# REPRESENTATION OF
## MINORITIES IN TEXTBOOKS

### INTERNATIONAL COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES

## EDITORS

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M. AYAZ NASEEM, ADEELA ARSHAD-AYAZ AND JESÚS RODRÍGUEZ RODRÍGUEZ

Beyond the initial socialization at home textbooks are often the first point of contact for the children to the outside world. Few, if any, educational and pedagogical materials shape and condition the worldviews, personalities, and identities of young pupil citizens than the textbooks used in schools and beyond. In some societal and national contexts, textbooks are cultural icons that come second only to religious texts. They are used as instruments of nation-building, ideological control, and at times for outright indoctrination depending on the national, social, and cultural contexts. Textbooks in themselves are shaped in the intersections of national/global demands of the capital (economy) and the dynamic demands of social cohesion and nation building. It is, thus, not surprising that most of the states jealously guard the contents of the textbooks and maintain strict control over the design and production. On the other hand, publishing houses view textbooks as any other profit making activity. Regardless whether states maintain strict control over the content and design of the textbooks or take a relatively laisser faire approach to them, textbooks are without a doubt an essential part of what Louis Althusser (1971) calls the ideological state apparatus.

Bush and Saltarelli's conceptualization of two faces of education (2000) can equally be applied to textbooks. They can be used to produce social harmony and peace on one hand and on the other can be (and have been) used to sow seeds of distrust, and produce and exacerbate conflict (Naseem and Stober, 2015). For example, textbooks produced in Sri Lanka under the Sinhala dominated governments in the 1970s sowed the seeds of discord that in combination with many other factors resulted in feelings of mis/under-representation among the Tamils that in turn resulted in a long drawn civil war (Hayes, 2002). The inclusion of militaristic and nationalistic content in textbooks and curricula in Pakistan and Afghanistan in the decades of 1980s and 1990s created militarized citizenry in both countries. These changes played a major role in shaping conflicts in South-Central Asia, and in shaping the geo-political and strategic policies of the US, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. The conflict dynamics in this region have affected much of the world in many ways (Naseem, 2009). Similarly, the exclusionary content in religious studies and Pakistan studies textbooks in the Gilgit-Baltistan region (disputed between India and Pakistan) resulted in the alienation of the Shi'ite minority in the region. The violence that ensued led to the loss of life and property in an otherwise serene region and left deep scars on the social fabric of the society (Stober, 2007;

Naseem, in press). In contrast, textbooks produced under the Franco-German text-book project spearheaded by the Georg Eckert Institute has resulted in calming down tensions aggregated over a very long period and a tumultuous history of enmity and violence.

Both the negative and the positive aspects of textbooks, namely production and/or exacerbation of conflict and violence, and reduction of tensions tie into issues of representation and misrepresentation. The former, in this case, refers to how certain individuals, groups, and nations are represented in the textbooks. Representation, it can be argued, are never neutral. They are laden with power dynamics. Representations in textbooks, in this sense, are manifestations of power that one group has to 'name', to interpellate another person or group. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2008, p.44) puts it so eloquently and succinctly,

> Systems of classification and representation enable different traditions or fragments of tradition to be retrieved and reformulated in different contexts as discourses and then to be played out in systems of power and domination, with real material consequences for colonized [represented/interpellated] people (Parenthesis ours).

Through representations people are classified into, for example, citizens, and non-citizens with each category having consequences for the extent to which they are (or are not) accorded rights, privileges, and share in material, social, political, and psychological resources.

Representations are not limited to interpellation but intrinsically work through processes of inclusion and exclusion. Who becomes a part of the national/global narrative and who does not and in what way is determined by representation through the mechanism of inclusion and exclusion. For example, as Naseem (2010) demonstrates, in the case of textbooks in Pakistan the large-scale exclusion of minorities from the national/societal narrative constructed by the textbooks is explicit and brazen. An analysis of the social studies and language textbooks shows that the textbooks create an impression of a homogeneous society in which there are no minorities at all. They are absent, silent, and thus inconsequential. Similarly, women in Pakistani textbooks are excluded visually i.e. they are disproportionately represented in the graphics and pictures that accompany the narratives in the textbooks. Even when they make an appearance in the textbooks, they are represented in gender specific patriarchal ways. On the other hand, the textbooks are replete with images of men in authority positions thus 'articulating' them as the real power holders in the society. The accompanying text has an over-representation of military figures, both from early Islamic history and from three wars between India and Pakistan (Naseem, 2010). The texts, in this sense, define what is normal. They establish the measurement standards, hierarchies, and regulations around the idea of what Ball (1990) calls the distributionary statistical norm within a given population. An impression of a broad societal consensus is

thus constructed, and large strata of society do not question this. The textbooks as ideological state apparatus become a key site for normalizing the authority of one group (military as an elite group, profession, and way of thinking) while also normalizing the rest as the 'other'. This 'other' need not only be a person, a group, or a rival nation. Whole knowledge systems and ways of knowing, thinking, doing, and being are 'othered.' Such practices in 'othering' secure the assertive identity of the self through stigmatization of the 'other'; the 'us' and 'them' come into being ideologically, racially, in terms of class divisions, and in terms of gender. Though convenient, 'othering' might be to create a sense of homogeneity (and superiority) of the dominant group (the self), it has an inherent fragility, as it must constantly be fed the illusionary inferiority of the 'other'. It is, thus, constantly at the risk of being discredited.

Chapters in this volume examine, analyze and address the role that textbooks play in representing minorities in various national, cultural, educational, and societal contexts. Cognizant of the two faces of education (and textbooks) the collective intent of the contributors is not to demonize textbooks as an instrument of control and ideological state apparatus. The collective intent instead is to deconstruct and make visible the mechanism through which textbooks, as important part of educational discourses might become the ideological state apparatus. Contributions to this volume also aim to draw evidence internationally from both developing and the developed countries in order to provide a comparative, wholesome perspective. The geographical scope of the volume includes contexts as diverse as Canada, Brazil, Australia, South Africa, Columbia, Norway, Iran, and Spain.

In the first chapter of the volume, Arshad-Ayaz analyzes the representations of First Nations in history and citizenship textbooks in the province of Quebec in Canada to argue that First Nations are largely absent from the narrative of the civilizational evolution of the world. Arshad-Ayaz argues that there are four ways in which the First Nations are represented in history and citizenship textbooks in Quebec: First Nations belong to another time— as a relic of the past; in terms of the 'Aboriginal problem,' essentialized proximity with nature; and essentialized spirituality. The textbooks show negative aspects among the First Nations without any explanation of the causes. Also, there is no mention of colonization, assimilation processes by the government and why the land became that of Canada. Yet, textbook gives students questions and projects in the subject of the First Nations imprinting young minds that they are the "problem" and burden of the society. The manner in which the textbooks make representations of the First Nations in Quebec can be seen as 'the ongoing project of colonization' rather than a respectful relationship between equals.

In their submission to the volume, Tânia Braga Garcia, Edilson Chaves and Luciana Braga Garcia examine how the Brazilian textbooks reflect the cultural diversity in historical, geographical, social and economic perspectives as they in-

fluence the students' reality in local context and situations. They argue that despite the vast size and diversity of Brazil, same textbooks are used in all regions of the country, which are approved by the National Program of Textbooks. Although there are changes in last decade about identity, diversity and citizenship, there are still gaps between the goal of constructing a positive image of indigenous, Afro-Brazilian and their representations. The authors argue that the textbooks need to be reviewed in the views of the construction of citizenship, recognition of differences and that there is a lack of effort in order for students to make connections between their experiences and the content presented. They conclude that the evaluation process by National Program of Textbooks needs to address more of the diversity of cultures and social experiences of different groups that comprise the Brazilian Population.

Mike Horsley and Kipi Fifita examine how media discourses articulate both contemporary education in Australia as well as the position of minorities in the educational and citizenship discourses. Taking the case of hugely popular mockumentary "Summer Heights High" the show how misrepresentations of Tongan culture is used to assign meaning to education, what it is to be a teacher, disruptive behaviour, private and public schools and illiteracy as well as social issues such as immigration, class differences, cultural conflict, hegemonic masculinity and stereotypes of Tongans. They argue that the portrayal of Tongans is so public and hegemonic, it blocks out all other views and closes the public space to more accurate and alternative views. They make a strong appeal teachers must acknowledge students cultural assumptions on which the class operates and incorporate traditions and knowledge.

In his analysis of South African textbooks in the post-Apartheid period, Henning Hues explores the ´gap` between textbook intentions and the dominant classroom narratives in order to answer the question: what teachers actually do in class (despite curriculum intentions), how learners react to content and methods, and which forms of interaction takes place? He argues that teachers (and their mostly white audience) are forced to balance between state history and biographical/personal content. This personal and flexible positioning is not departmentally supervised; hence it is a risky feature within the reconciliation process school history is meant to be a part of.

Susanne Knudsen employs the conceptual lens of 'intersectionality' especially in the context of 'whiteness' studies to make a case for the majorities to be observed and studied within socio-cultural categories. She contends that whiteness studies connect majorities to race and ethnicity and question the position of the whites as a "raceless" race, male as a genderless gender and the middle class as a classless class. Through a meticulous analysis of Norwegian textbooks, she unmasks how through the textbooks the narrator's point of views are primarily given to white, upper-class, male in Europe, which place them in a primary posi-

tion. She also shows how Europe and Europeans occupy a privileged position as civilized countries. Gender, ethno-race, class, and nationality together construct Europeans in the position of having power, whereas powerlessness is constructed as genderless, non-white, and (African) working class.

Taking the case of Iranian textbooks in the post-revolution period Leila Semai argues the educational system in Iran often act as the ideological state apparatus to shape religious attitudes and also to create an attitude towards "the religious other" as part of the governments' strategy for creating nationalistic fervor and a sense of unity. Her analysis points out that in Iranian textbooks, the most common features of a biased education is the dichotomous thinking or categorization of "US vs. THEM". Such dichotomous articulation dehumanizes and delegitimizes the "religious other". As a collective thought, this way of thinking becomes "emotional memory" which is especially resilient to change.

Jesús Rodríguez Rodríguez and Mª Montserrat Castro Rodríguez analyze Spanish textbooks to examine relationships between the features and meaning of teaching materials in curricula and the need to address the impact of the migratory population in Spanish textbooks and didactic materials. More specifically they focus on how immigrants are represented in educational materials and how such representations affect the integration (or the lack of it) of immigrant students in schools. With more immigrants, the functions that schools carry out have become more complex. They argue that it is necessary to address students' diversity and the new challenges and difficulties that diversity generates because both immigrant students and local students need to have complementary nature without sacrificing their uniqueness. Finally, they observe that although educational regulation made a commitment to diversity and resources both in terms of quantity and quality, in real life, the government has passed measures that impede this commitment.

Diana Rodríguez-Gómez and Yusuf Sayed carry out a comparative analysis of South African and Colombian textbooks to argue that that despite the removal of the traditional sense of race and racism towards non-euro descendants from textbooks, these notions are still rampant in the textbooks from both countries. The textbooks from South Africa, for example, leave out the races other than "blacks" and "whites" even though there is a population of Indian and Asian descendants within the country. The Columbia textbooks, on the other hand, homogenize and label the groups of Afro-descendants or indigenous population into one group despite the fact that there are identifications of many smaller groups and communities. The authors recommend textbooks have "flexible features in continual evolution and negotiation" that they become a tool for students to engage with their identities and put effort on denaturalizing racism from their daily lives.

Our stance, individually and collectively, in examining and analyzing textbooks and educational materials from a variety of educational is that of an ethi-

cal commitment to and involvement with dynamics of representations both as re-searchers as well as users of textbooks.

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## Acknowledgements

# REPRESENTATIONS OF FIRST NATIONS IN QUEBEC HISTORY AND CITIZENSHIP TEXTBOOKS

ADEELA ARSHAD-AYAZ

In this chapter I examine the representations of First Nations in Quebec textbooks. Specifically, I focus on Panoramas; a two-volume history and citizenship textbook prescribed in Quebec for cycles three and four. My motivation in focusing on the province of Quebec is that while there exists research on representation of First Nations in textbooks prescribed and used in other provinces of Canada (Clark, 2007, Sheffield, 2004), the body of literature dealing with the representations of First Nations in Quebec textbooks is extremely limited. A second motivation to examine the representation of First Nations in Quebec textbooks is that as a part of the teachers' education program in Quebec I have often come across pre-service teachers who either have pre-conceived notions and knowledge about the First Nations or are totally oblivious to them. They tend to think of the First Nations either as a (social) problem or an issue that has been resolved in the past and for which they do not feel responsible. I start with a brief overview of the historical dynamics of the Quebec-First Nations relationship followed by a more recent snapshot of the First Nations in Quebec. After briefly situating myself in the context of my research I analyze the Panoramas for representations that use interpellation, essentialization, and pathologizing to create a master narrative of the First Nations in Quebec.

## QUEBEC-FIRST NATIONS HISTORY

There are eleven First Nations in Quebec. They are divided into 54 communities of varying population sizes belonging to three language groups (Lepage, 2009, p. 69). According to the 2007 census there are a total of 87,251 people of First Nation origins residing in the province of Quebec. Two thirds (74.7%) of these have resident status (those who live on reserves) while one third (25.3%) are non-residents (those not living on reserves). According to an Omnibus survey on perceptions of Quebeckers regarding Aboriginal people commissioned by the Assembly of First Nations of Quebec and Labrador (Leger, 2006) a majority of those surveyed did not have an adequate knowledge of the First Nations in Quebec. 67% of those surveyed said that they did not know the First Nations well enough; 89% of these respondents were Francophone and 78% were in the age group 18-24 years old. Similarly, nearly half of the survey respondents felt that the

First Nations along with different levels of the government are responsible for the socio-economic conditions of the First Nations in Quebec and Labrador (Leger, 2006). Generally, majority of people in Quebec are not aware of the Fist Nations and their plight. In the absence of a well thought out, robust educational initiatives/ programs, hearsay, stereotypes, representations on media and other cultural sources of information are the only source through which the majority of Quebeckers know the First Nations.

It is often argued by scholars, both within and outside Quebec, that the history of Quebec-First Nations relations (before and after the Federation) is not only different (from that of First nations relationship with the rest of Canada) but that it is also unique (Clark, 2007). This difference and uniqueness, it is argued, is also the reason for not including Quebec in wider examinations of the representations of First Nations across Canada. For example, Clark (2007), while justifying the exclusion of Quebec from her Canada wide analysis of the representations of First Nations in Canadian textbooks follows R. Scott Sheffield (2004) to argue that, "the pattern of interaction between French-speaking Canadians and the First Nations has been influenced by a very different historical relationship and a unique intellectual and cultural milieu (p. 84)". The early contact of the French with the First Nations was in the commercial context of fur trade. The commercial contact was soon intrinsically coupled with the proselytizing interest of the French clergy, and then outright colonization. However, a constant theme in French-Aboriginal relations in New France was the French-British rivalry not only in Europe but elsewhere as well. Most relationships and alliances between the French and the First Nations in New France were in the context of the Franco-British competition in the region. While it is true to an extent that the First Nations in New France were treated much better by the French 'explorers' than the British it must be kept in mind that the difference in the way that the two colonial powers engaged with the First Nations is relative. The First Nations/Aboriginals were never really treated as equals in commercial, social or political sense by either of the two colonizing powers. The initial contact between the French explorers is presented to the students as an equal exchange in which the First Nations could obtain "several products previously unknown to them, such as certain cloth, cauldrons and arms" (Panorama I, p.66). Not only does the text ignores to mention the implications of some of these products (such as arms) for the First Nations it also omits the social consequences of products such as arms and alcohol for the First Nations. Furthermore, the First Nations never could become a part of the social system/hierarchy of the New France and were also excluded from the French society in the new world (p.92). Colonization (brutal at times) is presented as an inevitable socially and commercially driven process; as a logically sequential phase in the evolution of the global society. The master narrative of 'civilizing the savage child' colors most mainstream representations of the First Nations that are taught/presented to

the Quebec children from a very young age. It is in this context that I analyze the history and citizenship textbooks in Quebec.

## Situating myself

To set the context of my examination and the subsequent analysis let me start by situating myself. My first contact with the First Nations was in the Summer of 2000. Having just landed in Canada (and in Montreal, Quebec) for my doctoral studies at McGill University I got a contract as an anthropologist (my first graduate degree is in Anthropology) to write a report on the health care needs of the Naskapi Nation. This First Nation is settled (not by their own choice, I was told) on the reserve of Kawawachikamach near Schefferville, above the tree line near the Labrador-Quebec border.

Preparing to go for my first contact with the First Nations I was very excited. At the same time, the jokes that my new Canadian friends at McGill made when they heard that I'd be spending the Summer living and working with the First Nations also made be a little anxious. These jokes (or the crux of them) were pretty much in line with the representations of the First Nations that I had experienced through the popular media (mainly Hollywood movies) and popular fictions (American Cowboy Novels). I went to Kawawachilamach unsure, insecure and tentative. I went to Kawawachikamach wearing lenses that, despite my rigorous training as an anthropologist and my years of experience working with remote communities in Pakistan, coloured my initial reactions. However, living and working with the Naskapi people I soon realized that the lenses showed me a picture that forced me to understand a people through stereotypes that were a product of years of representations that the Western media and textual discourses had created. Not only did I not see anyone in feathered headgears, they appeared extremely friendly and not threatening or intimidating as the discursive constructions had made me believe. In fact, the first thing that I observed was how 'normal' and 'in-the-present' was life in this community: people buying groceries, kids going to and returning from school, people getting together, and so on. In short there was nothing that does not happen in any other part of Quebec and Canada. The election campaign was in full swing and as elsewhere politicians were busy canvassing and trying to convince the people to vote for them. This was as far away from the representations of the First Nations as 'exotic', 'in-the-past', violent, dysfunctional people that I had come across. Naskapi are a people who live their lives in the present. They are happy to share their stories, their problem and their lives on the condition that we really want to 'listen' and not just view them as 'social or research data'.

While enjoying my time with the Naskpai in Kawawachikamach I made a mental note to look into why and how the representations of the First Nations

through which we (students, teachers, scholars, and the society in general) have come to understand the First Nations as we do. It was quite clear to me there was a huge gap between the representations of the First Nations in media and educational texts, and the reality. The representations construct the First People as, what Edward Said terms "an idea that has its own history, vocabulary and imagery (Said, 1978)". There is no correspondence between this 'constructed idea' and the First Peoples reality. It was also clear that this constructed idea has been made possible by the asymmetrical power relations between the colonizers (those who tell the stories) and the First Nations who are known through these stories. Linda T. Smith calls this the practice of 'naming' (2003). The practices, mechanism and technologies of such representations support the exclusionary processes that discursively construct the First Nations' identities as inferior to that of the colonizers. It is these technologies that I examine in this chapter. However due to constraints of time and space I will confine my self to the examination of these in Quebec history and citizenship textbooks. Representations of the First Nations in textbooks (and popular media) represent what Smith (2001) calls the ongoing project of colonization (also see St. Denis, 2010). It is also important to note that representations of the First Nations in textbooks are imprinted on the consciousness of the young students en route to citizenship and entry into decision-making processes at various educational and civic levels.

**Panoramas: History and Citizenship Education in Quebec**

The Quebec ministry of education lists following competencies for "History and Citizenship" to be inculcated/developed in the students: to examine social phenomena from historical perspectives, interpret social phenomena using the historical method and construct a consciousness of citizenship through the study of history. (QEP, 2002). 'Panoramas' is the prescribed textbook for the mandatory course on History and Citizenship for cycles three and four. Translated from French the textbook is in two volumes (Books A and B) with each of the volumes taught/used in each of the cycles (cycles 3 and 4). The texts look at issues related to history and citizenship in four perspectives: Population and Settlement, Economy and Development, Culture and Currents of Thought, and Power and Countervailing Powers. Both books are meticulously designed. From a pedagogical perspective they are easy to navigate, with a logical flow between the information and the suggested evaluative activities. They are user friendly and well produced. Generally, the authors have taken great care to research the topics included in the two volumes. However, it is the content related to the First Nations that needs to be critically scrutinized for its adherence to the dominant narratives and discourses. In the following sections I examine the technologies of the discourses that produce representations about the First Nations in Quebec.

**Representation by Omission and commission**

To begin with, First Nations are conspicuously absent when the two-volume textbook presents an overview of human history and social phenomena from 12000 BCE to the present (Panoramas Book I; pp. xi-xvii). They only make an appearance in a one-line reference to them in the context of European colonization of North America. The impression that the textbook conveys is that the First Nations are not a part of the 'social' or civilizational evolution of the world. This trend continues through out the two textbooks. While there is a chapter in the first volume on the 'First Occupants', representation of First Nations through omission in major periods of history is rampant in the textbooks.

There is no denying that from a curriculum design point of view Panoramas are immaculately articulated, designed and produced. Before starting with the main discussions on history and citizenship, Book A presents its young readers a snapshot of the historical progression. Starting with circa 12000 BCE which, incidentally is denoted with a negative/minus sign (thus pre-time or pre-history) the snapshot delineates major periods in history as: Sedentarization (-12000 to -3500), the emergence of civilization (-3500 to -1000), first experience of democracy (-500 to -400), Romanization (-27 to 476), Christianization of the west (476 to 1400), growth of cities and trade (1000-1400), humanism (1400-1550), European expansion (1450-1650), the American and French revolutions (1650-1789), industrialization (1750-1900), imperialism and colonization (1850-1950), the age of rights (1900-1995). Conspicuous in this timeline is the absence of the First Nations (in Canada, Quebec, and elsewhere in the world). Reading through the progression of human civilization it appears that First Nations are not deemed a part of civilization (pp. XII – XVII, Book A) by the textbook authors/planners.

The second volume of the textbook (for cycle 4), for example, devotes a paltry six pages to the First Nations. The first mention of the original people of the land appears as late as page 76 of the textbook (Book B). In the same volume, a text that covers more than 200 years of history there are as few as 5 pictorial representations of the First Nations of Quebec and Canada.

**Interpellation and essentialization**

In outlining the concepts that students will learn from/through this textbook, especially with respect to "the First Occupants" the text presents a flow chart that 'defines' the First Nations worldview. Concepts in the chart include: Circle of life, oral tradition, environment, culture, spirituality, and elders. All of these congregate to define the First Nations' 'conception of the world' (p. 3). Compared to this the flow chart that defines the 'Western' conception of the world includes concepts such as: Language, religion, economy, power, right, education, and loyalists (p.133). All of these are linked to the concept of 'Conquest'. The interpellation of First Nations

as 'first occupants' sends an implicit message that the land (now Canada) was once empty (for taking) and that the First Nations were just the first of the people to occupy the land. One after another people came and occupied the land and European colonization was merely the latest episode in this respect. The text further, though implicitly, justifies this claim in the following way: "the direct ancestors of the Inuit, the Thule people, arrived in the Arctic from what is present-day Alaska, much later (approximately 1000 years ago). They replaced the Dorset people, who had arrived in the arctic region around 4000 years ago" (p.9, emphasis added). The text, thus justifies the European colonization and imperialism as a natural historical phenomenon—a linear occurrence in the historical progression of the human society. What the text omits (in this chapter and throughout the two textbooks) are the details of the imperialist nature of the 'latest phase of occupation'.

Implicit in the representations is an essentializing of the First Nations as static and frozen in time. Grounded in the Enlightenment binary of public/private. Such essentializing constructs the First Nations as the 'other' of the Western civilization (compare flowcharts on p. 3 and p.133). The latter is everything that the former is not. The First Nations complete the 'self' of the Western civilization as progressive, forward looking, educated, knowledgable, powerful and worldly. It is through such representations of the First Nations that the current generation of Quebec (and Canadian) students understand the First Nations. The binary constructions, interpellations and essentialism are also present in most if not all policy process related to the First Nations.

### REPRESENTATION OF FIRST NATIONS AS A RELIC OF THE PAST

Two major representations that persist throughout the textbooks about first nations people are: they belong to another time, an era gone by, and the overstatement of aboriginal culture's proximity with nature. I have actually met with aboriginals who have mentioned to me how pictorial representations of women with snakes wrapped around their necks such as Brazilian 2012, R$ 1.85 stamp are offensive to them. In my interactions with First Nations people I have repeatedly heard how their culture is portrayed as set in stone as if everyone else evolved but the First Nations are still where they were thousands of years ago. Such representation itself leads to other stereotypes. For example, while introducing the students to basic concepts, aboriginal society is depicted "by their close relationship with nature and their ancestral traditions". After this the textbook goes on to cover the history from Circa -12000 to 2000 without a mention of the First Nations in the historical progression from pre-history to the modern period.

Chapter 1 of the textbook A starts with a current overview of Aboriginal presence in Quebec. The language used in the textbooks implies that aboriginal people have not evolved or kept in pace with time. For example the opening paragraph

states, "after having arrived in North America about 30000 years ago… Aboriginal peoples must now reconcile their ancestral cultures with the realities of today's world" (p.4). The wording suggests that all the problems mentioned later on in the chapter are due to the fact that aboriginals have not reconciled with the realities of todays world. The textbook constantly reinforces the basic stereotype (aboriginal—living in past—can only value past—have not adjusted to the present realities) either implicitly or explicitly through the use of examples.

## THE ABORIGINAL PROBLEM

In discussions on the First Nations' "Reserves" the text informs the student's "in Quebec, three-quarters of aboriginal people live on reserves, namely territories that were allocated to them by Canadian government…" The section then goes on to inform the students "those who live on reserve are exempt from paying taxes but their status prevents them from owning individual property, which limits their economic initiatives" (p.4). Immediately, following this information the text informs the students about the "socio-economic reality" of the First Nations. It provides statistics related to: low life expectancy, high suicide rate, high school dropout rates, high unemployment and high poverty rates among the First Nations The information is stated in a factual manner with no attempt at contextualizing it. The text tells the students that often-difficult economic conditions in some aboriginal communities have direct consequences on their quality of life. There is no explanation on how these issues came about in the first place. Nor does the text makes an effort to explain the role that colonization and the psychological scarring of the First Nations plays in this respect. There is also little or no information on how the current socio-economic plight of the First Nations is interconnected with colonization and systematic marginalization through assimilationist policies such as the residential schools. Nor are students probed to think of reasons why aboriginals are facing all the issues noted in the text (and more).

The text also does not make any attempt to explain how the lands that belonged to the First Nations for thousand of years became Canadian governments' property. Students are merely (and summarily) informed that reserves are locations granted to Aboriginal peoples by Canadian government and that the First Nations do not have to pay taxes, and hence they cannot own individual property which limits their economic initiative. This discussion is followed by the current statistics of Aboriginal peoples life expectancy, high suicide rate etc. The text merely reiterates that Aboriginal societies are characterized by their close relationship with nature and their ancestral traditions, and that aboriginals have not reconciled with the realities of todays world. The sequence, factual tone, gaps and omissions in the textbook clearly give a sense that aboriginal peoples are only to blame themselves for not adopting to todays realities and trying to have it all by

living on reserves and not paying taxes. This is, as noted above, confirmed in responses of Quebecers and Canadian in the Omnibus Survey carried out by Leger.

Already, by this time the text has constructed the First Nations as a problem to be solved. The text then benevolently states that the First Nations are trying to develop a community life and means that will enable Aboriginal young people to value their heritage, history and culture" (p.5) but also that "the richness of Aboriginal culture is still not widespread". The text also informs the students "in order to remedy the situation, several of Quebec's aboriginal nations have undertaken negotiations with the federal and provincial governments in order to have their ancestral rights recognized…as well as preserving their culture and their conception of the world" (p.6). What is Aboriginal conception of the world, one may ask? Well, the students have already been informed that Aboriginals have not adjusted to the realities of the current times. At the end of the page the students are once again asked the question, "today, how is the Aboriginal peoples conception of the world connected to their way of living in society?" Further in the textbook the authors have designed two projects that seek to enhance students' understanding of the First Nation. On the face value, the two projects (pp. 50-51) are well designed and aim to prepare the students to conduct their own research and gather more information about the First Nations in Quebec. However, these exercises follow the information on the pages immediately preceding the exercise that have already constructed the First Nations as a problem.

It is interesting to note that the solutions that the textbooks claim that are being proposed by the aboriginal people to over come the socioeconomic realities have nothing to do with income generation that could lead to batter standards of living. Nor would games and music, as for that matter, showcasing their culture to the "entire population of Quebec" (p.5) improve unemployment and high rate of school dropout. Even at an early stage in cycle three the impression that the students carry back is that the First Nations are still living in the past and have yet to reconcile their ancestral cultures with the realities of today's world (p. 4). What the students, through explicit and implicit representations also learn is that the First Nations do not pay taxes. This fact is mentioned without necessary details of the historic injustices and land grabs that the First Nations have suffered. Without such contextualization it appears to most students as an unfair privilege accorded to the First Nations. The Aboriginal problem and Aboriginal as the problem starts to get imprinted on the consciousness of the young students.

