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Messages of Nationalism in Mexican and U.S. Textbooks: Implications for the National Identity of Transnational Students

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

MESSAGES OF NATIONALISM IN MEXICAN AND U.S. TEXTBOOKS:
IMPLICATIONS FOR THE NATIONAL IDENTITY OF
TRANSNATIONAL STUDENTS

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTERS OF ARTS

PROGRAM IN CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY STUDIES

BY

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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For my sixth graders at Lakewood, past and present.

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ABSTRACT

This study uses qualitative content analysis to compare fifth grade social studies textbooks in Mexico and the United States to provide insight on how messages of national identity change as students migrate between school systems. The following research questions will guide the analysis: Given that one of the roles of textbooks is to form a national consciousness through mythmaking, how do messages of national identity conveyed in Mexican and U.S. textbooks conflict? How are the topics of immigration and citizenship presented in each nation's textbooks? In what ways do differences in the accounts of history between Mexico and the United States reflect the political agenda of each nation? How do heroes presented in textbooks differ in Mexico and the United States? How will messages of national identity change when students migrate across the Mexico–U.S. border, and how might this affect their national consciousness? The Mexican textbook sample includes the most current series published by the Secretaría de Educación Pública (SEP). The U.S. textbook sample includes the publishers most widely adopted by U.S. public schools. The purpose of analyzing this material is to determine how identity formation differs in each nation in order to draw inferences about the experience of transnational students.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This thesis compares fifth grade social studies textbooks used in Mexico and in the United States to examine the issue of national identity among transnational students. Patricia Sánchez (2009) defines a transnational student as one who engages in “a lifestyle with personal and familial attachments to two nation-states even if physical travel between both is not always possible” (p. 50). Sánchez goes on to specify that transnational students are immigrants themselves, or they have one or two immigrant parents and are attached to both their sending country as well as their host country (p. 50). Patricia Sánchez and Margarita Machado-Casas (2009) define first-generation as foreign born, second generation as U.S. born with at least one foreign born parent, and generation 1.5 as children who immigrated before adolescence. For the present study, transnational student refers to first, second, and 1.5 generation students who are not only attached to the culture of both nations, but have attended public school in both Mexico and the United States.

In spring of 2009, the *Chicago Tribune* featured an article chronicling the experiences of a transnational student who identified with Mexican culture when he lived in the United States but who struggled in the Mexican school system when he lived there with his family. Classmates in Mexico teased him about his accent when he spoke Spanish, but even more detrimental to his success, he had not acquired the Spanish

language skills necessary to complete homework assignments (Avila, 2009, p. 1). After only two months in Zinapecuaro, Mexico, the student, a child of Mexican immigrants to Illinois, dropped out of school. This student's experience illustrates the issue that I explored in my research. Though many parents who immigrated to the United States from Mexico continue to identify themselves as "Mexican" within the U.S. borders, their U.S.-born children are versed in the national norms of the United States. When these families return to Mexico for extended visits or permanent stays, their children, who have always identified themselves as "Mexican," lack the knowledge and language skills necessary to navigate the Mexican school system. Teachers at the above student's new school in Mexico averred that it is difficult to classify transnational students as "American" or "Mexican."

Two-way migration across the Mexican–U.S. border affects national identity formation for many students when they learn that identifying themselves as "Mexican" while in the United States is not congruent with the national identity of Mexicans who only know Mexico. In his 1991 book, *National Identity*, Anthony D. Smith referred to national identity as a "political community" in which members have a "common code of rights and duties" (p. 9). Smith explained that national identity suggests a social space in which members feel they belong (p. 9). For the purpose of my study, I defined national identity as both the social space in which transnational students feel they belong and the nation with whose national and political norms they are most familiar. Importantly, the political community in which transnational students reside may or may not be the political community in which they are legal citizens. Victor Zuñiga and Edmund T.

Hamman (2009) acknowledged that while Mexico is typically considered a “sending” country in terms of immigration, hundreds of thousands of students attend Mexican schools that have previously attended U.S. schools (p. 329). Although Zuñiga and Hamman did not discuss the students’ legal status, their evidence suggested that some might have crossed the border into the United States illegally. Among the reasons for two-way migration, global economic trends and immigration law enforcement are two critical factors (p. 330). In *The Oregonian*, Hannah-Jones (2009) described an increase of Mexican immigrants in the United States returning to Mexico, due to the recent economic downturn. Malcolm Beith reported, in a *Foreign Policy* article titled, “Reverse Migration Rocks Mexico,” a decline in immigration from Mexico resulting from higher unemployment among Mexican immigrants in the United States (Beith, 2009). Interestingly, Julia Preston’s summary of the recent Pew Hispanic Center report on immigration indicated that many Mexicans currently in the U.S. illegally are not seeking return to Mexico in high numbers, and many who intended to leave Mexico for the U.S. find the current economic situation and increased immigration law enforcement daunting. Though the Pew study fails to note the increase in reverse migration emphasized in other media sources, for the purposes of this study the issue of “legal/illegal” or “authorized/unauthorized” status will not be an informing distinction in this study (Preston, 2010, A20). Whether possessing legal or illegal status, however, students who return to their sending country after extended presence in another country are correctly described as transnational students.

Families face challenges when returning to their sending country. Beith (2009) describes a family returning to Mexico who stated that they had “given up on the American Dream.” In addition, one Mexican police officer asserted that returnees are “clueless about the ‘code’” (Beith, 2009). Beith explained that the ‘code’ refers to paying a bribe instead of enduring the process of paying a ticket. Thus, a returning group’s cultural norms have been affected by their time spent in the United States. These challenges are similar to the challenges transnational students encounter in school. In their study of curriculum reform in Mexico, Cisneros-Cohernour et al. (2000) identified immigration and return migration between the United States and Mexico as one of six challenges that teachers and administrators face (p. 145). Two central problems encountered by students with U.S. school experience attending Mexican schools were below average language skills and unfamiliarity with community cultural traditions. One school principal noted that students who return from the United States have limited Spanish language skills and “are not used to” the Mexican education system, while another principal asserted that students who had become acculturated to behavior expectations in the United States interacted in Mexican schools with difficulty because they were “more used to the way they were expected to behave in the American schools” (Cisneros-Cohernour, 2000, p. 146). J. Lynn McBrien (2005) defines acculturation as “the change in an individual or a culturally similar group that results from contact with a different culture” (p. 330). The quality of the contact that transnational students have with each culture varies, depending on the amount of time spent in each nation. In his 1979 acculturation study in Guatemala, James D. Sexton concluded that formal education is an

important independent process of acculturation (p. 91). The transnational student participates in formal education in two nations, and is therefore exposed to an acculturation process in both. However, trans-national movement during this process can prevent these students from being fully acculturated in each nation. In addition, in the lives of the transnational students that are the focus of this study, three cultures are at play: Mexican, American, and Mexican-American.

Cisneros-Cohernour et al. (2000) concluded that further education research on the implications of both immigration and reverse migration was necessary to address the needs of significant numbers of Mexican immigrant students in the U.S., and of U.S. students who eventually return to Mexican schools (p. 147). With an increase of both Mexican immigrants deported back to Mexico, and voluntary returns due to the current economic crisis, movement over the border is a serious issue for schools in both countries (Avila, 2009, p. 14). Additional research on the formation of national identity among transnational students can be used to facilitate cooperation between nations sharing citizens.

Transnational, Mexican-U.S. students are exposed to two school systems where they will encounter textbooks commonly used as tools to transmit a national identity. Hanna Schissler and Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal (2005) explained that textbooks do more than convey knowledge; they represent what a nation wishes to teach the future generations (p. 7). Schissler and Soysal describe textbooks as “national narratives” through which national identities are presented (p. 2). Content analysis of the textbooks students use on both sides of the border might reveal messages of national identity that

can be contradictory to students experiencing cross-border migration. The purpose of this study is to examine the content of fifth grade social studies textbooks in Mexico and in the United States to explore the differing messages of national identity that are conveyed to students who migrate between school systems.

CHAPTER TWO
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Transnational Students

The migration pattern between Mexican and U.S. students is a critical issue in numerous academic studies. In a recent article in *Comparative Education Review*, Victor Zúñiga and Edmund T. Hamann (2009), used the term “sojourner student” to identify those who do not plan to stay in their new geographic location permanently as “immigrants” (p. 331). Research by Natalia Martínez-León and Patrick H. Smith (2003) addressed worker mobility between New York City and the region of Puebla, Mexico, using the term *retornados* (returnees) to describe the one in five Puebla residents who have spent time in the United States (p. 139). Mary Petró’s (2009) study employed the term “transmigrant” to describe the bi-directional migration across the United States–Mexico border (p. 115). The typical “sojourner student,” *retornado*, or “transmigrant” may be either U.S.- or Mexican-born (Zúñiga and Hamann, 2009; Martínez-León and Smith, 2003; Petró 2009).

To illustrate the mobility of Nuevo León families, Petró explained that one town near the U.S. border is commonly known as *pueblo de fantasmas* (ghost town) because so many houses are left vacant for part of the year while their owners work in the United States (p. 120). Zúñiga and Hamann presented both voluntary and involuntary reasons given by those who return to Mexico; along with Petró, they predict the current

economic crisis in the United States will contribute to an increase in the number of returnees. Statistics in Zúñiga's and Hamann's (2009), Martínez-León's and Smith's (2003), and Petró'n's (2009) studies can help to describe the experience of students in Mexico who had attended U.S. schools. In the 689 classrooms in Nuevo León and 984 in Zacatecas, Zúñiga and Hamann (2009) found 512 transnational students, 70 percent of whom completed two or more years of school in the United States. In addition, the authors found 119 U.S.-born students who completed all of their school age years in Mexico (pp. 336–337). Martínez-León and Smith (2003) reported 50 percent of Mexicans living in New York City are from the region of Puebla, Mexico (p. 139) and found at least one *retornado* in most of the Puebla schools visited (p. 140). Petró'n (2009) studied English teachers in Mexico who were born in the United States and received their earlier schooling in both countries, later returning to Mexico to teach (p. 116). This wide variation in parentage and experience demonstrates the dynamic nature of the transnational student population.

Petró'n (2009) described the valuable insights and experience of these transnational students who had lived in the United States and became teachers in Mexico. For example, one teacher taught that the word “yeah” is more important to teach than the word “yes” because only the response “yeah” convinces immigration officers that you are from “there” [the United States] (p. 125). Mexican teachers with experience in U.S. schools were also able to explain the context of images in Mexican textbooks borrowed from the United States' English as Second Language (ESL) texts. For example, Petró'n

described a teacher's explanation of a lunch tray pictured in an ESL textbook to students who did not have cafeteria experience (p. 124). The participants in Petró'n's study did not hold teaching degrees. Mexican school principals hired teachers based on their experiences in U.S. schools and their English language abilities (p. 123). The community valued the teachers' transnational cultural skills, and their pay reflected their prestige (p. 124).

While transnational teachers were a resource to students learning English, Mexican teachers' attitudes towards transnational students revolved heavily around language issues. Both Zúñiga and Hamann (2009) and Martínez-León and Smith (2003) reported that teachers in Mexico claimed they were not trained to meet the needs of transnational students. Some of the twenty-five teachers interviewed in Zúñiga's and Hamann's study, and a majority in Martínez-León's and Smith's study, had no or limited English proficiency, which inhibited their ability to communicate with students with limited Spanish proficiency. Teachers interviewed in Zúñiga's and Hamann's (2009) study admitted that English is a necessity to better meet the needs of transnational students (p. 346). Martínez-León and Smith (2003) outlined the negative consequences of teachers' low English language proficiency that made them unable to recognize issues in students' emerging writing and reading, due to students' cross-linguistic experience (p. 141). Moreover, even students who did speak Spanish did not speak or write the "correct" or "real" Spanish, and had difficulty spelling in Spanish (p. 142). Zúñiga and Hamann (2009) found that 41 percent of the comments students made regarding the difference

between mononationals and transnationals dealt with spoken language (p. 344). Martínez-León and Smith (2003) attributed limited Spanish language proficiency among returnees in Puebla, Mexico to the fact that a minority of New York City Latinos received instruction in Spanish (p. 139). Language skills of transnational students did not match the skills of mononational students in Mexico or the United States. In addition, Petró (2009) noted that mononational English teachers in Mexico spoke Spanish among themselves, while transnational English teachers either spoke English or alternated between Spanish and English in the same conversation (p. 121). Petró's observations showed that mononational and transnational teachers identified themselves according to linguistic differences

Language is not the only factor that contributes to the identity of transnationals. Zúñiga and Hamann (2009) found that teachers described transnational students as not knowing content, such as Mexican history or geography, when it had simply not been included in U.S. school curriculum (p. 334, p. 345). Further, Mexican students with experience in U.S. schools most often found they were not aware of "school norms" (p. 346). Based on transnational students' low math abilities, teachers in Zúñiga and Hamann's study claimed that American curricula were not as strong as Mexican curricula (p. 347). Because of these discrepancies in their educational experiences, students frequently fell behind grade level expectations, often resulting in either retention or the student dropping out.

