

UNPACKING THE SCHOOL

Textbooks, Teachers, and the Construction of Nationhood in Mexico, Argentina, and Peru

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Abstract: This article examines trajectories of nationalism in twentieth-century Argentina, Mexico, and Peru through the analytical lens of schooling. I argue that textbooks reveal state-sponsored conceptions of nationhood. In turn, the outlooks and practices of teachers provide a window for understanding how state ideologies were received, translated, and reworked within society. During the late nineteenth century, textbooks in Mexico, Argentina, and Peru conceived of the nation as a political community, emphasized civilization for having achieved national unity, and viewed elites as driving national history. During the twentieth century, textbooks eventually advanced a cultural understanding of the nation, envisioned national unity to be achieved through assimilation into a homogeneous national identity, and assigned historical agency to the masses. Yet teacher responses to the textbooks varied. In Mexico, under Lázaro Cárdenas (1934–1940), teachers predominantly embraced textbooks that promoted a popular national culture. Teachers in Argentina under Juan Perón (1946–1955) and in Peru under Juan Velasco (1968–1975) largely opposed the texts.

This article examines trajectories of nationalism in twentieth-century Argentina, Mexico, and Peru through the analytical lens of schooling. The classical works on nationalism treat schools as a key site for cultivating national attachments and for socializing the citizenry into national framings of everyday experience (e.g., Gellner 1983; Hobsbawm 1990; Smith 1986). Yet the specific mechanisms of how national socialization unfolds in schools often remain obscure in this literature.¹ This article focuses on the role of textbooks and teachers in the construction of nationhood. School textbooks—especially those used in primary schools—reveal state-sponsored versions of national identity and history. In turn, schoolteachers' worldviews and their use of textbooks provide a window

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1. An important exception is Weber's (1976) study of nationalization in nineteenth-century rural France that carefully disentangles the roles of teachers, textbooks, and classroom facilities.

for understanding how those official ideas are received, translated, and reworked at the interface between state and society.²

Over the past decades, several studies have used textbooks to analyze official conceptions of nationhood in Latin America (e.g., Arnove 1995; Cucuzza and Somoza 2001; Nava 2006; Plotkin 2002; Portocarrero and Oliart 1989; Vaughan 1982; Vázquez 2000).³ Analogously, a substantial literature on the role of Latin American teachers in national socialization has emerged (e.g., Angell 1982; Contreras 1996; Luykx 1998; Rockwell 2007; Vaughan 1997). However, most of these studies are single-case studies or edited volumes (e.g., Ossenbach and Somoza 2001; Rieckenberg 1991) without a comparative perspective. A focus on Mexico, Argentina, and Peru provides the opportunity to address the relative absence of comparative studies on nationalism and schooling in Latin America.

The historical development of public education in the three countries represents extreme points within the region. During the early twentieth century, Argentina already marshaled a fairly extensive public education system, whereas in Mexico and Peru public schooling remained in an embryonic stage. Mexico experienced a substantial expansion of public education during the 1930s and 1940s; in Peru, comparable institutional developments unfolded much later, during the 1950s and 1960s (Bertoni 2001; Contreras 1996; Vaughan 1997).

From a comparative perspective, textbooks in these otherwise very different countries exhibited striking similarities. During the late nineteenth century, textbooks in Mexico, Argentina, and Peru portrayed the nation as a political association, grounded in a social contract among citizens that was symbolized by a shared constitutional framework. This political-territorial understanding of the national community converged with the idea of creating a civilized nation. Mexican, Argentine, and Peruvian textbooks depicted their respective national history as an evolution from barbarism to greater civilization, a process that was driven by a few great men. Throughout the twentieth century, cultural understandings of national identity gained prevalence; the nation was imagined as grounded in cultural features, such as a shared language, religion, customs, or ethnic identity; and accounts of national history became centered on the agency of popular sectors.

The timing of these changes varied across cases. In Mexico, shifts in textbook content unfolded during the 1920s and 1930s—most promi-

2. Other approaches to nationalism and schooling include analyzing curricula (e.g., Dávila 2003; Escudé 1990) or exploring the in-class performance of national discourses and practices (e.g., Levinson 2001). The particular advantage of textbooks is that they convey curriculum contents that actually reach teachers and students. Moreover, historical data on teachers is often easier to obtain than comparable information on students. A focus on teachers is thus particularly appropriate when school ethnography is not possible.

