under study.

In recent decades, many academic works have compared Hong Kong and Singapore's education systems, reforms, and policies (e.g., Cheung & Sidhu, 2003; M. H. Lee, 2002; W. O. Lee, 1991; Lee & Gopinathan, 2003, 2005; Mok & Tan, 2004; Morris, 1996; Tan, 1997). From these sources, one can easily discern the similar features of these two cities in terms of their British colonial legacy, multicultural and multilingual context, predominant ethnic Chinese population, Confucian values, and global economic development. Both Hong Kong and Singapore were British colonies for about one and a half centuries. Singapore gained its independence in 1965 after 4 years of self-government from 1959 to 1963 and 2 years of merger with Malaysia between 1963 and 1965 (Cheung & Sidhu, 2003; Lee & Gopinathan, 2005). Hong Kong was formally returned to and reintegrated with the People's Republic of China in 1997 as a Special Administrative Region (SAR) under the principle of "one country, two systems" that guarantees the continuity of the capitalist system in Hong Kong for 50 years (Bray & Koo, 2004; Postiglione, 1998).

Singapore is more multiethnic in population than is Hong Kong. Its population is made up of 74.2% Chinese, 13.2% Malays, and 9.2% Indians, with the remaining (3.4%) Eurasians and others. In primary schools, through a bilingual education system, Singaporean students are required to learn English (which is also the medium of instruction) in addition to their own "mother tongue" based on ethnicity (Mandarin, Malay, or Tamil) (Gopinathan, 2007; Tan, 1997; Tan & Chew, 2008). Hong Kong has an almost 98% Chinese population and has less concern for multiethnic issues, and it adopts a biliterate (Chinese and English) and trilingual (English, Cantonese, and Putonghua) policy in education (Morris & Adamson, 2010; Tan, 1997). As a result of historical legacies and national or local interest, both cities have adopted, although to differing degrees, English as a key language.

In education, both Singaporean and Hong Kong governments exercise control over schools and curricula, though a certain degree of decentralization in school management is allowed (Mok, 2003; Morris & Morris, 2002; Sharpe & Gopinathan, 2002). In curricular design, both governments have stressed development of students' skills to boost sustainable growth in the globalizing knowledge economy, while reinforcing the need of national education for social cohesion and harmony (Curriculum Development Council, 2002; Ministry of Education, 2006).

In recent years, Hong Kong and Singapore have competed for the roles of financial, economic, information, and educational hubs in the Asia-Pacific region. At the same time, there have been significant flows of migrants and products (e.g., film, music, and communication technology) between the two cities (Lee & Gopinathan, 2005). Cultural exchange and economic cooperation have existed alongside competition. The Hong Kong SAR government has looked to Singapore for policy references in the areas of health, public housing, and education (Cheung & Sidhu, 2003). It has been anticipated that Hong Kong's convergence with the soft authoritarian Singaporean model would be intensified under the sway of China's preference for economic liberty without political freedom (Davies, 2007). In short, these trends and features warrant the comparability of the two Asian cities.

CONCEPTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL RESOURCES

In formulating a conceptual framework for comparative education, Bray and Thomas (1995) have suggested that comparison could be made at a number of geographical/locational levels: world regions/continents, countries, states/provinces, districts, schools, classrooms, and individuals. The geographical unit of this study is focused on the third level (i.e., states/provinces) where the two cities are located. As for the unit of educational analysis, this chapter focuses on curricula and textbooks, which are major vehicles for the dissemination and reinforcement of officially sanctioned knowledge and dominant cultural norms or values (Crawford, 2003; Pingel, 2010). Quite often, nations and governments seek to store, disseminate and transmit narratives that define or redefine conceptions of nationhood and identities through social education curricula and textbooks (Pingel, 2010). Textbooks are indeed important sites for investigation, as they are major references for teachers in planning and implementing their classroom teaching (Harmon, Hedrick, & Fox, 2000; Zahorik, 1991). Hence, this study relied mainly on textbook analysis, supplemented by textual inquiry into official policy and curricular documents. For interpretation of similarities and differences, I drew on the extensive literature on citizenship in the two sites.

In conducting textbook analysis, this study mainly utilized frequency and space counts (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2007; Nicholls, 2003; Pingel, 2010; Weber, 1990) as a quantitative approach to highlight what is being emphasized (and deemphasized or omitted) in terms of the overall themes of identity and citizenship discussed below. Here, frequency counts refer to the total number of times (occurrences) the relevant concepts, terms, and units of analysis appear in the documents and textbooks. Space counts refer to the percentages that the relevant concepts, terms, and units of analysis as well as the related descriptions or narratives occupy in the total number of pages in the whole set of documents and textbooks. This quantitative approach is instrumental in analyzing the breadth and coverage of certain relevant curricular components and how they are represented at each age-grade level within a series and/or across series of published texts (Harmon et al., 2000; Pingel, 2010). In undertaking quantitative analysis, I worked with a research assistant to develop coding schemes of the key components (categories and units of analysis as listed in the tables) with foci on the words, concepts, themes, and phrases related to citizenship and identity. Two coders were involved in analyzing the same data using the same categories and procedures of data analysis in order to establish intercoder reliability and minimize inaccuracy. The two coders (researchers) took four steps in this process. (1) Relevant chapters/books that contained citizenship and identity elements were identified, and hard copies were scanned into PDF files. (2) PDF files were converted to Microsoft Word using Adobe Pro. (3) The Word documents were imported into NVivo8 to check word frequency and space percentage. (4) Cross-checking was completed through manual counts (using Microsoft Excel) to ensure a higher degree of reliability.

However, the quantitative data do not speak for themselves, and interpretation is necessary to make sense of the latent content—the meanings and implications embodied in various categories or units of analysis (Berg, 2007)—in light of extant literature. For example, the concepts of “rights” and “obligations” were used in the textbooks of the two cities with different attributes, connotations, and emphases. The researchers had to identify how the terms were contextualized and conceptualized by cross-referencing with other relevant documents (e.g., policy papers and curriculum guides) and literature.

Although the research was conducted without reference to implementation in the classroom, it is expected that the findings can shed light on ways through which pedagogical devices and practices (as embodied in the curricula and texts) may better equip students for the changes and challenges in an increasingly globalized age. In this way, they can also enrich the research repertoire and lay ground for further research into classroom practices in social education.

Primary social education was selected as the focus for this comparative study because it is a major vehicle for civic and citizenship education as well as a core component of basic education (Grade 1 to Grade 6) in both cities (Adler & Sim, 2008; Lo, 2010; Sim & Print, 2005). Social education has been viewed as “a generic term for a socially centered school curriculum that contributed all of what went as courses or subject fields” (Saxe, 1991, p. 11). It is often used as a synonym for social studies, as the latter also indicates materials whose content as well as aim is social and embodies social sciences simplified for pedagogical purposes (Wesley, 1937). The primary social education curricula in use at the time of the study were the *General Studies for Primary Schools Curriculum Guide (Primary 1–Primary 6)* (Curriculum Development Council, 2002) in Hong Kong and the *Social Studies Syllabus (Primary)* (Curriculum Planning and Development Division, 2005) in Singapore. These were the major documents for textual inquiry that lay the contextual ground for textbook analysis.

With regard to the textbooks themselves, this study adopted the series most commonly used by schools in the two cities. In Hong Kong, commercial companies publish textbooks after review and approval of the Education Bureau. The general studies textbooks most commonly used were *Today's General Studies: New Horizons* (Chai-Yip & Cheng, 2004) published by Educational Publishing House and *Longman General Studies* (Lam, Leung, & Chung, 2004) published by Longman Education. According to informal communication with local principals and teachers, these two sets of textbooks represented a sizeable share of the market. In Singapore, the only series of official textbooks, titled *Social Studies: Interacting with Our World*, was written and issued by the Curriculum Planning and Development Division (2007) of the Ministry of Education and published by Marshall Cavendish Company.

Since this textual analysis focused on “identity” and “citizenship,” it is useful to define the relationship between these two concepts. “Identity” and “citizenship” are indeed bedfellows, as the latter can largely be seen as the “politics of identity”—“a project through which alternative identities vie for instantiation in the political

institutions and discourses of society” (Purvis & Hunt, 1999, pp. 457–458). Citizenship also implies “membership of a political community and is internally defined by rights, duties, participation and identity” (Delanty, 1997, p. 285). “Identity” is usually founded on and entails rights and duties that link citizens to the political community. It also counts on participation to reify the functions and values of citizens, though the modes of citizenship participation can be passive or active with various levels or degrees of commitment and room for development (Ross, 2008). “Rights,” “duties/obligations,” “memberships/identities,” and “participation” are therefore major categories for analysis in citizenship as a kind of “politics of identity” (Purvis & Hunt, 1999, p. 458). Nevertheless, as a result of the impact of globalization that boosts the free flow of people, ideas, cultures, and capital, human identities are becoming more and more diverse, fluid, overlapping, and hybrid. The flow of information and widespread information technology have generated concerns about the ethical issues involved in the need to acquire new learning skills. Global concern about the environment has led nations and cities to think globally and act locally. Hence, a kind of environmental citizenship has emerged in a local context. Individuals’ engagements in various spectra of human activities and memberships in different spatial domains where their affiliations and identities are constructed have become major issues in the discourse of globalization (Bottery, 2003; Heater, 2004; Preston, 1997). The ways and modes through which multilayered and multidimensional identities (e.g., self, communal, local, national, and global) interact with and relate to one another as well as their impact on citizenship constructs in social education therefore deserve an in-depth textual analysis (Banks, 2008; Cogan & Derricott, 1998; Cogan, Grossman, & Liu, 2000; Klein, 2001; Ross, 2007).

In general, these multiple layers and dimensions form the conceptual framework for unraveling the similarities and differences of the two cities in terms of the major categories or units of analysis in identity and citizenship mentioned above. In particular, they can show how the two cities position themselves in the multilayered polity in which various levels (personal, local, national, and global) intersect and interact to affect the constructs of and priorities on “rights,” “duties/obligations,” “memberships/identities,” and “participation” as embodied in their primary social education curricula.

Following these analytical framework and categories/units, the data presented in the following paragraphs are woven together with my evaluations, comments, and observations that are grounded in the literature and research. This kind of reflective presentation allows me to dialogue with the data, to decipher the meanings behind them, and to show how different identity constructs and concepts have been manifested, contested, and mediated in the social education curricula of the two cities.

CURRICULUM GUIDES AND SYLLABUSES

Textbooks are usually written in accordance with the aims, objectives, scopes, and contents stipulated by official policies and curriculum guides or syllabuses. It

is necessary to compare and contrast the relevant official policies and the social education curriculum guides of the two cities since the late 1990s in order to set the context for textbook analysis.

Coincidentally, both cities sought to play up the construction or reconstruction of national identity through education in the late 1990s. In Singapore, the National Education Project (see Chia, 2014) was launched in 1997 to develop the knowledge, competencies, and values required to promote national citizenship in the face of a perceived corrosive globalization impact and fears of internal ethnic conflict. The objectives were to develop national cohesion; to foster a sense of national pride; to learn “the Singapore story” and understand her challenges, constraints, and vulnerabilities; and to instill the values of meritocracy, harmony, and good governance. These objectives have molded the social studies curriculum at primary and secondary levels (Baildon & Sim, 2010; Sim & Print, 2005).

In Hong Kong, the 1996 *Guidelines on Civic Education* emphasized the promotion of national education and the building of national identity in order to smooth the political transition of Hong Kong from a British colony to an SAR of the People’s Republic of China (Curriculum Development Council, 1996). Subsequently, curriculum guides and syllabuses were revised to boost students’ Chinese identity (national pride and loyalty); the study of Chinese history and culture was stressed; traditional Chinese values were infused into the school curricula; and a respectful attitude toward the national flag and anthem was fostered. In the primary general studies curriculum, for example, a new strand of study entitled “National Identity and Chinese Culture” was added for such purposes (W. O. Lee, 1999; Mathews, Ma & Lui, 2008; Tse, 2010).

To contextualize the textbook analysis, it is useful to analyze the curriculum guides and syllabuses that have stipulated the contents, approaches, concepts, and values embodied in the textbooks.

Features

In Singapore, the primary social studies syllabus was revised in 2003 with the intention of updating the content and ensuring its relevance to the needs of the nation and students. The syllabus integrates historical, geographic, economic, and sociological knowledge at the primary level. The major initiatives of the Ministry of Education in strengthening national education, thinking skills, information technology, and economic literacy were also incorporated into the syllabus in order to realize the vision of “Thinking Schools, Learning Nation” (Curriculum Planning and Development Division, 2005, p. 1).

While Singapore has separate syllabuses for social studies, science, and health education in the primary curriculum, Hong Kong’s general studies integrates the key learning areas of personal, social, and humanities education, science education, and technology education (Curriculum Development Council, 2002;

Curriculum Planning and Development Division, 2005). Singapore's social education is more parallel-disciplined, whereas Hong Kong's is relatively more cross-disciplinary. Compared with primary social studies in Singapore, Hong Kong's general studies is more of a hodgepodge of moral and civic education, sex education, environmental education, technology education, and health education (Lo, 2002). Hong Kong's general studies therefore allows more room for cross-disciplinary integration with a science-technology-society triad. The integration of different disciplinary spectra was bound to have implications for the multidimensional development of citizenship and civic education at the primary level. For instance, the inclusion of science and technology allows more room for exploring the position of self and identity in the developing area of information technology and analyzing the impact of science and technology on social life and ethics.

Aims

Singapore's social studies curriculum aims to (1) "equip pupils with the knowledge, skills as well as attitudes and values to make informed decisions" and (2) "enable pupils to communicate and work as a team in a multicultural and interdependent world" (Curriculum Planning and Development Division, 2005, p. 1). This is in line with the government's concern for development of skills to ensure Singapore's future as a knowledge economy in a fast-changing world (Lee & Gopinathan, 2005; Ministry of Education, 2006; Sim & Print, 2005). The concern for national and collective well-being for which such skills were developed vividly indicates the government's priorities within civic and citizenship education (Curriculum Planning and Development Division, 2005, p. 6).

Compared with Singapore, the social education curriculum in Hong Kong is more broad based in structure with multiple dimensions of citizenship. Hong Kong's primary general studies curriculum aims to enable students to (1) maintain a healthy personal development and become confident, rational, and responsible citizens; (2) recognize their roles and responsibilities as members of the family and society and show concern for their well-being; (3) develop a sense of national identity and be committed to contributing to the nation and the world; (4) develop curiosity and interest in the natural and technological world as well as understanding of the impact of science and technology on society; and (5) develop a care and concern for the environment (Curriculum Development Council, 2002, pp. 11–12).

Knowledge: Structure and Sequence

The structures and sequences of the two cities' social education curricula are comparable and yet distinctive in several ways. In terms of knowledge, the social

education curricula of both Hong Kong and Singapore focus on promoting the understanding, skills, values, and attitudes associated with the major issues of the world and the dimensions of life that individuals must encounter.

In line with the integration of geography, history, economics, and sociology, Singapore's social studies curricular framework contains four major themes: "People, Places, and Environments"; "Time, Change, and Continuity"; "Scarcity, Choices, and Resources"; and "Identity, Culture, and Community" (Curriculum Planning and Development Division, 2005, p. 3). In a loose sense, these themes are discipline-based, providing a systematic and rigorous way of organizing studies of the social world (Case, 1999). As Hong Kong's general studies curriculum integrates the key learning areas of personal, social, and humanities education, science education, and technology education, the learning strands cover a wider spectrum: "Health and Living," "People and Environment," "Science and Technology in Everyday Life," "Community and Citizenship," "National Identity and Chinese Culture," and "Global Understanding and the Information Era" (Curriculum Development Council, 2002, p. 13). These strands are instrumental for inter-disciplinary or cross-disciplinary inquiry into issues related to science, technology, and society. Basically, like the social studies curriculum of Singapore, Hong Kong's general studies is far from being completely integrated or trans-disciplinary in a real sense, as each strand still bears a certain disciplinary focus (Beane, 1997; Jacobs, 1989).

In terms of sequence, the primary social education curricula in both Hong Kong and Singapore were devised according to concentric communities, with spheres of experience stretching from concrete to abstract concepts and from near to remote things or life (Joyce, Little, & Wronski, 1991). Yet, different educational foci have molded the divergent patterns of the two curricula. Hong Kong's general studies moves from the self, the family, the local community, and the nation to the world, whereas Singapore's social studies curriculum follows the sequence of "Our School," "Our Neighbourhood," "Our Needs," "Our Beginnings," "Our Heritage," "Singapore under Foreign Rule," "Building the Nation," "Our Progress," and "Our Links with Southeast Asia and the World" (Curriculum Planning and Development Division, 2005, p. 6). The Singaporean curriculum is replete with collectivistic and nation-centered overtones. As a number of scholars have suggested, nation-building and social cohesion rather than individuality and individualism have been the primary implicit concerns of curriculum developers (H. L. Lee, 1997; Lo, 2002; Lui, 2007; Nichol & Sim, 2007).

Skills

In general, both Singapore's social studies and Hong Kong's general studies focus on such major skills as the process of learning, communication, participation (collaboration), and creative and critical thinking. These skills are apparently meant to better equip students for coping with changes in the local context and meeting

future needs. By and large, they can be seen as grounded in a rationale of social efficiency—preparing workers who can contribute to the efficient running of society (Brady & Kennedy, 2003).

Nonetheless, as evidenced by examples in the curriculum guides and textbooks, the development of a particular skill is confined to discrete learning tasks that might not demonstrate how various skills can be connected and integrated (Chai-Yip & Cheng, 2004; Curriculum Development Council, 2002; Curriculum Planning and Development Division, 2005, 2007; Lam et al., 2004). As Brophy and Alleman (1993) have remarked, training in isolated skills might strengthen students' academic understanding, but not lead to transformation of learning skills into life skills. Stahl (2005) has also pointed out that thinking skills are prerequisites for learning, but they cannot be equated with learning experiences that are closely bound up with and applicable to real-life situations. In light of these experts' views, it can be surmised that the development of isolated academic skills may not lead to development of civic skills in a real-life or societal context.

In both cities, social participation has been suggested as a way for students to contribute to society, but the emphasis is on acquiring knowledge and academically-oriented skills but not social reconstruction, which is not a goal of social education in either Hong Kong or Singapore. Communication and participation are conceptualized as respecting others' views and enhancing group relationships. Creative and critical thinking are mostly applied to problem-solving that necessitates perspective consciousness and conflict resolution (Curriculum Development Council, 2002; Curriculum Planning and Development Division, 2005). Yet, it is often conducted as an academic and depoliticized exercise that is not likely to promote active social participation from the perspective of critical social scientists. Informed and reasoned decision-making are encouraged, but critical thinking that might challenge taken-for-granted assumptions and problematize the status quo is very much understated. Much more emphasis is placed on independent learning than on independent and critical thinking (Lee & Sweeting, 2001; Lo, 2002; Osborne, 2004; Sim & Print, 2005).

Values/Attitudes

Though situated within the same geographic location of East and Southeast Asia, Hong Kong and Singapore demonstrate both similarities and differences in the values embodied in their respective social education curriculum.

First, values and attitudes related to positive self-image and personal efficacy are included in the Hong Kong general studies curriculum, but individuality is not an important element in the case of Singapore, where social cohesion is a primary concern (Ai, 1997; Lo, 2002). Hong Kong's general studies appears to have attempted to strike a balance between rights and duties/obligations, whereas Singapore's social studies places much more emphasis on individuals' obligations in various institutions and contexts. However, in both cities, individuals' participation in and contribution to the promotion of collective well-being is a distinctive feature in

defining “active citizenship” (Curriculum Development Council, 2002; Curriculum Planning and Development Division, 2005; Singapore 21 Committee, 1999). There is a strong message that individual good can only be achieved through social good (Osborne, 1997).

Second, national education in Singapore is charged with emotionally-loaded desired outcomes of education: students should know, love, and be proud of Singapore (Ministry of Education, 2009). Through highlighting common past experiences and historical rootedness, national education aims to promote unity in a nation with diverse ethnic and cultural groups. National identity is supra-ethnic, as its value system transcends classes, religions, and social groups. In this sense, Singapore’s national education is tinged with an assimilationist overtone that aims to help students fit into the existing social and political order (Parker, 2001). Quite different from the case of Singapore, Hong Kong has never been a locus of loyalty or unity (Mathews et al., 2008). Since its reintegration with China in 1997, there has been an increasing concern for promoting a sense of belonging to the People’s Republic of China. Rebuilding national identity has been a vital concern for smoothing the operation of the two systems under one country. Content materials devoted to Chinese culture and history have increased in the general studies curriculum to promote a sense of Chineseness since the late 1990s. Some scholars think that there might be an intention to conceal differences and relieve the tension between the national and the local in the process of rebuilding a Chinese national identity (Leung & Print, 2002; Lo, 2004).

Third, appreciating cultural diversity and accepting cultural difference are key elements in both curricula. While both cities seem to be aware of the increasing diversity of cultures under the impact of globalization, they have different agendas for promoting these values. Since Hong Kong aims to position itself as “Asia’s World City,” it needs to make its culture more accommodating. As its population has become more multicultural (with more returnees and immigrants), Hong Kong has to accommodate a more flexible citizenship—what some scholars have described as a market-based, pragmatic strategy of identification in order to benefit from different nation-state regimes (Mathews et al., 2008; Ong, 1999). In Singapore, the prime focus is on unity not diversity, as the latter could lead to cultural fragmentation and ethnic division. However, in the global arena, appreciating multiple cultures serves to fit Singaporeans well to find a place for the nation in a competitive and challenging world (Singapore 21 Committee, 1999; Tan, 2007).

In accordance with the governments’ policies and agendas, the curriculum guides and syllabuses have set the major aims/objectives, sequences, scopes, and contents of the social education curricula in both cities; however, the resources, interpretations, explanations, elaborations, and suggested approaches or strategies embodied in textbooks also serve as one of the most important instructional tools for teachers. It is therefore vital to analyze the various identity and citizenship attributes contained in the textbooks.

TEXTBOOK ANALYSES

Analyses of official curriculum guides and syllabi suggest similarities as well as differences in the approaches to social education in Singapore and Hong Kong. The existing literature discussed above suggests ways in which these similarities and differences may reflect the relative positions of the two cities in terms of internal dynamics and their desired places in the world. This section reports the results of textbook analysis. The discussion is organized under categories of “Rights and Duties/Obligations,” “Memberships and Identities,” and “Participation.” By counting the frequencies of different concepts, terms, and units of analysis and the space percentage devoted to them, I am able to develop some hypotheses and observations about the understandings of citizenship in Singapore and Hong Kong and the ways the two cities may try to use social education to shape future members of society.

Rights and Duties/Obligations

As mentioned, identity within the context of citizenship is usually founded on and entails rights and duties that link citizens to the political community. Singapore’s textbooks only mentioned the “right to vote and the right to stand for election” with three counts in total. There was little or nothing about other rights such as human rights and freedoms (Table 1). On the contrary, the textbooks elaborated much more on duties and obligations (21 counts in total). These included “respecting national symbols including the flag, song, emblem, pledge, and symbol,” “obligation to receive compulsory education,” “obligation to vote,” “obligation to receive compulsory bilingual education,” and “obligation not to abuse social services and welfare” (Table 2). Obviously, some basic rights in receiving compulsory education and voting have been turned into civic obligations that underpin identity in the political community. This phenomenon is understandable if Singaporean democracy is considered, as it is by some scholars, to be communitarian and non-liberal in nature (Sim & Print, 2005; Stewart & Feng, 2006). This is based on the kind of citizenship that emphasizes citizens’ obligations to the community rather than individual rights (de Weerd, Gemmeke, Rigter, & van Rij, 2005; Gopinathan & Sharpe, 2004; Koh & Ooi, 2002; Lawson, 2001). However, an emphasis on duties and obligations could potentially foster a kind of “passive citizenship” (Sim & Chee, 2005) that runs counter to the objective of developing active citizens with thinking skills as suggested in the primary social education curriculum of Singapore (Curriculum Planning and Development Division, 2005). From this perspective, such an approach risks reinforcing a transmission approach to learning that may discourage students’ active participation with critical thinking (Baildon & Sim, 2010; Stewart & Feng, 2006).

Hong Kong’s textbooks included more diverse rights and duties or obligations. As shown in Table 1, both textbook series addressed concepts related to rights, with a

Table 1. Frequency count of rights mentioned in Singapore and Hong Kong textbooks

Right	Frequency		
	Singapore	Hong Kong	
	CPDD (2007)	Chai-Yip & Cheng (2004)	Lam et al. (2004)
General rights of citizens	0	0	1
Rights of patients	0	16	13
Rights of consumers	0	9	10
Protection of intellectual property rights	0	4	3
Protection of privacy interests for personal data	0	0	3
Protection of rights and freedoms under Basic Law	NA	8	7
Freedom to enter or leave the territory	0	4	2
Freedom of religious belief	0	1	1
Freedom of communication	0	1	0
Freedom of speech	0	6	4
Right to vote and right to stand for election	3	2	0
Freedom of assembly and procession	0	3	1
Right to social welfare	0	3	1
Right to equality before the law	0	3	3
Freedom of the person	0	1	0
Freedom of marriage and right to raise a family freely	0	0	2
Freedom of choice of occupation	0	0	3
Right to legal process and aids	0	1	4
Right to receive free education	0	0	4
Total	3	62	62

Note: CPDD indicates Curriculum Planning and Development Division; NA, not applicable

total of 62 counts. These rights ranged broadly from civil and legal rights to political rights and social rights, though more space was allotted to social rights related to the daily lives of citizens (e.g., rights of patients and consumers). Yet, much like the case of Singapore, both textbook series published in Hong Kong included far more counts related to duties and obligations (from 81 to 105 counts) than those

Table 2. Frequency count of duties/obligations mentioned in Singapore and Hong Kong textbooks

Duty/obligation	Frequency		
	Singapore	Hong Kong	
	CPDD (2007)	Chai-Yip & Cheng (2004)	Lam et al. (2004)
General obligations of citizens	2	0	3
Balancing citizen rights and obligations	0	23	2
Respecting national symbols including flag, song, emblem, pledge, and symbol	11	10	10
Respecting local symbols including flag and emblem	NA	6	1
Obligations of patients	0	14	5
Obligations of consumers	0	5	13
Respecting intellectual property rights	0	3	4
Obligations stated in the Basic Law	NA	3	0
Obligation to abide by the laws in force	0	10	17
Obligation to observe the immigration ordinance	0	1	0
Obligation to observe the regulations and order	0	18	15
Obligation to serve as a juror	0	1	1
Obligation to serve as a witness in court	0	1	1
Obligation to vote	1	1	0
Obligation to pay tax	0	2	2
Obligation not to abuse social services and welfare	1	1	2
Obligation to receive compulsory education	3	NA	NA
Obligation to receive education	NA	1	0
Obligation to receive compulsory bilingual education	3	NA	NA
Respecting other people's rights	0	4	5
Respecting other people's opinions in society	0	1	0
Total	21	105	81

Note: CPDD indicates Curriculum Planning and Development Division; NA, not applicable

on rights. Also noticeable was the emphasis on “obligation to abide by the laws in force” and “obligation to observe the regulations and order” (Table 2). Still, one can see the attempt to strike a balance between rights and obligations. For example, the rights of patients and consumers were stressed alongside their obligations. In fact, the moral overtones in the textbooks sent the clear message that students should uphold the common good instead of their individual interests and that they should not pursue self-interests that may go against the collective well-being (Chai-Yip & Cheng, 2004; Lam et al., 2004).

Memberships and Identities

Contemporary literature discusses the emergence of multiple and multilayered identities that stretch from self, community, local, and national to global dimensions in spatial context (Banks, 2008; Claire, 2001; Klein, 2001; Ross, 2007). Like the curriculum guides and syllabuses, Hong Kong’s textbooks gave more space (around 30% of the total number of pages in the two sets of textbooks) to concepts related to self and identity, whereas Singapore’s textbooks had only marginal references (1.2%) to such concepts (Table 3). Although Hong Kong’s general studies textbooks allocated more space to self-image, self-management, and self and identity, they focused more on life and social skills than on individualism or individuality. These skills might have been emphasized to help students adapt to social norms rather than sensitizing them to their individual rights and freedoms. For instance, as evidenced by frequency counts (Table 4), the two textbook series stressed the themes of “taking care of the body,” “protecting myself and keeping safe,” “self-management and developing good habits,” “being positive in building self-esteem,” “managing personal emotion and handling challenges,” “respecting and taking care of others,” “cooperating and helping each other,” and “respecting and taking care of life.” Hence, the personal dimension seemed to have been geared towards the concern for socialization.

Compared with the themes related to individual identity, textbooks in both Singapore and Hong Kong placed greater emphasis on identities at the community or local and national levels. In Singapore, local identity was predominantly a national one as Singaporeanization has been the primary concern, despite (or perhaps partly because of) the multiethnic, multicultural nature of the nation. In terms of weight, contents related to local-national identities (as opposed to personal or self and global dimensions) occupied more than 60% of the space in the whole set of textbooks, of which more than 30% focused on the history of Singapore (Tables 3 and 5). The Singaporean textbooks mentioned the themes “being proud of the nation and recognizing national identity” with 74 counts and “being loyal to the nation” with eight counts. In particular, they highlighted “appreciating the contributions made by the national government” and “appreciating the contributions made by national leaders” with 48 and 91 counts, respectively (Table 6). It is also worth noting that the roles played by national figures in general, and the leaders of the ruling People’s

Table 3. Space count for concepts related to different levels of identities in curricula and textbooks (Singapore and Hong Kong)

	Space (%)				
	Singapore		Hong Kong		
	Curriculum	Textbooks	Curriculum	Textbooks	
	CPDD (2005)	CPDD (2007)	CDC (2002)	Chai-Yip & Cheng (2004)	Lam et al. (2004)
Self and identity	0.0%	1.2%	37.4%	31.2%	30.1%
Community identity	12.6%	8.2%	6.8%	8.3%	7.4%
Local identity	59.4%	61.9%	20.1%	21.5%	26.4%
National identity			8.6%	10.3%	9.9%
Global identity	13.7%	18.5%	11.6%	10.8%	11.6%
Other areas not related to identities	14.3%	10.2%	15.5%	17.9%	14.6%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note: CDC indicates Curriculum Development Council; CPDD, Curriculum Planning and Development Division

Table 4. Frequency count of the concepts/themes related to self and identity in Singapore and Hong Kong textbooks

Concept/theme	Frequency		
	Singapore	Hong Kong	
	CPDD (2007)	Chai-Yip & Cheng (2004)	Lam et al. (2004)
Being positive in building self-esteem	14	65	22
Managing personal emotion and handling challenges	2	91	32
Self-management and developing good habits	11	227	230
Taking care of the body	0	269	219
Protecting myself and keeping safe	8	214	159
Proper expression of oneself	0	4	13
Having good manners and behaviors	2	7	2
Respecting and taking care of others	2	47	33
Cooperating and helping each other	2	17	17
Understanding and respecting the differences between male and female	0	47	1
Respecting and taking care of life	1	19	16
Total	42	1007	774

Note: CPDD indicates Curriculum Planning and Development Division

Action Party in particular, in defending national interests and contributing to the building and progress of Singapore were strongly emphasized, accounting for about 14% of the space count in official textbooks (Curriculum Planning and Development Division, 2007; see also Table 5). Some scholars suggest that history-centered and nation-focused textbook content is meant to foster a shared sense of Singaporean identity and to develop loyalty and patriotism by understanding the past and issues in nation-building (Han, 2000; Sim & Print, 2005). These nationalistic elements may also be critical for committing young people to ideals such as meritocracy, multiculturalism, and the Singaporean way of life, while bonding people as one nation to maintain the will to survive and prosper in an uncertain and challenging world (Nicol & Sim, 2007; Sim & Print, 2005).

Alongside the predominance of national history, Singapore's social studies textbooks also contained a sizeable portion (around 17% of the total number of pages) of content space concerning the four major racial groups (Chinese, Malays, Indians,

Table 5. Space count for concepts related to memberships and identities in Singapore and Hong Kong textbooks

	Space (%)		
	Singapore	Hong Kong	
	CPDD (2007)	Chai-Yip & Cheng (2004)	Lam et al. (2004)
History	33.24%	5.59%	4.24%
Local history	NA	1.92%	1.19%
National history	33.24%	3.67%	3.05%
Racial groups	16.90%	1.28%	2.53%
Racial groups	16.90%	0.35%	0.56%
Chinese ethnic groups in China	NA	0.92%	1.97%
Figures	13.82%	5.33%	1.50%
Local leader	NA	0.05%	0.10%
National leaders	11.45%	3.72%	0.55%
From ruling party*	4.64%	0.10%	0.03%
Emperors	NA	3.52%	0.45%
Others	6.81%	0.10%	0.07%
Local figures	NA	0.00%	0.00%
National figures	2.37%	1.56%	0.85%

* The ruling parties of Singapore and Hong Kong are the People's Action Party and Chinese Communist Party, respectively.