**Essentializing spirituality**

The texts also essentialize the First Nations' spirituality. For example, the text states "…spirituality permeated these (First Nations) peoples' entire conception of the world" (p.24). The articulation explicitly and exclusively links spirituality to the

spirit (ibid). The text then goes on to provide information about the 'representations of death', dreams, Shamans, sacred objects, etc. While the section provides useful information about some of the beliefs, rituals and traditions it totally overlooks the sociology of the rituals and belief systems and present them to the student in a manner that reduces the spirituality of the First Nations to an out worldliness. In the absence of any substantial information about spirituality in sociological, epistemological or axiological context the texts construct representations of the First Nations that places them in stark contrast to the 'worldliness' of the western civilization. This is despite the rare admission that the First Nations had complex, social, political and economic systems before their contact with the Europeans. Furthermore, these representational construction are supported by pictures and graphical representations from European artists, administrators, and clergy despite the admission that the representations produced by the early explorers and missionaries were 'coloured' by their perceptions and by their limited knowledge of other people' (p. 8). At several places the texts demonize the oral history as an unreliable source of knowledge. According to volume one of the textbook, in absence of any historical records, "specialists must exclusively rely on archaeology " (ibid)… it is for this reason that Aboriginal history, before the first encounter with Europeans is often difficult to study" (ibid). In a Saidian sense the history of the First Nations starts with their colonization. This is not the First Nations' story. This is story that is told by the outsiders, the colonizers. It is an orientalist story (See King, 2003).

**Pathologizing violence**

Coming back to the issue of representation that the textbook makes in respect to the First Nations in Canada and Quebec it is interesting/sad to note the condescending tone of the text. First, in almost each case the First Nations are shown in a confrontational situation whether it is blocking of the James Bay Project (p.185) or the Oka crisis (p.232). Subsequently, the text states that the 'aboriginals' were given the right to preserve their culture in return for the right of the province to develop mining, hydro electricity and forestry reserve on the Aboriginal lands. Two types of constructions can be seen here: One, First Nations are confrontational (whereas they were trying to preserve what was historically theirs to begin with), and two, that they can keep or preserve their values as long as they concede their eco-environment and ancestral lands to the state. These constructions in the context of a citizenship discourse send messages to the pupil-citizen that are in total disregard with the socio-historic reality. These constructions are also contrary to spirit of multiculturalism and interculturalism or for allowing any space to retain ethno-cultural identities.

**CONCLUSIONS**

First Nations in Quebec as in the rest of Canada and North America continue to live in sordid conditions. They continued to be viewed by a majority

of Quebecers and Canadians either as a burden on the society or in terms of a problem. Governments at both provincial and the Federal levels turn a blind eye to their problems and only wake up to them when further land concessions are needed (example: Plan Nord in Quebec). There have been outcries from the First Nations communities from time to time. There have been demands on the United Nations by the First Nations to recognize their historical marginalization as genocide. Canada continues to block such moves. Idle No More, a grassroots movement started in 2012 by three First Nations women and a non-native ally aimed to highlight legislative abuse of the First Nations' treaty rights by the Federal Government of the day. The non-violent movement did succeed in attracting attention and moral support of a number of people but did not succeed in changing the worldviews and popular perception of the general population about the First Nations. Many non-native people in Quebec were unsympathetic to the movement and saw I it a possible reincarnation of the OKA crisis of 1990. While there are multiple factors for the continued non acceptance of the First Nations in Quebec in this paper I have made an attempt to address one of them i.e. representation of First Nations in school textbooks.

The above discussion shows that history textbooks used in Quebec schools indeed construct hegemonic identities (Québécois and Canadian) through technologies of inclusion and exclusion. These texts then order (or hierarchize) these identities in a way that some cultural identities appear to be natural (and thus also invisible) while other identities appear as traditional, primordial while still others are totally absent from the texts. The texts thus fix meanings for who is important in the society and who is not. It is apparent that the messages in the textbooks analyzed for this paper deem First Nations are the most invisible and unimportant group. This is the message that is inculcated into the cognition of the students from a very young age. These messages are then further strengthened by similar messages from the media in particular and societal institutional in general. First Nations are thus obliterated from the psyche of the population as large except as a problem or an artefact.

The textbooks do not highlight the positive contributions that the First Nations have made to the Canadian society. For example, there is little or no mention of how Aboriginal people helped this country develop? During the first two centuries of post-contact history (the 17th and 18th centuries), the fur trade was Canada's biggest industry. Aboriginal people played a key role as both suppliers and intermediaries. They helped the newcomers learn how to survive in the new environment, how to feed themselves, and how to grow Native crops such as corn, beans, and squash that were not known to the Europeans. Similarly, the textbooks ignore to mention the role played by the First Nations for the defense of Canada at various points in history. During the War of 1812, the role of Aboriginal nations such as the Mohawk, Ojibwa, and Wyandot was critical to the survival of the col-

ony that was to become Canada. Similarly, more recently in the 20th century First Nations people were proportionately among the highest groups represented in our armed forces during the first and the second World Wars. Native steel workers, considered to be the best in the world, have helped Canadian and even American societies and economies tremendously. Sadly, the politics of omission obliterates their contributions. It is without doubt that the situation is unbearable and must change. According to Native beliefs this is the seventh generation since the initial contact with the Europeans. This is, according to their belief the time to heal. However, for this healing to begin the perceptions and worldviews of Quebecers and Canadians need to change. A possible first step is to do it in and through education. textbooks in this respect will be the first step.

Let me end by paraphrasing Professor Thomas King (2003: p. 167, parentheses mine):

You can have it (this story) if you want…Do with it what you will. I'd just as soon as you forget it…Just don't say in the years to come that you would have lived your life differently if only you had heard this story. You've heard it know.

I dedicate this humble effort to the wonderful people of Kawawachikamach.

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# DIVERSITY AND LOCAL CULTURES IN BRAZILIAN TEXTBOOKS

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## INTRODUCTION

The population of Brazil has diverse origins and different local cultures as a result of the presence of native populations and populations such as Africans, Europeans, and Asians – who moved into the country at different moments of the country's history.

In this context, we follow Debrun (1990) to argue that "we are diverse", a fact that underlines that "Brazilian national identity is not only one" (p. 46). In regard to textbooks, this fact is an arena for issues and challenges, especially since the same textbooks are used in all regions of the country. This means that the same textbooks can be used in a school in the Northern region, where there is a large concentration of native populations and their descendants – indigenous and ribeirinhos , for example – as well as in a school in the Southern region, where there is a large concentration of European immigrants and their descendants – the Germans in Santa Catarina, for example.

The issue is particularly complex due to the fact that, as part of public policy in Brazil, students enrolled in public schools for basic education receive textbooks free of charge through the National Program of Textbooks (PNLD). The PNLD first evaluates and screens the textbooks. They then publish a list of approved titles, and then schools and teachers may select textbooks based on a list provided. This process is particularly intriguing for researches interested in textbooks and their production, evaluation, selection and their use by teachers and students in schools. In this chapter, the results of two investigations are discussed. These studies explore the relationship between cultural diversity and the standardized production of textbooks for use across the nation. First, we will define the context of the investigations. Subsequently, we will address the particularities of issues raised by the cases in the studies. Finally, we will present the results and conclusions of the studies.

## LOCATING THE FIELD OF INVESTIGATION: TEXTBOOKS IN BRA-ZILIAN CONTEXT

Textbooks are admittedly, materials that affect the daily life in schools, to a considerable extent. In Brazil, especially, the existence of a national program of evaluation and distribution of textbooks to all the students of elementary school (9 grades, 6 -14 years old) and high school (3 grades, 15-17 years old) for a large part of the curricular disciplines, sets the debate about textbooks as a political and educational issue of the highest relevance. In this context, compared to a decade ago, the textbook has gained importance as a subject of investigation.

The presence of textbooks in the classrooms, as a result of a national public policy, represents a substantial investment of public resources. It also means the presence of a specific type of resource to support the work of teachers inside the classroom. Some important questions have emerged such as the nature of the content that these textbooks transmit. What relationship do the teachers and students establish with them? To what extent has the public investment resulted in an enhanced quality of textbook? Have the evaluations contributed to include   cultural diversity and social experiences in the textbooks?

These issues, among others, must be analyzed by educational researchers in order to explain the possibilities and difficulties of the presence of standardized textbooks in classes. According to the school census conducted in 2013, there are about fifty million enrollments in both fundamental and high schools in Brazil (INEP, 2014). Such high enrollment figures reinforce the importance of research on textbooks, considering the size of the population textbooks serve.

In 1985, a National Program of Textbooks (PNLD) was created for the free distribution of textbooks to students of public schools. In the 1990s, the implementation of this program resulted in a transformative period in respect to the content and format of the books produced in the country.

Thus, the National Education Plan that restructured the education system in the country from 1990 onwards specified curricular and textbook guidelines, which outlined content and methodology for each subject area. In the last fifteen years, even with political party changes in the Federal Government, this restructuring has continued without substantial changes in the established educational objectives and goals.

The evaluation processes instituted from 1993 onwards, coordinated by the Ministry of Education, has resulted in lists of approved books, which are considered adequate to meet the objectives of national education. These lists are made available for schools and teachers to select textbooks to use in the classroom. The Federal Government periodically opens up a public competition or a "call" for textbooks. Book publishers submit their books to be evaluated. The evaluation is

coordinated by universities and performed by committees consisting of specialists in each discipline. Recently, teachers from fundamental schools have been included on these committees.

These competitions contextualize quality of the texts in relation to the target public/audience. By doing this, they guide the publishers about the production and presentation of books which are compatible with the Program's requirements. They establish indicators relating to the following dimensions: content, teaching methodology, graphic design and quality, and "citizenship construction" . Once approved, the books are included in an official Guide published by the Ministry of Education, which is sent to the schools across the country and posted on the Ministry's official website. Based on this Guide, the teachers of public schools select up to two books for each subject, which they would like to use in their classroom. One of these books is delivered to the school by the beginning of the following school year.

In order to situate the context of the research presented in this chapter it is interesting to be cognizant of the general criteria for elimination, which define the inclusion or exclusion of the textbooks from the Guides. These criteria also define the pattern of choices made by teachers in different areas of the country. Some criteria have been consolidated as a determinant of exclusion for all disciplines. For example, books are excluded if they contain prejudicial representations, conceptual mistakes or demonstrate incongruity between the methodological approaches outlined in the teachers' book with the approach used in the students' textbook. In addition to these general criteria, there are other discipline-specific criteria that are instrumental in this process.

From a general point of view, therefore, it can be argued that these actions brought about substantial changes in the textbooks used throughout the last decade, especially in regard to content related to identity, diversity and citizenship. As a consequence of the criteria imposed by the "calls" and the evaluators, there exists a formal demand for Brazilian textbooks to reflect the diversity of situations from a historical, geographic, cultural, social and economic perspective as this local context influences the students' reality.

This is the context in which the current case studies were carried out. In both case studies, the objective was to analyze how textbooks are responding to both the demands imposed by the criteria laid out in the "call" by the Ministry, and the reality of multiple cultural groups, which comprise Brazil's population. The second objective was to investigate if and how the textbooks are sensitive to the social experiences of the subjects who are part of these groups.

## BRAZILIAN TEXTBOOKS: CHALLENGES FOR IDENTITY CONS-TRUCTION

Regarding Brazil, it is common to say it is one and many countries. Let us start by presenting some information about diversity in Brazil in order to set the parameters in which textbook production in relation to diversity in Brazil can be analyzed. The Brazilian population has diverse origins and different local cultures, as a result of the presence of native populations and populations who moved to the country as slaves (Africans) or immigrants (Europeans, Asians) at different moments in the country's history.

In the 19th century, European immigrants, who could acquire lands or work in the farms through partnerships, brought to Brazil groups of Germans, Italians, Japanese, Polish, Ukrainians, Russians and Dutch, among others. During the 20th century, other groups as the Arabs, Israelis, Turkish, Mozambicans, Angolans, Chinese and Koreans continued to immigrate to Brazil. These groups brought with them diverse cultural values and customs, an aggregation which personifies the Brazilian population today.

Therefore, questions of Brazilian identity must be discussed in the context of this diversity. The answer to the question "what does it mean to be Brazilian?" in this sense, can never be a simple answer. Supported by the analysis of Debrun (1990), it can be argued that "Brazilian national identity is not only one… [in that] its political and cultural dimensions in particular, have not been walking side by side" (p. 46). Debrun (1990) then asks, "how could there be a consensus in a country historically characterized by considerable economic, social, cultural and political inequalities – among classes, ethnicities and regions" (p. 39).

For Debrun (1990), in Brazil, there is a policy of conciliation of differences, which is not supported by mutual tolerance, but by forced cooperation of the less strong by the powerful. The development of a strong national identity, in the civic-political sense, has been blocked since it is premised on mechanisms of the reproduction of inequality. In this process the African and the indigenous populations were marginalized, producing a "folked integration" (Debrun, 1990, p. 46). Despite the affirmative policies developed from the end of the 1990s onwards, scholarly research data shows that there has been no correspondence between the affirmative policies and the development of a national identity. The afro-descendent population has, on average, 5.3 years of completed education, whereas the white population has 7.1 years of study – a gap of almost two years.

Based on these elements the presence of diversified local cultures are present in different Brazilian regions and states, for example, the culture of German immigrant descendants in Santa Catarina, Ukrainians and Polish in Paraná, Japanese in São Paulo, and Africans in Bahia. Furthermore, other cultures have been influenced by the native population in states such as Amazonas, among others.

Therefore, the issues related to cultural diversity, which characterize the Brazilian population, have consequences for education policies, generally speaking, and for the production of textbooks, specifically in the case of the discipline of history.

In the context of historical knowledge in particular, the evaluators of the National Program highlight the fact that "the relationship between the local context and identity formation" must be an integral aspect of any teaching proposal (Brasil, 2010, p. 12). In the last decade, the federal laws – to which the textbooks must correspond – determined the obligatory character of Afro-Brazilians and indigenous cultures and history as school content, besides laws against racism and prejudice, aiming to "reinforce a positive image" so that "these groups can recognize themselves positively in National History" (Brasil, 2010, p. 11).

Given this complexity, the issue of relationships between national identity and local cultures opens a fertile investigation space in regard to the textbooks, published at national level. In this context, we present below some findings of a study conducted by the Research Group of Didactic Publications of the Universidade Federal do Paraná (NPPD).

**The first study: Discussing Evaluation Criteria, Diversity and Local Contexts**

The study aimed to verify how the national criteria and guidelines for History textbooks present the issue of Brazilian identity analyzing if and how the textbooks responded to the criteria set forth by the National Program.

The analysis of two recently open calls was undertaken as a point of reference. These calls pertained to textbooks for the: 1) initial grades (1st to 5th) of elementary school, which guide the choice of books for 2013, and 2) the later grades (6th to 9th), which guide the choice of books for 2012. For both calls, general and eliminatory criteria are indicated, for all disciplines, as well as specific criteria for the discipline of History (Brasil, 2011; Brasil, 2013). The guiding principles of the evaluation expressed in the call, among others, were to:

> Incentivize the pedagogical action towards respect and valorization of diversity, the concepts of sustainability and active citizenship, supporting democratic pedagogical practices and the practice of respect and tolerance.

> Promote positively the image of Afro-descendants and descendants of Brazilian indigenous ethnicities, considering their participation in different jobs, professions and power arenas.

> Promote positively the Afro-Brazilian and Brazilian indigenous peoples' cultures; giving visibility to their values, traditions, organizations and social-scientific knowledge; considering their rights and participation in different historic processes that marked

the construction of Brazil; and appraising the cultural differences of our multicultural society.

Approach the theme of ethnic-racial relationships, prejudice, racial discrimination and correlative violence, aiming to construct an anti-racist, solidary, just and egalitarian society (Brasil, 2011, p. 33).

From these principles, some criteria are instrumental in determining the exclusion of books or collections that:

Transmit stereotypes and prejudices of social, regional, ethnic-racial, gender, sexual orientation, age or language conditions, as well as any other form or discrimination or violation of rights.

Support religious or political indoctrination, disrespecting the secular and autonomous character of public teaching (Brasil, 2011, p. 37).

In the specific case of History, be it for initial or final grades, the call mandates that evaluators shall observe if the book or collection awakens:

the students to the historicity of social experiences, working with concepts, skills and attitudes in the construction of citizenship. That it stimulates the social living and recognition of difference, approaching the diversity of human experience and social plurality, with respect and interest (Brasil, 2011, p. 47).

As the National Program foresees the possibility of including regional textbooks in History and Geography for the initial grades, there are specific criteria for this type of work. They should not present knowledge:

to interpret the regional reality in a stereotyped manner, classifying local identities as superior or inferior, transmitting xenophobic regionalisms and stimulating the conflict between social formations which had remarkably different trajectories… to approach the regional experience in an isolated manner, without considering its inter-relationships with historic processes on a macro-scale, in the long-term, that occurred beyond the regional borders… [or still] to approach the local experience, only, in its picturesque and anecdotal features (Brasil,  2013, p. 44)

Given the fact that all books are submitted to an evaluation based on these kind of criteria, it is possible to attest that theoretically, any approved book in the National Program respects the demands regarding conceptual mistakes, methodological coherence and issues related to citizenship construction (prejudices, stereotypes and discrimination). Therefore, it can be affirmed that there is a substan-

tial demand for Brazilian books to contemplate the diversity of situations, which construct students' reality within their local context. This is precisely the point on which the analysis is developed, in order to verify if this formal demand is manifested in textbooks.

*Materials, Procedure and Analysis*

The first study used History textbooks approved by the PNLD in 2007 and 2010 for 4th grade, 9-years-old elementary school students.

The procedures included a page-by-page analysis of three textbooks and an analysis of the methodological orientation of the teachers' books (Garcia & Garcia, 2010).

The analysis indicates that, despite fulfilling the mandatory requirements put forward by the PNLD, which mandates the inclusion of Afro-Brazilian and indigenous history and cultures in the textbooks, and despite the apparent elimination of prejudices, these issues are still present in some form in the textbooks. For example:

– The authors relate slavery as a natural means to explain the presence of Afro-descendants in Brazil.

– Although there are references to conflict situations, elements which contributed to its historical comprehension are absent.

– The indigenous and Afro-Brazilians are treated as if they constituted a homogeneous and unique group, disregarding their ethnic and cultural diversities.

– The "miscegenation myth" remains, which nullifies the differences and inequalities in the constitution of a unique people; of a Brazilian culture and identity as the sum of contributions of the three groups.

Therefore, the analyzed History textbooks still need to be reviewed and revised from the point of view of the construction of citizenship – especially in regard to the appraisal of cultural differences in a society defined as multicultural. They also need to be revised in regard to the recognition of difference, approaching the diversity of human experience and social plurality. In some of the textbooks, elements, which contribute to the maintenance of ethnic-racial or social class prejudices, remain present. As an example, also excluded in the textbooks is the cultural significance of specific groups such as the rural populations who are an essential part of the national culture. Finally, the didactic forms used by the authors to organize the activities do not stimulate students to make connections between their experiences and the content presented.

**The second study: Textbooks and Caipira Culture in Brazil**

In the case of Brazil, to approach identity is to recognize the presence of a diversity of cultures which shape Brazilian people: the native population, the colonizers, the Africans and later on, the immigrants who moved to the country during the 19th and 20th centuries. One of the cultures that are part of the Brazilian identity is the "caipira"; initially established as a result of the contact between the European colonizer and the indigenous people and, later, the Africans.

As a consequence of the process of selective tradition (Williams, 1979) – which selects the cultural contents that should be preserved and the ones that should be doomed to obscurity – the curricular content must be examined in order to understand to what extent different local cultures are represented in the text-books. Following, we present the results of an investigation whose principal aim was the analysis of History textbooks to verify if and how the caipira culture is presented in these materials.

*Music as a fundamental element of Caipira culture*

The arrival of the explorers in Brazil from the 16th century onwards not only marked a new cycle of domination and exploration of lands, but also the construction of a new culture, the caipira. As the explorers advanced in Brazilian territory, a frontier between two distinct worlds was created – the "civilized", represented by the white descendants, and the "backwards", represented by the native. From the mixture of these two worlds emerged the caipira man, a result of the miscegenation between the European colonizers and the indigenous people, with the insertion of African cultural elements later on.

The caipira man was the carrier of remarkable peculiarities as evidenced by religiosity, literature, food, dance and music. Music has always been associated to religious rituals, work or leisure, and the social rituals of this group. Caipira musical compositions express the universe where the first caipiras lived. However, this culture has been associated, throughout the centuries to the ideas of a rustic culture with no social value, as opposed to the comprehensive urban culture.

The migration to the cities intensified throughout the 20th century, and the caipira men started to be a part of the urban universe. In the 1920s, studies to recover this culture emerged and the first caipira songs were recorded. The lyrics went through a transformative process, substituting themes of religious rituals, work and harvest cycles with nostalgic songs and songs about love, in an attempt to reconstitute the symbolic universe of the culture originated in the cities.

The radio brought the caipira songs to the men who migrated to the city attracted by the possibility of better jobs and salaries  and who, from the 1950s onward, became part of the urban worker class. The caipira people brought along

their culture, but it has not survived the contact with the urban culture. Their music was appropriated by the cultural industry, which adjusted it to other patterns of production, impression and distribution to what is now known as sertaneja (or country) music.

It can be argued that music is one of the most essential elements of the caipira culture, and, even as it is being transformed by the music industry, it still reflects the symbolic universe of the Brazilians, particularly in some areas of the country. It can, therefore, be understood as one of the constitutive elements of Brazilian identity.

Based on these issues, Chaves (2006) conducted a study to analyze the presence/absence of lyrics of Brazilian songs in History textbooks, especially the lyrics of caipira songs.

### *Procedures and Results*

History textbooks prescribed to students in the final grades of elementary school (11-14 year-olds) approved by the PNLD 2002 and 2005, consist of a total of 21 collections and 84 books. The procedures for this study included a page-by-page analysis of the 84 books and an analysis of the methodological orientation in the teachers' books from every collection. The aim was to verify, in this first stage, the presence of songs as a way or as a resource to teach history. Subsequently, a list of the songs included or suggested by the authors was developed. Finally, the songs were organized using a categorization scheme based on music genres and the chronology of their production.

The analysis showed that most of the songs present in the textbooks belong to the urban universe with urban themes. The authors of these books have selected songs of two dictatorship periods – the Vargas era (1930-1945) and the military dictatorship (1964-1985). More importantly, no caipira songs are included in the students' textbooks and there is no suggestion for their use in class in the teacher guides.

However, most of the students of the public schools who received the History textbooks have cultural and family traditions related with the rural life. For them, caipira songs are part of their cultural experience even when young people prefer other musical genres.

Based on this reality, a further qualitative study was conducted with young people from the city of Curitiba (Paraná), aiming to comprehend some elements of the relationship they establish with music, particularly caipira music. In this second stage, two questionnaires were applied to 50 students of high school to know their family background, the work activities and the musical taste of the

family group, as well as youth culture elements, especially about the music gender preferred by them. Findings indicate that:

–   a significant number of mothers and fathers come from the countryside;¬

–   the work in the countryside is referred to by a significant number of students as it reflects the livelihood of their grandparents and even some of their parents;

–   although parents listen to caipira music, it is not a favourite genre for the youngsters;

–   the students identified the presence and the relevance of music in the textbooks, but focussed on  Brazilian popular music genres.

A third survey instrument was applied during a History lesson, as last stage of the research. It includeed activities with a specific caipira song. After listening and reading the lyrics of the caipira songs, proposed by the researcher, the students were able to use elements of the songs to explain the past. Even though initially there were expressions of dislike and dismissal of the caipira genre by some students, most of them were able to identify characteristics of the genre, recognize and point out its richness and importance in Brazilian culture and most of them indicated the possibility of learning from these songs.

Therefore, we can safely say that it is necessary and possible to include caipira songs in the textbooks, as an element of Brazilian culture and as documents, which contribute to the comprehension of the past and the present.

**FINAL CONSIDERATIONS**

Results of the research projects presented in this chapter establish strong evidence for the limitations of the National Textbook Program and that the textbook evaluation process has not resulted in quality improvement particularly in regard to the respect of diversity and local cultures.

Despite the progress in History textbooks after the creation of the evaluation programs, there are still gaps between the goal of constructing a positive image of indigenous and Afro-Brazilians, and their representation in national history. The evaluation criteria, as established, are still ineffective and do not provide mechanisms to avoid an essentialized Brazilian identity or the presence of prejudice.

The issue is not properly addressed by the examined books, as the indigenous peoples and Afro-Brazilians are presented more as groups who existed in the past than as groups who comprise the diversity of the Brazilian population today, and who are still living in different localities and social conditions.

Another aspect regarding the relationship between local culture and identity formation should be understood as the objective of historical knowledge. The analyzed textbooks do not fulfill the criteria regarding appraisal of cultural experiences of different subjects who constitute the Brazilian population. This evaluation is supported by the verification that the textbooks exclude elements of certain groups, as evidenced by the case of caipira music. These texts also reinforce prejudice related to these groups as, for example, the linguistic variants used by the country-side population.

The results indicate the limitations of the textbook evaluation model currently in use. Although well structured, coordinated by universities and supported by the opinion of specialists in every field of knowledge, and despite having contributed to the improvement of textbooks in many aspects, the evaluation process still does not address the diversity of cultures and social experiences of different groups that encompass the Brazilian population.

Our research also argues for the training teachers to critically evaluate the books. Teachers participate in the processes of analysis and the choice of the books in their schools – as the National Program suggests – and as subjects who act upon the knowledge to be taught, teachers should be a fundamental part of the evaluation process.

Besides the procedures and criteria established by programs as the ones presented here, the research showed that the textbooks are not perfect and they should be carefully examined by the teachers when used in their classes. In order to do this, teachers need to have pedagogical knowledge, learning and specific knowledge, which means that they must have a solid professional education.

Therefore, it is necessary to create conditions for teachers to fully perform their role as evaluators and quality controllers. And, in order for their efforts to be effective, textbooks should be a central theme in their initial and continued training.

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# SUMMER HEIGHTS HIGH, THE PORTRAYAL OF TONGAN AUSTRALIANS AND APPROACHING CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE TEACHING

MIKE HORSLEY AND KIPI FIFITA

## INTRODUCTION

In 2007 Australia's national broadcaster, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, aired a 'mockumentary', that depicted a fictional secondary school, called 'Summer Heights High'. This fictional high school was filmed at a real school, where the cast consisted of real students and real teachers and included three 'archetypical' characters: *Ja'mie*, a snobbish 16 year old private school girl in a public school; *Mr G*, a very self-absorbed secondary drama teacher; and *Jonah,* a troubled 13 year old Tongan boy with learning difficulties. All of these characters were played by the writer/director of the show, Chris Lilley, one of Australia's most celebrated comedians.

Although the characters were representative of stereotypes in the general community, each character was regarded as broadly authentic by the Australian community. As a result the events and characters reflected in the fictional 'mockumentary' school were perceived by educators as incredibly funny but also real, confronting and sad. Prior to developing his comedy career, Chris Lilley trained as a teacher. Before producing the show he was reported to have collaborated with experienced documentary makers (Wilson, 2009), spending several weeks observing, interviewing and working in schools. The portrayal of Jonah (Takalua), the troubled 13 year old Tongan student was seen as so convincing by the general public as well as by many teachers that most educators accepted it as real. For example, *Professor Stephen Dinham* provided an opinion paper to the Australian Council of Education Research (ACER). Here, Dinham provided public and professional advice on how to teach Jonah (and Tongan Australians) more effectively, despite having no knowledge or experience educating Tongans, any understanding of Tongan culture or contact with the Tongan community (see Appendix 1). Jonah's Tongan identify is widely believed to be a "significant component of his sense of self, and hence an important aspect of the development of his character in the context of the show" (Wilson, 2009).

The 'mockumentary' was so successful that:

- Summer Heights High became one of Australia's highest rating shows;

- Dialogue from the show entered Australia's language (especially in relation to schools, culture and gender);

- The central actor/author won two national 'Logie' awards; and

- The show generated a significant academic response with many researchers exploring, in particular, the characters' construction and their negotiation of gender identity.

More importantly the 'mockumentary' established Jonah as both the stereotypical and authentic Tongan Australian school student.

This paper will focus on this portrayal of Tongan Australians and its impact on Australia's Islander students (Tongan and Samoan) and their teachers. The stereotypical (and authentic) character of Jonah was interpreted without an understanding of Tongan culture and family operation. The paper will provide Tongan student, family and community responses to the portrayal of the character of Jonah and will describe some successful professional development activities for teachers which served offset the negative influences permeating the character of Jonah.

One of the most significant issues facing the Tongan community and the Pasifika teacher professional development groups was that teachers were responding to a stereotypical character created by a comedian rather than to the Tongan and Samoan communities and their families. The paper will provide research from teacher professional development programs on the impact of 'Jonah' in teacher professional learning.

## THE IMPACT OF JONAH – THE DEPICTION, SYNTHESIS AND PRESENTATION OF OTHERNESS ON THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNITY

The impact of Summer Heights High on Australian culture was immediate and dramatic. In terms of the media the characters in the 'mockumentary' entered Australian public language (Yalloway, 2009) and consciousness. Summer Heights High framed public discussion about education issues such as the meaning of education and what it is to be a teacher (Mr. G), disruptive behaviour, private and public schools and adolescent girls (Jai'me) and illiteracy. It also highlighted social issues such as immigration, class differences, cultural conflict, hegemonic masculinity (Jonah), and the stereotypes of Tongans (Wilson, 2009).

Summer Heights High was frequently featured in impassioned media debate, not because Jonah's behaviour was seen as challenging, confronting, racist, bullying and exhibitionist but because he was seen as violent; and an immigrant failing in an educational sense. Within a few days of the first airing of the show, many newspaper and media reports generated national debate about the impact of the

character of Jonah on the behaviour of students in the school system, who watched the show. A number of media articles reported that:

> Many children are repeating rude and racist phrases uttered by the unruly teenager in ABC's hit TV comedy Summer Heights High, according to parents and teachers. The ABC "mockumentary" is set in a fictional high school where redheads are described by Jonah as "rangas" -- from orang-utans. The troubled Pacific Islander boy argues it's all right to tell his teachers to "puck off" because "it starts with P, so it's not rude (The Courier Mail, September 16th 2007).