3. For the concept of nationhood, see Brubaker (1996).

nently under the government of Lázaro Cárdenas (1934–1940). In Argentina, cultural conceptions of nationhood gained prominence during the 1910s, whereas a greater emphasis on popular agency emerged during the 1940s and 1950s, under the government of Juan Domingo Perón (1946–1955). In Peru, comparable changes took place only during the 1960s and 1970s, most importantly under the military government of Juan Velasco (1968–1975).

Teachers' reactions to the changes also differed. Schoolteachers in Mexico largely embraced the changed conceptions of nationhood found in textbooks and—if available—used the new teaching materials issued by the Cárdenas government. By contrast, the majority of teachers in Argentina opposed the ideas about national identity and history found in Peronist textbooks and employed various strategies to circumvent using such texts. In Peru, teachers were divided in their own understandings of nationhood, yet they largely converged in their opposition to the newly issued texts and actively sought to avoid their use in the classroom. Thus, during the twentieth century, textbooks in all three countries showed a similar shift from political and elitist to cultural and class-based understandings of nationhood, while the timing and teacher responses to these changes varied substantially across cases.

CONCEPTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Textbooks are written texts that are specifically crafted for use in teaching. Even when taking into consideration the potentially huge differences between text content and classroom lessons, textbooks are of critical importance in shaping what students learn. Especially in countries with developing public education systems, teachers frequently employ textbooks as their main device to prepare for lessons. As a matter of fact, textbooks are often the first, and sometimes the only, books that students are exposed to. Moreover, as is evident in the long history of controversies over textbooks, the public usually treats textbooks as authoritative and accurate sources for what students should know.⁴

Textbooks do not reveal the “facts”; they convey particular visions of social reality by emphasizing and downplaying certain aspects of the world. As cultural artifacts, textbooks are planned, designed, and distributed by actors with real interests. In particular, states are the key actors in shaping textbooks. Textbooks are written by individual authors and often compete as economic commodities in the market, yet the “political hand” of state textbook-adoption policies” primarily determines their content and structure (Apple 1992, 6). A common strategy of state agencies is,

4. For examples of textbook controversies, see DelFattore (1994) on the United States, Gilbert (1997) on Mexico, and Nozaki (2002) on Japan.

for instance, to sponsor special approval commissions that either directly select specific texts or compile a list of approved titles from which schools make their choices.

At the same time, textbooks do not determine classroom activities. Not every statement in the texts is taught and followed literally. Schoolteachers regularly contextualize, rethink, and change textbook contents. Even though teachers frequently constitute the largest group of civil servants and the main contact point between state and local citizenry, they are not just transmitters of state-sponsored policies and ideological orientations. The role of teachers is more aptly described as translators who adapt and localize official curricula. Indeed, teachers often act as "local intellectuals, recognized as having the authority and responsibility to defend and promote their community" (Wilson 2001, 314). Teachers, therefore, play a critical role in the translation of state-sponsored conceptions of nationhood found in textbooks into everyday understandings of the world.

This article analyzes textbooks from the implementation of obligatory public schooling in late-nineteenth-century Mexico, Argentina, and Peru until the educational reforms during the 1980s and 1990s,⁵ the main focus being periods of substantial change. For each country I reviewed between fifty and seventy textbooks, with at least five publications per decade. The selection criteria for my sample had three pillars. First, I focused on primary school textbooks, because only a small segment of the population attended secondary schools during the time of interest. Second, I selected those textbooks that were published or approved by national educational authorities. Third, I preferred approved texts that were reprinted in several editions, which indicated their actual use.

To explore the negotiation of textbooks by teachers, I used existing secondary literature on the subject (e.g., Angell 1982; Artieda 1993; Bernetti and Puiggrós 1993; Civera 2004; Gvirtz 1996; Portocarrero and Oliart 1989; Rockwell 2007; Vaughan 1997; Wilson 2001) in combination with different kinds of primary sources.⁶ In each source, I explored normative judgments of major historical epochs and ideas about the main agents driving national history. Analogously, I traced descriptions of national heroes and representations of major external enemies. Finally, I focused on hierar-

5. From this point onward, decentralization of public education makes textbooks a less reliable source for tracing state-sponsored conceptions of nationhood.

6. In Mexico I drew on teacher testimonies already active during the 1920s and 1930s found in the oral history archive Archivo de la Palabra. I reviewed forty-five interviews and ultimately used evidence from thirteen of them that contained information on the use of textbooks and personal outlooks on national identity and history. In Argentina I combined semistructured interviews with teachers active during the Peronist era and *La Obra*, a periodical written by teachers for teachers. Because of retirement and age, I was able to locate only four retired schoolteachers. In Peru, I conducted thirteen semistructured interviews with teachers already active during the 1970s.

chies imagined within the nation and tracked characterizations of immigrants and indigenous people.