Note: CPDD indicates Curriculum Planning and Development Division; NA, not applicable

and Eurasians) in the nation (Table 5). Different racial groups were introduced in terms of their cultures (e.g., festivals, foods, and customs) and history of the heritage areas (i.e., Kampong Glam, Chinatown, and Little India) (Curriculum Planning and Development Division, 2005, 2007). The theme “appreciating different racial groups and their contributions” had 41 counts in the whole set of textbooks (Table 6). There was a strong official emphasis on inculcation of racial and religious harmony in the multiethnic, multicultural nation. However, the curriculum included little about helping students move beyond a superficial approach to understanding diverse cultures and seldom mentioned the beliefs and values that underlie various traditions and behaviors (Adler & Sim, 2008). The deeper issues, problems, and tensions that have existed among different races and religions were not discussed. Through analyzing the textbooks, one might conclude the government hoped to gloss over the lack of socioethnic equity by upholding the principle of meritocracy. In this sense, racial and religious harmony was upheld to boost national solidarity and unity in diversity (Adler & Sim, 2008; Committee on National Education, 2007; Ho, 2009).

Table 6. Frequency count of the concepts/themes related to local/national membership/identity in Singapore and Hong Kong textbooks

Concept/theme	Frequency		
	Singapore	Hong Kong	
	CPDD (2007)	Chai-Yip & Cheng (2004)	Lam et al. (2004)
Being proud of the nation; recognizing national identity	74	0	10
Being loyal to the nation	8	0	0
Appreciating the national government's contributions	48	19	38
Appreciating the local government's contributions	NA	64	11
Appreciating national leaders' contributions	91	1	0
Appreciating the culture and traditions of the nation	1	62	33
Appreciating different racial groups and their contributions	41	NA	NA
Respecting and getting along with foreigners in the city	NA	11	6
Respecting Chinese ethnic groups in China	NA	1	1
Total	263	158	99

Note: CPDD indicates Curriculum Planning and Development Division; NA, not applicable

The story was quite different in Hong Kong. Despite the fact that Hong Kong reintegrated with China in 1997 and that there has been increasing concern for national education, both the curriculum guide and general studies textbooks placed more emphasis on the development of local Hong Kong identity than on a national identity. In general, the space allocated to Hong Kong represented more than 20%, whereas that devoted to China represented only about 8% to 10% of the total content space of the two sets of textbooks (Table 3). Quite different from the case of Singapore, only one textbook series (Lam et al., 2004) contained 10 counts related to “being proud of the nation and recognizing national identity,” while the other set of textbooks (Chai-Yip & Cheng, 2004) made few references to this theme (Table 6). The theme “appreciating the contributions made by the national government” was represented in Lam et al. (2004) with 38 counts, compared with 19 counts in Chai-Yip and Cheng (2004) (Table 6). Neither book highlighted the theme of “appreciating the contributions made by national leaders” (Table 6). Instead, they made rather incidental and tenuous references to modern and contemporary national leaders of the ruling party (e.g., Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping) with about 0.03% to 0.1% of the space count, whereas much more space—3.52% (in Chai-Yip & Cheng, 2004) and 0.45% (in Lam et al., 2004)—was allotted to great emperors in ancient China (e.g., Qin Shi Huang, Tang Taizong, and Emperor Kangxi) (Table 5). Even historical figures such as writers, inventors, teachers, and thinkers were given more content space (1.56% in Chai-Yip & Cheng, 2004 and 0.85% in Lam et al., 2004) than contemporary national leaders (Table 5). The national focus was on the past, not the present, and on tradition and culture, not politics.

Nevertheless, as mentioned, Hong Kong’s reintegration with China has necessitated the promotion of national identity and unity and the fostering of a sense of Chineseness in order to reify the principle of “one country, two systems” (Tse, 2004). Yet a deeper analysis of the textbooks revealed that most content was related to “appreciating culture and tradition of the nation,” which appeared 62 times in Chai-Yip and Cheng (2004) and 33 times in Lam et al. (2004) (Table 6). The textbooks reiterated the message that the Chinese people had many traditional virtues that deserved preservation and appreciation. In some cases, there were messages on how Hong Kong could be linked with, and in return, thrive on its economic integration with the Chinese mainland. Controversial historical events (e.g., 1989 Tiananmen incident), the policy mistakes committed by contemporary national leaders, and the socioeconomic problems created by bureaucratic abuses on the mainland were left untouched. Hence, Hong Kong’s national identity, as per the textbooks, seemed to have been built on (traditional) cultural traits and pragmatic considerations (Mathews et al., 2008).

With regard to multiethnic and multicultural identities, Hong Kong’s curriculum guide and textbooks seldom discussed other racial groups, presumably because more than 90% of the people are Chinese. At the local level, the curriculum space devoted to other racial groups in Hong Kong made up less than 1% of the total content space (Table 5). Instead of specifically highlighting the need for racial and religious

harmony, the textbooks mentioned the theme of “building a harmonious society,” with two and four counts, respectively (Table 7). Rather, the theme “respecting and getting along with the foreigners in the city” appeared 6 to 11 times in the two textbook samples (Table 6). At the national level, Hong Kong’s textbooks also emphasized the harmony of Chinese ethnic groups in China. However, the space allocated to discussion of different Chinese ethnic groups in China represented only about 1% to 2% of the total, much less than that in Singapore’s textbooks (Table 5). The results can be understood by referring to Tse’s (2004) remarks: “With the assertion and reinforcement of ethnocultural nationalism in the official civic education discourse, the alternative discourse of civic or multicultural nationalism has been marginalized or excluded” (pp. 55–56).

At the global level, relatively less content space was devoted to development of a global identity and related concerns in both cities—18.5% in Singapore’s text-books and 10.8% to 11.6% in Hong Kong’s—in comparison with that of local and national dimensions (Table 3). In Singapore, global studies paid more heed to the interactive relationships between the nation and other parts of the world, especially neighboring countries in Southeast Asia. The curriculum guide and textbooks focused mainly on the role of Singapore in international organizations and its links with other countries in terms of defense, trade, education, environmental issues, arts and culture, and voluntary services (Curriculum Planning and Development Division, 2007; see also Table 8). Not only did Singapore aim to make its students aware of global culture in order to enable them to adjust to the changing world, it also anticipated that cross-cultural experiences might enable students to reflect on the differences between cultures and countries so that they could come to a greater appreciation of the uniqueness of Singapore (Singapore 21 Committee, 1999; Tan, 2007). In Hong Kong, the general studies curriculum guide and textbooks incorporated global identity, awareness, and concerns into the “Global Understanding and the Information Era” strand, which included themes related to global issues (e.g., global warming, food shortage, poverty, economic interdependence, health, energy and resources) as well as scientific and technological advances and their impact on human life (Chai-Yip & Cheng, 2004; Curriculum Development Council, 2002; Lam et al., 2004; see also Table 8). These concepts did not contain the nationalistic concern for repositioning the nation in the global arena, as in the case of Singapore’s social studies.

The development of global identity is inevitably linked with the appreciation and understanding of global and multiple cultures (Merryfield, 2002). Both Hong Kong and Singapore have not lost sight of this in social education. For instance, the appreciation of different cultures (e.g., foods, festivals, customs) was evident in the curricula and texts of both cities (Chai-Yip & Cheng, 2004; Curriculum Planning and Development Division, 2007; Lam et al., 2004; see also Table 8). However, Singapore’s primary concern, as mentioned above, seems to be promoting multicultural understanding to maintain harmony in a multiethnic, multireligious context.

Table 7. Frequency count of participation mentioned in Hong Kong textbooks

<i>Participation</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	
	<i>Chai-Yip & Cheng (2004)</i>	<i>Lam et al. (2004)</i>
Self and identity	56	33
Family	56	33
Contributing to the family	4	8
Promoting harmonious relationships with family members	16	4
Caring for household environment	21	10
Staying safe at home	15	11
Community identity	151	119
School	41	36
Contributing to the school	0	0
Expressing opinions and suggestions	0	2
Caring and getting along with people in school	27	24
Promoting harmonious relationships with school members	1	2
Caring for the school environment	7	8
Staying safe on the way to school and in school	6	0
Neighborhood	110	83
Contributing to the community	0	0
Showing concern for the community and expressing opinions	3	3
Caring for and getting along with people in the neighborhood	14	7
Promoting harmonious relationships in the neighborhood	16	2
Caring for the neighborhood environment	40	36
Keeping the community safe	15	0
Keeping the community healthy	7	15
Participating in community activities	10	7
Participating in community services	5	13
Local identity	142	141
Developing concern for society and expressing opinions	22	23
Participating in charity and volunteer services	12	18
Participating in voting	8	0

(Continued)

Table 7. (Continued)

<i>Participation</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	
	<i>Chai-Yip & Cheng (2004)</i>	<i>Lam et al. (2004)</i>
Taking part in activities to maintain the city's competitiveness	0	0
Building a harmonious society	2	4
Cooperating with government officials and civil servants	11	5
Protecting the environment	66	88
Conserving historical spots, relics, and culture	21	3
National identity	1	13
Contributing to the nation	0	5
Taking part in defending the nation	0	0
Maintaining harmony of the nation's ethnic groups	1	2
Conserving historical spots and relics	0	6
Global identity	30	8
Protecting the environment of the earth	28	6
Participating in international volunteer services or donation activities	1	2
Conserving historical spots and relics in other countries	1	0
Total	380	314

Respecting diversity is meant to maintain national unity. Hong Kong does not share the same concern, as it has been striving for the status of "Asia's World City" and its population has increasingly been mixed, with transient and mobile residents as well as returned migrants with multiple identities. What Hong Kong needs most is to appreciate multiple cultures in order to accommodate changes in its population structure and social context. There is no need to worry about the problems of cultural fragmentation and ethnic division that might be brought about by ethnocultural diversity because Hong Kong has never been the prime locus of national unity and its population is predominantly Chinese.

Participation

As a vehicle for promoting civic and citizenship education, the primary social education curricula and textbooks in Hong Kong and Singapore were prone to encourage citizens' participation at different levels of social or political affiliations,

Table 8. Frequency count of the concepts/themes related to global membership/identity in Singapore and Hong Kong textbooks

<i>Concept/theme</i>	<i>Frequency</i>		
	<i>Singapore</i>	<i>Hong Kong</i>	
	<i>CPDD (2007)</i>	<i>Chai-Yip & Cheng (2004)</i>	<i>Lam et al (2004)</i>
Recognizing identity as a global citizen	3	2	0
Concerning the global problems/issues	28	120	146
Recognizing the responsibilities of international cooperation to solve global problems	62	31	16
Recognizing the importance of good relationships among nations	62	0	0
Respecting others' cultures and customs in the world	3	15	9
Making friends with people in other parts of the world	3	1	0
Total	161	169	171

as duties, obligations, and rights have to be practiced and reified through concrete actions. Yet the frequency and nature of participation at various levels can reveal differences and similarities in the priorities set by the two governments.

First of all, as shown in [Tables 9](#) and [7](#) and quite consistent with the national education agenda in Singapore, out of 177 frequency counts in the activities related to citizenship participation mentioned in the textbooks, most (117) were focused on the local or national level with little reference to the community level ([Table 9](#)). In contrast, the counts in the two sets of Hong Kong textbooks were more focused on individuals' participation in the family (33–56 counts), community/neighborhood (119–151 counts), and local society (141–142 counts), out of a total range of 314 to 380 counts ([Table 7](#)). Hence, the various degrees of participation at different levels correspond quite closely with the respective governments' agendas and priorities for civic and citizenship education.

Secondly, judging from the discourses in the textbooks of both cities, one can easily discern a strong inclination towards socialization by reiterating the importance of contributing to the well-being of the community and the nation, promoting harmonious relationships, taking active part in social and voluntary services, as well as caring for and protecting the environment. Yet quite different from the general studies textbooks in Hong Kong, Singapore's textbooks laid more stress on students' participation in defending the nation (national service is mandatory for Singaporean

Table 9. Frequency count of participation mentioned in Singapore textbooks

<i>Participation</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
Self and identity	3
Family	3
Contributing to the family	1
Promoting harmonious relationships with family members	2
Caring for the household environment	0
Staying safe at home	0
Community identity	51
School	26
Contributing to the school	2
Expressing opinions and suggestions	0
Caring for and getting along with people in school	13
Promoting harmonious relationships with school members	3
Caring for the school environment	3
Staying safe on the way to school and in school	5
Neighborhood	25
Contributing to the community	1
Showing concern for the community and expressing opinions	0
Caring for and getting along with people in the neighborhood	9
Promoting harmonious relationships in the neighborhood	2
Caring for the neighborhood environment	9
Keeping the community safe	4
Keeping the community healthy	0
Participating in community activities	0
Participating in community services	0
Local/national identity	117
Contributing to the nation	7
Taking part in defending the nation	28
Taking part in activities to maintain the competitiveness of the nation	9
Developing concern for society and expressing opinions	3
Participating in charity and volunteer services	2
Participating in voting	15
Maintaining racial harmony of different racial groups in the nation	20

(Continued)

Table 9. (Continued)

<i>Participation</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
Maintaining religious harmony of different racial groups in the nation	5
Cooperating with government officials and civil servants	0
Protecting the environment	28
Conserving historical spots, relics, and culture	0
Global identity	6
Protecting the environment of the earth	1
Participating in international volunteer services	5
Conserving historical spots and relics in other countries	0
Total	177

citizens in military terms) and maintaining interracial harmony within the country (Table 9). In both cases, active citizenship referred to individuals contributing to collective interests and local or national well-being rather than asserting individual rights that might upset the status quo.

Thirdly, while Hong Kong's textbooks showed more frequency counts (around 22–23 counts) for “developing concern for society and expressing opinions,” Singapore's official textbooks contained only about three references to such a theme (Tables 7 and 9). This further substantiates the remarks of Gopinathan and Sharpe (2004) that Singapore's leadership relies on the populace to recognize obligations to family, community, and nation rather than claiming rights and entitlements as citizens. In essence, the social education textbooks in Hong Kong and Singapore tended to encourage students' active participation and contribution in their respective societies.

CONCLUSIONS: IMPLICATIONS AND COMPLICATIONS

Based on the above textbook analysis, I would like to make some key observations on the implications and complications for the future development of social education in the two cities. Although the social education curricula in both Hong Kong and Singapore were student centered in pedagogical and curricular design at least rhetorically (Curriculum Development Council, 2002; Curriculum Planning and Development Division, 2005), individuality was given more weight in Hong Kong than in Singapore, where collectivity was the primary concern for promoting national cohesion and interethnic harmony. Both Hong Kong and Singapore aimed to equip students with the skills and dispositions required for the smooth and efficient running of society. Along this line of thinking, although critical thinking skills were to be developed in the social education curricula of both cities, this objective was counteracted by the emphasis on individuals' contribution to the social good and

harmony, as can be evidenced by [Tables 7 and 9](#) (see also Curriculum Development Council, 2002; Curriculum Planning and Development Division, 2005). How to accommodate individuality with collectivity and balance individualism with social functioning remains a crucial issue and concern of the social education in both cities.

Moreover, as the textbook analysis ([Table 9](#)) indicated, there was a predominance of national education that put much emphasis on harmony, cooperation, and unity in Singapore. This tended to reduce critical thinking to a depoliticized and decontextualized learning skill, which might help improve society according to prescribed norms and values, but not change it according to what some would see as higher goals of rationality and justice (Adler & Sim, 2008; Sim & Print, 2005). Hong Kong's general studies curriculum included suggestions for students' learning through social participation and issues inquiry that aimed to critically examine controversial issues and explore ways for improvement or change. However, without engaging students in actual social action that could help reify active citizenship whereby identities are lived and performed in everyday life, these exercises could be reduced to academic skills acquired through project-based learning (Hall, 2008; Wenger, 2008). Moreover, being less constricted by the pressing need for national cohesion than Singapore, Hong Kong's general studies textbooks focused relatively more on local and global than on national issues or concerns (see [Table 3](#) as well as Chai-Yip & Cheng, 2004; Curriculum Development Council, 2002; Lam et al., 2004). Such a focus might deprive students of the chance to understand the issues and problems of the nation from a rational and critical perspective. This might weaken the potential role of social education as a bridge between the two systems under one country.

To reduce such tensions, I think that Singapore's social studies should place more emphasis on the self and personal development of students in order to help them position themselves in the multilayered concentric circles stretching from self to the family, community, nation, and the world. In other words, more concerns about students' growth and development in psychological and sociological spectra are needed, in addition to the prevalent political or national agenda and priority. Hong Kong's general studies, in which only about 10% of the instructional content focused on China and was mostly confined to ancient history and culture (see [Tables 3, 5, and 6](#); Chai-Yip & Cheng, 2004; Lam et al., 2004), should include more contemporary issues related to the development of mainland China. This might enable students to acquire a deeper understanding of contemporary China and develop a sense of national consciousness, which are indispensable for the smooth operation of the two systems under one country.

Apart from the issues related to the relationship between the personal and the national levels, I would argue that there is also a need to better reposition the local and national communities in the global context. The social education curricula of Hong Kong and Singapore both promoted emotional attachment to the national entity, though in Hong Kong this was characterized by national reintegration while in Singapore the emphasis was on nation-building. However, emotional attachment to

the nation may lead to uncritical and spoon-fed approaches to patriotism (Fairbrother, 2003; Tse, 2007). The overemphasis I see on harmony, loyalty, and responsibility (shown in [Tables 7 and 9](#)) could constitute a stumbling block to the development of democracy, which might involve conflicting views and diverse interests (Ochoa-Becker, 2007). Without respect for diversity and equity, nationals may not be able to develop the intercultural sensitivity and cross-cultural understanding that are essential for a global mindset and awareness (Avery, 2004; Merryfield, 2002, 2004). The balance between uniformity and diversity is not easy, but it is vital for developing the multidimensional and flexible citizenship required for people to face the challenges of an increasingly globalized world.

As mentioned above, the social education curricula in Hong Kong and Singapore both included material to help students appreciate cultural diversity and accept differences. Yet the understanding of the world and other cultures through such symbols as flags, foods, and festivals as well as linkage and interdependence was rather superficial (Skelton, Wigford, Harper, & Reeves, 2002). Educators, policy makers, and teachers should consider expanding the content of global education to the dimensions of intercultural competency and cross-cultural experiential learning, which might enable students to competently negotiate cultural differences, manage multiple identities, interact with people whose norms and values are different from their own, and move flexibly across cultures (Case, 1999; Merryfield, 2004; Osler, 2010; Zhao, 2007).

The development of social education curricula in both Hong Kong and Singapore has been complicated by different paradoxes that are portrayed by some scholars as moving between conflicting binaries: patriotism and nationalism versus multicultural and global perspectives, social adaptation to existing norms and values versus social participation in the improvement or reconstruction of society, social conformity versus critical and independent thinking, and unity versus diversity (Nelson, 1991; Ochoa-Becker, 2007; Sim & Print, 2005). The challenges ahead for social educators and teachers are to mediate and balance the various competing and conflicting forces through accommodating heterogeneity, respecting diversity, managing differences, developing open-mindedness, fostering the sense of empathy, and nurturing flexible, multidimensional citizenship (Banks, 2004; Cogan, 2000; Gutmann, 2004; Lo, 2002; Merryfield, 2004; Ochoa-Becker, 2007). In a world that is rapidly changing and increasingly globalized, both curriculum and instruction have to be modified and reconceptualized continuously to go *pari passu* with temporal and contextual changes to enable students to learn to live together and to dialogue with people whose cultures and perspectives are different from their own. By so doing, social education could better serve not only as an overarching link between school (education) and society, but also as a bridge over the troubled waters of (inter-) national and ethnocultural conflicts.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I would like to thank the editor of *Research in Comparative and International Education* for permission to reproduce parts of the content that have appeared in my

paper, “The Primary Social Education Curricula in Hong Kong and Singapore: A Comparative Study” (Vol. 5, No. 2, 2010, pp. 144–155).

NOTE

- ¹ Reference to both Singapore and Hong Kong is complicated by their political status. While both are cities, Singapore is more accurately described as a city-state. Hong Kong is a city as well as a Special Administrative Region in China, though for most of its history, it was a British colony. For convenience, I refer to them both as “cities.”

WORKS CITED

- Adler, S. A., & Sim, J. B.-Y. (2008). Secondary school social studies in Singapore: Intentions and contradictions. In D. L. Grossman & J. T. Y. Lo (Eds.), *Social education in Asia: Critical issues and multiple perspectives* (pp. 163–182). Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.
- Ai, J. C. O. (1997). Schooling for Singaporeans: The interaction of Singapore culture and values in the school. In J. Tan, S. Gopinathan, & H. W. Kam (Eds.), *Education in Singapore: A book of readings* (pp. 75–91). Singapore: Prentice Hall.
- Appadurai, A. (1994). Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy. In P. Williams & L. Chrisman (Eds.), *Colonial discourse and post-colonial theory: A reader* (pp. 324–339). London, England: Pearson Education.
- Arnone, R. F. (2007). Introduction: Reframing comparative education: The dialectic of the global and the local. In R. Arnone (Ed.), *Comparative education: The dialectic of the global and the local* (pp. 1–20). Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Avery, P. G. (2004). Social studies teacher education in an era of globalization. In S. Adler (Ed.), *Critical issues in social studies teacher education* (pp. 37–57). Greenwich, England: Information Age.
- Baidon, M., & Sim, J. B.-Y. (2010). The dilemmas of Singapore’s national education in the global society. In A. Reid, J. Gill, & A. Sears (Eds.), *Globalization, the nation-state and the citizen: Dilemmas and directions for civics and citizenship education* (pp. 80–96). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Banks, J. (2004). Introduction: Democratic citizenship education in multicultural societies. In J. Banks (Ed.), *Diversity and citizenship education: Global perspectives* (pp. 3–15). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Banks, J. A. (2008). Diversity, group identity, and citizenship education in a global age. *Educational Researcher*, 37(3), 129–139.
- Beane, J. (1997). *Curriculum integration: Designing the core of democratic education*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Berg, B. (2007). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences* (6th ed.). Boston, MA: Pearson.
- Bottery, M. (2003). The end of citizenship? The nation-state, threats to its legitimacy, and citizenship education in the twenty-first century. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 33, 101–122.
- Brady, L., & Kennedy, K. (2003). *Curriculum construction*. Sydney, Australia: Pearson Education.
- Bray, M., & Koo, R. (2004). Postcolonial patterns and paradoxes: Language and education in Hong Kong and Macao. *Comparative Education*, 40, 215–239.
- Bray, M., & Thomas, R. M. (1995). Levels of comparison in educational studies: Different insights from different literatures and the value of multilevel analyses. *Harvard Educational Review*, 65, 472–490.
- Brophy, J., & Alleman, J. (1993). Elementary social studies should be driven by major social education goals. *Social Education*, 57(1), 27–32.
- Case, R. (1999). Global education: It’s largely a matter of perspective. In R. Case & P. Clark (Eds.), *The Canadian anthology of social studies* (pp. 75–82). Vancouver, Canada: Pacific Educational Press.
- Chai-Yip, W. L., & Cheng, N. Y. (2004). *Today’s general studies: New horizons* (Primary 1–6, Books 1–6) [In Chinese]. Hong Kong, China: Educational Publishing House.

J. TIN-YAU LO

- Cheung, W. L., & Sidhu, R. (2003). A tale of two cities: Education responds to globalisation in Hong Kong and Singapore in the aftermath of the Asian economic crisis. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 23(1), 43–68.
- Chia, Y. T. (2014). State formation and nation-building through education: The origins and introduction of the “National Education” program in Singapore. In J. H. Williams (Ed.), *(Re)Constructing memory: School textbooks and the imagination of the nation* (pp. 61–78). Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers.
- Claire, H. (2001). *Not aliens: Primary school children and the citizenship/PSHE curriculum*. London, England: Trentham Books.
- Cogan, J. (2000). Citizenship education for the 21st century: Setting the context. In J. Cogan & R. Derricott (Eds.), *Citizenship for the 21st century: An international perspective on education* (pp. 1–22). London, England: Kogan Page.
- Cogan, J., & Derricott, R. (Eds.). (1998). *Citizenship for the 21st century: An international perspective on education*. London, England: Kogan Page.
- Cogan, J., Grossman, D., & Liu, M.-H. (2000). Citizenship: The democratic imagination in a global/local context. *Social Education*, 64(1), 48–52.
- Committee on National Education (Ministry of Education). (2007). *Committee on national education—executive summary*. Retrieved from <http://www.moe.gov.sg/media/press/2007/files/pr20070307a-executive-summary.pdf>
- Crawford, K. (2003). The role and purpose of textbooks. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, 3(2), 5–10.
- Curriculum Development Council. (1996). *Guidelines on civic education in schools*. Hong Kong, China: Education Department.
- Curriculum Development Council. (2002). *General studies for primary schools curriculum guide (primary 1–primary 6)*. Hong Kong, China: Printing Department.
- Curriculum Planning and Development Division (Ministry of Education). (2005). *Social studies syllabus primary*. Singapore: Ministry of Education.
- Curriculum Planning and Development Division (Ministry of Education). (2007). *Social studies: Interacting with our world (Books 1–6B)*. Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Education.
- Curriculum Planning and Development Division (Ministry of Education). (2011). *Primary social studies syllabus 2012*. Singapore: Ministry of Education.
- Davies, M. (2007). Constitutionalism and Hong Kong’s future. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 8(21), 263–273.
- Delanty, G. (1997). Models of citizenship: Defining European identity and citizenship. *Citizenship Studies*, 1, 285–303.
- de Weerd, M., Gemmeke, M., Rigter, J., & van Rij, C. (2005). *Indicators for monitoring active citizenship and citizenship education* (Regioplan Publication No. 1261d). Retrieved from <http://ec.europa.eu/education/doc/reports/doc/citizenship.pdf>
- Evans, K., & Robinson-Pant, A. (2007). Windows and mirrors in comparative education. *Compare*, 37(1), 1–3.
- Fairbrother, G. P. (2003). *Toward critical patriotism: Student resistance to political education in Hong Kong and China*. Hong Kong, China: Hong Kong University Press.
- Gall, M. D., Gall, J. P., & Borg, W. R. (2007). *Educational research: An introduction* (8th ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Gopinathan, S. (2007). Globalisation, the Singapore developmental state and education policy: A thesis revisited. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 5(1), 53–70.
- Gopinathan, S., & Sharpe, L. (2004). New bearings for citizenship education in Singapore. In W. O. Lee, D. L. Grossman, K. J. Kennedy, & G. P. Fairbrother (Eds.), *Citizenship education in Asia and the Pacific: Concepts and issues* (pp. 119–133). Hong Kong, China: Comparative Education Research Centre, University of Hong Kong.
- Green, A. (1997). *Education, globalization and the nation-state*. New York, NY: St. Martin’s Press.
- Gutmann, A. (2004). Unity and diversity in democratic multicultural education: Creative and destructive tensions. In J. A. Banks (Ed.), *Diversity and citizenship education: Global perspectives* (pp. 71–96). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

- Hall, K. (2008). Leaving middle childhood and moving into teenhood: Small stories revealing identity and agency. In K. Hall, P. Murphy, & J. Soler (Eds.), *Pedagogy and practice: Culture and identities* (pp. 105–114). London, England: Sage.
- Han, C. (2000). National education and ‘active citizenship’: Implications for citizenship and citizenship education in Singapore. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 20(1), 63–72.
- Harmon, J. M., Hedrick, W. B., & Fox, E. A. (2000). A content analysis of vocabulary instruction in social studies textbooks for grades 4–8. *Elementary School Journal*, 100, 253–271.
- Heater, D. B. (2004). *A history of education for citizenship*. London, UK: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Ho, L.-C. (2009). Global multicultural citizenship education: A Singapore experience. *Social Studies*, 100, 285–293.
- Jacobs, H. H. (1989). *Interdisciplinary curriculum: Design and implementation*. Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.
- Joyce, W. W., Little, T. H., & Wronski, S. P. (1991). Scope and sequence, goals, and objectives: Effects on social studies. In J. P. Shaver (Ed.), *Handbook of research on social studies teaching and learning* (pp. 321–331). New York, NY: Macmillan.
- Kennedy, K. J. (2004). Searching for citizenship values in an uncertain global environment. In W. O. Lee, D. L. Grossman, K. J. Kennedy, & G. P. Fairbrother (Eds.), *Citizenship education in Asia and the Pacific: Concepts and issues* (pp. 9–24). Hong Kong, China: Comparative Education Research Centre, University of Hong Kong.
- Klein, R. (2001). *Citizens by right: Citizenship education in primary schools*. London, England: Trentham Books and Save the Children.
- Lam, Y. S., Leung, C. N., & Chung, C. (2004). *Longman general studies* (Books 1A–6D) [In Chinese]. Hong Kong, China: Longman Education.
- Lee, H. L. (1997). *Education in Singapore 21* [Opening speech]. Retrieved from <http://www.moe.gov.sg/media/speeches/1997/241197.htm>
- Lee, M. H. (2002). A tale of two cities: Comparing higher education policies and reforms in Hong Kong and Singapore. *Australian Journal of Education*, 46, 255–286.
- Lee, M. H., & Gopinathan, S. (2003). Reforming university education in Hong Kong and Singapore. *Higher Education Research and Development*, 22, 167–182.
- Lee, M. H., & Gopinathan, S. (2005). Convergence or divergences? Comparing education reforms in Hong Kong and Singapore. In J. Zajda (Ed.), *International handbook on globalisation, education and policy research* (pp. 253–278). Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Springer.
- Lee, W. O. (1991). *Social change and educational problems in Japan, Singapore and Hong Kong*. New York, NY: St. Martin’s Press.
- Lee, W. O. (1999). Controversies of civic education in political transition: Hong Kong. In J. Torney-Purta, J. Schwille, & J.-A. Amadeo (Eds.), *Civic education across countries: Twenty-four national case studies from the IEA civic education project* (pp. 313–340). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement.
- Lee, W. O., & Sweeting, A. (2001). Controversies in Hong Kong’s political transition: Nationalism versus liberalism. In M. Bray & W. O. Lee (Eds.), *Education and political transition: Themes and experiences in East Asia* (pp. 101–121). Hong Kong, China: Comparative Education Research Centre, University of Hong Kong.
- Leung, Y. W., & Print, M. (2002). Nationalistic education as the focus for civics and citizenship education: The case of Hong Kong. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, 3, 197–209.
- Lo, J. T. Y. (2002). The primary social education curricula in Hong Kong and Shanghai: A comparative study. *International Social Studies Forum*, 2(1), 3–18.
- Lo, J. T. Y. (2004). The junior secondary history curricula in Hong Kong and Shanghai: A comparative study. *Comparative Education*, 40, 343–361.
- Lo, J. T. Y. (2010). The primary social education curricula in Hong Kong and Singapore: A comparative study. *Research in Comparative and International Education*, 5, 144–155.
- Lui, T. Y. (2007). *Enhancing NE: Strengthening heartware and rootedness*. Retrieved from <http://www.moe.gov.sg/media/speeches/2007/sp20070307c.htm>
- Mathews, G., Ma, E. K. W., & Lui, T. L. (2008). *Hong Kong, China: Learning to belong to a nation*. London, England: Routledge.