Student attitudes toward U.S. schools, according to Zúñiga and Hamann (2009), were mostly positive, with a majority of students commenting on better resources in the United States and 78 percent reporting they would like to return to U.S. schools (p. 341). Students interviewed emphasized celebrations, awards, and meritocratic systems they experienced in the United States (p. 340). Martínez-León and Smith (2003) reported that transnational students preferred U.S. schools because of small class size, quality and quantity of books, and appearance of classrooms, viewing quality of instruction and classroom management as similar in both nations (p. 145). Petró (2009) noted a preference for English reading material among *retornados*, especially in their leisure time (p. 122). Findings suggested *retornados*' experiences in U.S. schools were drastically different from their experiences in Mexican schools despite similar grade level structuring.

Education for National Consciousness

Ernest Gellner (1983) defines nationalism as “a political principle, which holds that the political and the national units should be congruent” (p.1). My interpretation of the research adheres to Gellner’s definition of nationalism, which is frequently cited in studies in international and comparative education (Epstein, 1989; Fawn, 2004; Thompson, 2001; vom Hau, 2009; Zúñiga & Hamman, 2009). Erwin H. Epstein and Catherine A. Riordan (1989) explained that Gellner’s “instrumentalist” view is characterized by the belief in “oscillating allegiances” (p. 240). Epstein and Riordan state, “ethnic affiliations and national loyalties fluctuate considerably according to the

particular circumstances in which individuals or groups find themselves” (p. 240). My research explores how the circumstance of transnational students affects their ethnic affiliations and national loyalties.

Gellner (cited in Epstein & Riordan, 1989, p. 240) explains that it is ethnic attributes, such as language and skin color, that identify a group because it is those features that a person carries with them when they move locations. Epstein and Riordan (1989) assert that groups recognize their own identity in contrast to the identity of other groups (p. 240). Following Gellner and Epstein and Riordan, for the purposes of my study I will refer to national identity as a group’s awareness of its own characteristics, in comparison to other groups, that gives them a sense of belonging to that group.

Epstein (1985), has contended that education has the potential to promote national consciousness, or sense of being part of a nation (p. 50). National consciousness gives meaning to citizenship (p. 50). This, in turn, contributes to national identity. Stuart J. Foster (1999) asserted that the key element of the curriculum to form a sense of national identity is history (p. 251). Brophy and Alleman (2009) emphasized that the National Education Association (NEA) hoped to prepare students for citizenship by combining history, geography, and civics under the new formulation of “social studies” in 1916 (p. 357). By these means, Margaret A. Nash (2009) argued that schools Americanize children to be loyal citizens (p. 419).

Zúñiga’s and Hamann’s (2009) study suggested that two-way mobility between Mexico and the United States affects students’ national identity formation (p. 329).

Zúñiga and Hamann agree with Horace Mann that the common script prepares citizens loyal to the “host country” (p. 332). The common script refers to the familiar components of school that students and the community expect it to have. However since exposure to educational systems in two host countries presents two different common scripts that affect students’ formation of a national identity, McAndrews (2007) renamed the common script the “fragmented script” (cited in Zúñiga and Hamann, 2009, p. 332). In Zúñiga’s and Hamann’s study, transnational students labeled themselves Mexican, American, or Mexican-American (p. 350), but these students are none of these things since they are uniquely characterized by their mobility between the educational systems of both countries.

Role of Textbooks in Creating National Identity

Numerous scholars in the field of comparative education have asserted that school textbooks are often used to convey messages of national consciousness. Nelly Stromquist (1996), in a discussion about schools’ democracy and the women’s movement, suggested using textbooks as a tool to create a nonsexist society, illustrating the power of the textbook in molding a nation (p. 422). Elaine Gerbert (1993) compared textbooks in the United States with the Japanese “Kokugo” readers to demonstrate how Japanese texts create national identity by reinforcing Japanese frameworks of thought. James Hunter (cited in Zúñiga and Hamann, 2009) argued that textbooks communicate national ideals to the next generation. Similarly, Amy von Heyking (2006) examined changes in the way English–Canadian textbooks portrayed the United States as diplomatic relations between

the two nations altered, finding that the depiction of the United States reflected both the identity and interests of Canada (p. 384). Thus, these studies indicate that school textbooks are often written to produce a sense of nationhood and national belonging.

Stuart J. Foster (1999) and Matthias vom Hau (2009) both referred to textbooks as “cultural artifacts,” asserting that cultural and political interests shape them (p. 253, p. 129). Vom Hau’s study compared messages of national identity in nineteenth century textbooks to twentieth century textbooks in Mexico, Peru, and Argentina. Analyzing nineteenth century Mexican textbooks, vom Hau pointed out that the achievements of Aztecs and Incas were overshadowed by images of human sacrifices and other “uncivilized” practices (p. 132). This presentation changed, however, in textbooks after the Mexican Revolution and the formation of the *Secretaría de Educación Pública* (SEP) in 1920. Twentieth century Mexican textbooks assimilated indigenous populations into a homogenous nation of *mestizaje* (p. 233). The SEP fostered textbooks in the 1960s that created an image of a *mestizo* nation, and a multiethnic nation in the 1980s and 1990s (p. 136).

Margaret Nash (2009) examined U.S. textbooks as artifacts of nation building after the American Revolution. Although political leaders of the Revolution urged the cultivation of an American national identity, the religious leaders who authored textbooks encouraged local loyalties (p. 418). The contestation over slavery was one example of regionalism present in early textbooks. Interestingly, the textbooks Nash analyzed did not preach a blind patriotism, but instead cautioned against the pitfalls of democracy—lack

of education and poor management—leading to “bad laws” (p. 435). In contrast to Nash's findings, Foster (1999) suggested that the function of history courses in America has traditionally been to ingrain a sense of unquestioned patriotism (p. 253).

Foster (1999) asserted that studies done in the 1970s through the 1990s proved similar to a 1935 study by Thomas Briggs of Teacher's College, Colombia that concluded that eighty percent of teachers rely on a textbook as the sole source of knowledge in a social studies lesson (p. 252). Jere Brophy's and Janet Alleman's 2009 study found that elementary social studies teachers typically acquire no more than one social studies undergraduate course; they do not debate competing approaches to social studies as secondary teachers do, and they are rarely given the opportunity to attend social studies related professional development. These same teachers, however, are provided with a plethora of social studies instructional materials bought by their districts from one of the major textbook publishers. Thus, Brophy and Alleman explained that teachers face little choice beyond dependence on the social studies textbooks and supplementary materials provided by their school districts. These scholars have noted that a key deficiency in social studies coursework is that ill-prepared social studies teachers often supplement textbooks with a “holiday curriculum,” sending the message that the celebrations ethnic groups embrace are the most important aspect of their identity. Brophy and Alleman also asserted that the reliance by teachers on social studies textbooks lends itself to a curriculum that is a “mile wide and an inch deep” (p. 359). James A. LaSpina (2003) outlined the paradox of diversity in textbooks: As texts become more inclusive of diverse

groups, the breadth of information cancels out potential depth (p. 685). He found that representation of indigenous peoples in textbooks in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States were nothing more than a “mention” (p. 683). Foster (1999) defined the issue of “mentioning” as “adding content to the text without altering the book’s organizing framework” (p. 271). LaSpina (2003) praised the more recent curricula of Ontario, Canada, for achieving both breadth and depth, yet points out its ethnocentric Western perspective (p. 689).

Foster (1999) described an increasing sensitivity to diversity in textbooks as a result of the Civil Rights Movement. Inclusion of minority groups who had long been ignored meant the central message of textbooks shifted to a multicultural one (p. 266). Foster accused publishers of overcompensating for decades of racial bias by depicting minorities as “tragic victims” (p. 267). While mentioning minorities in textbooks is a step in the right direction, their story is still told from a White perspective, Foster asserted. (p. 269). In addition, he maintained that ethnic groups are incorporated into the fabric of history only in relation to White society, and rarely interact with each other (p. 272). According to Foster, American history remains a “triumphant story” despite the attempt to add minorities (p. 267).

LaSpina (2003) argued that textbooks typically address the task of nation building through a narrative of progress (p. 674). He suggested offering a transnational framework characterized by a global context that analyzes history comparatively (p. 690). The California State Board of Education wrote the *California History-Social Science*

Framework in 1987, but it was not until 1999 that the Board publicly recommended history and social studies textbooks should be aligned with the Framework. The Framework was controversial because it developed a national identity based on a multicultural perspective, labeling the United States a “nation of immigrants” (p. 669). While California’s Framework “acknowledged the indigenous presence,” LaSpina found that it provided a European-centered perspective on world history (p. 687).

Vom Hau’s (2009) study indicated that teachers “contextualize, rethink, and change” textbooks and discovered substantial variations in the ways teachers delivered the material in social studies classes (p. 130). In some regions of Mexico, he found that non-indigenous teachers mediated “official policies,” acting in indigenous communities as direct agents of the state (p. 142).

Mexico Represented in U.S. Textbooks

In their study of undergraduate U.S. history textbooks, Joseph A. Rodríguez and Vicki L. Ruiz (2000) discuss the nomenclature used to describe Latinos. Their goal was to learn what textbooks teach, or fail to teach, students about United States Latino history. Only three of the eight textbooks studied distinguish between Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants. The authors also found that most textbooks fail to decipher between Mexicans and Hispanics (p. 1692). A possible reason for the lack of clarity in designations could be the minimal inclusion of these groups in the textbooks. Only three paragraphs out of the 1,343 pages of the best-selling undergraduate textbook, *America: A Narrative History* (1984) covered the history of Mexicans and Mexican

Americans (p. 1690). Similar trends were found in high school textbooks. Linda Salvucci's 1991 study of Mexico's representation in American secondary level U.S. history textbooks found "Mexicans" simply enumerated in a chapter about minorities in America (p. 211). Further, the textbook with the most coverage of the Mexican War for Independence summarized the event in only three paragraphs (p. 208). Significantly, Foster (1999) claimed Hispanics were the most underrepresented minority in U.S. history textbooks (p. 272).

Gerald M. Greenfield and Carlos E. Cortés (1991) explored how the formal medium of textbooks and the more informal medium of feature films together contribute to images of Mexico (p. 285). They concluded that the "portrayals of Mexico appear seriously flawed" in both (p. 288). Linda K. Salvucci (1991) concluded that none of the textbooks in her study covered Mexican-U.S. relations adequately (p. 213). Studies by Salvucci (1991) and Greenfield and Cortés (1991) agreed that textbooks include Mexico in terms of its affect on the United States, and in all cases the United States is "supreme" (Greenfield and Cortés, 1991, p. 292). Greenfield and Cortés (1991) pointed out that Mexican experiences are included in textbooks as reactions to U.S. concerns, while Rodríguez and Ruiz (2000) asserted that a Mexican narrative that integrates experience and policy is missing in American textbooks (p. 1692).

Salvucci (1991) noted that textbooks ignore the fact that the Spanish Empire lasted twice as long as the British Empire, instead depicting "real" history as starting with the British presence in North America (p. 206). Also ignored is immigration from Mexico

to the United States at the turn of the century (p. 211). Rodríguez and Ruiz (1991) argued that an overemphasis on Mexicans engaged in agricultural labor sends a message that all Mexicans are of the working class (p. 1695), while Greenfield and Cortés (1991) described a Mexican culture-themed activity book that includes paper dolls dressed in traditional garb. A survey of 20 readers for third through seventh graders illustrated Mexican culture with burros, serapes, sandals, and sombreros (p. 288). Thus, this evidence from textbooks supports Salvucci's (1991) claim that images of Mexico in U.S. textbooks are devoid of a genuine sense of the culture (p. 204.)

Foster (1999) contended that U.S. textbooks take full credit for positive achievements, yet negative aspects of the nation's history are presented anonymously. Hispanics are "discriminated against," but textbooks fail to describe the groups that resisted them or policies that negatively affected them (p. 270). Foster also found that textbooks place struggles in the past, which assumes they do not continue. The history of the United Farm Workers labor union ends with Cesar Chavez signing an agreement with the growers in 1970, but fails to explain that it was necessary for the UFW to continue to fight against the exploitation of migrant workers (Foster, 1999, p. 270). Heroes like Chavez signal great achievements, but a real discussion about ongoing struggle is absent in these texts.

Salvucci (1992) found textbook authors' and publishers' views of historical truths to be one-dimensional (p. 64). When historians disagree, each conflicting perspective is told as "legend," as was presented in one account of the Alamo (Salvucci, 1992). One

textbook that Salvucci contended “confronts the historical question of mythmaking” explicitly refers to the “many legends” of the Alamo, tells one “story,” and ends by questioning its “truth” (p. 64). Greenfield and Cortés (1991) also questioned an account of the Alamo in a textbook they examined. The authors called attention to the clear portrayal of American heroes and Mexican villains (p. 292). Regarding textbooks and learning, Frances FitzGerald argued, “What sticks to the memory is... an atmosphere, impression, tone” (cited in Greenfield & Cortés, 1991, p. 283). Fictional elements such as legends, myths, heroes, and villains depicted in nonfiction history textbooks create an intentional tone.