TEXTBOOKS AND NATIONHOOD DURING THE OLIGARCHIC PERIOD

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century—a period often described in terms of oligarchic domination—central state power consolidated in Mexico, Argentina, and Peru. State elites saw the school as the key institution for modernizing and nationalizing society. School programs, curricula, and teacher training were brought under the direct control of the respective central government, and state authorities installed special textbook approval commissions (Bertoni 2001; Contreras 1996; Vaughan 1982).

Political Conceptions of Nationhood and the Creation of a Civilized Nation

From a comparative perspective, textbooks converged in their emphasis on the political-territorial underpinnings of national membership. Statements like “The Peruvian nation is the political association of all Peruvians” (Wiesse 1913, 52) were common. Some textbooks even echoed Renan’s idea of the nation as a daily plebiscite and conceived of the national community as “the creation of our wills taken together” (Eizaguirre 1895, 20). Political institutions were depicted as defining features of nationhood. The constitution appeared as the central unifying force, guaranteeing that “all the inhabitants . . . have the right and facility to do what they please” (Sierra 1894, 7).

Accounts of national history further reinforced such a political understanding of nationhood. In Argentina, textbooks focused on the formation of a binding legal order, which constituted Argentina as a federal republic, and systematically downplayed the early-nineteenth-century struggles and civil wars between regional strongmen and political elites from Buenos Aires (Fregeiro 1896, 201; Pelliza 1905, 103–106). Analogously, Peruvian history tended to culminate in the Republic of Peru as a teleological ending point, while in Mexican textbooks the liberal constitution from 1857 appeared as the historical destiny of the nation, securing material progress and internal peace (Fanning 1915, 18; Rosay 1913, 183; Sierra 1894, 7).

The political understanding of nationhood converged with the vision of a “civilized nation.”⁷ In all three countries, textbooks advocated the spread of civilization—a category associated with whiteness, economic modernization, and an urban and cosmopolitan European culture—as the main vehicle for overcoming ethnoracial and political divisions. For

7. For the distinction between civilized nation and homogeneous nation, see Quijada (2000).

instance, many of the main characters that appeared in school texts were children of an upper-middle-class background, often portrayed as enthusiastically immersed in the study of ancient Greek and Roman cultures (e.g., Pizzurno 1901, 223–228).

Accordingly, textbooks drew a major distinction between those who were imagined as part of the civilized nation and those who were not, portraying the indigenous population as the main manifestation of barbarism. In Argentina, textbooks celebrated the Conquest of the Desert—outright extermination campaigns against indigenous people during the second half of the nineteenth century—as extending civilization into the interior of the country (e.g., Ferreyra 1895, 41, 78; Pelliza 1905, 112–113). Mexican and Peruvian textbooks stressed that indigenous people “maintained their superstitions and idolatries from before the conquest” (Sierra 1894, 63) and therefore lacked capacities for full citizenship. The remedy to overcome the “profound dejection of the indigenous race” (Rodríguez 1900, 145) appeared to be the systematic whitening of the population with the help of education and European migration.

Benevolent Elites and Evolution toward Civilization

The idea of a civilized nation also shaped representations of the past. In all three countries, textbooks identified the precolonial period with barbarism. Even the Aztecs and Incas—in Mexican and Peruvian textbooks credited for their achievements as architects and political centralizers (Oviedo 1894, 12; Rodríguez 1900, 4)—ultimately lacked civilization. This was epitomized by the practice of human sacrifices, which textbooks described as an “infamous holocaust that showed the fanaticism of these people and the cruelty of their unrefined and uncivilized religion” (Aguirre Cinta 1897, 37).

In all three countries, textbooks provided a positive assessment of Spanish colonialism. Ultimately, the beneficial effects of Spanish colonialism offset violence and exploitation because “the Spanish gave their American colonies as much civilization as Spain had herself” (Sierra 1894, in Vázquez 2000, 128). Spanish colonialism instituted centralized rule, while the spread of Spanish as the dominant language and the arrival of Christianity fostered national unity and progress. As such, the result of Spanish colonialism was the formation of “a new society . . . , based on the principles of a superior culture” (Rodríguez 1900, 4).

