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**School Texts as Artefacts: Studying Anglophone
Cultures through the Lens of Educational Media**

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Studying School Texts: An Inquiry-Based Approach to Learning for Beginning Students of English Studies at a German University

Stefanie Land-Hilbert

“School Texts as Artefacts: Studying Anglophone Culture through the Lens of Educational Media” was a seminar for first- and second-year students of English Studies conducted at the University of Potsdam during the 2013/2014 winter semester. State-authorised educational media function as “cultural artefacts” (Foster & Crawford 2006) that reflect a country’s “official knowledge” (Apple 1999) and have a fundamental impact on a child’s perception of the world. History textbooks in particular have the potential to help answer a question fundamental to English cultural studies, one with which students engage from the very outset of their courses: How does a nation define itself and why does it choose to do so in a particular way? As “autobiographies of nations” (Jacobsmeier 1992), such textbooks reveal how a nation narrates its own story. As such, schoolbooks are a rich and fascinating form of text, yet one that, thus far, has received little attention within the context of English cultural studies at German universities.

In this context, “School Texts as Artefacts” aimed to introduce students to the history, theory, and methodology of international textbook research, and to encourage them to critically analyse educational media of Anglophone nations from a cultural studies perspective against the background of their historical and cultural contexts. Employing an inquiry-based approach to learning, the course ultimately sought to enable students not only to evaluate case studies in the field but also to carry out their own small-scale research projects. Thanks to generous funding from the University of Potsdam’s Faculty of Humanities, the students were able to visit the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research (GEI) on a one-day excursion to Braunschweig. The GEI’s willingness to host the students allowed them to identify primary sources for their research projects at the institute’s unique library, which holds the largest textbook collection in the world encompassing books from more than 160 countries, and to discuss their ideas and questions with the institute’s staff, thus bringing together students and researchers in direct dialogue. It was here that the idea of a possible publication of the students’ research projects emerged.

One challenge in designing the seminar and proposing it to the three major stakeholders involved – the Georg Eckert Institute, which worked with us to host the students’ visit and provided resources and expertise; the University of Potsdam’s English Department, which enabled me to teach the course; and the Potsdam Graduate School’s Junior Teaching Professionals Programme, where I was completing a course in university didactics and where two mentors monitored my syllabus design – was convincing them that students at a beginner level would be able to conduct actual research, particularly given the heterogeneity of their backgrounds: about half were enrolled in a teacher training degree (B.Ed.) and the others in an English Studies BA programme, and all had different secondary subjects and diverse academic knowledge. In addition, some had already reached a certain level of proficiency in English, while others were still struggling with academic assignments in the foreign language. One of the project’s challenges was therefore ensuring that all students would acquire the basic skills necessary to carry out their own research projects by the end of the semester. Would I be asking too much of the students?

Driven by the belief that there is no more effective way to acquire academic skills and employ scientific methodologies than to put them into practice, I drafted a course that guided the students through the research process. We began by establishing basic knowledge of the history and methodology of textbook research before discussing various best-practice examples of educational media research. This helped students identify the requirements of different academic publication formats from which they could derive guidelines for their own projects, the ideas for which they were asked to present in a conference simulation at the mid-point of the semester. The students completed templates that asked them to outline their preliminary research questions, their relevance, possible primary source materials and secondary literature, and a clear hypothesis. The conference simulation created a memorable momentum: The students were amazed by the ideas of their peers and offered and received valuable feedback through “peer review” comments on their posters and peer coaching in small groups.

Various learning strategies in class ensured that students developed their social and organisational competencies through group work and project coordination in a range of team and pair-work groupings and were able to actively participate in class discussions. Meanwhile, we used blended learning techniques to tackle the expected learning outcomes of

improved student writing skills and academic English through online assignments. Sessions in Potsdam met every other week, with students required to complete writing assignments and submit them online in the intervening weeks. These included academic summaries, response papers, and reflective journals asking participants to actively engage with the assigned readings. This ensured that students had studied the texts thoroughly and gave rise to lively in-class discussions. In some sessions, we were able to utilise the “snowball technique”, which in our case proceeded as follows: I assigned up to four different texts on related topics, each of which was read by three to five students who summarised “their” text for their peers, working first in pairs and then in larger groups until all students had finally accessed the information from all the different readings. Another advantage of the online assignments was that they helped me to identify challenges that individual students were experiencing in regard to their academic writing skills, particularly those related to argumentative structure and expression. In order to meet students’ individual needs, I scheduled one-to-one meetings, either in person or via Skype, to discuss their homework and the research designs for their proposed projects. I believe that this individual feedback played an essential role in ensuring that all students would be able to carry out their projects and meet the basic requirements of an academic essay by the end of the semester. Several students told me later that they had never written so much in any class and had rarely received individual feedback on their assignments; despite the challenging work that was required of them, they noted that they benefited most from this constant practice and feedback and would take the class again were it offered. Given that the approximately 1,000 words that students composed every fortnight was a number in accordance with the assigned workload for this course (three ECTS points) and that it had such a tremendous effect on the students’ learning curve and class performance, I hope that in the future more lecturers will be given the resources, i.e. working conditions, that grant them adequate time for teaching preparation and student consultations and thus allow them to work with such a “customised” teaching approach. My experience has been that such investment more than pays off, helping students as it does to become self-reflective, critical, confident, clear and coherent researchers in their fields.

For me, the highlight of the class was reading the students’ final papers; many surpassed their own expectations, and any concern that they might be too challenged by such a task evaporated. Further, more than half of the students chose to expand their projects as

longer research papers, so-called *Modularbeiten*, thus earning an additional three ECTS points. I am convinced that allowing students to freely choose their research question, the area or region on which they wished to focus, and the period of analysis of their primary source sample, as long as they met academic standards and the requirements of the study regulations that applied to them, assured their intrinsic motivation and perseverance and thus aided them in successfully completing their assignments. I am especially pleased that many students accepted the additional challenge of submitting their work for peer review, enabling us to now present the best of them in this volume.

A characteristic that all these papers share is their topicality: Students chose to work on projects of direct relevance to their own experience. Against the backdrop of the 25th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 2014 and the commemoration in 2013 of the passing of 65 years since the Berlin airlift, WIEBKE PETER examines the representation of the Berlin blockade and the ensuing Allied airlift in the history textbooks of the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the German Democratic Republic, demonstrating that national history is, by its very definition, always told – and taught – from a specific perspective. ALEXANDRA LESCHER explores the background of the Scottish independence referendum of 2014, demonstrating how the construction of Scottish identity in the country's social studies textbooks has changed over time and how the idea of a plurality of identities existing alongside one another has gained prominence over the past decades, leading to the Scots' now-common self-definition as being simultaneously Scottish, British, European and global citizens. VANESSA ZYDATIß focuses on a region often neglected in English studies, scrutinising changes in the self-definition of a former British colony in East Asia, Hong Kong. She shows how the portrayal of China in Hong Kong's textbooks altered dramatically after the re-annexation of the island by mainland China in 1997. Through the kind support of the GEI library, ZYDATIß was able to include school texts in her analysis that are currently in use in Hong Kong's schools, thus providing fascinating background information to the protests seen in the region in 2014.

ISABELLE DEMIN looks at the representation of a national characteristic that has been declared the core of Canadian identity for the last forty years, multiculturalism. In 1971, Canada became the first country in the world to adopt an official policy of multiculturalism. DEMIN examines the representation of this official ideology through the lens of history

textbook covers. Analysing the title page of a popular English–Canadian history textbook republished in various editions, she traces continuities and changes in these representations, and in omissions from them, over time. Her work seems particularly timely in the context of the 2014 shootings at Ottawa’s Parliament Hill. The Canadian government classified this attack as an act of terrorism which various Canadian commentators have labelled “our 9/11” and which some believe will lead to the idea of Canadian multiculturalism being increasingly called into question – a trend that, according to Ursula Lehmkuhl, had already set in before the shootings, with a “whitening of Canada” taking place during Stephen Harper’s prime ministership.

The Canadian reference to 9/11 as shorthand for a devastating, security- and identity-shattering assault upon a nation demonstrates just how deeply the terrorist attacks of 2001 on the United States affected the Western world. LISA MATTHIAS illustrates its imprint on history textbooks, looking at what US and British students learn about the events of that day and their aftermath. She demonstrates the significant impact of patriotism in American textbooks, which emphasise America’s resilience in responding to the attacks and frequently feature pictures of national symbols and heroes such as the American flag and the firefighters at the World Trade Center.

CHRISTOPH HUBER, a future teacher of English as a Foreign Language (EFL), has chosen to focus not on textbooks from abroad but on educational media currently authorised in his home country of Germany; his project revolved around depictions of diversity in EFL textbooks. HUBER concentrates on portrayals of London and ascertains that, while the ethnic diversity of Londoners is reflected in textbooks for primary and secondary school students in Berlin, school textbooks rarely present different social backgrounds or sexual identities, instead assuming a middle-class background as the norm and leaving out any references to sexual identity and the LGBT community in the British capital. He further demonstrates the influence of textbook publishing houses and editors on school learning content, an influence related to the vague formulation of learning outcomes in official state curricula.

By bringing their research projects to completion and presenting their results to the academic community, the students have experienced the process-based nature of research in general and academic publications in particular. They have learned to develop attitudes of critical distance towards their primary source material, which often derived from an educational context that

seemed familiar to them, having been produced and used either in their home countries or in countries with which some had become familiar during student exchanges in secondary school. National narratives that had profoundly affected their worldviews as adolescents became discourses to dissect and decipher. For those studying to become teachers, their research projects provided an opportunity to critically examine the school texts they will be soon be working with in the classroom. Students also encountered first-hand the pleasures and perils of peer review, experiencing it as both eye-opening and demanding. All six articles were first reviewed by me and then checked by at least one researcher at the GEI and, finally, by one of the GEI's English-language academic editors. This insight into the process behind the product of an academic text opened up to the students a new and illuminating perspective on the readings with which they had engaged earlier in the course, which had themselves been through peer review procedures. It is unusual for students to have access to such an inside view of the processes through which the academic works they study emerge, such close experience of the rigours of testing and validation to which scholarly ideas are subject.

Universities' task is to educate the future leaders of our community; their graduates will take on decisive roles in helping shape our society. I believe that our responsibility as lecturers is to provide students with the skills required for their future careers, including professional knowledge, methodological competencies and social and personal skills. Such skills also encompass critical thinking and developing the confidence to challenge existing concepts and procedures: How have we arrived at the professional knowledge that we are teaching today? Will it endure? What methodologies should we be using in the future? Which norms and values should be at the core of our academic work? I also believe it is important to provide opportunities to reflect on one's own learning process. One such opportunity can be an inquiry-based approach. Here, students themselves become researchers and put their academic skills into practice, thus gaining knowledge in their disciplines. Such an approach requires not only the time and patience of the lecturers but also, and perhaps more so, that of the students – time for diving deeply into the logic and traditions of the discipline, time for setbacks, time for iterations. I believe that this method of teaching is particularly effective because it promotes students' independence and creates an open space in which they can follow their own interests – and the more interested students are, the more motivated they will be, and the better they will learn. The main lesson I have learned from the seminar is that we

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should not underestimate our undergraduate students. They can cope successfully with complex teaching methods and learning processes if we support them along the way, and they are capable of acquiring, almost intuitively, both professional knowledge and academic skills.

“School Texts as Artefacts: Studying Anglophone Culture through the Lens of Educational Media” won the 2014 award for excellence in higher-education teaching in the state of Brandenburg. The seminar was nominated for this award by the students.

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The Berlin Blockade/ Airlift – A Comparison of Portrayals in History Textbooks from the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic

Wiebke Peter

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Introduction

As a child I believed that the story told by my history textbook was the historical truth, of which there was only one existing version. Today I am aware that not every piece of text in a textbook conveys the same historical knowledge. Besides, I have discovered that there can be different versions of one story, different versions of history. History textbooks are powerful cultural artefacts that pass on particular values, ideas and knowledge to the students who use them. I have become aware that the information included in textbooks has been consciously pre-selected and may therefore offer a subjective view. Understanding history requires us to look at the origins of the accounts in which history is told and take a variety of perspectives into account.

The topic on which this study will concentrate is the blockade of Berlin which took place from 24 June 1948 to 12 May 1949 and the Berlin Airlift, a key event of Germany's post-war history and an early flashpoint of Cold War tensions. Because of the intensifying relationship between West Germany and its new American allies and the nature of inner-German relations at that time, this historical event can be viewed from a number of different angles. This article reports on research focused on different representations of the blockade and the airlift in history textbooks of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), and the United States of America (US) published between the 1960s and the 1980s. In the first part of this article, I will discuss my comparison of the content of the three different textbook pieces on the blockade whose text, similarities and differences I examined. On the basis of my findings, I argue that there are two major points of view that can be distinguished. The GDR textbook presents the blockade as having been necessary to national security and the Berlin Airlift as a completely redundant action. The excerpts from textbooks published in the US and the FRG, on the other hand, describe the blockade as an attempt by the Communists method to gain control over West Berlin; accordingly, they consider that the Berlin Airlift was a necessity in order to keep the population of West Berlin alive.

In the second part of my research, I focus on the illustrations used to accompany the text; furthermore, I decided to place particular emphasis on the analysis of a photograph which appears in most textbooks which discuss the topic.

The method I predominantly employ is a comparative approach based on qualitative

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content and structural analysis, guided by the following questions: How are the beginning and the intent of the blockade depicted? In which ways are the airlift, the ending and consequences of the blockade depicted? Which information is emphasised, what is left out? Which different perspectives are represented in the textbooks? Which images are used to illustrate the event and in which way do they relate to the texts?

The findings could be of interest to history teachers and students. Teachers have the task of ensuring students are aware of the range of different perspectives on the same event or conflict which might be found from country to country or within nations, thus enabling them to critique these perspectives and develop greater understanding of the historical event in question, the motives behind political acts and the situations of the people involved or affected. Jason Nicholls observes that “exactly how students are encouraged to engage with perspectives – single and/or multiple, national and/or transnational or beyond – will always be related to understandings of the nature of history as a discipline in given settings, not only as alluded to in the textbooks themselves but in general.”¹

The textbooks selected for analysis were all published in the period of the Cold War. In the Federal Republic of Germany, education is a matter for the individual federal states, many of which used different or specific textbooks. I chose to analyse the history textbook *Die Reise in die Vergangenheit*, released by Westermann in 1966 and published again in 1973, because Westermann’s products were in use in a number of different federal states at the time. The number of textbooks in the GDR was limited due to the centralised nature of the country’s education system. About ten of the GDR textbooks that I looked at while conducting research at the Georg Eckert Institute’s collection of historic textbooks in Braunschweig mentioned neither the blockade of Berlin nor the airlift. One textbook, *Geschichte 9* from 1989, published by the GDR’s main textbook publishing house Volk & Wissen, contains an article about the division of Germany which discusses the subject. The American textbook *History of Our United States*, published by Laidlaw Brothers in Illinois in 1969, was selected upon the recommendation of an American history teacher in Berlin, Wisconsin, who stated that the book was one of the predominantly used textbooks in US high schools during the 1970s.

¹ Jason Nicholls, “Beyond the National and the Transnational” in *What Shall We Tell the Children? International Perspectives on School History Textbooks*, eds., Stuart J. Foster, Keith Crawford (Greenwich, 2006), 105.

1 Analysis of GDR, FRG, and US textbook text

The following section details and then summarises the findings of the textbook analysis. After focusing on how the beginning of the blockade is depicted in each article, I will describe how the blockade and its intent are presented. I will proceed in a similar manner in relation to the Berlin Airlift, with a particular focus on the ending and consequences of the blockade.

1.1 The Beginning of the Blockade

The accounts of the beginning of the blockade given in each of the three textbooks differ markedly. The article from the GDR textbook asserts that the introduction of a new currency, the Deutsche Mark, in Germany's western sectors on 20 June 1948, which divided Berlin into two currency zones, was a violation of the Potsdam Agreement to which the *USSR* did not agree and which led it to set up the blockade.² Conversely, the textbook published in the FRG puts forward the view that Stalin only used "the currency reform as an excuse"³ for setting up the blockade. The US textbook does not refer to the currency crisis at all, instead only stating that "in 1948, in an effort to drive the Western powers out of Berlin, the Communist bosses set up a blockade".⁴ In this case, no other cause is mentioned except the Communists' aim to extend their sphere of influence to West Berlin, which is constructed as the core reason for the blockade from the perspective of the Allies. It is a perspective similarly echoed in the text from the FRG textbook, where it is argued that the "presence of the Western powers in Berlin, in the midst of the Soviet occupation zone, had long been a thorn in the side of Stalin."⁵ The phrase "thorn in the side of Stalin" again indicates that the expansion of Soviet power is regarded as the primary motive for the blockade.

² See Wolfgang Bleyer, *Geschichte 9* (Berlin: Volk und Wissen Verlag, 1989), 276.

³ Hans Ebeling, *Die Reise in die Vergangenheit* (Braunschweig: Westermann Verlag, 1973), 187.

Translated from the original: [Einen Streit über die Währungsreform nahm er zum Anlaß, die Land- und Wasserwege zwischen den Westzonen und den Westsektoren Berlins zu sperren.]

⁴ Laidlaw Brothers, *History of Our United States* (Illinois, 1969), 572.

⁵ Bleyer, *Geschichte 9*, 276. Translated from the original: [Die Anwesenheit der Westmächte in Berlin - inmitten der sowjetischen Besatzungszone - war Stalin seit langem ein Dorn im Auge.]

1.2 The Blockade

The argument put forward in the text from the GDR textbook is that the USSR's actions were "not a blockade, because the USSR offered to take over the task of supplying the Western sectors."⁶ Further, the text claims that the Soviet Military Administration needed "to take additional measures in order to ensure the protection of the population and economy in the Soviet zone".⁷ One of these purportedly necessary acts for the establishment of security was the stopping of all "trade and transport between the Western zones [of Germany] and the West Berlin sectors completely. This necessary action has been exaggerated as a 'blockade' by imperialistic propaganda ever since."⁸ This perspective assures readers that the USSR is neither to blame for the beginning of the conflict nor the side that practised aggressive policies; the book develops an image of the USSR as acting in a purely protective and peace-keeping manner. The Western powers, on the other hand, are portrayed as enraged and non-cooperative: "They reacted with a raging anti-Soviet campaign and threatened to arrange a breakthrough with tanks."⁹

The US history book foregrounds the impact and scale of the blockade: "No food, fuel, or raw materials could come into the city by surface transportation. This meant that Russia deprived a city the size of Chicago of all connections by land or water with the free world."¹⁰ This passage, which offers a negative view on "Russia" as shorthand for USSR, uses emotive language such as "deprived" and highlights the isolation from the "free world" imposed upon West Berlin as an iconic threat. In the FRG textbook, the situation of West Berlin's population even intensified as "the starvation of 2.2 million people".¹¹ The hyperbole deployed here has the aim and effect of arousing sympathy for the people in West Berlin and creating feelings of aversion towards the Soviets.

⁶ Bleyer, *Geschichte 9*, 276. Translated from the original: [Aber das war keine Blockade, denn die UdSSR hatte angeboten, die Versorgung der Westsektoren zu übernehmen.]

⁷ Bleyer, *Geschichte 9*, 276. Translated from the original: [Zusätzliche Maßnahmen zum Schutz der Bevölkerung und der Wirtschaft in der sowjetischen Besatzungszone wurden erforderlich.]