The YouTube version of the 'puck off' scene, where Jonah tells his teacher to 'puck off' but claims this is not swearing, lack of respect or aggression is the most watched YouTube excerpt among young Australians.

The portrayal of Jonah and his behaviour was commented on by teachers' unions, educational researchers, journalists, radio announcers and politicians. Within a short period of time Jonah had been established in Australian culture as the archetype of the Tongan adolescent. Public and community perception of Tongans and Tongan character and behaviour, especially of young people, were filtered through perceptions of the character of Jonah and his extremely disruptive behaviour which dominated interactions between the students and teachers in the episodes of Summer Heights High. This construction of the 'otherness' transcended any 'truth regimes' in relation to the community's commitment to multiculturalism, migration and inclusive education (including the teaching profession) to inclusive education. The 'otherness' portrayed by Summer Heights High was based on being Tongan and male.

## THE IMPACT OF JONAH IN THE EDUCATIONAL AND RESEARCH COMMUNITIES

The impact of Summer Heights High and its characters also attracted significant research. Educational researchers (Dinham, 2007) immediately appropriated the character of Jonah as providing a narrative for diagnosing, planning and teaching functionally illiterate students. This appropriation constructed Jonah as a student whose poor behaviour reflected lack of success at school. According to Dinham (2007),

> Jonah couldn't master literacy and, because so much of schooling is literacy based, he struggled in all curriculum areas. He knew he was falling behind and covered his inadequacy with bravado and over confidence. Jonah avoided engaging with schoolwork as much as possible.

Dinham even developed a mythical history for Jonah, replete with comments on his progress in primary and secondary school, despite the fact that the character is fictional and was portrayed for only one year at Summer Heights.

For educational and social theorists the character of Jonah reflected the process of marginalising the marginalised (Te Riele, 2006; Wilson, 2009) and youth at risk that follows Bourdieu's (1977) analysis of the ways schools reproduce the majority culture. Bourdieu's theoretical frame has been used to analyse the barriers to participation in education by certain groups to explain why certain cultural groups may be excluded from educational opportunities. In particular, Bourdieu invoked the concept of habitus as "a system of dispositions which acts as a mediator between structures and practices" to explain how schools dismiss the discourses and practices of certain groups. Australian school habitus is rooted in tacit rules, regulations and procedures which are coherent in English and mainstream or dominant culture. In particular, the habitus include the expectations of schools and classrooms and the way these expectations are transmitted to Tongan and Samoan Australians. In following this approach Wilson (2009) argues that:

> Summer Heights High School cannot succeed with Jonah. By its nature, and despite its good intentions, the institution sets him up to fail. There is a sense in which the Jonahs, whose 'failure' is after all a self-referencing function of the institution's 'solid' values, may be seen as epitomising Bauman's 'liquid modernity'. The school in its present form, as depicted in Summer Heights High, must give way to an entirely new paradigm that abandons the very essence of school-centred education, known for its predilection for a stiff curriculum and predetermined succession of learning. In a liquid-modern setting, centres of teaching and learning are subjected to a 'de-institutionalizing' pressure and prompted to surrender loyalty to 'canons of knowledge' (whose very existence, not to mention utility, is increasingly cast in doubt), thus putting the value of flexibility above the surmised inner logic of scholarly disciplines.

One of the research problems in using this approach in the analysis of Jonah is that the portrayal of Jonah neglects any of the Tongan cultural capital derived from Tongan culture, resources and artefacts used by Tongans to connect, relate and belong to their group and their position within it. Adherence to Tongan mores and understandings endows individuals with support and symbolic credit for the achievement of social standing. As Tongans participate in social networks they create resources such as connection to wider groups that act as social capital that can be mobilised for their individual and community benefit. However, Summer Heights High's portrayal of Jonah did not include aspects of Tongan culture. These problems did not prevent a range of researchers from exploring the nature of marginalised youth, hegemonic masculinity, clashes of cultures and the problems of Polynesian youth through study and reflection of the character of Jonah, a 'mockumentary' character in a comedy. The real source of Jonah as a character originated from a real documentary about a Tongan adolescent and his Tongan culture and family.

## SOURCE OF THE CHARACTER OF JONAH

In 2004 ABC screened a documentary, *Our Boys,* that followed four students at a real school - Canterbury Boys High - for four 30-minute episodes. Filipe, a

Tongan boy in Year 9, was the subject of an episode. Filipe had few literacy skills and could not read. He consistently truanted and contributed to discipline problems in his classes and at the school. Filipe had a strong Pasifika group of friends and he was a leader in Polynesian Dance in school dance festivals. His teachers and principal constantly exhorted him to learn to read and write and convinced him to attend a literacy program which required withdrawing from school and disconnecting from his friendship group.

Only late in the episode do we see Filipe's Tongan family. His father has died recently; his mother is ill and his sister is disabled, requiring constant hospital visits and care. Filipe cooks, cleans, looks after his mother and sister and leads the household; other family members assist but Filipe is contributing to his family; the ultimate intrinsic goal embedded in Tongan (and Samoan) culture and the mainspring of motivation and behaviour. The source of Jonah's character in Summer Heights High can be traced back to Filipe in *Our Boy*, but without the Tongan culture, family, language, religion and custom.

In Tongan epistemology, learning (*Ako*) and knowledge (*Ilo*) only reflect wisdom (*poto*), when learning and knowledge are used in ways that benefit the whole; and in Tongan and Samoan culture this whole is the family. Learning and knowledge (*Ako and Ilo*) are not important for their own sake; but only to the extent that they benefit the family and the community. Samoan and Tongan families are built around the practice that everyone knows his or her role and performs it best by contributing to the *kainga/aiga* (family in Tongan and Samoan) with *aroha* (love and compassion).

For example, the western concept of adolescence is framed around age and the conceptualisation of transition between childhood and adulthood. Tongan and Samoan conceptualisations would not be related to age but rather to the amount of their contribution to the extended family. In a similar way western conceptualisations of poverty usually refer to a very limited consumption of goods and services. Tongan and Samoan conceptualisations of poverty refer to someone eating alone or feeling a reduced connection to the *kainga /aiga* or family. In this way Filipe is not really a young person or an adolescent, but an adult who is motivated to contribute to the family. In '*Our Boys'*, the teachers constantly refer to external extrinsic goals for Filipe. Only those educators aware of the way that Samoan and Tongan cultural scripts are structured would be able to reconstitute these seemingly conflicting extrinsic school motivations with the intrinsic motivation, rooted in Filipe's family and cultural practice. Especially tragic is that Filipe's family commences each day at 6 am with prayers and Filipe's mother reads the Tongan bible. Tongan teachers would convince Filipe's mother to trace the words in Tongan and assist Filipe to learn to read and write Tongan as a precursor to learning to read and write in English, whereas people unaware of the Tongan cultural script would not identify this situation as a teaching and learning resource.

The primacy of *aiga and kainga (*family in Samoan and in Tongan) cultural and social life affords a largely intrinsic set of motivations for behaviour. In the script of *Our Boys*, Filipe is expected to learn to read to better himself; a largely extrinsic motivation in terms of Filipe's sociocultural context and family situation. In response to teachers' expectation's Filipe comments, "I don't want to do nothing at school. I just want to sit at home. That's it. Sometimes I find it hard. Sometimes I'm just not in the mood for school." Filipe's mother comments, "He's smart, he's bright. He is good at everything except school."

## RESPONSES TO THE CHARACTER OF JONAH TAKALUA, FROM THE TONGAN COMMUNITY, TONGAN EDUCATORS AND TONGAN AND OTHER PACIFIC ISLANDER STUDENTS

Tongan and Samoan immigration to Australia has grown rapidly in the last decade. Many people of Tongan and Samoan origin have New Zealand citizenship, which allows them relatively easy access to permanent residency in Australia (Horsley and Walker, 2006, 2008, Horsley, 2011). As a result Tongans and Samoans are the fourth fastest growing immigrant community in Australia. By 2006 many schools in South West and Western Sydney were experiencing the situation where more than 50% of their enrolled students were from these two immigrant groups. The portrayal of Jonah in Summer Heights High presented a number of challenges to the Tongan and other islander communities. The community felt that they had been unfairly picked out for stereotyping and that the portrayal of Jonah could present issues for teachers, Tongan teachers and schools where there were significant Tongan and pacific island enrolments.

### Research Methodology

The research method used was *Talanoa*. New developments in epistemology and research from a South Pacific base (Tongan and Samoan) have led to a re-evaluation of research instruments and research methodology in the Pacific (Helu-Thaman, 2003). In particular the bounded nature of much traditional qualitative research, its disempowering impact and its neglect of the links between what is said and who says it have led to the development of *talanoa* (Helu-Thaman, 2003) approaches to research methodologies. *Talanoa* does not reflect the traditional concepts of reliability and validity, but the learning of researchers and participants in trustworthiness contributes to their group family culture and wellbeing through connectedness. In summary this approach to research avoids researchers retelling stories from their own 'sense-making' stances, and appropriating the narrative:

- avoids ignoring loyalty, kin, spiritual and cultural order;
- avoids ignoring the cultural order that affects the realities of everyday behaviour;

- answers the question, 'Who is this research going to be useful for;'

- highlights potentiality;

- promotes *Tala* - holistic intermingling of participants and researchers' emotions, knowledge and experiences;

- promotes *Noa* - provision of space, time and conditions for co-construction of stories, and hence meaning;

- promotes *Talanoa* - researchers must deeply partake of the research experience, rather than stand back and analyse;

- promotes *Talanoa* - subjective, oral, collaborative, resistant to rigid institutional hegemonic control;

- highlights the collective sociocultural base of experience; and

- uses the language of the group.

The research methodology was developed around a talanoa type conversation with the Tongan community. A variety of conversations, both planned and opportunistic, were held with Tongan educators, community members, families and church groups in early 2010. The research developed a process akin to crystallisation where voices, data and ideas from one discussion and its attendant data set informed conversations and data gathering from the others as they developed in sequence. This occurred over time in a relatively unbounded process of community, church, family and educators' meetings that emerged and morphed as the year progressed. The responses to the portrayal of Jonah and their potential impact have been grouped around a number of themes that are reproduced below:

**Finding and Discussion**

*Portrayal of Jonah as Tongan*

An agreed response was that there was very little to identify Jonah as Tongan. The audience is informed that Jonah is Tongan. He speaks no Tongan in the series and uses no Tongan words. His name (Jonah Takalua) is not a Tongan last name, but is composed of two Tongan words, taka, to walk and lua, to vomit. To a Tongan, Jonah's name in Tongan is 'roaming vomit'. Towards the end of the series we see Jonah's Tongan father, as he responds to allegations of paedophilia made by Jonah, which Jonah admits was a lie to get out of an English class. Even at this stage of the series, the audience is informed that Jonah and his father are Tongan, but there is no actual Tongan behaviour, language or clothing to identify Tonganness.

*Homophobia as an aspect of being Tongan*

A key characteristic of Jonah's behaviour in Summer Heights High is extreme homophobia with frequent epithets, insults and even reflections expressed in a homophobic way. Samoan and Maori cultures include the phenomena of raising boys as girls and transgender identity, known in Samoa as *fafafine*. However, Tongan culture does not share this transgender aspect of Samoan and Maori culture.

Homophobia is rare in the Tongan community. Tongan males, like all Tongans hold hands and are usually very affectionate. Tongan culture includes close physical contact and the absence of a need for personal space that appears to exist in European cultures. The homophobic aspects of Jonah's character was perceived by the community as most un-Tongan.

Jonah's character does overemphasise his masculinity, and he tells the audience that people are afraid and scared of Tongans, as they are physically large. This was seen as both positive and accurate.

*Sex, allegations of sexual misconduct and sexual discussion*

Jonah's character uses the word, "dick," hundreds of times. His graffiti 'tag' is a large penis. He draws genitalia around the school and on his body, and constantly initiates sexual discussions with teachers ("Don't look at my dick, Sir"). The portrayal of a Tongan exhibiting these behaviours was seen as highly insulting by everyone who discussed this issue. Tongan culture features very strong "Tapu" or taboo on all of these activities. Tongans at school, at home or with parents are extremely unlikely to discuss or talk about body parts in this way. The Tongan participants in this research found these aspects of Jonah's character 'highly offensive,' 'really offensive' and not true of 'even the worst Tongan criminals currently serving time in Long Bay Gaol.'

*Shame*

A strong response from the community to Jonah's character was one of shame. In Tongan culture, poor behaviour by children brings shame to the extended family (or *kainga*), and even to the wider Tongan community. The respondents described how they felt shame that a Tongan, Tongan culture and family was represented in this way. Jonah brings disgrace. In Tongan culture the family's name is very important, and Jonah's name, 'walking vomit,' as well as his stereotypical actions were seen to bring considerable shame to being a Tongan Australian.

*Portrayal of Tongan families*

Jonah's character confronts school and teacher authority. Jonah's loud and aggressive behaviour, confrontation with authority, bullying and non-conformism are somewhat reminiscent of Tongan school students in Australian schools.

However, Jonah's character also confronts his Tongan family with the same behaviour. Since the key aspect of Tongan family structure is the performance of one's role in the extended family, Jonah's family behaviour is distinctly un-Tongan. In fact, Jonah's character portrays the Tongan family and community as powerless. In particular, the 'mockumentary' posits the father as not knowing his role in the family and as not being able to influence Jonah when Jonah confronts him. In the author's opinion, after thirty years of working with the Tongan and Samoan communities, nothing could be further from the truth. The portrayal of Jonah also neglects any connection to his wider family (especially siblings) or to the church. The absence of siblings, extended family and church further demonstrates to Tongans Jonah's character's non-Tongan identity; and that this identity has been chosen to deliberately shame the Tongan community. An oft repeated comment was that the portrayal of Aboriginal Australians in the way that Jonah was portrayed to reflect Tongan Australians would have been regarded as racist and would have been prohibited. This comment also reflects the fact that it is very common for Aboriginal and Tongan people to intermarry and that Australia has a number of new and quite large Aboriginal/Tongan communities.

The Tongan educator and community members were also asked to speculate on the impact of the portrayal of Jonah on Tongan young people attending primary and secondary schools in Australia. The following themes emerged in these conversations/ talanoa research.

*Promotion of damaging stereotypes*

The portrayal of Jonah will further stereotype Tongan Australian young people. Since the stereotype is both inaccurate and harmful, it will be a damaging contribution. To the extent that teachers accept the stereotype, this will limit their ability to be culturally responsive to their students. There is a significant amount of evidence that many teachers have accepted the portrayal of Jonah as an authentic representation of Tongan Australians.

*Personal upset and anxiety*

There was a widely held belief that Jonah's character's portrayal of Tongans would upset Tongan children because of the negative portrayal of Tongans and, specifically, Tongan families and family life. The lack of family respect shown

in the 'mockumentary' was predicted to make young people extremely upset and anxious about perceptions of Tongans in the wider community.

*Shame and demoralisation*

Community stereotypes, racism and prejudice are features of the Tongan Australian youth experience. The respondents argued that this negative portrayal of Tongan young people would both shame and demoralise Tongan young people, who may accept this portrayal as confirmation of their inferiority. This would have significant impact on educational goals; expectancy values and self-direction in relation to schooling and education for young Tongan Australians.

This portrayal of Tongans is in stark contrast with other public portrayals of Tongan and Samoan Australians, currently occurring in the media. Movies, such as *Sione's Wedding* portray some of the complexities of Samoan, New Zealand family life in a positive, accessible and humourous way. For example, Body Pacifica, the 2010 Casula Powerhouse photographic exhibition also portrays Tongan, Samoan, Cook Island and Fijian Australians in an extremely positive way. The talanoa research also provided community responses to the materials prepared by the Australian Council of Education Research (Dinham 2007) about Jonah and the education of Tongan Australians. Comments directed to Steve Dinham from ACER include:

1.  The article by Steve Dinham assumes that Jonah is real and authentic. This is not true.

2.  The advice provided by Steve Dinham is from an 'individual,' Western epistemological frame (see Horsley 2011 and Horsley and Walker (2008). It neglects the *kainga* at the heart of all Tongan student motivation and behaviour.

3.  The advice focuses on literacy in its most basic sense; and ignores cultural resources that may assist students to develop literacy skills.

4.  The advice emphasises that the students' problem is literacy. To Tongan perspectives it reflects the lack of teachers' knowledge of Tongan culture and culturally responsive teaching.

Tongan and Islander School Student Responses to the Character of Jonah Takalua

Thirty Pacific Island students at a Sydney High School responded in writing to three questions about Jonah's portrayal of a Tongan student. Of the 30 students, 6 were in years 11 and 12 (senior years) and 24 were in grades 7 to 10. The group comprised 8 Samoans, 5 Tongans, 2 Nauruans, 1 Fijian and 12 Maori students.

The students had been viewing media representations of Islanders in a regular Friday morning class. In the previous two weeks the students had viewed and discussed the portrayal of Islander people in *Sione's Wedding*. which is a light hearted comedy about a New Zealand marriage ceremony in the Samoan community. The teacher of this class is Australia's only Tongan secondary school teacher.

The teacher showed excerpts of Jonah from *Summer Heights High* to the students, and asked them to write comments and responses to three questions.

1.  What do you think about Jonah's character? Is it real? Why/Why not?

2.  If you were from the relevant cultural group or from this cultural group, how would you feel about being portrayed in this way?

3.  Do you think this is an accurate portrayal of this ethnic group or cultural group (Tongan Australians)? Why/Why not?

The teacher observed the class during their viewing of the episodes and made notes on the students' body movement.

### *Students' Physical Responses*

Body movement and interpretation of body image is an important aspect of Samoan and Tongan cultures (Horsley, 2011). These cultures are rank societies, where individuals accept clearly defined roles and the responsibilities that those roles entail. The roles are ranked – meeting new people requires interpreting body image associated with individuals' roles and rank. The teacher closely observed the students' non-verbal, physical responses to the viewing and found that students:

*   felt uncomfortable and shifted around a lot in their seats;

*   turned around constantly;

*   looked down a lot and didn't want to watch;

*   looked unhappy;

*   looked away and felt confronted and targeted.

The following box provides students' voices in responding to questions about the portrayal of Jonah. The students' responses follow closely the impressions and discussions of the community. They were aware that they have been portrayed in a negative way as the 'other'. This otherness has been constructed, however, by a fictional character in a comedy. There is no room for negotiation (Knudsen, 2010) in this portrayal of Tongan Australians. As one student commented, "that's what people think we are but we are not". Questions to student and their response are provided below.

1. What do you think about Jonah's character? Is it real? Why/Why not?

- No, because he is acting as a character and likes to show off in Summer Heights High.

- No, it's a stereotype of fobs. (An islander slang term for recent immigrant -meaning fresh off the boat)

- No, because he's just acting his character in Sumer Heights High.

- No, because it's only a stereotype. It's not real.

- No, because he takes it to the extreme.

- Some aspects of "Jonah" are portrayed correctly. However, other aspects are shown more for a humorous reaction, rather than a realisation of Tongan Australians.

- His character is similar to young Pacific Islander teenagers and shows how society treats them.

- It is funny and kind of true because 'if I stuff up at school, my dad is sending me to Tonga' and he is not real cause he's not Tongan and he is like twenty years old; and some of us aren't that dumb besides me; and he likes PE and construction like most of us.

- That he is a wannabe big guy. He mucks up a lot in school. Yes, there are a couple of Tongans like that.

2. If you were from the relevant cultural group or from this cultural group, how would you feel about being portrayed in this way?

- I would not feel happy because they are setting a bad example of our culture and other people with different nationality will think that that culture is always like that.

- Offended

- Frustrated because that's what people think we are, but we're not.

- I feel mocked against us and our culture.

- This cultural group is very stereotypical. I wouldn't want people to treat me differently or be intimidated by my group.

3. Do you think this is an accurate portrayal of this ethnic group or cultural group (Tongan Australians)? Why/Why not?

- No, because people have different manners and different respect for other people.

- No, because everyone's different.

- No, because we value and respect our families; everybody's different.

- I think it is a false portrayal because it's a disrespect to culture and religion.

- No, because people are not idiots.

- I think it is an accurate portrayal, but the character is made more humorous, yet is still in character.

- Yes, because it shows that that's how some people act.

- Not really, well some of them Tongans act tough.

- Yes, because some Tongans get into a lot of trouble in school.

### *Closing the public space for constructing Tongans*

A long tradition in textbook research is to deconstruct the techniques that are used to develop the binary elements that allow the self and the other to be created (Knudsen, 2010). At the heart of this process is the ascription of certain values to certain signs (notions, words, symbols, concepts) and the privileging of certain signs by ascribing to them superior meanings (Naseem, 2009).

Much textbook research shows that the process by which the self and other are created is subtle and invisible and requires sophisticated analysis to assist in the deconstruction. More recently, researchers like Knudsen (2010) have brought to our attention the concept of linguistic turn, "language constructs meaning and is meaning making" (p. 2). What positivist inspired researchers think of as reality, turns towards a research of reality as representation. In gender research the linguistic turn means a shift from studying gender roles to studying gender as construction' (Knudsen, 2010). What this approach in research leads us to consider is the constant interchange and negotiation involved in Jonah's relationship with others in the 'mockumentary' creates a stereotype that constructs Tongans and Tongan adolescents in a certain way. Since this portrayal has entered the media, language and the culture of the community; the portrayal is widely regarded as authentic by both the general community and many educators of Tongan and Islander children. Since the portrayal of Tongans by Jonah is so public and dominant (hegemonic) it has blocked out any other view of Tongans and Tongan adolescents and closed the public space to accurate and alternative views.

The major concern that closing this public space creates for the Tongan community is to restrict the understandings and insights that the community in general and educators of Tongan and other islander children in particular, can bring to the education of Tongan and Islander children. The next section of this chapter

explores the impact of the closing of this public space on teachers and the education system.

## CONCLUSION – THE IMPACT OF JONAH'S PORTRAYAL ON CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE TEACHING AND TEACHER PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Culturally responsive teaching has come to refer to the way that teachers acknowledge the primary role of culture in teaching and learning. As a result of this acknowledgment, teachers then seek to understand the culture of the students and adapt and modify curriculum and teaching as a result of these understandings. The predominant approach to culturally responsive teaching is the "listen to culture" approach (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Macfarlane, 2004) where teachers recognize the role of culture in "shaping knowledge bases and pedagogies within educational programs" (Macfarlane, 2004, p. 17). As a result, teachers develop cultural knowledge approaches where teaching strategies are based on aspects of the underlying culture of the students. This approach has also been developed by Osborne (2001), who stresses that teachers must acknowledge students' prior cultural experiences to foster cultural identity. From the perspective of culturally responsive teaching, it is important to both spell out the cultural assumptions on which the class operates and then for the teacher to incorporate aspects of the students' cultural traditions and knowledge in its operation.

A vital aspect of the teacher's role is to build a bridge between the students' existing knowledge and the knowledge the student is to create by operating within the child's zone of proximal development. This approach to planning learning requires that teachers understand the students' non-school cultural life and background and use this knowledge in developing and interpreting curriculum. This culturally responsive approach to learning requires more attention to be paid to students' non-school life and the cultural knowledge they bring to the classroom. The implications for teaching and learning of this approach have been to validate, value, and incorporate elements of Pasifika culture and worldviews into curriculum and pedagogy, and to develop biculturalism in teachers. The research of Bishop and colleagues (2002) has stressed that Pasifika students recognize that the quality of classroom relationships and the use of culturally appropriate pedagogy are vital factors in Pasifika student engagement in school (Horsley and Walker, 2005). To foster culturally responsive teaching in the area of Pasifika Australian islander education, the Education Knowledge Network at the University of Western Sydney, developed a suite of specialised professional development meetings and informal events, full day long programs and pedagogy tours of Tongan and Samoan schools and villages. This professional learning in culturally responsive teaching is built on the research conducted by the Pasifika education group at the University of Sydney and by research conducted by the Islander Learning Centres

managed by the University of Sydney and University of Western Sydney and the Samoan community in New South Wales (Horsley and Bagnall, 2003, 2008; Horsley and Walker, 2005, 2008; and Horsley and Butland, 2003).

Between 2006 and 2009 over 10 programs, courses and overseas pedagogy tours (to Tonga and Samoa) were provided. Over 150 teachers and other school professionals from football coaches to Pacific Island Community Liaison Officers (mostly Pacific Islanders themselves – and mostly Samoan) attended these professional learning opportunities. In all of these professional learning opportunities Tongan and Samoan community representatives and teachers attended to provide that direct community voice on issues raised by teachers (see Horsley 2011 for an extended discussion of these professional learning programs).

In late 2007, 2008 and 2009 teachers asked questions about Jonah's character, Jonah's Tonganness, the accuracy of Chris Lilley's depiction of Pasifika youth and school and aspects of Tongan parenting and culture. Tongan community leaders and teachers attended these professional learning opportunities and provided insights into the impact of the portrayal of Tongan and other Pasifika (e.g. Samoan and Fijian) students and also the community and Pasifika student reaction to the portrayal of Pasifika students in this way. The view of Tongans portrayed by Chris Lilley through the character of Jonah proved to be very resilient in teachers. In part the teachers' questions reflected the publication circulated by the Australian Council of Education Research (ACER) that purported to provide advice to teachers of Tongan students.

The professional learning programs also provided the opportunity for the teacher participants to develop a community of practice and learners. The courses provided links to the Pasifika communities that many teachers followed after returning to school. In some cases these links provided new community resources for teachers and schools, and advice and support in developing educational programs.

Teachers also developed an online community of learning and practice and shared resources developed in the schools with each other. A number of the teacher participants took the opportunity to attend Pasifika community events. Only after spending time with the Tongan and Samoan communities did the space open for teachers to consider different views of how Tongan families and culture worked and the implications of this working for culturally responsive teaching. Tongan views of discipline, violence, self-esteem, intrinsic and extrinsic motivation and childhood can only be understood in relation to the way that Tongan and Samoan families are structured by Tongan and Samoan culture. Once this knowledge is accessed by teachers they come to see how culturally responsive teaching can improve Tongan and Samoan student outcomes and reclaim the public space from Jonah about what it means to grow up Tongan Australian and to be successful in school.

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## APPENDIX 1: AUSTRALIAN COUNCIL OF EDUCATION RESEARCH NOTE TO TEACHERS



### The Lesson of Jonah

*In this opinion article, originally published in Education Review, Professor Stephen Dinham, looks at the lessons that can be learned from the character of Jonah in the recent hit television series Summer Heights High.*

In the final episode of Chris Lilley's Summer Heights High we saw Jonah, the smart-arse Tongan break-dancer, dragged from the school. School was the source of much of Jonah's identity and his problems.

Like many, Jonah was always up against it. His family background was literacy poor. Reading material was lacking in the home and Jonah wasn't read to as a young child. Jonah didn't attend pre-school and by the time he entered primary he was already two to three years behind some of his peers in literacy development. This gap widened. Jonah moved from school to school and each transition had a negative effect on his learning.  Jonah was one of many and his teachers, well meaning and under pressure, didn't diagnose or deal with his literacy problems. Jonah didn't receive the individual attention, explicit teaching and feedback he needed. Jonah's lack of progress was attributed to his poor behaviour and attitude but his behaviour and attitude were largely a product of his lack of academic achievement.

Jonah couldn't master literacy and because so much of schooling is literacy based, he struggled in all curriculum areas. He knew he was falling behind and covered his inadequacy with bravado and over-confidence. Jonah avoided engaging with schoolwork as much as possible. He discovered he could make people laugh.

By the time he entered high school, Jonah was five years behind some of his peers. By year 8, he was seven years behind many in his year and found basic school work beyond him. His reading and writing skills were at year 3 level, lower than they had been in year 6. Jonah was going backwards.

Fortunately, Jonah was good at break-dancing, something which became central in his life. Unfortunately, break-dancing also got him into trouble at school and was used as a means to punish Jonah when his behaviour got out of hand.

Jonah was placed in a special reading program where he received attention and encouragement but not the tools to master literacy. It was thought that recognising and valuing his cultural background through programs such as 'Polynesian Pathways' would motivate Jonah and his friends and develop feelings of self-worth, but the program itself had no depth, consisting of grass skirts and dancing, rather than knowledge and appreciation of Polynesia's rich cultures. Jonah's real issue wasn't with his cultural background – he was distinctive for other reasons. Jonah lacked the basics, but he wasn't challenged either.

When Jonah was cooperative and well-behaved, his teachers told themselves their strategies were working but a lack of academic progress made conflict inevitable. The brighter year 7 boys discovered they could wind up Jonah and get him into trouble. In all of this, Jonah's home background was a hindrance. An absent mother and an authoritarian, unresponsive father who couldn't help him with his work didn't support Jonah's development and learning. Threats to send Jonah back to Tonga failed to improve his literacy and schoolwork.

Jonah had a growing, 'bad' reputation and was backed deeper into a corner. The frustrations and incidents became more frequent. He was suspended, which was meant to teach him a lesson. Jonah came back to school even further behind. The cut and paste work he had done while on suspension was ridiculed.  After more incidents, he was expelled, physically. Jonah had failed school, and school had failed Jonah, but he didn't want to leave. It was all he had. His final act was to deface the school and the teachers' cars. Jonah would soon come to the attention of another set of authority figures and his education would continue on the streets and in other institutions. He would be backed into other corners. If he was lucky, however, his father or others might take an interest in him and give Jonah the guidance and warmth he needed. He might obtain an unskilled job and experience a sense of achievement and independence. Self-realisation might dawn. One day, he might even learn to read and write. At last resort, there are some good literacy programs in prison. One day, Jonah might even be able to break the illiteracy cycle with his own children, although going 'up' to the school on their behalf would be always be difficult.