J. TIN-YAU LO

- Merryfield, M. M. (2002). The difference a global educator can make. *Educational Leadership*, 60(2), 18–21.
- Merryfield, M. M. (2004). Elementary students in substantive culture learning. *Social Education*, 68, 270–273.
- Ministry of Education. (2006). *Nurturing every child: Flexibility and diversity in Singapore schools*. Retrieved from <http://www.moe.gov.sg/education/files/edu-booklet/edu-booklet-english.pdf>
- Ministry of Education. (2008). *National education*. Retrieved from <http://www.ne.edu.sg/>
- Ministry of Education. (2009). *Desired outcomes of education*. Retrieved from <http://www.moe.gov.sg/education/desired-outcomes/>
- Mok, K. H. (2003). Decentralization and marketization of education in Singapore: A case study of the school excellence model. *Journal of Educational Administration*, 41(4), 348–366.
- Mok, K. H., & Tan, J. (2004). *Globalization and marketization in education: A comparative analysis of Hong Kong and Singapore*. Cheltenham, England: Edward Elgar.
- Morris, P. (1996). Asia's four little tigers: A comparison of the role of education in their development. *Comparative Education*, 32(1), 95–109.
- Morris, P., & Adamson, B. (2010). Language policy and the medium of instruction. In P. Morris & B. Adamson (Eds.), *Curriculum, schooling and society in Hong Kong* (pp. 147–161). Hong Kong, China: Hong Kong University Press.
- Morris, P., & Morris, E. (2002). Civic education in Hong Kong: A tale of two schools. In J. J. Cogan, P. Morris, & M. Print (Eds.), *Civic education in the Asia-Pacific region: Case studies across six societies* (pp. 46–69). New York, NY: Routledge Falmer.
- Nelson, J. L. (1991). Communities, local to national, as influences on social studies education. In J. P. Shaver (Ed.), *Handbook of research on social studies teaching and learning* (pp. 332–341). New York, NY: Macmillan.
- Nichol, R., & Sim, J. B.-Y. (2007). Singaporean citizenship, national education and social studies: Control, constraints, contradictions and possibilities. *Citizenship Teaching and Learning*, 3(1), 17–31.
- Nicholls, J. (2003). Methods in school textbook research. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, 3(2), 11–26.
- Ochoa-Becker, A. (2007). *Democratic education for social studies: An issues-centered decision making curriculum*. Greenwich, CT: Information Age.
- Ong, A. (1999). *Flexible citizenship: The cultural logics of transnationality*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Osborne, K. (1997). Citizenship education and social studies. In I. Wright & A. Sears (Eds.), *Trends and issues in Canadian social studies* (pp. 39–67). Vancouver, Canada: Pacific Educational Press.
- Osborne, K. (2004). History and social studies: Partners or rivals? In A. Sears & I. Wright (Eds.), *Challenges and prospects for Canadian social studies* (pp. 73–89). Vancouver, Canada: Pacific Educational Press.
- Osler, A. (2010, May). *Education for cosmopolitan citizenship? A challenge for the nation-state* (Working Paper Series No. 2010/002). Hong Kong, China: Centre for Governance and Citizenship, Hong Kong Institute of Education.
- Parker, W. C. (2001). Toward enlightened political engagement. In W. B. Stanley (Ed.), *Critical issues in social studies research for the 21st century* (pp. 97–118). Greenwich, CT: Information Age.
- Pingel, F. (2010). *UNESCO guidebook on textbook research and textbook revision* (2nd ed.). Retrieved from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001171/117188e.pdf>
- Postiglione, G. A. (1998). Maintaining global engagement in the face of national integration in Hong Kong. *Comparative Education Review*, 42(1), 30–45.
- Preston, P. W. (1997). *Political/cultural identity: Citizens and nations in a global era*. London, UK: Sage.
- Purvis, T., & Hunt, A. (1999). Identity versus citizenship: Transformations in the discourses and practices of citizenship. *Social & Legal Studies*, 8(4), 457–482.
- Reed, G. G. (2004). Multidimensional citizenship, Confucian humanism and the imagined community: South Korea and China. In W. O. Lee, D. L. Grossman, K. J. Kennedy, & G. P. Fairbrother (Eds.), *Citizenship education in Asia and the Pacific: Concepts and issues* (pp. 239–256). Hong Kong, China: Comparative Education Research Centre, University of Hong Kong.

- Reid, A., Gill, J., & Sears, A. (2010). The forming of citizens in a globalising world. In A. Reid, J. Gill, & A. Sears (Eds.), *Globalization, the nation-state and the citizen: Dilemmas and directions for civics and citizenship education* (pp. 3–18). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Ross, A. (2007). Multiple identities and education for active citizenship. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 55, 286–303.
- Ross, A. (2008). Organizing a curriculum for active citizenship education. In J. Arthur, I. Davies, & C. Hahn (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of education for citizenship and democracy* (pp. 492–505). London, England: Sage.
- Saxe, D. W. (1991). *Social studies in schools: A history of the early years*. New York, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Sharpe, L., & Gopinathan, S. (2002). After effectiveness: New directions in the Singapore school system? *Journal of Education Policy*, 17, 151–166.
- Sim, J. B.-Y., & Print, M. (2005). Citizenship education and social studies in Singapore: A national agenda. *International Journal of Citizenship and Teacher Education*, 1(1), 58–73.
- Singapore 21 Committee. (1999). *Singapore 21: Together we make the difference*. Singapore: Author.
- Skelton, M., Wigford, A., Harper, P., & Reeves, G. (2002). Beyond food, festivals, and flags. *Educational Leadership*, 60(2), 52–55.
- Stahl, R. J. (2005). How learners think and learn: Applications for social studies educators. In C. Lee & C. H. Chang (Eds.), *Primary social studies: Exploring pedagogy and content* (pp. 3–19). Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Education.
- Stewart, M., & Feng, A. (2006). The construction of citizenship and nation building: The Singapore case. In G. Alred, M. Byram, & M. Fleming (Eds.), *Education for intercultural citizenship: Concepts and comparisons* (pp. 47–66). Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.
- Tan, J. (1997). Education and colonial transition in Singapore and Hong Kong: Comparisons and contrasts. *Comparative Education*, 33, 303–312.
- Tan, J. (2007). Pulling together and globalization: National education in Singapore schools. In P. D. Hershock, M. Mason, & J. N. Hawkins (Eds.), *Changing education: Leadership, innovation and development in a globalizing Asia Pacific* (pp. 29–62). Hong Kong, China: Comparative Education Research Centre, University of Hong Kong.
- Tan, T. W., & Chew, L. C. (2008). Political pragmatism and citizenship training in Singapore. In D. L. Grossman, W. O. Lee, & K. J. Kennedy (Eds.), *Citizenship curriculum in Asia and the Pacific* (pp. 147–161). Hong Kong, China: Comparative Education Research Centre, University of Hong Kong.
- Tse, T. K. C. (2004). Civic education and the making of deformed citizenry: From British colony to Chinese SAR. In A. S. Ku & N. Pun (Eds.), *Remaking citizenship in Hong Kong* (pp. 54–73). New York, NY: Routledge Curzon.
- Tse, T. K. C. (2007). Remaking Chinese identity: Hegemonic struggles over national education in post-colonial Hong Kong. *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 17, 231–248.
- Tse, T. K. C. (2010). State and civil society embattled in colonialism, capitalism and nationalism: Civic education and its politics in Hong Kong. In A. Reid, J. Gill, & A. Sears (Eds.), *Globalization, the nation-state and the citizen: Dilemmas and directions for civics and citizenship education* (pp. 97–113). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Weber, R. P. (1990). *Basic content analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Wenger, E. (2008). Identity in practice. In K. Hall, P. Murphy, & J. Soler (Eds.), *Pedagogy and practice: Culture and identities* (pp. 105–114). London, England: Sage.
- Wesley, E. (1937). *Teaching the social studies*. New York, NY: D.C. Heath.
- Yuen, B. (2006). Reclaiming cultural heritage in Singapore. *Urban Affairs Review*, 41, 830–854.
- Zahorik, J. A. (1991). Teaching style and textbooks. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 7, 185–196.
- Zhao, Y. (2007, March/April). Education in the flat world: Implications of globalization and education. *EDge*, 2(4), 3–19.

J. TIN-YAU LO

Joe Tin-Yau Lo
The Hong Kong Institute of Education
Hong Kong, China

13. REFRAMING THE NATIONAL NARRATIVE

Curricula Reform and History Textbooks in Turkey's EU Era

Since the inception of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, the Turkish state has utilized history textbooks to promulgate nationalist narratives and cultivate a carefully conceived notion of national identity. The state's efforts to utilize history textbooks in forming a sense of affinity among students to the Turkish nation-state and, more specifically, to first president Mustafa Kemal Atatürk have been well documented (Aktekin, 2009; Altınay, 2004; Antoniou & Soysal, 2005; Ceylan & Irzık, 2004; Copeaux, 2003; Dinç, 2011; Erşanlı, 2002; Kaplan, 2006; Üstel, 2004). Indeed, it is no coincidence that history textbooks are produced by one of only two state ministries in Turkey that bear the word "national" in their titles: the Ministry of National Education (*Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı* [MEB]) and the Ministry of National Defense (*Milli Savunma Bakanlığı*). However, as a consequence of recent political, economic, and education policy developments in Turkey, there is reason to reexamine how history textbooks produced by the state frame nationalist narratives and engage in a national consciousness-raising project. Over the past decade, Turkey has become a regional economic power and entered into a protracted negotiation process to join the European Union (EU), resulting in numerous reforms in the education sector.

Politically and economically, Turkey has been increasingly enmeshed in regional and global networks, hallmarks of the multilayered geographies generated by globalization. Starting in the 1980s, Turkey transitioned to an export-oriented economy and implemented several economic reforms to bolster trade and foreign direct investment. The long-time North Atlantic Treaty Organization member officially became a candidate for accession to the EU in 2004. As a candidate state, Turkey must amend or create legislation and accompanying administrative arrangements in accordance with the *acquis communautaire*, a 35-chapter document representing the totality of EU law. The EU monitors progress on chapter compliance with annual progress reports, through which it communicates a reform agenda. One of the largest EU-influenced reforms in the education sector began in 2004–2005: redesigning the primary and secondary curricula to make them more student centered. According to the MEB, the new curricula adopt "the norms, aims and educational stance of the European Union" (*Talim ve Terbiye Kurulu Başkanlığı*, 2009). Rather than organize learning around students passively listening to teachers deliver content, the new curricula encourage students to actively construct knowledge and

develop competencies for participation in and beyond national society and economy (Altinyelken, 2010). The change to student-centered curricula necessitated rewriting the textbooks students use, including history textbooks at the secondary level. Thus, textbooks employed for history courses prior to EU accession negotiations and the 2004–2005 curricula reform were replaced with new textbooks that reflected the objectives of student-centered approaches to teaching and learning.

The purpose of this study was to determine whether—and the degree to which—history textbooks have changed regarding their (1) conceptualization of the nation-state, (2) definition of national identity, and (3) treatment of religious and linguistic minorities, namely Armenians, Greeks, and Kurds, since the 2004–2005 curricula reform. In particular, we compared two textbooks published by the MEB for the 11th-grade course “Republic of Turkey Revolution History and Kemalism” (*Türkiye Cumhuriyeti İnkılap Tarihi ve Atatürkçülük*). Both textbooks carry the same title as the course, but one was published in 2003—prior to the official opening of EU accession negotiations and curricula reform—while the other was published in 2011. Our interest lies in the content of the textbooks and, therefore, the official knowledge that the nation-state endorses. Comparing textbooks for the same course from two distinct time periods facilitates analysis of change and allows us to situate both sources in the sociohistorical circumstances they reflect and to which they respond. Because of our limited focus on meaning systems evident in textbooks themselves, as opposed to the way textbooks are employed in the classroom or understood by students, we made use of elements of critical discourse analysis (CDA) to structure our method of data collection and analysis (Fairclough, 1992).

Two strands of conceptual thinking informed the analysis. The first strand, comprising ideological and cultural reproduction theories, contends that schools, as social institutions that reflect and protect the interests of the dominant culture, legitimate certain knowledge and marginalize competing truth claims (Apple, 2004). This strand emphasizes the mechanisms of “tradition selectivity” and hegemony that make certain knowledge and ways of knowing commonsense, natural, and nondeliberative (Gramsci, 2010; Williams, 1973). The second strand, comprising recent work we categorize as globalization and scale theories, suggests overlapping levels of educational governance, such that the nation-state coordinates schooling decisions in conjunction with non-national actors, in this case the EU (Brenner, 1999; Carney, 2008; Engel, 2009; Robertson, 2011). These two strands provide concepts for helping to explain the nature of change in the textbooks under review. That is, the first strand privileges the power of dominant culture, largely shaped by the state to ensure the continued existence of the nation. By contrast, the second strand posits that nation-state authority is relativized within a milieu of multiscale governance to achieve non-national ends. Thus, drawing upon two contrasting conceptual strands, we were able to determine whether the history textbooks studied herein were directed towards the reproduction of a state-crafted, nation-based historical narrative and citizenship or had, in some way, changed as a consequence of Turkey’s economic and political interface with non-national entities like the EU.

The remainder of this chapter is divided into five sections that contextualize the study, provide details on its empirical approach, and present its major findings. We begin by offering an extended account of the national context, including background information on Turkey's system of education, recent educational reforms, and history curricula. We weave into this section pertinent scholarly literature on the teaching of history and textbooks in Turkey. Next, we explain our methodological approach and the two conceptual strands that frame data collection and analysis. Before discussing what our findings mean within Turkey's rapidly changing education policy environment, we provide a brief presentation of data, foregrounding graphics and, when possible, quotations from the textbooks.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND RECENT EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

The Republic of Turkey was forged in the crucible of armed conflict—one of several nation-states in Europe, the Balkans, and the Middle East established during or in the aftermath of World War I. [Table 1](#) presents a timeline of the major events since its founding. Geographically, Turkey is located on the Anatolian Peninsula, an area that was previously the heart of the vast Ottoman Empire. At its height, the empire, ruled by a dynastic line of sultans, conquered much of the Middle East, North Africa, and Southeast Europe in an effort to increase its sphere of influence and proselytize its brand of Sunni Islam. However, by the start of World War I in 1914, the empire had suffered a string of military defeats, failed to suppress nationalist independence movements in the Balkans, and sought ways to curb territorial loss and disaffection among its multiethnic, multilingual, and multiconfessional subject groups. Having sided with Germany in the war, the empire's territory was divided among the victorious Entente Powers, including France, Britain, and Greece, at the war's conclusion in 1918.

After distinguished service in World War I, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk led a national war of independence against European occupiers between 1919 and 1922, eventually becoming Turkey's first president and accumulating sweeping power in the newly minted republic. It is difficult to overstate Atatürk's historical, political, cultural, and symbolic significance in contemporary Turkey. It is against the law to publicly insult Atatürk, according to law number 5816, titled "Crimes Against Atatürk." Furthermore, every public school classroom is obligated to post on the wall a portrait of Atatürk, along with an excerpt of his 1920 "Address to the Turkish Youth," in which he declared that students' first duty is to "preserve and defend forever Turkish independence and the Turkish Republic."

Atatürk's political legacy can be simplified into the six "arrows" of Kemalism ([Table 2](#))—nationalism, republicanism, statism, populism, secularism, and reformism—which formed the platform for the political party he created, the Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*). These tenets were designed to transform Turkey into a modern, Westernized, centrally planned, secular nation-state.

Table 1. Timeline of Turkish History, 1923 to present

<i>Year</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Event</i>
1923	Oct 29	The Republic of Turkey was founded. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk assumed the first presidency.
1924	Mar 3	The Turkish Grand National Assembly abolished the Ottoman caliphate. The Union of Education (<i>Tevhid-i Tedrisat</i>) Law was passed. The Ministry of Religious Affairs and all religious schools were abolished.
1928	Apr 10	The article stating that “the official religion of Turkey is Islam” was removed from the constitution.
	Nov 1	A new Turkish alphabet based on Latin characters was accepted.
1932	July 18	Turkey became a member of the League of Nations.
1934	Dec 5	Turkish women were granted the right to vote and be elected in Turkish parliamentary elections.
1938	Nov 10	Mustafa Kemal Atatürk died. He was succeeded by İsmet İnönü, former prime minister and general.
1946	Jan 7	The multiparty era in Turkish politics began.
1952	Feb 13	Turkey became a North Atlantic Treaty Organization country strategically important in countering Soviet influence.
1960	May 27	The first coup d’état in Turkey was staged by a group of Turkish military officers.
1961	Oct 25	The political system was reestablished, and a new constitution was drafted.
1971	Mar 12	Military officials forced an advisory committee on the government due to the increasing anarchical situation caused by conflict between the right (fascists/capitalists) and the left (communists).
1974	July 20	Turkey invaded Cyprus in response to a Greek-backed coup on the island.
1980	Sep 12	The 1980 coup d’état took place.
1983	Nov 6	After the establishment of a new 1982 constitution, the military regime dissolved itself.
1983	Nov 15	The Turkish Republic of Cyprus Island declared its independence and was recognized by Turkey.
1995	Mar 6	The European Union-Turkey Customs Union was formed.
1999	Feb 15	The leader of the Kurdistan Workers’ Party, Abdullah Öcalan, was captured in Kenya.
1999	Dec 12	The European Council recognized Turkey as a candidate on equal footing with other potential candidates.
2002	Dec 12	The European Council stated that “the EU would open negotiations with Turkey ‘without delay’ if Turkey fulfills the Copenhagen criteria.”
2004	Dec 17	The European Union agreed to start negotiations.

Table 2. The Six “Arrows” of Kemalism

<i>Tenet</i>	<i>Description</i>
Nationalism	Aimed to create an indivisible Turkish nation, consisting of Turkish people who speak Turkish, love their country, and understand their duties to the state
Republicanism	Replaced the Ottoman monarchy with a constitutional republic based upon rule of law and popular sovereignty
Statism	Placed economic planning in the hands of the state, which had permission to engage in activities where the private sector was inactive or inadequate
Populism	Sought to reduce class differentiation and promote governance by citizens for citizens
Secularism	Minimized the presence of religion in government affairs; not separation of religion from the state, but rather the regulation of religion by the state
Reformism	Replaced traditional articulations of culture and politics, which were deemed backwards, with modern ones through drastic social reform

Atatürk’s legacy had clear ramifications in the realm of education. Under his leadership, all educational and scientific institutions, including those founded and operated by foreign organizations for educating the children of religious minority groups, were placed under the auspices of the MEB in 1924. One of the MEB’s first acts was to close all religious schools operational in the republic, effectively ensuring that the state solely controlled the educational experience of its young citizens. Moreover, in 1928 Atatürk introduced the new Turkish alphabet based on Latin characters, replacing the old Arabo-Persian script as a means of promoting literacy (it was presumed that the new characters would make learning to read easier) and expunging linguistic links to what was considered Turkey’s nonsecular, and thus nonmodern, Ottoman past. Students were taught the new language through primers, many of which accentuated the differences between the Ottoman Empire and the republic. According to Fortna (2001), throughout the late Ottoman–early republic transition period, “what was wanted ... was the cultivation of politically loyal, appreciative even, economically contributing, and civilized subjects and citizens” (p. 39). One didactic story in *A Turkish Reader for Republic Children* (*Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kiraat*) featured a young protagonist, Turhan, who refused to obey the orders of a Muslim cleric, declaring: “You are acting like the evil padishah who robbed the nation. That day has gone, my dear.” The story ended with the victorious Turhan shouting, “Down with the Sultan; long live the Republic!” (as cited in Fortna, 2001, p. 39). During this period, the Republic of Turkey exploited the new education system in general, and history education in particular, to construct an identity around Turkishness.

Turkey is not altogether unusual in this regard, as many scholars have underscored that teaching about the past constitutes a crucial part of efforts to create

a collective identity among the new members of a citizenry (Anderson, 1991; Hein & Selden, 2000; Meyer, Ramirez, & Soysal, 1992; Schissler & Soysal, 2005; Smith, 1991). History education, therefore, is often an indispensable component of the nation-building process and the dissemination of nationalist ideologies. In this regard, schooling proves to be one of the main vehicles through which young people are introduced to the version of history that is conducive to the diffusion of national values and ideas. Schools are viewed as an ideal setting to disseminate nationalist messages through history courses, which are aimed at the construction and strengthening of nationalism and national identity. In his effort to uncover the major themes of official Turkish historiography, Copeaux (2003) focused on the history textbooks used in Turkey in the primary and secondary schools from 1931 to 1993. He argued that the writing and teaching of history in the 1930s heavily reflected the six arrows of Kemalism, particularly nationalism and secularism. Altınay (2004) also analyzed history textbooks in the early republic, finding that they centered on the value of military service as a symbol of national character. The goal of history education in the early republic was largely to produce loyal Turkish citizens within a new nation-state, according to the modernizing agenda of Atatürk.

The 1980 Coup D'état

The responsibility of educating Turkey's youth was a heavy structural burden for the state. Because of the rise in the school-aged population, as well as massive urban migration, the MEB confronted an ever-increasing and geographically shifting demand for education, requiring rapid school construction and an increase in the supply of teachers (Nohl, Akkoyunlu-Wigley, & Wigley, 2008). Violence between leftist and rightist political groups in the 1970s and escalating conflict with Kurdish separatist groups resulted in widespread neglect of the education system. On September 12, 1980, the Turkish military overthrew the government, ostensibly to restore political and economic stability and guarantee adherence to Atatürk's legacy. The new government installed following the coup d'état endorsed an ideological movement known as the Turkish-Islamic Synthesis, which attempted to form a compromise between Turkish nationalism and Islam in order to reduce the influence of leftist groups and promote greater national unity. The movement was inspired by a collection of nationalist-conservative academicians, who convened regularly as the Intellectuals' Hearth. As a consequence of the Turkish-Islamic Synthesis, the Turkish state sought to nationalize Islam and Islamize state services, viewing a state-regulated Islam as vital to social cohesion.

Addressing the education system soon became one of the major issues on the post-coup state's agenda. Dire improvements were needed in curricula, textbooks, and teacher training. Additionally, the education infrastructure was in poor condition, as school buildings were in disrepair and remote areas lacked sufficient classrooms. Limited privatization was introduced as a means of increasing access to school. The MEB also introduced new textbooks and curricula that were both

more nationalist and religious in orientation, reflecting the ideological objectives of the Turkish-Islamic Synthesis. Courses such as history and geography were renamed as “national” history and “national” geography following curricula reform (Şimşek & Yıldırım, 2004). Reviewing the themes of Turkish history textbooks from 1930 to 1993, Copeaux (2003) found that the Kemalist themes of the 1930s evolved into themes reflecting the Turkish-Islamic Synthesis in the 1980s. Antoniou and Soysal (2005), in fact, concluded that history textbooks used after the coup placed a strong emphasis on national history and nationhood. In this post-1980 period, history education was characterized by the promotion of a statist, militant citizenship through national security discourse, combined with religious themes (Üstel, 2004).

In 1982, the state put in place a constitution that is still in effect today. The constitution includes several important provisions related to education. It unequivocally states in article 42: “Training and education shall be conducted along the lines of the principles and reforms of Atatürk, on the basis of contemporary science and educational methods, under the supervision and control of the state.” Furthermore, the constitution mandates that no language other than Turkish will be taught as a mother tongue to Turkish citizens. Organizationally, Turkey’s system of education became more centralized following the coup, reinforcing the state-centric educational tradition started at the beginning of the republic. Centralization took form in the creation of a Higher Education Council to allow the state to monitor intellectuals and appoint administrators. The state also asserted with renewed fervor its control over all decisions regarding school construction, administration, teachers, and teacher education. Presently, curricula—including textbooks—are developed in a top-down fashion by the MEB as the primary governing body over education. Even today, all textbooks require MEB approval, and textbook content must comply with the provisions and regulations set by the ministry.

The EU Era

Lingering educational issues in the 1990s prompted the enactment of reforms to expand and improve the quality of education provision. One of the watershed reforms during this period was Basic Education Reform in 1997, which enforced compulsory 8-year primary education. In order to implement this reform, the state initiated, with significant financial support from the World Bank, its Basic Education Project to increase the number of schools and classrooms. Apart from concerns over the supply of schools, the project also set its sights on the quality of learning inside classrooms. According to World Bank documents describing its role in the project, MEB sought to enhance student learning through “more motivated and better qualified teachers, and less crowded classrooms” (World Bank, 2002, p. 15). The rationale for this project was that Turkey needed to raise the qualifications and competitiveness of its labor force in order to promote greater productivity, aggregate economic performance, and national integration (World Bank, 2001). These goals align with

Turkey's Ninth Development Plan (State Planning Office, 2006), which covers the years 2007 to 2013. The plan underscores the need for education and labor force improvement in preparation for building a "knowledge intensive" economy (p. 29). Indeed, Turkey's vision for the future, as stated in the plan, is as follows: "Turkey, a country of information society, growing in stability, sharing more equitably, globally competitive, [having] fully completed her coherence with the European Union" (p. 13). Thus, improving educational access and quality has increasingly received attention from the state as part of its economic development planning.

History education has not been ignored in the fervor to improve educational quality in recent decades. Both scholars and nongovernmental organizations have sought to identify inadequacies in Turkey's history education and demonstrate the need for reform. Numerous symposia and colloquia focusing on the critical examination of history education were organized in the mid-1990s. For example, the "Human Rights in Textbooks Project" was a critical examination by the Turkish History Foundation and the Turkish Academy of Sciences of nearly 200 textbooks in all major subjects in the primary and secondary curricula. The project found that history textbooks were not consistent with prevailing notions of human rights, notably tolerance of minority groups and respect for diversity. Aktekin (2009) convincingly identified at least five inadequacies with the present course of history instruction: insufficient utilization of historiography, dominance of nationalist and religious views, underemphasis on contemporary history, ineffective teaching methods, and outdated textbooks. Ceylan and Irzik's (2005) survey of human rights elements in history textbooks highlighted similar issues. They found that textbooks underscored state-centeredness, national security, and national unity, eclipsing themes of individual human rights and freedoms. Kancı and Altınay (2007) noted in their analysis that since the birth of the republic, textbooks have championed the idea that all Turks are soldiers by birth. Because all males must serve in the military, Turkey's history textbooks equate masculinity and Turkish citizenship. In sum, history textbooks in Turkey have been critiqued for being narrow, outdated, nationalist, militarized, gendered, and at odds with notions of human rights.

The last decade of the 20th century marked the beginning of determined efforts to provide a more inclusive history education (Safran, 2009). These efforts stemmed both from growing domestic critique, as well as increasing interest in democratization, human rights, and global citizenship (Kancı, 2009; Safran, 2009). Examining the recent debates on education and textbooks in Turkey, Kancı (2009) and Kancı and Altınay (2007) observed that history textbooks in Turkish classrooms were making more conscious efforts towards demilitarizing and denationalizing educational discourse and eliminating gender-based discrimination in their content and form. Moreover, the books *History: 1839–1939* and *History: 1939–2002* were written by Turkish academicians as an alternative source of historical information for secondary-level students in a project sponsored by the Turkish Industry and Business Association. The desire to address inadequacies was not merely generated from within the nation-state's borders but was also a byproduct of Turkey's EU

accession process (Kancı & Altınay, 2007; Çayır, 2009b). Ensuring coherence with the EU has been a top priority of the Turkish state since it became a candidate for accession in 2004, and it has implemented numerous reforms to advance the negotiation process.

As an EU candidate state, Turkey receives financial assistance under the instrument for preaccession assistance (IPA). The amount of money that the EU has given Turkey for IPA projects has steadily increased from €497.2 million in 2007 to a projected €935.5 million in 2012. Education projects abound in recent documents outlining the EU's accession assistance to Turkey. For instance, the 2011 National Programme, which outlined what Turkey must do to harmonize with EU law, allocated €56.3 million to “strengthening employment and human resources development” through indicators like “adapted education and training to the needs of the labor market” and “increased attractiveness of secondary/vocation education and training (VET), in particular for girls” (p. 9). Gender equity in Turkish education is a matter of great concern to the EU: among other initiatives, one project contributed €3.6 million towards promoting “gender equality in education by creating a gender sensitive environment all throughout institutions and programs” (European Commission, 2011, p. 2). A similar allocation of funds (€3.2 million) was given to teach young Turks about the values, fundamental rights, and policies of the EU (European Commission, 2011).

Stirred by the influence of EU education policies, the MEB launched a massive overhaul of the primary and secondary curricula in 2004–2005. The reform's central aim “was to make major alterations in the educational system with a view to preparing young citizens better for the real world” (Akşit, 2007, pp. 132–133). The design and development of new curricula was informed by student-centered pedagogical approaches, which promote hands-on activities, group collaboration, and project-based learning. The new curricula provide more time for active learning by reducing and thematically organizing what students must master (Altınyelken, 2010). Teachers are expected to use the new curricula to espouse critical inquiry, rather than mere memorization of facts, and to be sensitive to multiple intelligences and learning differences (Bulut, 2007). The hope is that such measures would produce learners who can “access, use, and produce knowledge” in line with the demands of an “information society” (Ministry of Education Directorate General for Education and Culture, 2008, as cited in Çayır, 2009a, p. 43). Shifting to student-centered pedagogical approaches reflects one of the EU's primary student competencies for the 21st century: “learning to learn.” Indeed, Heikkinen (2006) argued that the principle of “constructivism in education has provided appropriate theories and models of learning for the making of the learning Europe. The capacity to ‘learn’ has become the basis for the participation of individuals ... in the competitive and progressive EU-society” (p. 266). The competence-driven nature of the new curricula evinces EU influence over reform content, as the EU has made education the “business of coordination, standardization and management of competence building and innovation strategies” (Heikkinen, 2006, p. 266).

In many ways, the 2004–2005 reform represents a paradox. Although the state has traditionally produced textbooks to promote the acceptance of a particular set of ideas about the past, the implementation of more student-centered curricula creates space for teachers and students alike to mediate content and arrive at their own conclusions. Thus, the desire to build consensus may be undermined or challenged by the critical thinking supposedly espoused in the new curricula. This study is in some measure interested in how much space, if any, is truly afforded to the active construction of knowledge versus the dissemination of a narrow, nationalist-inflected narrative.

METHOD: INSPIRED BY CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

CDA represents the marriage of critical theory and discourse and sociolinguistic analyses (Rogers, Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mosley, Hui, & Joseph, 2005). Critical theory, frequently attributed to the Frankfurt School of neo-Marxist social theorists, is interested in explaining how domination and privilege among groups in society come into being and persist, with the ultimate goal of redressing what are believed to be gross social inequalities. Discourse and sociolinguistic analysts locate power in language as a social practice, identifying and explaining how meaning systems—or discourses—reflect and represent, construct and constitute the social world. In the words of Ball (2006), “Discourses are about what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority” (p. 48). Accordingly, CDA “demands that the linguistically oriented dimensions of a research project be directed at a critique of existent social and political relations of power with the explicit goal of disrupting them” (Vavrus & Seghers, 2010, p. 78). Fairclough (1992) translated the critical-linguistic union of CDA into a three-part framework of analysis that guided this and many other text-based studies. He broke down a discursive event into the micro-level *discourse as text*, meso-level *discourse as discursive practice*, and macro-level *discourse as social practice* (Vavrus & Seghers, 2010). Data limitations precluded examination of all three levels in this chapter. Nevertheless, we believe our empirical approach is consistent with the demands of CDA.

Because the meso-level *discourse as discursive practice* entails “analysis of the production, distribution, and consumptions of texts,” which requires collecting data beyond the text itself and the social structure in which it operates, our inquiry was limited to the micro- and macro-levels of Fairclough’s framework (Vavrus & Seghers, 2010, p. 81). That is, we concentrated on the linguistic and graphic features of the two textbooks and, secondly, on the respective sociohistorical circumstances of the two time periods in which the textbooks were written and used in the classroom. This process included searching for several variations of deductively derived codes (nation, citizen, minority) and the sentences and paragraphs in which they were embedded. These sentences and paragraphs were then translated from Turkish to English. Part of our analysis included looking at the descriptors attached to key codes. For example, we asked: How is the nation described? What words are used

to characterize minorities? We also noted structural differences in the textbooks and kept careful track of the graphics, charting which people were included, how the pictures were captioned, and how much space was given to the image relative to text. The reason for this is that we believe power is exercised in decisions regarding how much space to allot an event, figure, or graphic—as well as what to leave out. Given our attention to meanings given to codes and sensitivity to the power dynamics at play in the use of language, we believe CDA was a fitting methodology to fulfill our main purpose in this study. Our findings on how textbook discourses related to the nation-state, national identity, and minorities in Turkey have changed were based upon analysis informed by (1) cultural and ideological reproduction theories and (2) globalization and scale theories.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: REPRODUCTION AND SCALE THEORIES

The genealogy of the first strand of concepts that helped us make sense of textbook discourse began, at least for argumentative purposes, with scholars who explored the role of educational institutions in reproducing unequal class relations and stratified social structures (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979; Willis, 1977). Michael Apple (2004) built upon this theoretical foundation to examine how curriculum, teachers, and texts are not neutral agents in the production and acquisition of apolitical knowledge, but are rather implicated in hegemonic processes that serve the ideological interests of dominant groups. Looking first at curricula, Apple (2004) echoed the conclusion of his predecessors that schools are transmission sites of dominant culture and applied Raymond's (1973, as cited in Apple, 2004) notion of a "selective tradition," or

that which, within the terms of an effective dominant culture, is always passed off as 'the tradition,' the significant past. But always the selectivity is the point; the way in which from a whole possible area of past and present, certain meanings and practices are neglected and excluded. Even more crucially, some of these meanings are reinterpreted, diluted, or put into forms which support or at least do not contradict other elements within the effective dominant culture.
(p. 9)

Because representatives of the state responsible for curriculum development make choices in presenting content in schools out of a large universe of possible values, principles, and understandings, the formal corpus of curricular knowledge must be problematized and interrogated: Whose knowledge is it? Who selected it? To what ultimate end? We routinely turned to these questions while analyzing the textbooks in this inquiry.

To explain the control that states exercise through schools in labeling precisely what constitutes legitimate knowledge, and the way this labeling is taken as natural, Apple (2004) employed Gramsci's (2010) notion of hegemony: how the state, as an "ideologically motivated educator," induces consent to the status quo, marginalizing alternative ways of thinking and, by virtue of its authority, creates knowledge that

acquires the weight of truth and becomes nondeliberative (Kaplan, 2006, p. 20). Textbooks play an important role in this process, especially when they are produced centrally by the state, as is the case in Turkey. Textbooks are consensus documents, by which we mean they are written to avoid controversy and attempt to present an authoritative account of the past that minimizes disagreement. As the most widely utilized instructional print medium and tool for structuring teaching and learning in classrooms the world over, textbooks are designed to deliver “simple and straightforward language, clear-cut definitions, and unambiguous narratives,” which serve to restrict questioning by teachers and students alike (Kaplan, 2005, p. 669). An example of an unambiguous narrative in history textbooks explains the origins of the nation, its defining features, and the parameters of national identity and citizenship.