⁸ Bleyer, *Geschichte 9*, 276. Translated from the original: [Der Verkehr von den Westzonen und den Westsektoren Berlins wurde völlig eingestellt. Diese Maßnahmen verfälscht die imperialistische Propaganda seither als „Blockade“.]

⁹ Bleyer, *Geschichte 9*, 276. Translated from the original: [Sie reagierten mit einer wütenden antisowjetischen Kampagne und drohten mit einem Panzerdurchbruch.]

¹⁰ Laidlaw Brothers, *History of Our United States*, 572.

¹¹ Ebeling, *Die Reise in die Vergangenheit*, 187. Translated from the original: [Die Aushungerung von 2,2 Millionen Berlinern sollten die ehemaligen Verbündeten zum Abzug zwingen.]

1.3 The Berlin Airlift

In the American textbook entry, the Berlin Airlift is depicted as a necessary response to the blockade as well as a “challenge” for Britain and the US: “Giant planes, loaded with supplies, took off for Berlin from bases in West Germany. They flew more than two and a quarter million tons of food, coal and supplies of all kinds into the city by air.”¹² This enumeration and the figures cited highlight the effort of the Allied forces and pilots during the blockade. A similarly positive description of the airlift can be found in the FRG textbook: “In 11 months [the Allies] brought 2 million tons of goods to the city including a complete power station, separated into its component parts.”¹³ Here, the airlift is described as a heroic action. The GDR textbook offers a different perspective on the Berlin Airlift, describing it as a “completely redundant action”¹⁴ And depicting it as a manifestation of Western propaganda for the benefit of the Western powers: “The US airlines gained great profit and it served as a test for big air supply operations.”¹⁵ The reader might assume from this that the airlift was only set up by the Western powers for their own advantage rather than to support the people in West Berlin out of solidarity. Further, the book asserts that “only a fraction of the required goods were flown in. A part of the supply goods could be purchased in the democratic sector [i.e. the Soviet-controlled sector of Berlin] by the people of West Berlin, due to the fact that the border crossings were open.”¹⁶ This argument is deployed to justify the claim that the Berlin Airlift was unnecessary.

1.4 End of the Berlin Blockade

In the GDR textbook, which portrays the Soviets’ actions as cooperative, it is stated that the USSR “was willing to agree and abolish the restrictions [...] if the Western powers [and] their

¹² Laidlaw Brothers, *History of Our United States*, 572.

¹³ Ebeling, *Die Reise in die Vergangenheit*, 187. Translated from the original: [Sie brachten in 11 Monaten über 2 Mill. t Güter in die Stadt, darunter auch ein vollständiges, in Einzelteilen zerlegtes Kraftwerk.]

¹⁴ Bleyer, *Geschichte 9*, 276.

Translated from the original:

[Diese angesichts der sowjetischen Vorschläge völlig überflüssige Aktion dauerte bis zum 30. September 1949.]

¹⁵ Bleyer, *Geschichte 9*, 276. Translated from the original: [Sie brachten den Flugkonzernen der USA Riesenprofite und diente den Militärs als Test für große Luftversorgungsoperationen.]

¹⁶ Bleyer, *Geschichte 9*, 276. Translated from the original: [In Wirklichkeit wurde nur ein Bruchteil der in den Westsektoren benötigten Güter eingeflogen. Einen Teil der Versorgungsgüter beschafften sich die Westberliner im demokratischen Sektor von Berlin, da die Sektorenübergänge offen blieben.]

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foreign ministers were prepared to discuss the future of Germany. On the 4th of May 1949 the USSR and the USA reached an agreement in this context, so that the Berlin crisis could be settled.”¹⁷ No reference is made to any other consequences. This extract from the GDR textbook demonstrates the perception that it was only on the Soviets’ initiative that the conflict was resolved. The condition that they imposed is not mentioned in the FRG or in the US textbooks, which share the view that the Soviets gave in to end the blockade, instead of being the initiator of that process. The American text even gives the following rationale for the Soviets ending the blockade: “In about ten months the Russians saw that they were getting nowhere and agreed to end the blockade.”¹⁸ Hence, the American article indicates a triumph for the West, with a result of the blockade being formulated as “the Communists ha[ving] lost an important battle in the Cold War”.¹⁹ By contrast, the FRG textbook argues that the blockade “brought the West Berliners, the West Germans and the West Allies even closer together”.²⁰ More importantly, the blockade is said to be “the beginning of an allegiance to the Americans based on trust, because they maintained the airlift”.²¹ Rather than explicitly referring to the Communists as enemies, the FRG textbook, in its emphasis on the strong bond between West Berlin and the Allies after the war and during the time of the blockade, implicitly positions them in a firm alliance against Communism.

1.5 Findings

These findings suggest that the blockade of Berlin is presented from two distinct, mono-perspective points of view in line with the divisions of the Cold War. Additionally, a simplification of “good versus evil” can be filtered from the texts, with no attempt made to represent the perspective of the opposite side. Since the FRG had such a strong alliance to the

¹⁷ Bleyer, *Geschichte 9*, 277. Translated from the original: [Sie erklärte sich bereit, die Beschränkungen des Verkehrs zwischen den Berliner Westsektoren und den Westzonen aufzuheben, wenn sich die Westmächte zu Beratungen der Außenminister über die Zukunft Deutschlands bereitfänden.]

¹⁸ Laidlaw Brothers, *History of Our United States*, 572.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ebeling, *Die Reise in die Vergangenheit*, 187. Translated from the original: [Sie hatten die Westberliner, die Westdeutschen und die westlichen Alliierten nur noch enger zusammengeführt.]

²¹ Ebeling, *Die Reise in die Vergangenheit*, 187. Translated from the original: [Die Berliner Blockade wurde der Anfang einer von Vertrauen getragenen Bindung an die Amerikaner, die diese Luftbrücke vor allem aufrechterhalten hatten.]

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Western Allies, the US in particular, at that time, it is understandable and to be expected that the interpretation of the blockade in the two textbooks is virtually identical. In both history textbooks, the blockade is seen as an attempt on the part of the Soviets to get the Western powers out of Berlin. The GDR textbook regards the blockade as a response to the currency reform in West Berlin and present the Soviets as guardians of the German economy and of the people in the Eastern sector. The Berlin Airlift is not presented as a significant event but merely seen as a profit-making operation of the Western Allies.

2 Illustrations

2.1 Illustrations in History Textbooks

After analysing the textbook text, I will now focus on the illustrations that appear in the history textbooks on the subject of the blockade of Berlin. The arguments that follow are based on the article “Blockadebilder und Blockaden” by Christoph Hamann.²²

The content of textbooks has the potential to exert a great impact on students’ historical consciousness. Pictures and other illustrations can be essential in the creation of an understanding of history and can either support the content of a text or carry new information in addition to it. They disseminate a visual image of a moment in history and are able to support particular views on the world; their selection is always highly subjective. This is why students need to be enabled to look critically at and reflect on the images presented in textbooks. They need take into consideration that a photograph, for instance, was taken in a particular setting under certain circumstances by a particular person with particular intentions.

²² Christoph Hamann, “Blockadebilder und Bildblockaden: Blockade und Luftbrücke 1948/ 49 als Thema in Schulbüchern” in *“Völker der Welt, schaut auf Berlin!”: Blockade und Luftbrücke 1948/49*, Eds. Hans- Norbert Burkert, Christoph Hamann (Berlin: Berliner Institut für Lehrerfort- und -weiterbildung und Schulentwicklung, 1998), 122-127.

2.2 Illustrations on the Berlin Blockade/Airlift

The GDR textbook analysed for this research did not include any illustrations of the Berlin Airlift; instead, only one image is featured, of a banknote of the special currency *Kupon-Mark*



Dep. 1. Kupon-Mark as shown in the GDR textbook.

introduced in East Germany as a measure, so asserts the caption, for the protection of the population from the “influx of worthless money from the Western zone”.²³ Thus the image relates to the textbook’s assumption that the GDR was not the initiator of the blockade. In fact, according to the textbook’s authors, the GDR found itself compelled to take additional security measures in response to the introduction of the new currency in the West. Therefore the illustration supports the content of the text

and indirectly emphasises that the GDR, or the Soviet authorities, were not to blame for the beginning of the conflict.



Dep. 2. The Berlin Airlift Memorial at Tempelhof Airport

In contrast to my findings in the GDR book, there were a large number of illustrations on the blockade and the Berlin Airlift to be found in the US and FRG textbook segments on the subject. One illustration which frequently appears is a map showing the zones into which Germany and specifically Berlin were divided after World War II. The map does not allow for different interpretations and can thus be seen as a relatively objective textbook element. It helps students to obtain a more exact picture of the situation and contributes to the comprehension of the text. Another

²³ Bleyer, *Geschichte 9*, 276. Translated from the original: [Um den Zustrom wertloser Scheine aus den Westzonen entgegenzuwirken, werden im Osten Deutschlands in aller Eile Banknoten mit einem Spezialkupon versehen.]

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illustration in the FRG textbook article depicts the Berlin Airlift monument at what was at that time Tempelhof airport. The monument is dedicated to the pilots who lost their lives during the Berlin Airlift. The caption emphasises that “with almost 278,000 flights, the pilots and their comrades had been supplying the West Berlin population with all necessities of life for 11 months”. This sentence expresses a gratitude purportedly shared by West Germans for the effort of the pilots during the airlift. Students are thus invited to interpret the memorial as a form of remembrance honouring the “martyrs” of the Berlin Airlift and, at the same time, as a sign of the alliance between West Germany and the US, thus echoing the text’s emphasis on the close ties between the two countries that emerged at this time. From this follows that the function of the picture is to spread a similar image related to the content of the text in the FRG article.

My analysis uncovered the almost ubiquitous use of a specific photograph in the majority of German history textbooks of the FRG – such as *Zeiten und Menschen*, published by Ferdinand Schöningh Verlag in 1966, and *Grundzüge der Geschichte* from 1969, released by the publishing company Moritz Diesterweg - and in US textbooks to illustrate the topic of the Berlin Airlift. This famous photograph, showing children watching a US aircraft landing in Berlin, appears to be the most widely used image of the Berlin Airlift; the following subchapter analyses it in detail.

2.2.1 Picture Analysis



Dep.3. The Berlin Airlift. Photograph by Henry Ries, 1948.

This photograph was taken in 1948 by the photographer Henry Ries and features a group of people, including many children, watching a US aeroplane which is about to land at Tempelhof airport. The snapshot affords the viewer a glimpse of a situation in the daily life of the children of West Berlin. The picture is

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taken from the bottom of the small hill, or pile of rubble, on which the children are standing; the viewer is thus positioned virtually on the edges of the small crowd in the image and drawn in this way into the scene. Since the history book is designed for children, the illustration directly addresses them. The perspective invites students to identify with the children pictured.²⁴ According to the interpretation of Hamann, the rising diagonal of the hill on which the children stand symbolises economic upturn and the path of improvement in Germany at that time.²⁵ Hamann also proposes that the three principal components of the image relate to three different temporal levels: The pile of rubble, on the ground, stands for the past, the children symbolise the present and the aircraft, up in the air, represents the future.²⁶ The group stands on a pile of rubble remaining from the Second World War, thus literally on the ruins to which that conflict gave rise. The rubble is an allusion to the darkest chapter of Germany's history and to the destruction and devastation the German people were confronted with in its aftermath, with the subsequent effort of physical and moral reconstruction. The second component of the image is the group of people, among them a large number of children, that embodies the present, looking upward towards the aeroplane. The group's unified, longing anticipation of the aircraft's arrival implies their hope for a better future to come, a future associated with a strong alliance to the West. The children's position in the picture, standing on top of the pile of rubble, might be considered to indicate that they are innocent and guiltless with regard to the ruins of the country's past. The aircraft itself stands for the future and functions as the most important visual image in the picture, not only because of its dimension and its central position, but also because of its symbolic meanings. According to Hamann, the aeroplane can be associated with motion, technical progress and superiority.²⁷ It thus stands in opposition to the ruins at the bottom of the picture, which symbolise a defunct, retrogressive world. The aircraft's flying over the scene demonstrates its superiority in contrast to the pile of rubble. Another interpretation might suggest that the aeroplane represents the US, which helped Berlin's people to survive the blockade and to recover from

²⁴ See Hamann, "Blockadebilder und Bildblockaden: Blockade und Luftbrücke 1948/ 49 als Thema in Schulbüchern", 125.

²⁵ See Hamann, "Blockadebilder und Bildblockaden: Blockade und Luftbrücke 1948/ 49 als Thema in Schulbüchern", 125.

²⁶ See Hamann, "Blockadebilder und Bildblockaden: Blockade und Luftbrücke 1948/ 49 als Thema in Schulbüchern", 124.

²⁷ See Hamann, "Blockadebilder und Bildblockaden: Blockade und Luftbrücke 1948/ 49 als Thema in Schulbüchern", 124-125.

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the German defeat, giving them hope and something to literally and metaphorically look up to at that time.

Based on this interpretation, we can argue that the image presents the Berlin Airlift as a heroic action, promoting the feelings of gratitude and trust that many West Germans felt for the Americans, and as a synecdoche of the Allied support that promised a better future to the people and especially to the children of West Berlin after the war. The use of the photograph in textbooks emphasises West Berlin's orientation towards the western Allies. In our specific case, it clearly supports the content of the FRG textbook extract, in which the beginning of a strong allegiance to the western Allies is highlighted.

We can find evidence in support of this interpretation in the text of the commemorative plaque on the house in which the photographer, Henry Ries, was born in the Wilmersdorf district of Berlin. The plaque notes that his photograph of a *Rosinenbomber* (the West Berliners' colloquial name for the aircraft which carried out the airlift) became a symbol of the US' support for West Berlin's freedom.

To this day, the photograph is iconic, remaining part of the West German collective memory. The US perspective might



consider the image to carry a very different message. Our textbook analysis found that the US textbook viewed the ending of the blockade as a US victory in a Cold War battle. We might, then, consider that from the American perspective, the photograph illustrates the US' perceived victory and superiority over the USSR.

Figure 1.5. Commemorative plaque for Henry Ries. Photograph taken on 26 December 2009.²⁸

²⁸ Source: "Gedenktafel Meinekestr 12." Data from Wikimedia Commons. <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gedenktafel_Meinekestr_12_%28Wilmd%29_Henry_Ries.jpg?uselang=de> (Sep. 29, 2014).

2.2.2 Contextual information

None of the textbooks provide context information, such as information on the photographers and their intentions or dates, on any of the images they use. Moreover, there are students are not assigned specific tasks in relation to the images. Henry Ries, the photographer of the iconic image discussed above, was born in 1917 in Berlin, emigrated to the US in 1938 because of his Jewish background and returned to Berlin as an US soldier after the war. During the immediate post-war period, he took a large number of pictures displaying defeated and destroyed Germany, particularly Berlin, and the everyday life of German people of the period.²⁹

With the benefit of this background information on the life of Henry Ries, we might regard the photograph as a reflection of the safety and security he found in fleeing to the US, a protection the country that took him in was now extending to the new German generation. The photograph might thus, alongside its other associations, represent an expression of the gratitude of the German population to the Americans and of the photographer's strong bond with his new home country.

2.3 Findings

The most significant result of the picture analysis indicates that the text in a textbook can have an influence on the viewer's interpretation of the photograph. In the case of the picture taken by Henry Ries, the perspective chosen for the text determines whether the picture is likely to be read as symbolising the gratitude of the people in West Berlin (FRG textbook) or the victory of the Western Allies over the Soviet regime (US textbook). Even though the FRG extract and the US textbook entry conveyed similar content for the most part, the two viewpoints still offer a different approach to the event's interpretation. Moreover, context information around, for example, the life of the photographer can help us to grasp the complete story behind the picture. This is why textbooks should always provide background information to an image.

²⁹ See Perger, A. Werner, "Henry Ries, der Fotograf der Luftbrücke, ist tot." *Die Zeit*, 24 May, 2004. <http://www.zeit.de/2004/22/Ries_nachruf> (10 Feb. 2015).

3 Final Considerations

3.1 Conclusion

This research explores the ways in which historical events are viewed through a number of different angles. The analysis of the three textbook excerpts has indicated that the selection of which parts of the story are to be included, emphasised, illustrated or left out is highly dependent on the political context of the country from which the textbook comes, and points to political influence and control over what is deemed to be “knowledge” as it manifests in textbooks. For this reason, teachers should offer their students a variety of perspectives on one event or conflict instead of a single point of view. They should encourage them to reach an understanding of the various motives behind the actions of historical figures and stakeholders and critically engage with textbook text, illustrations and historical sources, considering the political context and the time and place of production.

3.2 Further Research

There are numerous ways in which this research might be further expanded. In view of the plurality of perspectives that is at the heart of our findings, it would be of interest to investigate the extent to which other countries involved in the conflict depicted the blockade and the airlift in their history textbooks. How do, for instance, British textbooks portray the events? In a similar way, we might extend the scope of our research by comparing textbooks from the USSR and, specifically, its constituent republics with the GDR textbook we analysed. Here, we may well find ourselves facing a dearth of depictions or mentions of the events in question, and almost certainly a complete lack of illustrations. Additionally to the textbooks from the countries involved in the blockade, future research could examine history textbooks from other countries which may present a more objective picture of the conflict. Is there a textbook that offers a considerably more neutral view?

Another point of interest might be how the blockade, its causes, the motives behind it, and the course of events, the airlift and its consequences are explained in history textbooks published after the unification of Germany and in today’s textbooks. I would put forward the initial view that the revised versions of the textbook entries might take a less explicit position and the content of the German, British and American articles might have become more

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similar during the last two decades. Such research could additionally involve a comparison between a current Russian and American history textbook article on the Berlin Blockade.

We should not neglect the role of the teacher in communicating the content. How have history teachers used these textbooks and these specific pieces of text in their lessons? In which ways has the topic been taught in schools in the different countries? Do teachers acknowledge the different perspectives on the Berlin Blockade when teaching the topic in history classes today? What are the main educational objectives agreed upon in the curriculum in relation to this topic? What methods and materials, beyond textbooks, are used to provide the knowledge to the students?

3.3 Potential limitations of the research

There may, of course, be issues and limitations to the research I have presented here. The major source of error could be my own translation and interpretation of the texts. The understanding of the text might have affected the analysis; there is the potential that I have made interpretations which differ from the intention of the text's author. The comparability of the pieces is limited by virtue of the fact that the textbooks were published within a time period spanning 20 years. Additionally, I only found one GDR history textbook which mentioned the Berlin Blockade or the Berlin Airlift. Therefore, I had more material and evidence for the Western perspective, which might have had an influence on my findings.

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Scottish National Identity in School Textbooks

Alexandra Lescher

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1 Introduction

Educational media in general and history textbooks in particular, influence pupils' perception of national identity. It is in these latter textbooks that young people are confronted with the accounts of historic events which are considered to be defining of the societal image of the country they live in and of their identification with this nation. This paper will discuss the issue of national identity as represented in Scottish school textbooks on the basis of textbook research methodology.

In Scotland, the concept of national identity has experienced resurgence in significance since the advent of devolution and the re-establishment of the Scottish parliament in 1999. This development reached its climax in the referendum on independence which was held on 18 September 2014. Although a slim majority voted in favour of remaining in union with Britain, the scenario of independence gave rise to a debate which engaged and involved the entire country.