Word choice also adds to the tone of a textbook. Foster’s (1999) summary of late nineteenth century textbooks cited the presence of bigoted perspectives towards Latin Americans who are described as “naturally weak” and guilty of “loitering and inactive pleasures” (p. 257). In more recent textbooks, “slaughter” and “bloody” are used to describe the actions of Mexicans in some texts, while “brave” and “heroic” are used to describe the Texans (Salvucci, 1991). Selective language sets the tone of the intended message, which can indirectly set the tone of the nation.

Textbook authors have increasingly sensitized their language, perhaps due to a growing presence of Mexican immigrant and Mexican-American children in American schools. For example, one textbook stressed the cooperative efforts of the United States and Mexico on the topic of undocumented workers (Greenfield & Cortés, 1991).

Publisher Macmillan/McGraw-Hill hired Gary Nash, a social cultural historian who

writes mainly about non-Whites, to contribute to an improved 1991 edition of its history textbook. Macmillan/McGraw-Hill sought writers and consultants with access to the latest scholarship in the fields of Mexican and Mexican American history for its 1992–1998 textbooks (Salvucci, 1992). Unfortunately, as Greenfield and Cortés (1991) explained, textbook companies conform to the norm in order to please consumers, which result in stereotypical snapshots throughout texts (p. 299). Due to the tight timetable for textbook adoption, there is little time for a thoughtful examination of these texts, which affects overall textbook quality control (Salvucci, 1992). Thus, the “snapshot” approach to inclusion of Mexicans and Hispanics can further confuse transnational students’ ideas of national identity.

Research Questions

The following research questions guide the analysis of the current study:

1. Given that one of the roles of textbooks is to form a national identity through mythmaking, how do messages of nationalism conveyed in Mexican and U.S. textbooks conflict?
 - a. How are the topics of immigration and citizenship presented in each nation’s textbooks?
 - b. In what ways do differences in the accounts of history between Mexico and the United States reflect the political agenda of each nation?

- c. How do heroes presented in textbooks differ in Mexico and the United States?
2. How do messages of national identity change when students migrate across the Mexico–U.S. border, and how might this affect their national consciousness?

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study uses a qualitative content analysis to compare fifth grade textbooks from two nations – the United States and Mexico. It is appropriate to examine fifth grade textbooks for messages of national identity since both nations’ curricula address national history in this grade. The most relevant aspect of sixth grade textbooks, which cover ancient world history, is citizenship lessons, which appear at all grade levels. The fifth grade versions of each publisher's textbook follow the same format, so they also have sections dedicated to citizenship. After surveying various sixth grade textbooks, my findings did not differ from my comparison of fifth grade textbooks. Since I thoroughly analyzed the sixth grade textbooks, I feel confident that I did not miss relevant data included in these books.

Sample

Mexican textbooks selected for this study were published in 2008 in response to the curriculum reform of 1993. The introduction to each textbook credits the Mexican government for putting the experimental phase volumes into 5,000 primary schools. First, second, fifth, and sixth graders used the experimental phase editions during the 2008–2009 school year. The first edition of each textbook was implemented during the 2009–2010 school year. Fifth grade editions were analyzed in this study. In order to closely parallel textbook publishing in the United States, first and second grade Mexican

textbooks were not used in the study since U.S. curriculum in early grades does not rely heavily on traditional textbooks.

One Mexican textbook that was not considered part of the social studies curriculum was included in this study. This text, *Formación Cívica y Ética* [*Civic and Ethic Formation*], was implemented for the first time in the 2009–2010 school year, in addition to Mexico’s history and geography textbooks. Topics in this textbook, such as liberty and justice, were also covered in the U.S. social studies textbooks. A publisher’s letter to students in the front of the book explains its purpose:

Desarrollar ideas, valores y actitudes fundamentales para que a lo largo de tu vida puedas convivir con toda persona en un ambiente de respeto mutuo, justicia, libertad, tolerancia, inclusion y solidaridad, a través de la participación cívica organizada y responsable, así como con la comprensión de la enorme diversidad de pensamientos y culturas existentes en nuestro país y el mundo
(To develop ideas, values and fundamental attitudes for the rest of your life so you can coexist with every person in an environment of mutual respect, justice, liberty, tolerance, inclusion and solidarity, through organized and responsible civic participation, as well as with the understanding of the enormous diversity of ways of thinking and cultures that exist in our country and the world; Arellano et al., 2008, p. 8, my translation).

Mexico does not have one “social studies” textbook. To closely parallel the social studies curriculum found in the United States I chose to analyze the following textbooks from Mexico:

- Acosta García, M. & Montes (2009). *Geografía: Quinto grado*. México, D.F.: Secretaría de Educación Pública.
- Arellano, L. A., Díaz, Arojona, Vargas, Juárez Herrera, & Coria (2008). *Formación cívica y ética: Quinto grado*. México, D.F.: Secretaría de Educación Pública.

- Guitiérrez García, C., Hernández Moreno, & Rodríguez Tinoco, (2008).

Historia: Quinto grado. México, D.F.: Secretaría de Educación Pública.

Due to its decentralized nature, the U.S. government does not provide one series of textbooks as Mexico's more centralized system does. Instead, private publishing companies create textbooks for each state. For the purpose of this study, U.S. textbooks were selected from the following states: California, Texas, and Illinois. Texas and California have the highest proportion of the Mexican-born population in the United States (Rebert, 2008). Four of the five metropolitan areas with the largest Mexican-born population are Los Angeles and Riverside in California, and Dallas and Houston in Texas. Fifth on the list is Chicago, Illinois (Rebert, 2008). California and Texas use a state-level adoption system, while Illinois uses a local education agency-level textbook adoption. Texas and California have the largest educational textbook market, so publishers write to appeal to their audience (LaSpina, 2003, p. 669; Foster, 1999, p. 273). According to Foster (1999), due to the nature of the privatized textbook industry of the United States, content is written with economic aims instead of intellectual ones (p. 273).

Textbooks by Pearson Scott Foresman, McGraw-Hill/Macmillan, and Houghton Mifflin Harcourt were selected for this study because these companies represent the publishers of the textbooks most widely adopted by U.S. public schools (bookstatistics.com; www.pearsonschool.com; www.hmhco.com). Textbook approval/adoption lists in California and Texas use the above three publishers in all grade levels. Pearson, the largest education publisher in the United States, "dominated" the

adoption of elementary school social studies textbooks in California (Electronic Education Report, 2007). Scott Foresman, the elementary textbook division of Pearson, publishes one of the fifth grade social studies textbooks selected for this study, *The United States*. This textbook is used in Illinois but was selected for the present study to represent a non-state specific book. Macmillan, the elementary textbook division of McGraw-Hill, publishes the California-specific social studies textbook selected for this study, *California Vistas*. Macmillan also publishes one of the Texas-specific social studies textbooks selected, *Our Nation*. A second Texas-specific textbook published by Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, *Harcourt Horizons: United States History*, was also selected for this study. All U.S textbooks selected for this study were published after 2001, the year No Child Left Behind was implemented.

Thus, I analyzed the following textbooks from the United States:

- Boyd, C. D., Gay, Geiger, Kracht, Pang, Risinger, Sanchez (2008). *Social Studies: The United States*. Glenview, IL: Pearson Scott Foresman.
- Green Jr., R. P., McGowen, & Salvucci (2003). *Harcourt Horizons: United States history* (Texas ed.). Orlando, FL: Harcourt, Inc.
- Banks, J. A., Colleary, Cunha, Echevarria, Parker, Rawls, Schell, Salinas, Spielvogel (2007). *California Vistas: Making a new nation*. New York: Macmillan/McGraw-Hill.
- Banks, J. A., Colleary, Contreras, Goodwin, McFarland & Parker (2003). *Our Nation* (Texas edition). New York: Macmillan/McGraw-Hill.

Procedure

All textbooks were analyzed according to the following categories: topics in immigration, definition and role of citizen (ship), and history of Mexican and U.S. relations. Heroes that appeared repeatedly in the above categories were compared as well. Indexes and tables of contents in the U.S. textbooks were utilized to locate explicit content related to the predetermined categories. Mexican textbooks do not have indexes, so they were read in their entirety. Also, the Mexican textbooks are written in a narrative style, in contrast to U.S. textbooks, which are longer and densely written, emphasizing a bulleted outline style of presentation. I recorded observations in the form of notes.

I developed all of the translations of the Mexican textbooks, based on my own Spanish language experience, which includes a minor in Spanish at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, a semester of study abroad in Spain, and additional immersion programs. I consulted the Vox Modern Spanish and English Dictionary published by NTC Publishing Group in 1986 to double check my vocabulary usage. Colleagues fluent in Spanish as their first language and currently living in the United States confirmed the accuracy of my translations.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

Teaching about Immigration

Immigration is a topic covered in both U.S. and Mexican fifth grade curriculum. Immigration is included in U.S. social studies textbooks, which focus on U.S history. Mexico includes the topic of immigration in its geography textbooks, rather than its history textbooks. Immigration also appears in Mexican civic and ethics textbooks.

History of U.S. immigration

In U.S. textbooks, immigration is taught as an American phenomenon. *The United States* (2008), published by Scott Foresman, introduces immigration in the section, “Where We Came From” (p. 10). According to the text, immigration is the reason for a diverse country. A “Then and Now” feature of this section briefly explains the importance of Ellis Island and Angel Island (Boyd et al., 2008, p. 10). Immigration reappears later in *The United States* in the lesson “New Americans” (p. 568). This lesson explains with more detail the story of immigrants arriving between 1880 and 1920 through Ellis Island on the east coast and Angel Island on the west coast. This Scott Foresman textbook does not include discussion of immigration from countries that border the United States.

Harcourt’s Texas edition (2003), *Harcourt Horizons*, defines “immigrant” as “a person who comes into a country to make a new home” in the lesson “Colonial

Philadelphia” (Green Jr., McGowen & Salvucci, 2003, p. 219). This lesson explains how Philadelphia “became the main port in Pennsylvania for receiving not only imports, but also immigrants” (p. 219). *Harcourt Horizons* quotes the eighteenth century priest Reverend William Smith describing Americans in Philadelphia as “a people thrown together from various quarters of the world, differing in all things—language, manners, and sentiment” (p. 219). A later lesson, “Changing People,” differentiates between old immigration and new immigration. According to *Harcourt Horizons*, old immigration occurred before 1890. Old immigrants came from north and west Europe, built the Erie Canal and transcontinental railroad, and settled the West. New immigration occurred after 1890. New immigrants came from southern and eastern Europe in reaction to advertisements in their homeland attracting them to a better life in the United States (p. 503). Again, present-day immigration patterns are not addressed.

The word “immigration” in the index of the Macmillan Texas edition (2003), *Our Nation*, provides a lengthy list of page numbers, yet none of the pages listed lead the reader to a substantial section dedicated to the topic of immigration. Instead, the text punctuates its account of U.S. history with a few sentences that mention immigration during various time periods. The text directs readers interested in learning about immigration to lessons on “colony fever” in 1760, northern factory workers in 1850, the rise of unions in the late 1800s, and Muslim Americans in 2001 (Banks et al., 2003, pp. 201, 411, 508, 602). The text goes on to contradict itself in the brief section, “Immigration Ends,” that states “the number of immigrants dropped to a trickle” after the

1882 law eliminating Chinese immigration and the 1924 law limiting European immigration to the United States (p. 515).

Unlike Macmillan's Texas edition, Macmillan's *California Vistas* (2007) discusses immigration in detail in two out of its seven units. "Immigrants and Ideas" is a lesson in the unit "The Nation Expands" that focuses on population fluctuation due to the Irish potato famine and the migration of free blacks (Banks et al., 2007, p. 536). An English Learner Activity in this lesson uses the vocabulary words "population" and "immigrants" to teach students the relationship between population growth and immigration. The activity suggests that students draw a ship bringing people to the United States (p. 537). This California textbook does not describe other means of transportation that immigrants might use. Harcourt's Texas edition, *Harcourt Horizons*, is the only other text analyzed that addresses means of immigration. It says, "instead of arriving on ships, as immigrants often did in the past, most immigrants today arrive by plane at one of the nation's international airports" (Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 623). None of the U.S. textbooks specifies crossing borders by land.

The main idea of the *California Vistas* lesson "Coming to America" in the unit "American People Then and Now" is that Ellis Island and the Statue of Liberty "welcomed" immigrants and visitors (Banks et al., 2007, p. 611). The positive tone of the lesson points out contributions immigrants have made to the United States and lists leaders, inventors, scientists, and politicians who emigrated from Europe (pp. 613–615). The Macmillan Texas edition, *Our Nation*, describes the United States a "nation of

immigrants,” and immigrants are recognized for making contributions and adding cultural diversity to the country (Banks et al., 2003, p. 18). The success story of Irving Berlin, who emigrated from Russia to New York, provides an example of one notable immigrant. Berlin wrote the song “God Bless America” (Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 503). *California Vistas* gives examples of holidays brought to the United States by immigrants to demonstrate its diverse population. Holidays listed are St. Patrick’s Day, Cinco de Mayo, and Mardi Gras (Banks et al., 2007, p. 28). *Harcourt Horizons* pictures a celebration in Texas with the caption, “Many Americans of Hispanic heritage celebrate Cinco de Mayo” (Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 3). *Harcourt Horizons* also describes the Hispanic holiday Epiphany under the title “Heritage” (p. 623).