The second conceptual strand we drew upon in this inquiry is interested in describing and explaining transformations to the nation-state and its traditional role in educational provision. Early globalization researchers (e.g., Appadurai, 1996) depicted the world increasingly as a space of flows in which the extensive, escalated movements of people, capital, and ideas dissolved political and social borders (Robertson, 2011). However, more recently, scholars have contended that nation-states are not disappearing or losing strength due to globalization; instead, their borders are changing with the ascendance of regional and global entities, and their roles in governance are strengthening because of the requirements of global capitalism (Dale, 1997). As Brenner (1999) effectively demonstrated: “globalization has radically reconfigured the scalar organization of territorialization processes under capitalism, *relativizing* the significance of the national scale while simultaneously *intensifying* the role of both sub- and supra-national forms of territorial organization” (p. 52). Frequently cast as an immobile, ahistorical container of social, political, and economic relations, the nation-state is reborn as a site in motion, such that it “operates less as an isomorphic block of absolute space than as a polymorphic institutional mosaic composed of multiple, partially overlapping levels” (p. 53). The EU represents one powerful example of a supra-national form whose role in many facets of the social and political life of member and candidate states, such as Turkey, has intensified. The concept of scale, and multiscalar educational governance, informed our attempts to explain changes to history textbook structure and discourses since Turkey became an EU candidate state in 2004.

STRUCTURE AND DISCOURSES: SELECT TEXTBOOK ANALYSIS FINDINGS

Our aim in this study was to compare the structure, graphics, and meaning systems of the “Republic of Turkey Revolution History and Kemalism” textbooks published before and after the 2004–2005 curricula reform. We present below a synthesis of key findings from our efforts, with emphasis on how the textbooks conceptualized the nation-state, defined national identity, and treated religious and linguistic minorities from a critical perspective. We present findings for the 2003 textbook, followed by

similarities and differences in the 2011 textbook. Our findings support our argument that the 2011 textbook is, pedagogically, an improvement upon the 2003 textbook, yet it mainly reframes the same nationalist discourses of its predecessor and reflects the seemingly unchanged ideological objectives of the state.

Structure and Graphics

The textbook written in 2003 was 331 pages long, divided into eight chapters. Chapters were usually introduced with a quote by Atatürk and two to four items of preparation work (*hazırlık çalışmaları*), and subsections ended with a list of assessment questions (*ölçme ve değerlendirme*). Several chapters included excerpts from letters or other primary source documents. However, beyond discussion questions, the textbook did not feature activities for students to question, challenge, or process what they were expected to read. The textbook, therefore, was remarkably monotonous in structure, such that it was common to encounter pages upon pages of text with little interruption. The textbook's layout was not designed to attract or keep students' attention. Although the graphics were in color, the text was black on a white background. Important events, places, people, and dates were occasionally bolded so that they stood out. Yet there was little attempt to highlight important information or make it relevant to chapter themes through separate boxes.

Graphics were sparingly used in the 2003 textbook, given its length. There were a total of 93 graphics in the textbook, or about one graphic for every three pages. Graphics usually belonged to one of two categories: maps and images. Several themes were apparent in the images selected for use in the textbook. First, images frequently portrayed people, the majority of whom were male. In fact, only 5 out of 93 (5%) images included women, and these images showed female students, highlighted women in "modern" fashions (meaning without a headscarf), or captured elderly ladies weeping after Atatürk's death. Second, graphic representations of the military were common in the text (26 of 93 images, or 28%). Whether it was scenes from battles or men in uniform, descriptions of images in our data repeatedly mentioned the presence of the military. Lastly, nearly half (43%) of the images in the textbook included or referred to Atatürk. Images of ethnic and linguistic minorities, on the other hand, were absent in the textbook.

Numerous changes to the structure and organization of the textbook were evident in the 2011 version. The first difference between the two textbooks was clear from the table of contents: the 2011 textbook was 225 pages, or more than 100 pages shorter than the 2003 version it replaced. There were seven units in the textbook, which in tandem with the book's overall length had the effect of reducing the number of pages in each unit. The units in the 2011 textbook included Mustafa Kemal from 1881 to 1919; The Turkish Revolution; Atatürkism and Atatürk's Principles; and Atatürk's Legacy. New also in the 2011 version of the textbook was an "introductory diagram" (*tanıtım şeması*) explaining the various boxes students would see on the pages that followed. These boxes included biographies (*biyografi*), activities

(*etkinlik*), informational notes (*bilgi notu*), and simultaneity notes (*eş zamanlılık*), which showed the links between two concurrent events. With the addition of these boxes, the units were more visually varied and provided multiple opportunities for students to work individually and with partners to understand the content. Units also frequently broke down or simplified detailed information into tables and charts to help students compare, organize, or visualize information. The combined effect of these additions was to make the units more colorful, less text heavy, and more conducive to active learning in keeping with the 2004–2005 student-centered pedagogical reform.

The 2011 textbook featured a remarkably higher number of graphics at 246. Graphics were not simply more numerous, but also more diverse in content. Whereas the graphics in the 2003 textbook were largely maps and images, graphics in the 2011 textbook included several timelines, in addition to a higher count of maps and graphs. Maps were more specifically labeled with the use of a legend, and they included a paragraph of explanation.

Images in the 2011 version continued the male, military, and Atatürk-centric themes of the 2003 textbook. Atatürk, for example, appeared in 119, or approximately 48%, of the images. However, there were several differences worth noting. First, the individuals highlighted in the biography boxes offered greater diversity in terms of the number of key players in Turkey's national story. For instance, images were provided not only of Turkish military officers and politicians, but also eminent figures from abroad, the majority of whom were American (e.g., Woodrow Wilson, Herbert C. Hoover, and General Douglas McArthur), as well as Turkish writers and scholars (e.g., Mehmet Akif Ersoy, Sabiha Gökçen, Mehmet Emin Yurdakul, Afet İnan, and Ziya Gökalp). Furthermore, there were more images of women in the 2011 text (11%), and an effort was made to show women aiding the national war effort, working in labs, and otherwise contributing to society. Lastly, there was one image in the 2011 text whose caption mentioned a religious and linguistic minority, depicting a stockpile of weapons attributed to Armenians rising up against the Ottoman Empire during World War I.

Conceptualization of the Nation

The 2003 textbook made clear that the Turkish nation-state was a product of Atatürk's principles, which defined the nation's core characteristics and were presented as a roadmap for the country's future. The revolutionary reforms Atatürk initiated in the wake of the Independence War were described as building blocks of a new nation-state. That is, the nation was conceptualized as the product of reforms that codified the existence of a shared Turkish territory, language, and history. The Anatolian Peninsula was depicted in the 2003 textbook as the Turkish homeland. For example, it was stated that "Mustafa Kemal started the Independence War when *Turkish* land was invaded by its enemies" (2003, p. 64; emphasis added). Additionally, during coding it was noted that "nation" and "motherland" appeared together in

the textbook. These passages often emphasized that Turkish people fought against European invaders to reclaim occupied territory and secure independence, which was viewed as a prerequisite for the formation of a sovereign nation-state. The new nation was portrayed as both exclusively Turkish, contrasting with the “multination” Ottoman Empire, and ancient. Several of the descriptors associated with nation, as shown in Table 3, referred to the nation as “old and deep-rooted,” with a “very rich history.”

Table 3. Descriptors of Nation, Citizen, and Minority in the 2003 textbook

<i>Key codes</i>	<i>Associated adjectives and nouns</i>
Nation: <i>millet</i> (more frequent), <i>ulus</i>	Turkish nation; our nation; love of nation and motherland; our motherland and nation; Mustafa Kemal is in love with the nation he emerged from; those nations who lived under the sway of Turks; loyal nation; Eastern nations; fatigued and poor nation; an honorable and dignified nation; nation deprived of independence and liberty; independence of the nation; sovereignty of the nation; every individual of the nation; self-sacrifice of the nation; tenacity and dedication of the nation; like all civilized nations; Islamic nations; Muslim nations; national culture of a big nation; other nations; old and deep-rooted nation; very rich history of the nation; the blood, right, and existence of a nation; one nation’s children; army and nation; Turkish nation is of a high character; hardworking, clever, independent nation; the will of the nation; today and future of Turkish nation; great nation; modern nations; pure nation; various nations; representatives of the nation; development of a nation; underdeveloped nations; the world’s oldest nation; dear nation; the greatness of our nation; Ottoman Empire was a multinational country; Balkan’s nations; nations other than Turks; multinational empire
Citizen: <i>vatanadaş</i> (more frequent), <i>yurttaş</i>	Other Orthodox Ottoman citizens; our citizens; citizens in this region; our citizens who are conditioned and deceived; Armenians who live as Ottoman citizens in southern Anatolia; loyal Ottoman citizens; armed citizens; the citizens’ blood; all citizens of a country; citizens’ religious needs; citizens’ education; non-Muslim Ottoman citizens; Turkish citizens; Greek and Armenian origin Ottoman citizens; citizens’ intellectual needs; citizens’ liberty and independence; Muslim Ottoman citizens; citizens from various sects, occupations, and birth places; highly competent citizens; citizens’ education and health; valued citizens
Minority: <i>azınlık</i>	The members of the minorities; Greeks and the other minorities; minorities’ rights; minorities’ uprisings; schools of minorities

In the 2003 textbook, the authors allotted a separate chapter to the explication of Kemalism, as well as the reason why Atatürk’s principles were necessary to establish the Turkish nation-state. Students were given reasons why the acceptance of a

Turkish alphabet (*Türk Harflerinin Kabulü*), as well as the foundation of the Turkish Language Association (*Türk Dil Kurumu*) and the Turkish Historical Society (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*) were critical in the construction and imagination of a new nation-state. Moreover, the textbook incorporated numerous quotes from Atatürk that accentuated the significance of a common Turkish language in promoting the unity and solidarity of the nation. Atatürk's quotes reinforced the idea that Turkic peoples established important civilizations in the world, and the Republic of Turkey was heir to this glorified history. Descriptors revealed that the nation was portrayed as not one among many countries in a European unification project, but rather special and distinct. Turkey, according to the 2003 textbook, is "honorable," "dignified," "hardworking," and "clever."

The blueprint of the nation-state drawn in the 2011 textbook was not radically different than that in the 2003 version. The transition from the Ottoman Empire to a secular, democratic, modern, and Westernized Turkish Republic was presented as a nation-building project under the guidance and leadership of Atatürk. Like the 2003 textbook, an important point emphasized throughout the 2011 textbook was that the Turkish nation was formed as a consequence of military victories and a series of modernization reforms. To better illustrate this process, the authors gave many examples of how military success and modernizing reforms went hand in hand. The First National Educational Congress convened by Atatürk in 1921 framed the future of education in the country as follows:

Mustafa Kemal, who spearheaded the National Struggle and the Turkish War of Independence with the slogan of "Liberty or Death!" had no hesitation about defeating the nation's enemy. Having thought that the struggle after the war would be more strenuous, Mustafa Kemal fought against the armies of the enemy on one hand, and planted the seeds of socioeconomic development on the other. He believed that development would only be possible under the leadership of science and reason and, therefore, paid special attention to national education. During the course of war against Greek forces, he convened the 1st National Educational Congress. (p. 58)

Kemalist principles continued to receive great attention in the 2011 version of the book, with an entire unit delineating the six arrows of Kemalism and their role in the establishment of the nation-state. More interestingly, this section was enhanced by the inclusion of a new subsection entitled "National Power," defined as "the total sum of material and moral resources that a nation can utilize to reach its national aims" (p. 180). National power was depicted as the path to sustaining the nation. At no point did the 2011 textbook deviate from the territorial, linguistic, and historical conceptualization of the nation, which represents the culmination of military struggle and modernizing reforms initiated by the textbook's unmistakable protagonist, Atatürk. Largely overlooked in the textbooks were alternative factors that played a pivotal role in the establishment of the republic, such as the fact that Atatürk on numerous occasions sought out the religious establishment of the country to build

unity. Additionally, little attention was paid to the nationalist efforts and desire for constitutional government in the Ottoman Empire prior to Atatürk's ascendance.

One of the key differences between the 2003 and 2011 textbooks was the latter's use of superlatives to describe the nation. In the 2011 textbook, the following superlatives were attached to the nation: "most tolerant and generous," "noblest," and "most civilized and happiest." Perhaps no quote captured the tone of the 2011 textbook with regards to how the nation was conceptualized better than this one: "We are a nation whose power and glory are known in the continents of Asia, Europe, and Africa." Superlatives notwithstanding, there were clear linguistic parallels between the descriptors of the nation in the two textbooks and even a few identical phrases (see Table 4).

Table 4. Descriptors of Nation, Citizen, and Minority in the 2011 textbook

<i>Key codes</i>	<i>Associated adjectives and nouns</i>
Nation: <i>millet</i> (more frequent), <i>ulus</i>	The love of nation; in the bosom of the nation; Turkish nation; independent nations; those nations which revolted against the government; the love of nation and land; non-Turkish nations; new nation; salvation of the nation; the nation's independence; the nation's tenacity and decision; the will of the nation; the nation's sovereignty; the nation's representative; two sister nations; the other nations; our nation; Turkish nation's temperament and character; the nation's demands and needs; the nation who establishes this country is so resolved; our nation which establishes great civilizations; those nations which don't adopt their own culture; the world's most tolerant and generous nation; we are a nation whose power and glory are known in the continents of Asia, Europe, and Africa; the happiest nation; a nation's music; those nations which are not successful in fine arts; the nation's wealth; our nation which acquired its national independence; one of the world's noblest nations; nation's happiness; the nation's high character; Turkish nation is industrious/hardworking and clever; Turkish nation's needs and realities; a nation which is deprived of independence; this industrious and disciplined nation; the most civilized and happiest nation; the love of nation and motherland; strong nation; the deep-rooted and honorable nation; the nation which has the will and sovereignty; Turkish nation's nobility; the nation's children; all Eastern nations; sister nations; a civilized and modern nation; every civilized and competent nation; colonized and exploited nations; his dear nation; Ottoman Empire's multination structure
Citizen: <i>vatandaş</i> (more frequent), <i>yurttaş</i>	The citizens' blood; Turkish citizen; the citizens' preferences; the citizens' fundamental rights and freedoms; citizens who have the same rights; all citizens; citizens' needs; citizens devoted to common language, culture, and cause; the citizens who don't assign privileges to any groups or classes.
Minority: <i>azınlık</i>	Minorities' schools

Definition of National Identity

The definition of national identity in the 2003 textbook was exclusively Turkish, expunging the existence of diversity within the nation-state in three ways. First, diverse groups constituting the Ottoman Empire were frequently labeled the “Turkish nation,” and its citizens were referred to as Turks. The only exceptions to these observations were Greeks and Armenians, whose existence was recognized while describing them as distinct and, as discussed below, disloyal. Several illuminating passages in the textbook discussed the existence of a Turkish “nation” before the official creation of the Republic of Turkey: “The Turkish nation had been dragged into bloody wars which would last for years” (2003, p. 18); “Turks demonstrated an incredible resistance against the English forces” (2003, p. 29). Efforts to label the Ottoman Empire a Turkish nation help students associate with those who waged war against foreign aggressors and view themselves as part of a nation with roots that extend further into the past than 1923.

Second, the definition of national identity in the 2003 textbook relied upon Kemalist principles, particularly nationalism. Every time the ideal Turkish citizen was depicted or mentioned in the textbook, Atatürk’s nationalism appeared as the absolute reference point. Authors usually had such phrases as “adhered to Atatürk’s nationalism,” “determined by Atatürk’s nationalism,” and “adopted Turkishness in Atatürk’s nationalism.” This Kemalist principle of nationalism appeared to repudiate political, religious, racial, and ethnic differences in defining Turkishness. The people of the new Turkish state were named Turks, which stems from Atatürk actively encouraging all citizens to identify themselves as Turkish, regardless of their language or religion. Therefore, Turkishness comes to absorb all people who feel or imagine themselves citizens of the nation-state.

Third, the Turkish language was considered the nation’s “mother tongue,” and the existence of other languages was not acknowledged. The textbook explained, “Although a common language is not the major condition of becoming a nation, it is necessary to remember that the mother tongue, which tethers people through spirit, thinking, and culture, is one and only one in many nations” (p. 276).

Since Atatürk’s principles define Turkish national identity, the 2003 textbook presented Atatürk’s personality and life as an allegory of how Turkish citizens should think and act. In other words, young Turkish citizens were inculcated to believe that they could become a better Turk if they aligned their thoughts and actions with those of Atatürk. The textbook allotted an 11-page chapter to the narration of Atatürk’s life, which capitalized on personal attributes bordering on the mythical, such as “love of motherland and nation,” “being rational and realistic,” “creative thinking,” “being idealistic,” “being farsighted and sagacious,” “leadership,” “reformism,” and “power of uniting and aggregating.” In explaining these attributes, the authors highlighted Atatürk’s quotes to substantiate their explanations and descriptions. For instance, in the section entitled “Being Rational and Realistic,” the following quote from Atatürk is provided: “Acting with wisdom, reason, and intelligence is one of

our [Turks'] distinguished attributes. This is evidenced in the events that unfolded throughout our entire life" (p. 66).

The description of national identity in the 2011 textbook was similar to its predecessor, but offered additional understandings of what it means to be a Turkish citizen. For instance, the 2011 version presented an entire section dedicated to "the reflection of national independence in arts and literature." This section offered examples of literature, music, painting, and sculpture, demonstrating how art and artists made an important contribution to nation-building and national defense efforts. Along the same lines, Atatürk argued that "if a word is recorded in a paper or book, the idea is established, accessed worldwide and thereby can be transferred to future generations. Ideas that are established and spread quickly have contributed to the history and advancement of humanity" (2011, p. 64). Many of the books listed in this section were also found in the "top 100 fundamental books," a compilation generated by the MEB for elementary and secondary students to be used as reference guides and suggested resources for extensive reading. In addition to selected works of Turkish literature, the list also included classics from world literature.

The great bulk of the 2011 edition, more specifically chapters 4 (Turkish Revolution), 5 (Kemalism and Kemalist Principles), and 6 (Turkish Foreign Policy in Atatürk's Era), presented the foundations of Turkishness. The authors mentioned Atatürk's widely known statements such as "The Turkish nation refers to Turks who established the Turkish Republic" and "Happy is the one who says, 'I am a Turk,'" which declared Turkishness an identity that encompasses all ethnic elements in the republic. This formulation was also found in the first constitution ("The Turkish nation, without any religious or ethnic distinction, is composed of Turks"). The six "arrows" of Kemalism were each covered in detail, turning Atatürk's principles into national values. In short, mirroring discourses in the textbook it replaced, the 2011 version indicated that to be a national citizen means that one is, by necessity, Turkish and constantly striving to uphold values crafted from the state-based political priorities of the republic.

Treatment of Religious/Linguistic Minorities

Three religious and linguistic minorities were mentioned in the 2003 textbook: Kurds, Greeks, and Armenians. The textbook discussed Greeks and Armenians as minorities who lived in the Ottoman Empire and rebelled to establish their own free states with the assistance of European countries. The only section where Kurds were mentioned in the book was dedicated to "Minority Organizations," which were, according to the textbook, supported by European invaders. There was only one sentence about Kurds in the textbook: "This organization [the Kurdish Teali Organization] aimed to establish an independent Kurdish state by relying on so-called Wilsonian principles [self-determination]" (2003, p. 50).

The textbook noted that Greeks lived in Ottoman lands happily and comfortably for ages until they rebelled to found an independent state. Additionally, in the

“Minority Organizations” section, the textbook described at length how Greeks living in Anatolia worked in coordination with armies invading Turkish soil, especially the Greek and English forces, through several organizations they clandestinely established. Lastly, the textbook explained how those Greeks who did not live in Istanbul were subjected to a population exchange agreement in which they were forcibly sent from their homes in Anatolia to Greece.

As for Armenians, the book provided a special section to explain and narrate Armenian relations with the empire before and during World War I, as well as with the newly created Turkish nation-state. In this section, the book briefly described the relocation of Armenians from Anatolia to Syrian soil in 1915. The textbook described how many Armenians died during this relocation due to natural causes and lack of protection. It also added that thousands of Armenians safely arrived in Syria and survived there under the protection of the Ottoman Empire. The textbook recounted the deportation as follows:

Russia exploited and took advantage of Armenians dwelling in Eastern Anatolia as a tool for its purposes ... Ravenous Armenian militia assaulted many cities, towns, and villages and murdered many Turks, regardless of the fact that they were children, women, or elderly people. This attitude of Ottoman Armenians made the war with the Russians much harder. Therefore, the Ottoman Government decided to relocate this ... population to Syria, which is far away from the war (1915). This was an appropriate decision. The Ottoman Army was doing this in order to keep itself and the motherland secure. (p. 126)

Regarding the situation of minorities in the new Turkish state, the textbook tended to focus on the termination of prerogatives granted by the Ottoman government and the oversight of their schools. For example, explaining the results of the Lausanne Peace Treaty, the textbook stated: “All minorities are Turkish citizens. They do not have any prerogatives” (p. 176). As for their schools, it discussed how curricula need to comply with the regulations of the MEB: “The Turkish government mandated the instruction of the courses of Turkish language, Turkish history, and Turkish geography by Turkish teachers and inspection by the officials from the Ministry” (p. 244). Consequently, ethnic and linguistic minorities, when they were featured at all in the textbook, were historically treated as enemies of the nation-state.

While the conceptualization of the nation-state and definition of national identity did not drastically change in the 2011 version, religious and linguistic minorities received greater attention. The textbook included quotes from Atatürk suggesting that Turkey is a nation with ethnic, linguistic, and religious minorities living in harmony:

No country has showed greater respect to a minority’s faith and tradition than we have. In fact, the only nation that paid respect to other religions, others’ religious views and nationality is our nation. Mehmed the Conqueror left minority religions and organizations intact. Christian supreme leaders, such as

the Greek patriarch, Bulgarian exarch, and Armenian catholicos have obtained privileges. They have been granted freedom. Since the conquest of Istanbul, these grand privileges provided to non-Muslims are the most obvious evidence that our nation is the most tolerant and generous one among all nations. (2011, p. 88)

Although the treatment of religious and linguistic minorities received considerable attention, the 2011 edition was not without flaws. Throughout the book, the concept of minority was often defined in geographical terms, which is an insufficient account of multilingual, multicultural, and multiethnic diversity in the country. For example, whenever the term “Greek” was used, it referred to Greeks invading Anatolia, and did not account for Greek minorities living in Anatolia.

The controversy between Turkey and Armenia surrounding the deportations of 1915 was treated somewhat differently in the two renditions of the textbook. As the excerpt below shows, the 2011 textbook went into greater detail explaining the state’s view of causes leading to the deportations.

Armenians seized the opportunity of the Ottoman entrance into World War I. Led by [separatist] groups, they organized riots all over Anatolia and started mass murders in areas occupied by Russians. They did not hesitate to murder Armenians who refused to join them. Following the Armenian groups’ order of “If you want to get free, kill your neighbor first,” rioting Armenians attacked Turkish villages and killed innocent people, including children, since young Turkish men were fighting on the fronts ... In this period of life and death struggle, the Ottoman government made the decision to eliminate Russian – Armenian cooperation. On April 24, 1915, a memorandum that was sent to commandship ordered that all Armenian committee centers were to be shut down, all documents were to be confiscated, and committee leaders were to be arrested. The date of April 24, the day when this memo was issued, is the date on which Armenians commemorate the 1915 events. When these precautions did not suffice, a law of relocation was passed on May 27, 1915. With this law, those Armenians who collaborated in mass murder with Russians were relocated to present-day Syria, since they were seen as threats. The Ottoman government took necessary precautions and measures, despite the fact it was a time of war. Relocated Armenians were given tax postponements, permission to take their personal belongings, extra security forces to protect them from attacks during their travel, and extra patrol stations to warrant their safety. (2011, p. 23)

This description of the deportations focused on the wartime context of the decision, as well as the efforts by the Ottoman government to protect Armenians from harm—efforts depicted as extraordinary for the times. By contrast, the older version largely prioritized the denial of Armenian allegations of genocide and focused on the appropriateness of the deportations. For example, while discussing

the activities of a Greek organization in the Ottoman Empire, the 2003 textbook noted: “While describing the Greek deportation, the Greek press highlighted the *so-called* Armenian genocide and deportation, as well” (2003, p. 54; emphasis added). Moreover, the authors emphasized in the 2003 textbook the way Armenians were manipulated by the Russians against the Ottomans and stated that deportation was a necessity for national security: “If they had stayed loyal to the government as they had been before, the government wouldn’t have had to do that [deport them]” (2003, p. 126).

Despite its slightly different take on the Armenian genocide, the 2011 textbook largely portrayed religious and linguistic minorities as ‘threats’ or ‘impediments’ to the emergence of the new Turkish nation-state from the ashes of the Ottoman Empire: “Those Armenians who collaborated in mass murder with Russians were relocated to present-day Syria, since they were seen as threats” (2011, p. 23). While the 2011 edition served as a pedagogically stronger resource to understand the development of modern Turkey, as far as the treatment of religious and linguistic minorities was concerned, the sociopolitical milieu of present-day Turkey represents a far more complex case than could be understood through the textbook.

DISCUSSION: STATE HEGEMONY OR MULTISCALAR GOVERNANCE?

Reviewing these findings, parallel discursive arcs were discernible in the 2003 and 2011 textbooks. These arcs did not represent a composite of apolitical facts, but rather formed a carefully crafted state narrative of the origin of the Turkish nation-state and the meaning of Turkishness. One of the critical questions of this inquiry related to the knowledge that is placed under spotlight compared to the knowledge that is marginalized. The state elected to foreground the common language and history of the Turkish nation, while fundamentally overlooking the presence and contributions of religious and linguistic minorities. Both textbooks allotted substantial space to military endeavors and figures, while relegating European countries and minority groups within the territory that became modern Turkey to enemy status. Disproportionate attention was paid to the life, achievements, and ideas of Atatürk, leaving students with the impression that the nation is simply the distillation of the quotes of a single individual. In this way, out of the vast possible ways of narrating the past to students, the textbooks were written to discursively serve the ideological interests of the state and its chief political architect. Textbooks repeatedly reminded students of the sacrifice required to forge a homeland for those with whom they should identify by shared language and history, thereby promoting a notion of national identity that centers upon protecting and preserving the nation and its state. Similar discursive arcs were apparent even though the two textbooks were markedly different in structure. Although the 2011 textbook was shorter, had more graphics, and, in general, provided more opportunities for students to engage with course content through a range of learning activities, evidence demonstrated that the content itself was remarkably similar between the two editions.

This inquiry lends further evidence to the claim that history textbooks are written to achieve consensus. Of course, this does not mean that dissension is absent or that the textbooks actually create consensus. Even though historical scholarship is constantly progressing and new archival sources are coming to light, continuity between the textbooks suggests that the state is attempting to communicate a single, unchanging report of events that carries the weight of truth. There was virtually no mention in either textbook that history is the result of interpretation or that certain events are contested among scholars and competing political groups. Accordingly, the textbooks did not build consensus, but rather *imposed* it. In many ways, the textbooks' depiction of Atatürk exemplifies such whitewashing efforts. Rather than offer a balanced account of a visionary leader with both strengths and weaknesses, the textbooks represented Atatürk as infallible and beyond criticism—more myth than man. Sidestepping controversy and ambiguity, the textbooks provided few opportunities for students or teachers to question and, consequently, must be seen as mechanisms of state hegemony. Although the 2004–2005 curricula reform amounts to a significant step in rethinking how history is taught in Turkish classrooms, the new textbooks reproduced nationalist ideologies that benefit the state.

The reproduction of content from the 2003 textbook does not diminish the numerous ways in which the 2011 textbook pedagogically outshined its predecessor. There was less information in the 2011 textbook, and it was better organized. Pages were visually more interesting and designed for students to engage with what they were reading through group collaboration and hands-on activities. These constructivist approaches to learning are, at least in some measure, a direct result of the EU's affinity for "learning to learn" as a central competency for the 21st century. On the one hand, this reframing of the national narrative to make it more student-centered reflects well the multilayered relationship between the EU and its member and candidate states. Technically, EU law mandates that governance of social policy be delegated to the lowest effective level of administration through the principle of subsidiarity (Dale & Robertson, 2002). This means that the EU strives to facilitate cooperation among its members to increase educational quality, but it respects each state's selection of content to deliver (Nóvoa & Lawn, 2002). From one vantage point, then, the EU would applaud Turkey's 2004–2005 curricula reform for attempting to improve critical thinking skills among students, in line with the demands of the knowledge economy within which it hopes to gain a competitive edge.

On the other hand, the EU cannot help but identify shortcomings in the content of the textbooks, several of which contradict EU educational priorities. The first shortcoming relates to social cohesion. Starting in 1984, the EU became as concerned with social cohesion as it was with market integration (Dale & Robertson, 2002). Accordingly, the EU codified its commitment to protecting linguistic diversity and encouraging students to learn languages. Additionally, its approach to minority groups is to teach students to respect and learn from difference, as opposed to assimilating diverse others beneath a single identity banner. The treatment of ethnic and linguistic minorities in the 2003 and 2011 textbooks included in this inquiry is at

odds with the EU's social cohesion policy. A second shortcoming is that the textbooks do little to cultivate in students a European, or even marginally non-national, sense of self or citizenship. Although the EU has endeavored to develop a European consciousness, going so far as to fund programs in Turkey to help students learn about EU institutions and become EU bureaucrats, the textbooks are mainly oriented to the national level (Shore, 2000). The discourses gleaned from this inquiry do not deny Turkey an important position among the community of nations, but neither do they teach students to be anything but members of a bounded Turkish nation-state.

CONCLUSIONS: TENSIONS IN TURKEY'S EU ERA

In Turkey's ongoing EU era, the textbooks we investigated constitute a formidable tension. By repackaging its national narrative, Turkey undeniably demonstrated compliance with the EU's vision of improving educational quality through reform. Its curricula reform in 2004–2005 incorporated elements that made the new "Republic of Turkey Revolution History and Kemalism" textbook more student centered. Yet, in keeping discourses related to the conceptualization of the nation, definition of national identity, and treatment of religious and linguistic minorities remarkably unchanged between the 2003 and 2011 versions of the textbook, the state demonstrated defiance of attempts to undermine its ideological agenda. Thus, based upon discourse analysis employed in this inquiry, nationalist inculcation remains a key purpose of history education in Turkey. Nevertheless, there is reason to suspect that discursive continuity may be dislodged—and not necessarily due to EU influence. Apart from nongovernmental organizations increasingly calling for reform of history education, we should not discount the possibility of teachers and students exercising their agency through the limited space afforded to knowledge construction in the new curricula in order to rewrite—and not simply reframe—the national narrative.

WORKS CITED

- Akşit, N. (2007). Educational reform in Turkey. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 27(2), 129–137.
- Aktekin, S. (2009). History education in Turkey. In S. Aktekin, P. Harnett, M. Öztürk, & D. Smart (Eds.), *Teaching history and social studies for multilingual Europe* (pp. 23–39). İstanbul, Turkey: Harf Eğitim Yayıncılık.
- Altınay, A. G. (2004). *The myth of the military-nation: Militarism, gender, and education in Turkey*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Altınyelken, H. K. (2010). *Changing pedagogy: A comparative analysis of reform efforts in Uganda and Turkey* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands.
- Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London, UK: Verso.
- Antoniou, V. L., & Soysal, Y. N. (2005). Nation and the other in Greek and Turkish history textbooks. In Y. N. Soysal & H. Schissler (Eds.), *The nation, Europe, and the world: Textbooks and curricula in transition* (pp. 105–121). New York, NY: Berghahn.

- Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota.
- Apple, M. (2004). *Curriculum and ideology*. London, UK: Taylor & Francis.
- Ball, S. J. (2006). *Education policy and social class: The selected works of Stephen J. Ball*. Oxon, UK: Routledge.
- Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J. C. (1979). *The inheritors: French students and their relation to culture*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Brenner, N. (1999). Beyond state-centrism? Space, territoriality, and geographical scale in globalization studies. *Theory and Society*, 28(1), 39–78.
- Bulut, M. (2007). Curriculum reform in Turkey: A case of primary school mathematics curriculum. *Eurasia Journal of Mathematics, Science & Technology Education*, 3(3), 203–212.
- Carney, S. (2008). Negotiating policy in an age of globalization: Exploring educational “policyscapes” in Denmark, Nepal, and China. *Comparative Education Review*, 53(1), 63–88.
- Ceylan, D. T., & Irzik, G. (Eds.). (2004). *Human rights in Turkish textbooks: The Turkish case*. Istanbul, Turkey: History Foundation of Turkey.
- Çayır, K. (2009a). Preparing Turkey for the European Union: Nationalism, national identity and ‘otherness’ in Turkey’s new textbooks. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 30(1), 39–55.
- Çayır, K. (2009b). “We should be ourselves before being a European”: The new curriculum, new textbooks and Turkish modernity. *Educational Sciences: Theory and Practice*, 9(4), 1681–1690.
- Copeaux, E. (2003). Türkiye’de 1931–1993 Arasında Tarih ders kitapları [History textbooks in Turkey from 1931 to 1993]. In O. Köymen (Ed.), *Tarih eğitime eleştirel yaklaşımlar* [Critical approaches to history education] (pp. 107–113). İstanbul, Turkey: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları.
- Dale, R. (1997). The state and the governance of education: An analysis of the restructuring of the state-education relationship. In A. H. Halsey, H. Lauder, P. Brown, & A. S. Wells (Eds.), *Education, culture, economy, and society* (pp. 273–282). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Dale, R., & Robertson, S. (2002). The varying effects of regional organizations as subjects of globalization of education. *Comparative Education Review*, 46(1), 10–36.
- Dinç, E. (2011). A comparative investigation of the previous and new secondary history curriculum: The issues of the definition of aims and objectives and the selection of curriculum content. *Educational Sciences: Theory & Practice*, 11(4), 2149–2153.
- Engel, L. C. (2009). *New state formations in education policy: Reflections from Spain*. Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers.
- Erşanlı, B. (2002). History textbooks as reflections of the political self: Turkey (1930s and 1990s) and Uzbekistan (1990s). *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 34(2), 337–349.
- European Commission. (2011). *National programme for Turkey under the IPA-transition assistance and institution building component for the year 2011 part 1*. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/turkey/ipa/2011/national_programme_turkey_2011_en.pdf
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Fortna, B. (2001). Learning to read in the late Ottoman Empire and early Turkish Republic. *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 21(1), 33–41.
- Gramsci, A. (2010). *Prison notebooks*. New York, NY: Columbia University.
- Heikkinen, A. (2006). Manufacturing the “European” in education and training. In M. Kuhn & R. G. Sultana (Eds.), *Homo sapiens Europæus? Creating the European learning citizen* (pp. 257–275). New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Hein, L., & Selden, M. (2000). *Censoring history: Citizenship and memory in Japan, Germany and the United States*. Armonk, NY: Sharpe.
- Kancı, T. (2009). Reconfigurations in the discourse of nationalism and national identity. Turkey at the turn of the twenty-first century. *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 9(3), 359–376.
- Kancı, T., & Altınay, A. (2007). Educating little soldiers and little Ayşes: Militarised and gendered citizenship in Turkish textbooks. In M. Carlson, A. Rabo, & F. Gök (Eds.), *Education in ‘multicultural’ societies* (pp. 51–70). London, UK: I. B. Tauris and the Swedish Research Institute in İstanbul.
- Kaplan, S. (2005). “Religious nationalism”: A textbook case from Turkey. *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 25(3), 665–676.

K. R. MCCLURE ET AL.

- Kaplan, S. (2006). *The pedagogical state: Education and the politics of national culture in post 1980 Turkey*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Meyer, J. W., Ramirez, F. O., & Soysal, Y. N. (1992). World expansion of mass education, 1870–1980. *Sociology of Education*, 65, 128–149.
- Nohl, A. M., Akkoyunlu-Wigley, A., & Wigley, S. (Eds.). (2008). *Education in Turkey*. New York, NY: Waxmann.
- Nóvoa, A., & Lawn, M. (2002). Introduction: Fabricating Europe: The formation of an education space. In A. Nóvoa & M. Lawn (Eds.), *Fabricating Europe: The formation of an education space* (pp. 1–13). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer.
- Robertson, S. (2011). *Reconceptualising “state space” in the globalization and governance of education policy*. Presented at the 55th Comparative and International Education Society Conference. Montreal, Canada.
- Rogers, R., Malancharuvil-Berkes, E., Mosley, M., Hui, D., & Joseph, G. (2005). Critical discourse analysis in education: A review of the literature. *Review of Educational Research*, 75(3), 365–416.
- Safran, M. (2009). History education in its Turkish perspective. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, 8(1), 184–187.
- Schissler, H., & Soysal, Y. (Eds.). (2005). *The nation, Europe and the world. Textbooks and curricula in transition*. Oxford, UK: Berghahn.
- Shore, C. (2000). *Building Europe: The cultural politics of European integration*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Şimşek, H., & Yıldırım, A. (2004). Turkey: Innovation and tradition. In I. C. Rotberg (Ed.), *Balancing change and tradition in global education reform* (pp. 153–187). Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Education.
- Smith, A. D. (1991). *National identity*. London, UK: Penguin.
- State Planning Office. (2006). *Ninth development plan: 2007–2013*. Retrieved from <http://www.maliye.gov.tr/Lists/TabMenuCerik/Attachments/106/9developmentplan.pdf>
- Talim ve Terbiye Kurulu Başkanlığı [Head Council of Education and Morality]. (2009). *MEB müfredat geliştirme süreci* [Ministry of National Education’s (MONE) curriculum development process]. Retrieved from http://ttkb.meb.gov.tr/programlar/prog_giris/prog_giris_1.html
- Üstel, F. (2004). *Makbul vatandaş’ın peşinde: II. meşrutiyet’ten bugüne vatandaşlık eğitimi* [In pursuit of the ideal citizen: Civic education from constitutional monarchy to today]. İstanbul, Turkey: İletişim Yayınları.
- Vavrus, F., & Seghers, M. (2010). Critical discourse analysis in comparative education: A discursive study of “partnership” in Tanzania’s poverty reduction policies. *Comparative Education Review*, 54(1), 77–103.
- Williams, R. (1973). Base and superstructure in Marxist cultural theory. *New Left Review*, 1/82. Retrieved from <http://newleftreview.org/1/82/raymond-williams-base-and-superstructure-in-marxist-cultural-theory>
- Willis, P. E. (1977). *Learning to labor: How working class kids get working class jobs*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- World Bank. (2001). *Turkey—Basic education II (Phase II APL)* [Report no. PID9625]. Washington, DC: Author.
- World Bank. (2002). *Project appraisal document on a proposed loan in the amount of US\$300 million to the Republic of Turkey for a second basic education project* [Report no. 21831- TU]. Washington, DC: Author.

Kevin R. McClure
University of North Carolina Wilmington
Wilmington, NC, USA

Bedrettin Yazan
University of Alabama
Tuscaloosa, AL, USA

REFRAMING THE NATIONAL NARRATIVE

Ali Fuad Selvi
Middle East Technical University, Northern Cyprus Campus
Northern Cyprus, Turkey

TERESA BARNES, MUNYARADZI NYAKUDYA AND
GOVERNMENT CHRISTOPHER PHIRI†

14. VACUUM IN THE CLASSROOM?

*Recent Trends in High School History Teaching and
Textbooks in Zimbabwe¹*

Visualize a small, well-used room, piled high with new, old, and positively venerable high school history textbooks—the storeroom of the history department in an urban public high school in Zimbabwe. The storeroom exhibits a stubborn vibrancy in an atmosphere of overall decrepitude and is representative of the state of high school history teaching in Zimbabwe.

This vibrancy has been rendered largely invisible by historians chronicling Zimbabwe’s trials and tribulations since gaining its independence from colonial rule in 1980. Thus, in 2004, Terence Ranger influentially proposed a new category of academic history in Zimbabwe: “patriotic history.” He described teaching practices and public discourse that glorified the Zimbabwe African Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), the political party that has ruled Zimbabwe since 1980 and the end of the anti-colonial liberation war. Ranger argued that patriotic history emerged as an attempt by the beleaguered party to selectively repackage the country’s past as a shield against the tide of “change” being spearheaded by an opposition party formed in 1999, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). Through promoting selective and sanitized accounts of the nation’s past, ZANU-PF claimed to be the only legitimate voice that defined the parameters within which the Zimbabwean nation-building agenda could operate. Other major characteristics of patriotic history include the embodiment of Zimbabwe’s history in the name of ZANU-PF’s leader, Robert Mugabe, and the public denigration of its perceived enemies. Proponents of patriotic history argue that all this is justified on the grounds that Zimbabwe has been laboring under concerted siege from Western imperialism, which is bent on manipulating local political puppets into instituting regime change in the country (Chigwedere, 2001).

Here we argue, however, that the epithet of “patriotic history” has been incorrectly applied as a blanket condemnation of historiography, school textbooks, and history teaching in Zimbabwe. Professor Ranger’s 2004 warning led many observers of Zimbabwe’s recent tribulations to simply assume that Zimbabwean society and thus its entire educational system had drowned in a tsunami of patriotic history (Kriger, 2006; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012; Phimister, 2012; Thram, 2006). On the basis of a small project, our research indicates, on the contrary, that although patriotic history

is an important trend, some Zimbabwean teachers and textbooks are resisting it. In particular, some high school history teachers have found ingenious ways to avoid teaching patriotic history. While in the long term it is likely that such ad hoc solutions will not do justice to the nation's needs for a usable past, we also maintain that not all has been lost in the struggle of Zimbabwean educators to construct critical historical understandings at the high school level.

A CRITICAL NARRATIVE OF ZIMBABWEAN NATIONALISM

We begin with a brief history of contemporary Zimbabwe. Formal colonial rule was forcefully established in the land between the Limpopo and Zambezi Rivers in the late 19th century, and the new country was named Rhodesia in honor of the arch-imperialist Cecil John Rhodes. After six decades of racially discriminatory rule, Zimbabwe gained majority rule and formal independence in 1980 after 15 years of armed struggle against the white minority government (Mlambo, 2014; Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2009). At that point the population of Zimbabwe was approximately 12 million people. The first truly democratic government, led by Robert Mugabe and ZANU-PF, now presided over a country with many ethnic, class, and racial divisions. It was faced with many challenges, including postwar reconstruction, restructuring of the inherited skewed political economy, and “democratizing the inherited authoritarian colonial state and its institutions” (Muzondidya, 2009, p. 167). The government first sought to implement wide-ranging reforms based, at least in theory, on avowed Marxist-Leninist principles. Its postwar reconstruction program, in the main, targeted the recapitalization and reintegration of the economy into the world economy (Muzondidya, 2009, p. 167). Muzondidya (2009) has argued that, in a bid to redress some of the colonially created inequalities and inequities, the ZANU-PF-led government also “tried to broaden the economy and make it more inclusive by integrating blacks through black economic empowerment, the Africanisation of the public service and the active development of a black middle class” (p. 167).

Huge successes were registered after independence in the provision of public social services. In education, many new primary and secondary schools were established, resulting in greater student enrollment and a higher literacy rate in the country. With the help of local communities and foreign donors, especially from the Scandinavian countries, the government also expanded the provision of educational facilities to areas previously ignored by the colonial state. Overall, by the end of the first decade of independence, enrollment in primary schools rose from 82,000 in 1979 to 2,216,000 in 1985, and in secondary schools, from 66,000 to 482,000 during the same period. Additionally, between 1980 and 1990, the number of primary and secondary schools had increased by a remarkable 80%, from 3,358 to 6,042 (Mlambo, 1997, p. 59).

Notable progress was also made in the provision of water and sanitation (Musemwa, 2008, p. 6),² plus general improvements in workers' conditions of

service. In the 1980s, Zimbabwe was known as “the bread basket of Southern Africa.” The country won many agricultural awards, including the prestigious US\$100,000 Africa Prize for the Leadership of the Sustainable End to Hunger, presented to President Mugabe in 1988. Also, the country was the world’s third-largest grower of tobacco and was able to feed itself as well as export maize regionally (Eicher & Kupfuma, 1997). However, this period of generally positive growth did not last very long, as these gains proved, in the main, to be limited, unsustainable, and ephemerally welfarist in nature (Muzondidya, 2009, p. 169). The economy experienced a series of setbacks from the late 1980s through the 1990s as it went through the negative effects of droughts, weakening terms of trade, high unemployment levels, high interest rates, and high oil prices (Muzondidya, 2009, p. 169). It should be noted that in this period, the country also suffered through a brutal, undeclared, and one-sided internal war, known as the “Gukurahundi,” in the southern province of Matabeleland in which many thousands of rural people were killed by government troops.³

ZANU-PF tried to establish a stranglehold on political power and impose its supremacy in the country; initially the party had even committed itself to establishing an order based on democracy, social justice, equality, and racial reconciliation (Barnes, 2007). For example, immediately after 1980, the government formed an integrated army made up of former antagonistic soldiers from the former white regime and the two major African guerrilla armies (Rupiya, 1995). To promote unity, the two major African languages, Shona and Ndebele, were adopted alongside English as official national languages. Though commendable, these measures were not sufficient to unify the nation and bring about reconciliation. Robert Mugabe and ZANU-PF became increasingly repressive, especially against members of the opposition, workers, students, and organizations of civil society. Ironically, the government employed the same draconian pieces of legislation against Zimbabweans that had been used against them by the colonial regime (Ncube, 1991).⁴

In the 1990s, the International Monetary Fund and World Bank–driven Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) caused further reversals. Social services budgets were drastically cut; Nyamanhindi (1998) observed that “by 1995, the real per person health expenditure had fallen by 39%” (p. 2). When the government tried to create policies that would alleviate the people’s suffering, the International Monetary Fund and World Bank threatened it with the suspension of aid. Health delivery continued to spiral downwards (Mwanza, 1999, p. 5). Sisulu, Moyo, and Tshuma (2007, p. 552) identified the 1997–2007 decade as one in which Zimbabwe’s fortunes took a dramatic dive, with the country being gripped by a series of crises, a situation aggravated by “high HIV-infection rates and AIDS-related mortality.”

One of the major challenges faced by all postcolonial African states has been to articulate and address gender inequalities. Zimbabwe’s approach was to rely on the passage of equalizing legislation, the spirit of which was a legacy of the armed liberation struggle, and to then let the chips fall where they would. Zimbabwean women’s status advanced on paper and quantitatively in education, state administration, and to a lesser extent in business circles and agriculture

(Johnson-Osirim, 2009). Young women coming of age in the late 1980s and 1990s had access to many more opportunities in wider society than had their mothers and grandmothers. Important principles were established. However, it is also true that cultural expectations about women's subaltern status in relation to men did not shift in major ways (Campbell, 2003). In political life, the number of women officials in government surged ahead and then receded. Levels of domestic and sexual violence against women remained critical issues in society. The burdens of care of an increasingly HIV/AIDS-infected and -affected society and of the withdrawal and crumbling of social services fell most heavily on women.

In the 1990s and 2000s, a culture of intolerance and violence increasingly took hold in the country, as ZANU-PF viewed elections as battles and its political opponents as enemies rather than opponents (Sithole & Makumbe, 1997).⁵ Despite this, ZANU-PF's power and its unpopular policies were increasingly challenged by the country's diverse social and political groups (Muzondidya, 2009, p. 182).⁶ These included the Zimbabwe African People's Union (at least until December 1987), the Zimbabwe Unity Movement, the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, the National Constitutional Assembly, the Zimbabwe National Students' Union, and, most importantly, the MDC led by Morgan Tsvangirai. ZANU-PF resorted to increasing levels of repression as challenges of these opposition parties grew stronger.⁷ For example, the government controversially carried out programs like the May 2005 Operation Murambatsvina, which it claimed was aimed at clearing up the cities and towns and enforcing related bylaws by, among other things, removing "illegal settlements." This rendered about 700,000 people homeless without access to food, water, sanitation, or health care.

Despite all this, the opposition, led by the MDC, continued chipping away at ZANU-PF's power and support base, aided by the economic and political meltdown that the country found itself in after 2000 (Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2009).⁸ The first major political defeat inflicted on ZANU-PF came with the rejection, in 2000, of a constitution that would have increased Mugabe's executive powers. Taking this as a clear sign that its grip on power was in danger, ZANU-PF became more repressive towards its opponents. Still, embarrassments at the polls continued, as the MDC's strength grew.⁹ As a result, the MDC won the March 2008 presidential, parliamentary, and local government elections, the first to be held in a relatively free, fair, and peaceful environment (Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2009, p. 229).¹⁰ However, after controversially delaying the announcement of the presidential results for a month and conveniently declaring that Tsvangirai's winning margin fell short of that required to win the presidency, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission ordered a presidential runoff poll. ZANU-PF, however, unleashed so much violence against the MDC that Morgan Tsvangirai withdrew from the race, hence leaving the sole competitor, Mugabe, to "win." Unsurprisingly, this well-manipulated turn of events drew worldwide condemnation and stripped Mugabe's presidency of legitimacy. The country continued to slide into an economic and political mire.¹¹ The president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, intervened in a mediation formalized

on September 11, 2008, which brought the parties together in a Government of National Unity. It was sworn in on February 11, 2009, with Mugabe as president, Tsvangirai as prime minister, and Arthur Mutambara (leading an offshoot of the MDC) as deputy prime minister.

THE EDUCATION SECTOR IN ZIMBABWE SINCE 2000

The ZANU-PF government paid scant attention to the education sector after 2000 and it suffered untold harm. Its most concentrated efforts were directed towards a Fast Track Land Reform Program, in which landless war veterans and peasants and political cronies of the ruling party were awarded land confiscated from large landowners, who were mainly white (Cliffe, Alexander, Cousins, & Gaidzanwa, 2012; Hanlon, Manjengwa, & Smart, 2012; Moyo & Chambati, 2013; Schoones, 2014). Indeed, the country's education system, once a model for postcolonial Africa, buckled and almost collapsed. It became a victim of poor attendance by both teachers and pupils, transportation problems, widespread food shortages, hyperinflation, epidemics like cholera and HIV/AIDS, poor teacher salaries, lack of teaching material, political violence, and displacement (UNICEF, 2008).¹²

This situation was compounded by a mass exodus of teachers to other countries, especially South Africa, in search of greener pastures. The few teachers who remained in the country either simply stayed away from their schools or officially went on prolonged periods of strike. In addition, there was a proliferation of centers, usually teachers' homes, where teachers offered pupils extra private lessons for a fee. This created all sorts of problems, not least of which was the fact that only a few pupils whose parents or guardians had access to currencies such as the US dollar managed to gain personal attention, while the majority, whose parents only had worthless Zimbabwe dollars, went without this education.¹³ Meanwhile, party leaders sent their children abroad to receive their education. Fifteen years after independence, the country's educational system was in dire straits.

The advent of the Inclusive Government (IG) in 2009 saw the situation in Zimbabwean public schools improving, but not fast enough. With the adoption of a multicurrency regime in early 2009,¹⁴ among other measures, teachers began to receive salaries (albeit very low) again, and parents and guardians began to once again pay school fees. Some teachers who had gone to South Africa returned to resume their teaching in Zimbabwe.

More than 30 years after independence, the education sector struggles to keep its head above water. It suffers from a lack of funding as the national economy continues to underperform. The ZANU-PF government blames this on sanctions imposed by the USA and the European Union at the turn of the 21st century, while the opposition blames ZANU-PF for decades of skewed policies, corruption, and general mismanagement of the economy. The education sector itself is presently mired in policy indecision as debates rage on whether to continue with, or abandon, private and holiday lessons, as well as incentive payments for teachers. In 2014 the

Minister of Education, Sport, and Culture announced a controversial intention to ban sports for schools during the week, further raising the ire of parents, teachers, and pupils.

DEBATES ON THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF HISTORY IN ZIMBABWE

History in Zimbabwe has always been perceived from divergent conceptual standpoints. Rhodesian/colonial settler discourse promoted racial supremacy and dominance of the white man over the African on the basis of the latter's purported primitiveness and backwardness. This denied agency to Africans for magnificent developments like the precolonial Great Zimbabwe site which instead was fancifully attributed to Arabic-Semitic origins (see, e.g., Hall, 1905; Hall & Neal, 1902; Wilmot, 1969/1896). White Rhodesians staunchly supported the development of white supremacy in the colony in order to preserve "Christian civilization and its values and standards" (Frederickse, 1982, p. 157). These notions of white superiority over blacks were widely reflected in the history textbooks that were used in Rhodesian schools. Barnes (2007) has shown how the history textbooks of the colonial era were blatantly racist. Relying on Harber (1989, p. 107), she cited as an example a 1961 textbook that justified the white men's control over the land and the black men's subordinate role as laborers on the grounds that whites were "energetic, skilful and ambitious," while the black laborers were "raw and ignorant." In these textbooks, the history of the region "was discussed as the history of European settlement in the region, focusing on western culture and politics and denigrating African culture, society and political initiatives (or ignoring these altogether)" (Barnes, 2007, p. 207).

The racist posturing of colonial settler discourse was countered by the development of an Africanist nationalist historiography, which is generally traced from Terence Ranger's *Revolt in Southern Africa* (Alexander, 1996, p. 176; Bhebe, 2004, p. 3; Ranger, 1967). Africanist/nationalist discourse therefore started as an anti-colonial discourse, and as Bhebe (2004) has argued, it had a far-reaching influence on Zimbabwe's nationalist movement (p. 3). Africanist/nationalist historiography, however, soon expanded from being merely "anticolonial" to adopting "more and more" analysis drawing from both rural and urban experiences (Bhebe, 2004, p. 18). Ranger (2004, p. 1) thus termed this development "academic historiography" because its focus was "pluralistic" and it also tried to "complicate and question" issues more broadly. This academic historiography has flourished in independent Zimbabwe, albeit in many different forms, ranging from the "revolutionary/socialist" discourse of the 1980s and "African cultural nationalism" to the democratization, land, and nation-building discourses of the new millennium epitomized by important recent publications (Mlambo, 2014; Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2009). Where Africanist/nationalist historiography was mainly a reaction to settler/colonialist historiography, academic historiography has been broader and much more encompassing in its analysis.

However, this academic historiography has existed side by side with a new genre of history that became more pronounced in Zimbabwe around about the turn of the millennium. As noted above, Terence Ranger has influentially termed this genre “patriotic history.” This is a monolithic type of national history which is averse to alternative interpretations and is openly contemptuous of the contributions of other players outside the ZANU-PF orbit. In it, any criticism of the ZANU-PF government is deemed unpatriotic, a threat to the country’s sovereignty, and an act of subversion. In fact, in patriotic historical discourse, ZANU-PF and the Zimbabwean nation are one and the same. Hence, Bull-Christiansen’s assertion that ZANU-PF actually “equates itself with democracy, patriotism and Africanism” (2004, p. 17).

A rising tide of patriotic history in the national discourse has led some critics to express fears that historical scholarship—and history teaching—in Zimbabwe is on the decline. For instance, Miles Tendi (2009) posited:

In reality, some of the UZ [University of Zimbabwe] History teaching has struggled to move away from a nationalist and Marxist interpretation of the country’s past. Some History lecturers recognise the need to complicate Zimbabwe’s history but they do not want to compromise nationalist history and how colonial legacies continue to have negative effects on the country today. (p. 14)

Other scholars, however, have taken issue with this overwhelmingly defeatist view of Zimbabwean historiography, as well as with Tendi’s research and uses of evidence. They see patriotic history as propagated in the national popular media but not necessarily in academic thinking (Nyakudya, 2007). In that regard, Bhebe (2004) has argued that the fears about patriotic history are unnecessarily “based slightly too much on journalistic discourse and party propaganda” (p. 2). Even Ranger acknowledged:

“Patriotic history” is propagated at many levels—on television and in the state-controlled press; in youth militia camps; in new school history courses and textbooks; in books written by cabinet ministers; in speeches by Robert Mugabe and in philosophical eulogies and glosses of those speeches by Zimbabwe’s media controller, Tafataona Mahoso. (Ranger, 2004, p. 1)

Bhebe (2004) went on to argue:

The academic historian has ample room to practice his craft in Zimbabwe in general and the university remains his domain to research and publish and to teach and produce professional historians for high schools, teachers colleges and the ... [many] universities that have mushroomed in the country since 1990. (p. 2)

Indeed, an academic historiography that “questions,” “complicates,” and engages in “pluralist analyses” (Ranger, 2004, p. 1) has continued to flourish at the country’s oldest institution of higher education, the University of Zimbabwe (UZ),¹⁵ even though it has battled to maintain its independence from government interference

(Moyo, 2009). This is clearly evidenced by publications by current and former lecturers and teaching assistants who have worked in the UZ history and economic history departments (Benson & Chadya, 2005; Charumbira, 2008; Chikowero, 2008; Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008; Mazarire, 2011, 2013; Nhongo-Simbanegavi, 2000; Nyambara, 2005; Pikirayi, 2001). Thus, even in the face of deep national social and economic crises, Zimbabwe has continued to produce scholars of note.

IS “PATRIOTIC HISTORY” TAUGHT IN ZIMBABWEAN HIGH SCHOOLS?

To ascertain the hold of “patriotic history” in contemporary Zimbabwean high school history classrooms, the authors carried out a small research project, interviewing seven high school history teachers in an urban area in July 2010. We were specifically interested in how the teachers handled the history of independent Zimbabwe. Of the seven teachers interviewed, five were men and two women. To ensure anonymity, they are identified here by randomly assigned numbers.

The teachers taught ordinary level (O’level) high school history and were generally quite experienced, with time in the profession ranging from 7 to 19 years. Four of the teachers worked in government schools, where the school fees ranged from US\$200 to \$350 per term. Three of the teachers worked at private high schools, where the fees ranged from US\$1,100 to \$1,500 per term. We were not able to ascertain salary levels for the private school teachers, but the government school teachers reported total salaries (including school-based incentives) of US\$200 to \$600 per month.¹⁶ All the teachers taught to the national O’level history syllabus, which is commonly known by its number as Syllabus 2167. Now as before in Zimbabwe, teachers teach to enable students to pass the national O’level history examination, which is divided into two papers, Southern Africa and International Affairs.¹⁷

As part of our project, we also examined the structure of these examination papers. Finally, we analyzed two recently published high school history textbooks in the Step Ahead series, both with second editions published in 2009.¹⁸ The first text, *Step Ahead History Book 3* (hereafter SAH3) (Mavuru & Nyanhanda-Ratsauka, 2009), is a conventional high school history text. The second, *Step Ahead O’Level History Revision Guide* (hereafter SARG) (Madyangove, Nyawera, & Rusere, 2009), is a much shorter and condensed study and revision guide that includes two past examination papers. In examining the texts, we looked at the role and extent of “patriotic history” in the portrayal of national history as well as the ways that women’s rights are addressed.

RESULTS

The O’Level Examination

The O’level examination is all important in Zimbabwe; it is the sole basis on which progress towards tertiary education is based. As noted above, the examination

consists of two separate papers, and this structure has determined how high school history is taught in Zimbabwe. Each paper contains 23 separate questions, of which students choose four to answer in a 2-hour period. The questions are not divided into chronological or thematic sections, so students can answer whichever four questions they feel best prepared for. The first question of each paper is source based, but it is only one of the 23 possibilities. The other 22 questions each have three parts: one focusing on recall, one on description, and one on analysis. Here are two examples of these examination questions from the Southern African history paper (Paper One) of the 2003 O'level history examination:

- Q.3. a. List *three* duties carried out by male members and *three* duties carried out by female members in the Rozvi society. [6 marks]
 b. Outline the economic and social way of life in the Rozvi State. [11 marks]
 c. Explain why this state declined. [8 marks]
- Q.17. a. Name *six* civilian groups which supported the freedom fighters during Zimbabwe's second war of liberation from 1972 to 1979. [6 marks]
 b. Describe the main events of the armed struggle in Zimbabwe between 1972 and 1979. [11 marks]
 c. How important was the part played by the civilian population in the armed struggle in this period? [8 marks] (Madyangove et al., 2009, pp. 174–178; emphasis in original)

The 23 examination questions for Paper One are drawn from 17 topics covered in the Southern Africa section of Syllabus 2167. The syllabus starts with the Late Stone Age in Zimbabwe and goes through precolonial kingdoms (Great Zimbabwe, Mutapa, Rozvi, Zulu, Ndebele), the Scramble for Africa, the period of colonization in Zimbabwe, and on to “the struggle for majority rule and democratization in South Africa.” Thus, it covers an extremely diverse set of historical periods. In our research, this was mentioned by all of the teachers interviewed as a serious pedagogical drawback. The high degree of choice offered to the students, the lack of sectionalization of the examination, and the extreme length of the syllabus mean that teachers generally cannot teach the entire syllabus, so they concentrate on specific topics.

Evidence from Teachers

We were deeply surprised by the major finding of our research. All seven of the teachers said that they had chosen *not* to teach the history of contemporary Zimbabwe in their classes *at all*. Four taught up through the First Chimurenga (the first anti-colonial war fought by Shona and Ndebele peoples against Rhodesian settlers in 1896–1897) and stopped there, choosing not to teach any 20th- or 21st-century history. This was despite the fact that these topics are prominently included in

Syllabus 2167 and in recently published textbooks (see below). Three of the teachers taught through the colonization of Zimbabwe, the two world wars, and the Second Chimurenga, but stopped at Zimbabwean independence in 1980.¹⁹

None of the teachers chose to tackle the last 30 years of Zimbabwean history. Narratives of independent Zimbabwe, let alone the sociopolitical complexities narrated at the beginning of this chapter, have been left to lie completely fallow. Because they were able to prepare students adequately to pass the O'level examination without these potentially contentious topics, they did so. Two of the teachers, who were members of the elite group that marks the yearly examinations at the national level, reported that they thought that this was a very common choice of teachers around the country. One indicated that he thought that perhaps only 20% of the national examination-marking load dealt with answers on post-1980 Zimbabwe.

Why didn't teachers teach contemporary Zimbabwean history in their classrooms? First, they uniformly said that the syllabus was too long. In addition, however, most evinced a distinct wariness of teaching topics that were politically sensitive. One teacher recalled that in 2000, teachers received a government circular instructing them euphemistically to "desist from politicizing students." According to Teacher 1,

[At this school] we don't normally go beyond colonization ... Teaching current things can be dangerous, especially during elections. You can be questioned if you mention names of political parties. There is a culture of violence during election times; teachers can become victims as they are defenseless. It becomes so dangerous.

Teacher 3 noted, giving slightly more context:

There is lots of pressure to produce results. The teaching approach is shifting to what is coming in the exam rather than understanding history in total. Our headmaster wants to see how many have passed. The students don't read books inside out; they just cram topics. When I taught in the rural areas in 2006–2007, we were told to avoid topics, by the chairman of the local party. He said, "Don't ever use Zimbabwe as an example" in teaching human rights. His children were in the class ... Now in town, there's not so much intimidation, but to be honest, I've been teaching earlier periods, sticking to what I am comfortable with.

Teacher 5 elaborated on his experience.

In my opinion, 2167 is a bit more manageable [than the earlier nationalist syllabus, 2166].²⁰ The exam is not sectionalized so it gives one the opportunity to master a certain aspect, even if it is only a third of the syllabus. I teach up to the First Chimurenga, which is a minimum of eight questions, which is enough for the exam. That's the area that I did at school, so it is easier to teach now than human rights, ESAP. Those things are very difficult without materials and sources from newspapers, things like that. I don't teach contemporary history

because of the limitations of appropriate materials. Most of our books are the same ones teachers used when I was at school.

Things were not rosy in the rural areas, especially for history teachers. People believed that they were the ones spreading wrong ideas. So the teachers tended to fear, and they didn't want to engage in that teaching. I left [the rural area] but I heard stories of colleagues being beaten up. It was quite nasty.

It should be noted that Zimbabwean history teachers are not alone in choosing this strategy. In 1985, McCracken and Maylam wrote about the tendency of history teachers in Northern Ireland to avoid both political involvement and the teaching of controversial classroom topics that could be construed as either "loyalist" or "nationalist."

*Evidence from Recently Published Textbooks*²¹

Political history. In order to ascertain the presence of "patriotic history" in the textbooks, we turned to Miles Tendi (2009), who has claimed that patriotic history in Zimbabwe has four conceptual components: "[the need for] land [redistribution]; no external interference based on 'Western ideals' such as human rights; race; and a 'patriots' versus 'sell-outs' distinction." Did the two recently published Zimbabwean history textbooks partake in this polarizing narrative of Zimbabwean history?

SAH3 was marked by an intermittent ZANU-PF partisanship, but it also provided a relatively even-handed account of a number of Zimbabwean historical episodes. In relation to the 1980s Gukurahundi²² in Matabeleland, for example, it noted that there were different explanations of the "dissident problem."

When the 5th Brigade²³ was deployed in January 1983 there was real bloodshed in Matabeleland. The 5th Brigade is accused of going to excesses to contain the situation through torture, detentions, disappearances and gruesome murder of people most of them civilians ... The situation was worsened by curfew, drought and food embargo imposed on Matabeleland South, in which people were not allowed to trade or bring in food, in case it was used to feed dissidents. Media censorship made it impossible for other parts of the country to access news on what was happening. On the other hand, the dissidents equally committed atrocities—kidnapping and killing six tourists in July 1982, attacking and killing commercial farmers, killing Shona speakers ... In total it is estimated that 20,000 people lost their lives, many buried in shallow mass graves and mine shafts. Reports of the two investigations on what exactly took place, the Dumbutshena Commission of Enquiry and Chihambakwe Commission of Enquiry were never made public. (SAH3, p. 234)

Although this account leaves a great deal to be desired, it compares very favorably with the extremely misleading account of the Gukurahundi in SARG.