This paper will explore the correlations between national identity as presented to students in Scottish school textbooks and political and economic issues and changes in the education system. After some theoretical background information around the definition of Scottish national identity and its origins and developments, with a particular focus on the political and economic events of the twentieth century, I will discuss how the Scottish education system, and school textbooks in particular, contribute to the shaping of national identity, before introducing the methodology used for analysing my textbook sample. I will then go on to give a detailed analysis of this sample and subsequently evaluate the findings in the light of the theoretical background covered in the opening sections, concluding with final remarks about Scottish national identity in the context of the recent referendum.

2 Theoretical Background

2.1 What is Scottish National Identity?

The political scientist Benedict Anderson has referred to a nation as an 'imagined community' (Anderson 49). It is imagined due to the fact that the members of a community on the scale of a nation have never met in person but still share a socially constructed feeling of solidarity and identification. Additionally, Scotland can be considered an 'imagined community' in the

sense that it is a stateless nation (McCrone, “Understanding Scotland” 1). Scotland has for the most part no sovereignty like a nation state, although it holds devolved power to a certain extent, particularly regarding areas such as law and education. However, it is evident that a sense of Scottish national identity can be observed nonetheless.

We might add Stuart Hall’s work in the field of cultural studies to our concept of national identity. Hall has stated that “identities are constructed through, not outside, difference” and the identifying agent’s “relation to the Other, the relation to what it is not, to precisely what it lacks” (19). We could in this light regard Scottish national identity as formed by its relationship to the “Other” of England. In school history textbooks, this oppositional position is generally displayed on the one hand through the depiction of conflict, such as battles, and, on the other hand, through the depiction of attitudes towards the 1707 Act of Union.

2.2 The Origins and Development of Scottish National Identity

During the Victorian era, Scottish history was reworked, “old heroes reinvented” (Devine, “Carving out a Scottish identity”) by national poets such as Sir Walter Scott, and myths around historical events were created. Yet the evident economic and political benefits of the union eventually outweighed this nostalgic perspective on history and a sense of “Britishness” grew stronger than that of Scottish identity (Devine). This attitude prevailed into the post-Second World war period. According to the political scientist Stefano Bartolini,

“[i]n the late 1960s and 1970s, following a further expansion of the bureaucratic state into welfare, industrial and economic policies, a clash emerged between the classic top-down model of government and the new demands of local management, often voiced by new mobilized actors within the regions. The central political elite responded with a variety of programmes promoting devolution and regionalization (Belgium, Italy, France, Spain—failed attempts in Britain).“ (256)

Yet Bartolini states that this tendency should be regarded as “‘autonomist’ rather than ‘separatist’” (256). In the case of Scotland, this corresponds with the rise of the Scottish National Party (SNP) as a political expression of a strong sense of national identity, and explains the distinct emergence of multiple identities (Bartolini 256) within the British union

and the desire for more autonomy while those professing these identities did not reject the union as a whole. This renewed awareness of Scottish national identity may also have been given momentum since the decolonisation of the British Empire, which may have caused the Scottish to reflect on their status in Britain and their nation's relationship with England (Glass 19).

In the 1960s and 70s, Scotland's dual identity was challenged by political and economic issues. Despite an increase in the popularity of the nationalist party SNP, devolution failed and international issues possibly had a greater influence on Scottish national identity at that time. The Cold War, globalisation, the formation of the Commonwealth and the precursors of the European Union, and the UN have all contributed to an internationalist attitude (Glass 126). One might say that during this period, the Scottish people acquired multiple citizenship identities, identifying in differing degrees as Scottish, British, European and global citizens all at the same time.

The flexibility of these multiple identities has remained to this day and has been affirmed by the Scottish Social Attitudes survey, which in 2000 found that the Scottish distinguish between "state" (British) and "national" (Scottish) identity, whereas the English are not so aware of this differentiation. The Scottish people, the survey found, consider themselves part of the United Kingdom; however, they view Scotland as a subordinate nation within the Union and themselves as bearing a dual nationhood (McCrone, "Briefing Paper"). The Scottish Government officially promotes "pride in a strong, fair and inclusive national identity" as one of the 15 "National Outcomes" which "describe what the Government wants to achieve over the next ten years" ("Scottish Government", National Outcome). Reicher et al., in their evaluation of this goal, claim that the Scottish people "should see identity as a tool for shaping society", since "different definitions of identity affect our [the Scots'] understandings of who we are and how we treat each other" (Reicher 23). As "history teaching promotes awareness of personal, local and/or national identity" (Dargie 62), school textbooks can be considered very much part of this process.

2.3 Curricula and Textbooks

Scottish school textbooks have a difficult position with regard to national identity. In his essay “The School History Curriculum in Scotland and Issues of National Identity”, which explores the influence of the curriculum on the development of national identity among Scottish children, Sidney Wood stresses the “importance of historical knowledge in shaping attitudes to national identity” (1), while at the same time criticising the existing curriculum, which in his view presents only an inconsistent education around the key events in Scottish and British history. Wood is concerned about the “focus on an oppositional identity” (1) in school textbooks and about its tendency to lead to the creation of national identity through the Other, in this case the English.

Since the publication of Wood’s essay, the new Curriculum for Excellence has been implemented (2010); it introduces Scottish history as “a compulsory element of the Higher History course” (“History”), and gives schools the opportunity to offer additional courses with a specific focus on Scottish issues in history. It is hoped that the new subject might help clear up myths surrounding Scotland’s national heroes and raise student awareness of facts while at the same time promoting “an appreciation of [the student’s] local and national heritage” (“Curriculum for Excellence” 1). As the textbooks in our sample were published before this curriculum was introduced, we are unable to measure them against it.

2.4 Methodology

On the basis of Jason Nicholl’s essay on textbook methodology, I have created an individual method as a means of finding out how Scottish national identity is presented in Scottish history textbooks. I have selected a sample of six textbooks, two each from the period of the 1950s/60s, 1980s, and 1990s/ present day, which I considered suitable and representative for my analysis. The textbooks are authorised for the age group 11-14 in secondary 1 (S1) and secondary 2 (S2) courses.

I have employed a qualitative method of analysis in which I first defined the aim of the author of each book in relation to the curriculum and to government guidelines concerning identity and values. If the author explicitly mentions Scottish national identity, what does he or she say? I then looked at the representation of Scottish national identity in the textbooks and the values conveyed by the author’s writing, especially with regard to style and to the

choice and description of key events and figures. The analysis focuses on accounts of Scottish encounters with England, anti-English sentiment and the establishment of identity through difference. My aim was to find out how the Act of Union and viewpoints on events which took place at that time are portrayed with regard to their significance for Scottish national identity. Restricting the analysis to the events surrounding the time of the Act of Union only did not prove entirely satisfactory for the evaluation of the authors' stances. For this reason, I also looked for passages in the textbooks which attempt to teach either nationalist or internationalist values, keeping the historical context in mind. After discussing my analysis, I will evaluate the findings in the light of the political, economic and educational issues prevalent in the decades in which the textbooks were produced, which I outlined in the introductory part of this paper.

3 Textbook Analysis

3.1 Textbooks from the 1950s/60s

A Scottish History for Today, published in 1959, written for pupils aged 11-14 in "three-year secondary courses in Scottish schools", is a standard textbook for teaching Scottish history (Gould vii). The narrative style, with its use of dialectal vocabulary ("wee" 120) and direct address to the pupils ("Some of you Highlanders" (118)), reflects the textbook-based learning and authoritarian style of teaching at that time. The authors Ian Gould and John Thompson introduce the book by stating that they deliberately omit "a good deal of the tedious political dynastic information" and detailed battle descriptions, as this might lead to the pupils losing interest in history, and instead included the teaching of "'Civics' or 'Citizenship'" in connection with history. Second, as they explain, they focus on events outside Scotland "which influenced the growth of the nation" so as to demonstrate the relationship of Scotland with Europe and the rest of the world (Gould vii). Gould and Thompson describe the events around the Act of Union as follows: "[T]he union of the parliaments did not destroy Scotland as a nation. We still think of ourselves as Scots first and Britons second. We know that we are in some mysterious way different from the English. We are still a nation." (33)

This paragraph is a good example of Scottish national identity revolving, as discussed above, around an imagined community. It additionally indicates the evolution of a hybrid identity which means that Scottish people can consider themselves Scottish and British at the

same time. The “mysterious way” in which this distinct identity has emerged is via the Other, the English. The authors refer the question of potential independence and its degree to students: “[T]oday many people are saying that the Union of 1707 was a mixed blessing and are asking whether it is not possible for Scotland to stay within the British Commonwealth but to have a government of her own again. What do you think?” (33-4).

The question at the end of the paragraph indicates the potential for divergent views. The subsequent exercise further elaborates this issue: “Why do some people today dislike the Act of Union? Try to make two lists, one showing what Scotland gains from being joined to England, the other showing what she loses.” (34)

The question in the text and the task set are possibly supposed to set students thinking and make them consider options apart from the Union.

Alexander Cameron’s 1963 textbook *History for Young Scots* was introduced in response to changes in the educational system. According to the *National Dossier on Education and Training in Scotland* issued by the Scottish Executive Education Department in 2004, the 1960s were described as a “period of significant innovation”. For instance, “the removal of selection for secondary education at age 12 introduced comprehensive education. Parallel changes in the public examination system [the introduction of the “Ordinary Grade“] made it more accessible to a wider range and larger number of pupils and this, once again, led to consequent changes in the curriculum.” Overall, these developments led to an “increasing influence of teachers who, through membership of official working parties, became closely involved in planning the new curricula and in developing the examination system (“Scottish Government”, National Dossier 18).

In *A History for Young Scots* Cameron claims to lay out a “collection of the most important events for Scottish children to be learned in history” as part of “Scottish heritage“ (vol. 1, 5). *History for Young Scots* relies solely on the author’s narrative and a few hand-drawn illustrations, which do not stand alone but serve to illustrate the text. Source references are not given. However, the author includes snippets of works by renowned Scottish poets and chroniclers in his text as support (vol.2, 8). These citations of poems presume a basic understanding of Scottish English, as they have not been transferred into standard English as is done to similar sources used in other textbooks in order to enhance comprehension (Trueland 2).

In his discussion of the consequences of the Act of Union, Cameron writes with persuasive conviction on the issue of Scottish national identity: “[The Act of Union] does not mean that the Scottish nation ceased to exist. Scotland has its own local dialects, songs, dances, stories, customs, and traditions – everything that makes up Scottish culture and makes us feel ‘Scottish’. The feeling of nationality is still strong” (168) (cf. Gould). However, his point of view neglects the multiple identity component of “Scottish” identity and the fact that it is not a rigid concept. Cameron underlines the notion of an imagined community of Scots by writing that Scotland had become a stateless nation on losing its independence in the Act of Union. Throughout the textbook, Scottish national identity is constructed by vivid accounts of battles of the Scottish against the English. These chapters take up the larger amount of space in the textbook as compared to the chapter about the Act of Union. There is a greater focus overall on clashes, such as battles and other conflicts, between the two countries, than on the political circumstances which led to and succeeded the Act of Union. In this way, the textbook creates a sense of Scottish national identity through the positing of the English as the Other. Both textbooks from the 1950s/60s promote Scottish national identity through the use of the Scottish language, the evocation of emotions throughout the authors’ narrative and the discussion of battle-related encounters between Scotland and England. These textbooks provide an example of how teachers responded to the teaching of English-centred history in the UK at that time.

3.2 Textbooks from the 1980s

The textbook *A New Scottish History* was published in 1980 as an “extensive revision” of *A Scottish History for Today*, due to the fact that there had been several changes in educational methodology and school organisation (Melvin v). Like its precursor, the book aims at depicting “Scottish events in a wider historical context” and at contributing to students’ “growing awareness of the richness of their cultural heritage” (vi). At first glance, the style of the book differs markedly from those of the 1950s/60s. Its perspective appears more neutral, as evidenced by the lack of use of Scottish dialect or direct addresses to the pupil. There is no explicit mention of national identity. Overall, although the book presents key events in Scottish history, Scotland as a nation rather fades into the background and global affairs receive more emphasis, as most of the textbook’s space is allocated to events outside

Scotland. According to the textbook's preface, "the authors [...] sought to produce history books which presented Scotland's story against a wider background of international events" (Melvin v). Notably, the inclusion of a separate closing chapter entitled "Our global village" (Melvin 262) explains the authors' motives for this lack of focus on national issues. In this chapter, the authors respond to the question "What about Scotland?", which they consider arises in interaction with the textbook, by stating "quite obviously, Scotland as a country - with its own people, its own history and traditions, its pride in its achievements - still exists! Our story as a nation continues but, increasingly, it has been influenced by events elsewhere" (263). We might read this position as arising from the advance of an internationalist attitude as described in the introductory part of this essay, in the wake of which teaching about values in general became more important than the maintenance of an identity distinct from the English.

The stated purpose of the textbook *History of the Scots*, published in 1988, is to encourage students to "recognize the value of historical evidence and to draw conclusion from it". The book seeks to help pupils develop an "understanding of similarity and difference, continuity and change over time" (Ferguson 7). The author emphasises the fact that there is "more than one version of any [historical] event" (7) through the inclusion of "Case Histories" which present background information on specific events. The textbook thus designed illustrates a change in history teaching and textbook writing from the glorification of battles and the creation of heroes and myths surrounding Scottish history to a more critical approach to history in general. Further, the author states that "the great and famous - and even the Scots! - are only human like the rest of us" (7); the interjection is possibly readable as a humorous side-swipe at Scottish national pride. With the exception of the introductory part of the textbook, the author's narrative does not contain any direct description of Scottish national identity. The author refers to the Scottish people's views on the union only once in the textbook, writing, "many people in Scotland think that the Union should be done away with" but that "opponents of these views think that despite some ups and downs the Union has benefitted both countries" (Ferguson 79). It may well be that this lack of engagement with the issue of the union indicates that at this time, global circumstances, such as the Cold War, overshadowed the domestic debate. In terms of the values transmitted in the textbook, we observe that, for instance, the term "democracy" is listed in the textbook's index, whereas the term "national identity" or corresponding synonyms are not listed. One use of the term

“democracy” is given in chapter 5 “Royal Rights, Rebellions and Revolution” (48-62), which focuses on the English Civil war and the Glorious Revolution in the 17th century. Ferguson claims that the struggle for power between the British monarchs and Parliament in Britain “started the world on the road to democracy” (Ferguson 62). We can see here a further reflection of the idea of multiple identities for Scots, with identification with the union and general “western” values such as democracy and religious tolerance (Ferguson 60) taking the place of emphasis on Scottish national pride.

3.3 Textbooks from the 2000s

The editor of the two most recently published textbooks from the *Heinemann Scottish History* series state the books were “designed to address concerns about [students’] progression at this level [S1 and S2]” (Trueland, Monaghan). Therefore it can be considered as a response to Sidney Wood’s concerns discussed above on issues of national identity in relation to the Scottish history curriculum.

One of these two textbooks provides an implicit reference to Scottish nationhood, via figures and emblems associated with it: “Charles Edward Stewart and the Jacobites were shown as romantic figures, and tartan and bagpipes came to be regarded not just as symbols of the Highlands but as harmless symbols of Scottish identity” (Trueland 21). The authors reject the glorification of the history of Scottish identity by claiming to portray the actual events as opposed to myths, and by refraining from using, for example, the nickname under which Charles Edward Stewart is better known, “Bonnie Prince Charlie”. The omission of further references to national identity and the lack of emphasis on conflict between Scotland and England throughout the textbook series are supplemented by a political and economic perspective on history. This becomes apparent when we look at the description of the arguments for the Act of Union. The main points listed include economic aspects such as trade (“Scottish merchants would be able to trade in equal terms in English ports and colonies”), tax reforms, and the receipt of monetary compensation for the “loss of the Company of Scotland [the trading company associated with the failure of the Darien Scheme], as well as their having to share in England’s national debt” (Monaghan 60-61). It is not possible here to clearly define the author’s position. There might be two reasons for this. First, the textbooks are targeted at a readership aged 11-14 (S1 and S2) as part of a special series of

history textbooks dealing with Scottish history only, which is an indicator of arising interest in Scottish history and culture. Second, changes in educational methods have caused textbooks in general to become less text-based and more source-based, so that the authors' voices are less easy to discern.

4 Evaluation

Since the 1950s, Scottish school textbooks have changed considerably with regard to content, structure, educational approaches and perceptions of Scottish national identity, changes largely due to reforms in the education system (cf. Wood). One of the most obvious in this regard has been the trend from textbook-based towards source-based teaching and learning. The textbook samples from the 1950s/60s have shown that textbooks used to be written in a rather authoritarian style, presenting a rigid version of history and identity. The subject of history had not yet gained the same significance regard to conveying general values as it has in the present. Scottish national identity is explicitly mentioned in the textbooks, largely created through the positioning of Scotland in opposition to England. Nonetheless, the authors acknowledge that the Scottish people share a hybrid identity, being Scottish and British at the same time.

The textbooks from the 1980s show features contrasting to their earlier counterparts. Especially in direct comparison of *A Scottish History* and the reworked edition *A New Scottish History*, we observe that textbook content is not only shaped by changes in the education system and educational theory. Certainly, in the newer textbook, a strong focus on methodology encourages pupils' critical thinking about history, yet values and ideas of national identity shaped by contemporary events are still conveyed explicitly through the text provided by the authors. Global issues such as the Cold War and regional ones such as the Northern Ireland conflict may have been behind the textbooks' aim to emphasise the importance of a spirit of cooperation by praising the Commonwealth, EEC and UN and promoting democratic values (Melvin 263). In relation to the events around the Act of Union, Scotland is not depicted as a victim, but rather as an equal party to the union. In the context of internationalism, pupils are taught that they are Scottish, British and global citizens at the same time.

It is not possible to make a clear statement about the promotion of Scottish national identity in relation to the most recent textbooks. The authors' voices fade into the background and there is a stronger emphasis overall on the presentation of original sources. Identity is not explicitly mentioned. Yet the fact that the textbook appears to evidence a need to educate young Scottish students about their own history in order to clear up myths which might have been told to the pupils through other media outside the classroom (cf. Wood), hints at the persistent importance of notions of national identity. The recent textbooks are intended to be a resource for students and to present the foundations and origins of the debate dating back to about the time of the Act of Union in order to enable students to "properly appreciate[e] a factor that is often referred to in discussion about Scotland's circumstances today" (Wood, *Issues in Scottish History* 69).

From a more general perspective, these most recent textbooks in our sample have also certainly been influenced by history's increasing desire to represent the events it deals with neutrally. We might also speculate that the teaching of values and national identity has been taken over by other subjects within the field of social studies, so that civic studies are now more strictly separated from history teaching. This fragmentation of subjects might be another reason for the lack of explicit reference to Scottish national identity in the latest textbooks.