California Vistas addresses common sentiments among immigrants: “American-born children of immigrants often felt caught between two worlds” (Banks et al., 2007, p.620). The *California Vistas* lesson “Coming to America” also briefly addresses language when it states, “Immigrants had to learn English and a new way of life” (p. 611). Macmillan’s Texas edition, *Our Nation*, explains that new immigrants were not only poor, but that “their languages, religions, and other traditions seemed strange to many Americans” (Banks et al., 2003, p. 514). Harcourt’s Texas edition, *Harcourt Horizons*, includes in the section, “Reaction to Immigrants,” a list of prejudices immigrants faced when American-born citizens reacted “harshly” (Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 505) to their arrival. Both Texas editions write that Americans wanted immigration to stop in the nineteenth century because they worried about immigrants taking jobs away

from American-born workers (Banks et al., 2003, p. 515; Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 505). Interestingly, Jacob Riis' 1890 book, *How the Other Half Lives*, depicted immigrant life in New York City slums. In reaction to Riis' book, "Americans were angered and began to demand changes in the way immigrants and poor were treated" (Banks et al., 2007, p. 619).

Migratory Flows

The topic of immigration is found in the Mexican textbook *Geografía: Quinto grado (Geography: Fifth grade)*. Block three, "La población mundial" (The world population), lesson three, "Países expulsores y países receptores de población" (Sending countries and receiving countries of population); discuss immigration from a global perspective. The learning objective of the lesson is to locate (a) countries with an immigrant population, and (b) the direction of the major flows of migration (Acosta García & Montes, 2009, p. 82). The introduction to the lesson defines migration as living in another place temporarily or permanently (p. 82). The lesson goes on to distinguish between external and internal migration, using the United States as an example of external migration from Mexico. The example of internal migration provided is movement from rural to urban areas (p. 83). The Mexican textbook classifies countries according to their migratory condition. Southeast Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe, and Latin America are ejectors of immigrants. Western Europe and the United States are receptors of immigrants. The lesson includes details about migration in other countries, such as Brazil and Argentina receiving immigrants from neighboring countries; Japan and

Australia receiving workers from Asian countries; South Africa receiving immigrants looking for better living conditions; and developed Gulf Pacific countries receiving immigrants from underdeveloped Gulf Pacific countries (p. 86).

Four activities on migration flows are included in *Geografía: Quinto grado*. The first activity, “No somos de aquí ni de allá” (We are neither from here nor there), asks students to answer questions using an illustration that depicts migration to, from, and within Mexico. An illustration shows the wall built at the border between the United States and Mexico as well as people guarding it. One question asks students, “de acuerdo con la ilustración, describe lo que le ocurre a los migrantes en la frontera de México y Estados Unidos” (according to the illustration, describe what occurs to the migrants at the border of Mexico and the United States; Acosta García & Montes, 2009, p. 82, my translation). Another activity asks students to share examples of migration in their families and then categorize each experience according to type of migration (p. 83). In the third activity students must answer questions based on the map, “Porcentaje de inmigrantes respecto a la población de cada país, 2000” (Percentage of immigrants with respect to the population of each country, 2000; p. 84, my translation). One question asks students if Mexico is a receptor or ejector of immigrants. Students use the information from the map to create a T-chart that separates countries with less than 20 percent immigrant population from countries with a population of 20 percent immigrants or more. Lastly, students answer questions using the bar graph, “Principales países expulsos entre 1995 y 2000” (Main sending countries between 1995 and 2000; p. 84,

my translation). According to this graph, Mexico has the third largest amount of people ejected from its country, after China and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

In general, the U.S. textbooks do not discuss immigration in terms of migratory flow. *Harcourt Horizons* defines migration as “movement of people” in the lesson, “The First Americans.” The lesson uses the word “story” to describe how early people slowly followed animals over the land bridge that once connected Russia and Alaska. The map “Land Routes of Early People” shows their path (Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 57). *The United States* includes a similar map in its lesson, “Migration to America,” which discusses the theory scholars hold that people first began to migrate to the Americas from what is now Russia (Boyd et al., 2008, p. 55).

Crossing the Border

The *California Vistas* lesson “American Cities Grow and Change” discusses Mexican immigration specifically: “In Texas and California, Spanish-speaking immigrants from Mexico joined native-born Mexican Americans in neighborhoods called *barrios*” (Banks et al., 2007, p. 620). Later, another Spanish phrase is used to label this particular group: *mutualistas* (p. 622). *California Vistas* continues to use Spanish words throughout the text. For example, one vocabulary list includes the words *empresario*, *vaquero*, and *Californios* (p. 560). The *California Vistas* lesson “Immigrants Today” includes a picture of Mexican American women performing “traditional dances” in Austin, Texas (p. 626). This lesson includes key statistics regarding Mexican immigration. For example, “More than half a million Mexicans came to the United States

to work in the 1950s and 1960s... by 2004, more than 37 million Hispanics lived in the United States” (p. 628). The timeline marks 1965 as the year “Congress makes immigration easier” (p. 627). The textbook assures that “changes in immigration laws have made it easier for people from Asia, Africa, and South America to come to the U.S.” (p. 628). *California Vistas* concludes, “Immigrants continue to build America and become a part of American life” (p. 628).

Both Texas editions, *Our Nation* and *Harcourt Horizons*, join Latin American immigrants with Asian immigrants. They state that the largest number of immigrants to the United States today is from Latin America and Asia (Banks et al., 2003, p. 19; Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 621). *California Vistas* explains, “Ninety percent of U.S. newcomers are from Asia and Latin America” (Banks et al., 2007, p. 25). After a paragraph about European immigration of the past and a paragraph about Latin American and Asian immigration of the twenty-first century, *California Vistas* asks students, “How has it changed?” (p. 29). The Mexican textbook *Historia: Quinto grado* expands on immigration to the United States specifically by citing that more than eight million Mexican immigrants came to the United States between 1960 and 2000. This textbook acknowledges that the majority are “ilegales” (illegals; Guitiérrez Garcia et al., p. 84, my translation). Legal status of immigrants is not addressed in the U.S. textbooks.

On one page of Mexico’s *Formación Cívica y Ética* immigration is addressed -- “Emigración” (Immigration; Arellano et al., 2008, p. 74, my translation). This section first explains the effect immigration to the United States has on the families left behind in

Mexico: “La ausencia del jefe del hogar o del hermano mayor modifica los papeles que desempeñan tradicionalmente otros miembros de la familia” (The absence of the head of the home or the older brother modifies the roles that other members of the family traditionally carry out; p. 74, my translation). Next the textbook explains that the United States controls the “frontera común (common border),” which Mexicans resort to crossing “sin inspección” (without inspection; p. 74, my translation). Immigrants continue to come to the United States because “el mercado laboral continúa demandando la mano de obra que le proporciona la inmigración” (the labor market continues to demand the manpower that immigration provides it; p. 74, my translation). The remaining paragraphs explain the dangers associated with crossing the border. The words “desplazamiento” (displacement) and “riesgo” (risk) are used to describe the experience (p. 74, my translation). Immigrants might utilize “redes organizadas” (organized networks) to help cross through harsh conditions (p. 74, my translation). Only two statistics are included in this section: 80 percent of Mexicans who enter the United States lack documentation the first time they migrate, and 450 Mexican immigrants die illegally crossing the border every year (p. 74).

Learning to Become Loyal Citizens

All the U.S. history textbooks analyzed explicitly define citizen and citizenship. They also include separate lessons or mini lessons within its chapters that teach students citizenship skills. The Mexican textbook *Historia* does not define citizenship explicitly, but the textbook *Formación Cívica y Ética* addresses citizenship skills.

U.S. Citizenship

California Vistas and Macmillan's Texas edition, *Our Nation*, both define citizen as "someone who is born in a country or who becomes a member of that country by law" (Banks et al., 2007, p. 35; Banks et al., 2003, p. 23). Recognizing the fact that not everyone who lives in the United States may be a citizen, *California Vistas* explains the process of naturalization. The textbook assures that once the steps an immigrant must take to become a citizen are complete, the person will have the "same rights as the people who are born here" (Banks et al., 2007, p. 35). This means that legal immigrants, who the textbook defines as having an "official permit to live, study, or work in the United States," do not have equal rights in the country, including voting rights, until they become citizens (p. 35). *Harcourt Horizons* also differentiates between automatic citizens and naturalized citizens. To be naturalized one must live in the United States for five years, apply for citizenship, pass a test, and attend a ceremony to make "promises to be loyal to the United States" (Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 620). Scott Foresman's *The United States* includes the celebration of "Citizenship Day," held on September 17th. Students learn new vocabulary words such as citizenship, naturalization, immigrants, oath, and allegiance. Pictured is the Statue of Liberty and Asian Americans at a citizenship ceremony (Boyd et al., 2008, p. E12). Macmillan's *Our Nation* explains that new immigrants to the United States "are working hard to be good citizens" (Banks et al., 2003, p. 602).

Both the Macmillan's Texas edition of *Our Nation* and Scott Foresman's *The United States* include a social studies "handbook" in the front of the textbook. The handbooks teach the eight strands of social studies: science and technology; culture; economics; citizenship; geography; government; history; and social studies skills in Macmillan, and national symbols in Scott Foresman (Banks et al., 2003, p. H2; Boyd et al., 2008, p. E1). *Our Nation* defines citizenship as "rights, responsibilities, pride and hope" (Banks et al., 2003, p. H2). *The United States* defines citizenship as "the rights, privileges, and duties of being a member of a community, state, or nation (Boyd et al., 2008, p. E12). Included in *The United States*' "handbook" is a section that lists the six ways to show good citizenship.

Citizenship skills taught in *The United States* are caring, respect, responsibility, fairness, honesty, and courage (Boyd et al., 2008, p. H2). Citizenship skills are also taught in *Harcourt Horizons*, but they differ from those taught in *The United States*. Citizenship skills according to *Harcourt Horizons* are conflict resolution, problem solving, decision-making, responsibility, and identification of political symbols (Green Jr. et al., 2003, pp. 91, 165, 313, 373, 644). Responsibility is the only overlap between citizenship skills taught in *The United States* and *Harcourt Horizons*.

The three national symbols featured in *The United States* are the Constitution of the United States, the U.S. Capitol Building, and the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. *Harcourt Horizons* takes a "closer look" at the Capitol Building with a diagram that dissects the "landmark" (Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 638). A common symbol found in all

U.S. textbooks is the Statue of Liberty. *Our Nation* includes a quote from a plaque on the Statue of Liberty and calls it a “symbol of freedom to millions of immigrants” (Banks et al., 2007, p. 18). Between each chapter of *Harcourt Horizons* is a glossy cover-weight divider featuring a national symbol. The self-proclaimed “national symbols” in chronological order are: a Cheyenne shield, compass, Quaker gift to a Native American, Liberty Bell, inkwell from the Assembly Room at Independence Hall, President Abraham Lincoln’s hat, Apollo II mission patch, and patriotic folk art. *Harcourt Horizons* considers identification of political symbols a citizenship skill because doing so “can help you better understand news reports, political cartoons, and other sources of information” (Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 644). The text names the donkey representing the Democratic Party and the elephant representing the Republican Party “two of the country’s most famous political symbols” (p. 644). It goes on to differentiate between national symbols such as Uncle Sam, the bald eagle, and the Statue of Liberty; and symbols that represent only part of the national government, such as buildings (p. 645). A separate “heritage” section calls Uncle Sam one of the few American heroes “preserved as cartoons” (p. 640). In addition, *Harcourt Horizons* dedicates a special feature to examining political buttons as primary sources. An elephant, the colors of the flag, and the eagle are patriotic symbols students are asked to locate on featured campaign items (p. 646).

A section in *Harcourt Horizons* about the Bill of Rights pictures an eagle holding a banner that reads “our rights and our liberties.” The caption explains, “The bald eagle became a symbol of the United States in 1782” (Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 372). The Bill of

Rights, according to *Our Nation*, protects the “rights of citizens” (Banks et al., 2003, p. 23). In *California Vistas*, the Bill of Rights allows “ethnic cultural diversity not only to exist, but also to grow” (Banks et al., 2007, p. 638).

California Vistas defines an ethnic group as a population that “shares customs, language, and history” (Banks et al., 2007, p. 25). *Harcourt Horizons* includes statistics about the Hispanic American population, which “makes up the fastest growing ethnic group in the nation” (Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 622). A section linking culture, society, and heritage pictures a dancing man in a sombrero and a woman in a festive dress with the caption, “Above gives the glimpse of Mexican culture within the United States” (p. 10). *Our Nation* defines an ethnic group as “people who share the same customs and language” and the Hispanic or Latino ethnic group as “people whose ancestors are from Spanish or Portuguese speaking countries in the Western Hemisphere” (Banks et al., 2003, p. 19). A pie chart shows the proportion of the following ethnic groups in the United States: European American, African American, Hispanic American, Native American, and Asian American (p. 20). A map of the percent of foreign-born residents by state shows that more than half of the foreign-born population lives in California, New York, and Florida (p. 21).

