

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

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



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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](http://www.richardbickelphotography.com))

*Printed on acid-free paper*

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## 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

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,

*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 trans-formation 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.

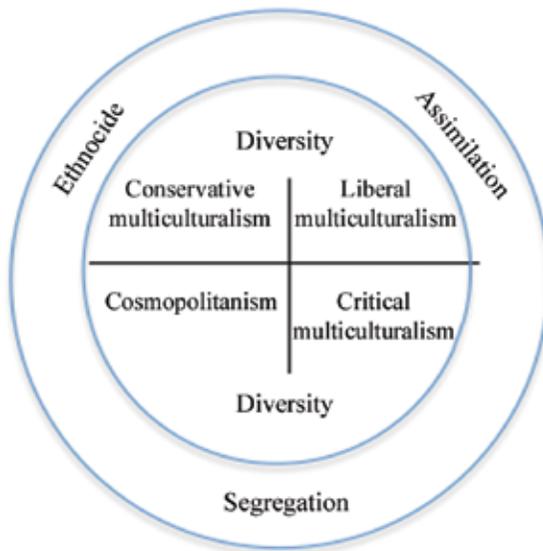


Figure 1. Responses to diversity

*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”<sup>1</sup> (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 bazaar 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 foreword 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.

*Spreen 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

<sup>1</sup> 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.

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## **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.<sup>1</sup> 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 multilinear 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

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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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

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* period<sup>4</sup> (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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> The remaining characters are *campesinos*, agrarian activists, and members of farm collectives. There are no Indians.

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):<sup>7</sup>

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 *priista* 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

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 Tzetzalt-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 Party<sup>8</sup> 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 (Latapi 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

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.<sup>9</sup> 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' indigeness. 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

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

- <sup>1</sup> Figures from the 2010 census explain that indigenous inhabitants comprise speakers of an indigenous language over 5 years of age.
- <sup>2</sup> This “generation” of books was in use from 2000 to 2012. In 2014 they were moderately revised. New books are planned for 2017–2018.
- <sup>3</sup> 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.
- <sup>4</sup> 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.”
- <sup>5</sup> 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).
- <sup>6</sup> 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.
- <sup>7</sup> 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.
- <sup>8</sup> 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.
- <sup>9</sup> 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.

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