5 Conclusion

This analysis has shown how Scottish national identity is conveyed through Scottish history textbooks dating from the 1950s/60s to 2000s, and has concluded that although references to national identity have decreased over the years and the term evolved a broader meaning, it is still implicitly dealt with in contemporary teaching material. The debates on the curriculum which we have discussed in this paper and which eventually led to the new Curriculum for Excellence "all relate to the fundamental issue of nationhood and to resonant contemporary issues such as European integration, British devolution and the [Northern Ireland] peace process" (Scott 127). The most prominent development within Scottish school textbooks during this period is a decline in explicit reference to Scottish national identity, resulting in contemporary textbooks nearly avoiding the term altogether, as we saw in our analysis of textbooks from the 2000s. The contemporary author's voice is no longer clearly Scottish, meaning that Scottish history is presented from what approximates to an objective

perspective. “We” (Gould 33) has become “the Scottish nation” (Monaghan 35) or “the Scots” (Trueland 4). Therefore the emphasis of the mid-twentieth century on the Scottish belonging to a distinct nation within the UK (“We are still a nation”, Gould 33), setting themselves off from the English, has dwindled, with Scottish nationhood now perhaps rather being taken for granted. Therefore the textbooks from the 2000s, dealing with Scottish history only, “provide opportunities for pupils to explore the concept of nationhood seriously” (Scott 127). At the same time, however, we might also view these developments, as they manifest in our sample, as expressive of a decline in British identity and a concomitant emergence of a stronger international and European identity. We might interpret this in this way in light of the fact that the recent textbooks in our sample, in their lack of a Scottish-centred voice and narrative, appear to have become increasingly inclusive (cf. Reicher 1). They can be read not only from a Scottish perspective, but by any student of Scottish, British, European or international origin with an interest in Scottish history.

Looking at the wider implications, we might state that the changes in the representation of identity in school textbooks which we have uncovered in our research have shown that, although there is a constant tendency towards individualisation in today’s societies, there is also a tendency towards internationalisation in a global context. Both trends usually endanger national identities and their meaning. In the case of ‘Scottishness’, we might, having looked at our sample, consider that this identity has not so much been endangered as that its flexibility has been emphasised.

Overall, the analysis of the textbooks has shown that the sentiment of Scottish national identity has not increased over time, but has rather undergone a change towards multiple identities due to wider political and economic issues. Developments in the field of methodology and educational theory have shaped Scottish history textbooks to such a degree that they have lost their purpose of teaching civics in the sense of national identity. Yet, despite claiming neutrality, history school textbooks continue to play a major role in shaping young generations’ individual, national and international identities.

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Hong Kong's Representation of Mainland China in the Subject of History

Vanessa Zydati

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1 Introduction

The relationship between the Special Administrative Region of Hong Kong and the People's Republic of China (hereafter PRC) has been marked by tensions ever since the administration of Hong Kong was transferred from China to Great Britain in 1842. From this point onward, the city of Hong Kong distanced itself from the PRC in political, economic and cultural terms. The most immediately apparent dividing factor between the two entities has traditionally been the extent of modernity in Hong Kong as opposed to the PRC.

Hong Kong officially became part of China again in 1997, yet the two regions remain far from being truly reunited, a situation indicated by the fact that Hong Kong requires mainland Chinese citizens to apply repeatedly and make multiple visits to government offices before it will grant them entry visas. The "one country, two systems" constitutional principle still grants the city its own administration, a status that will continue until 2047 (cf. Sum Ngai Ling, 1987: 133). Recent events, however, show that the mainland is increasingly seeking to impose its claim to power over Hong Kong and that Hong Kong's democracy is threatened: The fact that the PRC intends to choose the candidates for government elections in Hong Kong in 2017 led to mass protests among the people of Hong Kong, starting in September 2014 (cf. "Why Is Hong Kong Protesting?", BBC News, 2014).

Hong Kong seems to regard China and Chinese history in particular, as being external rather than as being directly related to the history of Hong Kong. The main question this paper seeks to answer is whether these feelings of "unbelonging" towards the PRC are manifested in the classrooms of Hong Kong, which has its own educational system, independent of that of the PRC. I use history textbooks as a principal source due to the manner in which educational media reflect the "political and social norms [as well as traditions and roots] of a society" (Hanna Schissler, 1989-90: 81, cited in Falk Pingel, 2010: 7); in this way, they reveal much about the national identity of a country and also play a major role in the development of students' mindsets. I will look at how Hong Kong's educational materials represent Chinese history and define Hong Kong's national identity.

2 Methodology

The research examined eight textbooks that have been or continue to be used in senior secondary school schools in Hong Kong, aimed at students aged approximately 15-17 years

and published between 1960 and 2014. The textbooks are part of the collection held by the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig, Germany.

History education in Hong Kong is divided into the branches of 'History' – often referred to as 'World History' – and 'Chinese History' (cf. Flora Kan and Edward Vickers, 1999: 2). Seven of the books in my sample were authorised for use in World History and one book for the subject of 'Government and Public Affairs' (*People and Government: Government and Public Affairs*) – another subject taught in Hong Kong's senior secondary schools that deals with history and society of Hong Kong.

The paper is structured as follows: Section 3 provides an overview of the historical relationship between mainland China and Hong Kong and of present-day Hong Kong in the context of issues around modernity and its national identity. In section 4 I will investigate five textbooks published between 1960 and 1992. Section 5 illustrates fundamental changes to the history curriculum in Hong Kong between the 1960s and the present. Due to the return of Hong Kong to the control of the PRC in 1997, we examine more recent textbooks separately from older ones; section 6, then, preceding the conclusion, analyses a further three textbooks, in use between 2002 and 2014.

3 Historical Background

3.1 The Relationship between the PRC and Hong Kong

Hong Kong is generally believed to have readily accepted the influences of the British colonial rule which lasted from 1841 to 1941 and from the end of the Second World War to 1997, due to the perceived benefits of this rule.³⁰ English, Hong Kong's third official language alongside Cantonese and Mandarin, has become an integral part of everyday life. While the Chinese mainland was governed by a socialist one-party system from 1949 onwards, Hong Kong grew from a small seaport into an economically powerful gateway to the West (cf. Sum, 1987: 135). A considerable part of Hong Kong's population had originated in mainland China and immigrated into Hong Kong when this was still possible, which was before Hong Kong's policy of repatriation of illegal arrivals was launched in October 1980 (cf. Gordon King and Frank Owen, 2002(3): 87).

³⁰ Information about British colonial rule in Hong Kong can, for instance, be found in: "Information about British colonial rule in Hong Kong can, for instance, be found in: Chinese Cultural Observations from the Western Perspective. 2007. Web. <<http://www.chinaexpat.com/2007/07/03/hong-kongs-journey-into-and-out-of-british-colonialism.html>>.

In accordance with the Sino-British Joint Declaration of 1984, British colonial rule ended in 1997, making Hong Kong once more officially a part of the PRC. The Declaration guarantees Hong Kong its own administration, including a capitalist system, its own educational system, and rights such as freedom of speech; however, Hong Kong will lose this special status in the year 2047. The unease and fear this impending change has prompted on the part of many Hong Kong citizens (Sum, 1987: 146) has led to a rapid rise in numbers of emigrants from Hong Kong (cf. The Education Bureau, 2012: 3). UNESCO states that “[s]ince 1989, about 60,000 Hong Kong Chinese [have] emigrated annually, with Canada, the United States, and Australia as the main destinations” (UNESCO, 2014: “Migration Issues in the Asia Pacific: Issues Paper From Hong Kong”).

1.2 Hong Kong as a Modern Society

One might regard the key difference between the identity of Hong Kong and that of China as residing in differing degrees of societal ‘modernity’, which the online *Business Dictionary* defines as follows: Modern societies “have capitalistic [sic] economies and democratic political structures, and are highly industrialized and divided into social classes based on economic status” (*Business Dictionary*: <http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/modernity.html>).

The PRC, as a country with a communist economy and with recurring violations of human rights, cannot be regarded as a ‘modern’ society in the terms of this definition. While China aspires to progress and wealth, it finds itself struggling with problems such as environmental pollution, corruption and censorship. Hong Kong, by contrast, has a rapid rate of development, enjoys the status of having the world’s highest level of economic freedom (cf. Index of Economic Freedom, 2014) and has a high-ranked educational system (cf. Katie Lepi, 2014). Going by these factors, we might consider it to be a ‘modern’ society.

3.3 Hong Kong's National Identity

According to Elaine Baldwin (1999: 157f.), national identity is, in a nationalist view, a combination of the individual and the collectivistic notion of the self. What makes a collectivity a community is the isolation of “national characteristics, [and the definition of] crucial historical moments or significant places” (Baldwin, 1999: 159). Further, “the

perceived differences between nations” (Baldwin, 1999: 165) play a crucial role in the emergence of a sense of identity among a specific people.

Although the major part of Hong Kong’s citizens are ethnically Chinese – 93.1% as of 2011 (cf. Central Intelligence Agency) –, they have refused to connect their national identity solely with the mainland. In this context, we might adapt what Thomas Macaulay said about the ideal Indian educator to how Hong Kong’s population sees itself: “[Chinese] in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect” (*Bureau of Education*, 1965).

Starting in 1997, a survey among residents of Hong Kong has at repeated intervals measured “the number of Hong Kong residents who identify as Hong Kong citizens, Chinese citizens or some combination of the two” (Vanessa Ko, 2012). We see that percentages of those identifying as Chinese, despite outstripping the figures for Hong Kong identity in the 2003 and 2007 results, have generally remained notably below the proportions of those identifying as ‘mixed’ or as citizens of Hong Kong.

| Year | ‘Hong Kong citizen’ | ‘Chinese’ | ‘Mixed’ |
|------|---------------------|-----------|---------|
| 1997 | 35.9% | 18.0% | 43.5% |
| 2000 | 37.0% | 20.0% | 37.9% |
| 2003 | 30.0% | 31.3% | 35.8% |
| 2007 | 23.5% | 26.8% | 48.0% |
| 2010 | 30.4% | 24.5% | 43.7% |
| 2013 | 36.5% | 22.4% | 39.5% |

Table 1: How people residing in Hong Kong would identify themselves (cf. The University of Hong Kong Public Opinion Programme)

4 Textbooks for the Subject of ‘World History’ in Use Before 1997

4.1 The Role of East Asia in the Context of World History

Chinese history became an independent subject in all schools in Hong Kong in 1967 (cf. Kan and Vickers, 1999: 3). According to Flora Kan and Edward Vickers (1999: 2), it is common practice for colonised countries to teach students about national history and the history of the

rest of the world as separate narratives, yet it is unusual to present the two in entirely different subjects. As Kan and Vickers convincingly argue, the inclusion of Chinese history as “an independent subject in the curriculum could be seen as the result of a desire on the part of Hong Kong’s colonial administration to construct a legitimating shield against anti-colonial sentiments” (Kan and Vickers, 1999: 3). In Anglo-Chinese schools the subjects are taught in the English language, except for ‘Chinese Language and Literature’ and ‘Chinese History’ (cf. Kan and Vickers, 1999: 2).

In this study, I considered books for World History only, which mention China and Asia comparably briefly and tend to underline the superiority of Western achievements over Eastern ones. Book 1 of *The Story of Man* (Alberto C. Morales, 1977), for instance, gives some indication of how relevant particular nations are considered to be to world history. In sections on “What [the nation in question] gave to the world”, the Chinese dynasties can keep up neither in quantity nor in quality with, for example, Ancient Greece. While it lists “use of bronze and iron tools and weapons”, “[m]usical instruments”, “[a]ncestor-worship” and “[t]he art of pottery” as considerable cultural achievements emanating from China (Morales 1977(1):79), the textbook remarks that “[t]he Greeks laid the basis of Western civilisation” through the “[i]dea of democracy”, “[m]athematics and science”, “[f]ive of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World”, “[m]edicine” and so on (Morales, 1977(1): 107). Civilisation and progress seem to be the most prominent values in this textbook. Statements such as “Civilisation came to eastern Asia about 1500 years after it appeared in the Middle East” (Morales, 1977(1): 71), suggest to students that East Asia lags behind and that progress involves looking westwards.

As Edward Vickers has observed, the author of the textbook just mentioned, Alberto C. Morales, “tend[s] towards a more conservative conception of the aims of history teaching” (Edward Vickers, 2005: 81). According to Morales, students should be aware of “heroes” such as Sun Yat-sen³¹ and Christopher Columbus and should be able to learn “from the mistakes of the past” (Vickers, 2005: 82). Other scholars, such as Anthony Sweeting, criticise the use of such a “‘personality cult’ in History” (Anthony Sweeting, 1974: 6-7, cited in Vickers, 2005: 82), due to its potential to feed political dogmas such as “nationalism, Fascism, Communism [and] racialism” (Sweeting, 1974: 4, cited in Vickers, 2005: 82).

³¹ Sun Yat-sen (1844-1925, born in Zhongshan, China), labeled as “the father of modern China” the founder of the Republic of China (duration from 1911 to 1949). More can be read in: Wang Yi Chu: “Sun Yat-sen” at *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Web. February 8, 2015. <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/573697/Sun-Yat-sen>>.

4.2 Hong Kong's National Identity as Illustrated in the Textbooks

The introduction to the history of Hong Kong in one of the textbooks from my sample claims that “Hong Kong did not play an important role in the affairs of China until the British came in 1841. Only then does the history of Hong Kong really begin” (Morales, 1977(1): 6). This statement leaves the intended reader with a sense of, as a citizen of Hong Kong, not being related to Chinese history at all, but rather being the bearer of an identity shaped by British colonial rule. It is a sense augmented by questions for students such as “How did Hong Kong develop from ‘a barren island with hardly a house upon it’ into a great centre of trade and industry?” (1977(1): 6).

In relation to mainland Chinese influence on Hong Kong, the books refer only to an interdependence of the two countries in economic areas. According to Sum Ngai Ling – author of *People and Government: Government and Public Affairs* – China’s economy benefits from Hong Kong, as it is a gateway to the international market, and many of its citizens are highly educated (cf. Sum, 1987: 138), while Hong Kong, in turn, benefits from the provision of mainland Chinese goods, especially foodstuffs (cf. Sum, 1987: 159).

4.3 Reflecting Discredit on Chinese History

4.3.1 Chinese Chauvinism and Closure to Foreigners

According to the *Story of Man* textbook series, China appears to traditionally seal itself off from foreigners. Morales, the author, tells students that the Chinese built the Great Wall to prevent other peoples from invading their country, thus making it China was so isolated that the population thought it to be the centre of the world – the ‘Middle Kingdom’. Their focus on their own achievements and their policy of seclusion meant, the argument continues, that the Chinese people could only perceive aliens as uncivilised (cf. Morales, 1977(3): 139; Colin Crisswell, 1977: 44). “This made it difficult for China and the non-Chinese world to work together” and gave rise in the nineteenth century to wars with the West (Morales, 1977(1): 72). The same century, as another textbook informs students, saw a contrasting development known as the ‘new learning’, in which Chinese students were sent to the West in order to absorb “the advantages of Western knowledge” (G. A. Goodban, Chien Ching-Lien and T. R. Batten, 1960: 132). The returning intellectuals are seen as responsible for various revolutions

in China and, as the textbook asserts, were refused public employment by the Chinese government because they were thought of as “being influenced by republicanism” (Goodban, Chien and Batten, 1960: 135). This narrative points up the Chinese government’s repressive response to Western influence.

Further, textbooks imply that the Chinese tend to embellish their history. An example can be found in a textbook addressed to junior secondary school students: “The Chinese have many stories about the beginning of their civilization. Stories for which there is no evidence are called *legends*” (Crisswell 45). Morales asserts that the Chinese think that there have been more Chinese dynasties than Western historians are aware of, but the Chinese are not granted any extra dynasties until the West has found proof of them. The world “will still call the Shang dynasty the first true dynasty of China. Here begins the true history of China” (Morales, 1977(1): 72). That the Western world appears to have the unquestioned right to deprive China of its right to tell its history is exemplary of the attitude of Western superiority which Morales assumes.

4.3.2 Traditions and Conservatism

The Hong Kong curriculum for Chinese history seeks to inform students about more than 3,000 years of dynastic history, while World History “focus[es] to a far greater extent on contemporary history. [...] [I]t was only in the 1990 syllabus that the scope of studies [in Chinese history] was extended up to 1976” (Kan and Vickers, 1999: 8). In keeping with this apparent designation of Chinese civilisation as of an older age, Morales states that, generally speaking, it has changed little since ancient times (cf. 1977(1): 140). Accordingly, he refers to China as “the oldest continuing civilisation in the world. Other early civilisations have grown and declined, but Chinese civilisation has lasted to the present time. It is now about 3500 years since it started” (Morales, 1977(1): 71). The author refers in this context to Confucian teachings, by which he asserts that the Chinese way of living has been significantly shaped. “[R]espect for elders and good manners” as well as the “idea that good things from the past should be kept” (Morales, 1977(1): 140) are considered ancient Confucian ideas to which people still adhere. Although these values are by and large positively connotated, students are likely to question this conservatism of the Chinese when comparing this with Western mores. Morales appears to regard China as an unmodern nation, considering Confucianism to be one of the factors which boosted Chinese conservatism and ultimately “delayed the modernisation

of China" (1977(1): 140). As Morales implies, Hong Kong contrasts with the mainland concerning its perceived level of modernity.

4.3.3 Communism

The possibly most feared consequence of the impending fusion of Hong Kong with the PRC is the likely upheaval to Hong Kong's existing political system. Morales connects a "capitalist economy", as it is currently in place in Hong Kong, with the notion of a "modern world" (1977(3): 28), "better working conditions and better pay" (1977(3): 95). The threat of communism is described in detail: the author warns that the "leaders of Communist China [...] say that war between the Communist world and the capitalist world must not stop" (1977(3): 95).

In *People and Government*, Sum asserts that the socialist and capitalist systems clash over many issues. A table illustrated with two cartoons is given as a summary of the principal features of the two different systems' economic structures. The picture in the column for socialism shows no people in front of the shop windows and the stores' names are as pragmatic as "[The] country's ordinary man's Western style company". The reference to a "Western style" indicates the Chinese society's paradox fascination with Western trends. The picture in the column on capitalism shows two people standing in front of the shops, presumably representing the shops' competing owners, as well as individually created stores and a greater variety of labels and products (cf. Sum, 1987: 134).

| Socialism in China | Capitalism in Hong Kong |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public ownership • Planned economy with some market incentive • Communist Party controls the state | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Private ownership • Competition between firms for profit • Positive non-intervention of the government |
| | |

Table 2: Socialism versus Capitalism (Sum, 1987: 134)

5 An Overview of Curriculum Changes between the 1960s and the Present

The following section is based on the outline of the development of the school subject of history in Hong Kong in Edward Vickers' book *In Search of an Identity: The Politics of History as a School Subject in Hong Kong*.

Before the 1970s, curriculum developers in Hong Kong were, for the most part, British. They were followed by local people who had been taught by British teachers and who referred "to British practice in their efforts to reform the local curriculum" (cf. Vickers, 2005: 135f.). Up until the 1970s, the history curriculum was strongly influenced by curricula used in England (cf. Vickers, 2005: 79), where history was approached in a "nationalistic, highly political, and moralizing" fashion (Vickers, 2005: 80), focusing on "the great men and women that have lived in the past" (Sylvester: 10, cited in Vickers, 2005: 80). According to Anthony Sweeting, a British teacher and curriculum developer, "[t]he widespread perception amongst Hong Kong Chinese in the 1970s was still that Hong Kong's history was British colonial history – or, with respect to the pre-1841 period, a parochial and insignificant part of Chinese history." (Sweeting, interview, cited in Vickers, 2005: 89). This was, of course, reflected in Hong Kong's history classes. Between the 1960s and 1982, local syllabi were void of Hong Kong history, as though "Hong Kong's distinctive identity" (Vickers, 2005: 79) was denied. This period was marked by an avoidance of a sense "of local or Chinese national identity" (Paul Morris and Anthony Sweeting, 1991: 263, cited in Vickers, 2005: 78) in history teaching. This was different for the subject of Chinese history. Vickers assumes that this "suited the purposes of both the colonial and mainland governments" (Vickers, 2005: 135).