The country’s motto, *E Pluribus Unum*, “out of many, one,” is repeated throughout all the U.S. textbooks. It symbolizes the many ethnic groups and regions from which Americans originate, yet form one nation that believes in liberty, justice, freedom of expression, citizenship, and unity (Banks et al., 2007, p. 31). According to *California*

Vistas, the intended meaning of the motto was one nation out of “many colonies,” but now it means “many backgrounds and beliefs” (Banks et al., 2007, p. 636).

Standard in all U.S. textbooks is the Pledge of Allegiance. It is presented on a glossy cover-weight page before the title page of *Harcourt Horizons*. The Pledge reappears in *Harcourt Horizons* above a group of students pictured with their hands over their hearts (Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 643). *The United States* introduces the Pledge of Allegiance with the following sentence: “You probably know the words to the Pledge of Allegiance by memory,” showing the authors assume all students residing within U.S. borders are familiar with the Pledge (Boyd et al., 2008, p. 11). The text then acknowledges the many backgrounds of people living in the United States, but reminds students that we form “one strong country” because we share values outlined by the Pledge of Allegiance (Boyd et al., 2008, p. 11). Macmillan’s *Our Nation* includes the Pledge of Allegiance and the Pledge to the Texas Flag on the same page (Banks et al., 2003, p. A7). The Pledge reappears only a few pages later as an example of a primary source and is described as a “patriotic oath” (p. 22). In *Our Nation*, patriotism is given as an example of a “value,” or “belief that guides the way people live” (p. 18). *Harcourt Horizons* states, “Patriotism is more than simply waving the American flag at special times...Americans would have to be good citizens all the time” (Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 643).

The Harcourt and Macmillan Texas editions include isolated mini lessons on citizenship. Citizenship lessons take up a quarter of a page in *Harcourt Horizons*, but

have a two-page spread in *Our Nation*. The *Harcourt Horizons* lessons focus on either “democratic values” or “points of view.” The *Our Nation* lessons focus on either “being a good citizen” or “points of view.” The first *Harcourt Horizons* democratic values mini lessons focuses on the common good: “Like the people of the Iroquois League, people living in the U.S. today often work together for the common good of all the citizens.” The lesson asks students, “Why is it important for Iroquois to work together as one?” (Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 89). Like the mini lessons on democratic values in *Harcourt Horizons*, the *California Vistas* lesson “Democratic Values” addresses speaking out against policies that “harm the common good” and “contributing to the welfare of their own communities” (Banks et al., 2007, p. 639). Earlier, this textbook admonished students “to remain united [and] work for the common good” (p. 31). One purpose of the U.S. Constitution, according to *California Vistas*, is to “promote the general welfare” (p. 28). The textbook also includes a lesson about “working for the common good” that begins by asking students to discuss benefits of working together for a “common goal.” Students must then solve a problem in a way that would “satisfy the most students.” Finally, students must consider reasons why some might not benefit from the proposed solution” (p. 540). *Harcourt Horizons* explains, “To keep their government going and protect their freedoms... the country would need good citizens—citizens who would work for the common good” (Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 643). *California Vistas* includes the American Creed that calls on people to “do their part as citizens by contributing to the welfare of their own communities” (Banks et al., 2007, p. 639).

Other democratic values mini lessons in the Texas edition of *Harcourt Horizons* cover representative government, justice, right to privacy, individual rights, and citizen participation (Green Jr. et al., 2003, pp. 163, 214, 290, 588, 600). The lesson on citizen participation uses the 2000 U.S. presidential election as an example where the importance of “every citizen’s vote became clear [because] Bush’s lead of about 600 votes in Florida... helped decide the election in his favor” (Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 600). The 2000 U.S. presidential election is brought up a second time in this textbook. It stresses the importance of registering to vote because “only a few hundred votes made a difference in George W. Bush’s win over Al Gore” (Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 642). *Our Nation’s* point of view lesson, “How should the president be elected?” ask students to reevaluate the electoral college process because “in the 2000 election a presidential candidate lost the popular vote, but won the electoral vote” (Banks et al., 2003, p. 335). *California Vistas* does not mention the 2000 presidential election, but does state, “If people do not participate, democracy can’t survive” (Banks et al., 2007, p. 639).

California Vistas differentiates between rights, duties, and responsibilities. Rights include security, equality, and liberty. Duties include obeying the law, paying taxes, defending the nation, serving in court, and going to school. Responsibilities include being informed, voting, participating, respecting property and the rights of others, and respecting different opinions and ways of life (Banks et al., 2007, p. 463). An earlier section in *California Vistas* includes voting, education, owning property, running for office, privacy, and stating opinions without fear as “civil rights” (p. 36). Life, liberty,

and the pursuit of happiness are “natural rights” (p. 638). Citizenship responsibilities listed in *Harcourt Horizons* are registering to vote, serving on a jury, paying taxes, defending the nation, and obeying laws (Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 642). Rights of all residents, “citizens and non citizens alike,” include the right to gather in groups and the right to the freedoms of speech, press, and religion (Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 641).

Harcourt Horizons includes other ways in which citizens can participate: volunteer, join a political party, serve as delegates, or be a candidate (Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 642).

Both Texas edition textbooks—*Harcourt Horizons* and *Our Nation*—have lessons on point of view. Point of view lessons in *Our Nation* focus on everyday citizens voicing their perspectives on how the president should be elected, how Lincoln’s death affected reconstruction, and when the government should break up monopolies (Banks et al., 2003, pp. 334, 462, 528). Point of view lessons in *Harcourt Horizons* cover Columbus’s and Amerigo Vespucci’s perspectives of the New World, and Thomas Whately’s and Samuel Adams’s perspectives on taxes (Green Jr. et al., 2003, pp. 124, 281). Other point of view lessons debate for or against the Bill of Rights and for union or secession (Green Jr. et al., 2003, pp. 368, 453). The last point of view lesson, “Should Quebec Secede?” pictures an English/French bilingual sign in Montreal (Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 672).

Throughout Scott Foresman’s *The United States*, chapters are occasionally interrupted with a spread dedicated to a “Citizen Hero” displaying one of the citizenship skills. Heroes featured include Mike Harris for taking responsibility to start Environment CPR (Boyd et al., 2008, p. 40), Fredrick Douglas for fighting for fair treatment of all

people (p. 422), Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson for respecting religious freedom (p. 184), Patrick Henry for facing the truth (p. 274), and Jody Williams for caring for people threatened by landmines (p. 504). The World War II code talkers (p. 92) and 9/11 firefighters (p. 668) both exemplify the citizenship skill of courage.

California Vistas highlights heroes in the section “People Who Made a Difference.” John Frémont made a difference by helping “to organize a rebellion against Mexican California creating the Bear Flag Republic” (Banks et al., 2007, p. 504). James K. Polk made a difference because during his presidency “the boundaries of our country extended all the way to California’s shores” (p. 504). *California Vistas* has English Learners supplementary materials that include a series of leveled biographies “modified for English learners to introduce them to their important role as citizens and model good citizenship” as the title page explains (Banks et al., 2007). People featured in the biography series are the director of the National Museum of the American Indian, Pocahontas and John Smith, indigo planter Eliza Lucas Pinckney, young patriots Joseph Martin and Molly Pitcher, Alexander Hamilton, America’s first black millionaire William A. Leidesdorff, and union organizer Cesar Chavez. “One of the most successful labor leaders in the United States,” Delores Huerta, is featured in a biography with a “focus on responsibility” in the main text of *California Vistas* (p. 648).

César Chavez and “La Causa” (The Cause) are described again in the *California Vistas* lesson, “Equal Rights for All,” including the catch phrase “Viva la huelga” (long live the strike; Banks et al., 2007, p. 643). Chavez is pictured and the story of his

nonviolent action to help Mexican American migrant workers is told in the *Harcourt Horizons* section, “Civil Rights for Other Groups” (Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 588). The textbook assures readers, “He met this goal in 1970” (p. 589). Both Delores Huerta and César Chavez are pictured in *Our Nation* as examples of “activists... that fight for citizen’s rights” (Banks et al., 2003, p. 23).

Mexican Perspective

Unlike the U.S. textbooks analyzed, the Mexican textbooks are not punctuated with citizenship lessons. “Citizen” and “citizenship” are not common terms found in the Mexican textbooks. Instead of focusing on the specifics of citizenship as recognized by a particular government, one Mexican textbook, *Formación Cívica y Ética*, offers skills to grow as a global citizen. A version of this textbook is used at every grade level in addition to the social studies curriculum in Mexico. One outcome of the first unit in the fifth grade edition of *Formación Cívica y Ética* is “saber que eres parte de la comunidad, de la nación y del mundo” (to know that you are part of the community, the nation, and the world; Arellano et al., 2008, p. 7, my translation).

Like the U.S. lessons on citizenship, the Mexican textbooks discuss rights citizens have. Unlike the U.S. lessons, rights in the Mexican textbooks are understood as human rights as well as rights granted by the government. Unit one explains that “nadie puede ser lesionado o agredido físicamente, ni ser víctima de daños mentales que afectan la estabilidad psicológica” (nobody can be physically injured or attacked, nor be a victim of mental harm that affects psychological stability) since The Statute of the Military Court

of Nuremberg, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and The Geneva Agreements (Arellano et al., 2008, p. 13, my translation). Mexico's General Law of Persons with Disability recognizes the human rights of people with disabilities, as well as their right to public services (p. 16). The first unit summarizes the rights of children and explains that the state and adults provide every child's basic needs (p. 17). Unit three lists rights Mexican children have under the law: "Las niñas y los niños tienen derecho a recibir alimentación, salud, educación, así como un ambiente sano y seguro" (Children have a right to receive nourishment, health, education, as well as a safe and secure environment; p. 38, my translation). Unit four cites articles 6, 9, and 11 of the Mexican Constitution for providing the freedoms of thought, opinion, expression, information, and transit (p. 52). Unit five explains that every child has the right to an education, to a family, to health services, to not work, to be listened to, to have a name, to be fed, to integrate actively into society, to not be discriminated against, and to not be maltreated according to *la Convención sobre los Derechos del Niño (the Convention about Children's Rights)* from 1989 (p. 72). The last unit also credits organizations such as UNESCO and the United Nations for protecting political, economic, social, and cultural rights (p. 66).

Age appropriate health issues such as puberty and drug use are included in Mexico's *Formación Cívica y Ética* by the Secretary of Health. The fifth grade edition links students' changing adolescent bodies to maturing minds: "No sólo tu físico se transforma... Ahora posees mayor capacidad de abstracción, comparada con la que

mostraste durante el cuarto grado” (Not only does your physique transform... Now you possess a larger capacity for abstraction, compared with which you showed during fourth grade; Arellano et al., 2008, p. 8, my translation). The discussion suggests applying “tu comprensión, madurez, juicio y voluntad de no formar parte de prácticas riesgosas e ilegales” (your understanding, maturity, judgment, and will to not partake in risky or illegal practices; p. 11, my translation). In addition to teaching the individual’s responsibility to take care of their health by avoiding risks, this section explains “la salud es un asunto público” (health is a public subject; p. 12, my translation). The text guides students to seek out institutions “que atienden asuntos de salud, educación, recreación, derechos humanos, medio ambiente, turismo, historia y sobre una gran diversidad de temas” (that attend to subjects of health, education, recreation, human rights, environment, tourism, history and a great diversity of other themes; p. 32, my translation).

The introduction to unit five of *Formación Cívica y Ética* says that the third article of the Mexican Constitution guarantees the right to education (Arellano et al., 2008, p. 67). Unit two begins with a dialogue that refers to the importance of education: “Para ejercer tus derechos y para cuidar siempre tu dignidad y la de otros, tu educación es muy valiosa” (In order to exert your rights and to always care for your dignity and the that of others, education is very valuable; p. 22, my translation). Education helps “a ejercer su libertad y a tomar decisiones sobre la mejor manera de actuar” (to exert your liberty and make decisions about the best way to act; p. 23, my translation). La

instrucción primaria (primary instruction) is a section of unit two that consists of an excerpt from Ignacio Manuel Altamirano's "Crónica de la Semana." One line reads, "La instrucción primaria debe ser como el sol en el mediodía, debe iluminarlo todo" (Primary instruction should be like the sun at noon, should illuminate everybody/everything; p. 30, my translation). A caption in unit five states that access to education is considered an act of justice (p. 65). Unit four describes the formation of the Commission of Education, which "se dedica exclusivamente al análisis de todos los asuntos relacionados con la educación en nuestro país" (dedicates itself exclusively to the analysis of all subjects related to the education of our country; p. 56, my translation). This textbook introduces students to El Parlamento Infantil, which is a parliament composed of fifth grade representatives that "buscar soluciones que mejoren la estancia en el aula" (look for solutions that will improve the stay in the classroom; p. 76, my translation).