Professor Stephen Dinham is ACER's Research Director (Teaching and Leadership).This article was first published in the November issue of Education Review, which is online at http://www.educationreview.com.au

**APPENDIX 2 NEWSPAPER REPORT**

**JONAH Takalua, TV's most famous foul-mouthed delinquent and character in Summer Heights High, has become the latest Aussie schoolyard hero.**

Many children are repeating rude and racist phrases uttered by the unruly teenager in ABC's hit TV comedy *Summer Heights High*, according to parents and teachers.

The ABC "mockumentary" is set in a fictional high school where redheads are described by Jonah as "rangas" -- from orang-utans. The troubled Pacific Islander boy argues it's all right to tell his teachers to "puck off" because "it starts with P, so it's not rude". He calls his classmates "homos" and has a "Dick-tation" graffiti tag.

Students are also imitating writer and performer Chris Lilley's two other characters -- stuck-up private schoolgirl Ja'mie and delusional drama teacher Mr G. Plain-speaking Ja'mie ends each put-down with: "No offence, but it's true", and Mr G's drama class holds a risque role-play called "slap the butcher".

Its subject matter and post-*The Chaser's War on Everything* timeslot is striking a chord with young viewers.

*Summer Heights High* last week held on to most of its record-setting audience with 1.37 million viewers. A week earlier, 1.6 million tuned to the premiere, making it the highest-rated new comedy for the ABC since *Mother and Son* debuted in 1992.

Victorian Principals Association president Fred Ackerman criticised the show for promoting poor standards of behaviour. "Kids do copy the sorts of role models portrayed on TV and absorb their behaviour like sponges," he said. "The role models we see on TV must be appropriate ones. It's as simple as that." Mr Ackerman said racially charged humour was unacceptable on TV, especially when aimed at school students.

"Broadcasters need to be careful about the sorts of behaviour they are portraying and, when pushing the boundaries, should do so with a sense of community responsibility." Mr Ackerman said it was not a case of finding the right balance, but taking a "zero tolerance" approach to racial humour.

Child psychologist Michael Carr-Gregg said that, though the show was "brilliant" and "a fabulous Australian comedy", it could be seen to be "mocking ef-

feminate men and homosexuals as well as reinforcing racial stereotypes, through characters such as Jonah. "It is really important to understand that kids under eight can't distinguish between fact and fantasy. There is potential kids won't see the show as a satire," he said.

"There is also the danger of people over eight not being able to recognise this as satire either." Education Union branch president Mary Bluett said the show was 'clearly tongue-in-cheek'. "It takes the mickey out of a range of stereotypes and people can't really take offence. It is directed at secondary school students in an appropriate timeslot," she said.

# SAME TEXTBOOKS – DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES[1]
## Discussing apartheid in two very different South African school settings

HENNING HUES

Many people remember the broadcasted pictures of Nelson Mandela in 1994, inaugurated as state president of South Africa, and marking the country's democratic future. Soon after this new beginning the need for massive reforms was revealed. One important sphere to be reformed was the education sector, which had been serving as an active vehicle for the apartheid state that enforced the separation of blacks from whites[2] and favored the latter in all aspects of political and social life (Jansen 2001: 42).

One important aspect of these reforms in the field of education was the history curriculum and textbook reform between 1995 and 2003 that – unlike reform processes within other school subjects – had to deal with historiographical and societal concerns. All reforms following 1994 aimed to provide students with a better understanding of the past, and to supply them with democratic views and multiple perspectives on their sensitive national history (Siebörger 2006: 229).

Is this working out today? Do students' visions reflect these multiple perspectives and progressive views that the curriculum and textbooks aim towards? How does the use of a specific history textbook influence children's conceptions of racism and apartheid?

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[2]  Here, a word or two should be said about racial terminology in the context of South Africa. Although the general intention must not be to rate or describe human beings along the lines of skin color or ethnic background, racial terms appear almost unavoidable when addressing the South African case. The apartheid past and its racialized perspectives influence the country and its citizens still today. The terms of "black" and "white", in use during apartheid, are still used today, mostly for statistical purposes, but also in order to reach an understanding of the cultural other. Most South Africans (and children, as we shall see) make use of these terms with full awareness and free of political intention. In this text, "race" is certainly not seen as a scientifically "true" concept of human beings, but grasped as a socially constructed implication for all matters of public life after 1994.

For a textbook researcher, it is tempting to ask whether and how history textbook knowledge and narratives find their way into children's perspectives. This text therefore explores textbook intentions and ideas regarding multi-perspectivity and, by contrast, introduces children's perspectives on apartheid in South African High School settings, as recorded in two group discussions in very different schools. In this chapter I examine the relationship between textbook knowledge and students' knowledge, and whether the textbook "succeeds" or "fails" in providing learners with the intended competences.

This contribution consists of four parts. The *first part* provides a general picture of the reforms in the South African educational sector after 1994, in particular concerning the changes to the history curriculum. The reform itself has been the subject of many valuable studies, and different authors have applied perspectives as different as educational policy analysis, educational media theory or historiographical concerns. One might ask why this reform background is at all relevant for the intended contextualization of textbooks with children's views. In the first place, textbooks in general can be understood as a consequence of the curriculum, as its applicable and concrete advancement. Any textbook is based on the political intentions of its curriculum, and this might even be more important when it comes to a controversial subject like history. In the second place, the curriculum reform enjoyed great public interest, and both experts and the media debated its contents openly. Textbook reform was seen as part of this societal discussion, but the curriculum as a benchmark for visible change was given a far greater symbolic power after 1994 (Jansen 2001: 41).

The *second part* of this contribution introduces a history textbook called *Looking into the Past* (Friedman et al., 2006), popular in South African High Schools. This section introduces the idea and the design of the textbook, and analyzes the competences it aims to teach children in the chapter on apartheid and racial segregation. Generally, South African history textbooks do not differ much in terms of design and contents, and every book dedicates at least one chapter to apartheid.

With these aims in mind, the *third part* draws attention to how history is understood, as debated in two Grade 12 focus group discussions. It explores how students grasp the concept of apartheid, and reveals the differences in the intentions formulated in the curriculum and textbooks. As both schools form a sample that includes great differences, any form of generalization is inappropriate. Instead, these exemplary schools can give insights as to the highly heterogeneous conditions South African schools face. It must be taken into consideration, however, that despite these differences all schools work with the same history syllabus.

The *fourth part* discusses the gap between the aspirations and the impact of the textbook, offering possible explanations for it and future research suggestions.

## EDUCATION REFORM

As mentioned, South Africa needed to undertake numerous reforms after the "negotiated revolution" that led to the first democratic election and the presidency of Nelson Mandela. The education system, which had previously served as a vehicle of apartheid, was one of the most obvious spheres in public life that required reform and re-thinking (Siebörger 2000: 39). Alongside the eighteen highly racialized education departments and the training institutions for teachers and administrators, the curriculum and textbooks were also subjected to comprehensive reforms in order to re-organize the mode in which young South Africans were learning and studying according to the new ideals of freedom and equality.

Many attempts at reforming the curriculum and textbooks *before* 1994 are almost forgotten today (e.g. Hagemann 1993, Siebörger 1992). Early attempts made by innovative and progressive educational material were refused by the education departments, as they seemed too liberal (e.g. Kallaway 1986). One of these important initiatives was the *Sparkling Waters* talks that took place in a hotel of the same name close to Johannesburg and which brought together academic historians, educators and educational material authors. It was initiated by the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig, Germany, and aimed to debate historiographies and textbook contents for a post-apartheid state (Pingel 1994: 102, Alexander 2009).

After 1994, three phases were defined within this reform (Wedekind & Harley 2004: 197), which are listed here to give an impression of the dynamic and sometimes chaotic circumstances in which schools found themselves. While almost every school subject was subject to these reforms, history was to be particularly affected.

The first phase was defined as the "initial cleansing" of the most sexist and racist contents and the ratio of ethnic references in former apartheid textbooks. An old Grade 12 textbook of several hundred pages dedicated, for example, as few as twelve (!) sentences to the political situation of the black South African population (van Rensburg & Oosthuizen 1987), and was therefore not acceptable after 1994. The 1995 history curriculum underlined the "understanding of people and communities" (Department of Education, 1995: 1) as significant measures toward recognizing the ethnic variety of the country. This early and careful cleansing initiative caused some irritation, as the new Mandela administration seemed unprepared for a new syllabus, though the ANC party had conducted a considerable amount of ideological work during the liberation struggle on educational topics (Christie 2008: 130). This also led to an increased public interest in the curriculum and textbook reform – a topic of usually little common interest.

The new syllabus sought to "align the functioning apartheid curriculum symbolically with the new dispensation" (Fataar 2006: 645), and older books were

modified either only a little or not at all. Many experienced historians felt excluded as this initial step of curriculum reform was mostly carried out by political administrators (Siebörger 2000: 40).

No greater reform or re-organization of the syllabus followed until 1998 – which some considered to be far too late (Jansen 2001: 42). It was then that "Curriculum 2005" (whose name at that time must have had some innovative tone) was presented, giving rise to some shock among many involved in history education: it not only reformed contents within the curriculum, but introduced a completely new approach to education: skill-centered learning and methodological reform (Siebörger 2000: 41). This was a bitter pill to swallow, especially among historians, as the new dispensation concentrated on the applicability of knowledge (Kros 2004: 2). This concentration on applicability can also be explained by the increasingly powerful positions of trade unions within South African society. These unions aimed to provide broader sections of the population with applicable, "useful" knowledge resources (Fataar 2006: 647, also see 650).

Curriculum 2005 focused on a learner-centered pedagogy, resulting in new methodological approaches and more independent learning processes. Textbooks of this time differ from previous ones, aiming at more learner engagement and critical questioning. Topics were not presented systematically or chronologically, but in a conceptual manner. The choice of historical input seemed to be rather arbitrary, and the books also showed an appreciation for oral and pre-colonial histories. As all subjects, history teaching was defined by learning outcomes that described the intended skills to be learnt, assessment standards that defined the success of the learning outcomes, and content that may be used in class. The character of the latter was suggestive rather than regulatory, and unlike former curricula, this left teachers alone with decisions regarding when to use which contextual content:

> It was critical of many aspects, including the training of teachers, the learning support materials and the shallow understanding of many teachers of the operation of the curriculum (Siebörger 2000: 42).

The subject of history was merged with geography to form the "Learning Area Social Science" that focused so much on skills (or outcomes, as they were called) that little coherent content remained.

Kros expressed a fear of the "end of history" (1998: 25), as a systematic approach to the past became impossible: anything "historical" was anecdotal; history was used to illustrate concepts, but did not have an end in itself. Siebörger suggests this decline of historicity took place "because it was part of an old (and therefore discredited), pre-Apartheid mindset about education which needed to be swept away in a reign of virtue" (Siebörger 2000: 44).

Other critiques focused more on Outcomes-based Education (OBE), the new pedagogical and assessment mode for South Africa. Jansen criticized OBE and Curriculum 2005 with its ambitious goals, stating that they were not applicable in a highly diverse country like South Africa (Jansen 1999: 152). Siebörger also criticizes the way they were implemented:

> In an education system that had only ever had experience of centralized curriculum planning and where the majority of teachers had received very inadequate preparations for teaching, this approach was to prove hopelessly optimistic (2006: 233).

As the inapplicability of Curriculum 2005 became obvious in 1997, when the first schools tried to teach within its logics, a ministerial curriculum review committee was established in order to identify problems and formulate recommendations for future curriculum and textbook initiatives (Siebörger 2000: 44). As a consequence of these recommendations, history was re-installed as an autonomous subject. Technically, the committee criticized the difficult and sometimes diffuse language of the curriculum. Textbooks would not have the intended guiding function, but often led to the confusion of teachers and learners alike (Chisholm 2004: 24). The new curriculum, called National Curriculum Statement (NCS), tried to integrate OBE's learning and assessment logic, but formulated its contents in a more concrete manner.

It must be considered that the South African education system remained highly diverse and struggled with the implementation of changes. Whereas some schools can claim world standards and a progressive pedagogy, others struggle with basic needs like adequate teacher qualification, school infrastructure and working morale. Therefore, the tempo of all curriculum change and textbook reform varied, and while some schools used the new books and syllabi confidently, others still struggled with the previous ones (Siebörger 2006: 232). The most important legacy of all reform in the sector of education is the strong focus on skills and applicable knowledge. The textbooks resulting from this reform present these goals quite clearly.

## TEXTBOOK INTENTIONS

*Looking into the past* (Friedman et al 2006: iv, Department of Education 2003: 9) is a textbook that clearly demonstrates the application of curricular recommendations. The recommendations are described in detail in its introduction, which even goes as far as to quote the curriculum verbatim. The introduction lays out the program according to the latest curriculum prescriptions, both regarding the methodological aspect and the values to be transmitted to learners.

As previously mentioned, one result of the history curriculum reform was the strong focus on outcomes. The outcomes for history are the mastery of historical

enquiry, historical concepts, knowledge construction and communication and the appreciation of the topic of heritage. The book addresses all of them, and does not follow a chronological frame but is organized along thematic lines.

While heritage is approached in a different chapter, the three other outcomes structure the chapter on apartheid. All sources quoted are examined in detail, and the activities offer pertinent questions as to the context, prompting the students to analyze them in detail. The presentation of key terms (such as liberalism or communism) allows the trenchant articulation of events. The concept of multi-perspective history, presenting "various points of view" and showing "historical truth" as "multiple expressions of varying and often contradictory versions of the same history" (DoE 2003: 9, Friedman et al 2006: iv), is implicit in the chapter, and surfaces in parts where two arguments are simply contrasted. As for knowledge construction and communication, the activities provide methodological advice and practice, be it in the writing of an essay, comparison of sources or preparation of a debate.

Running parallel to these methodological concerns and somehow representing the reform process, a core idea in the revised curriculum is that of the importance of history in its formative function, making citizens out of the students. Indeed, several words in this program are related to the active mission of history: "engendering", "promoting", "fostering", "preparing"; it "promotes", "confronts" and "enables" (DoE 2003: 9, Friedman et al 2006: iv). This charged and value-driven program seems to be nowhere as relevant as in the study of apartheid.

The curricular document on history suggests that it should "engender in learners an understanding of human agency" (DoE 2003: 9), which is linked with the concept of multi-perspective history. It should also inspire an appreciation of "the democratic values of the constitution" (DoE 2003: 9, Friedman et al 2006: iv). The constitution provides as guiding principles for the country "human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms", as well as "non-racialism and non-sexism" (Constitution of South Africa, Art. 1). Positive mention is indeed made of men and women of all backgrounds, and the struggle against apartheid is presented in term of human rights and freedom. The curriculum also demands of history that it should foster civic responsibilities and teach that, "as human beings, learners have choices, and that they can make the choice of changing the world for the better" (DoE 2003: 9). The chapter on apartheid entitled "Apartheid and Resistance", follows this recommendation and approaches the topic in an uplifting tale of people who fought an unjust system and changed the world.

The book is thus constructed around the ambitious prescriptions of the curriculum, aiming at fostering citizenship among the students. To do so requires both

the critical understanding provided by the methodological aims, and the promotion of values.

## DEBATING APARTHEID

After summarizing the circumstances of the curriculum and textbook reforms in South Africa after 1994 and introducing the textbook that is used in the two schools examined in this study, I will now focus on the learners' textbook application and representation.

The empirical data origin from two focus group discussions carried out in early 2010. Both groups consisted of Grade 12 learners, aged sixteen and eighteen, attending schools that use *Looking into the Past* (Friedman et al 2006) as a history textbook.

*School X* is an urban school close to the center of a large South African city. The school consists exclusively of black learners and teachers, and is regarded as rather problematic. Many children come from HIV/Aids- affected families and have migration backgrounds. Of these, many do not speak sufficient English to follow classes. As a result, pass rates in the final exams are low. The community is economically poor and the school is listed as a "no fees-school". Teachers told me that, due to their not having had an education, most families do not pay much attention to the learners' homework and do not maintain regular contact with the school. Despite the fact that insufficient teacher training is regarded as a huge problem in South African schooling (Jansen 1999: 151), many teachers at *School X*, including the history teacher, received four years of university training. The focus group consisted of five children. *School Y* is quite the opposite: located in a seaside and wealthy suburb of another major South African city, this school has an excellent reputation and charges considerable school fees. Entirely white during apartheid, the school is attended in a seventy-thirty ratio by white and non-white learners today, though all teachers are still white. The language of instruction is English, teachers are highly qualified, and the pass rate of Grade 12 learners is high. There is considerable contact with parents, and a communal spirit is perceivable. The focus group at *School Y* consisted of seven children (two boys, five girls), of whom three children were white, two were colored and two were black. Three children had English as their mother tongue and two had Afrikaans. It was remarkable that both children who did not use English as mother tongue had no perceivable accent. Rather, everybody at *School Y* used clear British intonation, which is unusual for colored children and Afrikaans-speakers.[3]

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[3]   In addition to footnote 1, it must be considered that both schools are not meant to be represented as "the white" or "the black" school. Any research about South Africa should try to overcome racial terminology and should not support racial stereotyping. It is, however, impossible to ignore the historical

My first question explored the initial and intuitive reaction of children to the topic of apartheid. Children at *School X* reacted emotionally to the idea of a teacher entering the class and starting to talk about apartheid:

Interviewer:     Okay, how do you feel when your teacher says, okay, we are going to deal with Apartheid now in history class?

(3 seconds pause)

Mandisa:         Oh well .. Wow, okay sometimes . I kinda get angry I won't lie .. like .. to think that how people were treated before . And you look now and like "oh man" [...] Okay, okay but sometimes I get angry and sometimes like "oh word". I can't be angry for the past, it happened. It happened. And I can't keep my strength against this. *(Group discussion School X, 09.03.2010)*[4]

Mandisa explains, after a short moment of pensive silence, how she is on the fence: she describes her own anger and sadness, but also reflects on her powerlessness. It is noticeable that the learner does not blame any person or group directly for the way "people were treated", but formulates neutrally. A boy in the group reflects further, quite unsure and hesitant in the choice of words he uses, that "when you talk about apartheid ... actually .. the most of us, I can say as blacks .. it's like . it's kind of, ehm, like .. hurt us. You see? Especially when you think about the things which happened." (Group discussion, *School X*, 09.03.2010) Asked about initial reactions on the topic, the group associates the question with reconciliation surprisingly quickly. One boy states: "We have to forgive and forget about what happened." (Group discussion, *School X*, 09.03.2010)

In clear contrast, the group at *School Y* dismisses the topic offensively:

Interviewer      Let's come to the very situation I'm your teacher now and I'm telling you: okay guys, new topic, we speak about apartheid.

Pieter           Oh, crap.//Susanne: @ya@// That's basically that's what it is

all              ya, yeah, yes

Michael          ya, #it's just#

Susanne          #ah#

---

and social background of these highly contrasting schools. It must be underlined that no questions were racialized, but that children's own perspectives reflected racial stereotypes. This is somewhat tragic – but an undeniable reality.

[4]   Excerpt from the transcription rules: The numbers of dots represents breaks within a person's speak. **Bold** words indicate raised speech volume and <u>underlined</u> words indicate an emphasis in the voice of the speaker. @-signs stand for @laughing@, and #-signs for #parallel speech#.

| Janneke | #It's like okay I'll be bunking @# |
|---|---|
| Kefilwe | I think that it's it's it's overt now, if I ya if ya my teacher #told me we're going# |
| Michael | #we've done it so much# |
| Kefilwe | to learn about apartheid I'd bunk that day. |
| Susanne | ya, we don't wanna |
| | #learn....cause we know about it# |
| Anne | #we don't wanna it's so learn about it's so overboard# |
| Janneke | #It's like HIV we have it every year since grade one# |
| Giftyi | #you don't know anything despite apartheid# |

*(group discussion School Y, 28.04.2010)*

Pieter's derogative expression is supported by the group, and there is a consensus that the topic of apartheid is highly repetitive, hence boring. Hard-working and shy Kefilwe may not be serious when planning "to bunk that day", but this claim indicates a limited openness towards the topic that can be found among all group participants.

**Concept of Apartheid**

After this little "warm-up" sequence, the two groups revealed their general concepts of apartheid. Both groups answered my initial question as to whether "history was important at all" positively, adding their wish "to know where we come from" (Kefilwe, in group discussion at *School X*, 09.03.2010, and Nomalanga, in group discussion at *School Y*, 28.94.2010), which sounds like a perfect textbook phrase.

It was surprising how carefully learners at *School X* formulated their sentences and gave history in general the role of a "foundation for their acting" (Sipho, in group discussion *School X*, 09.03.2010) and as a "guide through life"(Thoniphani, in group discussion *School X,* 09.03.2010). History was in general seen as an important reference for prospective acting and behavior as "in order to prepare what you are going to do tomorrow, we need to know where it all started" (Thebogo, in group discussion *School X*, 09.03.2010).

When speaking about apartheid as a concept, *School Y*'s children argue that the past was "embarrassing" (Pieter, in group discussion *School Y*, 28.04.2010), and still very troubling, e.g. regarding positive discrimination against whites (Janneke, in group discussion *School Y*, 28.04.2010).

The children at *School X* are quite taciturn when asked about their understanding of apartheid. They are neither willing nor – perhaps due to their age – able to view the topic on an abstract level. Instead, they refer to recent black xenophobia in South Africa. At one stage, I ask the group provocatively whether they would not feel angry about what happened to their parents. The group remains silent, and no emotion arises. Instead, anecdotal knowledge and stories are told, as Mandisa talks about her mother's job as a domestic worker.

From a personal perspective, I wondered how little children told me about their parents and the first-hand knowledge they received from them. I therefore raised the topic directly:

| | |
|---|---|
| Interviewer | And do you sometimes talk about apartheid with your parents or family or your friends? |
| Nomalanga | Actually it's not something we discuss that much, I mean, we're used to living in this kind of world, everything around us . Me actually, I don't talk much... |
| Thoniphani | Yah, me also. *(group discussion School X, 09.03.2010)* |

Elaborating on the topic, the group expressed a deep desire for communication with their parents and more personal insights. This might also be due to the circumstances of the school. The group explains in a somewhat bittersweet tone that references to apartheid are used by parents for educational purposes:

| | |
|---|---|
| Thebogo | Apartheid is just like when they hit you. Your parents will hit you in there. They'll want to punish you, treat you like the way they were, #were treated#. |
| Mandisa | #were @treated@# |
| Nomalanga | **Yahh!** I went to school **a long distance, you <u>gotta</u> walk!** @@ |
| Mandisa | You're lucky you have shoes, <u>I</u> didn't have. |

*(Group discussion School X, 09.03.2010)*

Parents are also said to refer predominantly to their own ethnic group and to be opposed to explaining the racialized society to their children from scratch:

| | |
|---|---|
| Sipho | Like, you know, like in terms of **family**. Families they <u>don't</u> usually talk about that. You know like listen, for instance, you say you're a Zulu person, your family, or, or like they'll **<u>always</u> praise** you that a Zulu and Zulu people are like this and that and that. Like **better** than other, other, other you know, other races or something like this .. So I think, that's the other thing that influences this thing of racism, you know *(group discussion School X, 09.03.2010)* |

While children at School X expressed a shortfall of trans-generational knowl-edge and showed interest in their parents' stories, children at School Y distanced themselves from their parents:

Janneke                last generation .. like . screwed it up //I: mh// they did apartheid
                       . so . fair enough, empower the people who were like .. kind of
                       screwed then, but don't **don't** put it on this generation .. *(Jan-*
                       *neke, in group discussion School Y, 28.04.2010)*

Pieter finds even clearer words:

Pieter                 Well I know for a fact that my Dad is a very .. prominent . mem-
                       ber of the AWB[5], that whole thing. And my grandfather was a
                       member of it and they all are and they did wrong in the apart-
                       heid, but I @did nothing@ wrong //I: mh//I **swear**. I did **noth-**
                       **ing wrong**. And for me, yes, it is embarrassing . to hear about
                       that stuff, [...]it's not embarrassing anymore, it's only **pissing**
                       me off. That's what it's doing. "*(Pieter, in group discussion*
                       *School Y, 28.04.2010)*

Other children in *School Y* have a great need to disassociate with racism and it is stated several times that "I don't like .. I'm not racist or anything" (Giftyi, in group discussion School Y, 28.04.2010) or "I don't wanna be . I'm not . racist" (Michael, in group discussion School Y, 28.04.2010). Nevertheless, the group at *School Y* shows understanding for the "older generation" and their struggles to adapt to post-1994 race relations. When asked, this group also underlines a gen-eral relevance of apartheid for their own lives, not in terms of race relations and reconciliation, but due to a fear of positive discrimination against white people, or – as Janneke calls it – "legal apartheid" (Janneke, in group discussion *School Y*, 28.04.2010). The colored and black children within the group rate positive dis-crimination against whites as "just backwards, which makes no sense, like I don't .. I might be black, I really don't care, but that shouldn't mean I should need less points then anybody else" (Kefilwe, in group discussion *School Y*, 28.04.2010). It is a remarkable fact that Kefilwe feels a necessity to underline she would not mind being black, although this cannot be discussed here at length.

Interestingly enough, the majority of the *School X*'s group would *deny* that apartheid and knowledge about it matters, as "we were not there" (Mandisa, in group discussion *School X*, 09.03.2010). This obvious contradiction within the group at *School X*, stating on the one hand the outdated character of apartheid, but on the other hand the wish for more parental insight, appears hard to understand.

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[5]   AWB = *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* (engl. Afrikaner Resistance Movement), a militant right-wing white Afrikaans-dominated men-dominated activist group.

The group expresses its readiness to forgive by denying apartheid's relevance for today's South Africa, as the following excerpt of the discussion illustrates:

| | |
|---|---|
| Thoniphani | As I'm saying, so, so we **don't** have to like consider what happened. |
| Nomalanga | Exactly. |
| Thoniphani | We have to <u>forgive</u> and forget about what happened |
| Nomalanga | And <u>when</u> was it! |
| Thoniphani | You see? |
| Mandisa | Yahh. |
| Thoniphani | Hhhm. |
| Mandisa | You weren't **there, ne!** |
| Thoniphani | Hhm. |
| Mandisa | I, honestly, when talking about apartheid, ne! It's, it's not a shocking issue. cause . I was born 93. It happened ninety when? |
| Nomalanga | Something. |
| Mandisa | Something. You know .. @ But that doesn't mean, okay I have my age group which is white. That doesn't mean I should . hold grudges about what happened back then. We were <u>both</u> not there. (*group discussion School X, 09.03.2010*) |

*"We- and-they" vs. understanding prejudices*

When speaking about reconciliation and forgiveness, neither group represents the idealized "understand[ing] of prejudices [of] race" (Friedman et al 2006: vi) as mentioned in the textbook, but rather they both make use of stereotypes and speculate about "the other". Within the dynamics of the group, dichotomies of "we and they" are established and underlined. This is especially interesting as stereotypes about black people are somehow accepted by the non-white group members in *School Y* who summarize that black people are not interested in knowing about apartheid:

| | |
|---|---|
| Pieter | But then, listen, if you teach apartheid to **them**, to them it's gonna mean nothing. |
| Kefilwe | mh yes |

Pieter          cause <u>they</u>'re sitting there they're thinking okay, our house is rotting, we don't have water to drink, I'm thirsty as hell, and now we have to learn about <u>white people</u> beating up **our people**.

Michael        I agree *(group discussion School Y, 28.04.2010)*

I ask the group how they think disadvantaged learners would learn about apartheid, and mention the lack of resources in many South African schools and problems finding qualified teachers. The learners see a risk of repeated hatred and anger about difficult economic situations:

Giftyi          for them ... it might might create <u>another</u> like thing between whites and blacks, because you did that to <u>us,</u> you see what I mean, it creates apartheid all **over again**

Kefilwe        but I think it's been a .. exactly, cause then they're gonna get pissed with white people, because they don't have resources, they will be like pissed with white people and stuff, but it's not true that **all** white people are bad *(group discussion School Y, 28.04.2010)*

Later, Janneke explains the risk of children in under-resourced schools learning only by "word of mouth" – which she associates with the teaching of hatred and ethnic disaffirmation:

Janneke        They would hear . they would hear by **word of mouth**, from if they were black, they would hear it from <u>black</u> people, that the <u>white people</u> are bad *(group discussion School Y, 28.04.2010)*

In *School X*, learners construct "the other" and speculate about it. Whites are regarded as willing to forget about apartheid:

Mandisa        They'll try to close apartheid, meanwhile they were the ones involved.

Nomalanga    Yah, and I think it depends to the people, because I think some of them still have the grudge that .. **oh man! Those Niggers again!**

All              @@

Mandisa        Yah exactly.

Sipho          Yah @true@. *(group discussion School X, 09.03.2010)*

Another attribution of *School X*'s group is the idea that white South Africans do not want real communication, but only feign reconciliation toward other racial groups:

| Sipho | ... and <u>also, even</u> white people like here in South Africa, cause I've met a lot of white people, and **what** they <u>do</u> in fact, they pretend, they smile, they like, eh, black people. |
| Thoniphani | Exactly [...] for example, I think <u>those</u> people they separated themselves from us blacks, right. So they can create those white schools, so they can teach themselves. *Group discussion School X, 09.03.2010)* |

Both groups use stereotypes to classify and describe the other and to mark differences. Attributions are made along racial parameters. *School X* is a school with visible black origins and all discussion group participants speak of themselves as genuinely black. The discussion group at *School Y* is a mixed group, but when speculating, debating and quoting, a stereotypical "white" perspective is represented.