One related issue around the subject of history (i.e. not Chinese history) was the fact that it has been (and still continues to be) taught in English. Curriculum developers as well as teachers agreed that using the students' mother tongue might have been more appropriate for "a subject that was so analytically and linguistically demanding" (Vickers, 2005: 193). In history, much weight was put on "teaching 'skills' and 'attitudes'," whereas Chinese history concentrated on "'culture' and 'tradition'" (Vickers, 2005: 193).

History syllabi had already been appropriated for Hong Kong's retrocession to China during the years prior to 1997 (cf. Vickers, 2005: 195). The changes carried out, Vickers argues, included the "avoidance of controversial issues" and an underpinning of the

“conception of a racially and culturally homogenous ‘Chineseness’” (Vickers, 2005: 195). I will now go on to examine this assertion by looking at textbooks in use after 1997.

6 Textbooks for the Subject of ‘World History’ in Use After 1997

All the books in the sample deal with events from modern history, such as the Industrial Revolution, colonialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the First and Second World Wars and the Cold War era. The oldest of the books (*Exploring World History 2b*, 2002) is the one that allows the greatest openness for interpretation on the Hong Kong-mainland relationship. As expected, none of the books directly criticises the PRC in any way. Where any criticism is raised, it comes from questions for the students which carry certain implications or from cartoons. I assume two reasons for this: First, the textbooks seek to encourage students to develop their own critical thinking instead of taking on the opinions of the textbook authors (cf. *Education Bureau*, 2012: 3). Second – and likely the more substantial reason – nothing in the history curriculum was supposed “to cause offence to Hong Kong’s new political masters” (Vickers, 2005: 195).

6.1 Views on Western Influence and Colonialism

In the section “Contacts and Conflicts between East and West” in *Exploring World History 2b*, an open question asks the reader to “find out why the reform movement failed in China but succeeded in Japan” (King and Owen, 2002(2b): 141). The question is preceded by an explanatory text which refers to Japan around the end of the nineteenth century as “the most powerful nation in Asia” (King and Owen, 2002(2b): 141). A table informs students about the different approaches of China and Japan to Western influence; it includes the information that Japan recognised the Western nations’ overall superiority and therefore conducted “political, educational, military and economic reforms” that would bring complete westernisation (King and Owen, 2002(2b): 141), whereas China, on the other hand, did not open itself to this influence to the same extent. The reader might be prompted to conclude that the fact that “Japan defeated China in the Sino-Japanese War [...] (1904-1905)” (King and Owen, 2002(2b): 141) might be due to China not having recognised the West in the way Japan did. Apart from this rather indirect reference to Western advances, the text references the “superiority of western arms and technology”, which, it continues, caused Chinese leaders to

“modernize and strengthen China by adopting western methods and weapons” after 1860 (King and Owen, 2002(2b): 129).

Another important topic in the new textbooks is colonialism. In *Exploring World History 2b*, it is apparently regarded negatively, as something “to get rid of”, due to the fact that the “[e]conomic structures and the customs of [the colonised Asian] countries were destroyed or disturbed” and “[t]hey were forced to sign unequal treaties” (King and Owen, 2002(2b): 125). Any benefits for the colonised remain unmentioned. This is a striking change from the rhetoric of older books, where colonialism is described as having brought modernity and prosperity, especially for Hong Kong.

A chapter of *Exploring World History 2b* dedicated to “Hong Kong in the 19th & Early 20th Centuries” (King and Owen, 2002(2b): 148-174) describes colonisation by the British and Hong Kong’s development in a largely value-free manner. While modernity is depicted as a central feature of Hong Kong in the older books, this book limits itself to asking students to draw conclusions from two pictures showing the city at two different points in time.

6.2 Views on Capitalism and Communism

Since most of the books examined deal with the two World Wars and the Cold War, communism is a major issue. It is, however, approached in a much more neutral way than in the older books. After giving an impartial explanation of the term ‘communism’, King and Owen state that “[t]oday, some countries are ruled by communist parties” (2002(2b): 116). To a Chinese reader, the first country that comes to mind will probably be the PRC; however, the mainland is not addressed directly here. The cartoon on the next page even names an advantage of communism: “A fair society is set up where class divisions no longer exist” (2002(2b): 117).

In *New Exploring World History, Theme B*, communism is described more negatively: While the capitalist US “believed in multi-party democracy, [...] the [communist] USSR upheld its one-party dictatorship [and] denied the private ownership of property and a free market” (Cheung Shing Kit and Ho Wai Kin, 2014: 82). In the activity section of the book, the students are asked to comment on cartoons and two quotations by a US and a Soviet citizen, each criticising the other political system: J. Edgar Hoover claims in a speech that communism is “an evil and malignant way of life [and] spreads like an epidemic” (J. Edgar Hoover, 1947, cited in Cheung and Ho, 2014: 86), while a Soviet newsreel made during the

Cold War asserts that “[l]ies (and distortions) [...] fill the Americans, [and] [t]he unemployed queue for food” (a Soviet newsreel made during the Cold War, cited in Cheung and Ho, 2014: 86). In this way, the authors illustrate downsides of both systems, but distance themselves from these views by referring to third parties and by encouraging students to develop their own opinions.

6.3 Relations between Hong Kong and Mainland China

Exploring World History 3 includes a chapter on “Hong Kong in the 20th Century” (King and Owen, 2002(3): 59-92), whose topics include the city’s occupation by the Japanese in the 1930s (61-63), industrial and financial achievements (66-74), popular culture (78-82), and relations with the PRC (83-88). The last of these is not discussed in detail, in a notably positive tone: The book explains how from 1946 to 1949, during the civil war in China, “many Chinese industrialists and workers escaped to Hong Kong. They brought with them capital, skills and cheap labour. This inflow of capital and labour enabled Hong Kong[’s] industries to grow rapidly” (King and Owen, 2002(3): 67). Dissent against the British is mentioned in the context of the 1925 strike in both Hong Kong and on the mainland, which is described as “show[ing] that Hong Kong continued to maintain a close relationship with China even after it came under British rule” (King and Owen, 2002(3): 84); these “ties were important to Hong Kong’s economic success and social stability” (King and Owen, 2002(3): 87). Hong Kong’s retrocession to China in accordance with the Sino-British Joint Declaration of 1984 is paraphrased in aspirational terms as “Hong Kong on its Way to Reunification with China” (King and Owen, 2002(3): 86).

Conclusion

Our analysis has revealed that, as we might have expected, all textbooks in use before 1997 show a clear bias against mainland China. *The Story of Man* series appeared to demonstrate this bias to the clearest extent, whereas *People and Government* takes a more objective stand in informing students about Hong Kong’s politics as opposed to the PRC’s. In accusing China of intolerance towards foreigners and resistance to change, the textbooks depict China’s conservatism and regard for tradition as a potential obstacle to modernity. Further, they

compare the achievements of the PRC unfavourably to those of the rest of the world, specifically the Western world and present Western cultural standards as aspirational.

There is a change evident in textbooks published after 1997, in that they provide a notably less biased representation of mainland China; this is likely to stem from political expediencies brought about by the changed governance situation. The textbooks in my sample praise the PRC rather than criticising it, and frequently emphasise the ties between mainland China and Hong Kong. Colonialism, by contrast, is regarded negatively rather than as a vehicle for the attainment of modernity, which in itself is no longer a core issue in the post-1997 textbooks. In keeping with developments in the pedagogy of history, the intention of the authors of these more recent textbooks appears to be to provide information and give room for critical thinking rather than to form students' points of view. One might argue that there is a trend in evidence towards an uncritical, apolitical view on the PRC.

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**Multiculturalism's Way into the Canadian Self-Depiction:
An Analysis of Canadian History Textbook Covers, 1978-2007**

Isabelle Demin

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1 Introduction

Canada is commonly depicted as a nation of immigrants. The influx of immigrants continues to the present day, as does the Canada's self-definition as a culturally diverse society. The policy of multiculturalism is an essential part of what defines Canada. The underlying idea is to build a mosaic of all the different ethnic roots that together form the Canadian nation. Commonly Canadian citizens see themselves as Canadian first, but also value their ethnic cultural heritage. When Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau introduced Canada's official policy of multicultural in 1971, Canada was the first nation to do so. In 1988 the Multiculturalism Act was passed, committing the Government of Canada to recognize and promote multiculturalism in many different aspects.

This paper aims to trace changes in the Canadian self-depiction with respect to multiculturalism as reflected in history textbook covers. How is the growing awareness of multiculturalism as part of Canada's identity depicted on those history textbook covers?

Textbooks can be understood as cultural artefacts as they convey a specific picture of a society at a certain point in time. The choices of textbook topics reveal which narratives are prioritized and which are omitted. Every nation, every legislative period and even every publishing house has its own priorities and interests in the contents that are taught at schools. Textbooks are therefore highly subjective and, for that reason, serve as a reflection of social developments.

Almost every nation around the world currently has compulsory education allowing the state several years to feed young minds with certain information and beliefs. Education is prone to be abused for propaganda purposes, as textbooks from the Third Reich and other totalitarian regimes dramatically prove. Those are outrageous examples of how ideology is implanted into children's understanding of the world through educational media. From outside the system, this manipulation appears as very obvious. Comparing those radical textbooks to those in our respective home countries today might lead us to believe that today's textbooks are free of ideological influences. This, however, is not the case. Every nation has its own morals, beliefs and a certain position in the world's political power structure which they try to communicate to the next generations. The fact that our own textbooks seem neutral to us is the perfect example of how well the ideological education machine works.

History textbooks are particularly interesting for research as history itself is always a narration. Every version of a certain event is retold from a different perspective or for a different motivation. Historical writing that tells the nation's own story objectively is unimaginable. The true picture that a nation paints of itself comes from the narrative decisions it makes. History textbooks introduce students to the development of their nation and its relation to other countries, for instance in terms of its enemies and allies. Especially in regions of long-term conflicts, such as Palestine and Israel, the way the historic conflicts are communicated to the upcoming generations is important for the future of the region. Concerning multiculturalism, history textbooks thus seem to be the ideal medium for research. Not only do they showcase decisions in terms of which people or actions are considered most important, they also continuously contribute to the construction of the national myth ever nation gives itself.

1.1 National Myth

When it comes to analyzing representations of multiculturalism in Canadian school texts, one needs to be aware of the idea of "nation" itself as well as of developments in early Canadian history. Being confronted with different peoples all over the world, the colonial powers had to define what differentiated them from the dominated people. New thought about their identity based on their homeland emerged and resulted in the concept of national identity. In Hall's words, "National cultures construct identities by producing meaning about 'the nation' with which we can identify; these are contained in the stories which are told about it, memories which connect its present with its past" (Hall 613). For Canada, these stories would be those told by the British and French of how they settled in the "wild" lands of Canada. This kind of self-portrayal is called "foundational myth" (Hall 614), as it is a construction serving as a fundamental function in the identification process of people – on both an individual and collective basis. This much-reduced version of the national myth ignores all human existence before colonialism started. British/ French Canadian seem to have given themselves a predominant position in Canadian history narration and subsequently in Canadian society.

Out of six randomly chosen Canadian history textbooks ranging from 1928 to 2007 which feature a total of 14 authors 12 have evidently British surnames.³² As long as British-Canadians hold the positions to tell Canada's story with their own ancestors as protagonists, this construct of superiority will likely continue to exist. According to Hall, the idea of an original pure people claiming "tradition and timelessness" (Hall 614) is just as fundamental to the idea of nation as the foundational myth. The British-Canadians make this claim and put themselves into a superior position of hegemony. Today, the Canadian Constitution recognizes three Aboriginal peoples, namely the First Nations, Métis and Inuit. However, there still exist an unofficial hierarchy of "Canadianess" based on those Canadians without a prefix and those with a national prefix such as "Italian-Canadian" (cf. Cummins154).

1.2 Multiculturalism Act

The Multiculturalism Act from 1988 declares in Bill C-93 b) that the Government of Canada will "recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism is a fundamental characteristic of the Canadian heritage and identity". As history education is one crucial arena in which national heritage is conveyed, it is here that we can examine attempts to follow these self-declared laws. Even though textbooks are published by independent publishing houses, in the end the schools are public institutions choosing which books they use. By law they are bound to not only recognize but promote the understanding of Canada's multicultural heritage. The heritage should – in a common understanding today – discuss the existence of Aboriginal peoples before European settlement and their contribution to the Canadian nation, as well as the contributions of the diverse immigrant groups that have arrived in Canada.

The bill names "heritage and identity" together as if they were very similar concepts while in fact they are not. In a common notion, heritage should be something enduring since it refers to historic developments. Thinking of history as a flexible concept,

³² The author's surnames were Cruxton, Wilson, Dickie, Palk, Clark, McKay, Coop, Clark, Deynell, Bolotta, Hawkes, Jarman, Keirstead, Watt. Bolotta and Keirstead, both from the same book published in 2000, being the only two names with non-British roots. All names were checked on www.houseofnames.com in May 2014.

as explained above, “heritage” becomes just as changeable. “Heritage” certainly contributes to one’s own identity as a person as well as a nation. As we know through the works of Stuart Hall, Judith Butler and Michel Foucault, identity is under permanent construction. Therefore, “heritage” can be expected to be perceived differently at different points of time. Thus, the definition of multiculturalism as “a fundamental characteristic of the Canadian heritage” could be understood as an ideological statement, since it is part of the history that is now to be told even though a different kind of heritage had been promoted before. Stating that multiculturalism is also fundamental to “Canadian identity” is something that needs to come from within Canadian society. Multiculturalism can only be internalized if public promotion of multiculturalism is authentic and more than a bill. New generations need to experience a truly multicultural education, especially in the subject of history, to get an immanent sense of such a diverse heritage. If family and society manage to broaden their horizons past their own hierarchical understanding as they received it during their own education, a more multicultural identity has a chance to grow. Influential on the development of the history textbook covers should be paragraph d) of the Multiculturalism Act Bill C-93 1988. It states that the Government of Canada will “recognize the existence of communities whose members share a common origin and their historic contribution to Canadian society and enhance their development”. The “historic contribution to Canadian society” should be expected to be present in history textbooks. In the following analysis, I will thus scrutinize the representation of multicultural heritage on textbook covers of school texts in use in the subject of history in English-speaking Canada.

1.3 Sample and Methodology

Textbook covers serve as a highly compromised summary of what each book tries to transmit. To make the results of the research as significant as possible, it seemed to be essential to find a textbook which was published in several editions over a long time span. For this research, *Flashback Canada* by J. Bradley Cruxton and W. Douglas Wilson, published with Oxford University Press, Toronto in five editions will be used. The earliest dates back to 1978, followed by *Flashback Canada New Edition* 1987, *Flashback Canada Third Edition* 1993, and *Flashback Canada Fourth Edition* 1999. *Flashback Canada Fifth*

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Edition from 2007 is the latest so far. Only the front covers will be taken into consideration. The analysis will focus exclusively on pictorial elements and will omit any comment on the written elements such as the title and the author's name, which are given on every cover. First and foremost, this comparative analysis will use the qualitative method. For certain arguments a quantitative analysis will additionally be used.

2 Analysis

2.1 *Flashback Canada* (1978)

The earliest version of *Flashback Canada* was released in 1978 before the Multiculturalism Act was passed but slightly after the multiculturalism policies were introduced. The cover assembles four different symbols before a bright red background. An elderly man with a bend back, a suite, pair of pince-nez in his hand and a distinct cut is shown side-face in the foreground. The man's jacket is dark red and his pants are grey while his skin and his shirt are white. Even though he is sketched rather roughly, he can be identified as Sir John A. MacDonald, Canada's first Prime Minister. The parliament building in Ottawa can be found in the middle ground on the cover's left hand side. It has the same colours, namely dark-brown and orange, as the steam train that crosses the right-hand side of the covers middle ground. The background shows the iconic maple leaf as it is represented on Canada's national flag with an additional white fleur-de-lis in the middle representing the British-French relations. Since the background has the same tone of red as the maple leaf, it is on the one hand absorbed and on the other hand reinforced. Interestingly, this cover is the only one in the sample that features the maple leaf which today is frequently used as a national symbol of Canada. The composition leaves MacDonald secluded with lots of space as the other items are clustered in the middle and background. As he is the only individual in this cover, one easily attributes the symbols of politics and development to him as he created this supposedly new and empty country around himself. Being a representative of the British-Canadian population, this focus neglects the diversity of Canada's population. According to the cover *Flashback Canada* has an exclusive focus on the time since colonialism started, ignoring interaction with the Aboriginal people or other ethnicities.

2.2 Flashback Canada New Edition (1987)

The *New Edition* was published in 1987, nine years after the first. On this cover, more facets of Canadian history are presented. Individuals are the primary choice of décor. In contrast to the all-red cover from 1978, this one features a monochromatic design. The colors remind viewers of a black-and-white print; however, it uses shades from a light grey to a dark greenish blue. Twelve individuals are shown, mostly vertically lined on the left hand side of the cover. People of public interest are shown in portray views whereas the unknown people are representing the working population specific characteristic. In the top left corner two seniors are shown, one of whom is Sir John A. MacDonald. Below them we recognize a traditionally-dressed police man who is shown head to hips. His dress reminds of today's Royal Canadian Mounted Police. As the term "royal" suggests, it is primarily a British-Canadian institution. To his right, Louis Riel can be recognized, representing the Métis as he is known as one of the Métis' most famous leaders. His portrait is smaller than Sir John A. MacDonald's. Below Louis Riel a man next to a white horse is shown. His hat in combination with the horse could hint at the man's profession being a cowboy. Larger than any other person or item is a portrait of a Native man. While all other individuals on the cover face the viewer, the Indigenous person is in semi-profile. He can be identified as Chief Big Bear. It seems as if by representing him in such a huge dimension, the new edition was trying to make up for the lack of representation on the older cover or even as redemption for colonial cruelties. Interpreting the choices made, he is not equal to any of the other people shown on the cover, as he is standing out by size and by the direction of his sight. To his left is a farmer with an ox cart, who appears tiny next to Chief Big Bear's dominant head. On the bottom of the cover, a family of four is suggestively representing immigrants. The mother's cloths look very neat and the father's style reminds of a farmer. The right hand side of the cover features a wagon which symbolizes the Canadian Pacific Railway which visually connects Sir John A. MacDonald with a dark haired lady on the right, who can be identified as Nellie McClung. McClung successfully fought for women's right to vote in Canada and can therefore be regarded as a symbol for Canadian women in general. Below McClung and to Chief Big Bear's right hand side is an impressive sail boat. It could either represent the movement from Europe to North America or the time of

exploring the new continent. Unquestionable is the association of the boat with European settlers.

This cover was released one year before the Multiculturalism Act was passed. Attempts of incorporating a wider range of the Canadian society are evident. The inequality of representation according to size and number are still lacking a true understanding for multiculturalism. The multiculturalism policies introduced in 1971 and the beginning change in values during the 1970s regarding the rights of minorities might have had its influence on the *Flashback Canada New Edition's* cover. In terms of representing multiculturalism, a definite progress can be seen in comparison to the first cover from 1978.