Unit four tells of a democratic life and government. The introductory dialogue on democracy focuses on participation (Arellano et al., 2008, p. 70, pp. 51–55). A section in unit five written by the Instituto Federal Electoral (IFE) explains this organization's responsibility for democratic development. Not only does the IFE organize elections, but it also strengthens "la cultura y la educación cívica... y procurar las condiciones para la participación ciudadana en el ámbito político" (the culture and civic education... and procures the conditions for citizen participation in the political scope; p. 70, my translation). The following page provides steps for participating in democracy; it also defines "pluralismo" (pluralism) as a democratic value (p. 71, my translation). The

introductory dialogue of unit five teaches, “En la democracia hay pluralidad y tolerancia” (In democracy there is plurality and tolerance; p. 68, my translation). Unit three dedicates two pages to tolerance. Tolerance is a democratic value because it allows people with different points of view to coexist: “tolerancia no significa guardar silencio o mostrar indiferencia cuando alguien alrededor nuestro dice algo que nos parece equivocado” (tolerance does not mean to stay silent or show indifference when someone around you says something that seems to be mistaken; p. 43, my translation).

The Mexican Constitution does not allow discrimination because “la discriminación produce desigualdad e injusticia” (discrimination produces inequality and injustice; Arellano et al., 2008, p. 27, my translation). Included in unit two is a page outlining types and consequences of discrimination. People who are discriminated against include “las personas con discapacidad, los adultos mayores, las mujeres, quienes viven con alguna enfermedad como el VIH/SIDA, los indígenas, los pobres, los jóvenes” (people with disabilities, older adults, women, those who live with a disease like HIV/AIDS, the indigenous, the poor, young people; p. 27, my translation). Unit three, “Trabajemos por la equidad, contra la discriminación y por el cuidado del ambiente” (We work for equality, against discrimination, and for the care of the environment) focuses on discrimination against the indigenous specifically (p. 35, my translation). Discrimination comes up again in unit four in a section called “Prevenir la discriminación en la escuela” (Prevent discrimination in the school; p. 60, my translation). This section advises students

to “conócelas” (get to know people) in order to avoid discrimination at school because “ningún caso es justo” (no case [of discrimination] is just; p. 60, my translation).

Justice is referred to as both important and “central para la convivencia humana” (central to the survival of humanity; Arellano et al., 2008, p. 23, my translation). The text differentiates between “justicia distributiva y justicia retributiva” (distributive justice and repaying justice; p. 24, my translation). Water is given as an example of a distributive justice. In a discussion about how children learn the difference between just and unjust situations, *Formación Cívica y Ética* teaches that justice is a criterion for a better life (p. 25). An activity at the end of unit four asks students, “¿Qué es justo y qué es injusto?” (What is just and what is unjust?; p. 63, my translation).

Unit two of *Formación Cívica y Ética* connects the achievements of Benito Juárez to liberty and justice. One caption explains that Juárez “es un claro ejemplo de lucha por la libertad, la autonomía y la justicia” (is a clear example of the fight for liberty, autonomy, and justice; Arellano et al., 2008, p. 21). A page is dedicated to the childhood experiences of Juárez, who was unable to speak Spanish or attend school. Twelve illustrations and corresponding captions related to Juárez are spread throughout the fourteen-page unit, including images of a statue, his wife, and his personal objects. Juárez’s position as president of the Supreme Court is woven into an explanation of the judicial branch of government. Benito Juárez reappears in unit three on a list of wise quotes about peace translated into “varias lenguas de México” (various Mexican languages; p. 47).

Indigenous languages are incorporated into the text in a variety of forms. Next to each Juárez quote in unit three is information describing the linguistic family, group, and variant of the translation (Arellano et al., 2008, p. 47). Another section in the same unit translates one of Aesop's fables into both Spanish and Náhuatl, one of the many indigenous languages of Mexico (p. 40). Illustrations of Mexicans in traditional clothing are featured along the bottom of the pages in unit three that discuss regional diversity. Captions include, "En Tamaulipas se confeccionan bellos trajes de piel" (In Tamaulipas they make beautiful skin [leather] suits; p. 36, my translation), and "Vestimenta típica de los paipai de Baja California" (Typical clothing of the paipai of Baja California; p. 39, my translation). In a dialogue at the beginning of unit three, indigenous populations are described as descendants of "poblaciones que habitaban en el territorio actual del país al iniciarse la colonización ancestral" (populations who inhabited the present territory of the country before ancestral colonization; p. 39, my translation). The section "Amar la cultura vernácula es amar a la patria" (To love the vernacular culture is to love the country; p. 46, my translation) features pictures of handmade tortillas, a girl weaving, beans, a sugar skull typical of Day of the Dead celebrations, and men playing tubas. The theme of the unit warns that while on the search for what is considered authentic; do not become blind to outside knowledge and trade that enriches the original culture (p. 46).

The Mexican National Anthem, the Mexican flag, and the national seal are patriotic symbols that are "la expresión auténtica de nuestro origen; ellos nos dan el sentido de identidad" (the authentic expression of our origin; they give us a feeling of

identity; Arellano et al., 2008, p. 58). The textbook ends with the lyrics to the Mexican National Anthem (p. 79). The story behind the indigenous origin of the eagle pictured on the flag and seal is included in this lesson. In addition to presenting the symbols, the textbook explicitly instructs on how to salute them and where to find them (p. 59).

La Rotonda de las Personas Ilustres (The Rotunda of the Illustrious People) is a monument where Mexican heroes who “contribuyeron a la construcción de nuestro país en la ciencia, la política, la cultura y las artes (contribute to the construction of our country in science, politics, culture, and the arts) are buried (Arellano et al., 2008, p. 59, my translation). Justo Sierra Méndez, Secretary of Public Instruction from 1905–1911, is one hero buried in this monument. He is described as “entusiasmo, inteligencia y creatividad” (enthusiastic, intelligent, and creative) and “toma parte en círculos literarios” (took part in literary circles; p. 73, my translation). Students are taught to go to libraries and museums to learn of “nuestro pasado, nuestra identidad, nuestros problemas y la forma de superarlos” (our past, our identity, our problems, and the way to overcome them; p. 73, my translation). In libraries “podemos leer sobre las vidas de nuestros heroes” (we can read about the lives of our heroes; p. 73, my translation).

Other heroes prominent in *Formación Cívica y Ética* are writers, especially poets. Unit four recognizes patriotic poetry written by women in the section, “Las mujeres y la cultura en el siglo XIX” (The women and culture of the 19th century; Arellano et al., 2008, p. 57, my translation). Included is a poem in memory of those who died defending the country on September 13, 1847. Featured poets include Isabel Prieto, Laurena Wright

de Kleinhans, and Esther Tapia de Castellanos. Common themes in their poetry are “nuestra historia, nuestros héroes, nuestros paisajes, nuestras costumbres” (our history, our heroes, our landscapes, our customs; p. 57, my translation). In addition to this section, unit four also includes two poems by Salvador Díaz Mirón. The first, “Asonancias” (Assonances) is about equality, and the other, “La nube” (The cloud) is about freedom (p. 61, translated by me). Unit three includes a nature poem by Ignacio Manuel Altamirano about Mexico’s Atoyac River, “El Atoyac” (p. 41). Unit 5 includes the patriotic poem “La Patria” (one’s country) by Esther Tapia de Castellanos (p. 76, my translation). Portraits of Ignacio Ramírez, Guillermo Prieto, and José Rosas Moreno are paired with images of their work and the caption, “Los mejores escritores de la época hicieron libros de texto para apoyar la educación” (The best writers of the era made books to support education; p. 68, my translation).

Art is valued in *Formación Cívica y Ética*. The caption attached to a two-page map of Mexican popular art explains, “La artesanía mexicana es diversa y creativa. Aprecia esta forma de trabajo que nos da identidad en todo el mundo” (The Mexican crafts are diverse and creative. Appreciate this form of work that gives us identity in the entire world; Arellano et al., 2008, p. 44, my translation). One page of unit two teaches respect for art and artists: “Los artistas tienen derechos” (The artists have rights), it explains; “La piratería y el plagio son una violación del derecho de autor: un delito” (Piracy and plagiarism is a violation of authors’ rights: a crime; p. 31, my translation).

The same section also acknowledges that not all people value an artist for his or her intellectual contributions the way they should.

The opening dialogue of *Formación Cívica y Ética* addresses national identity when it says, “Debemos sentirnos orgullosos de nuestras características físicas y culturales, porque con las que nos identifican” (We should feel proud of our physical and cultural characteristics, because it is those with which we identify; Arellano et al., 2008, p. 9, my translation). The text’s concluding dialogue states, “Esperamos que estas enseñanzas sirven para convertirte en un ciudadano que disfrute de la paz, y que, cuando escuche el Himno Nacional, se ponga de pie, orgulloso y lleno de amor por México” (We hope that this teaching serves to convert you into a citizen that enjoys peace, and that, when the National Anthem is heard, come to your feet, proud and filled with love for Mexico; p. 69, my translation). In essence, *Formación Cívica y Ética* is a textbook intended to teach national identity and patriotism.

Mexican and U.S. Relations

Scott Foresman’s *The United States* begins Mexican history with a lesson called “The Rise of Empires” about the Mayan, Aztecs, and Incas. Tenochtitlan is introduced as a large city that grew to be a great empire (Boyd et al., 2008, p. 68). Tenochtitlan appears again in a discussion about the founding of New Spain. Mexico City, the capital of New Spain, is compared and contrasted with Tenochtitlan, the ancient Aztec capital (p. 144). The California and Texas fifth grade social studies textbooks begin with native peoples of North America. In *California Vistas* this unit has a chapter called “Early Peoples of

Mexico” that teaches about the first civilizations in North America—the Olmec, whose trade routes made them strong and powerful; and the Maya, who developed an accurate calendar and wrote histories, poems, prayers, songs, and stories. While the Olmec civilization “ended” in 300 B.C., the Maya civilization “lasted until 1,100 years ago [but] did not disappear” because their descendants live in Mexico and Guatemala (p. 46).

Like the U.S. history curriculum, Mexican students learn the history of their nation in the fifth grade. Unlike the U.S. textbooks, history in Mexican textbooks begins in the middle of the nineteenth century with a lesson called “Primeros gobiernos e intervenciones: Los primeros años de la vida independiente” (First governments and interventions: The first years of independent life; Gutiérrez García, Hernández Moreno & Rodríguez Tinoco, 2008, p. 10, my translation). The purpose of this lesson is to “valorar los elementos que han consolidado la identidad y soberanía nacional” (value the elements that have consolidated national identity and sovereignty; p. 10, my translation).

Manifest Destiny

The first block of the fifth grade Mexican history textbook, *Historia: Quito grado*, includes a timeline stretching from 1820 to 1850 with a caption that reads, “Durante la primera mitad del siglo XIX el territorio mexicano sufrió algunos cambios” (During the first half of the 19th century the Mexican territory suffered some changes; Gutiérrez García et al., 2008, p. 13, my translation). Below the timeline, students are asked to compare a map of Mexico from 1786 to a map of 1823. *Historia* discusses an internal debate about how to form the ideal government (p. 16). The textbook credits European

and American models of government for influencing Mexican ideas. Then, the textbook blames Spain, France, and the United States' interest in riches and territory for a constant state of war in Mexico (p.17): “Un vecino con intereses de expansion” (A neighbor with interest of expansion) reads a heading in *Historia* about the process of territorial expansions in the United States (p. 24, my translation).

Historia defines manifest destiny as the “creer que los Estados Unidos fueron un pueblo elegido por Dios, superiores a los demás países, por lo que tenían la encomienda de convertirse en una potencia económica y política” (belief that the United States was a people chosen by God, superior to the other countries, because of which it had the duty to become an economic and political power; Gutiérrez García et al., 2008, p. 24, my translation). Definitions of manifest destiny in U.S. textbooks focus on expansion more than power. Under the heading “From Ocean to Ocean” in *Harcourt Horizons*, manifest destiny is the “belief” the United States should “stretch” from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean (Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 402). All the U.S. textbooks analyzed use the word “belief” in their definition of manifest destiny, but do not explicitly mention God. *The United States* defines manifest destiny as a “belief” that the United States “should expand” west to the Pacific Ocean (Boyd et al., 2008, p. 433). Macmillan’s Texas edition of *Our Nation* gives a more detailed explanation of manifest destiny, calling it a “new idea,” and names Jane Cazneau as the journalist responsible for coining the phrase “manifest destiny” in 1845 (Banks et al., 2003, p. 402). *California Vistas* also uses the term “belief” when defining manifest destiny, but adds that some Americans “demanded

all of the Oregon territory” (Banks et al., 2007, p. 550). Details included in Mexico’s *Historia* that are not included in U.S. textbooks are the three forms of territorial expansion by the United States: (1) buy territory, (2) expel Indians, and (3) initiate war (Gutiérrez García et al., 2008, p. 24). While none of the U.S. textbooks specify methods of expansion, they do give narratives of land gain by region.