In 1983, the internal security of Zimbabwe was threatened by the outbreak of a civil war which spread from Matebeleland to the Midlands. The civil war was a result of differences between ZAPU [Zimbabwe African People's Union] led by Joshua Nkomo and the ZANU PF government led by Robert Mugabe. (SARG, p. 83)

SAH3 also maintains some strategic ambiguity in relation to another major political hot potato, the emergence of the MDC in 1999. After a paragraph discussing the responses of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions to the imposition of the pay-for-social-services ESAP program, the book noted that it was not surprising that the trade union movement should have been the one to give birth to the MDC, as it was "the only organized group that posed a real threat to ZANU PF." Then, however, it concluded, "ZANU PF immediately attacked the new party as a puppet western backed party" (SAH3, p. 251).

Parts of SAH3 doggedly present two sides of the story. In relation to the post-2000 Fast Track Resettlement Program, for example, the book noted:

According to the government, the farm occupations were spontaneous, coming as a result of people's anger at the sluggish nature in which the land redistribution exercise had been going on. On the other hand, critics of the programme attack it as chaotic and disruptive to agriculture. They allege that the government deliberately encouraged the farm occupations to punish the white farmers for openly supporting and facilitating the opposition. (SAH3, p. 254)

However, this relative even-handedness was absent from SARG's account of the land issue after 2000.

Land acquired for resettlement was not enough so in 1991 the Land Designation Act was passed. This was widely opposed by the International Community.

Thirst for land by the Africans led the Svosve people to start farm invasions in 1999. This marked the beginning of forcible seizure of land from white settlers. It spread in 2000 and became the Third Chimurenga. (SARG, p. 81)

In a subsection entitled "Political Developments," SARG's pro-ZANU-PF bias was clearly illustrated. [Figure 1](#) below sums up the book's protective portrayal of ZANU-PF, in which the party is the same as the government, and it is beset by enemies on all sides (SARG, p. 79).

Thus, there is a mixed story of the insertion of patriotic history into these two textbooks. SAH3's treatment of Zimbabwe cannot be branded as unvarnished patriotic history, since it left space for debate on several sensitive political topics. The same cannot be said of SARG, however, as in its required condensing of history, it regularly became extremely economical with the truth. It is worrying that as SARG is much more narrowly focused on producing skills to pass the O'level

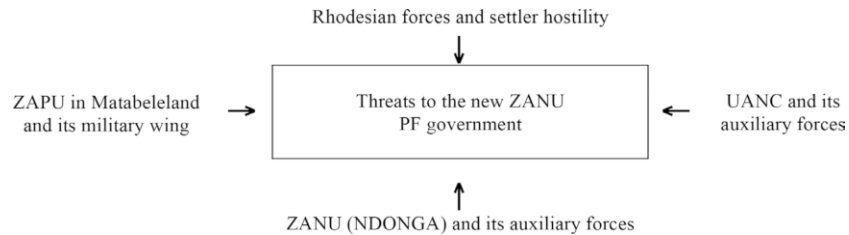


Figure 1. SARG figure captioned “Threats to the New ZANU PF government.”
 ZAPU indicates Zimbabwe African People’s Union; UANC, United African National Council

examination rather than on teaching history, it may become the more popular textbook of the two in an economically desperate period in Zimbabwean education.

Women’s rights. The question of the legal, judicial, and cultural understandings of women and their rights continues to be a crucial aspect of any understanding of independence in Africa. To be counted as a critical history of nationalism, a text should also discuss histories relating to women, who form the majority of the population. In this regard, neither text achieved a passing grade, although SAH3 fared better than SARG.

SAH3 condensed recent scholarship on the involvement of women in the liberation struggle to three sentences:

By mid 1978 there were 13,000 ZANLA [Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army] guerrillas (including women combatants). To get to this level of participation in the actual war women had gone a long way to break into the traditionally male field. Previously ZANLA extensively mobilized women as *chimbwidos* (in the case of young girls), porter of arms, nurses, teachers, secretaries and cooks—all roles crucial to the struggle but secondary to the activities of men. (SAH3, p. 205)

It later devoted one and a half pages to changes in the socioeconomic condition of the women of Zimbabwe after 1980, noting:

Our discussion of post-independence Zimbabwe would be incomplete without focusing on developments in the promotion of gender equity and equality. Historically women have been accorded lower social and economic status compared to men. This is partly because of cultural norms and beliefs and values and also because of customary law. Women and girls were marginalized by the patriarchal nature of society that gave prominence to male roles and responsibilities ... So when we talk of promotion of gender equity and equality we refer here to measures that ensure fairness and sameness between men and women. (SAH3, p. 253)

After reviewing a number of quantitative measures of women's status, the section concluded, "Progress may be slow but it will surely address these disparities" (SAH3, p. 256).

SARG, on the other hand, only devoted half a page and a small diagram to "Gender Issues," noting the objectives of some of the policies and laws adopted after 1980 (SARG, p. 82). There was no historical discussion of women in Zimbabwe or of the experiences of implementation of policies after 1980. Gender equity, then, was another severely marginalized aspect of the historical treatment of Zimbabwean history in SARG.

CONCLUSIONS

For the last 20 years, Zimbabwe has been beset by economic difficulties, political violence, disease, hunger, and increasing degrees of social strife at all levels. The first decade of the 21st century was particularly catastrophic. But Zimbabwean society is resilient and did not disintegrate under these pressures. On a daily basis, there are still high schools with storerooms full of battered books, history classes, beleaguered teachers, and students still sitting at worn and battered desks.

Based on the evidence from a limited sample, a provisional answer to our main research question is, "No, as of 2010, patriotic history had not completely overwhelmed the teaching of history in Zimbabwean high schools." We have shown how while one recently published high school history textbook displayed a high degree of bias towards ZANU-PF, a clear misrepresentation of fact on important matters such as the Gukurahundi, and virtual silence on histories of gender equity, another recent textbook clearly did not simplistically divide the Zimbabwean population into "revolutionaries" and "sell-outs," as one would expect if patriotic history had become hegemonic.²⁴ The latter book also displayed more nuanced and inclusive discussions of gender and overall political equity.

A second aspect of contemporary history teaching practice was ironic and perhaps more profound. Some—and perhaps many—history teachers were making their way through treacherous political waters by wholesale avoidance of the teaching of colonial and postcolonial Zimbabwean history. The caution displayed by these teachers was amply justified. However, as we have shown, they could correctly say that they were continuing to prepare their students for their O'level examinations without teaching anything having to do with 20th- and 21st-century Zimbabwean history.

But what implications does this silence have for Zimbabwean history and historiography, for the nation and nationalism? Whose messages will prevail if a vacuum in classroom high school history teaching is perpetuated? How will the next generations of Zimbabwean historians be produced? The seductions of global culture provide part of a pessimistic answer; one teacher noted, "Students know [the US entertainer] Rihanna but not what has happened in their own country."

We asked one of the teachers for her opinion about the effect of decisions not to teach contemporary Zimbabwean history. She replied:

It closes students to being able to be analytical. Sometimes we become bad citizens. It's kind of sad. People are being denied having power. The net result for Zimbabwe is that teachers are being prevented from grooming a growing nation. The children are not as patriotic as they were. There is a definite lack of confidence regarding Zimbabwe as a nation, about "why and how we are."

Yes, there is dialogue at home, but it doesn't come into the classroom for fear of being victimized. This is very wrong. The net effect is a lack of preparation for the future—we have killed this generation for the meantime. They don't want to read the newspapers. Classrooms could have done this, pushed them, but no. There is a very negative effect from the lack of tackling contemporary issues now.

In the words of Teacher 5, a 19-year teaching veteran:

We have to applaud the modern Zimbabwean history teacher. They have approached the topic soberly and haven't been influenced by political persuasion on the ground. They have tried to teach objectively as they could. The teachers' colleges are still teaching history and at UZ [the University of Zimbabwe], they are doing a great job teaching critical thinking and they cascade it down to their students. This has kept the subject from dying over the past 5 years.

Has 30 years of independence in Zimbabwe produced patriotic history by omission rather than by commission? We think these are critical years when Zimbabwe's historiographical identity hangs in the balance. The discourses of patriotic history are indeed powerful. But as with the image of the textbook storeroom with which we began this chapter, we maintain that high school history teachers and at least some textbook authors in Zimbabwe have exhibited a stubborn care for the critical quality of their work which has held back, or at least slowed, the tide of patriotic history. In the long term, however, the maintenance of a "no history" strategy will surely become counterproductive.

NOTES

- ¹ An earlier version of this paper was presented at the conference "Making History: Terence Ranger and African Studies" at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, October 2010. Our coauthor, Government Phiri, unexpectedly passed away in 2013. We salute the memory of this energetic and many-faceted historian, who is deeply missed by his family, friends, and colleagues.
- ² In fact, Zimbabwe won praise from the World Health Organization and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) for its ability to provide safe drinking water to 84% of the national population by 1988.
- ³ Gukurahundi refers to a government campaign of terror carried out against the largely Ndebele population of rural southwestern Zimbabwe in the 1980s. Over 20,000 people were killed in

state-sponsored operations. Ostensibly aimed at flushing out South African-supported “dissidents” against the new ZANU-PF government, the campaign was enormously painful for Matabeleland and Midlands peasantry, but was hushed up nationally and internationally until the 1990s (see Alexander, McGregor, & Ranger, 2000; Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe, 1997; Werbner, 1992).

- ⁴ Such laws included the Law and Order Maintenance Act and Emergency Powers Act, which had been used by the colonial state to detain African nationalist leaders, many of whom were now leading the new post-independence government. Later, the government used obnoxious laws like the Public Order Security Act and the Access to Information and Protection Act in this regard.
- ⁵ In part, this explains how violence and coercion became an integral part of ZANU-PF’s electoral politics up to at least June 2008. This was also driven by ZANU-PF’s desire to make Zimbabwe a one-party state. See, among others, Sithole and Makumbe (1997).
- ⁶ Muzonidya (2009) went on to assert that much of Zimbabwe’s opposition was organized around questions of corruption, the abandonment of the leadership code, workers’ and women’s rights, and democracy. He could have added that there was also the issue of the general governance and the rule of law.
- ⁷ Examples of such challenges include the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions’ organized march of June 1992, the June 1996 public-sector strike, the December 1997 general strike, and the January 1998 food riots, among many others by students and members of civil society.
- ⁸ Raftopoulos and Mlambo (2009) said the crisis became manifest in multiple ways, including confrontations over land and property rights, contestations over the history and meanings of nationalism and citizenship, the emergence of an increasingly critical civil society, the restructuring of the state authoritarian forms, the anti-imperialist interpretations of the struggles, and the central role of Robert Mugabe.
- ⁹ Despite the uneven playing field, in 2000, the MDC received 47% of the vote compared with ZANU-PF’s 49%, and in the presidential elections, Mugabe garnered 56% of the vote as opposed to Tsvangirai’s 42%. The 2005 elections followed almost the same pattern.
- ¹⁰ ZANU-PF had lost its parliamentary majority with the combined MDCs winning 109 seats against ZANU-PF’s 97. In the presidential election, Tsvangirai won 47.9% as opposed to Mugabe’s 43.2%.
- ¹¹ See Raftopoulos and Mlambo (2009), p. 1, footnote 1, and Bond and Manyanya (2003) for the abundant literature on what has come to be termed the “Zimbabwean Crisis.”
- ¹² According to a UNICEF press release (2008), the country’s children practically lost a whole year of schooling due to these problems.
- ¹³ Zimbabwe had the world’s highest rate of inflation in the early 2000s.
- ¹⁴ The Zimbabwe dollar was officially abandoned and the entire country adopted the US dollar and the South African rand as official currencies.
- ¹⁵ The number of universities in Zimbabwe has greatly expanded since 2000; there are now at least 16 public and private higher education institutions in the country. The University of Zimbabwe remains the most prominent, however.
- ¹⁶ In comparison, professors at the University of Zimbabwe were receiving salaries around US\$600 per month in mid-2010.
- ¹⁷ In order to attend university, students must pass a further 2 years of education at advanced level (A’level). These examinations are very different from the O’level examinations and reward good essay writing and critical analysis. The teachers who taught A’level classes reported that it was very difficult for students to make the transition from O’ to A’level. However, the continuing supply of A’level students explains the continuing feed of more analytically experienced history students at the university level.
- ¹⁸ Older books are being reprinted, but these are two of a small crop of new textbooks. Each book cost approximately US\$20—a considerable sum in contemporary Zimbabwe.
- ¹⁹ These decisions compare intriguingly with the choices made by Irish teachers to steer away from “trouble spots” in Irish history (see McCracken & Maylam, 1985, quoted in Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2000).
- ²⁰ For a detailed comparison between syllabi 2166 and 2167, see Barnes (2007).

- ²¹ The Zimbabwean publishing industry produced many history textbook series until the economic decline of the late 1990s. The two books reviewed here are evidence that some of the vibrancy of this industry may be returning (see Barnes, 2007).
- ²² Gukurahundi refers to a government campaign of terror carried out against the largely Ndebele population of rural southwestern Zimbabwe in the 1980s. Over 20,000 people were killed in state-sponsored operations. Ostensibly aimed at flushing out South African-supported “dissidents” against the new ZANU-PF government, the campaign was enormously painful for Matabeleland and Midlands peasantry, but was hushed up nationally and internationally until the 1990s (see Alexander et al., 2000; Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe, 1997; Werbner, 1992).
- ²³ The 5th Brigade was a unit of the Zimbabwean army that carried out the Gukurahundi campaign. It was misidentified in the book as “Gukurahundi or Red Berets” (SAH3, p. 234).
- ²⁴ For reviews of earlier textbooks, see Barnes (2007).

WORKS CITED

- Alexander, J. (1996). Things fall apart, the centre can hold: Processes of post-war political change in Zimbabwe’s rural areas. In N. Bhebe & T. Ranger (Eds.), *Society in Zimbabwe’s liberation war* (Vol. 2). Harare, Zimbabwe: University of Zimbabwe Publications.
- Alexander, J., McGregor, J., & Ranger, T. (2000). *Violence and memory: One hundred years in the “dark forests” of Matabeleland*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Barnes, T. (2007). History has to play its role: Constructions of race and reconciliation in secondary school historiography in Zimbabwe, 1980–2002. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 33, 633–651.
- Benson, K., & Chadya, J. (2005). Ukubhinya: Gender and sexual violence in Bulawayo, colonial Zimbabwe, 1946–1956. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 31, 587–610.
- Bhebe, N. (2004, June). *The golden age of Zimbabwe’s historiography and its decline from 1967 to the present*. Unpublished paper presented at the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka, Japan.
- Bond, P., & Manyanya, M. (2003). *Zimbabwe’s plunge: Exhausted nationalism, neoliberalism and the search for social justice*. Durban, South Africa: University of Natal Press.
- Bull-Christiansen, L. (2004). *Tales of the nation: Feminist nationalism or patriotic history? Defining national history and identity in Zimbabwe*. Uppsala, Sweden: Nordiska Africainstitutet.
- Campbell, H. (2003). *Reclaiming Zimbabwe: The exhaustion of the patriarchal model of liberation*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
- Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe. (1997). *Breaking the silence, building true peace: A report on the disturbances in Matabeleland and the Midlands, 1980–1988*. Harare, Zimbabwe: Legal Resources Foundation.
- Charumbira, R. (2008). Nehanda and gender victimhood in the Central Mashonaland 1896–97 rebellions: Revisiting the evidence. *History in Africa: A Journal of Method*, 35, 103–131.
- Chigwedere, A. (2001). *British betrayal of the Africans. Land, cattle, human rights: Case for Zimbabwe*. Marondera, Zimbabwe: Mutapa Publishing House.
- Chikowero, M. (2008). “Our people father, they haven’t learned yet”: Music and postcolonial identities in Zimbabwe, 1980–2000. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 34, 145–160.
- Chirikure, S., & Pwiti, G. (2008). Community involvement in archaeology and cultural heritage management. *Current Anthropology*, 49, 467–485.
- Cliffe, L., Alexander, J., Cousins, B., & Gaidzanwa, R. (Eds.). (2012). *Outcomes of post-2000 Fast Track Land Reform in Zimbabwe*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Dhupelia-Mesthrie, U. (2000). “A blast from the past”: The teaching of South African history at an apartheid university, 1960s–1980s. *South African Historical Journal*, 42, 49–68.
- Eicher, C., & Kupfuma, B. (1997). Zimbabwe’s emerging maize revolution. In D. Byerlee & C. Eicher (Eds.), *Africa’s emerging maize revolution*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Frederickse, J. (1982). *None but ourselves: Masses versus media in the making of Zimbabwe*. Harare, Zimbabwe: Zimbabwe Publishing House.
- Hall, R. N. (1905). *Great Zimbabwe*. London, UK: Methuen.
- Hall, R. N., & Neal, W. G. (1902). *The ancient ruins of Rhodesia*. London, UK: Methuen.

- Hanlon, J., Manjengwa, J., & Smart, T. (2012). *Zimbabwe takes back its land*. West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press.
- Johnson-Osirim, M. (2009). *Enterprising women in urban Zimbabwe: Gender, microbusiness and globalization*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Kruger, N. (2006). From patriotic memories to “patriotic history” in Zimbabwe, 1990–2005. *Third World Quarterly*, 27, 1151–1169.
- McCracken, D., & Maylam, P. (1985). History teaching in an ideologically and racially divided society. In S. Bhana (Ed.), *The problems in history teaching at the tertiary level* (Occasional Paper No. 1, Institute for Social & Economic Research, pp. 7–14). Durban, South Africa: University of Durban-Westville.
- Madyangove, L., Nyawera, A., & Rusere, K. (2009). *Step ahead O'level history revision guide*. Harare, Zimbabwe: Longman.
- Mavuru, S., & Nyanhanda-Ratsauka, K. (2009). *Step ahead history student's book 3*. Harare, Zimbabwe: Longman.
- Mazarire, G. (2011). Discipline and punishment in ZANLA: 1964–1979. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 37, 571–591.
- Mazarire, G. (2013). Carl Mauch and some Karanga chiefs around Great Zimbabwe 1871–1872: Re-considering the evidence. *South African Historical Journal*, 65, 337–364.
- Mlambo, A. S. (1997). *The economic structural adjustment programme: The case of Zimbabwe, 1990–1995*. Harare, Zimbabwe: University of Zimbabwe Publications.
- Mlambo, A. S. (2014). *A history of Zimbabwe*. London, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Moyo, J. (2009). Academic freedom and human rights in Zimbabwe. In *Free enquiry at risk: Universities in dangerous times*. New York, NY: New School for Social Research.
- Moyo, S., & Chambani, W. (Eds.). (2013). *Land and agrarian reform in Zimbabwe: Beyond white-settler capitalism*. Dakar, Senegal: Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa.
- Museumwa, M. (2008). *The politics of water in postcolonial Zimbabwe, 1980–2007*. Unpublished paper presented at the African Studies Centre, Leiden University, Leiden, The Netherlands.
- Muzondidya, J. (2009). From buoyancy to crisis, 1980–1997. In B. Raftopoulos & A. Mlambo (Eds.), *Becoming Zimbabwe: A history from the pre-colonial period to 2008*. Harare, Zimbabwe: Weaver Press.
- Mwanza, A. (Ed.). (1999). *Social policy in an agricultural economy*. Harare, Zimbabwe: SAPES Books.
- Ncube, W. (1991). Constitutionalism, democracy and political practice in Zimbabwe. In I. Mandaza & L. Sachikonye (Eds.), *The one-party state and democracy: The Zimbabwe debate*. Harare, Zimbabwe: SAPES Trust.
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. (2012). Rethinking Chimurenga and Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe: A critique of partisan national history. *African Studies Review*, 55(3), 1–16.
- Nhongo-Simbanegavi, J. (2000). *For better or worse? Women and ZANLA in Zimbabwe's liberation struggle*. Harare, Zimbabwe: Weaver Press.
- Nyakudya, M. (2007). The rationale for national and strategic studies in teacher training colleges: Fostering a sense of patriotism in trainee teachers. *Zimbabwe Journal of Educational Research*, 19, 115–126.
- Nyakudya, M. (2011). Interactive teaching methods in national and strategic studies in teacher training colleges: Defeating the myopia of patriotic history and political expediency. *Zimbabwe Journal of Educational Research*, 23(1).
- Nyamahindi, R. (1998). *ESAP and health in Hatcliffe, 1990–1997* (Unpublished BA dissertation). Department of Economic History, University of Zimbabwe, Harare.
- Nyambara, P. (2005). “That place was wonderful!” African tenants on Rhodesdale estate, colonial Zimbabwe, c. 1900–1952. *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 38, 226–299.
- Phimister, I. (2012). Narratives of progress: Zimbabwean historiography and the end of history. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 30(1), 27–34.
- Pikirayi, I. (2001). *The Zimbabwe culture: Origins and decline of southern Zambezi states*. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.

- Raftopoulos, B., & Mlambo, A. (Eds.). (2009). *Becoming Zimbabwe: A history from the pre-colonial period to 2008*. Harare, Zimbabwe: Weaver Press.
- Ranger, T. (2004). Nationalist historiography, patriotic history and the history of the nation: The struggle for the past in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30, 215–234.
- Rupiya, M. (1995). Demobilisation and integration: “Operation merger” and the Zimbabwe Defence Forces, 1980–1987. *Africa Security Review*, 4, 52–64.
- Schoones, I. (2014). *Debating Zimbabwe’s land reform*. Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies.
- Sisulu, E., Moyo, B., & Tshuma, N. (2007). The Zimbabwean community in South Africa. In S. Buhlungu, D. Daniel, R. Southall, & J. Lutchman (Eds.), *State of the nation: South Africa 2007*. Cape Town, South Africa: HSRC Press.
- Sithole, M., & Makumbe, J. (1997). Elections in Zimbabwe: The ZANU-PF hegemony and its incipient decline. *African Journal of Political Science*, 2, 122–139.
- Tendi, M. (2009). *Becoming Zimbabwe: Teaching history in context in Zimbabwe*. Wynberg, Cape Town, South Africa: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.
- Thram, D. (2006). Patriotic history and the politicisation of memory: Manipulation of popular music to re-invent the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. *Critical Arts: A South-North Journal of Cultural & Media Studies*, 20(2), 75–88.
- UNICEF. (2008, October 9). *Zimbabwe education in a state of emergency* [Press release]. Retrieved from http://www.unicef.org/media/media_45950.html
- Werbner, R. (1992). *Tears of the dead: The social biography of an African family*. Harare, Zimbabwe: Baobab Books.
- Wilmot, A. (1969/1896). *Monomotapa (Rhodesia): Its monuments and its history from the most ancient times to the present century*. New York, NY: Negro University Press.

Teresa Barnes
Departments of History and Gender/Women’s Studies
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA

Munyaradzi Nyakudya
Department of History
University of Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe

Government Christopher Phiri†
Department of Economic History
University of Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe

CONCLUSIONS

LAURA C. ENGEL

15. DEFINING AND DEBATING THE COMMON “WE”

Analyses of Citizen Formation Beyond the Nation-State Mold

INTRODUCTION: FRAMING THE COMMON “WE”

In September 2014, a Scottish Independence Referendum was held, asking voters to answer “yes” or “no” to the following question: “Should Scotland be an independent country?” In what was one of the highest recorded turnouts in Scottish electoral or referendum history, the tallied votes revealed that just less than half (44.7%) of the population voted in favor of the proposal, while 55.3% voted “no.” Leading up to the referendum, a series of challenging questions was posed as to what (who?) Scotland was and what (who?) it was not, particularly with respect to Scotland’s relationship with England, Great Britain, and the larger European Union. Meanwhile, 2 months following the Scottish vote, Catalonia held a non-binding vote about Catalan statehood. The November 2014 ballot asked voters two questions: “Do you want Catalonia to become a state?” and “Do you want this state to be independent?” An overwhelming 80% of the votes cast answered the Yes-Yes option in favor of independent Catalan statehood.

At the same time as these national independence movements, there were efforts in many European countries to conserve a national culture and national identity in response to perceived threats of immigration, Europeanization, and increased societal diversity. Indeed, as evidenced by the 2014 European Parliamentary elections, there has been a rise in popularity of far right, nationalist parties, especially in France, Hungary, Austria, and Greece. In this diverse set of countries, much of the rhetoric associated with these parties has been both anti-immigrant and anti-Islamist, aimed at defending an idea of a singular national identity against an undesirable “other.” For example, in the 2014 European Parliament elections in Greece, the far right party, Golden Dawn, won the third highest share of the votes (9.4%) and three seats in Parliament (European Parliament, 2014). With a consistent and growing support base across Greek society, Golden Dawn has focused its efforts on protecting and restoring Greek nationalism. In this way, the pronationalist stance has been brought increasingly into the mainstream, normalized in party platforms and political dialogue.

These diverse examples of debates over national identity have in common a set of questions that the modern nation-state must continue to grapple with: Who are we? Who aren’t we? In the cases of Catalonia and Scotland, there are efforts to solidify

and advance a nationalist “we” outside of Spain and the UK, respectively. In the example of Greek nationalism, there is an effort to protect the nation-state against what are deemed to be threats to the construction of a singular national “we.” In both instances, the common “we” associated with the nation-state is never static, but rather is consistently shifting. Indeed, throughout modern history, the nation-state has been tangled up in the drawing (and redrawing) of territories, both physical (e.g., the physical space of belonging) and imaginary (e.g., the myth-making and collective storytelling that draws imaginary boundaries around who is included and who is excluded). As political and cultural dynamics shift within and across the national space, arguably more rapidly with globalization, nation-states must continue to grapple with and, in some cases, reconstruct the common “we” (see Bokhorst-Heng, this volume).

One of society’s key institutions for building, communicating, and legitimizing the common “we” is the school. Since the early 19th century, modern mass school systems have been a leading mechanism by which the modern nation-state binds its citizens under the construction of a common and cohesive national identity (Green, 1997). As leading tools in building and legitimizing a common national identity among citizens, curricula and textbooks often act as the nation-state’s official voice. In this volume, Williams and Bokhorst-Heng bring together authors who are aiming to understand some of the ways in which states envision and represent themselves and their respective nations through textbooks, asking how states’ official narratives reflect “who we are,” “who we aren’t,” and how to approach disputed histories. The focus on these questions (Who are we? Who aren’t we?) offers insights into the complexity of citizenship formation, identity, and belonging in a range of different countries.

Running through the book’s treatment of these questions is a central thread related to the nation-state as the primary container and centralizing character in citizen formation. In this essay, I want to broadly explore the role of the nation-state in analyses of the common “we,” particularly some of the limitations of methodological nationalism in studies of citizenship and citizenship education.¹ I initially discuss methodological nationalism and some of its implications and limitations. I then focus on alternative spaces redefining the common “we” associated with the nation-state, particularly those above, across, and within the nation-state boundaries.

THE NATION-STATE CONTAINER

There has been a longstanding and predominant focus on the nation-state within research in the social sciences. As first discussed by Martins (1974), methodological nationalism is “the assumption that the nation/state/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world” (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002, p. 302). Within a framework of methodological nationalism, the nation-state is conceived as a fixed container of social relations, and therefore thought to be *the* appropriate primary unit of analysis (Dale, 2005). This conception of the nation-state comes with

a range of assumptions, namely the “assumptions of the congruence of nation and state, centralized notions of power and absolute notions of sovereignty ... [which are] becoming increasingly anachronistic in a world of overlapping sovereignties and identities” (McGarry, Keating, & Moore, 2006, p. 4). As such, the nation-state as a main framework can unduly force an essentialist perspective on identity politics within and across national boundaries. It presents a single narrative rather than multiple narratives, often excluding possibilities for inclusion of overlapping and fluid identities.

It is common in research related to citizenship and citizenship education to focus on the nation-state as the leading container. In some sense, the attention to the nation-state is due to the ways in which citizenship is conceived as a set of rights and responsibilities of citizens to the state. In T. S. Marshall’s (1964) seminal work on citizenship, he described three forms of citizenship: civic, political, and social. The dominant understanding remained largely focused on rights and responsibilities of individuals to the public sphere, delimited to the nation-state. Newer conceptions of citizenship formation have further developed this definition (e.g., Keating, 2013), also including, for example, behavioral, attitudinal, and identity elements. Though more current definitions of citizenship extend beyond rights and duties, often analyses of citizenship and the ways in which it is manifested through schooling practices, curriculum, and/or textbooks are still linked most prominently to the nation-state as a primary unit.

The general focus on the nation-state within analyses of citizenship and citizenship education is fairly unsurprising, as the nation-state is most often the space where official curriculum and textbooks are developed. In many systems, the official curriculum is typically developed by and for nation-states, where it is then implemented at local levels. To this point, curriculum theorist William Pinar (2014) noted, “However hounded by globalization, the curriculum remains nationally based and locally enacted and experienced” (p. 12). Therefore, it makes considerable sense that the questions of the common “we” taken up in curriculum and textbook research, including those in this volume, might naturally prioritize a focus on the nation-state as the primary unit of analysis.

However, the priority given to country-level analysis can in some ways overlook some of the alternative spaces and frames of understanding citizen formation within, above, and across nation-state borders. Moreover, the predominant focus on the national story can embrace the false assumption that the nation-state is the *only* mechanism from which to understand issues of identity, belonging, and the common “we.” This approach precludes questions about the extent to which global forces (e.g., immigration, economic interdependence) have an impact upon local and national spaces for curriculum development. It also can at times present the national space as a one-dimensional container, void of alternative identities and political movements shifting and changing the common “we.” In other words, by framing analyses in national terms, a sole understanding of citizen formation as a national project is left unquestioned.

Given the nationalist and anti-immigrant stances taken up in many different countries, including in the European examples above, as well as the realities of cross-border movement of people, it becomes especially important to pose questions about the extent to which global processes have impacted the national space for citizen formation. Of course, historically within many national stories are elements of exclusion and the drawing of delineations between “ours” and “theirs.” For example, as illustrated in a number of chapters in this volume, by simply defining who or what is included, there is an implicit statement of who does not belong. In other words, exclusion of particular groups within the nation-state is certainly not born with globalization.

According to Appadurai (2006), a well-known scholar of globalization studies, binaries of “us” and “others” naturally emerge in connection with the national ethos; yet, they are arguably exacerbated by global processes. Appadurai argued that at the core of all national projects, there is an inherent quest for purity, even if achieving purity means violent repression of minority groups. The “small numbers,” as Appadurai described minority groups, aggravates a dominant national ethos of “who we are” and raises societal anxiety over a lack of national purity, which nationhood demands. According to Appadurai, what has driven these questions and anxieties over national identity and belonging in the current global era are the growing global flows of people and new demographic realities, which are viewed as threats to achieving a singular and pure national “we.” These global dynamics and their implications for the national space are precisely why it is important to seek research frames for deeper understanding of how the “we” gets constructed and how it shifts with respect to global processes.

ALTERNATIVE FRAMES BEYOND METHODOLOGICAL NATIONALISM

Methodological nationalism enforces a tightening of identities in national units opposed to other units that could organically develop on their own, including ones with more porous boundaries. However, the above critiques of methodological nationalism are not intended to suggest that the national space is irrelevant or somehow must be usurped by alternative research frameworks. Rather, it becomes important to examine the extent to which shifts both above and below the nation-state are evident within the telling and framing of national stories.

Recent scholarship in the social sciences has focused on alternative frameworks that challenge the predominance of the nation-state as the singular frame. Across the social sciences, there has been a “fading of the main framework of research, the nation-state, as a discrete territorial space and as a unit of analysis” (Autio, 2014, p. 27). However, there has not been a singular agreed upon alternative framework that surpasses methodological nationalism, and in some cases, debates about methodological nationalism have stalled (see Chernilo, 2011). Nonetheless, in education, there have been considerable efforts to explore dynamics of education

policy and curriculum development from outside of the national space alone (see, e.g., Brooks, Fuller, & Waters, 2012; Engel, 2009, 2012; Keating, Orloff, & Philippou, 2009; Lingard & Rawolle, 2010; Rizvi & Lingard, 2009; Shahjahan & Kezar, 2013; Wermke, Pettersson, & Forsberg, 2015). Among these different explorations, the concept of “space” is important in the framing of alternatives beyond the nation-state (see also the larger discussion on spatial analyses in comparative and international research by Larsen and Beech, 2014). Researchers, for example, have acknowledged the impact of globalization on the development of new spaces of education policy activity (see, e.g., Lingard & Rawolle, 2010; Rizvi & Lingard, 2009; Shahjahan & Kezar, 2013). Among the new actors explored are regional organizations, such as the European Union. To that end, research has focused on understanding the mechanisms of European influence on education policy-making and citizen formation (Engel, 2012; Keating et al., 2009; Nóvoa & Lawn, 2002).