One of the few topics of consensus, however, is the critique of the history curriculum with its "never-ending repetition of apartheid" (Susanne, in group discussion *School Y*, 28.04.2010) that claims to reproduce hatred and negative feeling among population groups:

| Giftyi | they bring that hatred to another generation which means this can go on for years |
| Interviewer | mh |
| Janneke | It's #it's like# |
| Michael | #it's like# not gonna die out. It's #just gonna keep bringing back# |
| Anne | #No!# |
| Susanne | #Cause# when you're small you listen to what your parents say. So you kind of grow up with this little bit of racism in you [...] |
| Kefilwe | Just ignore it, it would be over. *(Group discussion School Y, 28.04.2010)* |

A similar tenor can be heard in *School X*. Sipho summarizes the discussion that asked for fewer contents on the cruel past, but for more peaceful perspectives:

| Sipho | History shouldn't, uhm, be only study of the past only, you know .. like history, should like, uh, highlight some of the bad things. Like, uh, bring blacks and whites come together, you understand. Not that you only learn about okay what whites did to us. |
| Nomalanga | mh, true eh |

| Sipho | And still you have that thing that oh, white once did these, these and these things, they once however killed our forefathers and so forth so forth. You should **also** like teach us like how to, you know, be together, you know that black, whites, you know and so forth and so forth... |
| Thebogo | hmm ya |
| Sipho | I think it's better that way *(group discussion School X, 09.03.2010)* |

## 4. DISCUSSION

This contribution has contextualized history textbook contents about racism and apartheid and students' voices as recorded in focus group discussions. The first part introduced the background of the history curriculum, which can be regarded as the most important departmental orientation for textbook production and usage. The second part dealt with one textbook resulting from this curriculum, namely *Looking into the Past,* and described the contents, intentions, tasks and general composition of this very popular history textbook. Assuming that both the curriculum and its "vehicle", the textbook, intend to influence young learners, I introduced two focus groups in two contrasting schools discussing personal experiences and political positions in the context of learning and studying apartheid. Both learner groups use the textbook described above.

This article is based on two theoretical findings. The *first* indicates the connection between textbook and curriculum reform and the contents, design and pedagogy of history textbooks currently in use (van Eeden 2008, Siebörger 2006). The results of the reform are various: on the one hand, history emerged as an autonomous subject that is regarded as important in terms of value teaching and dealing with the past. After the three phases of the reform, history as a subject does not have the prominent position it had before 1994 (Kros 2004: 1), but is regarded as a vital part of the curriculum.

On the other hand, the reforms mentioned caused major confusion among schools and learners alike. The tempo of reforms and new documents to be implemented must be considered. Many teachers felt their work would be depreciated again and again, and that personal experiences, also in the course of teachers' biographies, were not given sufficient consideration (Tibbitts 2006, Weldon 2005). This confusion led to some problematic teaching modes and usage of the textbook that represented hidden curricula and were certainly not intended in the original sense (Hues 2011).

The *second theoretical finding* revealed that history textbooks are based upon explicit political aspirations, meaning intentions to educate learners for democrat-

ic thinking and acting based on multiple perspectives. They claim influence, and as formulated in the textbook mentioned, wish to "engender an understanding and appreciation of the democratic values of the constitution" (Friedman et al 2006).

We must ask, however, which role textbooks actually play in contemporary South Africa. Engelbrecht underlines that the Afrikaner narrative was dominant in pre-1994 textbooks and can still be found among textbook users (2006: 5); hence ministerial demands for a greater variety of textbook authorship (van Eeden 2008: 128). Siebörger states that textbook production and revision is paid rather little attention by the education administration, but rates the role of textbooks as generally important, as they "will remain the principle means to influence both the content of the history presented and the ways in which it is taught" (Siebörger 2006: 240). Similarly, the review committee, introduced here as *phase three* of the curriculum reform, also recommended the improved provision of teaching material, proving that it saw a deficit in this regard (Cross et al 2002: 184).

Van Eeden suggests South African textbooks are somehow trapped between a romanticized view of the nation and the representation of the other, and that – despite their intention to overcome the past conflict – they still promote exclusive identities (van Eeden 2008: 129). This is something Engelbrecht associates with the pre-1994 period, as "during this time, the school and the textbook acted as 'reproductive force[s] in an unequal society'" (2006: 2).

The *empirical findings*, however, indicate that students of diverse backgrounds do not act according to these intentions, but reject the way in which recent South African history is addressed, feeling both shame and irritation towards the past. Children still communicate and argue in *black-and-white* dichotomies and – although they have enjoyed at least three years with the mentioned textbook – argue in a racialized and non-integrative manner.

Is the prominent position of the textbook mentioned above therefore justified or is it after all just an academic illusion?

No simple cause-and-consequence argumentation will work here to explain this "gap" between textbook and its overt intentions, and the students' peer behavior as observed empirically.

But four aspects might contribute toward an answer:

a) *The textbook has not been used.*

While textbook usage is very diverse in South Africa, during the observations in the two classes, a considerable amount of time was spent with tasks, texts and work sequences around the textbook. This explanation is therefore not applicable in this case.

b) *The textbook was used in a way that was not intended by the authors and curriculum designers.* Little systematic research has been undertaken in order to explain the "risks" of "wrong" application in classrooms. Geschier has emphasized the role of "primary narratives" (2008, 2010) that constituted from contextual and personal knowledge, appear influential for textbook use. In a recent study I have described how easily teachers can modify textbook and curriculum contents and illustrate the past in a completely different manner (Hues 2011), a dimension that has also been explored by Weldon and her notion of personal encounters (2010).

One could also ask provocatively whether the reform with its *back and forward* movements and confusion for all people involved contributed to the apparent decline of the influence of history textbooks, and opened space for hidden curricula.

### c) The textbook does not fulfill its aims in terms of multiple perspectives

While the main text seeks to introduce several points of view, questions are mostly raised by sources and activities. Some passages mention two arguments, such as the opening passage in the first unit, presenting as explanations to the logic of apartheid two options, namely Afrikaner nationalists' conceptions of race, and economic matters.

The work on sources is good and permits the articulation of diverging points of view. Mandela is for instance mentioned through his autobiography, and the reliance of autobiography as a source is questioned at the same time. While the text presents Jan Smuts and the United Party government as opposing the more radical aspects of apartheid, students are asked to put his attitude to race into question through the analysis of his quoted words, re-balancing his attitude. All these activities around the sources leave room for discussion and introduce nuances which might seem to be missing from the text.

As the title of the chapter, "Apartheid and Resistance", announces, the story reads like a tale of the growing resistance to apartheid. Resistance is the underlying theme holding the book together, even when it is not explicitly mentioned. The tale of resistance is an uplifting one with which all students can identify, and which promotes the idea that they too can bring about change. Resistance is not presented as an exclusively "black matter", but includes white and other initiatives and perspectives as well.

One of the ways in which it achieves this is by refraining from naming culprits and laying the blame on the white population. Apartheid is a "system", and the agency is very unclear, "The government", "the apartheid government" are responsible; the implementation of legislation is what changes everyday conditions (the various Acts are grammatical subjects) and the text is loaded with the passive voice. Against the inhuman and impersonal system, resistance is made up

of many organizations, supported internationally and clearly justified. The numerous organizations mentioned are balanced between black and white, even touching upon different segments of a population united in its goal. The defiance campaign includes "volunteers from all races and all walks of life" (p. 234); there is mention of "Resistance in the arts" (p. 240) and "Women and protest" (p. 241). Everyone is presented as working towards the same goal, even though internal disagreements are not glossed over. This does articulate the idea of mainstream resistance, outlining as per the wishes of the authors a united identity and upholding the constitutional principles of reconciliation and diversity.

Yet this identity does not quite allow room for the personal biographies of all teachers or familial narratives of all learners. These biographies and first-hand experiences appear particularly essential, and the group discussions reveal the children's wish to somehow relate to their parents' stories. This leads to the fourth possible answer to the observed discrepancy between textbook ideals and children's voices.

d) *Although the textbook was used in an "adequate way", other factors such as trans-generational knowledge, media and personal experiences influence the thoughts and actions of the learners far more.* I believe the reasons why learners express aspects not intended in the textbooks is an important issue, albeit hard to pinpoint. Looking at the textbook, the conclusion of the chapter on apartheid marks the beginning of the armed struggle that left many scars still visible in South Africa today and that is still very controversially debated. It therefore appears difficult to reconcile this text with the democracy-building idea. Although the text allows identification for every part of the population, each and every group having its own referent in the struggle to overcome apartheid, the textbook can provide space for a feeling of unbalanced historical representation (Hues 2011). This gap might in turn be filled by each textbook user according to his/her own background, a rebalancing of sorts – and not necessarily in accordance with the curriculum.

It appears that the relative influence of textbooks should be re-evaluated, with a view to their increased contribution towards the education of more democratic and more critical future citizens, thinking along more multiple perspectives. This assumption would extend the necessary research in order to much better understand political education through history– a research dimension which is almost totally untouched upon in South Africa.

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# CROSSROAD AND LOOM:

## Intersectionality and Whiteness Studies in the Analysis of Minorities and Majorities in Norwegian History Textbooks

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Intersectionality is the analysis of socio-cultural categories such as gender, race, ethnicity and class. In studies of intersectionality, the metaphor of the crossroad has been used in African-American studies since the 1980s. The crossing of socio-cultural categories was a critical turn towards Western-oriented feminist studies. African-American feminists criticised the gender-based research for producing diversity in gender, but homogenising race (Crenshaw, 1989, 1995). Inspired by critical race and post-colonial theory, these critics pointed out that the unspoken race was about the white Western race (de Los Reyes et al., 2002; Essed & Goldbereg, 2001). Since these intersectional studies focused on poor women of colour, class was reflected as well as race and gender (McCall, 2005).

From 2000 onwards, the studies of intersectionality have emerged in the Nordic and the European countries. In these countries, ethnicity has been viewed as a more appropriate category than race, and some researchers have used ethno-race as a category of analysis. The ways socio-cultural categories can intertwine and transform have been analysed through the metaphor of a loom (Knudsen, 2006; Staunæs & Søndergaard, 2006). Furthermore, whiteness studies have been elaborated in close connection with intersectional studies (Dyer, 1997; Goldberg, 1993; Knudsen, 2011). Out of these studies, critical discussions of minorities and majorities have arisen (Staunæs, 2003, 2004).

This article presents the concept of intersectionality, whiteness studies and the positioning of minorities and majorities. In this article, minorities and majorities are examined in connection to European colonialism in the past and to the European colonial mentality in the present as this mentality is expressed in Norwegian history textbooks in secondary schools. Colonialism is defined as European countries conquering and possessing properties in Africa and Asia. In this sense, colonialism is about a physical manifestation, whereas colonial mentality concerns understandings and feelings about the so-called developing countries in contrast to 'civilised' countries (de los Reyes et al., 2002; Keskinen et al., 2009). Possible ways of looking at majorities and minorities will be presented through analyses of narrative and narrator's point of view (Knudsen, 2005). The examples of narrative and point of view are illustrated using excerpts from Norwegian history textbooks from secondary schools, published in 2006 and 2008. The issues

under examination are European colonialism and colonial mentality, colonial in-
dependence, immigrants and refugees.

## INTERSECTIONALITY AND WHITENESS STUDIES

The metaphor of a crossroad has been connected to additive intersectional-
ity, whereas the metaphor of a loom can illustrate transversal intersectionality. An
additive intersectionality means that each socio-cultural category is considered
as a separate structure, and categories interact as structures. This intersectional-
ity has been criticized for placing, for example, ethnicity in front of gender, i.e.
making a hierarchy where ethnicity has a primary position and gender a secondary
one (Lykke, 2005; Yuvul-Davis, 1997). In transversal intersectionality the socio-
cultural categories are analysed as intertwined, pervaded and transformed: "An in-
tersectional perspective opens for the possibilities of breaking up borders between
categories, and instead have focus on how the categories appoint, intervene and
transform each other in processes of power and inequality" (de los Reyes, 2006,
p. 37, my translation).

Instead of constructing hierarchies of categories, intersectionality has turned
out to be a concept that takes different categories connected to power in specific
contexts, situations and processes into consideration. Inspired by Judith Butler's
(1990) *Gender Trouble*, the concept of intersectionality takes a transversal per-
spective in order to "trouble" socio-cultural categories. Troubling the categories
means that by virtue of querying one category necessarily entails an examination
of the others,i.e. when ethnicity is troubled, gender and heterosexuality will also
be affected.

The influence of post-structuralism in the 1990s has to a great extent influ-
enced the adoption of transversal intersectionality in the Nordic countries. From
the very beginning, intersectionality was introduced to deconstruct and destabilize
the universalism of gender and ethnicity. The socio-cultural categories were inter-
preted as constructed and negotiated, in opposition to research that took binaries
of, for example, black/white or female/male for granted (Knudsen, 2006; Storm-
høj, 2006). However, many empirical studies were concentrated on minorities such
as Turkish women in Denmark and Somalian boys in Norway (Eide & Simonsen,
2007; Fangen, 2008; Mørch, 1998, 2003). The analyses of minorities point toward
people of colour and ethnicities characterised by otherness, a problematic and/or
marginalised status (Knudsen, 2011; Staunæs, 2004). These minorities are defined
as different from the majorities. By analysing the minorities exclusively, majori-
ties become the prerequisite for talking about race and ethnicity. The other has the
ethnicity and race, whereas the majorities have a primary position connected to
nationality. For example, using the phrase "other ethnicity than Norwegian" shows
the positioning of "the other" in relation to what is primary, the standard. Instead,

the phrase "the axis Danish-Pakistani" can be used to indicate a person's double position as both Danish and Pakistani. (Staunæs, 2004).

Whiteness studies connect majorities to race and ethnicity. In these studies whiteness is opposed to blackness, and the binary white/black is analysed as a social construction that is combined with negotiations of power and changes in history. Whiteness studies may increase awareness of historical, geographical, political and economic contexts, situations and processes, and thereby question the position of the whites as a 'raceless' race, males as a genderless gender and the middle class as a classless class. The concept of "ethno-race" has been suggested by David Theo Goldberg (1993) to describe the blending of ethnicity and race. Goldberg is critical of the biological use of race, but he finds that together with ethnicity, it points toward the political and inhuman use of not only racism in the use of race, but also in the use of ethnicity. Moreover, he finds an abuse of ethnicity in ethnic cleansing conducted in the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda and Sudan. In these countries, ethnicity has been used as a political label to fight against certain groups within countries. Therefore, Goldberg finds that the concept of ethno-race can produce more useful discussions.

A point of departure is to demonstrate how white people position themselves as the norm. The ways white people ignore themselves as a race may be questioned (Dyer, 1997). Richard Dyer discusses the use of the concept "non-white" in comparison with the terms "black" and "people of colour" (Dyer, 1997, p. 11). He argues against using the term "black", because it excludes for example Asians, Native Americans, Chicanos and Jews, and because the term continues to privilege the white as raceless at the expense of black as the other. By naming whites as white, he wants to underscore whiteness as a colour and as a race. Becoming aware of ways in which whiteness positions itself as primary, whiteness is deconstructed as the unarticulated normality. As an unspoken normality, whiteness is then to be viewed as a mechanism of inclusion that proceeds by excluding the other as dissident and deviant. This normality is often constructed more complexly than the other and otherness, constructed by including white people as human beings with various genders and various classes. In contrast to this normality is the exclusion of various genders in, for example, the mass media's descriptions of Muslim families in the Nordic countries and Norwegian textbooks' exclusion of various class positions among, for example, the Sami (Knudsen, 2006; Mørch, 1998; Roald, 2005).

## NEGOTIATION BETWEEN MAJORITIES AND MINORITIES

Dorthe Staunæs in her presentation of Anders and Ümit in a Danish school context is an example of a study that interweaves majorities and minorities by combining ethnicity and gender with "pupilness" in the 7th grade. Anders, on the

axis Danish-Danish, "talks himself into existence as someone belonging to the group of normal people, the ordinary pupils" (Staunæs, 2003, p. 106). The way he talks about himself shows that he finds himself "untroubled" and "appropriate". He and his group are "Danes", he says. In contrast to him and his group, he finds that the "Turks" are different from him. Turks are the other. This point of view is shared by Ümit, who according to Staunæs, "talks himself into existence as someone at the margin of appropriateness of both Danishness and pupilness" (p. 107). He speaks from the axis Danish-Turkey, and he does so by othering Anders and his group, calling them "sissies". Although Anders and Ümit do not mention gender, use of the term sissies indicates that it is about masculinity. Ümit finds that Anders and his group have too little masculinity and too much femininity. On the other hand, when Anders talks about the "bad boys", and Ümit follows up on this impression by acting tough and aggressive, he emphasises "hyper-masculinity" (p. 108). From Anders' point of view, Ümit and his group have too much masculinity. Anders constructs Ümit and his group as the other, because of their masculinity and ethnicity, whereas Ümit constructs Anders and his group as the other, because of their lack of masculinity and Danishness. In the Danish school context Anders "gets positioned as the legitimate," and Ümit gets "positioned as the troublesome other" (p. 108).

## NORWEGIAN SECONDARY SCHOOL HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

Norway has been called a "women-friendly" welfare state, owing to its political and legal commitments to gender equality whereby women and men have equal possibilities to combine their roles as parents, paid workers and as citizens (Hernes, 1987). It was Helga Maria Hernes (1987) that introduced the concept of the women-friendly welfare state in her book, *Welfare State and Woman Power*. She called the development of the welfare state, "state feminism" because the state constituted women's exercise of political power, and because the welfare state had developed feminist features. However, the concepts of "women-friendly" and "state feminism" included exclusively white women on the axis Norwegian-Norwegian.

Among the Nordic countries, Norway and Sweden have a reputation of being not only women-friendly, but also as possessing the political will to integrate immigrants and refugees. However, the Scandinavian countries – especially Denmark – have a restrictive policy when it comes to the number of immigrants they will allow into the country. The so-called "immigration stop" entails that people outside of the European economy are excluded from settlement unless they: have status as refugees; are politically persecuted; can demonstrate strong humanitarian reasons; or the need for reunification with their families (Gressgård, 2010). The politics in these countries mirror a nationalism that reflects a fear of ethno-race minorities taking the power in the nation. The politicians across the political parties

support the restrictions, and many debates in the media argue that the immigrants have to follow cultural norms, for example, not wearing a headscarf when working in the public sphere. However, there are also positive signals to ethno-race minorities living in Norway. One is the claim that multicultural diversity is beneficial to the country and that there is value in learning from other cultures such as learning about culinary activities, extended families and starting a business (Eide & Simonsen, 2007).

In the Norwegian school reform from 2006, democracy, national identity and international consciousness are highlighted, and the sense of community is based on us with "other people" (Kunnskapsløftet, 2006 [hereafter, LK, 2006]). Equal status is combined with gender, disability, race, religion and nation, but gender seems to be mentioned as the most important category. Adapted learning is highlighted as the awareness of the individual with his/her age and development. More specifically, adapted learning is first of all combined with disability, and thereafter with gender, age and with social, geographic, cultural and linguistic background. Interestingly, ethnicity or ethno-race is not mentioned as a category. When it comes to social science – which includes the subject of history – the goal is to contribute to an "understanding of and support for basic human rights, democratic values and equality, active citizenship and democratic participation" (LK, 2006, p, 117, my translation). The subject of history discusses the changes of people and society in the past and in the present.

The history textbooks selected for this study are published in relation to LK, 2006. Two different publishing houses are represented; both are prolific publishers promoting textbooks and other learning materials. Both textbooks are oriented toward 8th and 10th grades: *Matriks,* published by Aschehoug (Hellerud & Moen 2006; Hellerud & Knutsen 2008) and *Underveis,* published by Gyldendal (Skjønsberg, 2006, 2008).[1]

## EUROPEAN COLONIALISM AND COLONIAL MENTALITY

When the whites came, they had the Bible and we the land. They said: 'Let us pray'. And we closed our eyes and prayed. When we opened our eyes again, they had the land and we the Bible. (Desmond Tutu in Hellerud & Moen, 2006, p. 104, my translation).[2]

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[1]   Hellerud & Moen are the authors of *Matriks* for 8th grade, and Hellerud & Knutsen for the 10th grade. In this article, I have not analysed the two textbooks for the 9th grade, because they are both concentrated on the Second World War, whereas I am interested in the chapters "European Colonialism and Colonial Mentality", "The Independence of the Colonies" and "Immigrants and Fugitives" (see Introduction to this article).

[2]   It is my translation from the textbooks here and in the following.

The two textbooks for the 8th grade describe Europeans as conquerors of countries in Africa and Asia. Most of the narrative is concentrated on the successes of the British and French in India, Egypt and Algeria, but also Belgian, German, Portuguese, Spanish and Italian colonialism is presented. In *Matriks*, the text explains that Norway did not have any colonies, but that many Norwegians travelled to Africa during the colonial period, most of them as missionaries (Hellerud & Moen, 2006, p. 117). This is an explanation with a modified 'truth'; Norway was under Danish rule until 1814, and Denmark possessed colonies in the West Indies until they sold them to the United States in 1917. However, Norway's colonial mentality is only represented by the work done by missionaries.

The narrator's point of view in the two textbooks is primarily given to white, upper class males in Europe, which places them in a primary position. With its different nations, Europe is at the forefront of the narrative, and the point of view is given to the European majorities. Class, nationality and ethno-race are intertwined in the statement that "Europeans conquer the world" (Hellerud & Moen, 2006, p. 99) and in questions such as "Why did the Europeans want to have colonies?" and "Why did Europe become that strong?" (Skjønsberg, 2006, pp. 203, 205). The answers to such questions are that the Europeans wished to have more wealth and honour, because possession of colonies was an indicator of power and status. Furthermore, the narratives are gendered in that the representations are those of the most powerful males in Europe, i.e. powerful politicians, powerful capitalists and powerful thinkers.

The Europeans are criticised in the textbooks for greediness, and for having exploited the colonies. In the continuation of this critical narrative of the European past, the textbook *Matriks* examines how the British deceived King Lobengula of Matabeleland (now Zimbabwe). The story is told through a letter written – as the text says – by King Lobengula. In the letter he writes to Queen Victoria to tell her that some British had asked him for a place to mine for gold, and made him sign an agreement promising him they would bring him the gold. However, he could not read (how then could he write?), and he trusted the British to tell him the truth. After three months he figured out that he had handed over all the minerals in his country to the British. The point of view is identified with King Lobengula throughout the letter, but he appears as an illiterate and simple-minded black male. A photo of a rather fat and almost naked King Lobengula in a European-looking waggon defended by two males armed with spears underscores a portrait of a rather uncivilised African ethno-race (Hellerud & Moen, 2006). Although the text associated with the photo states that the three males are connected to Matabeleland as a country, and the king is given an identity as an individual, the photo repeats the European representation of the primitive and warlike, non-white people that live not only in Matabeleland, but in all African countries. More empathy is generated by the inclusion of photos of children in Congo, and an accompanying text

explaining that King Leopold of Belgium brutally oppressed the inhabitants, cutting off their hands if they did not deliver the goods that he wanted (Hellerud & Moen, 2006; Skjønsberg, 2006).

The criticism of European colonialism is mitigated by a presentation of Europeans as helpers. Stories about the missionaries are included in both textbooks and are introduced as a positive element of colonialism, noting that the missionaries helped the colonies with medicine and education:

> But nobody should think that it was only greediness and malice that drove the Europeans. Many travelled just because they wanted to help people in other parts of the world. Very often they did it because they were Christians. "Go forth and make all people my disciples!" Jesus had said. And therefore thousands of European Christian Missionaries travelled to Africa and Asia in the 19th century (Skjønsberg, 2006, p. 204).

European assistance is also mentioned in connection with health care and education. It is in this context that some women enter the narrative. For example, a female missionary is shown teaching some genderless looking Africans to sew. The text explains that such helpers come from mainland Europe and Norway. Moreover, the text points out that Norwegian missionary organisations were primarily established by females. The text accompanying the photo locates the people in Belgian Congo, but the woman and the children are nameless, i.e. the female missionary is one out of a mass and so are the children. Similarly, there is a photo of a Norwegian female, a white teacher in a white dress with an umbrella being carried by four genderless Africans with hats and long dresses, probably coloured (the photo is in black/white, but the different patterns on their dresses signal colours). She is presented as an individual with a name, whereas the people carrying her are anonymous and so belong to the mass of Africans (Hellerud & Moen, 2006, Skjønsberg, 2006). In helping positions, the white females are gendered and represented as educated Europeans from Belgium and Norway; gender, ethnorace, class and nationality together construct them in the position of having power, whereas powerlessness is constructed as genderless, non-white, and as the African working class. The white females are placed in a position of sacrifice, a position that is positively valued in the two texts. Paradoxically, the power to help places the Europeans (Belgians and Norwegians) as 'majorities', whereas the Africans are 'really' the majorities, but presented as the helpless minorities.

## INDEPENDENCE FROM COLONIALISM

The narratives of colonial independence are relatively short compared to narratives about European colonialism and colonial mentality. In both cases independence is presented in the textbook for 10th grade. In *Matriks*, independence is explained in terms of nationalism (Hellerud & Knutsen, 2008). The countries

in Africa and Asia are described as using different means to achieve nationhood: war in Algeria, peace in India, Apartheid in South Africa. The concept of ethnicity is used to highlight different groups in the colonies, and ethnicity is presented as opposed to race. Race in this textbook is understood as the negative interpretation of race as in "weak races that could not take care of themselves" (Hellerud & Knutsen, 2008, p. 95). In *Underveis* the socio-cultural categories of nation and ethnicity are not in focus. Instead, this textbook concentrates on issues such as peace making and attaining democracy and health care. The author highlights the class differences in, for example, the description of South Africa: "The upper class is still mainly white, and there are millions of poor people, most of them black and coloured" (Skjønsberg, 2008, p. 185).

The authors' awareness of ethnicity in *Matriks* is connected to the former colonialized people, and they are labelled as "developing countries", whereas the white people are made neutral by focusing on the Western and European value of nationalism – without mentioning it as a Western, European value. This neutrality constructs an unspoken assumption of European political ideals, which also include democracy and an upper-class male position. The author of *Underveis* demonstrates an awareness of class and race, and shows that both white females and males occupy the highest and the lowest positions.

However, as was the case in the presentations of colonialism and colonial mentality, both textbooks for the 10th grade also argue for the positive aspect of Europeans helping the former colonies. This is the case in, for example, the presentation of the Indians and of South Africans who received an education in Europe or in a European tradition, where they learned about nationalism and democracy. Examples of well-educated males are Mahatma Gandhi and his work for peace in India and Nelson Mandela's fight for independence in South Africa.

The authors of the textbooks show their solidarity with the formerly colonized, but focus as well on problems between ethnic groups, civil wars, military power and dictatorships. The solidarity with former colonies is expressed by admitting that the Europeans drew the borders in the colonies without consideration for scattering single groups of people between several countries. Also, European exploitation of the colonies and subsequent poverty is addressed. The critical narrative of the former colonies is, with this negative focus on wars and dictatorships, grounded in the Western ideal of democracy, which implicitly highlights that the Western European countries are more civilised than the former colonies. While the textbooks do narrate the history of suppression, violence and dictatorships in Africa and Asia, both are oriented towards the negative narrative of the former colonies' transitions into new nations at the expense of a positive narrative about success in the development away from a status as colonies. The point of view is that Europe and Europeans occupy a privileged position as civilised countries. In this way the textbooks' authors communicate a colonial mentality.

As with the narrative of colonialism and colonial mentality, the presentation of independence from colonialism is also ambiguous. While the textbooks blame the Europeans on one hand, on the other, they present the inhabitants in the former colonies as uncivilised people living in non-democratic dictatorships, fighting wars and unable to rise above poverty. In *Matriks,* ambivalence is underscored by describing the European withdrawal from the colonies as a matter of spending money without getting anything in return. Nevertheless, this textbook also communicates that Europeans helped their former colonies with loans and relief work. Similarly, in *Underveis*, the Western countries' position as helpers is presented, but also questioned by referring to critical voices against the World Bank. Paradoxically, the Europeans are presented as majorities and the formerly colonised people as the minorities in their 'own' countries, at least when it comes to highlighting Western values such as democracy and aid. The authors of *Matrix* are not critical of these values, and the texts are more ambivalent compared to the author of *Underveis* who includes critical voices.

## IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEES

"Yesterday, six Pakistanis in pyjamas and sandals arrived in Fornebu,"[3] a Norwegian newspaper wrote in 1968 (Hellerud & Knutsen, 2008, p. 131).