The History of Texas

All of the textbooks analyzed in this study include a section on the history of Texas from 1820–1850. In the Mexican textbook, *Historia*, it is called “La separación de Texas” (The separation of Texas; Gutiérrez García et al., 2008, p. 25, my translation). In *The United States* this section is called “The Story of Texas” (Boyd et al., 2008, p. 432). *California Vistas* calls it “Trouble in Texas” (Banks et al., 2007, p. 557). *Harcourt Horizons* calls its state history, “Americans in Early Texas” (Green et al., 2003, p. 402). The heading in Macmillan’s Texas edition of *Our Nation* is simply, “Texas and Mexico” (Banks et al., 2003, p. 393). The use of the words “separation,” “story,” and “trouble” contribute to a desired tone that conveys a specific message to the reader.

The Mexican textbook, *Historia*, claims that Spanish authorities “dieron permiso” (gave permission) to North American colonists to live in Texas, which was then a part of New Spain (Gutiérrez García et al., 2008, p. 25). A relationship in which one side grants permission implies that the other side (i.e., the settlers) asked permission. Both Texas social studies textbooks also say Mexico “gave permission” to Moses Austin to start a colony in Texas, but *Our Nation* specifies that in return American settlers had to agree to

become Mexican citizens (Banks et al., 2003; Green Jr. et al., 2003). *The United States* claims that Mexico “needed” more settlers, which suggests that settlers did not ask to go, but were instead invited to settle in Texas (Boyd et al., 2008, p. 432). *Harcourt Horizons* states Mexico “worried” about losing Texas so they “came up with ways to get more people to live there” (Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 6). Both textbooks published by Macmillan say Mexico “offered free land,” which the Texas edition adds had “good soil,” to American settlers (Banks et al., 2007, p. 556; Banks et al., 2003, p. 393). It appears that both Mexico and Texas benefited from the settlement, yet all of the above mentioned chose to address different reasons for the plan.

Macmillan’s Texas edition of *Our Nation* has a small section, “Gone to Texas,” which talks of the “Old 300” settlers who had “Texas fever” (Banks et al., 2003, p. 393). Both Texas editions emphasize the role of Moses Austin and his son Stephen Austin in the early history of Texas (Banks et al., 2003; Green Jr. et al., 2003). Moses and Stephen Austin, as well as the leader of the Texas army, Sam Houston, receive more coverage in the Texas editions than in the other two U.S. social studies textbooks analyzed. Austin and Houston have major cities in Texas named after them, which may contribute to their fame and prominence in this state’s social studies curriculum.

Accounts in both U.S. and Mexican textbooks analyzed agree that more American settlers than Mexicans lived in Texas. *California Vistas* explains there were “only 2,500 Mexicans living in all of Texas;” *The United States* explains that there were 20,000 settlers from the United States living in Texas (Banks et al., 2007, p. 557; Boyd et al.,

2008, p. 432). *The United States* claims that in *some* (emphasis added) areas settlers from the United States “outnumbered” Mexican settlers, called *Tejanos*, ten to one (Boyd et al., 2008, p. 432). One Texas textbook, *Our Nation*, says Americans “outnumbered” Mexicans three to one (Banks et al., 2003, p. 394). The statistics presented in the textbooks agree that Mexicans were outnumbered; yet the exact numbers cited in each textbook differ. Mexico’s *Historia* states “continuaron llegando mas colonos estadounidenses hasta que llegaron a ser más que los mexicanos que vivían ahí” (more American settlers continued to arrive until there came to be more than the Mexicans that lived there; Gutiérrez García et al., 2008, p. 25, my translation). Both Texas editions explain that at first “Mexico left Americans alone,” but by 1830, Mexico was “worried” about losing Texas, so they passed a law to stop immigration from the United States (Banks et al., 2003, p. 402; Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 394). *The United States* explains that Mexico “forbid” more settlers from the United States, “fearing a rebellion” (Boyd et al., 2008, p. 432).

Historia relates that the colonists in Texas had their own customs and language and did not obey Mexican laws (Gutiérrez García et al., 2008, p. 25). *California Vistas* claims Americans refused to conform because they never wanted to be a part of Mexico (Banks et al., 2007, p. 556). Both Texas editions—*Our Nation* and *Harcourt Horizons*—say Americans in Texas were “angered” by the Mexican government for various reasons (Banks et al., 2003; Green Jr. et al., 2003). *Harcourt Horizons* explains “Mexican leaders insisted that settlers already in Texas obey Mexican laws and pay more taxes” (Green Jr.

et al., 2003, p. 402). *Our Nation* provides three reasons for conflict between Mexico and American settlers: (1) Texas allowed slavery, (2) Americans did not learn Spanish or join the Roman Catholic Church, and (3) settlers ignored laws because the Mexican government was too far away (Banks et al., 2003, p. 393). *Our Nation* is the only textbook to explain that when Mexico outlawed slavery, Stephen Austin went to Mexico City to “explain” why Texans were against the law and “hoped Mexico would agree to make Texas a separate Mexican state.” The text paints a negative picture of the Mexican that arrested Austin for “starting a rebellion” (Banks et al., 2003, p. 394). In another U.S. textbook, *The United States*, slavery is the cause for the rise of tensions between Mexico and American settlers (Boyd et al., 2008, p. 432). Slavery is never explicitly mentioned in the Mexican textbooks, but owning slaves is an example of how American colonists were not obeying Mexican law.

Macmillan’s *California Vistas* claims conflict between Mexico and the United States began with a border dispute (Banks et al., 2007, p. 556). The Mexican account of the tensions in Texas focuses on Antonio López de Santa Anna’s role and features a picture of the former “presidente” (president; my translation). *California Vistas* and *The United States* also refer to Santa Anna as the president of Mexico, but *Harcourt Horizons* refers to Santa Anna as a dictator who “took over” (Green Jr. et al, 2003, p. 402). The term “dictator” is a highlighted vocabulary word in this lesson. *Our Nation* does not call Santa Anna a dictator, but says he “made himself president for life” (Banks et al., 2003, p. 394). Both the Mexican textbook *Historia* and Scott Foresman’s *The United States*

give credit to Santa Anna for leading the Mexican army from Mexico City to “put down the [Texas] rebellion” (Boyd et al., 2008, p. 432; Guitiérrez García et al., 2003, p. 25).

Harcourt Horizons says that “Santa Anna was so angry he went himself to take back the city [San Antonio]” when Mexican troops “gave up” (Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 403).

The starkest contrast between the U.S. textbooks and the Mexican textbook *Historia* is on coverage of the Alamo. Interestingly, *Historia* does not use the word “Alamo,” yet it summarizes the events that took place there in a few sentences. The Mexican textbook simply writes that Mexico “ganó las primeras batallas” (won the first battles; Guitiérrez García et al., 2008, p. 25, my translation). The more detailed accounts in the U.S textbooks describe the number of days Santa Anna “attacked,” and the number of Texans killed in the battle. Skipping the details of events at the Alamo, and following the narrative of Santa Anna, *Historia* continues, “Durante un momento en que estaba descansado, Santa Anna fue sorprendido por los Tejanos, quienes lo hicieron prisionero” (During a moment in which he was resting, Santa Anna was surprised by the Texans, who took him prisoner; Guitiérrez García et al., 2008, p. 25, my translation). Both Texas edition textbooks write that it was Sam Houston’s troops who “surprised” Santa Anna at the Battle of San Jacinto (Banks et al., 2003, p.403; Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 395).

The U.S textbooks not only include the Alamo, but also dedicate special features on its history. For example, *The United States* includes a “Then and Now” feature showing a picture of the Alamo from 1905 above a present-day photo with a caption suggesting students visit the historic monument (Boyd et al., 2008, p. 433). Davy Crocket

is an important figure mentioned to have hid in and died at the Alamo in all the U.S. social studies textbooks analyzed. *Harcourt Horizons* pictures Crockett hitting Mexican soldiers with his rifle after he had ran out of ammunition (Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 403). All four U.S. textbooks also include the catch phrase “Remember the Alamo,” which is absent from the Mexican textbook, *Historia*.

War Between Mexico and the United States

All textbooks mention that President Polk sent General Taylor to the Río Grande, which is called the Río Bravo in the Mexican textbook, to settle a border dispute. *Harcourt Horizons* explains that the United States and Mexico did not agree on the border because the United States “wanted” it to be the Río Grande, but the Mexicans “believed” the border should be farther north (Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 407). *Our Nation* and *The United States* claim U.S. President Polk “sent” Taylor between the Río Grande and Nueces River (Banks et al., 2003, p. 396; Boyd et al., 2008, p. 434). *The United States* says Polk went to “prepare for a possible war” (Boyd et al., 2008, p. 434). The Mexican textbook *Historia* claims Taylor “avanzó hasta el río Bravo” (advanced up to the Río Bravo; Gutiérrez-García et al., 2008, p. 26, my translation). While *Historia* notes that the United States occupied some Mexican cities, the U.S textbooks say the United States “invaded” and “captured” Mexico City specifically (Gutiérrez García et al., 2008, p. 26; Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 407). All the textbooks analyzed document May 13, 1846, as the official day the war started, but while *The United States* simply says this is the day Congress declared war on Mexico, *Historia* includes a detail about Polk blaming the

Mexicans for the start of the war (Boyd et al., 2008, p. 434; Guitiérrez García et al., 2008, p. 26).

The U.S. textbooks published by Macmillan are the only ones to acknowledge U.S. control of New Mexico and California in 1847. *California Vistas* goes into the greatest detail—the war was about more than the Texas border, since Polk also wanted California. The 7,000 Mexicans living in California are labeled *Californios*. *California Vistas* states that more than 1,000 Americans lived in Mexican California, but had no loyalty to Mexico (Banks et al., 2007, p. 559). *Our Nation* explains that Americans living in California called it the “Bear Flag Republic.” It also includes details about Polk offering to buy California and New Mexico, but “Mexico angrily refused the offer” (Banks et al., 2003, p. 396).

The account of Taylor’s victory over Mexico is very different in each textbook. According to *The United States*, Santa Anna’s army outnumbered Taylor’s, but he “refused to give up. His victory made him a “national hero” (Boyd et al., 2008, p. 434). According to *Historia*, when transitioning from a Centralist to a Federalist government, a political division in Mexico “habían impedido hacer un frente común contra el enemigo que invadía el territorio” (impeded the formation of a common front against the enemy (the United States) that invaded the territory; Guitiérrez García et al., 2008, p. 27, my translation). The Mexicans attribute their defeat to the differences in the armies of each nation, explaining that the Mexican soldiers lacked training compared to the professional soldiers of the U.S. army (Gutiérrez-García et al., 2008).

The Treaty of Guadalupe ended the war. *Historia* delivers news of this peace treaty in an illustration of a newspaper: the newspaper headline reads, “México pierde la mitad de su territorio” (Mexico loses half of its territory; Guitiérrez García et al., 2008, p. 26). *California Vistas* states the war ended with the United States taking fifty-five percent of Mexican territory (Banks et al., 2007, p. 556). The Mexican textbooks do not mention money received for the land, but all of the U.S. textbooks analyzed say that Mexico “gave up” the land for fifteen million dollars. *Harcourt Horizons* defines the vocabulary word “cession” as “something given up” (Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 407). *The United States* offers a disclaimer stating that some Americans, including Abraham Lincoln and Henry David Thoreau, opposed the war because they thought land would be taken unfairly from Mexico (Boyd et al., 2008, p. 434).

In general, the sequence of events in the American war with Mexico is similar in all the textbooks, but the tone and word choice included in each account vary. For example, one U.S. account vaguely states, “Attempts to find a peaceful solution broke down” (Boyd et al., 2008, p. 434). The more detailed Mexican account says, “México consideró como una agresión” (Mexico considered it an attack) when the U.S. government approved Texas as part of the United States (Guitiérrez García et al., 2008, p. 26, my translation). *California Vistas* does acknowledge “Mexicans viewed Polk’s actions as a challenge” (Banks et al., 2007, p. 559). In *Our Nation*, facts about the Lone Star Republic share a page with the war with Mexico. Most space on this page—both text and pictures—is dedicated to the history of the Texas flag (Banks et al., 2003, p. 396).

After presenting information detailing the history of the war between the United States and Mexico, each textbook includes an activity. The activity in *The United States* asks students to make a table listing each new state created from the new U.S. territory and the year it became a state (Boyd et al., 2008, p. 436). *Our Nation* asks students to figure out the total number of square miles the United States gained using a map titled “Land Acquired from Mexico” (Banks et al., 2003, pp. 398–399). The activity in *Historia* asks students to color on a map the territories that Mexico lost in the war (Gutiérrez García et al., 2008, p. 29). Both nations’ textbooks provide activities that deliberately create the most favorable image of each respective nation, given the undisputable facts. Another activity is included in *Historia* that asks students to debate the consequences of the War of 1847 from both perspectives (Gutiérrez García et al., 2008, p. 30). None of the U.S. textbooks analyzed ask students to take the perspective of Mexicans.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS

Interpretation

Findings from this analysis of social studies textbooks agree with the position in the scholarly literature previously reviewed that textbooks contribute to national identity. Schissler and Soysal (2005) would agree that the differences I found between the U.S. and Mexican textbooks are due to motives in creating a national identity. The fifth grade curricula in both Mexico and the United States cover topics in immigration, citizenship skills, and historical border conflicts between the two countries. These particular issues are relevant to the life and personal identity of the transnational student. This textbook analysis suggests that transnational students are exposed to conflicting messages of national identity particularly pertinent to their situation.