In addition, educational research has explored multiple scales or levels in education policy activity, challenging some of the assumptions embedded in methodological nationalism. Scale refers to “a container, arena, scaffolding and hierarchy of sociospatial practices within contemporary capitalism” (Brenner, 2001, p. 592). According to Brenner (2001), scale and rescaling have “attracted unprecedented methodological and empirical attention in the context of contemporary debates about globalization, shifting global-local relations, the reterritorialization of labor regulation, the apparent crisis of the Keynesian welfare national state, and urban-regional restructuring” (p. 591). From a scalar perspective, in recognizing and utilizing additional scales other than the nation-state, analysis of curriculum can be inclusive of local, subnational, regional, and/or global education policy fields. In education, the exploration of multiple scales addresses the shifting role in the nation-state with respect to the ways in which national education policy reconciles global and supranational pressures with local and subnational traditions and priorities. For example, in research drawing on curriculum and textbook analysis, Engel and Orloff (2009) explored European citizenship and its influence within subnational spaces (Catalonia and Bavaria) and national spaces (Spain and Germany).

One of the potential limitations in focusing on multiple policy scales is the temptation to frame social relations as a nested hierarchy or as a series of “Russian dolls,” where the local fits neatly into the subnational, which fits neatly into the national, and so on (Brenner, 2001). If the focus is on nested scales in this way, there is a risk of falling into the same kind of limited analysis as methodological nationalism, in which each level is considered a discrete container of social relations, isolated from others. Rather, scales of policy activity are much more overlapping and complex, and frameworks for research that address this complexity are needed. To highlight this further, I discuss three alternative spaces existing within and across nation-states. Each of these spaces challenges the traditional common “we” associated with the nation-state container.

1. *Within the nation-state: Citizenship and regional nationalism.* The recent examples of Catalonia and Scotland highlighted above suggest the fluctuating and multiple changes to how nationalism and belonging are defined across multiple scales. The diversity found within state boundaries is now also combined with the new realities of increased global flows of people, where few countries in the world are *not* impacted by new diversity found within their local and national communities. The intersection of the global flows of people with regional nationalist aspirations challenges traditional “we” conceptions associated with the nation-state alone and rather suggests the overlay of new scales of activity. These dynamics raise important questions regarding to whom or what young people owe their loyalties and the extent to which multiple identities (including those in tension with one another) and the diversity found within national borders are included in official curriculum and textbooks. These dynamics also have implications for research, where there is a need to develop suitable frameworks that capture the fluidity and “in-betweenness” (Larsen & Beech, 2014) of multiple spaces and scales of education policy activity and citizen formation.

2. *Above the nation-state: Regional citizenship.* As the influence of regional organizations in education grows, it is important to consider how and to what extent models for curriculum and standards are being developed at regional (i.e., supranational) levels. For example, analyses in European systems might explore the impact and influence of curricula and standards developed by the Council of Europe within national curricula. Moreover, evidence from the 2009 International Civic and Citizenship Study, an International Association of the Evaluation of Educational Achievement study of civic knowledge and aptitude, included three regional modules for Latin America, Asia, and Europe. Findings were suggestive of similarities among young people within each of these regions. For example, the Asian module findings showed that the majority of young people considered morality a critical aspect of “good citizenship,” whereas for the European module, students held positive regard for intercultural relations and support for racial groups and immigrants from a human rights framework. These kinds of findings related to regional citizenship raise important new issues with respect to “who we are” beyond national citizenship. Further research is needed to better understand constructions of regional citizenship and how they are reflected (or not) within national curricula and textbooks.

3. *Multiple identities and global citizenship.* In education, concepts such as cosmopolitanism, international mindedness, and global citizenship are not new (Hill, 2012; Nussbaum, 2002; Noddings, 2005; Tye, 2009). However, a certain new energy seems to be focused on these frameworks as imperative for education in the 21st century global world. For example, the United Nations’ Global Education First Initiative champions global citizenship as the third of three pillars along with access and learning. Likewise, UNESCO has developed a new mandate on global citizenship education. There is also an increasing body of literature focused on global citizenship education (e.g., Rapoport, 2010; Rizvi, 2009). Some of this literature

champions a locally oriented form of cosmopolitanism (Boix Mansilla & Jackson, 2011; Rizvi, 2009), which prioritizes critical reflection about the ways in which global processes, such as immigration, are part and parcel of local communities. For example, Engel’s (2014) study of citizenship education curricula and selected textbooks in Spain addressed whether and to what extent curricula included critically reflexive approaches of global citizenship education. Here, the role of the nation-state in curriculum and textbooks development is acknowledged, though the lens is more inclusive of the ways in which the nation-state changes with respect to developments occurring at other scales. With these efforts to build globally minded citizens, future research is needed to understand their intent, as well as how they are enacted (or not) through official curriculum and textbooks.

For each of these three scales, it is clear that identities are never fixed or singular. They are indeed multiple and reflective of the complexities found within societies. In each, there are different initiatives to not only redefine identity and diversity within the nation-state space, but also reframe it with global outlooks.

These kinds of examples showcase a number of critical questions for further study and action: How, for example, do different education systems develop and sustain multiple identities, flexible belongings, and shifting boundaries of citizenship? What frameworks exist for developing inclusive and globally oriented citizenship formation? How will textbooks, as a vehicle of the state’s vision of itself, in fact manage these fluid belongings that are formed across multiple scales? While curriculum theory and textbook research have traditionally focused on the nation-state, future research must challenge these ideas and promote instead a set of questions that allow for analysis of an overlapping and fluid identity that exists within and across national spaces.

NOTE

- ¹ Rather than a specific course or subject, citizenship education here refers more broadly to all aspects of schooling, teaching, and learning that are in one way or another preparing young people for future roles as citizens. Citizenship education is infused into the fabric of schooling in a given context, involving both official and hidden curriculum.

WORKS CITED

- Appadurai, A. (2006). *Fear of small numbers: An essay on the geography of anger*. London, UK: Duke University Press.
- Autio, T. (2014). The internationalization of curriculum research. In W. Pinar (Ed.), *International handbook of curriculum research* (pp. 17–31). New York, NY: Taylor and Francis.
- Boix Mansilla, V., & Jackson, A. (2011). *Education for global competency: Preparing our youth to engage in the world*. New York, NY: Asia Society. Retrieved from <http://asiasociety.org/files/book-globalcompetence.pdf>
- Brenner, N. (2001). The limits to scale? Methodological reflections on scalar structuration. *Progress in Human Geography*, 25(4), 591–614.
- Brooks, R., Fuller, A., & Waters, J. (Eds.). (2012). *New spaces of education: The changing nature of learning in the 21st century*. London, UK: Routledge.

L. C. ENGEL

- Chernilo, D. (2011). The critique of methodological nationalism: Theory and history. *Thesis Eleven*, 106(1), 98–117.
- Dale, R. (2005). Globalisation, knowledge economy and comparative education. *Comparative Education*, 41(2), 117–149.
- Engel, L. C. (2009). *New state formations in educational policy: Reflections from Spain*. Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers.
- Engel, L. C. (2012). Autonomy in the global era: Euro-regionalism and new policy spaces in education. In R. Brooks, A. Fuller, & J. Waters (Eds.), *New spaces of education: The changing nature of learning in the 21st century* (pp. 81–95). London, UK: Routledge.
- Engel, L. C. (2014). Citizenship education and national (re)formations: Reflections from Spain. *Education, Citizenship, and Social Justice*, 9, 239–254.
- Engel, L. C., & Ortloff, D. H. (2009). From the local to the supranational: Curriculum reform and the production of the ideal citizen in two federal systems, Germany and Spain. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 41(2), 179–198.
- European Parliament. (2014). *Results of the 2014 European elections*. Retrieved from <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/elections2014-results/en/country-results-el-2014.html>
- Green, A. (1997). *Education, globalization and the nation state*. London, UK: Macmillan.
- Hill, I. (2012). Evolution of education for international mindedness. *Journal of Research in International Education*, 11(3), 245–261.
- Keating, A. (2013). *Educating tomorrow's citizens: What role can schools play?* Keynote lecture at the Annual School Leadership Conference for head teachers in Slovenia. Retrieved from <https://avrilkeating.files.wordpress.com/2013/12/keating-2013-educating-future-citizens-slovenia-final.pdf>
- Keating, A., Ortloff, D., & Philippou, S. (2009). Citizenship education curricula: The changes and challenges presented by global and European integration. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 41(2), 145–158.
- Larsen, M., & Beech, J. (2014). Spatial theorizing in comparative and international education research. *Comparative Education Review*, 58(2), 191–214.
- Lingard, B., & Rawolle, S. (2010). Globalization and the rescaling of education politics and policy. In M. Larsson (Ed.), *New thinking in comparative education: Honouring Robert Cowen* (pp. 33–52). Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers.
- Marshall, T. H. (1964). *Class, citizenship, and social development*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Martins, H. (1974). Time and theory in sociology. In J. Rex (Ed.), *Approaches to sociology: An introduction to major trends in British sociology* (pp. 246–294). London, UK: Routledge.
- McGarry, J., Keating, M., & Moore, M. (2006). Introduction: European integration and the nationalities question. In J. McGarry & M. Keating (Eds.), *European integration and the nationalities question* (pp. 1–20). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Noddings, N. (Ed.). (2005). *Educating citizens for global awareness*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Nóvoa, A., & Lawn, M. (2002). *Fabricating Europe: The formation of an education space*. London, UK: Kluwer Academic.
- Nussbaum, M. (2002). Patriotism and cosmopolitanism. In M. Nussbaum & J. Cohen (Eds.), *For the love of country?* (pp. 3–20). Boston, MA: Beacon.
- Pinar, W. (Ed.). (2014). *International handbook of curriculum research*. New York, NY: Taylor and Francis.
- Rapoport, A. (2010). We cannot teach what we don't know: Indiana teachers talk about global citizenship education. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 5(3), 179–190.
- Rizvi, F. (2009). Towards cosmopolitan learning. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 30(3), 253–268.
- Rizvi, F., & Lingard, B. (2009). *Globalizing education policy*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Shahjahan, R. A., & Kezar, A. J. (2013). Beyond the “national container”: Addressing methodological nationalism in higher education research. *Educational Researcher*, 42, 20–29.

DEFINING AND DEBATING THE COMMON “WE”

- Tye, K. A. (2009). A history of the global education movement in the United States. In T. F. Kirkwood-Tucker (Ed.), *Visions in global education* (pp. 3–24). New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Wermke, W., Pettersson, D., & Forsberg, E. (2015). Approaching the space issue in Nordic curriculum theory: National reflections of globalization in social studies/citizenship textbook pictures in Sweden, England and Germany. *Nordic Journal of Studies in Education Policy*, *1*(27011). Retrieved from <http://nordstep.net/index.php/nstep/article/view/27011>
- Wimmer, A., & Glick Schiller, N. (2002). Methodological nationalism and beyond: Nation-state building, migration and the social sciences. *Global Networks*, *2*(4), 301–334.

Laura Engel
George Washington University
Washington, DC, USA

JAMES H. WILLIAMS

16. SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS, US AND THEM

A Conclusion

The books in this series have tried to surface “the hidden political, social, and economic curriculum of schools” in particular national contexts through the lens of school textbooks. The first volume looked at the portrayal of the nation, how textbooks appear to establish and maintain the legitimacy of the state, especially in periods of rapid change.

This second volume set out to examine textbooks from the perspective of portrayal of membership in the nation—who is “in,” a member, and who is “out.” How is membership defined, especially in multiethnic nation-states (which is almost all of them)? Of all the possible differences among people, which characteristics are socially selected as most salient for distinguishing insiders and outsiders? How overt are the definitions and distinctions made? How have they changed over time and under what sociopolitical conditions?

The chapters here examined “self” and “other,” mostly within national boundaries, but also in several cases where internal identity was defined in part in relation to external others, e.g., *Khan Banerjee and Stöber* in India and Pakistan, and *Spreen and Monaghan* in South Africa. In the Introduction, *Bokhorst-Heng* set the stage for a range of possible responses to diversity with a typology of national stances: destruction of the “other” through ethnocide or, more benignly, assimilation; separation of cultures through differentialist provision/segregation; and living—more or less closely—with the “other” in the pluralist approaches of conservative multiculturalism, liberal multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism, and critical multiculturalism.

Though arguably natural human social phenomena, these stances are especially salient in the context of the identity of nations “imagined” as “communities” but lacking an organic foundation and composed of multiple identity groups. The state, its members connected primarily through “imagination,” has an inherent interest in maintaining a sense of “us,” distinguishing “us” from “them.” Not surprisingly, this often leads to “us” versus “other.” Not surprisingly, “us” versus “other” is particularly problematic when the “other” is internal to a state trying to imagine itself as one. In such constructions, the “fear of small numbers” is often realized (Appadurai, 2006), in more or less malign manifestations.

With history, territory, and language as the primary markers of the nation (Carretero, 2011)—as well as race, ethnicity, and culture—nation-building and nation-maintaining have almost always insisted on a singular, homogenous, and totalizing monoethnic identity related to a particular geography, with a justifying history. Ideally the identity and occupation of the land correspond. Primordial myths date the origins of such nations to ancient times. For some time, the nation-state has offered a more or less useful vehicle for economic and social development, for progress and the protection and advance of human dignity. Even in the supposedly postnational present, the aspirations of peoples without a country are often organized around the acquisition of one. To paraphrase Michael Walzer (2015), “Everybody needs a state.”

Like *Bokhorst-Heng, Engel* reminds us of the paradoxes facing the state as container for diverse populations, especially in an era of heightened globalization. Globalization with its movements of peoples and diffuse centers of power challenges the core existential conceit of the nation, that of essential commonality across large groups of people living within a certain territory under primary control of a national authority. Certainly immigration and increased movements of people challenge the territorial and ethnic integrity of the nation-state, as does technology, allowing individuals to activate membership in communities with shared interests rather than national boundaries and authority. In uncertain economic and social conditions, questions of identity, membership, belonging, and trust, us and them that might otherwise be tolerated, can become quite significant.

OBSERVED PATTERNS

And so, setting out to see how these school textbooks dealt with these issues, we found five general patterns.

First, while diversity in ethnicity, for example, is a fact in most countries, diversity did not always appear in the textbooks examined by authors in this volume. In the first place, membership among insiders or “us” is generally assumed, portrayed indirectly if at all. Definitions and selection criteria for who is “in,” though surely obvious to students and teachers, are not stated explicitly. Readers are likely to need a good bit of social context to “read” the textbooks correctly or at least to read them as insiders do. Textbooks rarely provide much instruction on “reading” the implicit tenets of the social context and contract. And so most students likely read texts with the perspectives and biases they bring to school. In such cases, it is not necessary to specify insiders and outsiders; most everyone likely knows. However, by leaving these delineations implicit and providing neither a counternarrative nor a critical way to read texts, textbooks are likely to confirm the perspectives, biases, and power structures of the larger society, regardless of content.

As a corollary, outsidership was also portrayed indirectly. Sometimes this was done by minimal portrayal—invisibility in some cases—as in *Schmidt’s* examination of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and queer (LGBQ) people in Canadian

and U.S. textbooks, or minimal and distorted portrayal as in *Brown's* analysis of Indians or *Howley, Eppley, and Dudek's* study of rural Americans. In other cases, outsidership was portrayed explicitly, and in contrast to "us" (see *Khan Banerjee and Stöber*, for example). Direct or not, the portrayals were sometimes quite negative. *Brown* characterized the portrayal of American Indians as foreign, enemy, inferior, dangerous. *Howley, Eppley, and Dudek's* rural people were "ingenious" then "ignorant," their lives "idyllic" then "backward," in line with shifts the authors identified in the national narrative of the nation. *Koh's* Malays were "lackadaisical," "slow," "unable to understand how to generate profit." In other cases, "others" were exoticized or trivialized (*Berkin*).

Some groups were portrayed in terms of what might be termed "associate membership," groups that obviously live in the nation's space but are not quite "us" or full members, groups whose children need to be educated into the character and characteristics of full membership, or who, by virtue of their membership in an outsider group, can only hope to be good associate members. These might also be termed internal outsiders. "Associate membership" was seen in the discussions of portrayals of indigenous peoples in *Berkin's* Mexico, *Brown's* America, as well as the children in *Koh's* colonial Malaya, *Butchart's* African American children during the U.S. Reconstruction Era, and even *Howley, Eppley, and Dudek's* rural Americans.

Thus, in terms of questions of membership, we found three groups: insiders, associate members or internal outsiders, and external outsiders.

It is interesting that while some portrayals changed over time and others did not, we saw no evidence of outsiders becoming true insiders. *Howley et al.* traced the shifting portrayal of rural populations in U.S. textbooks alongside the rise of globalization and an increasing penetration of capitalism into the American imagination. *Berkin's* review showed dramatic shifts in the type of Mexican citizen that textbooks worked to create, but relatively little change in the portrayal of indigenous peoples. *Brown* found very little real change in how American Indians were featured in the five eras of textbooks she examined. *Schmidt* found some change in the portrayal of LGBT citizens in that textbooks now actually make reference to LGBTQ people. Still, the portrayals have been anecdotal, thin, almost off-hand. *Messina, Sundaram, and Davies* worried that even the weak civic education they found in Spain and England was product of a rare period of relative openness, an opening on the verge of closing due to pressures from budgets and increased immigration. *Nesbitt and Rust* noted the persistence of historical notions of brotherhood within the context of French identity in spite of the drastic changes in French demography resulting from immigration. They suggested a recasting of French conceptions of brotherhood to include such diversity and a reappraisal of the relationship between whiteness and Frenchness.

In a third pattern, most textbooks seemed bent on shaping the civic character of their target students. Some textbooks specifically targeted internal outsiders with lessons on how to be (see for example *Butchart* and *Koh*), in a sense speaking to the

outsider. *Butchart* contrasted the textbooks written for freed Black slaves by other Blacks with textbooks written for freed Blacks by other groups. Other textbooks spoke to all children, indicating directly or indirectly a standard for what “we” are or should be like (see *Lo*, for example). Still others spoke to their audience about the “other,” as if those others might not be in the room reading the same books (see *Brown* for example or *Howley et al.* or *Schmidt*). Character shaping was portrayed in *Berkin’s* Mexico, *Butchart’s* post–Civil War South, *Koh’s* Malaya, *Lo’s* Hong Kong and Singapore, and *Nesbitt and Rust’s* France.

The corollary to shaping character in desirable ways is turning attention away from less desirable directions. *Messina, Sundaram, and Davies* found that textbooks from the UK and Spain “may reflect societies that neglect critical civic education, but perhaps that the societies themselves are active participants in such developments” (this volume). *Lo’s* comparative study of curriculum in Hong Kong and Singapore illustrated the careful delineation of traits of desirable citizenship (and by inference less desirable traits) in the two states, both civic but, in the end, quite different from each other and from a full range of possible civic values and skills.

Critical thinking is a common casualty, it seems. Foreclosing of more provocative options was most obvious in *Butchart’s* telling of the U.S. Reconstruction Era’s contrasting curricula for freed slaves. It was also quite clear in distinctions made in *Lo’s* reading of civics curricula in Hong Kong and Singapore, the encouragement of entrepreneurial thinking, for example, and of a citizen’s obligations to the state but the fencing off of critical thought about political matters. It is interesting, and not uncommon, that the units on China in the Hong Kong materials focused on ancient glories rather than contemporary issues.

Often the foreclosing of presumably more dangerous options was presented in a noncontroversial manner. For example, *Messina, Sundaram, and Davies* found:

What seems to be most apparent from our sample of textbooks is a commitment to what we have come to think of as a *common sense goodness* in which it is likely that only certain forms of contractual citizenships are deemed possible. Young people should know something about the world around them and be active in a responsible way to make their own lives and the lives of others better. It would be difficult to disagree with such a position. It is, however, necessary to consider what “common sense” means in the context of the demographic and other challenges faced by Spain and England and, specifically, what motivated the introduction of citizenship education in both countries. (italics added; this volume)

Among the cases examined, only South Africa (*Spreen and Monaghan*) and Canada (*Schmidt*) intentionally promoted a critical pedagogy. Even so, in South Africa, those efforts were undermined by the poverty and inequality that characterized the lives of students and the communities and schools where they lived as well as the presence of “outsiders,” who were seen as threats to the precarious hold students

had on access to national resources. This combination of a tightening economy and attempts to purify insider identity markers is frequently observed, in textbooks and in larger societies. In Canada, the textbooks did engage readers to think critically about the meaning of diversity and Canadian identity; even so, there was greater silence around LGBTQ diversity.

A fourth pattern was seen in more or less definitive and assertive descriptions of who “we” are, sometimes without a clearly articulated “other”—*McClure, Yazan and Selvi’s* Turkey; *Berkin’s* Mexico; *Lo’s* Singapore and Hong Kong; *Spreen and Monaghan’s* South Africa—and sometimes in direct contrast to the “other,” as in *Khan Banerjee and Stöber’s* Indian and Pakistani textbooks. China in *Lo’s* textbooks was portrayed in terms of the glorious past. It is interesting to note that in none of the cases presented was there mention of legitimate narratives other than the one adopted by the book. Similarly, there was not a sense that other groups, such as those being portrayed, might see things in different but equally valid ways than that portrayed by the book. Even when the official narrative did change, its legitimacy and the enduring nature of its current truth did not appear to be challenged in the texts. The idea of multiple narratives did not form part of any obvious pedagogy we saw discussed. Nor was there a sense of multiperspectivity or empathy for others.

Still, there was resistance by teachers, reported by *Barnes, Nyakudya, and Phiri* in their discussion of Zimbabwe, to the totalizing narratives of patriotic history the textbooks promoted, and in the development of emancipatory curricula in the post-Civil War U.S. South (*Butchart*). *McClure, Yazan, and Selvi* addressed the “possibility of teachers and students exercising their agency through the limited space afforded to knowledge construction in the new curricula in order to rewrite—and not simply reframe—the national narrative” (this volume). *Spreen and Monaghan* laid groundwork for resistance by proposing a bottom-up enactment of democratic ideals starting with the lived experience of teachers and students in poor communities, as necessary to implement the ideals of critical pedagogy in a context of inequality and poverty. *Howley, Eppley, and Dudek* (this volume) saw possibility in “backwardness”: “positioning rural people’s recalcitrance not as the sentimental attachment to an ‘imagined homeland’ (Bell, 2006, p. 154) but as a reasonable set of countermoves in the power relations of ‘a complex global economic and social network’ (Donehower, Hogg, & Schell, 2007, p. xi).”

SO WHAT TO DO?

Even as these cases illustrate patterns in what textbooks do, we ask: What can be done to promote curricula that are, vis-a-vis the identity groups we see in our nations and the world, inclusive, critical, and positively bonding?

In thinking about this, it may be helpful to reflect a bit on what we understand textbooks can do vis-a-vis relations among identity groups. We hold as axiomatic that multiple identity groups exist within most “nations.” Socially constructed, such identity groups exist in power relationship to each other. Official instruments

such as school textbooks tend to reflect the viewpoints of dominant groups, but also to hide their dominance, so as to maintain their position with minimal possible resistance. Dominance is manifested directly in control of the narrative, which can be assumed to be more or less consistent with the perspective of those in charge. The dominance of particular groups shows up in different ways, for example, by ignoring the existence of subdominant groups, minimizing their presence, distorting their role, framing or measuring the “other” using the metrics of the dominant group’s values and perspectives, painting portraits of “others” in assimilationist paint, and sticking to the facts while ignoring the underlying social relations. We would argue that such portrayals are normatively wrong and factually inaccurate and thus limit the potential for transformative, inclusive identities.

But to work most effectively, the dominance must remain hidden, even as social relations continue to feed into it. The social relations portrayed must appear natural, normal, and inevitable. This can be done by an ideological form of product placement, embodying an idea in the “furniture in the room”; presenting a potentially controversial idea as normal, and repeating it, desensitizing readers to its power; ignoring alternative ideas; denying or ignoring the *possibility* of alternatives; textual bullying; and so forth. If textbooks portray women in subservient and service roles in relation to men, and there are no challenges to this idea, ideas about women’s social roles are projected and any external prejudices reinforced, without any explicit text.

Pre-schooled in the informal education of family, peers, and community, children come to school with ideas about the social worlds in which they live. School helps them develop those ideas through explicit and implicit curricula, both intentional and unplanned. School can help children internalize, come to believe in the truth of, and elaborate the social hierarchies and relations of the larger communities; but it can also help them gain insight into those relations, the fact of their social construction, and the possibilities of changing them to accord better with higher values and the needs of those involved. Framed in this way, school can be seen as serving either a domesticating or a liberating function (Freire, 2000). This forces a choice, of course. Many schools would see their work as focusing on other things: the training of young minds in acquisition of knowledge, attitudes, and skills; the socialization of young people; preparation for work; and so forth. All of these are noble goals and feature among the important aims of schooling. But attention to them alone leaves hidden power relationships untouched, unquestioned, thus aiding by default the normalization and reproduction of the current order. Given the role of schooling in development of national citizens, the national sponsorship and control of schooling, and the many important tasks assigned to schooling, it is not surprising that questions about the structuring and legitimacy of the social order and the role of the school are rare.

Here it may be helpful to return to Carretero’s notion of three types of history (2011, p. 3) introduced in Volume 1: “everyday history,” “academic history,” and “school history.” Carretero described everyday history (which we have termed “the

informal education of family, peers and community”) evocatively as “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” (Carretero, 2011, p. 3). Collective memory “elaborates and digests the conflicts lived in common, and also articulates a narrative about the human group we live in—internalized and shared by citizens as a whole—dealing with values that are deemed constructive for the present and future, and is doubtless one of the most solid foundations of social cohesion” (Carretero, 2011, p. xv).

Academic history is carried out by historians and social scientists, according to the discipline and logic of historiography, and aims at building disciplinary knowledge. We would agree with Carretero that by the time pupils encounter academic history in school, they will have learned the master narrative of their motherland and, at least in the case of students from dominant groups, “developed a strong and unique emotional bond to it” (2011, p. 5).

Berkin (this volume) captured the key dynamics of school history well in her opening:

The story of the Mexican nation, like many modern nations, involves the development of a national identity based on a manufactured ethnicity. A national community is produced when individuals project themselves onto, and recognize themselves in, a common national narrative that appears to be a legacy from time immemorial in spite of having been fabricated in the recent past. To be “national,” a population should make the tale of common ethnicity its own, representing itself as if it were a natural community with primordial origins, homogenous culture, and shared group needs. For the sake of inclusiveness and unity, Mexico presents itself as a community with common origins, culture, and interests that transcend individuals and social conditions. This imagined collective national identity is captured in the notion of *mexicanidad*, a concept that stems from 19th-century independence movements.

Mexicanidad is a deliberate attempt to produce a uniquely Mexican identity different from the Spanish identity associated with colonial power. It can be defined as the synthesis of indigenous and Spanish cultures, and it comprises symbols, designed to bolster Mexican nationalism, constructed during the 19th and 20th centuries. The Mexican government, especially the Ministry of Public Education (Secretaría de Educación Pública, or SEP), has played a central role in unifying the nation around *mexicanidad*. It has done this by developing specific policies and creating associated symbols, particularly around notions of a common national language and the portrayal of a common race. These two methods function together to “naturalize” the nation’s origins.

Several points are worth highlighting. The goal of

what is taught at school under the name of “history” is ... to forge a stable collective identity, to create an established space for belonging where future citizens may feel embraced and comfortable. Consequently, it is a narcissistic narrative designed to arouse emotional adherence to what is *ours*. (italics in original; Carretero, 2011, p. viv)

Further, what is taught at school “is creating the first identity links between individuals and the ‘imagined community.’ It forms the first representation of ‘us’ and ‘them’” (Carretero, 2011, p. 176). The emotional ties are strong. Even the most academic historians may find it difficult “to stop believing, deep in their hearts and despite so many mutations, that something ‘essential’ remains within their society” (Carretero, 2011, p. xv).

Everyday history is inevitable, and academic and school-taught histories *both* address essential social needs. Academic history helps meet the human need for an inquiry of the past that aims at fullest possible understanding. School history helps meet the human need for identification and affiliation with a greater purpose and a larger group, linked with the national necessity for citizens to identify and affiliate with the national project. This could be considered a core task of public schooling. But in normal times, identification and affiliation with an abstract entity such as the nation is difficult. Identity can be solidified in an out-group or “other,” but this often leads to essentialization of group characteristics, polarization, and potentially conflict. In diverse societies, an overarching national identity is likely to compete with other collective identities; school and everyday histories have to make sense of this, surely differently in different societies. An external threat, of course, can mobilize diverse people to put aside internal differences, but that requires the presence, or creation and maintenance, of an enemy. This is especially so when social groups feel a sense of collective insecurity.

Given its task in developing a positive identification with a larger national purpose and national identity, school history does not allow for easy acknowledgment of past mistakes or crimes. National history is generally linked to a collective memory of a noble people on a path of “progress, heroism, and liberty” (Carretero, 2011, p. xvi). Such narratives are difficult to reconcile with what current standards would see as historical crimes. How can a “good” people reconcile the occupation and acquisition by force of other peoples’ land? The task is easier when the others are “other.” And so there is a kind of internal contradiction within school history.

Indeed, to fulfill the social and national functions of historical certainty and moral satisfaction, school history cannot easily admit to lack of authoritativeness, the existence of multiple perspectives or ways of thinking, the social construction and interpretive nature of history, or alternative epistemologies. Yet these are precisely the tools of historiographers. Levstik and Barton (2015) noted four “stances” toward the past: an *identification* stance, a *moral response* stance, an *analytic* stance, and an *exhibition* stance. The identification stance corresponds closely to our description

of school history, that is, history aimed at promoting identification with one's people. The moral response stance can be seen in such aphorisms as "those who do not learn from history are bound to repeat it," and "never again." An admirable impulse, the moral stance does not help students understand how "good people" such as ourselves can "do bad things." (see Daniel Friedrich in Volume 1 [Williams, 2014] for a discussion of these issues in the context of Argentina.) The analytic stance corresponds to academic history. A task for educators, attempts at analysis are always susceptible to cooptation. The exhibition stance relates to public displays of history and to assessment. It is less relevant to this discussion.

The transformation of school history into academic history does not accord well with human nature, which in addition to truth craves collective meaning and belonging. Jose Alvarez Junco, in his Foreword to Carretero's book, addressed attempts by Spain's Popular Party to popularize the idea of "constitutional patriotism," which

assumed that spiritual union or community of the citizens who make up our current polity should not be founded upon ethnic features or legendary myths, but rather upon a common institutional and legal framework that respects different cultures and individual rights ... But it did not succeed. Even though the discourse was politically correct, it was too cold. A vigorous patriot's favorite food is a good dose of nationalist emotion. People need to belong to something, to feel proud of that belonging, to eulogize themselves and—if possible—to despise others. (Carretero, 2011, p. xvi)

It seems theoretically possible that schools through textbooks and other means could take on the more challenging paths of building inclusive identities that promote collective meaning, belonging, and inquiry. But as *Spreen and Monaghan* illustrated in South Africa, such ideals are difficult to realize in the context of inequality, where many people lack the capabilities and thus freedom to meet their basic needs (Sen, 1999). Exhortations to welcome internal or external "others" are unlikely to gather much support when made to those who feel threatened by the "other," who lack the freedom and resources of the exhorters. An optimistic cosmopolitanism works well for those who can afford it.

Closely related are the role of learners and the nature of knowledge. Are children seen as passive recipients of truth external to them, or as co-constructors of history? Are children told or engaged? Do they memorize or practice? Can they see themselves as actors in history? Can more than one interpretation be right? When then is an interpretation wrong?

In the context of the everyday history curriculum of family and community and the powerful seductions of school history, what can textbooks (and schools) do to promote an inclusive, meaningful, critical history that helps us bond with each other and with our others? On the one hand, textbooks can reinforce or leave unquestioned the narratives outside school. On the other hand, textbooks can:

J. H. WILLIAMS

- Provide accurate information that both challenges and accords with common national narratives.
- Provide counternarratives, as a matter of course and of pedagogy.
- Provide images of inclusive heroism.
- Identify virtue with admission of past national wrongs and the evolution of national ethics.
- Provide information about other groups.
- Give others voice.
- Allow national contradictions to appear. Contradictions challenge society, particularly the young, toward resolution, thus giving impetus to future generations to advance further toward national values.
- Teach multiperspectivity (Stradling, 2003).
- Help teach understanding and empathy of “others,” of those both outside and inside the shared national space.
- Create relationships and partnerships across “borders.”
- Help students learn to “read” the everyday history they bring to school and the social and political structures in which they live.
- Increasingly represent the voices and images of groups making up the nation and world.
- Help children learn to think critically and question received wisdom, even from us.
- Spark the imagination of young people toward the resolution of social issues.
- Encourage the agency of young people, on local and global issues.
- Focus on the processes and imagining of identity rather than the maintenance of fixed identities.
- Help young people become comfortable with the idea that there may be more than one right answer. Even so, not all answers are right.
- More fundamentally, “re-envision and reclaim” the “public space of schools ... for public deliberation and community engagement” (*Spreen and Monaghan*, this volume).