Issues related to immigrants and refugees are presented in the textbook *Matriks* for the 10th grade. Here, immigrants and refugees are situated in the context of globalisation and their dislocation/relocation is explained in terms of economics, culture, politics and with a reference to technological possibilities for communication. The point of view is Norwegian, and the narrative of globalisation is presented exclusively as a Norwegian matter in this textbook. The text titled "Norway in the World" establishes Norwegians as majorities (Hellerud & Knutsen, 2006, p. 130). Immigrants and refugees constitute minorities, and they are referred to as "economic immigrants" while refugees are typically referred to as "non-Western" (Hellerud & Knutsen, 2006, p. 131). Although the textbook distinguishes between immigrants and refugees in the headings, the text confuses the two: "refugees and other immigrants". The chapter about contemporary Norway is introduced by a photo that depicts white people and people of colour celebrating the Norwegian national holiday. The ethno-race is shown by the colour of the skin and hair, but specific backgrounds are not mentioned. There is no text that accompanies the photo. The photo is thus an insider fragment. The day is to be understood as May 17th (the Norwegian national holiday) by the pupils on the axis Norwegian-Norwegian and by the pupils with parents or grandparents of immi-

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3   Fornebu was the former airport outside of Oslo.

grants and refugees. i.e. pupils who were born in Norway or have lived in Norway for many years. *Matriks* has only one page describing immigrants and refugees.

In *Underveis* for the 10ᵗʰ grade, the section about 'non-Western' immigrants who came to Norway from the 1960s is rather short, and it is placed in a chapter about politics: European countries moving toward the welfare state. Refugees are mentioned in one sentence in-between discussions of other immigrants (Skjønsberg, 2008, p. 83). In a chapter about globalisation, this textbook mentions immigrants as seasonal workers coming to Norway from the Eastern European countries (Poland, Lithuania, Romania), and Norwegian employers who move factories to "low-cost countries" in eastern Europe, Asia and Africa (Skjønsberg, 2008, p. 205). The seasonal work is labelled "social dumping", and the author expresses pity for workers coming from outside to be exploited by Norwegian employers. Likewise, the author pities Norwegian-Norwegians for having their wages undercut by competition from East European workers. The point of view in this textbook is exlusively Norwegian.

While *Matriks* focuses on nationality, the authors start with a newspaper excerpt making fun of the Pakistani arriving in pyjamas in Norway, and while *Underveis* has more solidarity with immigrants, both textbooks mix the concept of immigrant with the concept of refugee. Both textbooks place male workers in the foreground of the narrative, and by doing so intertwine working class, ethno-race and masculinity. It is about a homogenisation of immigrants and refugees, and it is about a naturalisation of immigrants/refugees/working class/ethno-race/males. The immigrants/refugees are described as being working-class males and possessing an ethno-race different from Norwegians.

**CONCLUSION**

Intersectionality and whiteness studies raise awareness of narrative and narrator's point of view in textbooks and educational media. Intersectionality promotes the awareness of socio-cultural categories such as ethno-race, nationalism, gender and class. The analysis can be focused on how socio-cultural categories cross each other or intertwine. While many studies focus on the intersection of minorities, the intersectionality perspective connected with whiteness studies also allows for the majorities to be observed within socio-cultural categories. Whiteness studies de-naturalise white as non-race and as non-ethnic – thus positing that white as well as black are races, and Europeans as well as Africans and Asians are ethnic groups. Intersectionality and whiteness studies are analyses of power. The powerful positions are most frequently connected to Western, European, upper and middle-class males (in rare cases females are also represented) – labelled as the majorities, and the powerless positions are relegated to immigrants and refu-

gees in European societies – often men and women of colour in the working class are labelled as the minorities.

My analysis of the textbooks shows how socio-cultural categories are described in these textbooks. Ethno-race, class and gender are intertwined, but they can also be presented as a hierarchy where ethno-race, class and gender cross. The narrative of majorities connects Europeans and, more specifically, Norwegians to white, upper and middle-class men. The descriptions of minorities are often focused on African and Asian ethno-race with examples from countries within these continents, often intertwined to working-class men.

The majorities and the minorities are constructed in a narrative exhibiting a hierarchy where majorities are placed uppermost and in primary position, while the minorities appear as secondary and other. Uppermost in the hierarchy are the white, European, upper and middle classes who are seen as 'civilised' distinct from the uncivilised, ethno-races in colonies, in former colonies, in undeveloped countries and as immigrants and fugitives. The majoritie are the ethno-raceless ethno-race, and they are powerful men, whereas minorities are given ethno-race, and are presented as powerless men. The authors of the two textbooks construct their narratives with small differences, when it comes to the intersection of nationalism and other socio-cultural categories. With a point of view strongly connected to Europeans (Norwegians), they occupy a primary position that makes otherness and deviation an attribute of people of colour from countries in Africa and Asia.

Analysing textbooks and educational media with the metaphors of crossroad and loom may help to forward a more varied narrative and point of view in a landscape that is still mined with a colonial mentality.

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# CONSTRUCTION OF RELIGIOUS ENEMIES IN IRANIAN TEXTBOOKS

LEILA SIMAI

## INTRODUCTION

*"Henceforth the religions of the world will make war not on each other, but on the giant evils that afflict mankind (Charles, 1893)."*

The Middle East is composed of several countries marked by conflict: conflict between certain countries and conflict within. Much of this conflict at least on the surface, is based on religious differences (Christian, Jewish, Muslim) which in turn are tied to cultural differences (Western-Eastern).

In such countries, where the government and the official religion are closely linked, children often develop an early conception of the "religious other". The school system often acts as the main societal institution to shape religious attitudes. In that the school system is effectively an arm of the government, it is not surprising that what is taught in school, may be designed purposely to create an inimical attitude towards "the religious other" as part of the government's strategy for creating nationalistic fervour and a sense of unity. The delegitimization of 'the other'- *is* however - and has been, an effective strategy practiced by many states in times of conflict. Nonetheless, in some particular regions, it is rather the rule than the exception.

Little is known about the precise mechanisms through which this kind of socialization takes place. This study will explore this matter by looking at the Middle school curriculum in one country in the Middle East– the Islamic Republic of Iran.[1] For this purpose, the Islamic Culture and Religious Studies textbooks for grades 6 to 8, for the school year 2007-2008 were selected and examined for the presence of "indoctrinatory themes" against the "religious other".

My own experience as an individual, who was schooled in the system, was such that every time the government's policy or orientation changed towards "a certain group" of people; so did the material in the textbooks. They became sinister and spiteful; and these allegations were usually backed up by historical allusions to their tyrannical deeds and evil acts. The textbooks all of a sudden

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[1]  Iran was chosen among the Middle East countries, due to the researcher's familiarity with the language and the school system.

became filled with stories that aimed to underscore how evil and dangerous "the others" were; and why we always had to be alert and on guard to protect ourselves against "them". These "otherings" and stereotypes intensified even further at specific events and times during periods of conflict. For example at the time of the Iran-Iraq war, there were a lot of stories that underscored the evilness of the Sunnis (the main religion of Iraqi people). The history of the enmity between Sunnis and Shiites[2] all of a sudden surfaced and appeared in the public agenda and in schoolbooks. As such, the contents of the textbooks changed according to the government policy and the objectives that the government needed to achieve at that particular time. All of a sudden, wars and conflicts that took place long ago which had never been discussed before were dug out of graves and surfaced. Themes always seemed to have been carefully selected in the curriculum to attain certain specific objectives.

Almost always, as well as demonization of the enemy, there is intense glamourization of "martyrdom" in textbooks and other curriculum content. This is precisely why at the time of the war, we had so many volunteers among students as young as10-years of age who signed up to fight in the war. Almost all of these children were competing with each other to fight on the front line; as the propaganda glorified people who fought on the front line. Children were often sent to mine fields first in order to pave the way for the rest of the troop; and the government leader, together with the media, recognized them as national heroes. They became national icons and "role models". This was then naturally echoed in schools and textbooks. In this way, they were made weapons in the hands of politicians and the people in power.

How do governments arrive at mobilizing their people to such an extent? What is the process or mechanism employed? Fear, has indeed proven to be the most effective tool to trigger aggression. Violent acts stem from violent thoughts. If you can convince citizens that their lives are in danger, and that they have this particular enemy who is very dangerous, with a history of tyrannizing their people, their family, their ancestors, their country, their religious figures, and everything that they ever held dear – everything that constitutes the essence of their being – and upon which their identity depends; then you have attained your goal. If we perceive that our lives are threatened, we will do anything to survive. Things that we would never even think of doing under normal circumstances, we will see ourselves do. Usually, children are the most-easily convinced, for they have not

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[2]   **Shi'ites & Sunnis**- The adherents of the two mainstream opposing sects of Islam: *Shi'ism*, and *Sunnism* respectively. **Shi'ites** believe that the leadership after Prophet Mohammad was handed down to the clan of prophet that are called *Imams* - starting with Imam Ali (the prophet's cousin and son-in- law) and then Imam Hossein (Ali's son), etc. On the other hand, **Sunnis** believe that the prophet appointed his best friend Aboubakr, as his first successor; and then Omar; and that the leadership was not intended to run in the prophet's family.

acquired the cognitive development required to critically examine the information they receive; especially, if this information is passed on to them as the "objective truth".

So fear can be created and imparted through transmission of certain beliefs about a threatening situation or group of people. Societal beliefs that constitute the psychological infrastructure of a society are used to communicate prejudice, stereotypes, threats to the security; and to create "public paranoia". To do this, governments often fabricate an 'imaginary foe' that is uncompromising and dangerous with a track record of violence. They dig into past s memories; and exaggerate or twist the truth, even to the point of creating new stories and events that never took place – with one single objective in mind – to keep the conflict alive.

One of the most common features of a biased education is the dichotomous thinking or categorizations – or the "us vs. them" mentality. All the repulsive and immoral characteristics of the out-group(s) stand in direct contrast to the noble and praiseworthy characteristics of the in-group:

*Table 1. In-Group and Out-Group Characteristics*

| **In-Group** | **Out-Group** |
|---|---|
| Trustworthy | Untrustworthy |
| Moral and pure | Immoral and corrupt |
| Peace-loving | War-mongering |
| Holy | Evil |
| Kind and forgiving | Unforgiving, revenge-seeking |
| Reasonable | Unreasonable |
| Benevolent | Malevolent |
| Victimized | Tyrannical |

The narrations in the textbooks use every opportunity to delegitimize and dehumanize the "religious other". They are used to support the claim that not only does the enemy have a history of animosity against the in-group, but they are also enemies of "God". In fact, it's always been 'them' who have initiated the conflict, and attacked the in-group without any sufficient cause.

Once these ideas are instilled in the "collective mind" of the society members, they become stored in the "emotional memory", which has been proven to be particularly resilient to change, exhibiting little or no diminution with the passage of time. The fear then tends to dominate thinking, flood consciousness, and supress rationality (Bar-Tal, 2001). In this way, students are socialized and trained to think, feel and behave in a way that the people in power want them to.

A collective orientation of fear also causes freezing of beliefs. The society members will have difficulty entertaining new ideas or alternative solutions. As such, the present is closely intertwined with the past experiences and the future is dictated by the past (Bar-Tal, 2001). This explains why societies such as Palestine and Israel cannot establish a lasting or sustainable peace; while countries such as Germany and the United States, or Japan and the United States, or Vietnam and the United States who were at conflict at a certain time, have succeeded in establishing and maintaining peace. This is due to the fact that media and school curricula are not flooded with the denigration of the "old enemy", simply because the German, Japanese or the US governments have no interest in keeping the conflict alive. There is no agenda.

Furthermore, since conflicts require excessive demands on economic resources and military personnel, the issue of security becomes the central preoccupation on the members' daily agenda (Bar-Tal, 2001). A flood of narratives about self-sacrifice for a more noble cause such as national or religious survival; and an intense glamorization of martyrdom will be put in place, since victory clearly requires the ultimate sacrifice of one's life. Losing one's life for the "noble cause" not only brings honour to the hero in this world, but has also fringe benefits in the afterlife. There are special rewards associated with martyrdom. Stern(2003) interviewed Islamic Jihad members and discovered that when terrorist organizations recruit, they emphasize that a reward of seventy-two virgins are promised for martyrdom (p. 53). Furthermore, other fringe benefits include lifetime benefits for remaining family members such as material rewards; special rank in society (streets and schools named after the martyr); and special reserved rights or quota for university admission or employment in quality government positions. This attractive package for martyrdom tempts many!

In the textbooks examined, the following four themes that serve to perpetuate or initiate the conflict were investigated. These include: the demonization of the "religious other" while emphasizing the in-group's history of being victimized;militarism; and glamorization of martyrdom.

## TEXTBOOK ANALYSIS

### Grade 6

In the Grade 6 textbook, the lesson, "Harvest time" begins with the will of a 'Holy war martyr', and a quote from the Koran: "Do not count those who are killed in the Holy War as dead people; for they are alive and get rewards from their Lord" (Ministry of Education of Iran, 2007-2008a, p.). Then it continues as follows:

Oh how beautiful is it to be martyred for the cause of the Lord. In this land, I will fight with the enemy until either I gain victory and succeed or until I attain the glorious status of a martyr. If I am worthy enough to become a martyr for the cause of the Koran and Islam; congratulate my mom, for I am at the banquet of the Lord. Oh how true it is that death is so sweet and desirable for the cause of the Lord.. It is the beginning of the eternal life... (MOEI, 2007-2008a, pp. 14-15)

And the story ends like this:

Martyrdom means that we fight for the purpose of God and under the direction of a Godly appointed leader, with infidels[3] and tyrants, until we die. A martyr brings glory, honour and dignity both in this world; and in the world to come he will enjoy the highest position, acquaint with and enjoy the same status as the prophets, and the righteous. God's special blessings will be bestowed upon him, and heavenly residents will envy his position (MOEI, 2007-2008a, pp. 16-17).

One of the questions that follow the lesson that serve to reinforce themes includes, "Please state the status enjoyed by a martyr." (MOEI, 2007-2008a, p.).

Martyrdom continues to be exalted in a subsequent lesson:

Glory be to all martyrs of the Islamic Revolution who taught us bravery, fearlessness, religious devotion, faith, honour and grandeur. Martyr 'Reza Khadem' – whose precious memory and place in heaven are eternalized, in his invaluable will has stated: Man is born one day and dies another one. His deeds are the things that remain. So, since death is our inescapable destiny, isn't it better to die for our ideology and belief. Do not be upset about my death, because I am alive in the presence of the Almighty and get rewards. It's only my body that is not amongst you. Do not be upset about my death and do not mourn for me. Dear mother, I know that you will be upset about my death. But I want you to know that those who die in the Holy war are alive and get rewarded by God. I honestly hope that God makes me one of His martyr servants (MOEI, 2007-2008a, p. 19).

The lesson then concludes: "So as you can see, this beloved martyr, just like all other martyrs has understood the Truth, and is completely right!" This is followed by a quote from Imam Hossein, the (II Imam), the greatest martyr in the Shiite history, and the prophet Mohammad's grandson. He equates martyrdom to a "bridge that takes one from all his troubles and difficulties to a secure, serene and beautiful garden" (MOEI, 2007-2008a, pp. 20-21).

The lesson ends with asking students to reflect on the lessons learned from the Islamic Revolutionary martyrs; and to discuss… Bring a copy of the will of some of our beloved martyrs into class and discuss amongst yourselves.

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[3]  *Infidel* refers to <u>any one</u> of the following criteria: one who does not believe in 1) God, 2) His exclusive divinity, 3) "The Religion of God" (Islam), or 4) The prophethood of Mohammad.

In Lesson Five, the author asserts that it was finally time that the 'good' would be openly separated from the 'evil', and it ends with this conclusive comment:

> The Lord's Prophet clearly condemned '*sherk*'[4] and idolatry and identified them as '*The Cause*' of people's misery and misfortune... He asserted: "I swear to God, if they [the enemies] put the sun in my right hand and the moon in my left one, I will not quit my mission until either I win or I die" (MOEI, 2007-2008a, p. 57).

The students are then asked, "What is our duty today [as Muslims] when it comes to safeguarding the Islamic Revolution, and refusing offers to compromise?" (MOEI, 2007-2008a, p. 58).

Lesson 17 in the textbook covers Imam Ali's applaudable virtues which were his bravery, fearlessness and ability to be on guard to defend Islam. Martyrdom is further said to be "The greatest divine commission". Here is an excerpt from this lesson:

> Imam Ali was a role model of bravery and fearlessness. He participated in all the wars, and for the victory of Islam and liberation of masses from the paws of infidels and tyrants he always fought with the enemy. He loved the Holy war and martyrdom. He was never afraid of anyone and was always a pioneer in the front line of the battles. He was very firm when it came to the duty of safeguarding his religion, and regarding his bravery and desire for martyrdom he said, ;...I swear to God that if I am martyred in the battle ground through a thousand stab wounds, it is sweeter to me than dying in a death bed.'

> In the battle of *Ahad*, the heavenly angel said, 'There exists no man with the bravery and integrity of Ali, and there are no swords like his'... He was one of the most virtuous and religious men of God... and he finally was martyred while he was praying... He was brave and crazy about '*jihad*' [the 'holy war'] and martyrdom (MOEI, 2007-2008a, pp. 87-89).

Finally, Lesson 22 depicts an elaborate portrait of the Muslim history of victimization. The author describes how Muslims have been a persecuted community:

> From the very beginning, Muslims, although few in number and forced to perform their religious ceremonies in secret for the fear of their life, made every effort to pray together. That is why they had to go to the surrounding mountains and valleys –away from the threat of the enemies – in order to pray together (MOEI, 2007-2008a, p. 105).

> This passage is immediately followed by a quote from the late Imam Khomeiny, the leader and the founder of the Islamic revolution of Iran, "Pray in masses... fill the

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[4]   Sherk – Means to share; in this context referring to God's divinity. So sherk represents a major sin of believing that God shares His divinity. The person who subscribes to such a belief is called *moshrek*. So the latter term could encompass a wide variety of 'religious others', for instance: Hindus, Buddhists, and even Christians who ascribe divinity to the Father and the Son (Jesus).

mosques. These [the enemies of Islam] are scared of mosques. Mosques are rifle pits. Rifle pits should be filled" (MOEI, 2007-2008a, p. 107)

## Grade 7

In the seventh grade textbook, Lesson 5, The Holy War, starts with a quote from the Koran: "Oh prophet, tell people that I advise them to fight for God, in pairs or alone" (MOEI, 2007-2008b, p. 28). The text concludes that it is now our duty to continue our revolt with all our strength against imperialists and oppressors in order to sustain the Islamic revolution (p. 29).

In Lesson 7, we learn about 'faith and perseverance':

The infidels asked Sumaya, who had witnessed her husband's martyrdom, to call Mohammad names but when she refused, 'Abu-Djahl, who had become frustrated by the words of this courageous woman, was infuriated and struck her body with a fierce blow of a spear and she fell to the ground and died. She was saying 'God is great' and 'There is no god but *Allah'* with her last breaths and became a martyr. Sumaya was the first courageous woman who achieved the prominent rank of martyrdom in the path of Islam (MOEI, 2007-2008b, p. 42).
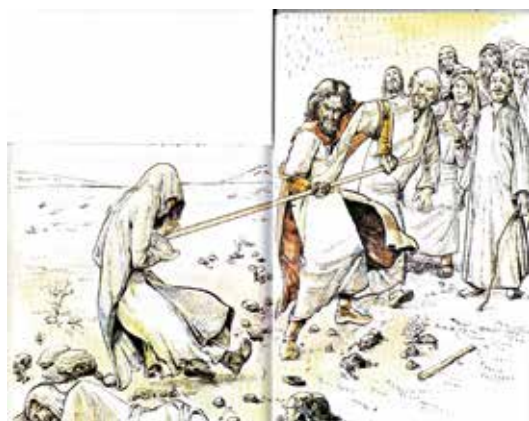


Figure 1. Endorsing Martyrdom

The story in Lesson 8 describes how the '*moshreks*'[5] were happy to see the Prophet lose his beloved uncle and wife, and how they used the opportunity to conspire against him. So the Prophet, fearing for his life, left the town where he was propagating Islam, all the while the '*moshreks*' were stoning him and injuring him.

Lesson 11, The Great Nation of Islam describes the boundaries between 'enmity' and 'friendship' and warns the Muslims to safeguard the "Great Nation of

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[5]   See definition of *sherk* (footnote #4).

Islam" (MOEI, 2007-2008b, p. 51). The entire lesson aims to draw an imaginary fence where clear lines between the 'in-group' and the 'out- groups' are drawn.

Lesson 9 describes the scene of the battle of *Khandag* at the time of the Prophet, between idol worshippers allied with Jews against Muslims. "The huge crowd of the enemies were quickly approaching Medina. They intended to win the war in one day and were determined not to let even one Muslim live" (MOEI, 2007-2008b, p. 54).

In Lesson 10, the central theme is *'jihad'* [the holy war]. The explanation is as follows:

> In the Islamic community, *'jihad'* and defence are absolutely fundamental and everyone should defend his/her land, integrity and faith. If the enemy sees our (Muslims') preparedness for war and becomes filled with dread, it [they] would never even dare to invade and attack our country. How are we to prepare ourselves for such war? How can we enhance our fighting strength day by day? How should we communicate our military strength to the enemy? ...Taking part in the exciting war sports and contests is one of the ways. Knighthood and shooting are excellent examples of such sports. The prophet of Islam has endorsed that "all Muslims regardless of the era they live in, should practice these two beneficial sports." …Learn both how to ride a horse and shoot, but if you cannot do both, make sure that you learn how to shoot and know that with each bullet that is shot, the Almighty renders three groups deserving of heaven and heavenly blessings: 1) The Muslim who has fabricated the bullet, 2) The Muslim who delivers the bullet to the soldiers, 3) The soldier who shoots the bullet for the cause of the Lord to the enemy. He further elaborates: teach your children how to shoot and how to swim. So, the Muslim adolescents and youth must through practicing exciting and exhilarating sports, maintain their health and strength and continuously enhance their military skills (MOEI, 2007-2008b, pp. 58-59).

The passage is immediately followed by these comments: "As we read, it is a commandment in Islam for every Muslim to prepare for war against the enemies of the Lord. How about you? Are you ready to learn the military skills in Baseedj?"[6] (MOEI, 2007-2008b, p. 60). Imam Khomeiny also continuously underscored this crucial duty:

> …The members of an Islamic nation should all be armed and have military training... It is incumbent upon everyone to learn how to shoot and learn combat skills... It should not be that if they get their hands on a rifle, they won't have a clue as what to do with it. Teach the young people. It should become like this everywhere: in a country that has a population of twenty million, twenty million should be armed. It should have an army of twenty million soldiers, and such a country will never be harmed (MOEI, 2007-2008b, p. 61)

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6    *Baseedj-* An armed religious organization formed by the Islamic state at the time of the Iran-Iraq war, whose mandate was to safeguard the Islamic revolution and state. Its members were mainly children and youth, in particular. it was those who wanted to participate in the war at the time.

Figure 2. Militarism *(MOEI, 2007-2008b)*

Imam Khomeiny has further commanded the pilgrims at Hadj (the pilgrimage of *Ka'beh,* the holy temple of Muslims):

Muslims of the world, together with the military assistance of Iran must be on guard to crush the teeth of the United States of America (this oppressive nation who has a history of harassment) in its mouth; and then watch the bud of liberty, monotheism, and prophethood bloom in the world of the Great Prophet (MOEI, 2007-2008b, p. 65).

Lesson 14, "Cleanliness in Islam" lists what is considered unclean or '*na-djes*'. This includes: urine and feces; the corpse of an animal; a piece of skin or flesh of an animal or a man with blood still running through it; a dog or a pig living in land; wine, beer or any drink that makes one drunk; infidels – or people who do not either believe in God, or thinks that they share His divinity, or do not accept the prophethood of prophets. It is said that the items above are unclean inherently and cannot be made clean.

In the next lesson, militarism and the threats to the security of the nation are revisited. Here's an excerpt:

Imam Jom'eh (the country's top religious authority who leads the Friday mass prayer in Tehran) delivers his sermons while he is standing and leaning on his weapon. Do you know why? So that he can announce that Islamic society keeps itself on guard and ready for combat under any circumstance. He holds his weapon in his hand and leans against it so that he can declare that in the path towards realization of the 'holy stat-utes,' the Islamic society is always prepared to wage the holy war against the infidels,

the deviants and the *monafeghs*[7] who do not accept the Truth and rebel and oppress others (MOEI, 2007-2008b, p. 93).

Students are then asked, "Why do you think that the Imam Jom'eh gives the sermon while leaning against his weapon?"

## Grade 8

In the grade 8 textbook, the book starts with a vivid depiction of heaven and hell:

In heaven, there are built very glamorous castles for believers. Castles furnished with beautifully designed rugs. Believers, robed in gorgeous outfits in pretty colours, relax in comfortable armchairs and converse with prophets, saints, martyrs and other residents of heaven (MOEI, 2007-2008c, p. 18). In heaven, anything you ask or desire is granted to you immediately. Whereas in hell, there are flames of fire, grindings of teeth and suffering-all the things that God has prepared for oppressors, infidels and '*moshreks*'. In fact, it is their own misdeeds that are turned into a curse upon themselves (pp. 19-23).

Lesson 7, "The Deception of *Moshreks"* describes how they plotted the Prophet's death. It was a vicious and violent scheme and they were planning to cut him into pieces. Other Muslims were also being persecuted and tortured. Among them, were many women and children (MOEI, 2007-2008c, pp. 42-47).

In Lesson 11, jihad is described to be "the best way to worship the Lord" (MOEI, 2007-2008c). It is further referred to as a 'business transaction' between man and God. In the holy Koran, it is written: "God purchases the believers' lives and instead grants them the entry to the beautiful heaven. These believers fight the holy war, kill and get killed" (MOEI, 2007-2008c, p. 67). The next few paragraphs then are there to ensure that the students understand what this 'business transaction' entails:

Who is the buyer in this business deal? Who is the seller? What is the item being sold? What is the price of this item? The buyer is God... The item being sold is the life, money and all the possessions and belongings of believers. The combatant of the holy war sells his life to the Lord - he hands back the life that has been given to him by God, to God again and sacrifices it for Him. He leaves all he has at once and joins the object of his worship. He throws away all the affection of the rest of the people, and rushes towards the source of light as a butterfly would. What is the price or the value of this transaction? It is heaven, the eternal life and living with the prophets and

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[7]   Monafegh – is a term widely used to refer to members of a specific opposition party, who do not comply with the authority of the country's religious leader.

Imams, in addition to acquaintance with martyrs, the righteous and all the deserving people of God (MOEI, 2007-2008c, p. 68).

The believer and the soldier of the Lord is said to hit two birds with one stone:

Either he kills the enemies of Islam, demolishes them and comes back home dignified to his family, or for the cause of the Lord and in His presence, he sacrifices his blood. Either way he attains happiness and victory (MOEI, 2007-2008c, pp. 68-69).

A true win-win situation!

Lesson 15 serves to detail the history of enmity between Sunnis and Shiites. It depicts the mistreatment of the Sunni caliphs or leaders who brutally killed, threatened and tortured the clan of the prophet starting with Imam Ali (the first Imam) who fought until he was martyred while praying, then Imam Hossein (II Imam) in the infamous bloody battle of *Ashoora,* and the rest:

Imam Hossein for the purpose of 'preserving Islam and exposing the government of the *Bani Omayyeh* dynasty [a Sunnis dynasty]' found it necessary to revolt and declare to the people of the world that a child of Prophet will not tolerate the 'anti-Islamic' government of *Yazeed* [the Sunni Caliph], and will fight with it, even if it requires that he himself and his infant child become martyred in this holy war... The oppressive Caliphs constantly prevented people to visit these Imams... and they were often arrested without any warning by the Caliphs, imprisoned or martyred (MOEI, 2007-2008c, p. 95).

## CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Clearly, there is no shortage of the themes needed to initiate and/or perpetuate a conflict in the Iranian curriculum. Considering the "sticky" nature of these beliefs in the collective mind and memory, and the potent role they play in keeping the conflict alive, to address the issue of inter-group conflict and attain sustainable peace, we would have to end the 'psychological war' that different groups wage on each other. Since wars are initiated in human minds, the only place that peace could truly come to life is nowhere but the human mind.

Peace-making is a process that needs to be planned and built. It's not a phenomenon that can be reached overnight. It is the outcome of a long and thoughtfully designed program. It requires changing worldviews; and replacing prejudice-tainted education with a healthy and unbiased system of beliefs. A society that does not possess a 'culture' and a 'psychology of peace' will not be able - and is not prepared - to adopt and maintain peace.

I hope that this study and other similar studies will not be overlooked, but rather considered for policy reform, curriculum modification, and ultimately promoting interfaith peace. Ideally, education's main goal must be to "end human suffering and protect students from being hurt or hurting another" (Kincheloe,

2008). We must ultimately learn to respect and honour the path each of us takes to the Sacred, if we truly wish to arrive!