Like Salvucci (1991) and Foster (1999), I found word choice to aid in the development of a particular image towards those outside the nation. For example, the title “Trouble in Texas” in *California Vistas* alerts the reader to the desired tone of the lesson before it even begins. In the Mexican textbook *Historia*, the use of the words “blaming” and “invading” creates a negative image of the United States, and “providing excuses for defeat” enhances the image of Mexico. The phrase “gave permission” in the Mexican history textbook leads readers to think Texas was kindly in allowing American settlers to enter, and the phrase “needed settlers” in a U.S textbook leads the reader to believe Texas

asked for Americans to move there. The Mexican textbook *Formación Cívica y Ética* uses the words “displacement” and “risk” to describe crossing the Mexico–U.S. border, teaching students that danger is involved in the process of immigration. In contrast, the *California Vistas* uses the word “easier” to describe immigration today. Words selected for vocabulary lists also set a desired tone. Citizenship, naturalization, immigrants, oath, and allegiance are vocabulary words selected in *The United States*. This word list makes the process from immigrant to citizen seem a patriotic act without acknowledging the possible dangers involved.

There is a drastic difference between the uses of the term “migration” in each nation’s textbooks. In the United States, migration is only used to refer to animals and primitive people crossing the land bridge. In Mexico, migration is something populations experience globally. Migration, according to the U.S. textbooks, is prehistoric; in Mexican textbooks, migration is a present-day flow of people. Indigenous populations are acknowledged throughout the Mexican textbooks. U.S. textbooks present Mayan culture as an ancient civilization as opposed to a part of modern Mexican culture.

Avoiding details that do not paint the country in a positive light is another technique textbooks use to shape national identity. The Alamo is virtually absent from Mexican textbooks, yet students in the United States are urged to “remember the Alamo.” Manifest destiny, as described in U.S. textbooks, withholds the details that tell how America achieved expansion. The Mexican history textbook, *Historia*, does list methods of expansion, which includes expelling Indians and initiating war. *Harcourt Horizons*

highlights “dictator” in a vocabulary list in reference to Santa Anna, and *Our Nation* uses the phrase “made himself president for life,” which softens the negative connotation of the term dictator. Still, the Mexican historical account of Santa Ana refers to him as simply “president,” avoiding the means by which he became president.

Foster (1999) uses the term “mentioning” to describe adding information to the narrative of a text without changing its course. I found mentioning to be the way U.S. textbooks incorporate ethnic groups into the narrative of American history. Even immigration, which is a major part of American identity according to the textbooks analyzed, was merely mentioned in various contexts. Removal of immigration would not have changed the main idea of those lessons.

Mentioning a holiday is one technique textbooks use to touch upon a topic without upsetting the flow of the story. U.S. textbooks mention other cultures through the inclusion of celebrations. St. Patrick’s Day, Cinco de Mayo, and Mardi Gras are holidays U.S. textbooks consider important contributions to American identity. While a transnational student may appreciate acknowledgement of a holiday that originated from their culture, these holidays have since evolved into something different from their original meaning. The mentioning of a holiday is not sufficient recognition of a culture or a definition of one’s heritage. Similarly, one might consider it an insult to describe Mexican heritage by simply depicting a festival, as the U.S. textbooks do, because it sends the message that Mexican heritage is nothing more than an occasional celebration. My findings were similar to LaSpina’s (2003) textbook analysis in that inclusion of

diversity often added to the breadth of information as opposed to the depth of the message.

Deliberate location of certain topics within the textbook can lead the reader to imply a message. The placement of Cinco de Mayo opposite Citizenship Day, and an immigration lesson opposite the Pledge of Allegiance, demonstrate the balance of diversity and unity present throughout the textbook *The United States*. All the U.S. textbooks analyzed isolate citizenship lessons into special features of each chapter or unit. The citizenship lessons are physically separate from the narrative of the text and highlighted with patriotic graphics and borders. The placement of citizenship lessons in U.S. social studies textbooks signals the importance of citizenship to the reader in an obvious way. Those transnational students who are not U.S. citizens receive a constant message that citizenship is a key factor to the national identity of the United States.

According to U.S. textbooks citizenship is a formality; they stress the legal process of becoming a citizen. Citizenship according to Mexican textbooks is less about legal status and more about life skills and human rights. In Mexico, citizenship skills are an outgrowth of intellectual development. The Mexican textbooks encourage students to use their education to make good decisions. They also teach awareness of the basic human rights that world citizens have. The purpose of U.S. citizen responsibilities, such as voting, is specific to the function of the government. The purpose of Mexican citizen responsibilities is to teach students how to grow into productive, respectful, successful adults in the world regardless of the nation in which they will reside. The Mexican

textbooks speak to a global audience. For example, it would be possible to use the Mexican textbooks to teach students in the United States. Lessons on citizenship in the U.S. textbooks would be useless outside of the country because they are so nation specific.

The U.S. textbooks consider recognition of political symbols a skill necessary to be a loyal citizen because it is key to understanding media needed to stay informed about politics. Mexico also teaches students its political symbols, but the purpose is to learn how to honor and salute symbols because they represent Mexican identity and create a love for Mexico. The U.S. textbooks offer opportunities to practice identifying political symbols in various mediums.

Immigration, according to the U.S. textbooks analyzed, is something that happened in America's past and resulted in the nation's diversity today. Immigration is used to explain the condition of America's population, characterizing the United States' identity as a place of opportunity, as success stories and immigrant contributions noted in U.S. textbooks aim to prove. Immigration in Mexican textbooks is a fluid, global phenomenon. Students are asked to analyze how immigration affects nations other than the United States or Mexico. Mexican textbooks do not use the word "opportunity" to describe the United States in lessons on immigration, but they do briefly touch upon the reasons why a person or family may need to leave their country for another. Only the Mexican textbooks thoroughly examine immigration that applies to the transnational student: present-day immigration between the United States and Mexico. Even "new

immigration” in *Harcourt Horizons* refers to immigration that occurred more than 100 years ago. *Our Nation*, also a Texas textbook, claims immigration ended in the early twentieth century. The California textbook paints a more positive picture of immigration, but the focus remains heavily on European immigration. Therefore, U.S. textbooks do not offer transnational students details of their personal history. Ignoring present-day issues on immigration sends a message to the transnational student that their experiences are not a part of America’s national identity. The U.S. social studies textbooks contradict themselves when they discuss the country’s large Hispanic population without explaining the cause of the growth.

Each nation had clear common themes throughout their textbooks. The motto *E Pluribus Unum* was used to define the union in every U.S. textbook. Patriotism is explicitly referred to as a value in U.S. textbooks. Working for the common good is another value present in U.S textbooks—it was presented to students through historical examples and students were asked to apply it in classroom activities. The phrase “working for the common good,” or something similar, was absent in the Mexican textbooks analyzed, though activities did use cooperative group methods that demonstrated the skill. Dialogue is a common theme present in the Mexican textbooks that was not prominent in U.S. textbooks. The term “dialogue” was used in the context of the message, as well as to organize *Formación Cívica y Ética*. For example, it teaches “la tolerancia... no significa guardar silencio o mostrar indiferencia... es, por el contrario, tener la capacidad de dialogar” (tolerance... does not mean to keep silent or show

indifference... on the contrary it is to have the capacity to dialogue; Arellano et al., 2008, p. 43, my translation). Tolerance is named a democratic value in Mexico. The same textbook names the introduction to each of its units “dialogue.” Dialogue is also the method that end-of-unit activities ask students to use. Differing common themes between each nation’s textbooks sends varying messages to the student about which values are most important. Liberty and justice are major themes present in both nations’ textbooks, yet they are presented differently in each nation. A Mexican textbook defines justice in various contexts, while the U.S. textbooks simply name justice as a right citizens have. Students are taught to respect art, literature, and intellectual contributions in the Mexican textbooks, and Mexican textbooks feature heroes that exemplify this value.

It is more common in the Mexican textbooks than the U.S. textbooks to find figures in the arts regarded as heroes. For example, both nations consider patriots heroes, yet the hero in the Mexican textbook is a patriotic poet and the patriots in the U.S. textbooks are war heroes. War heroes recognized in the U.S. textbooks include Stephen F. Austin, Juan Seguín, David Crockett, Sam Houston, and James K. Polk. Austin and Houston appear more prominently in the Texas edition textbooks, and David Crockett is downplayed in the Mexican textbooks. A drastic difference in the emphasis of particular actors in history shows how different nations value heroes according to their specific national identity. Both nations chose to emphasize actors who played a role in achieving a goal for the nation. Heroes in U.S. textbooks range from cartoons, such as Uncle Sam, to everyday people demonstrating what the textbooks identify as good citizenship skills.

The U.S. textbooks' inclusion of citizen heroes links the idolized to the ordinary. Common—and many times the only—Mexican American heroes in the U.S. textbooks are labor leaders Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta. Both are used as icons for non-violent activism. As Foster (1999) stated one U.S. textbook assumes that the UFW no longer fights for workers rights when it teaches that Chavez “met” his goal in 1970.

Differences among U.S. textbooks exist. Both Texas editions were very similar. Macmillan's *Our Nation* was more similar to *Harcourt Horizons* than it was to Macmillan's *California Vistas*. Both Texas editions have a distinctly regionalist tone to them. *Harcourt Horizons* boasts Texas is the biggest, largest, and greatest state in various aspects. It provides many statistics, but no comparison. The Time for Kids “Texas Extra” insert in the beginning of *Harcourt Horizons* includes a map titled, “Where in the World is Texas?” (Green Jr. et al., 2003, p. 2). Despite the title, Texas is highlighted on a U.S. map, not a world map. Compared to *California Vistas* or *The United States*, Texas-specific textbooks cover very little Mexican heritage beyond Cinco de Mayo. Texas textbooks also use the 2001 presidential election as an example of when every vote counted. Neither the California nor Illinois textbooks mention this historical election. *California Vistas* is the only textbook to use vocabulary words from the Spanish language. *California Vistas* also includes an English Language Learner edition with workbooks where students can practice language skills in a social studies context. Neither of the Texas editions—*Our Nation* and *Harcourt Horizons*—accommodates for English language learners. In fact, the only bilingual reference in one Texas textbook is about

English and French languages in Montreal. The issue of multilingualism in Montreal is not relevant to the typical Texas student considering the location and population of the state.

Conclusion

The purpose for analyzing this material was to determine how messages of nationalism conveyed in Mexican and U.S. textbooks conflict in order to draw some conclusions about the national consciousness of transnational students. The first step was to find patterns within predetermined categories for each series of textbooks. Topics most pertinent to the life of a transnational student were compared: immigration, citizenship, and history of Mexican and U.S. relations. In addition, heroes found in the above topics were compared between each nation. These data were used to infer the national identity of transnational students as a result of their exposure to both Mexican and U.S. schools.

I argued that the transnational student has developed a unique identity, not two weaker ones. They are unique in that they are attached to both Mexico and the United States, and exposed to both nation's tools to create loyal citizens: textbooks. Only these students have the opportunity to learn similar content, though differently structured, from two nations' perspectives. Since nations build national identity through school textbooks, my conclusions do not apply to adults who migrate over the Mexican-U.S. border. The transnational identity is formed during school age, and their enriched experiences could serve as a valuable resource on both sides of the border in their adult life.

The identity of the transnational student borrows from both Mexican and U.S. national identities. Both nations have aided in acculturating the student, and movement between school systems halts and restarts the process. The transnational student's attachment to Mexico and the U.S. textbooks' failure to recognize a Mexican-American identity could cause a transnational student to feel loyal to Mexico while residing in the United States. When comparing oneself to Mexicans, the transnational student will notice their school experience in the United States sets them apart, causing their allegiance to oscillate. The transnational student's national identity is as fluid as their migratory habits because it is dependent on their circumstance. While textbooks work to create a national consciousness, messages of national identity from two nations create an awareness or consciousness of being transnational.

A key consideration in examining the textbooks was the ways in which these books are implemented in the curriculum. Future research could compare how heavily the U.S. and Mexican textbooks are used in the classroom. Also, every teacher acts as a mediator between the textbook and the students, thus affecting the impact of the books' contents.

Other scholars can apply the findings of this study to related studies of students whose experiences and loyalties – indeed, their ideas of themselves – develop along many paths, at once. My research will assist in the development of the recognition and understanding of the identity formations of groups that do not belong to just one political nation. As migration becomes more fluid and more economically necessary, acquiring

this understanding will be essential in the field of comparative education, and in many others.

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The director of the thesis has examined the final copies and the signature, which appears below, verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the thesis is now given final approval by the committee with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Date

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