Despite it all, inclusive meaningful critical and bonding history is possible, currently practiced on a small scale, perhaps to grow larger. Even under challenging conditions, *Barnes et al.* reported that teachers and some textbook authors exhibited “a stubborn care” “for the critical quality of their work” (this volume). The challenge of inviting the “other” into the national house may require reconfiguration of that house, rather than showing them to an existing bedroom. *Nesbitt and Rust* (this volume) wrote of the introduction at one point of “multiperspectivity” into French textbooks:

To cultivate brotherhood in a period of significant transformation in both the nation’s demographics and its approach to history education, France would benefit from considering two questions that run counter to its historically universalistic orientation: that of group identifications/rights and that of race/

racism ... The traditionally French reflex in discussion of group identities is to warn of *communautarisme*, or the placing of group affiliations above national affiliations. Although ... ideologically justifiable, the uncritical reflex and the concept of *communautarisme* must be discussed and problematized for new brotherhoods to come about ... Discussions of race would benefit from moving beyond simply recognizing and denouncing acts of racism to exploring the construction of whiteness and the notion of white privilege, especially as they relate to “Frenchness” (Hughes, 2007). This would bring all students into the dialogue, allowing them to dissect and understand oppression and to eventually re-imagine brotherhood in a diversifying national context.

WORKS CITED

- Appadurai, A. (2006). *Fear of small numbers: An essay on the geography of anger*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Carretero, M. (2011). *Constructing patriotism: Teaching history and memories in global worlds*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age.
- Freire, P. (2000). *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (30th anniversary edition). London, UK: Bloomsbury.
- Levstik, L. S., & Barton, K. C. (2015). *Doing history: Investigating with children in elementary and middle schools* (5th ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Sen, A. (1999). *Development as freedom*. New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Stradling, R. (2003). *Multiperspectivity in history teaching: A guide for teachers*. Strasbourg, France: Council of Europe. Retrieved from <http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/historyteaching/Source/Notions/Multiperspectivity/MultiperspectivityEnglish.pdf>
- Walzer, M. (2015, June 15). *States and communities*. 2015 Annual Martin Buber Lecture, Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Jerusalem.
- Williams, J. H. (Ed.). (2014). *(Re)Constructing memory: School textbooks and the imagination of the nation*. Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers.

James H. Williams
The George Washington University
Washington, DC, USA

CONTRIBUTORS

Basabi Khan Banerjee, professionally trained as an anthropogeographer, taught at the University of Calcutta before joining the National Council of Educational Research & Training as associate professor. She has been involved in national curriculum design for social sciences, textbook analysis, and authoring of model textbooks. She is an associate faculty member at the Georg Eckert Institute, a visiting professor at Freie Universitaet Berlin, and on the faculty of the University of Hannover.

Teresa Barnes, associate professor of history and gender/women's studies at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, lived in Zimbabwe and South Africa for 25 years and holds master's and doctoral degrees in African economic history from the University of Zimbabwe. Her current research focuses on educational histories in southern Africa.

Sarah Corona Berkin has a Ph.D. in social communication and is professor and director of the Ph.D. program in education at the University of Guadalajara, Mexico. Her published work has concentrated on the relationship between the media, citizenship, and public education. She has also published books and articles on horizontal methodologies for social sciences and cultural studies.

Wendy D. Bokhorst-Heng is an associate professor of education at Crandall University, Canada. Her research concerns language policy/ideology and national identity within the broader paradigm of comparative education, in Singapore and, more recently, New Brunswick, Canada. She has held academic positions in China (British Council), Singapore (Centre for Research in Pedagogy and Practice, National Institute of Education), and the USA (director of the International Training and Education Program, American University).

Carolyn A. Brown (deceased) was an associate professor of educational leadership in the Graduate School of Education at Fordham University. Dr. Brown also was an assistant professor of educational leadership and policy at George Washington University and lecturer in teacher education at California State University, Dominguez Hills. Dr. Brown earned her Ph.D. in education from the University of California, Los Angeles in 2004.

Ronald E. Butchart, distinguished research professor emeritus at the University of Georgia, specializes in U.S. social history, particularly the history of African American education and the history of teachers and teaching. His most recent

CONTRIBUTORS

publication is *Schooling the Freed People: Teaching, Learning, and the Struggle for Black Freedom, 1861–1876*.

Ian Davies is deputy head of the Department of Education, director of the Graduate School of Education, and director of the Centre for Research on Education and Social Justice at the University of York, UK. He is a visiting professor at the Hong Kong Institute of Education.

Marged H. Dudek, M.Ed., teaches high school in central Texas and conducts educational research and evaluation with Oz Educational Consulting. Her scholarship and practice focus on differentiated instruction in rural settings.

Laura C. Engel is an assistant professor of international education and international affairs at George Washington University in Washington, DC. Her research in international and comparative education focuses on two areas: (1) global education policy trends affecting education policy in subnational and national spaces; and (2) education, migration, and citizenship.

Karen Eppley is an associate professor of education at Penn State University. Her research interest is at the intersection of literacy education and rural education. Her work explores ideas around contextually relevant teacher preparation, federal educational policy, textual representations of rurality, and rural education as a matter of social justice.

Aimee Howley, recently retired from Ohio University's Patton College of Education, now works as an educational consultant for WordFarmers Associates. She also serves as interim chair of the Ohio Deans Compact on Exceptional Children. She continues to investigate rural schools and communities, school reform, and inclusive educational practice.

Adeline Koh is associate professor of postcolonial literature at Stockton University. She works on the intersections of race, postcolonial studies, digital humanities, and literature. Her monograph *Critical Histories of the Digital Humanities: Media, Science, Pedagogy* is currently under contract with Northwestern University Press.

Joe Tin-Yau Lo is the acting director of the General Education Office and adjunct associate professor of the Department of Social Sciences at the Hong Kong Institute of Education. His research foci include citizenship education, comparative education, Hong Kong studies, and China studies.

Kevin R. McClure is an assistant professor of higher education in the Watson College of Education at the University of North Carolina Wilmington. He researches

and teaches education finance, policy, and governance in the United States and other national and supranational contexts.

Claudia Messina is lecturer in the department of Developmental and Educational Psychology of the Faculty of Teacher Training and Education at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain. She teaches and coordinates the general subject Learning and Personality Development of the curriculum for Preschool and Primary School Studies.

Christine Monaghan is a postdoctoral scholar of international education in the Department of the Humanities and Social Sciences at New York University's Steinhardt School of Education. Her research focuses on education in emergencies, with a specific focus on refugee education, as well as human rights education.

Travis Nesbitt spent 6 years studying and working in France, earning a master's degree from Sciences Po Paris. He completed his Ph.D. in international and comparative education at the University of California, Los Angeles and currently serves as the dean of students and director of education abroad at the Archer School for Girls in Los Angeles.

Munyaradzi Nyakudya is a lecturer in, and has served as head of, the history department at the University of Zimbabwe. He has wide experience in teaching and examining history in the school system and tertiary institutions in Zimbabwe. He has published in the fields of education, governance, and regional peace and security studies.

Government Christopher Phiri (deceased) was a lecturer in the economic history department at the University of Zimbabwe, with vast experience in high school teaching. At the time of his untimely death in 2013, he was assisting with the establishment of an economic history department at the University of Malawi.

Val Rust is professor emeritus in the Division of Social Sciences and Comparative Education at the University of California, Los Angeles. He is a past president of the Comparative and International Education Society and served as director of both UCLA's Education Abroad Program and Center for International and Development Education. He earned his Ph.D. from the University of Michigan.

Sandra J. Schmidt is an assistant professor in the Program in Social Studies at Teachers College, Columbia University. Her research brings spatial thinking into social studies education. She explores how young people navigate and make meaning of everyday spaces. She focuses on the gendered and sexualized symbols in space.

CONTRIBUTORS

Ali Fuad Selvi is an assistant professor in the Teaching English as a Foreign Language Program at Middle East Technical University, Northern Cyprus Campus. His research focuses on English as an international language and its implications for teaching and learning, teacher education, and policy/planning, as well as equity and professionalism in English language teaching.

Carol Anne Spreen is an associate professor of international education in the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences at New York University's Steinhardt School of Education and a visiting professor at the University of Johannesburg. Her research focuses on political and sociocultural studies of educational change, particularly the influences of globalization and corporate privatization on teaching and learning.

Georg Stöber has a doctorate in geography and extensive research experience in various social-geographical topics in Iran, Morocco, Pakistan, and other countries. He recently retired as head of the Textbook and Society Department of the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig, Germany. His research focuses on textbooks and conflicts in regions including South Asia.

Vanita Sundaram is senior lecturer in education at the University of York. Her research broadly covers gender and education, focusing more specifically on violence prevention work in schools; addressing issues of gender, sexuality, and plurality in sex and relationship education; tackling everyday sexism through education across the lifecourse; and 'lad cultures' in higher education.

James H. Williams holds the UNESCO Chair in International Education for Development at The George Washington University. He is editor of this series and author of numerous books and articles on educational development. He has worked in 29 countries in Asia and Africa and is interested in the ways education relates to larger social issues of health, economic growth, social cohesion, and conflict.

Bedrettin Yazan is an assistant professor in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa. His research interests include second-language teacher learning and identity, teaching English as an international language, language policy and planning, and collaboration between mainstream and ESL teachers.

INDEX

- A**
- Abolition (also abolitionism, abolition of slavery, abolitionist), 75, 87, 228
- Aboriginal, 129
- Academic historiography, 328, 329.
See also Patriotic history
- Acoustic contamination, 254
- Active citizenship, 211, 215, 272, 286
- Activism, 49, 61, 125, 128
- Adoption, 18, 50, 53, 127, 135, 202, 204, 327
- Advice to Freedmen, 75, 78, 83
- Afghanistan, 149
- African American, 62, 73–76, 78, 82–84, 86–88, 129, 357
- African Civilization Society, 75, 76, 80
- African Renaissance, 200
- African Union-Patriotic Front, 21, 323
- Agrarian, 34, 99, 102, 103, 113, 114
- Algeria, 220, 229, 230, 233
- Algerian war, 229
- Alien, 163, 169n17, 182, 183, 185, 192, 193, 195, 196n1
- Alsations, 232
- America, 1, 13, 54, 63, 69, 93, 95, 101, 106, 108, 109, 215, 350
- American Freedmen's Union Commission, 87
- American history textbooks, 49, 96, 226. See also U.S. history textbooks
- American Indian, 9, 19, 49–70, 98, 357
- American Indian Movement (AIM), 60, 61, 68
- culture, 50, 63, 68, 69
- heroes, 49, 67, 68
- protest, 60
- Americanization, 231
- American Textbook Council (ATC), 53, 54
- American Tract Society, 75–78, 82, 85, 88n4
- Analysis, vii, viii, 9, 13, 15, 17–21, 30, 50, 52, 55, 56, 58, 61, 64, 68, 76–78, 93, 95–101, 103, 106, 112, 113, 126–130, 132, 135, 136, 145, 184–193, 195, 203, 206, 207, 213, 214, 223–226, 231, 233, 239, 240, 244, 248, 249, 251, 257, 265–268, 273, 280, 286, 287, 296, 297, 302, 306–316, 328, 331, 338n17, 346–349, 351, 357, 363
- comparative, 21, 206, 239, 240
- content, 18, 19, 52, 55, 61, 95, 123, 128–130, 132, 226
- critical discourse, 96, 99, 100, 296, 304–305
- discourse, 21, 318
- historical, 31, 76, 206, 226
- narrative, 17, 113
- sociolinguistic, 304
- textual, 224, 266, 267
- Anglo-Dutch treaties, 192
- Anglophone, 177–196
- Anti-immigrant, 202, 219, 345, 348
- Apartheid, 11, 20, 199, 201–206, 209–215
- Appalachia (also Appalachian Mountains, Appalachian farmer, Appalachians), 60, 94, 98, 99, 108
- Armenian catholicos, 315
- Armenians, 296, 308, 309, 312–316

INDEX

- Asia, 7, 177–196, 202, 208, 215, 220, 229–231, 243, 272, 283, 311, 350
Asia-Pacific region, 264
South, 146, 148, 150, 153–156, 158, 168n15, 243
Southeast, 11, 177, 270, 271, 281
Assessment, 10, 158, 204, 206, 307, 363
Assimilation (also assimilationist), 4, 8, 10–13, 18, 32, 35, 59, 135, 219, 220, 222, 223, 230, 272, 355, 360
Association for Citizenship Teaching, 247
Asylum, ix, 5, 202
Australia, 12, 121, 221
Authoritarian state, 245, 324, 338n8
Azad Kashmir, 147
- B**
Balkans, 7, 297, 309
Bangladesh, 143, 147–149, 153, 168n11
Bantu, 204
Basques, 232, 244
Battle of Wounded Knee, 66
Batu pele, 204
Bharat, 19, 20, 121, 143–153, 166, 355
Bhutan, 149
Bilingual education, 35, 264, 273, 275
Black, 11, 44, 73–88, 123, 134, 168n6, 203, 204, 207, 213, 307, 324, 328, 358
Black economic empowerment, 324
Botswana, 202
Bretons, 232
Britain, 84, 181, 196n2, 242, 243, 297, 345
British, 10, 56, 59, 64–67, 106, 128, 155, 156, 158–160, 162, 166, 170n34, n36, n38, 229, 242, 244, 264, 268, 289n1
Britishness, 255
culture, 186, 188, 242
- India, 143, 153, 154, 178, 195
Malaya, Malayan, 10, 11, 19, 20, 177–196, 357, 358
Protectorate, 193
Brotherhood, 15, 20, 147, 219–234, 357, 364, 365
Brunei, 177, 182
Bulgarian exarch, 315
Bullying, 135, 255, 360
Bureau of Indian Affairs, 59
Burma, 149, 177
- C**
Cabinet Mission of 1946, 162
Campesino, 9, 33, 34, 42, 45
Canada, 12, 16, 19, 121–123, 125–130, 132–136, 358, 359
Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 122, 126, 130, 131
Civil Marriage Act, 128, 130, 131
Criminal Law of 1969, 130
Elliott Trudeau, 131
Human Rights Act, 130
Notwithstanding clause, 130
Caribbean, 75, 178, 196
Catholic Church, 244, 246
Catholics in Annam, 230
Chandra, 150, 160, 161, 169n28
Cheyenne village, 65
China (also Chinese, Chineseness), 4, 13, 149, 182, 183, 187–190, 193, 195, 196n1, 263, 264, 268, 270, 272, 278–281, 283, 287, 289n1, 358, 359
Christian fundamentalism, 108
Church, 85, 110, 180, 181, 230, 243, 244, 246
Citizenship, ix, 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 20, 21, 54, 58, 78, 112, 114, 124, 125, 128, 129, 132–136, 164, 199–215, 219, 221, 226, 239–258, 265–269, 272, 273,

- 283, 284, 286–288, 296, 301,
302, 306, 318, 338n8, 346, 347,
349–351, 358
civic, 135
cosmopolitan, 11
cultural, 124, 125, 135
global, 14, 114, 284, 302, 350–351
Citizenship Advisory Group, 245, 246
Citizenship Foundation, 247
Civic education, 20, 199–215, 225, 246,
257, 269, 281, 357, 358
Civil War, 58, 74, 76, 334, 358
 United States, American Civil War,
 73, 359
Coding schemes, 129, 265
Collectivism, 231
Colonial rule, 143, 177, 184, 323, 324
Colonists (also colonization), 7, 20,
58, 103, 106, 109, 182, 195, 196,
208, 220, 224, 228–230, 331, 332
Coloreds, 200
Communautarisme (placing of group
 affiliations above national
 affiliations), 234, 365
Communitarian (also
 communitarianism), 122, 125,
126, 245, 273
Comparative analysis, vii, 1, 21, 239
 (also comparative investigation).
 See also Analysis
Comparative education, 240, 263, 265
Compulsory education, 51, 59, 248,
249, 273, 275
Comte, 180
Congo, 202, 208
Conservative evangelicals, 87
Constructivism (also constructivist
 approaches), 303, 317
Contentidos transversales, 245
Corruption, 93, 113, 207, 327, 338n6
Cosmopolitanism, 8, 14, 15, 18, 234,
350, 351, 355, 363
Council of Europe, 247, 249, 350
Coup D'état, 298, 300, 301
Criminalization, 135
Criollos, 28
Critical-linguistic union, 304
Critical pluralism, 14, 16
Critical race theory, 69, 223
Critical theory, 51, 223, 304
- D**
Dawes Act, 58–60
Decentralization, 221, 244, 264
Decentralized adoption, 50
Decolonization, 3–5, 20, 220, 228–230
Delhi, 148
Democracy, ix, 54, 78, 106, 113–115,
116n12, 134, 153, 169n30, n31,
170n40, 199–201, 203, 204, 207,
209–212, 214, 215, 239, 248,
252, 253, 255, 273, 288, 325,
329, 338n6
Democratization, 302, 328, 331
Demographic shifts, 93, 220
Denationalization, 6
Deterritorialization, 6
Devolution, 7, 240, 244
Differentialist, 8, 11, 12, 355
Disability (also people with
 disabilities), 205, 254
Domesticity, ideology of, 80
Dual Mandate, 177
Durkheim, 180
Dutch, 11, 192, 193
- E**
East Asia, 271
Economic development, 28, 36, 150,
232, 264, 302
Economic Structural Adjustment
 Programme, 325, 332, 334. See
 also International Monetary Fund
Egalitarian (also egalitarianism), 102,
105, 106
Enculturation, 51

INDEX

- England (also English), 13, 20, 39, 41, 93, 177–196, 204, 220, 226, 228, 239–258, 264, 304, 312, 314, 325, 345, 357, 358
- Enlightenment thinkers, 228
- Entente Powers, 297
- Epistemology, 184, 220, 225, 362
- Ethiopia, 202
- Ethnic, 1–6, 8–13, 29, 36, 40, 41, 44, 45, 50, 69, 73, 150, 179, 182, 183, 189, 200, 201, 203, 204, 213, 214, 219–221, 223, 225, 226, 232, 233, 240, 241, 243, 254, 255, 264, 268, 272, 278, 279, 281, 283, 307, 312–314, 317, 324, 356, 363
- Ethnic nationalism, 5
- Ethnocentrism, 200
- Ethnocide, 8, 9, 12, 18, 19, 21n1, 355
- European consciousness, 318
- European integration, 224
- Europeanization, 345
- European Union, 5, 20, 21, 221, 240, 252, 295, 298, 302, 327, 345, 349
- Evolution, 20, 108, 220, 224, 233, 252, 364
- F**
- First Chimurenga, 331, 332
- First Indians, 50
- Fracture sociale (social inequalities), 228
- France, 10, 19, 20, 121, 219–234, 297, 345, 358, 364
- Franchise, 78
- Franco, 245
- Francophone, 129
- Frankfurt school, 223, 304
- Franks, 183, 220
- Fraternité (also patrie), 219, 222
- Free market, 15
- Free textbooks, 29, 30, 37, 38, 42, 43, 45, 46n3
- French Métropole (France plus Corsica), 220, 228
- Frenchness, 15, 219, 230, 234, 357, 365
- French Revolution, 226–228
- Frontiersmen, 95, 99, 105
- G**
- Gauls, 220
- Gay ban, 135
- Gender equity, 303, 335, 336
- Genocide, 182, 315, 316
- German (also Germans, Germany), 4, 10, 220, 224, 239, 297, 349
- Ghana, 178
- Ghettoization of banlieues, 228
- Gilgit Agency, 152, 153
- Globalization, 1–8, 17, 19, 40, 113, 114, 116n12, 178, 179, 220, 224, 263, 267, 268, 272, 295, 296, 305, 306, 346–349, 356, 357
- Government of National Unity, 327
- Greece (also Greeks), 226, 296–298, 309, 310, 312–316, 345, 346
- H**
- Haiti, 78, 79
- Hate crimes, 126
- Hegemony, 17, 35, 36, 46, 86, 93, 96, 296, 305, 316–318, 336
- Heritage, 2, 27, 28, 44, 100, 144, 153, 169n17, 207, 228, 270, 279
- Heroes, 13, 19, 35, 46n6, 49, 67, 68, 148, 155, 168n9, n14
- Hillbillies, 94
- Hindi, 148, 155
- Hindu, 143, 148, 149, 151, 154–167, 168n6, n14, n15, 169n17, 170n34, n36, n38, n41, n43, n44, 171n48, n49, n55, n56
- Hinduism, 155, 170n35
- Historia General and Historia Patria, 76
- Historical analysis, 31, 76, 206
- HIV/AIDS, 130, 205, 326, 327

- Ho Chi Minh, 230
 Holocaust, 128, 130
 Homonormative, 125
 Homophobia, 125, 133
 Homosexuality, 121, 126, 131
 Hong Kong, 13, 18, 21, 178, 263–289, 358, 359
 Housing, 11, 67, 94, 135, 200, 232, 264
 Huicholes, 30, 44–46
 Human dignity, 204, 356
 Human Rights Commission, 214
- I**
- Identity, vii–ix, 1–21, 27–29, 37, 41, 44, 50, 73–88, 102, 112–114, 122–125, 131, 135, 149, 152, 153, 161, 164–167, 170n35, 180, 184, 186, 199–215, 219, 221, 222, 225, 228, 231–234, 240, 243, 244, 246, 248, 254–256, 263–289, 295, 296, 299, 300, 305, 306, 312–314, 316–318, 337, 345–348, 350, 351, 355–357, 361–365
 civic, 2, 3, 122, 125
 collective, ix, 1, 4, 8, 9, 11, 13–15, 17, 18, 123, 234, 300, 362
 colonial, 27
 cosmopolitan, 11, 15
 cultural, 3, 11, 255
 ethnic group, 50
 fluid, 347, 351
 political, 125
 racial, 214
- Identity construction, 88n2
 Identity formation, 14
 Identity politics, 167, 347
 Identity, politics of, 266, 267
 Ideology, 3, 4, 8, 10, 12, 16–21, 29, 33, 37, 78, 80, 95, 96, 102, 114, 115, 122, 154, 168n13, 177–181, 184–186, 201, 206, 208, 213, 223, 225, 227, 246, 253, 300, 317
 social, 135
 Ideology, construction of, 95
 Immigration, 5, 17, 20, 182, 219–221, 223, 224, 231, 232, 240–244, 246, 249, 250, 254, 255, 275, 345, 347, 351, 356, 357
 India, 19, 20, 121, 143–171, 178, 182, 195, 196, 355
 Indian Independence Act, 158, 159
 National Congress, 154, 156, 160, 170n36
 National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT), 144, 145, 149, 151, 153, 160, 161, 165–167, 170n35, 171n56
 Indians (American), 9, 19, 49–70, 98, 357
 Rights movement, 68
 Indigenous, viii, 6, 9–11, 13, 18, 19, 27–46, 123, 190, 201, 207, 220, 357, 361
 communities, 32–36, 42
 languages, 28, 30, 35, 36, 39–41, 46n1
 Indirect rule, 177, 178, 182, 195
 Individualism (also Individualistic society), 106, 112, 133, 222, 231, 239, 270, 276, 287
 Indonesia, 192
 Insurrectionists, 79
 Integration, 7, 8, 11, 12, 29, 30, 35, 145, 203, 215, 219–221, 223, 224, 228, 231–233, 242, 243, 269, 270, 272, 280, 287, 301, 317
 Intercultural education, 41–43
 Intergenerational dialogue, 230
 International conventions, 202, 252
 International Monetary Fund, 325
 Interpellation, 180, 181, 184–187, 191, 195
 Islam, 147–149, 153, 155, 156, 158, 164, 165, 167, 168n13, 169n30, 170n35, 228, 230, 297–300

INDEX

Isomorphic block, 306
Israel, 254

J

Jammu and Kashmir, 146, 152, 153,
167n5, 169n21
Japan, 10, 95, 263
Java, 192, 193
John Freeman and His Family, 75, 81,
83, 84, 86

K

Kashmir, 143, 145–152, 168n11,
169n20
Kemalism (also Kemalist principles),
11, 296, 297, 299–301, 306, 309,
310, 312, 313, 318
Keynesian welfare, 349
Korea, 10, 263
Kris, 193, 194
Kurds, 296, 313

L

Labor market, 74, 303
Laissez-faire, 11, 178, 196
Land bridge theory, 63, 69
Land Designation Act, 334
Land redistribution, 334
Lesbian, 130, 131
Lesotho, 202
LGBQ, 16, 19, 121–136, 356, 357, 359
Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité (Liberty,
Equality, Brotherhood), 219
Liberty, 41, 44, 78, 79, 86
Libro Nacional de Lecto-Escritura, 32
Lumumba, 208

M

Maghreb, 220
Magnons, 220
Malacca, 182, 192
Malawi, 202

Malay, 10, 11, 19, 20, 177–196, 264,
278, 357, 358
 Federated Malay States, 182, 196n3
Malaysia, 6, 177, 179, 182, 196, 196n1,
264
Maldives, 149
Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar, 157
Maximato period, 33, 39, 46n4
Mayan, 33, 36, 38, 39, 45
Meritocracy, 13, 268, 278, 279
Mestiza (also mestizaje, mestizo,
mestizos), 27–31, 33, 36, 42, 44,
46
Mexicanidad, 19, 27, 28, 35, 36, 41,
361
Mexican Revolution, 28
Middle East, 208, 297
Migration, 4, 11, 60, 69, 182, 200, 202,
214, 215, 231, 241, 300
Missionary, 62, 74, 75, 77, 229, 230
Mississippi, 59, 110
Morgan Tsvangirai, 326, 327, 338n9,
n10
Morle-Minto Act of 1909, 160
Morocco, 220, 241
Motherland, 308, 309, 311, 312, 314,
361
Movement for Democratic Change,
323, 326, 327, 334, 338n9, n10
Mozambique, 202, 255
Multicultural, multiculturalism, 2, 3, 5,
8, 10, 18, 29, 51, 52, 128–134,
199, 200, 221, 223, 228, 234,
242–244, 255, 257, 264, 269,
272, 276, 278–281, 288, 315
 conservative, 12, 13, 355
 critical, 3, 8, 12, 15, 16, 355
 liberal, 12–14, 355
Multinational corporations, 114
Multiple intelligences, 303
Multiscalar educational governance,
306

- Muslim League, 154, 156, 158–163, 171n48, n55
- Muslims, 7, 143, 148, 149, 151, 153–166, 168n14, 170n34, n36, n39, n41, n43, 171n44, n49, n56, 242, 243, 254, 299, 309, 315
- Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, 295, 297, 307–310
- Myanmar, 149
- N**
- Napoleon, 79, 192, 230
- Narrative analysis, 17, 113
- Nationalist independence movements, 297
- National security discourse, 301
- Native American (also indigenous population), 29, 33, 38, 40, 42, 50, 55, 61–63, 66, 70n1, 129.
See also First Nations, American Indians
- Nelson Mandela, 200, 212
- Neocolonialism, 231
- Neoliberal, 15, 221, 241, 257
- Nepal, 149
- Netherlands, 11, 121
- New Deal, 60, 62
- New Labour, 245
- New World, 60, 227
- Nigeria, 121, 177, 202
- Niggers, 86
- Niqabs/burqas, 219
- Nixon program, 60
- Normativity, 77
- North Africa, 220, 297
- North America, 18
- O**
- Operation Murambatsvina, 326
- P**
- Pakistan, Pakistanis, 19, 20, 143–171, 243, 254, 355, 359
- Palimpsest, 1–21
- Pangkor Engagement Treaty of 1874, 177
- Partition, 20, 143, 145, 149, 153–167, 170n44
- Patriotic history, 21, 23, 329, 330, 333, 334, 336, 337, 359
- Peninsulares, 28
- Pillarization, 11
- Pioneers, 100–102, 105, 106
- Plain Counsels for Freedmen, 75, 78
- Popular Party (also Partido Popular), 244, 246, 258, 363
- Populism, 108, 297, 299
- Populist Party, 108
- Portugal, 220
- Positivism, 77
- Post apartheid, 199, 203, 204, 207, 208, 213
- Postwar reconstruction, 324
- Preaccession assistance, 303
- Presentism, 87
- Punjab Textbook Board, 147
- Q**
- Quebec, 136n1
- Queer, 121, 124, 125, 130
- R**
- Raffles, 190–194
- Rainbow Nation, 20, 199–215
- Raymond Williams, 2, 94, 95, 113, 115, 116n8
The Country and the City, 93
- Réalités (French magazine), 232
- Reconstruction, ix, 19, 73, 74, 88n3, 199, 268, 271, 288, 324, 357, 358
- Refugee, 5, 11, 157, 158, 163, 202
- Reproduction theories, 296, 305
- Republic of France, 10, 19, 20, 121, 219–234, 297, 345, 358, 364
- Reservation, 32, 50, 58–61, 69, 160, 280
- Reterritorialization, 349

INDEX

- Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS), 204, 205, 207, 210
- Rights, 2–4, 6, 21, 28, 55, 58, 60, 61, 68, 76, 78, 114, 121, 122, 124–135, 155, 199–205, 207–215, 219, 221, 222, 226, 228, 230, 234, 239, 241, 246, 248, 249, 252, 256, 266, 267, 271, 273–276, 284, 286, 302, 303, 309, 311, 330, 332, 333, 335, 336, 338n8, 347, 350, 363, 364
- Roman Catholicism, 230
- Romania, 230, 241
- Romans, 220, 230, 241
- Rurality, representation of, 93, 99, 112, 113, 115
- Russia, 135, 314–316, 349
- Rwanda, 182
- S**
- Same-sex marriage, 125, 126, 130–132
- Sand Creek Massacre, 65
- Sans-culottes, 222
- Scale theories, 296, 305, 306
- Seconde, première, and terminale (sophomore, junior, and senior in France), 224–226, 229
- Secularism, 153, 228, 297, 299, 300
- Segregated schools, 32
- Segregation, 8, 11, 12, 18, 132, 133, 203, 242, 355
- Separatism, 11, 179, 183
- Sequential typology, 105
- Settlers, 58, 60–62, 64–68, 98, 103, 105, 106, 109–111, 328, 331, 334
- Sexism, 133, 204
- Sexual orientation, 130–132, 201
- Shiite, 165
- Siam, 193
- Simla Agreement, 151, 169n18
- Singapore, 12, 13, 18, 21, 177, 179, 182, 190–194, 196, 263–289, 358, 359
- Singaporeanization, 276
- Socialism (also Socialist government, Socialist Party), 33–35, 164, 244, 246
- Socialist education, 33–35
- Society, Work, and Development Institute (SWDI), 203
- Somalia, 202
- Songkok, 186
- SOS Racisme, 233
- South Africa, 11, 19, 20, 121, 199–215, 326–327, 331, 338n3, 339n22, 355, 358, 359, 363
- Southern states (in the U.S.), 73, 74
- Soviet, 298
- Spain, Spanish, 13, 20, 28, 220, 239–258, 346, 349, 351, 357, 358, 363
- Sri Lanka, 149
- Statal contexts, 240
- State School Council, 246
- Statism, 297, 299
- Straits Settlements, 179, 182, 196n3, n4
- Student-centered curriculum and pedagogical approaches, 286, 296, 303, 304, 308
- Suffrage, 74, 128, 132, 133
- Sunni (also Sunni Islam), 165, 297
- Swaziland, 202
- Sweden, 12
- Syria, 5, 230, 314–316
- T**
- Tamil Nadu Textbook Corporation, 145
- Temperance, 80, 82, 83
- Terrorism, 151, 243, 258
- Textbook analysis, 207, 249, 265, 266, 268, 273, 286, 287, 306–316, 349
- Textbook discourses, 305
- Textbook policies, 30
- Thabo Mbeki, 200, 213, 326, 327
- Thatcher government, 245
- Third Estate, 227, 234n1

INDEX

- Thomas Jefferson, 62, 99, 106
 Tirisano, 204
 Totalitarian, 73, 211
 Toussaint L'Ouverture, White planters,
 78, 79, 86
 Trail of Tears, 66
 Training and Development Agency for
 Schools, citizED, 247
 Tribe (American Indian), 70
 Cherokee, 62
 Cheyenne, 65
 Delaware, 60, 66
 Iroquois, 60, 61
 Sioux, 65
 Turkey, 21, 295–318
 Turkish-Islamic Synthesis, 300, 301
 Turkishness, 299, 312, 313, 316
 Two Nation Theory, 121, 126, 149,
 159–162, 170n34, 171n46, 213
- U**
 U.S. history textbooks, 225, 226
 Uganda, 121, 135
 United States, 4, 9, 10, 13, 19, 50, 51,
 53, 54, 58, 65, 68–70, 73, 88n1,
 94, 95, 98, 101, 103, 104, 108,
 114, 121, 122, 126, 127, 225, 226,
 228
 Bill of Rights, 135
 Reconstruction, 73, 74, 357, 358
 Stonewall, 128, 130, 131
 Universal Declaration of Human
 Rights, 252, 256
 Urdu, 148, 155, 168n7, n10
- V**
 Vietnam, 256
 Vikings, 220
- W**
 Wales, 242, 243
 White supremacy, 74, 79, 328
 Whiteness, construction of, 15, 234,
 365
 Wixáritari Indians, 27
- Z**
 Zimbabwe, 6, 202, 323–339
 patriotic history, 21, 323, 324, 329,
 330, 333, 334, 336, 337, 359