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# MIGRATIONS MOVEMENTS IN TEXTBOOKS AND DIDACTIC MATERIAL IN THE SPANISH CONTEXT[1]

JESÚS RODRÍGUEZ RODRÍGUEZ AND Mª MONTSERRAT CASTRO RODRÍGUEZ

## INTRODUCTION

The arrival of immigrant families and their school-aged children to Galicia, Spain has risen considerably in recent years, although it has not reached the levels in other parts of Spain. The following graph presents data about students enrolled in the last ten academic years across Spain, by stage of education.
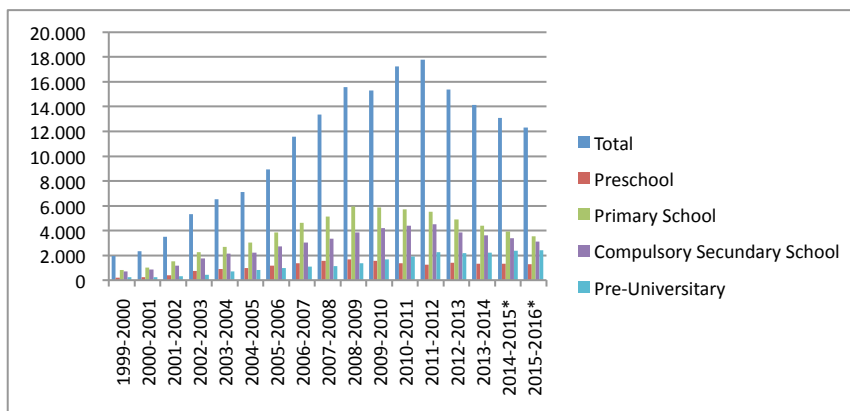


*Evolution of immigrant student body over the last ten academic years, by stage of education[2].*
*Source: MEC, www.educacion.gob.es*

Over the last 6 years there has been a 36% drop in the number of immigrant students in Galician primary and secondary schools, from 7611 students in 2009 to 4895 students in 2015) (MEC (http://www.educacion.gob.es/horizontales/estadisticas/no-universitaria/alumnado/matriculado/2011-2012--Datos-Avances.html),).   However, after 2009 the situation became problematic throughout Spain, though it was not as serious in Galicia as in other regions of Spain or other parts of the world. This

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[1]   Initial reflections regarding this chapter can be found in Rodríguez Rodríguez, J. (2009). Cultural diversity and teaching materials. In A. Gomes Ferreira, & M. Louro Felgueiras,. (Eds). *Building telling European heritage*. Coimbra: Centro de Estudos Interdisciplinares do Século XX-CEIS20.

[2]   Provisional information.

situation was problematic because teachers, schools, social institutions and educational resources were not prepared to pay the necessary attention both immigrants and students of local origin in the same class room. What is common to all our realities is that the majority of elementary and secondary school students carry out their studies and activities with textbooks and materials that are also used in other regions. Whether we like it or not, consciously or unconsciously, students in Galicia, Asturias, Madrid, Catalonia, or Montreal are exposed to a limited representation of immigrants through textbook contents and images.

Clearly, if teachers strictly teach to the textbook, it can hardly be said to be a critical use of resources. We will pose a series of questions that we hope will shed light on the topic. We would like to point out that our paper is based on the Spanish/Galician situation and we are not in a position to extend these reflections to other contexts or realities. In any case, the intention is simply to add elements for reflection. Our analysis will focus on how immigrants are portrayed in materials and also on the implications of having immigrant pupils integrated in schools.

In Spain, education is under the authority of the Spanish central government and the autonomous communities. The Ministry of Education sets forth general guidelines that must then be put into action by the autonomous governments. To begin with, we should point out that the curriculum designed by the Spanish state currently in effect is the *Organic Law of Education* (LOE, 2006). Among the basic principles put forth in this Act is a concern for diversity. This concern reflects a fundamental principle of the inclusive school: a school where all students receive the attention necessary to achieve full personal and educational development, regardless of their origin, race, or gender. In addition, the Act recognizes the needs schools will have in terms of resources and manpower.

With the raising of the compulsory school age and access to education for new student groups, the conditions under which schools carry out their work have become more complex. It is therefore necessary to address student diversity and the new challenges and difficulties that diversity generates. Ultimately, this means that all schools, both public and subsidized private schools, must accept their social commitment to education and deliver schooling without exclusion, thus emphasizing the complementarity nature of the two school networks, without sacrificing their uniqueness. In return, all publicly funded schools should receive the necessary human and material resources to accomplish their tasks. In order to provide the public service of education, society must equip them properly" (LOE, 2006, p. 17160).

In this introduction to the Act, no explicit reference is made to immigrants. Nevertheless, later in the provisions of the Act there is a section referring to foreign students which states that in consideration of the principle of cultural diversity, schools will have the human resources necessary to facilitate their integration.

In order to serve foreign students, recommendations are made to provide human resources to facilitate, in particular, language skills in our official languages; knowledge of our values and culture, while taking into account the culture of origin.

However, the 2006 Act has not yet been fully implemented by all autonomous communities, thus generating some very significant differences between them. Insofar as our community of Galicia, to find a specific educational regulation pertaining to immigrant students we must go back to the *Order of 20 February 2004* (*Diario Oficial de Galicia*, February 20, 2004, No. 40), which establishes specific measures for students from abroad. This is currently the most specific standard for the education of immigrant students. This *Order* does not mention the material resources that can or should be used in classrooms with immigrant students. Nevertheless, the *Order* includes a section on diversity and specifically addresses immigrant pupils, where it mentions that "support activities within regular classes, with individualized attention to specific student education needs" (Diario Oficial de Galicia, 2004) should be carried out, suggesting the use of an open methodology and the incorporation of specific materials for students with diverse cultural backgrounds. Similarly, the Order refers to the integration of content addressing intercultural issues in the classroom and the school as a whole, as well as addressing immigration within the school's educational plan. To deal with diversity, Article 5 of the above mentioned *Order* proposes work based on an active methodology involving educational projects and curriculum development.

> The school educational projects and curriculum development documents referred to by Article 3 shall reflect criteria of organizational and pedagogical attention to their students from abroad with some of the specific educational needs set out in Article 1. Likewise, they should incorporate the content and actions to educate all students in the knowledge and respect for cultural diversity in the school" (*Diario Oficial de Galicia*, 2004, No. 40).

Although there is no explicit reference made to resources, making a commitment to methodology based on knowledge and respect for the cultural diversity existing within the school clearly implies a commitment to diversity of resources, both in terms of quantity and quality.

In 2013, the new LOMCE education law was published. It makes no direct reference to immigrant students, but when the law explains schooling criteria for families of students with special educational needs support, reference is made to students who join the educational system late, which can only mean students from outside the country because it is mandatory for Spanish boys and girls to be in school by the age of 6. The LOMCE reiterates the need for providing proper care for students with specific learning difficulties. But real life in our schools is different because the government has passed measures that impede paying this attention, for example, increases in the number of students per class and reductions in

the financial aid, especially for social assistance (less money and personal assistance for family and student integration). Another important limitation in Galicia is that teaching materials are not free in elementary or secondary school.

As mentioned above, the response by each of the Spanish autonomous communities to immigrant education is very different, and in many cases reflects the greater or lesser presence of immigrants in their societies.

In a study by the Ministry of Education and Science and the Center for Educational Research and Documentation (MEC & CIDE, 2005) we can see that in 2004 the different Spanish autonomous communities had specific resources for addressing the needs of immigrant students and carried out a variety of initiatives regarding materials and teaching resources.

Below, we give a brief overview of the autonomous communities of Spain that offer resource centers which can be used for activities with immigrants and those communities that provide measures to help teachers elaborate materials contextualized to immigrant reality.

*Table 1:overview of the autonomous communities of Spain*

| | Resource Centers and/ or document collections | Measures regarding the development of teaching resources | Support for the development/ acquisition of intercultural materials | Development of linguistic resources |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Andalucía | | | Yes | |
| Aragón | Yes | | Yes | |
| Asturias | Yes | | Yes | Yes |
| Baleares | | | | |
| Islas Canarias | | | Yes | Yes |
| Cantabria | | | Yes | |
| Castilla la Mancha | | | Yes | Yes |
| Castilla y León | | | | Yes |
| Castaluña | Yes | | Yes | Yes |
| Extremadura | | | Yes | Yes |
| Galicia | | | Yes | |
| Madrid | | | Yes | Yes |
| Murcia | Yes | | Yes | Yes |
| Navarra | | | Yes | Yes |
| País Vasco | | | Yes | Yes |
| Rioja | | | Yes | |
| Valencia | | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Ceuta | | | | |
| Melilla | | | | Yes |
| Ministry of Education and Science | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |

According to the National Statistics Institute as of January 1, 2010, 14% of the Spanish population were immigrants. After a review of the education legislation in Spain and Galicia regarding the presence of educational resources for work in intercultural contexts, it is clear that teachers must keep this reality in mind when selecting instructional materials.

The most widely used resource in our context is textbooks. Do they address the needs of the immigrant population and contain their contributions to our country? In short, how is migration reflected in instructional materials? What are the most significant issues that materials should address in a society where the number of different groups and life experiences is increasing? Do the activities proposed by materials foster attention to ethnic and other forms of diversity or, on the other hand, do they respond to, specific cultural communities? Do curricular materials provide for the development of personalized plans that make it possible to address the diverse student socio-cultural realities? Do materials consider diversity as something truly interesting from a socio-cultural and educational point of view?

In this section, we will try to respond to some of these issues.

## TEACHING MATERIALS IN THE CURRICULUM

The main motives behind our concern for the study of materials in the curriculum are formally specified below.

Currently, it is hard to conceive of educational practice without the presence of materials. The fact is that if we consider the formal teaching context, even before beginning a course, teachers are formerly obliged to have previously selected the curricular materials or the textbooks so that the students' families can acquire them. An example of the extensive role that materials play is their implications for the family background. In this sense, Martínez (1998) highlights that curricular material also teaches families certain kinds of attitudes and behaviours regarding their children's education.

Some materials have been allocated as the only curricular reference for teachers. Notwithstanding the critics, the controversy, and the different visions, the fact is that textbooks are considered to be basic resources in our school. (Apple, 1989; Torres, 1989; Gimeno, 1995; Martínez, 1995). The fact is that it is almost impossible to conceive of a community and a school that lacks this resource.

Since it is difficult to conceive of a teaching-learning process without materials, we must take into consideration the role of the textbook in the process of

teaching innovation. More than ever, teachers need training which is updated and adapted to meet the needs of Education Reform, with a special focus on migration.

To a large extent, materials are a sort of mirror reflecting the health of the curriculum, insofar as what they include and what they do not. Generally speaking, any decision we make reflects reactions to the characteristics and use of materials at a socio-political and educational level; in fact, one of the most common reactions is to reject changes to materials. That is to say, when talking about immigration, social problems, culture or identity in Galicia and Spain, we should consider how these aspects appear in the curriculum and in materials. Historically, migration could be said to be a tradition in Spanish society. At one stage, there was extensive emigration, while in recent years the trend has been toward immigration. However, our textbooks have failed to reflect our historical emigration. If this information were incorporated, it could lead to a new way of interpreting and understanding the world.

In any case, with respect to the legislation mentioned above, teachers must keep in mind that models of teaching and learning must address student diversity, both in teaching and in the selection of content (LOE, 2006, LOMCE, 2013). Therefore, the choice of materials to use in the classroom should reflect an understanding of diversity, at least with respect to content.

Measures and policies dealing with curricular materials provide insight into how curricular aspects such as diversity are considered.

Several studies have analyzed the socio-political connotations surrounding decision-making about materials (Apple, 1989; Torres, 1989; Martínez, 1995; Rodríguez, 2001, among others). For example, a study by Rodríguez (2001), examined the limited measures undertaken by the administration to aid teacher decision-making about curricular materials. The study also demonstrated that very few pedagogic professionals were involved in the approval process of these curricular materials.

Materials reflect the ideology of the school. By analysing what they include, reflect and suggest and considering the teacher training concepts and theorizations they contain, materials reflect a way of understanding the school and can provide insights on how that school perceives the teaching-learning process.

In this sense, the preamble to the LOE speaks of the commitment made by the European Union and UNESCO indicating that one of the priorities of the 21st century school is to be open to the "outside". Thus, a new type of school is mandated to understand the outside world and its diversity. The objective is to open up the education systems to the outside world, which requires: strengthening ties to the labour market; collaborating with academe; engaging civil society; increasing mobility and exchanges; and strengthening European cooperation (LOE, 2006, p. 17159). But the LOMCE changes the discourse by introducing

values that make special reference to economic production, ceding to the labour system a special leadership role in the process of education quality improvement based on standards that have little or nothing to do with improvements in quality of life for people. This has brought about the application of continuous external evaluations, including two in primary school with the aim of analysing and ranking schools in terms of their scores on these tests. Obviously, this is detrimental for schools with a greater proportion of students from other countries.

**Implications for Curricula**

What are the implications of addressing diversity and migration within the curriculum with respect to materials in particular? Dealing with diversity and the existence of an open curriculum enables teachers to search for the most appropriate teaching strategies; define key terms; and determine the level of learning required of students. This implies that curriculum designers need to review the features of materials, suggest new alternatives to address diversity, and adapt materials to the teaching context. The analysis of how diversity and migration movements are related to materials provides an opportunity to see how our societies are reflected in those materials, how conflicting information is presented and how the values of society are mirrored through the materials.

Teaching diversity implies considering aspects such as stage, place, space, language, values, and culture. In order to deal with diversity we need to provide schools and institutions with adequate human resources and materials. In addition, addressing diversity implies considering the increasingly obvious presence of immigrants and emigrants in our society, the socio-educational importance of diversity in the curricular context, and the effects of globalization. According to Fernández-Castillo:

Working with minorities in the educational context must involve a number of fundamental changes that should be generated, promoted and supported by educational institutions and even by legislation. Such changes have already included, firstly, a new concept of academic curriculum that is more open and flexible. This framework should build decision-making capacity among education professionals in such areas as adapting methodologies, materials and evaluation systems. (Fernández-Castillo, 2010, p. 3).

Inasmuch, the duty to understand how diversity is depicted in the curriculum has fostered the necessity to investigate both formal features of materials and the context in which they are used. In general, we could say that most materials do not seem to take diversity into consideration. A good summary of the situation and recommendations appear in the reflections of the *Curricular Materials and Socio-Cultural Diversity Conference* which took place in 2001 (Rodríguez, 2003). The following were some of the main conclusions:

Curricular materials play a leading role at schools and they must be analysed and studied.

Curricular materials lack references to the socio-cultural diversity existing which exists within schools.

Generally, textbooks are still the most widely used material and teachers continue using them as their only material.

In general, publishing companies that re-produce material during the Educational Reform lacked an innovative approach to material development.

Formulating criteria for defining quality of materials is necessary.

Enhancement of materials is difficult to conceive without improving teacher training.

It is necessary to analyze materials in terms of how they address diversity.

It is necessary to find strategies to foster a "culture of analysis and assessment" of materials. It is undoubtedly necessary to evaluate materials using assessment guides.

It would be advantageous to make use of new technologies (internet, email) in order to disseminate formerly published materials.

It is necessary to provide schools with the time and space to design and analyse materials.

The creation of individual materials designed by teachers in order to integrate diversity allows teachers an opportunity to reflect on how they can best teach diversity. The creation of materials by groups is also a form of teacher professional development. In addition, the administration should support and subsidize material development. We must not forget the interesting potential represented by the process of adapting curricular materials.

**Migration in curricular materials**

An analysis of materials in the Spanish context reveals that little reference is made to mass immigration and the resulting multi-ethnic cultural reality.

Activities outlined in the curricular materials provoke ethnic and cultural discrimination. On one hand, they omit information and on the other, they present a controlling and stereotyped vision of reality partially motivated by political, economic and publishing interests. This discrimination can be understood in light of the six criteria put forward by the Eleuterio Quintanilla Group (1998) which include:

Invisibility: when minority cultures are not present or under- represented.

Stereotype: groups are presented with no inner diversity and their features are essentialized.

Lack of balance: the facts under analysis are interpreted in light of the dominant culture's ethos and knowledge.

Absence of reality: inappropriate representation, both historical and current.

Fragmenting and isolation: experiences of the minority groups are not considered to be part of the dominant culture or history of the country.

Immorality: topics like slavery, colonization and exploitation are addressed without considering the ethical implications (p. 45).

Castiello, (2011) argues that in the Spanish context, some materials reveal significant misconceptions regarding such things as location and customs of certain countries. Some materials, especially those for the subject of Spanish language, provide immigrant students with a vision of Spain that is uniform and reflects values that do not correspond to the cultural and linguistic diversity of the country. Furthermore, the progression of the content offered to the immigrant student is simplistic and does not correspond to the child's stage of development, in that often there is a tendency to give very basic content, which provides a partial view of reality and does not foster more complex analysis involving the interaction of multiple variables. Textbooks tend to search for uniformity and expect every child in our country to have the same behaviour and cultural patterns, thus, rejecting the possibility of different cultural perspectives. The reasons for this include a lack of risk taking, exclusivity, the challenge of tackling diversity as a subject, and the lack of support from school administrators. Migration is considered a social problem by a wide sector of the population and therefore publishing companies prefer not to jeopardize their image by introducing new content and proposals.

Generally, alternative materials published in relation to these topics have been part of innovative projects, led by associations and groups of pedagogical professionals. Except for publishing interests, these materials are available to certain schools or contexts which do not allow them to be widely known and used in most schools.

Addressing diversity in materials is difficult, since there little support found within the social context. To some extent, it is a vicious circle: without good materials or the ability to use them well, teachers will have difficulty getting resources to help them address diversity; without the social will to teach diversity in schools, there will be no perceived need to develop alternative materials.

**What socio-educational reality is reflected by materials?**

We began this chapter by considering curriculum materials to be a major catalyst for educational change. We believe that the following quote from Zabala (1990)

may clarify the role that curriculum materials play in the curriculum development processes.

> Decision making on the various curriculum components, both in planning and the application of teaching practice, responds to a complex analysis of the educational context and educational intentions. To carry out this analysis as well as the determination of relevant action, materials are needed that provide criteria and guidelines for the development of intervention proposals as the means and instruments for carrying out educational practice and assessment (p. 125).

Similarly, in 1989, the *Diseño Curricular Base* (DCB)[3] expresses the importance of considering curricular materials in curriculum development processes.

> The teaching staff shall take into consideration the diversity of content (concepts, procedures and attitudes) and shall address the varying pace of student learning when designing their own work plan, and shall develop strategies that address student diversity and individual characteristics. All this involves proper organization of work in the classroom as well as the use of diverse methods and resources that promote creativity, research and questioning on the part of school children (M.E.C., 1989, p. 32).

Some premises which must be taken into account when analyzing how the migration phenomenon is addressed in materials include that curricular materials must consider that migration affects social groups in different ways:

> Space mobility, as a generic concept, affects all groups; but in a different ways according to a number of variables: qualification level, relationship with means of production, professional situation (wage-earner, self-employed, unemployed); socio-professional variables like sex, age, and marital status: and socio-demographic variables such as income level, assets, wages, and real estates; and socio-economic variables. (Fambuena & Moya, 1997, p. 12)

We must be aware that the process of migration brings to schools a great variety of interests and needs. This must not be forgotten when dealing with materials. Content and activities of curricular materials must not be separated from the society in which they are used and of which they are part. It is inappropriate for these materials to not reflect the different social groups within our society. The lack of content and the insensitive or stereotypical treatment found in these materials allow social inequities to exist and increase.

According to Ibáñez (2001), diversity (which does not refer to students with special needs for educational support) in the classroom is the only human possibility; therefore, it would be incomprehensible for human diversity to be invisible and to not be reflected in proposals, debates and illustration in materials.

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[3] Curricular Design Base: (*Diseño Curricular Base*) a list of minimum requirements for all students specified by Educational Authorities.

**Materials Developed to Address Diversity[4]**

Under current Spanish legislation, classrooms are integrated. Immigrant students shall join the class that corresponds to their needs and learn with the rest of their peers as long as needed. They shall only receive attention outside the classroom for special needs. In this sense, the materials used in the classroom should foster this attention to diversity for all students. To successfully teach diversity, learning should be meaningful, different contexts need to be considered, materials should be diverse, experiential components need to be considered and teachers should be encouraged to adapt existing materials.

**Curricular materials and meaningful learning**

The development of meaningful learning has two implications: first, the assimilation of new content into the learning structure, and second, the accommodation of new knowledge through the reorganization of the existing cognitive structures. The level of meaningfulness should depend on the level of connection between new and prior knowledge.

**Contextual adaptation and curricular materials**

One of the main features of the open curriculum should be the consideration of students' contextual particularities. Curricular materials will thus foster adaptations to different needs and educational contexts.

**Curricular materials and attention to diversity**

The development of a curricula which addresses students with special educational needs is necessary in order to address the needs of a diverse society According to Parcerisa (1996), to better address student diversity, "materials must be as broad as possible, offering multiple possibilities for adaptation according to the needs of each moment and situation" (Parcerisa,1996, p. 52).

**ORGANIZATIONAL CONSIDERATIONS**

Schools must take organizational-wide measures to address diversity in materials. We need to develop organizational models that deal with diversity and allow students to experience a wider range of spaces and materials both inside and outside of school. We must pay specific attention to providing new physical spaces that foster exchange and peer relationships, as well as allowing access to informal materials.

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[4] For a more extensive analysis of the meaning of these characteristics see Rodríguez Rodríguez, (2009).

**Development of own materials**

One of the best means for teachers to reflect deeply on socio-cultural diversity is for teachers themselves to build and rebuild their own materials with the collaboration of other teachers, families and students. The adaptation of materials to different contexts for students with different backgrounds represents a great opportunity to take advantage of existing resources. Thus, it would be beneficial to create a database including information about existing materials dealing with immigration and which contribute to students and teachers' work on the topic.

**Addressing Specific Needs**

As we analyzed in Castro  Rodríguez (2009), didactic materials to be used in classrooms with immigrants or other groups with specific education should have the following characteristics:

Materials should combine different types of languages (iconic, written…) to allow for different levels of reading difficulty.

Textbooks should propose activities that are flexible enough to allow all students to do the same activity with different degrees of difficulty.

Teachers should facilitate both individual and group work among all the students.

Materials should promote or suggest the use of other materials that allow for individual development.

Materials should be interesting and motivating for students in order to facilitate academic and personal progress.

Keeping in mind the basic principle that we should part from the students' immediate environment to go towards the unknown, the inclusion of content addressing diversity of origin (cultural, geographic, political ...) is not only essential, but also represents an important learning opportunity.

Finally, we must point out that approaching material from an intercultural point of view implies a change in the concept of resource, as well as its production and use. The organizational aspects must allow teachers to respond to their most immediate reality. Consequently, the school administration, the staff and the departments need to create the time and conditions which allow for reflection on this important topic. To this end, materials must strive for "correlation and coexistence among different cultures, on an equality basis, without discrimination and with respect to diversity, which must be considered enriching and a clear sign of democracy and development in social structures" (Bravo, 2000, p. 49).

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# RACISM IN GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY AND SOCIAL STUDIES SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS IN COLOMBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

DIANA RODRÍGUEZ-GÓMEZ AND YUSUF SAYED

## INTRODUCTION

This chapter argues that despite the more equal and balanced representation of traditionally excluded subjects, there are still strong notions of race and racism in the new social studies and history textbooks in Colombia and South Africa respectively that require to be addressed by teachers and education stakeholders working outside the classroom.

Until 1991, Colombia was defined as a monolingual Spanish-speaking and white-catholic nation. Adopting a multicultural discourse, the 1991 National Constitution promotes the political participation of indigenous and afro-descendants and protects Colombia's ethnic and cultural diversity. However, racism in Colombia is evident in the fact that while Afro-Colombians are "approximately a quarter of the entire population, they represent well over three quarters of the poor" (UN-HCR, 2012). Racism is also evidenced in the poor quality education afro-descendants and indigenous communities receive in contrast to the white and *mestizo* (a person of mixed European and Indigenous descent) communities (PNUD, 2009).

From 1948 until 1994, South Africa was ruled by a rigid system of racial segregation where the "politics of privilege for whites in general and Afrikaans in particular" (Kallaway, 2002, p. 1) prevailed over the rights and needs of the rest of the nation. After 1994, the 1996 National Constitution re-defined South Africa as a democratic state founded on human rights and values of human dignity, equality, freedom and "non-racialism" (RSA, 1996). Nevertheless, events such as the 2009 video shooting in the University of Free State evidence the gap between the post-apartheid state's aims and daily life in educational settings.

Textbooks are spaces where the political and pedagogical intentions of the curriculum are translated, sometimes even before the curriculum reaches the classroom. In the case of South Africa, it is well known how the apartheid curriculum served to legitimize the privileged position of the Afrikaner nation (Chrisholm, 2012). According to Chrisholm in order to align the educational system with the new Constitution, the post-apartheid curriculum should promote Constitutional values, such as human dignity, non-racialism, and non-sexism. In Colombia, whereas the 1978 national curriculum legitimized the national myths and interests of the white catholic elite; the Ley General de Educación (General Education

Law) published in 1994, and the subsequent Lineamientos Curriculares de Cien-cias Sociales (Social Studies Curricular Guidelines), published in 2002, opened a new space to acknowledge the contributions that minority knowledges make around the world. This shift reflected the new principles and multicultural agenda of the 1991 Constitution.

Since textbooks are the most public and accessible aspects of the written cur-riculum, and have the potential to build, in interaction with teachers and students, notions of self and otherness, the purpose of this chapter is to analyse and compare how current textbooks in Colombia and South Africa overcome and/or reproduce racism in contrast to textbooks published in the past.

In order to elucidate the tensions between overcoming and/or reproducing racism, the first section of this chapter critically reviews the notions of race, rac-ism and representation. The second section clarifies how this study understands 'critical multiculturalism' and 'interculturalism.' The third section portrays how this study applies the methodological instruments of critical discourse analysis through an interpretative and comparative approach. The analysis of the strategies implemented to overcome racism is covered by the fourth section, as well as the analysis of the strategies which reproduce and/or neglect racism, and finally, the last section discusses the findings of this paper and provides recommendations for future textbook production.

## FRAMING REPRESENTATIONS OF RACE AND RACISM IN TEXT-BOOKS

Assuming that subjects' identities are the consequence of a constant strug-gle between self-making processes and the imposition of stereotypes, identity can be defined as a historical construction where dimensions such as class, gender, sexuality, nationality, religion and ethnicity overlap. Within this framework, race is seen as a social construct that is used in classifying and dominating human groups. Race, with its contextually and therefore historically constructed catego-ries of 'black', 'white,' 'mestizo' or 'coloured', has been justified, with arbitrary biological arguments, to reduce individuals and cultural groups to a set of static characteristics to justify forms of domination and oppression. Race appears as an organizing concept, a 'floating signifier' (Hall, 1997) that rationalizes inequality, naturalizes difference, and therefore locates particular individual and collectivities in subaltern positions (Mullings, 2005).

Racism is defined by Mullings (2005) as "a set of practices, structures, be-liefs, and representations that transforms certain forms of perceived differences, generally regarded as indelible and unchangeable, into inequality" (p. 684). These representations can be enacted through written or visual texts. Hall defines rep-resentation as a "process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between

members of a culture" (Hall, 1997, p. 16). Representation appears as a personal and therefore subjective mental activity that shapes personal and collective emotions and experiences; however, since it is built upon shared codes, its meanings and consequences are utilised by individuals and communities in building their identities.

In as far as it raises questions about who is being represented and how, representation is an exercise of power that can be exploited to emphasise differences and/or consensus among a group of people. According to Pickering (2001), representations have the capacity to choose, place and prioritise specific ideas about particular subjects. This exercise of power is what Hall (1997) terms 'symbolic violence', a particular form of violence that goes beyond physical encounters to nullify and/or reduce individuals through representation.

If representation appears as a means to reproduce unequal power relations, it is also utilised as a means of resistance against racism. Through systems of representation, people not only make sense of their own experiences but re-locate and re-negotiate their positions about themselves and others.

## CRITICAL MULTICULTURALISM AND INTERCULTURALISM: MODELS TO OVERCOME RACISM IN SOCIAL STUDIES AND HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

Considering 'segregation', 'assimilation', 'integration', 'multiculturalism,' and 'interculturalism' (Bangura & Stavenhagen, 2005), as the *continuum* of relevant projects to understand the relationship between racism and citizenship; this section describes multiculturalism and interculturalism given that the public and academic discussion about these concepts in South Africa and Colombia (UNESCO, 2006a) is commonly framed within these two approaches. Multiculturalism is a contested concept covering a broad range of thinking that goes from liberal to critical. Critical multiculturalism is understood as a field of thought and action where inequality and exclusion are addressed. Nieto and Bode (2004), and Banks (2004) define it as a continuous process intended to transform not only class-contents, but also schools through a critical analysis of power structures (Gorski, 2006). Under this framework, all students are encouraged to become critical thinkers and participative citizens of democratic societies, regardless of their race, gender or ethnic and socio-economic background (Palaiologou & Faas 2012).

Critical multiculturalism "challenges and rejects racism and other forms of discrimination in schools and society and accepts and affirms the pluralism (ethnic, racial, linguistic, religious, economic, and gender, among others) that students, their communities, and teachers reflect" (Nieto & Bode, 2004, p. 346). In order challenge racism, direct-language and concepts which allow teachers and students to understand the depth of racial conflict are advocated. Furthermore,

critical multiculturalism focuses on how identity evolves and changes, endorsing identity as a social and historical construct that is constantly adapting to new situations. Grounded in critical theory, critical multiculturalism seeks to awaken individuals' consciousness to understand the connections between cultural difference, power and social injustice whereas conservative and liberal multiculturalism assume "universalist notions of individual choice, rights and responsibility" (May, 2006, p. 13) and value society as an open system ready to integrate anyone. However critical multiculturalism acknowledges the inequalities and power disadvantages minority groups face today.

Interculturalism stresses the importance of social interaction between individuals and communities from different backgrounds (Aikman, 2012). It emphasises the importance of an open dialogue and "equitable interaction" (UNESCO, 2006b) between different cultural groups in order to develop social stability and peaceful coexistence. In other words, intercultural education "aims to go beyond passive coexistence (...) through the creation of understanding of, respect for and dialogue between the different cultural groups" (UNESCO, 2006b, p.18). In this sense, culture is understood as permeable and porous; a place where individuals and communities learn from each other on the basis of an equal communication and mutual respect. Communication in these terms requires from all actors the acknowledgement of the socio-political context, and the recognition of "inequities in access to power" (Gorski, 2008, p. 520).