2.3 *Flashback Canada Third Edition (1993)*

In 1993 the third edition of *Flashback Canada* came out. This cover is unique in the sense that it shows one specific moment of a historic event. It reminds of a painting showing a jolly scene in front of the Parliament building in Ottawa. The crowd of people shows women in colorful dresses and hats, some holding sunshades and men with suits, vests and stovepipe hats. Everyone is dressed very fancily according to European standards of the time. A couple is riding in a black carriage pulled by two black horses. None of the people can be identified. Some people in the back hold signs saying "Happy Birthday Canada", "Good Luck to the Confederation" and "Bienvenu a la nouvelle puissance". According to these signs, all these happy people celebrate the official founding of Canada as an individual nation through the Constitution. The celebrations are joined by people of British as well as French origin, as the signs reveal. Two children appear to be attached to the otherwise homogenous group of celebrators in the lower left corner. The left child is a boy of African origin. To his right is a smiling blonde girl wearing a blue-and-white shirt and a straw hat. She might be representing an immigrant of Dutch origin. Both children face the viewer – no other person in the painting does. There seems to be no interaction of the children with the celebrating adults and, judging by visible features, none of the adults qualify as their parents.

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The image of the two really looks like it was added afterwards to incorporate additional ethnicities. Not only is the boy the only non-white individual but is he also depicted with this very dull expression on his face. Wearing a dark brown coat and standing in front of another man's dark coat, he blends in as he is additionally situated in the very bottom left corner. The healthy-looking girl shines bright next to him. She is granted more space and also crosses her arms in front of her chest which makes her look self-confident. The children obviously represent the immigrants arriving after the British and French colonialists. Choosing to symbolize the immigrants as children can have two reasons. On the one hand it argues that children are the future of any society, hence that immigrants are Canada's future. However, the large group of male and female celebrators weakens this interpretation. On the other hand the children look inferior to the adults conveying the subtitle message of immigrants being in an inferior position to the British-French Canadians. Even within the immigrants a hierarchy based on ethnicity is implicated due to the drastic difference in the children's portrays. Eight years after the Multiculturalism Act, this cover seems to follow the rule to include a variety of ethnicities in a constrained and judging manner. Native minorities are completely ignored.

2.4 Flashback Canada Fourth Edition (1999)

When *Flashback Canada Fourth Edition* was published in 1999, eleven years after the Multiculturalism Act had been passed. Its cover shows five-and-a-half pictures or paintings in front of a brownish map of Canada's East coast. The upper center shows a painted scene of First Nation people hunting buffalo on the prairies. The Native man has a bear torso and rides a white horse that contrast with the dark brown buffalos. On the right side below that painting is a more detailed painting showing the "Fathers of Confederation", who legally founded Canada in 1867. All these man are shown wearing black suits and posing around a table in a noble room probably inside the Parliament Building in Ottawa. Next to this scene is an actual black-and-white photograph showing soldiers at war. As the men climb out of the trenches and by the look of their equipment, this photograph was mostly likely taken during World War I. It is possible that this scene refers to the victory at the Battle of Vimy Ridge in 1917, where it is generally acknowledged that Canada became an independent

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nation, and not simply a colony of Great Britain (MacKay, 2014). It is impossible to say where these soldiers originally come from. Probably, they were coming from a wide range of European and non-European countries. This is however not emphasized but garbled. A smaller painting is located in the center below the "Fathers of Confederation" and the soldiers. The scene is taking place at a telegraph office. Two young men seem to be operating the machine. A tall, dark-haired man is enthusiastically shouting into something similar to an old-fashioned microphone while a second man is sitting on a table in front of a machine resembling a typewriter. The small room is stuffed with people in the background. The context of the situation is not known.

The four above-described pictures are forming a visual unit on the upper half of the cover. While the last three described pictures have fuzzy edges and therefore seem to melt into each other, the painting of the First Nation hunting scene has a clear edge which is reinforced by a dark shadow. Its lower corners sit on top of the two pictures below. The creative decisions made evokes a predominance of the First Nation scene which separates very strictly between white European and Aboriginal People and European-Canadian and pre-European history, respectively. Fuzzy edged, however, secluded are the other two pictures in the lower half of the cover. One is a black-and-white photograph which is only half visible as it is located on the far left edge. It shows a crowd of European people apparently awaiting something special to happen. This photograph was taken at the completion of the transcontinental railroad, which is known as "The Last Spike". While *Flashback Canada* used references to the railway before, this is an innovative one. In the bottom right corner is an oval-shaped black-and-white-photograph of European immigrants. It features four adults and eleven children in front of a ship, which is revealed by the two bull's-eyes in the background. They might be of Eastern European origin. Opposed to the First Nation painting, the photograph's edge is fuzzy and therefore suggests a possible interaction with the other colonial Canadian pictures, even though it is placed as far away from the main cluster as possible. The pictures correlate with the map in the background. The 15 European immigrants as well as the soldiers, who fought on European grounds, are not placed on Canadian ground but on the parts of the Atlantic Ocean.

This cover offers different flashlights on Canadian history by portraying special events. By giving more than one historical reference it is not as limited as the 1983 cover. Especially striking is the isolation of the immigrating families and the First Nations.

2.5 Flashback Canada Fifth Edition (2007)

The latest edition of *Flashback Canada* was published in 2007. It narrows the cover down to four portraits of nearly equal size. Most of the cover is filled by mono-chromatic blue spaces that open up in a dynamic wave to reveal the four photographs. This black-and-white photo stream takes up just over one quarter of the total cover and is located in the upper quarter of the lower half. The far left person is Sir John A. MacDonald, who is the only one not facing the viewer but looking sideways to the right. The woman to his right is the only one that is shown a bit larger than the others. She is in the foreground, even though at first sight the picture did not appear to even dimensions. The unidentified young woman is shown down to her chest while the other three people are portrayed down to the hips. Her very dark hair is worn in a very neat and formal hair-do. Research could not clarify the origin of this unusual hair-do; however one Métis woman wore a similar hair style. Neither her dress nor her features can give prove of that guess which is rather a progress as she is not a representative of some stereotypical idea of a minority. She is definitely not the cliché of a European woman as we noticed it in older covers. We clearly see an enrichment of the diversity represented in this cover. To her right, however, we find the typical image of the Native Chief Big Bear. The serious look on his face, the long braids and the accessories in his hair contribute to the reoccurring image of the stereotypical Native. The very right person is Nellie McClung who is portrayed in the exact same posture as before on the cover from 1987 except mirror inverted. She has her hair up in a loose hair do, sits by a desk with her head resting on arm and a smile on her face appearing a little dreamy.

The *Fifth Edition* seems to be the calmest of all of them. It is reduced in color, in action and in judgments. Successfully reaching a balance of gender, this cover combines three characters that were used before, namely Sir John A. MacDonald, Chief Big Bear and Nellie McClung. Suggesting that the unidentified woman is not famous in history allows

an interpretation of her function as an immigrant and therefore a common Canadian, living with the cultural background of the historically influential people next to her. That would explain her special position in the arrangement. She is also the youngest person shown and might therefore be understood as the next generation that is Canadian instead of European or Native. This, however, is only one possible interpretation. What cannot be doubted is the absence of immigrants that came from other parts of Europe than the British Isle or France. Immigrants from other continents are again completely ignored.

3 Findings

Comparing the covers to trace their development we need to keep in mind that it is always the same book simply altered throughout the years. The covers, however, tell very different stories throughout the decades. In 1978 we find an exclusively white male version of history on Flashback Canada's cover. A political and social awareness of the diversity of Canada had become popular and by the time *Flashback Canada New Edition* was released in 1987: we find twelve faces on the cover, attempting to display more aspects of Canada's past. A range of famous and common people is displayed. There is clearly a development towards a more diverse presentation of Canadian history to be found between the editions from 1978 to 1987.

In 1993 the cover includes two immigrant children: one from Europe and one from Africa. The mass of British and French people on this cover send a very old-fashioned view on Canada's population. None of Canada's Aboriginal people are incorporated. While the cover from 1987 seemed like a progress, this one is more of a step backwards.

The fourth edition's cover ties in with the one from 1987 as it represents a variety of people and additionally presents them in action instead of portrays. This cover tries to give a wider account on the influences on Canadian history, however, is highly judgmental in its editorial decisions.

By 2007 *Flashback Canada* found itself following a very defensive strategy of speaking about minorities. They try to be as neutral as possible, not offering any surface for criticism by virtually not saying anything. The reoccurring characters Sir John A. MacDonald, Chief Big Bear and Nellie McClung are apparently the core of Canadian

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history according to Flashback Canada. Back in 1999, the cover was crammed with visual information. While it restrained from putting individuals in the center of attention, the latest cover goes back to the idea from 1987 in a sense of choosing certain representatives to present larger contexts.

Generally speaking, Flashback Canada's covers go from a very white, male version of history, to one which gradually over time starts to recognize women, First Nations, and then minorities. As the last cover proves, there is this very fixed pattern of who contributed to history. When the issue of multiculturalism arose in the 1980s, certain characters were chosen to represent the minorities. It is not before 2007 that the inclusion of a Native person is done in a neutral manner. Nevertheless, there still seems to be an unequal recognition of Canada's Aboriginal people as opposed to the British-Canadians. While the white representation progressed towards a gender balance starting in 1987, the Aboriginal representation is limited to two famous male participants. Not only does this choice ignore Aboriginal life before and apart from colonial interactions but also ignores the Inuit people altogether.

To conclude, there is a drastic development from 1978 to 2007. Each cover tries to give an individual overview of the book's most important topics. The notion of importance always relates to the current state of political and social influence of the time the editions were published. While we find a range from British, French and other European immigrants as well as African immigrants, Métis and First Nation individuals, we do not see any Inuit or immigrants from other places other than Europe and Africa. Asian immigrants are completely omitted, which is especially striking. While the railway is represented in several covers, the Chinese workers who tremendously contributed to the working process and whose descendants became an important part of Canadian society, are completely ignored. Their representation would have been a possible way to realize the Multiculturalism Bill's promise of recognizing "the existence of communities whose members share a common origin and their historic contribution to Canadian society and enhance their development".

In many ways the Bill has not made its way into the educational media of history textbooks. According to the analyzed covers, multiculturalism is not as embedded in the Canadian self-depiction as could be expected. This might be due to the publishing house or

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individual editors. However, the cover may be understood as a reflection of society and consequently that would suggest that multiculturalism is not as meaningful to Canada's national self-conception as earlier believed. It could have been expected that the latest cover would combine all above-named ethnic groups which are apparently part of *Flashback Canada's* version of history. Even though parts of the old myth are still present, *Flashback Canada* has developed towards a more ethnic diverse representation throughout the five editions.

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The Representation of 9/11 in American and British Textbooks

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1 Introduction

9/11 is an event of crucial importance in recent history whose influence continues to make itself felt in everyday life and people's attitudes to policy. In a study conducted in 2011, Diana Hess, Jeremy Stoddard, and Catherine Hammer outline that in 2002, 83 percent of American citizens surveyed considered "defending the US against terrorism" as the top priority of policymaking, followed by "strengthening the economy" at 71 percent (cf. 2011: 223). In 2012, the equivalent figures were 85 percent prioritising the economy and 69 percent the fight against terrorism (cf. Pew Research). In other words, terrorism continues to be a major preoccupation for Americans, in spite of the fact that there has not been any major terrorist threat in the United States since 2001.

This study will investigate representations of 9/11 in textbooks from the United States (US) and the United Kingdom (UK); the sample contains ten textbooks approved for use in the United States from the time period 2003 to 2013 and five textbooks used in schools in Britain between 2005 and 2011. One of the aims of the analysis will be to investigate whether the close relationship between the US and the UK might influence the portrayal of 9/11 in British textbooks. The differences between the US and the British approach to terrorism, by contrast, might suggest to us that aspects of the event's depiction may differ between the textbooks of the two countries.

As 9/11 does not lie too far back in history, studies examining how the event was presented in history textbooks are still rare. In 2007, Hess and Stoddard published an article comparing the portrayal of 9/11 in US textbooks issued by the government, non-profit and for-profit organisations. Their material mostly concentrates on the years 2002 to 2005. My analysis includes some aspects similar to this study. For instance, I look at how 9/11 is defined; what kinds of pictures are included in the textbooks, what kinds of tasks are assigned to students; and the degree of detail in which the event is described. However, I have chosen to include British textbooks in my sample to draw a comparison. My analysis confirms the findings of Hess and Stoddard that the textbooks include pictures that evoke patriotic emotions and that other examples of terrorist attacks mostly focus on America (cf. 234), which places the nation at the centre of attention. Another analogous finding is that the tasks included in the textbooks generally do not let students engage with the topic, but rather concentrate on prompting them to repeat the information given (cf.

235). However, Hess and Stoddard's sample material does not include many details, such as victim numbers or who was responsible for the attacks, which is a difference from my findings. Hess and Stoddard focused more on quantitative research without including specific examples from individual textbooks; my study, by contrast, includes particular examples and also seeks in a number of cases to explain why a certain wording or picture might have been chosen.

The focus of this paper lies on what the textbooks say about 9/11, whether any background information is provided, and whether the aftermath of the event is discussed. I argue that nationalism has had a strong influence on the American textbooks. I sought in my analysis to find out whether the description of the events given in the textbooks is objective and includes all necessary information, meaning that it does not try to influence the student's perception of 9/11 and that it helps students understand why the attacks happened. However, my analysis indicated that the predominating image of America's supremacy presented in textbooks stands in the way of such understanding, at least to some extent. In contrast to this, my hypothesis prior to commencing the research was that British textbooks do not focus on patriotic themes but rather on background information on why terrorism exists, and that they support a more transnational approach by including examples relating to areas other than Britain and the US.

2 Sample and Methodology

2.1 Sample

I selected ten American textbooks for students between 13 and 16 years of age³³, published between 2003 and 2013. For the purposes of comparison, I examined five British textbooks for students aged 11 to 14, which were published between 2003 and 2011. All textbooks were from the collection of the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig, Germany. The majority of the American textbooks from my sample were published by major publishing houses. As the institute's collection of British textbooks is relatively small, I included those available to me without focusing on particular publishing houses or publication dates.

³³ The exceptions are *The American Pageant* and *Making America*, which are for college classes.

2.2 Methodology

My study employed quantitative and qualitative methods. The former included ascertaining the space given to the events of 9/11, counting the pictures displayed and the usage of specific key terms, such as “war on terror”, “attack”, and “enemy”. The latter involves picture analysis, looking at who is quoted and what opinion these quotations represent, how the actual terrorist attacks are presented and how detailed these sections are. Further, I examine how the term “terrorism” is employed and how the topic of terrorism is dealt with in general. Finally, I will look at what kinds of tasks students are assigned to do and the ways in which the textbooks confront them with the issue.

3 What was 9/11? – Background, event, aftermath

3.1 American textbooks

All American textbooks agree that the events of 9/11 were terrorist attacks. They refer to the event as an “assault against a nation” (*Making America* 1006) that “no one thought possible” (ibid). Often, the event is described as “horrifying” (*Making America* 1007) and “catastrophic” (*The American Pageant* 973). All the textbooks mention the four planes. The passengers in the plane that crashed in Stonycreek Township, Pennsylvania, are described as “heroic” (*The American Journey* 945) and “courageous” (*American History* 956) in two sources. Generally, 9/11 is seen as a global matter and the global support given to the US is mentioned. Two textbooks (*The American Pageant*, *The American Vision*), however, present it as a purely national matter by which only America was affected. Regarding the victims, half of the reviewed literature focuses on US police officers and firefighters (*The American Journey* 945-948, *America: Pathways to the Present* 906, *Making America* 1006-1007, *America: Past and Present* 953, *The American Pageant* 973). Two other textbooks (*The American Vision* 1032-1033, *Making a Nation* 765) do not mention firefighters explicitly in the text, but use pictures of them. Only three textbooks (*Freedom on My Mind*, *World History*, *American History*) do not place special focus on them and include other groups of victims as well; one of these is a history textbook focusing on African-American history, which emphasises the role and deaths of African-Americans during the events. Further, most sources (*Making America*, *The American*

Pageant, Freedom on My Mind, Making a Nation, World History, American History, America: Pathways to the Present) tell the reader about how Americans responded but do not discuss the background of the attacks, e.g. the terrorists' motives, hence it remains unclear why America was targeted.

The sections that deal with reactions to the attacks appear to be highly influenced by patriotism. America is presented as indestructible because its people remained strong and worked together to overcome the disorder caused by the terrorists. One textbook cites a clergyman's observation that "[a] tragedy like this could have torn our country apart. But instead it has united us and we have become a family" (*The American Vision* 1033). Patriotism is a strong theme in the textbooks examined. It is transmitted both through words and through pictures (*The American Vision* 1032, *The American Journey* 946, 950, *World History* 508, *American History* 957). Some textbooks also raise the issue of political unity; one cites Democrat John Breaux, who remarked that "the political war will cease" (*Making America* 1007) and states that both major political parties stopped their mail campaigns after the attacks. President Bush is mentioned in nine textbooks (*American History* 956-957, *Making a Nation* 766, *The American Pageant* 973, *Freedom on My Mind* 793, *The American Vision* 1033) and is quoted in four (*Making America* 1007, *The American Journey* 948,950, *America: Past and Present* 953, *America: Pathways to the Present* 907). He is usually praised for his efforts to fight terrorism and punish those responsible for the 9/11 attacks, yet there is one book which slightly criticises his actions in Iraq by saying that "even Republican supporters of the Bush administration worried that such an invasion was too costly" (*Making a Nation* 768) and, further, that "it was by no means clear that Americans were ready to accept a war on terrorism as the guiding principle of their nation's foreign policy" (ibid). Quotations from Bush are used to present his point of view, to defend his actions, and also to promote a sense of American unity. One striking example for this might be the following quotation, set in larger font in a contrasting colour and positioned in the lower part of the page: "[i]n the face of all this evil, we remain strong and united, one nation under God" (Appleby 2006: 948).

The Representation of Terrorists

The word “terrorist” is used 73 times in all textbooks combined. Five textbooks (*Making America* 1007, *The American Pageant* 975, *The American Journey* 946-947, *The American Vision* 1032-1033, *America: Past and Present* 953) provide background information on bin Laden or Al Qaeda. These sources discuss the Soviet involvement in Afghanistan and explain why Al Qaeda was founded. 60 percent of the American sample (*Making America*, *The American Pageant*, *The American Journey*, *The American Vision*, *America: Past and Present*, *World History*) also give examples of other terrorist attacks; however, only one textbook (*World History* 509) includes terrorist attacks whose target was not America. Four textbooks (*America: Pathways to the Present*, *Freedom on My Mind*, *Making a Nation*, *American History*) only include the events of 9/11 in their discussion of terrorism. In both cases the textbooks could have included various examples to clarify that terrorism is a global phenomenon and does not only affect the US, e.g. different suicide bombings in Israel 1997-1998 or the 1972 Olympics. But since the examples merely focus on America, the nation seems to be terrorism’s only victim. This perception changes when the textbooks explain how the country finally fought terrorism, which results in the US appearing to be a global police officer and a defender of freedom. This again promotes the image of America’s cultural hegemony. Several textbooks discuss the US mission in Afghanistan, where Americans actively fought the Taliban in order to end their reign because they refused to turn over bin Laden (*The American Journey* 949, *America: Pathways to the Present* 907, *America: Past and Present* 956). Five of seven textbooks (*The American Journey*, *Freedom on My Mind*, *World History*, *Making a Nation*, *America: Past and Present*) do not discuss the support the US received from Britain; they only state that the US fought terrorism and succeeded within a small timeframe. This presentation might have the potential to contribute to a sense of assumed US superiority.

Homeland Security is mentioned six times (*The American Pageant* 975, *The American Journey* 949, *American History* 957, *The American Vision* 1034, *America: Past and Present* 956, *America: Pathways to the Present* 907); two of these references (*America: Pathways to the Present*, *America: Past and Present*) are quite detailed. The Patriot Act is mentioned four times (*The American Pageant* 975, *The American Journey* 949, *The American Vision* 1034, *America: Past and Present* 956).