Despite agreeing with McLaren and Torres (2006), who affirm that using "race" as a category of analysis reifies the existence of it, it is also true that there are many limitations in denaturalising race and racism without using the concept and its derivative categories in contexts like Colombia and South Africa where race has significantly structured the public and private spheres of life. While racial categories vary between countries, this chapter uses the categories of 'white,' 'black,' 'coloured,' and 'Indian,' in regards to South Africa, and the categories of 'mestizo' 'indigenous' and 'afro-descendant' in regards to Colombia.

The following section employs the contributions of these two theoretical trends to analyse the representation of race in History, Geography and Social Studies textbooks used in Colombia and South Africa.

## South African and Colombian Textbooks under Analysis

The recognition of the historically and politically situated nature of textbooks has given rise to massive and global interest in textbooks as primary sources of analysis (Goodson 2005). According to Dean et. al. (1983), early work on textbook analysis can be traced to the period following the First World War, "when attempts were made to identify and eliminate bias in German and other European textbooks" (p. 37). Considering the significant social and political transforma-

tion processes Colombia and South Africa have faced in the last two decades, education stakeholders and many scholars have turned social studies and history textbooks into objects of critical analysis. Since the extensive academic literature on South African textbooks can help illustrate the constraints and possibilities in Colombian textbooks, this section covers the body of knowledge about South Africa before contrasting this with studies about Colombian social studies textbooks.

Before the end of the apartheid era, several studies (Auerbach, 1965; McDiarmid & Pratt, 1971; Dean, Hartmann & Katzen, 1983) analysed representations of race within South African school textbooks. In 1983, UNESCO sponsored research entitled *History in Black and White*, an analysis of South African school history textbooks which examined how public consciousness was shaped by apartheid ideology and its notions of "white supremacy" and "supreme social values" through history textbooks (Dean et. al., 1983, p. 19). Like McDiarmid and Pratt (1971), Cloethe et. al., (s.d.), McKinney (2005) and Engelbrecht (2008) combined quantitative and qualitative research methods, particularly quantitative and qualitative variants of discourse analysis.

After 1994, the interest in history textbooks increased in South Africa. Comparing textbooks published between 1975 and 1999 through the lens provided by the "master symbols approach" (see Du Preez, 1983), Suransky (2002) argued that new textbooks refocused attention away from the apartheid nation by giving less focus to the Afrikaners' nation building myth, particularly the Great Trek, and giving more space to the migration of black people (Suransky 2002). Engelbrecht (2005) studied race representation using the "master symbols approach", and analyzed how Afrikaners and the "others" are represented in history and Afrikaans textbooks (*Ruimland*) before and after apartheid. According to Engelbrecht, in language textbooks "it seems that the battle against racial stereotyping has been won" (Engelbrecht, 2005, p. 5). Engelbrecht (2008) examined how current history textbooks fix myths through the dominant voice and world vision of black South Africans. Engelbrecht argues that there is a shift from a Eurocentric to an Afrocentric approach that reverses and inverts old apartheid prejudices (p. 521). In contrast to Engelbrecht (2008), McKinney (2005) does not identify an overt Africanisation of the content of textbooks. In the case of race, she affirms: "I did not find any overtly racist representations in any of the readers analysed" (p. 22) but points out that with the exception of one textbook, the majority of characters are black.

To sum up, race representation issues in South African textbooks are addressed through quantitative and qualitative methodologies; and discourse analysis is mostly applied in its quantitative variant. None of the revised texts relate textbook content to broader discussions about critical multiculturalism or interculturalism, lenses that contribute to understand and denaturalize the strategies authors of textbooks implement in order to comply with the government policy and market

demands. Other racist categories different from 'black' and 'white' are neglected, and questions about whose voices, whose representations and whose history are circulating through history textbooks are poorly covered. Besides Engelbrecht's (2008), no article examined how new forms of racism are taking shape.

In contrast to the extensive debate about South African textbooks, Colombian textbooks have not been extensively analysed. Analysing current social studies textbooks, Soler (2006; 2008), and Soler and Pardo (2007) analysed how social studies textbooks in Colombia reproduced racist ideas under the label of national identity. The authors affirmed that racism takes shape in social studies textbooks through three strategies: the negation of cultural practices and social actors, the misinterpretation of historical facts, and the representation of afro-descendant and indigenous communities as problematic and as crisis provokers (Soler & Pardo, 2007). According to the researchers, afro-descendants and indigenous peoples are taken into consideration only in terms of their otherness, exoticism, "natural capabilities" and/or hard life conditions.

The authors denounce how racism in Colombia is poorly covered by the textbooks content, where racism is partially covered through the history of the United States or the description of apartheid in South Africa (2007), where passive voice is constantly used to avoid naming the authors of racist practices.

In contrast to academic literature on South African textbooks, where a discussion on different options and positions exists, the Colombian textbook analysis is still restricted to very few authors and perspectives, and poor practical recommendations for future textbooks.

**Critical Discourse Analysis**

Assuming the amount of space granted to represent particular human groups does not determine the quality of this content, nor the frequency of references made to particular aspects, this chapter analyses textbook content with a qualitative approach through the critical variation of discourse analysis. It assumes text as a "piece of written language" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 4) that by combining linguistic and visual languages can be multisemiotic. As social spaces of struggle in which cognition, representation of the world and social interaction occur simultaneously, texts have the capacity "to negotiate social relations between people in circumstances of doubt or contestation" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 8) modelling notions of belongingness and otherness.

Discourse can be used in two senses, first, following Fairclough (2003), who described discourse as "extended samples of either spoken or written language" (p. 3), this chapter defines discourse as the body of texts that constitute the textbooks. In the second sense, underpinned by Foucault's (1972) contributions, discourse is defined as a sum of statements that not only describe how reality is

conceived, but how reality is constituted by discourse. In this sense, discourse is not a mere reflection of reality, on the contrary, it plays an active role constituting subjects, and constructing society.

Considering Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) aims to denaturalise the hidden connections "between discursive, social and cultural change" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 9), it provides instruments to understand what appears at first glance as seemingly natural, can be a set of interests and unequal power relations.

Making reference to the particular case of racism, Van Dijk (2007) suggests analysing textbooks in relation to how they emphasise the positive aspects of 'us' and negative aspects of 'them' while neglecting the positive features of 'others'.

## STUDY

On the basis of high circulation, state approval and content comparability, four textbooks covering geography, history and social studies for middle and high school were chosen. In order to understand how textbooks' racial representations have responded to and evolved according to historical conditions, materials published in contrasting historical periods were selected for each country. In 1991, Colombia's Constitution was changed. The new Constitution included traditionally excluded communities within Colombia's political panorama. Acknowledging that 1991 represents a pivotal point in Colombian history, textbooks published before and after the new Constitution were selected: *Geografía Económica de Colombia 4° Curso de Enseñanza Media* (Economic Geography of Colombia- 4° Upper Middle High School) published in 1975, and (New Social Sciences 11°) published in 2007. On the other hand, the end of apartheid in 1994 signified the end of a system that divided South African society for over five decades into categories of 'whites', 'blacks', 'coloureds' and 'Indians'. The re-definition of South Africa as the 'rainbow nation' entailed the recognition of its multicultural character and the depreciation of Afrikaans as a superior South African cultural tradition. In order to compare how race and racism representation has evolved, *Europe and South Africa - A History of the Period 1815- 1939* by A. N. Boyce (s.d.), and *In Search of History 10 Grade 10* published in 2007 were chosen.

## Findings and discussion

*Overcoming Racism?*

This section argues that the Colombian and South African textbook sample implement three strategies to overcome racism: (i) the elimination of explicit racist stereotypes, (ii) the revision of historical themes traditionally embedded in racist and exclusive narratives, and (iii) the creation and legitimisation of new national heroes and leaders.

*Eliminating Racist Stereotypes Contained in Old Textbooks*

The old textbooks used in South Africa and Colombia, namely, Boyce's (s.d.) *Europe and South Africa - A History of the Period 1815- 1939* and Parra's (1975) *Geografía Económica de Colombia 4° Curso de Enseñanza Media* textbooks endorsed racist stereotypes using very similar strategies: labelling human groups with static characteristics and therefore, racist stereotypes.

Acknowledging the role played by "non-Europeans" in South African history, Boyce differentiates between three "native" groups: Bushmen, Hottentots (today KhoiKhoi) and Bantu. The author describes each group's cultural and social features according to Eurocentric parameters. For example, Bushmen are described as "The most primitive of all the native races. They lived by hunting and were always on the move in the search of game" (Boyce, s.d., p. 43); and Bantu characterised as "a more virile race than the Hottentots" (Boyce, s.d., p. 44).

Describing human groups in pejorative and reductive terms such as "primitive" or "virile", defining Bushmen with child-like attitudes and characterising cultural groups as weak not only aimed to legitimise the superior power position of Europeans in South Africa and its 'civilizing duty', but also reduced the agency of these groups to intervene and actively participate in the making of their History.

Making reference to the construction of a hospital, Boyce affirms "A hospital was built (...) where it was hoped that the Native would learn the benefits of the white man's medicine, and in this way the power of superstition and witchcraft will be destroyed" (Boyce, s.d., p. 173). As can be seen, the traditions, practices and world views of 'others' are seen as primitive and obscure and as targets in the civilization imperial enterprise.

Boyce continuously equates African and Indian peoples to "problems", illustrated by chapter titles such as "The Hottentot Problem", "The Basuto Problem", "The Zulu Problem after 1840", "The South African Indian Problem". Boyce's tendency to problematize African natives and Indians as requiring a 'solution' was the subject outside of European rule.

Along the same lines as Boyce, the Colombian textbook written by Parra (1975) also represents human groups with static characteristics. Assuming geographic determinism as a fact, Parra defines the temperament and habits of Colombian people in the following terms:

> The people from the coast (...) are chatty, cheerful but not very hard-working. The people from the hillsides are hard workers, religious, home loving, honest and brave (p. 34).

In a country where Spanish manners where seen as the norm, and most white-descendant people were considered to be established in the Andes hillsides, Par-

ra's description evidences his prejudices against afro-descendant and indigenous populations. Like Boyce, Parra also locates Colombian people in different levels of 'civilization'; in this sense, people inhabiting the Amazons live in "pitiful cultural conditions" (Parra, 1975, p. 43) in contrast to people living in urban areas of the Andes.

In order to write a new history in line with the changes that both countries went through during the 1990s, new social studies and history textbooks avoid the use of static labels to describe groups, question how racist stereotypes are created and present the 'old others' as active subjects of national Histories.

In contrast to the adjectives used by Boyce to describe 'natives', the South African textbook *In Search of History 10 - Grade 10* describes groups of people using primary sources and making reference to their economic and political organisations. For instance, the groups living in the eastern coastal regions of South Africa are defined using evidence provided by archaeologists. No allusions are made to these groups' physical features, temperament or 'level of civilization'.

Similar to this, in the section describing the different regions of Colombia, *Nuevas Ciencias Sociales 11* describes the Caribbean Coast in the following terms:

> The Colombian Caribbean Coast is characterized by large savannahs, where stock-breeder and farming *haciendas* have been developed. Its population is constituted by afro-descendants, who have largely influenced the Caribbean culture. Likewise, there is a highly remarkable presence of indigenous people (Duplat, Ortiz, Guarin, Rueda and Angel, 2007, p. 140)

As can be seen, in contrast to Parra's textbook there is no mention of common pre-determined characteristics between the members of ethnic minorities on the contrary, cultural minorities are exalted; nevertheless, the fact that the white and *mestizo* populations inhabiting this area are neglected raises questions about the new exclusions that are taking shape in these textbooks.

Besides eliminating the use of labels and pre-determined characteristics, the South African textbook, include overt questions about racism. In the chapter entitled, *How is slavery remembered today?* (Bottaro et. al., 2007, p. 99), the third activity includes five questions alluding to the role of generalisation and labelling in producing and reproducing racism (Annex 1). Students are expected to answer each question by analysing three testimonies. These testimonies, particularly *Source H* (Annex 2)*,* are introduced in the textbooks not to scrutinize the 'black subordinated other', but to analyse a racist worldview. In this way, what Pratt (1992) defined as the imperial eye is reversed through one of the three strategies to counteract racist representations, identified by Hall (1997).

According to Hall (1997), racist representations can be neutralized by reversing stereotypes, including more 'positive images' of the excluded and/or reformu-

lating the terms in which racial representation has traditionally taken place. *Source H* is a good example of this last strategy since this picture's original purpose, to help a racist scientist to measure and catalogue human races, is reformulated by the textbooks' authors; now the image is useful in analysing the position of the person behind the camera.

Statements close to critical multiculturalism are evident in the way this chapter and the textbook as a whole addresses racism through its contents and explicit language. *In Search of History 10* uses images, particularly photographs, to send powerful messages against racism. For example, next to the students' activity entitled *Think about oppression and liberation,* the only image on the page represents a black man with his body covered by fishing net and his hands tied (Annex 3) (Bottaro et. al*., 2007, p. 83). In the original picture, the man's gaze was directed to the camera, but in the textbook his gaze is directed at the reader.

In contrast to multicultural liberal approaches that celebrate cultural diversity whilst neglecting the power of race and racism to shape individuals' identity and material conditions, using straightforward language, this chapter compels students to analyse how racism shapes the living conditions of particular communities and how it resides in everyday practices through reflecting on the consequences of generalisation and stereotyping on how people identify themselves and others.

Differing from the explicit emphasis the South African textbook places on racism, the Colombian textbook addresses racism by discussing cultural diversity. Questions such as, "What do you understand as cultural diversity?" (Duplat et. al., 2007) indicate how *Nuevas Ciencias Sociales 11* avoids explicit discussions about race by subsuming racial discrimination under other ways of social exclusion. This textbook's approach to racism confirms Soler and Pardo's (2007; 2008) views on Colombian new social studies textbooks, where race and racism are not directly addressed.

In spite of the ambiguity in addressing racism, in opposition to Parra et. al., (2007) represent indigenous and afro-descendants as active subjects of their history. Under the heading *Identity and Territory* (p. 123)*, indigenous territorial rights are introduced as the result of continuous indigenous struggle and not as the consequence of an altruistic national state. The indigenous struggle is described as the sum of organised movements with clear demands and visible leaders. Due to the tendency of the textbook to give brief explanations and generalizations, the goals of the many indigenous movements in Latin America are reduced to three objectives: recognition of territorial rights, claim of cultural identity and opposition to western development programs.

The images of Zapatistas taking part in a parliamentary session, Rigoberta Menchu leading a public manifestation and Evo Morales wearing the symbols of the Bolivian Presidency (Annex 4) back up the explanations but also signify a rup-

ture in the representation regime the white eye had imposed on indigenous people. Instead of depicting indigenous as poor, exotic and isolated, this unit represents indigenous people as holding powerful political positions in their own countries, thus reversing the stereotype of indigenous as barbarians, second-class citizens or isolated members of the nation.

Describing the political participation of indigenous peoples the passive and active voice are used interchangeably; for instance, when the textbook describes the marginalisation indigenous people suffered after the Spanish conquest, the textbook does not clarify who the oppressors were, "Since the period of the conquest, indigenous peoples were marginalised" (Duplat et. al., 2007, p. 131). However, referring to indigenous achievements, the next paragraph affirms:

> The *guambiano* Lorenzo Muelas and Francisco Rojas Birry, an *embera- wanuna*, were in charge of taking the indigenous proposals to the National Constitutional Assembly (Duplat et. al., 2007, p. 131).

Like indigenous, afro-descendants are also depicted as active political subjects. Making reference to the official acquisition of land by black communities in the Colombian Pacific, the textbook states, "[This] achievement was the result of the struggle of the black communities" (Duplat et. al., 2007, p. 124). The fact that afro-descendants are represented in this way implies a step forward compared to Parra's textbook, which described afro-descendants as "melancholic, not very enterprising and in need of initiative" (Parra, 1975, p. 45).

On the other hand, the 2007 South African textbook focuses on the actions undertaken by black people. For instance, Boyce focused his brief description of Shaka Zulu on the impact his military strategy had on the stability of the Dutch colony frontier, whereas Bottaro et. al., (2007) dedicated one complete unit to analyse the impact of the Mfecane in Southern Africa without mentioning any European group. Instead of depicting this period as a dispute between white colonisers and black Africans, *In Search of History 10* represents the Mfecane as a conflict between Zulus, the Mthethwa and the Ndwandwe.

### *Revising historical themes in South Africa: The Great Trek re-examined.*

For two centuries the Great Trek functioned as a means to legitimise Afrikaner nationalist ideology and Boers' superior power position. According to Chisholm (2008), for a long time the Great Trek represented "the supremacy of whites in the value given to whites and denigration of Africans" (363). This section contrasts Boyce´s and Bottaro's versions of this period.

Boyce starts his description of the Great Trek stating, "The Great Trek is rightly regarded as one of the most significant events in South African's History" (Boyce, s.d., p. 74), reaffirming the importance of trekboers in the consolidation of South Africa as an imagined community.

Quoting Louis Trigardt's diary, Boyce not only depicts South Africa as an almost empty land, but also describes natives as "dangerous", "evil", "threatening" and "dishonest" (Boyce, s.d., p 78). Racist stereotypes are not only evident but have a purpose: legitimising the Boer migration. In this sense, the Great Trek is represented as an inevitable movement in favour of 'safety' and `civilization´.

Boyce discusses the Great Trek in three units: "Causes of the Great Trek", "The Story of the Great Trek" and "Consequences of the Great Trek" while Bottaro et. al., (2007) briefly covers it in the chapter, "Transformation in Southern Africa 1750-1850", under the subheading "What changes came about as a result of migration and colonial expansion?" (Bottaro et. al., 2007, p. 205).

This textbook starts the description of the Great Trek by highlighting the power relations embedded in the traditional Great Trek versions and their assumptions. Making reference to the Voortrekkers and the Great Trek, the authors affirm: "The stories that developed of their heroic courage, their belief in God's support for their cause, and their contribution to further 'civilisation', were repeated in the school syllabus year after year" (Bottaro et. al., 2007, p. 206). The Afrikaner nation and its purposes are denaturalised by the content of the paragraph, but also by the quotation marks around the word civilisation, which cynically question the western excuse for expansion.

Considering the controversy and sensitivity embedded in this topic, denaturalising the Afrikaner myth, the lack of extended descriptions and the inclusion of so many and diverse primary sources all suggest a new kind of student in the classroom, a student who is continuously forced to put into practice his/her interpretative and critical skills to build her/his own notion of the past.

*New Heroes and National Leaders*

Through textbooks, heroes and national leaders are represented with most of the qualities the nation recognises as desirable. Since South Africa and Colombia have undergone fundamental changes in the last twenty years, their recognised national leaders and heroes have been re-formulated. Shaka Zulu and Libia Grueso personify how the end of apartheid in South Africa and the formulation of a new National Constitution in Colombia forced the inclusion of black heroes and leaders.

If Boyce characterised trekkers as "kind, patient, and human" (Boyce, s. d., p. 81) and Zulu leaders as "peaceful and law-abiding", "ambitious, aggressive and ruthless" (Boyce, s.d., p. 270), Bottaro et. al., (2007) defines characters according to their achievements. Bottaro et. al., point out the different interpretations and the uses people have made of Shaka's image throughout history. In this manner, students are invited to reflect on the role heroes play in the legitimisation of particular national orders.

In contrast to the South African textbook, where heroes are presented as the result of interests and ideologies, the Colombian textbook continues to exalt personalities. Duplat et. al.´s (2007) textbook highlight the labour of Libia Grueso, an afro-descendant leader awarded with the "Environmental Nobel Prize" in 2004. Breaking with the passive roles old textbooks had given to black subjects, Grueso is recognized as a political leader. Nonetheless, what is remarkable is the fact that black voices, both Grueso's and Carlos Rosero's (Annex 5) are included to describe Grueso's work. The inclusion of these voices is subversive, because finally voice is given to a subject that until 1991 had been relegated to silence, and because its content is an open manifestation against the development projects implemented by the State and international organisations in Colombia.

### By Way of Conclusion and Recommendations

In recent years Colombian and South African social studies and history textbooks have modified the schemes under which different groups are depicted. Current Colombian and South African textbooks evidence a shift towards a more inclusive perspective, where pre-determined characteristics, labels and physical descriptions based on racist assumptions have been eradicated.

From the strategies to overcome biological racism implemented by *Nuevas Ciencias Sociales 11*, it is worth highlighting how indigenous and afro-descendants are represented as active political leaders acting outside the white-mestizo nation's paternalism.

Since the Colombian sample alleges principles of sameness under the umbrella of "cultural citizenship" (Duplat et. al., 2007, p. 120) while acknowledging cultural differences between indigenous, afro-descendants, white and mestizo groups, this chapter argues that most elements of *Nuevas Ciencias Sociales 11* are taken from an approach that avoids making explicit the unequal relations of power that rule the interactions between different ethnic groups in Colombia. This is evidenced by the use of liberal language, as well as the inclusion of indigenous and afro-descendants as "exceptional" and "important" for the nation.

In contrast to the critical multicultural model, the Colombian textbook omits explaining the connections between racial exclusion and the material conditions of those who have been traditionally excluded.

Contrary to the South African sample, which avoids homogenising the 'black' subject, the 2007 Colombian textbook homogenises the four afro-descendant groups and the eighty-seven indigenous communities identified by the national census (DANE, 2005) under the labels of 'indigenous' and 'afro-descendants'.

In the South African textbook, racism is introduced as the most important form of discrimination to be addressed, the use of an "immediate lexicon" (Gill-

born, 2004) and the purpose of raising social consciousness among students through the continuous activities included in the textbook, evidence the critical multicultural premises this text adopts. Yet, while *In Search of History 10* represents progress in the representation of excluded groups through their inclusion of subjects and voices traditionally neglected, it cannot be affirmed that racism has been overcome. Assuming that inclusion creates new exclusions (Sayed et. al*.*, 2007), it seems that as strategies are used to include new subjects, some groups are not fully represented. In terms of images, *In Search of History 10* neglects, for example, Indian and Asian descendants. Despite covering the period between 1450 and 1850, when Indians and Asians arrived in South Africa to work in the growing industries, no pictures representing these two groups are included in the textbook, although today they represent 2.5 percent of the South African population, equivalent to 1.3 million South Africans (STAT, 2011). The content also neglects the history of these groups and how they helped to shape the country. In contrast to other racist statements, the stereotyped and biased image Boyce created of "Indians and Coloureds" is not challenged by the 2007 textbook. "They are fond of sport, especially rugby, and of colourful and gay ceremonies such as the Coon Carnival. They are also endowed with a lively sense of humour" (Boyce, s.d., p. 398). Neglecting such history, Bottaro et. al.'s (2007) textbook arguably reproduces the scheme Boyce had used decades before. The re-interpretation of historical themes, the multi-perspectivity evident in the inclusion of primary sources representing different versions of the past, and the use of strong images addressing racism overtly, are strategies that could be applied in other contexts and publications where racism is being neglected.

Good history and social studies textbooks aimed at overcoming racism must present racism as a historical and contextual construct legitimized by particular policies, and constantly reproduced by daily practices. In contrast to fixed notions of identity attached to colour, these textbooks must introduce individual and collective identities as flexible features in continual evolution and negotiation.

Good history and social studies textbooks must provide teachers and students with tools to engage with multiple aspects of their identities and consider themselves from a complex point of view where class, gender, sexuality, nationality, religion and ethnicity constantly overlap. Tools should also be helpful to denaturalize racism rooted in daily practices. Humour, idioms and daily language must be included as objects of analyses, as well as popular songs, videos, and why not, television shows and telenovelas. Good history and social textbooks must avoid the common tendency of identifying particular groups of people as "problems" or breaking points for the nation, and add more positive role models free of racist stereotypes. Including people's life stories and multiple voices can be very helpful in demystifying the 'other.' Also, probing silences in materials traditionally used in learning spaces, such as canonical texts, can help students realize the dynamics

of inclusion and exclusion embedded in racism. Adding sources produced in different disciplines and fields of knowledge such as political science, anthropology, sociology and literature, can facilitate students understanding of how racism operates through multiple and parallel mechanisms. Finally, introducing contemporary issues related to racism, such as the affirmative action and quota system debate in Brazil or the United States of America, can help students reflect on the serious consequences of racism today. Good textbooks must encourage the civic and active participation of students in their schools and communities in regards to these issues. We strongly believe good textbooks are those that through content facilitate the construction of more inclusive societies.

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**ANNEX 1**

*Activity 3: Examine the danger of generalizing*

1.  Study Sources F, G and H and explain how each of them shows racism in a different way.
2.  Do these sources prove that all whites were racist?
3.  How do you think blacks viewed whites?
4.  "Why are the words 'all', 'many', and some' significant in these sentences:
    a.  All whites were racist. Many whites were racist. Some whites were racist.
    b.  All blacks viewed all whites as bad. Some blacks viewed all whites as bad. Some blacks viewed some whites as bad.
5.  Why can generalisations be misleading and even damaging?"

<div align="right">(Bottaro et. al., 2007, pp.102- 103)</div>

**ANNEX 2**

Source G: These slave tombstones from the mid-eighteenth century in Bristol clearly show the values and attitudes of these slave owners

HERE Leth the Body of SCIPIO AFRICANUS Negro Servant to y Right Honourable Charles William Earl of Suffolk and Bradon who died y 21 December 1720 Aged 16 years

I who was born a PAGAN and a SLAVE Now Sweetly Sleep a Christian in my Grave What tho' my hue was dark my Savior's sight Shall Change this darkness into radiant light. Such grace to me my Lord on earth has given To recommend me to my Lord in heaven Whose glorious second coming here I wait with saints and Angels Him to celebrate



Source H:

Many European academics in the nineteenth century wanted to find scientific evidence to prove that some races were better than others. They measured and catalogued every difference they could find. This photograph is part of a series taken by a Swedish-born scientist. He noted all the names of the individual slaves and where in Africa they came from. This picture is of a man called Renty. He was labelled as an 'elderly field-hand from the Congo'(Bottaro et. al., 2007, p. 103)

**ANNEX 3**

*Activity 4. Think about oppression and liberation*
Source N:

> This photograph captures the experience of a slave caught in a net. His life was controlled first by his captors and then by his owners. All he had left of his own were his thoughts (Bottaro et. al., 2007, p. 83)

The increased level of warfare produced a 'surplus' of captives. These were no longer kept, even as forced labour, within the African society that had captured them. They were no longer ransomed back to the society that had lost them. Instead they were sold right out of Africa, and sold for goods which were worth a fraction of what those people might have produced within their lifetime. In addition, those sold were the young and most productive sector of the population, mostly aged between fourteen and thirty-five.

▲ **SOURCE L** fom Kevin Shillington, History of Africa, Macmillan, 1989.

**Activity 4** **Think about oppression and liberation**

(LO2 AS1; LO3 AS2)

1 Explain the connection between sources L and M.
2 The second half of Source M makes quite a sweeping generalization. Is there any justification to it?
3 The South African Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko said 'Liberation for the black man begins first with liberation from psychological oppression of himself.'
   a) What do you think he meant by this?
   b) How does this relate to Source N and its caption?
4 Independent thinking is vital for personal growth and independent creativity. How much are you a 'slave' to your community's ideas or values, or those of your family and your friends? In what ways might this be positive? In what ways might this limit you?

▼ **SOURCE N** *This photograph captures the experience of a slave caught in a net. His life was controlled first by his captors and then by his owners. All he had left of his own were his thoughts.*
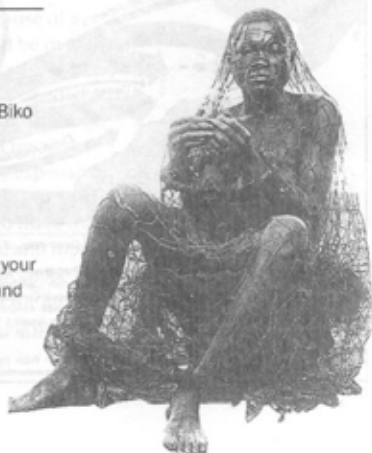
## ANNEX 4

In Mexico, the Ejercito Zapatista de Liberacion Nacional (ELZN), that since 1983 mobilizes indigenous peoples from Chiapas, is a movement hard to be ignored by the civil society and the Mexican government.



Rigoberta Menchu, in the middle, Guatemalan Indigenous awarded with the 1992 Nobel Peace Prize winner.

In Bolivia, the constant indigenous uprisings finished with the election of Evo Morales as the first indigenous President of the country (Duplat et, al., 2007, 130).

**ANNEX 5**

The 'Environmental Nobel Price'



(Duplat et. al., 2007, p. 127)

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Beyond the initial socialization at home textbooks are often the first point of contact for the children to the outside world. Few, if any, educational and pedagogical materials, shape and condition the worldviews, personalities, and identities of young pupil citizens than the textbooks used in schools and beyond. In some societal and national contexts, textbooks are cultural icons that come second only to religious texts. They are used as instruments of nation-building, ideological control, and at times for outright indoctrination depending on the national, social, and cultural contexts.

Contributions in this volume examine the impact of textbooks in contexts of diversity. Especially, using a comparative perspective the contributors critically examine the representations of minorities in pedagogical texts and how these representations impact social relations in increasingly diverse societies. Selections in the volume examine discursive and empirical evidence from Canada, Brazil, Australia, South Africa, Norway, Iran, Spain, and Columbia to deconstruct the representations of minorities in textbooks and suggest ways in which these pedagogical tools could be made more inclusive.

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