The American sample draws a clear line between Muslims and fundamentalists, although only one textbook includes a definition of fundamentalism (*The American Vision* 1032). Hence, the textbooks make an evident effort not to depict all Muslims as enemies. Where the word “enemy” is mentioned, which occurs only four times (*The American Journey, Making America, The American Pageant, America: Past and Present*), the books make clear that the term refers to those who are either terrorists or their supporters. Some books cite Bush’s definitions of the “enemy”, such as the idea that the enemy is “any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism” (*The American Journey*: 950) and Bush’s promise that “[w]e will make no distinction between those who planned these acts and those who harbor them” (*America: Past and Present* 953). A further citation use is his remark, addressed to other nations, that “[e]ither you are with us or with the terrorists” (*The American Vision* 1033).

In general, seven out of ten textbooks (*Making America, World History, Freedom on My Mind, The American Journey, Making a Nation, American History, America: Past and Present*) are what we could classify as written objectively, meaning that they do not try to influence students’ perception of the events. An example of the less common “subjective” types of descriptions might be a passage in *The American Pageant* which begins narrating the events of 9/11 with the phrase “on a balmy late-summer morning” (*The American Pageant* 974), which “story-telling” mode activates the potential for an emotional reader response. Similarly charged language can be observed in the further course of the narration: “suicidal terrorists slammed two hijacked airliners [...] into the twin towers” (ibid), the “skyscrapers thunderously collapsed” (ibid) and Bush held a “sober and stirring address” (ibid).

All the textbooks include numbers of victims; three of them only speak of “thousands of people” (*Making America, The American Journey, World History*). A total of twenty-three pages are dedicated to 9/11 across all the textbooks; the highest number a single book includes is six pages (*The American Journey*).

3.2 British textbooks

Like the American sources, British textbooks declare the events of 9/11 as “terrorist attacks” (*Terrorism* 28). The global impact of the events is emphasised throughout, except

for one source (*History of the Americas*), which only dedicates one sentence to 9/11, with rather general utterances such as “the world was shocked to see [the events]” (*History in Progress* 68) or a comment that the US “called on all countries to work together to prevent any more terror attacks” (*Terrorism* 56). In contrast to the American sample, only one British source mentions firefighters and rescue workers (*Attack on America*³⁴ 15, 21). Moreover, British textbooks do not focus on Americans’ reactions to the terrorist attacks of 9/11. Only *Attack on America* includes references to American patriotism, whereas the other sources do not mention the unity of the American people or potent symbols such as the American flag or firefighters. President Bush is only mentioned a total of four times in two different textbooks (*History in Progress*, *Modern World*). The quotations from Bush included in the textbooks emphasise his views on who the “enemy” is and how they should be dealt with. For instance: “The enemy of America is not our many Muslim friends. It is not our many Arab friends. Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists and every government that supports them” (*History in Progress* 68).

In general, British textbooks do not create an image of the enemy, but rather explore the causes and aims of terrorism. The term “enemy” is used three times in two books in the sample (*Attack on America*, *History in Progress*). Where the texts refer to the people responsible for the attacks, they call them “terrorists” or “Muslim extremists”. However, a connection to religion is only made twice (*Modern World* 124, *History in Progress* 68). Background information concerning Al Qaeda and bin Laden is only given in three textbooks (*Attack on America* 33, *History in Progress* 68, *Modern World* 124). *Modern World* also mentions two other terrorist organisations, the PLO and the Provisional IRA, and explains that these organisations were not terrorist organisations at their inceptions (cf. 125). The British sources refer to terrorist attacks other than 9/11 seventeen times, of which only four had the US as a target; others cited include attacks in Bali, Jerusalem and Northern Ireland. Furthermore, the sources do not concentrate on the impact the events had on the US. The missions in Afghanistan and Iraq are only mentioned rather briefly in two textbooks (*Terrorism*, *Modern World*). In contrast, overall, to the American textbooks analysed, British works include some criticism towards Bush’s actions after 9/11. *Modern World* observes that no weapons of mass destruction were found in Iraq and

³⁴ *Attack on America* is not a conventional history textbook but rather a short work which deals exclusively with 9/11.

“no direct evidence came to light that Saddam Hussein had been directly involved with the suicide attacks of September 11” (133). The text then goes on to describe other factors that influenced the war in Iraq. Further, *Terrorism* states that the US detention facility at Guantanamo Bay has been criticised for its treatment of prisoners (cf. 56) and includes some nations’ criticism “the War on Terror is just an excuse for America to try and gain even more influence in the Middle East” (ibid).

Only one source (*Attack on America*) is written subjectively, as it reads like a story on account of its specific genre; it includes passages such as “the aircraft flew directly into the upper floors of the building and exploded in a mass of orange flame” (*Attack on America* 14) and “the president looked stunned” (18). *Terrorism* contains subjective descriptions in its additional content, as it includes a stewardess’ last words, informing the reader that she was married and a mother of two children (cf. 53); this content is likely to provoke emotional responses in students. Four of five textbooks (*History in Progress*, *Attack on America*, *Terrorism*, *Modern World*) mention victim numbers.

Altogether across the textbooks sampled, 46 pages are dedicated to 9/11,³⁵ of which 32 are from *Attack on America*.³⁶ Altogether, more space is spent on terrorism than in American textbooks. One reason for that is because British textbooks are more concerned with the background and causes of terrorism than the American sources. Overall, the American sources present the events of 9/11 in a more detailed way, whereas the British sample puts the attacks in context.

4 Picture Analysis

4.1 American textbooks

Pictures are an important part of textbooks. They emphasise the message being conveyed and help to make history visually accessible to students. Only one textbook does not include any pictures (*Freedom on My Mind*). Five textbooks (*Making America* 1007, *The American Pageant* 829, *The American Vision* 1032, *World History* 508, *American History*

³⁵ Excluding *Attack on America* (a special issue focusing exclusively on the topic of 9/11), the average amount dedicated to 9/11 was 3.5 pages per book.

³⁶ Seventeen pages of the book were analysed. Those were part of the general description of the events, the attack’s aftermath, including the American people’s reaction, and the cause.

957) use similar pictures of the burning towers and one of them includes a picture of the attack on the Pentagon (*The American Vision* 1032). These illustrations are likely to provoke strong emotions and remind students of the vulnerability of America's national security, as they place the nation in the role of the victim (cf. Hess 233). The textbooks evidently attempt to counterbalance this depiction by using pictures that promote patriotism, such as firefighters, the American flag, and images of Americans intended to disseminate a sense of unity. The same image of three firefighters putting up the American flag is used by three textbooks (*The American Journey* 946, *The American Vision* 1032, *America: Pathways to the Present* 906), while another source (*World History* 508) uses an illustration of firefighters and citizens working together in the ruins of the World Trade Center, also displaying the American flag. Other pictures include working firefighters, one of them in black and white, which evokes melancholy. Two books (*The American Vision* 1033, *The American Journey* 948) dedicate a special section to firefighters, which they label as "America's Heroes", showing pictures of them and discussing their service and personal backgrounds. One of the textbooks (*The American Pageant* 974) shows an exhausted firefighter whom the caption labels, possibly in a subjective interpretation, as being overcome by grief.

The image referred to above of firefighters raising the American flag at Ground Zero, which is included in three textbooks (*America: Pathways to the Present* 906, *The American Journey* 946, *The American Vision* 1032), necessitates specific analysis. The flag being raised at the scene of the devastation implies the continued, irrepressible hope of the American people and transports a determination to work together to rebuild a sense of national strength and security. The raising of the flag being a joint effort between three men could be read as being indicative of the American people coming together in this time of need and of the inability of the attacks to break the spirit of the nation and its people. The flag can also be seen as patriotic symbol to express one's love and pride for the nation. The raising of the flag as an act symbolising victory in battle prefigures the American people's defeat of terrorism even in the moment of devastation (cf. Land 23). The image in the photo "Raising the Flag at Ground Zero", taken by Thomas E. Franklin, closely resembles Joe Rosenthal's famous 1945 photograph, "Raising the Flag on Iwo Jima". Both images have come to acquire an iconic status in American collective memory (ibid). Franklin's photo was widely circulated throughout American mass media after 9/11, and

its status as a symbol of America's resilience and unity was further underscored by the issuing of an official commemorative stamp using the image that was first presented by President George W. Bush surrounded by New York firefighters (Jasmin Fischer in Land 23). This explains the frequent references to Franklin's photograph in the textbooks.

The unity of the American people is visually emphasised in two textbooks (*American History* 957, *The American Journey* 950). One picture shows Americans holding up a poster saying "Thanks America, united we stand" (*American History* 957). Another depicts people holding flags and candles, standing side by side (*The American Journey* 950). The third picture shows a little girl on her father's shoulders, with her eyes to the sky, her arms spread, and holding the American flag (ibid). These three illustrations convey a sense of solidarity and unity. Bush is only shown in pictures twice (*American History* 957, *America: Past and Present* 956); one image is a photo of him and the other picture shows him on CNN News, giving a speech while standing side by side with a fireman. There is one picture (*The American Pageant* 975) which hints at the fact that 9/11 was not only a national, but also a global event, depicting newspaper covers from around the world at a kiosk in Sofia, Bulgaria. Three pictures of intensified airport security are included, underlining the increased sense of vulnerability which befell the nation after the attacks (*America: Past and Present* 907, *American History* 957). Overall, twenty-four pictures are used in the sample; the highest count was found in *The American Journey* with a total of eight images.

4.2 British textbooks

Four of the British textbooks in the sample include pictures related to the events of 9/11 (*Attack on America*, *Terrorism*, *History in Progress*, *Modern World*). Altogether, twenty-three images³⁷ appear, of which fifteen are used by a special issue on the topic of 9/11 (*Attack on America*). *Attack on America* contains five pictures of the World Trade Center (11, 14, 16-17, 20) and two of the Pentagon (18-19), before and after they were hit. This is the only book which includes illustrations of firefighters and rescue workers and images intended to represent the united spirit of the American people (15, 21, 38). Two other textbooks (*History in Progress* 68, *Terrorism* 28, 52) display pictures of the towers as well.

³⁷ Excluding *Attack on America* the average amount of pictures used per book is three.

Further, two textbooks (*Terrorism* 28, *History in Progress* 69) show pictures of other terrorist attacks, and one contains an image of Guantanamo (*Terrorism* 56). President Bush is only depicted twice (*Modern World* 118, *Attack on America* 39).

5 What is terrorism?

5.1 American textbooks

Seven of the American textbooks do not offer any explanation of the term “terrorism”; the other three (*The American Journey*, *The American Vision*, *World History*) give students an idea of what terrorism is, a definition which generally conveys the message that terrorism is violence directed against civilians in order to achieve political goals. However, textbooks issued by the Glencoe publishing house differ concerning the agents of terrorism. The 2006 edition of *The American Journey* says terrorism is carried out by “groups” (946), whereas the 2007 edition, entitled *The American Vision*, specifies this as “non-governmental groups” (1032). The latter also explains what state-sponsored terrorism is and gives examples. The Prentice Hall textbook *World History*, as one might expect from a world history book, gives examples of terrorist attacks around the globe (509). Further, only *World History* gives examples which support its definition of terrorism. The Glencoe textbooks also mention the attack against a US naval ship in 2000, an act not targeted against civilians, although violence against civilians is part of the books’ definition of terrorism (*The American Journey* 947, *The American Vision* 1033).

5.2 British textbooks

None of the British textbooks include a clear definition of “terrorism”, but four of the textbooks analysed (*Attack on America*, *History in Progress*, *Modern World*, *Terrorism*) go into some detail on its strategies. For instance, *Terrorism* states that “terrorist groups use a variety of methods [and] their aim is to maximize fear and gain as much publicity as possible” (28) and also discusses these tactics. Another textbook states that the most common victims of terrorist attacks are civilians (cf. *Modern World* 118) and that there are different terrorist groups which operate globally or regionally and also their aims differ widely (*Modern World* 127).

6 Additional content

Taking additional content, such as tasks for students and text boxes, into consideration is important because it places special emphasis on certain key facts of historical events and reveals what textbook authors want students to learn; we might from this extrapolate which facts and aspects around the issue are regarded as especially important in different nations. Further, student tasks have the potential to direct students' opinions in a direction considered desirable. I therefore sought to examine the degree to which students were asked to think critically and develop their own views and which aspects the publisher wanted to ensure the students had understood "correctly".

6.1 American textbooks

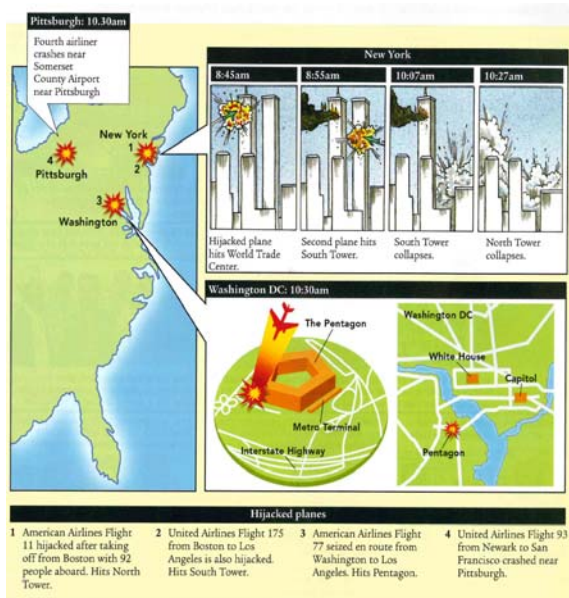
This section will concentrate on text boxes, illustrations other than pictures, and student assignments. Only one textbook (*Making America* 1007-1008) includes text boxes to give brief additional information; these concern bin Laden and the Taliban. Further, *World History* displays a cartoon of a constricted world map (*World History* 509) to illustrate that the world was brought closer together by the events of 9/11, an image which students are asked to interpret. Another textbook (*The American Journey* 947) includes a world map showing terrorist attacks against America from 1970 to 2002 and victim numbers for each. Once again the focus lies on terrorism targeting America, focusing on the US as victim. The 2006 (945) and 2007 (1031) editions of the Glencoe textbooks display timelines on terrorism and give students guides before they start reading. Only one textbook points to further reading material (*Making a Nation* 768).

With regard to assignments, half the American sample (*American History*, *America: Pathways to the Present*, *America: Past and Present*, *World History*, *The American Vision*) include tasks, which add up to sixteen in total across all books. Eight of them require lower order thinking, where the students can simply locate the answers in the text. For instance, *World History* asks students to define terrorism (509), with a definition of terrorism having been given in the text. The other half of the assignments requires students to think around the issues or to link the events to another point in history. For

example, students have to develop a mind map concerning the causes of terrorism or answer more difficult questions such as “How can countries cooperate in the fight against terrorism?” (*World History* 508) or “Why do you think people responded to the tragic events of September 11 with such public displays of patriotic symbols?” (*America: Past and Present* 957).

6.2 British textbooks

Text boxes are used by three British textbooks (*History in Progress* 68-69, *Modern World* 118, 124, 133, *Terrorism* 28, 53), either to give emphasis to quotations, to explain key words and key figures, or to highlight specific parts of the text, such as methods used by



Dep. 1. Course of events of 9/11. cf. *Terrorism* 53

Modern World shows a timeline of al Qaeda’s activities (124-125) but in contrast to American sources it does not focus on American victims only.

Three British textbooks (*History in Progress* 68, *Modern World* 118, *Terrorism* 28, 52), as do two American ones, provide the students with a preview of what they will learn in this section. Like the America sample, only half the British textbooks examine include student tasks. However, the three textbooks that do offer a total of twenty assignments, of which only two can be categorised as calling for lower order thinking. In contrast to the American sample, students have to work with the material and with previously obtained knowledge. For instance, they are asked to write an article debating the question “there are

terrorists or reactions to different terrorist attacks. *Attack on America* was the only textbook to include maps, which showed the routes of the hijacked planes (13) and Middle Eastern countries where terrorism has played a role in politics since 1948 (33). The latter map shows students that terrorism is not a new problem and that certain countries have had to face it for a long time already. A different textbook visualises the course of events of 9/11 (see dep. 1; cf. *Terrorism* 53).

no terrorists, only freedom fighters” (*History in Progress* 69). This question requires students to critically discuss the causes and aims of terrorism and helps them to understand its origins. Further, they have to discuss certain statements in groups or pairs, which supports critical thinking and the development and defence of arguments. Other tasks require students to evaluate certain situations and statements and to think about alternatives. The exercises offered by British schoolbooks allow students to engage with the topic and encourage them to think on a global scale and more abstractly about terrorism and potential responses to it.

7 Conclusion

In general, all textbooks agree that 9/11 was a tragic event and a series of terrorist attacks. The American focus on firefighters and patriotism in general might be considered to overshadow the representation of the actual events. Moreover, most of the American texts focus on the reactions of the people and America’s unity instead of providing necessary background information. By contrast, British sources are more concerned with why terrorist attacks occur and how they should be responded to. Rarely, a definition of terrorism is given in the American sample. Where, in this sample, examples of other attacks are given, they frequently concentrate on those also perpetrated upon America. Although British students are generally also not presented with a clear definition of terrorism, textbook authors here tend to elaborate on what terrorism is and what strategies it employs so that students might gain an understanding of the matter. We might also observe that there is little or no criticism in American textbooks on the action taken by the US in Afghanistan and little opportunities to for students to practise critical thinking; this is different to a degree in British textbooks. However, the overall perspective of American textbooks is generally objective, with only few exceptions, and these books make a clear distinction between Muslims and fundamentalists.

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The Representation of Diversity among Citizens of London in Current English Language Textbooks for German Primary and Secondary Schools

Christoph Huber

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1 Introduction

London, as the capital of the United Kingdom and a multicultural melting pot, features heavily in curricula and teaching materials for English as a second language. Textbook units on the city and its cultural diversity address not only language topics, but also cultural competencies. The official curriculum for primary and secondary schools in Berlin calls for intercultural understanding to be a major part of any aspect of English teaching, including textbooks.

This article discusses the representation of diversity among citizens of London with regard to their cultural background, sexual orientation and socio-economic status in English language textbooks currently in use in primary and secondary schools in Berlin. The research on which the article is based examined what forms of diversity were represented in the sample, whether and how the textbooks represent issues such as cultural diversity, sexual orientation or social status, and the functions fulfilled by the characters depicted in the textbook sample in terms of exploring the diversity of life in London.

In 2010 Christiane Lehmann published a quantitative and qualitative analysis and critical review of units on London in textbooks for German secondary schools, focusing on the topics of politics, the economy and transport, history, cultural life, tourism and spatial planning, and people as her principal fields of interest. As the number of topics of framework curricula and the requirements of publishing houses only leave limited space for different units, London is only represented in a very limited way. Additionally, she remarks that there is a tendency in German textbooks for English classes to focus on London as a destination for tourists and tourism in general (Lehmann 390f.). In this way, pupils get to know London as an exciting place to visit and learn about the sights and how to get around in the city, but rather less about the people who actually live in London.

Our analysis sought to expand and supplement these findings with a specific focus on diversity. A quantitative analysis involving determining the frequency of use of specific terms would have been possible for this study. However, as Falk Pingel observes in the *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision*, quantitative methods of analysis are especially useful when the samples being investigated are large, and have the drawback that they do not leave much room for further interpretation (Nicholls 3). Therefore a qualitative method, discourse analysis, was chosen for analysing the content of the samples. In discourse

analysis, “the researcher deconstructs textbook content to identify what information, groups and events the author values, takes for granted, valorises or regards as unimportant” (Pingel 14).

After a discussion of the official framework curriculum for English as a subject for secondary schools in Berlin, we will analyse the textbooks *English G21 Volume A3*, *Notting Hill Gate 2* and *Camden Town 2* with regard to their content in relation to the aspects of diversity on which we are focusing. These textbooks are all currently in use in primary and secondary schools in Berlin. We will limit ourselves to analysing those units of the books which actually deal with London as their principal topic and the characters they feature. Depictions of cultural, sexual or socio-economic diversity will not be discussed here unless they are part of the units about London.

2 Diversity in Cultural Studies and English Didactics

Before analysing the occurrence or omission of aspects of diversity within the chosen samples, I will offer a brief overview of how cultural background, sexual orientation and socio-economic status are perceived in cultural studies and English didactics.

In cultural studies, “cultural background” is often related to the concepts of ethnic cultures or ethnicity. According to Michael Ryan, “ethnicity is both a physical fact and a cultural creation”: an ethnic group with a certain cultural background can be recognised not only by physical body features such as skin colour or eye shape, but also by an embodiment of cultural traditions of that specific ethnic group within oral narratives, songs and other forms of cultural expression (Ryan 71). Thus, “ethnicity” is strongly connected to cultural identity but also to the concept of “race”. The latter has been a subject of highly critical debate among scholars in regard to its actual meaning and operationalization for academic research. For instance, Ramón Grosfoguel argues that “race is assumed to be the biological and/or cultural essentialization/naturalization of a group based on a hierarchy of superiority and inferiority related to the biological constitution of their bodies” (Grosfoguel 315). I regard “race” as a social construct. However, an analysis of racial representations will not be included in my study; I will focus instead on the representation of the cultural background of fictional characters in the schoolbooks.

Gender does not refer to the biological sex of an individual but to the social sex lived and embodied by the individual. Still, biological, body-related sexuality is often mentioned alongside gender in cultural studies. This is also why the body is regarded as the interface between nature and culture and, therefore, between sex and gender (Assmann 104). This research project scrutinizes the thematisation and problematisation, or omission, of aspects of gender, sexuality and sexual orientation in the London units. I expect few references to gender roles and assume that a heteronormative male-female imagination dominates the discussion of sexuality and sexual orientation, if such themes are featured at all.

Social class can be defined as “a group of people within a society who possess the same socioeconomic status” (Encyclopedia Britannica Online). Although the theory of social classes is controversial, scholars of social studies generally agree that members of a certain class share specific cultural characteristics. The term “social class” is usually subdivided as upper class, middle class and lower or working class (Ibid.). Studies of working class culture are among the “early classics of cultural studies” (Baldwin et al. 112). For my research project, I will analyse whether socio-economic differences and realities as well as cultural differences deriving from socio-economic status are discussed in the sample.

As previously mentioned, cultural background, sexuality, and class are important fields of research in cultural studies. As cultural studies represent, along with linguistics and literary studies, a fundamental component of English didactics, the role of such concepts in different cultures is essential to foreign-language teaching and therefore should be taken into account when schoolbooks are designed for English language classes (Haß 15). Finally, the examination of these fields in the EFL classroom should result in what is generally understood as “intercultural competence”, which, next to language proficiency, constitutes a main goal of foreign-language teaching.

3 The Framework Curriculum for English (2006)

The following chapter will discuss the framework curriculum for English at primary and secondary schools in Berlin from 2006 and its treatment of cultural diversity, sexual orientation and socioeconomic status. While the curriculum does not specifically mention London, it provides a discussion of key aspects of intercultural competence, which is listed

simultaneously as one of the objectives of second language teaching in Berlin (Rahmenlehrplan 10).

3.1 Cultural Diversity in the Framework Curriculum

The framework curriculum calls for pupils in school years 3 to 10 to extend their intercultural competencies in the light of the future requirements of their working and personal lives (Rahmenlehrplan 5). Learning about people and cultures of the target language is regarded as a very important aspect of English teaching. Furthermore, learners are supposed to discover what is considered as important within the cultures of the target language and to communicate about these aspects in the target language (Haß 144). Possible examples of the implementation of interactive and intercultural learning that are outlined include correspondence with pen pals, school partnerships and email communication (Rahmenlehrplan 11). Individual responsibility for others regardless of an individual's different religious or political ideology is also mentioned in the framework curriculum, which justifies the inclusion of these objectives in terms of the needs of internationally active companies and institutions which expect these competencies from their future employees (Rahmenlehrplan 7). Globalised living environments are cited as another reason for encouraging pupils to develop intercultural agency as the ongoing process of globalisation becomes more and more important for young people (Rahmenlehrplan 9).

The descriptions and explanations of cultural diversity given in the curriculum are formulated on a rather abstract level. No specific intercultural contact situations are described in detail, and the geographical and cultural areas mentioned are too unspecific for us to infer from this curriculum that London and its diversity should be a compulsory part of English classes in years seven to ten. On the one hand, this can of course be seen as an advantage for teachers and textbook publishers, as it gives them more freedom to choose topics for lessons and textbook units. On the other hand, this lack of specificity may give rise to the danger that London and other important geographical regions are completely omitted. This would not only lead to a reduced understanding of the central role London plays in British politics, but also the loss of an indispensable example of cultural diversity.

3.2 Sexual Orientation in the Framework Curriculum

“The acknowledgement and strengthening of girls and boys in their gender-specific diversity and individuality”, with respect for gender equality, is cited as being one of the essential objectives of intercultural language learning (Rahmenlehrplan 7). With regard to their content, the curriculum names gender diversity and sexual orientation as optional topics to be raised in English classes (Rahmenlehrplan 48). However, there is little detail on how this diversity is supposed to be presented and taught to pupils in class. Further explanations could have included details around the explanation to students of different kinds of sexual orientation, such as homo-, bi- and transsexuality. In addition, giving ideas and examples of textbooks, novels or other materials which engage with the subject of sexual minorities would have been useful for classroom teachers.

3.3 Socio-economic Status in the Framework Curriculum

The issue of socio-economic status is not clearly mentioned in the framework curriculum. There is only one passage in which the curriculum marks the importance of socio-economic status for a better understanding of the lives of people within other cultural contexts; it emphasises the significance of mutual acceptance despite differences in economic situation (Rahmenlehrplan 5). Money as an essential part of people’s lives is part of the topic “Themenbereich A: Ich und die anderen” (Rahmenlehrplan 47). The issue of socio-economic realities can therefore be regarded as under-discussed within the framework curriculum.

4 Cornelsen: *English G21 Volume A3*

In this section, we will analyse unit 1 (My London) of *English G21 Volume A3* (year 7), issued by the German textbook publishing house Cornelsen.

4.1 Cultural Diversity in *English G21*

Cultural diversity is represented in the first unit of the book to a certain extent. One of the most significant examples of this is to be found in the fourth sub-chapter of the unit, *Time for lunch*, which presents a dialogue in which Robert, a Canadian teenager, is shown around London by his new friend Asif, who is of Bangladeshi origin:

The borough of Tower Hamlets was a surprise to Robert!
 ‘There are more Bangladeshi than British people’, he said.
 ‘Most of us are British,’ Asif answered.
 ‘Right. Sorry.’
 ‘That’s OK.’ (*English G21* 16)

Their conversation about the borough of Tower Hamlets shows that London is a city of great cultural diversity. A typically “western”, perhaps Eurocentric point of view is represented through the character of Robert, who clearly states his surprise that there are so many alleged non-British people in this area, which indicates that he categorises non-white people as non-British. Asif on the other hand, points out that it is not skin colour or ethnicity that defines citizenship, makes people part of a society or nation. As well as acting as an implementation of some aspects of the framework curriculum relating to cultural diversity, the exchange points to the potential for assumptions on nationality and national status and to the fact that such assumptions are untenable in multicultural Britain.

Later in the dialogue, while Asif is showing his friend other places in this area of London, the following exchange takes place:

Then he pointed to a building. ‘That’s my mosque, by the way.’
 ‘It doesn’t look like a mosque,’ Robert said.
 ‘A mosque doesn’t have to be in a special building,’ Asif explained. ‘And it hasn’t always been a mosque. It was a church and a synagogue before that.’
 ‘Wow, is that right?’ said Robert. (*English G21* 16)

Again, the trip through the city is used to implement aspects of the framework curriculum. This time religion is the main topic of the artificial conversation of the two main characters. The multi-faith history of the mosque as cited by Asif points to the multi-faith and multicultural texture of this part of the city and its development.

4.2 The Socio-economic Status of Londoners in *English G21*

The socio-economic status of people and their economic realities are presented to the learners in a simplified way. The focus is placed on prices for goods, the use of public transport and the visiting of tourist attractions. It is, of course, quite questionable whether these aspects give a full insight into the working and social lives of the people who live and work in London. The following extracts touch upon the topic of money:

“1. The London Eye [...]

They say you can see all the sights from up there, but it’s very expensive, so I’m waiting for a good excuse – like a visitor.” (English G21 12)

“4. The Science Museum [...]

The greatest museum in the world – and it’s free!” (English G21 13)

5. Brick Lane [...]

“It’s a Sunday flea market where you can find everything – from second-hand DVDs to computers and sweets.” (English G21 14)

Details of how people actually live and their cost of living, such as the cost of water, gas, energy and housing, are not included at all in *English G21*. This issue with showing a tourist city to foreign language learners can be found in many textbooks that include London as a unit for learners (Lehmann 179). As Lehmann convincingly argues, only very few people really live in those areas where most tourist attractions can be found as they are among the most expensive living areas in the world (ibid.).

Indeed, there are only very few passages where the real living environments of London’s inhabitants are dealt with. This is the case, for example, in relation to public transport. Even though the London Underground is also used to plan a sightseeing trip through the city, pupils are at least exposed briefly to the notion that the importance, advantages and usage of public transport bear similarities to their own living environments:

Extra Background File London – A day in London for kids on a budget

Step 1 [...] 7.5 million people live in London (Berlin: 3.4 million) and another million come into the city to work every morning – so the rush hour is pretty busy.

(English G21 18)

What pupils from school year 7 presumably will not conclude from this text is the fact that due to the high cost of living in the inner city, a large migration movement to outer

boroughs has taken place and therefore many people are forced to take long journeys to work using public transport (Lehmann 180).

4.3 Sexual Orientation in *English G21*

Unfortunately, no examples could be found with regard to diverse sexual orientations among the people of London in this textbook. There are not even any hints on different gender roles. We might consider here that the textbook authors have missed an opportunity to exemplify a place where both cultural diversity and diversity of sexual orientation are part of people's everyday lives.

5 Diesterweg: *Notting Hill Gate 2*

We will now move on to analysing *Notting Hill Gate 2*, a textbook originally written for students of English in year 6, with regard to the issues we are investigating. Examples from the book will be used in order to exemplify the extent to which cultural diversity, sexual orientation and socio-economic status are raised as issues in the book.

5.1 Cultural Diversity in *Notting Hill Gate 2*

Cultural diversity is introduced at the beginning of the book, when its main characters are introduced to the students. In total, there are six main characters that are present throughout the book. From the area of Notting Hill there are Gillian Collins, Susan Johnson, Rajiv Patel and Vanessa Ross and from the area of Hendon Charlie Batson and David Williams. At least two of the characters have a non-European cultural background, namely Rajiv Patel, whose parents are described as having originally come to London from India, and Charlie Batson, whose family originates from Barbados. Therefore, there is not only a very balanced ratio between male and female characters, as there are three boys and three girls, but also two main characters representing two of the most important regions of origin of minority ethnic groups in London: India and the Caribbean.

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Other depictions of cultural diversity are only rarely found in *Notting Hill Gate 2*, at least where the city of London is used as the contextual background to the content. In Unit 2, ‘Around London’, the dialogue and audio play ‘B1 - Meeting friends’ is introduced by the following paragraph:

Charlie’s uncle and aunt from Germany are in London for a week. Their German friends, Mr and Mrs Naumann and their daughter Lisa, came [sic] with them. Charlie wants to show Lisa the sights of London. They take the tube to Notting Hill Gate to meet Gillian, Vanessa and Rajiv. (*Notting Hill Gate 2* 32)

The students are told that Charlie, whose family is from Barbados, also has relatives in Germany. The remaining text focuses on their plans for a sightseeing tour through London; Charlie’s relatives from Germany are neither described any further within the dialogue nor depicted in the picture below the written text. An interpretation of their origin therefore is not possible. However, the character of Charlie seems to represent not only the high number of second-generation immigrants in London, but also intercultural relations between the many different European and non-European ethnic groups in London.

5.2 The Socio-economic Status of Londoners in *Notting Hill Gate 2*

The socio-economic status of Londoners receives even less representation here than in *English G21*. The dialogue mentioned above includes parts in which the characters talk about spending money in a certain area, but there are no comments at all on price levels or debates on alternative and more reasonable areas to visit:

Gillian: Well, what would you like to do today? Would you like to go to Camden Market? There’s a lot of interesting things to see and buy there.
Lisa: Yes I know. We went there yesterday. I bought a lot of things.“ (*Notting Hill Gate 2* 32)

Especially Lisa’s report could have included an estimation of the price level in London and also a comparison to the city of Frankfurt where she originally comes from. Unit 2, ‘Around London’, ends with a rap which is also available on an audio CD. This “London Rap” is one of the most important sources in the book when it comes to the depiction of socio-economic realities in London:

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Come to sunny London if you'd like to meet
Thousands of tourists running down the street.
Got no cash? Not much money?
That's no problem if it's sunny!
Take a nice walk in Regent's Park,
Play football or cricket till it's dark.
If it's raining, a cool place to be
Is in a museum that's free free free!
So much to do, so much to see.
There it's expensive, but here it's free! (*Notting Hill Gate 2 46*)

This rap is the first and only part of the unit where the financial situation of possible visitors and inhabitants in London is taken into account. It implies that there are areas in London which are quite expensive, but that there are also alternative free-time activities and institutions to visit for those with little or no money. However, once again only those possible situations are mentioned where people might plan a tour through the city. Neither the cost of accommodation and public transport nor the cost of living for Londoners in general are described in any way.

5.3 Sexual Orientation in *Notting Hill Gate 2*

There are no explicit depictions in text or illustrations of sexual orientation issues in *Notting Hill Gate 2*. The absence of sexual orientation as one aspect of the lives of people living in or visiting London will be discussed in further detail after the analysis of *Camden Town 2*, with which we will now proceed.

6 Diesterweg: *Camden Town 2*

Camden Town 2 is the second book in our sample produced by the Diesterweg educational publishing house. The textbook was also written for students from year 6, but was especially designed for use in academic secondary schools within the selective German secondary system.

6.1 Cultural Diversity in *Camden Town 2*

Cultural diversity is a very important aspect of this textbook and, to a certain extent, is also depicted in a different way from the other material in the sample. Some of the book's main characters essentially also exist in *Notting Hill Gate 2*, but have other names or a slightly different look. *Camden Town 2* does not mention whether the characters originally come from London or not. Again there are three male and three female characters: Emma Butler, George Lambraki, Caroline Lambraki, Gillian Collins, Rajiv Khan and Charlie Batson. Rajiv Khan is presumably essentially the same character as Rajiv Patel from *Notting Hill Gate 2*. *Camden Town 2* is the only book from the sample which includes characters of another European origin; George and Caroline Lambraki's father comes from Greece (*Camden Town 2* 4f.).

6.2 The Socio-economic Status of Londoners in *Camden Town 2*

What is interesting about *Camden Town 2* is the fact that this textbook considers the fact that the characters living in or visiting London are children who are not in a position to spend a lot of money in one of the most expensive cities in the world. Unit 3, "London - here we come", features several chat messages between some of the characters including information on future plans for a sightseeing trip through London:

Caro: Buckingham Palace, Madame Tussauds, the London Eye ... Cool! Sounds like a busy weekend. Why don't we go on a sightseeing tour? We'll find out more about it ... Mum and Dad have offered to pay for tickets! :-) Looking forward to seeing you!!! (*Camden Town 2* 50)

Even though the prices of these 'tickets' are not specified, cost is evidently a factor. During a phone call between the characters of Rob and George, this aspect is mentioned again:

Rob: [...] But isn't there a Sherlock Holmes Museum in London? I know tickets can be quite expensive, but maybe we could...
George: Hasn't Mum phoned your mum?
Rob: I think she's talked to Dad. But I'm not sure what the phone call was about.
George: She wants to give us some money for our sightseeing ...
Rob: Cool! Sounds great! (*Camden Town 2* 52)

The fact that the parents are able to afford to pay for their children's sightseeing trip hints at a middle class status of the families in question. Dialogues between the children and their parents about the cost of a trip to the sights of London would have been a very informative addition at this point. However, the other texts in the book also only provide information on free entry to museums in London (*Camden Town 2* 64).

6.3 Sexual Orientation in *Camden Town 2*

As is the case with the other books, there are no mentions or depictions of different sexual orientations in *Camden Town 2*. Possible alternatives to this approach will be discussed in the conclusion below.

7 Conclusion

Our analysis shows that London is still a very important part of English textbooks in primary and secondary schools in Berlin. Artificial examples are used to implement the demands of the framework curriculum in the Cornelsen textbook *English G21* and the Diesterweg textbooks *Notting Hill Gate 2* and *Camden Town 2* and exemplify the life of Londoners to German students of English. Many comparisons to students' own living environments are made possible through dialogues between characters, pictures and informative pieces of text. However, it is quite obvious that the focus is on an essentially tourist experience of London; pupils are introduced to sights and ideal ways to get to know the most famous spots in London rather than learning about people's real lives in the city. I thus concur with Lehmann's critical view that textbooks generally represent London primarily as a famous tourist attraction and not as a multicultural melting pot that has particular problems. Taking into account the cultural heritage of a society by presenting places such as museums in schoolbooks might be regarded as part of a cultural learning process. However, the individual characters presented in the books, an exploration of whose lives might have presented an opportunity to approach the 'real' London, function rather as tourist guides than as inhabitants of a multicultural metropolis. Lehmann also criticises the usage of many stereotypes in German textbooks, especially in relation to the multicultural population of London. Our

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analysis confirms this finding to a certain extent. Only in *Camden Town 2*, for example, is a non-Asian or non-Caribbean country of origin presented for two of the characters of minority origin.

What is striking about all the textbooks analysed is the fact that any depiction of different sexual orientations is non-existent. The reason for this omission may have to do with the young age of the students working with the books analysed. As both gender roles and different sexual orientations are only mentioned as optional topics for English classes within the framework curriculum, the optionality could be another reason for their omission in the given samples (Rahmenlehrplan 48). However, we would argue that this represents a significant omission in the light of the fact that London is a centre of attraction for many LGBT people from all over the world; this is therefore not an approach one should support and which should be altered in future editions of the textbooks or other publications.

We should remember at this juncture that, as discussed above, the framework curriculum for Berlin only includes vague statements on the compulsory content of English classes. Textbook publishing houses therefore have a certain amount of freedom when it comes to deciding on the content of new publications. Adding additional optional material to the units dealing with London would make it much easier for English teachers to choose appropriate content for their lessons. Eventually, this would lead to textbooks that take into account optional topics for every unit of the book and also to alternative approaches to those contents that are seen as repetitive by students and teachers.

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