Representations of colonial history also illustrate the elite-centeredness of late-nineteenth-century textbooks. Textbook narratives were primarily organized around political leaders. In Argentina, accounts of Spanish colonialism celebrated the foresight and virtues of Christopher Columbus, Juan Díaz de Solís, and Pedro Mendoza (Eizaguirre 1895, 76). In Mexico and Peru, accounts of the Spanish Conquest predominantly concentrated

on the character traits of Hernán Cortés and Francisco Pizarro (Aguirre Cinta 1897, 65–99): “without the boldness of Hernán Cortés the country would have never been conquered and submitted to Spanish government” (Lainé 1890, 3).

Descriptions of national independence were equally constructed around elites. In Mexico, textbook narratives centered on Miguel Hidalgo, who successfully initiated the insurgency because “the Indians adored him and would have followed him to the end of the world” (Sierra 1894, 74). In Argentina and Peru, accounts of national independence were centered on General San Martín, who was “a man of right judgment, of refined sentiments, of pure patriotism, and of honest character” (Rodríguez 1900, 98). If textbooks mentioned subordinate sectors, they appeared as obedient subjects, content to follow the orders of their leaders.

TEXTBOOKS AND NATIONHOOD DURING THE POPULIST PERIOD

Over the course of the twentieth century, textbooks published in Mexico, Argentina, and Peru changed dramatically. State-approved texts advanced a cultural understanding of nationhood, envisioned the construction of a homogeneous nation, and began to portray popular sectors as protagonists of national history. The timing of these changes varied substantially across the three countries.

Mexico

The decades after the Mexican Revolution (1910–1920) witnessed the consolidation of state power within the context of highly mobilized subordinate sectors. During the 1920s, the newly formed Secretaría de Educación Pública (SEP) made the expansion of a rural school network its top priority (Vaughan 1982). Under Cárdenas, the SEP introduced a new curriculum grounded in the ideas of socialist education, a program that envisioned schools as the primary mechanism for controlled popular mobilization (Vaughan 1997).

State-approved textbooks advanced cultural definitions of nationhood. The underpinning of a homogeneous national culture appeared to be *mestizaje*, the process of biological and cultural mixing initiated under Spanish rule. “The three centuries of Spanish domination were enough for a new race to emerge within the territory of New Spain, . . . a result of the mixing between conquerors and the conquered. This race that inherited the language, religions, and customs from the Spanish and the sense of resistance and stoicism from indigenous people, is the one that constitutes the Mexican nation today” (Bonilla 1925, 83–84).

While the notion of *mestizaje* departed from explicit references to the spread of civilization, textbooks continued to reproduce cultural and ra-

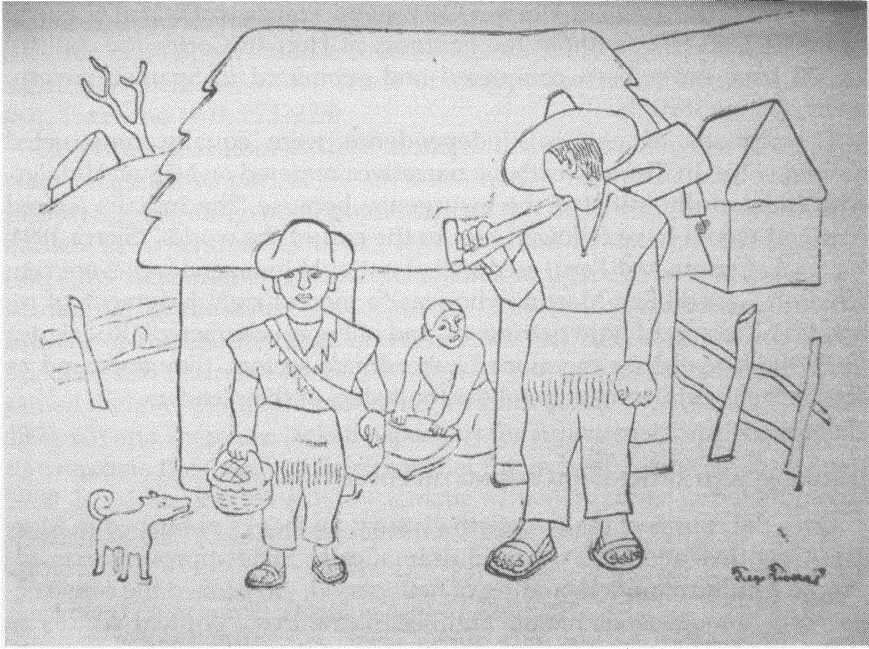


Figure 1 *Peasants and workers as textbook protagonists. Drawing by Diego Rivera, in Manuel Velázquez Andrade, Fermín (Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1927).*

cial hierarchies. Becoming mestizo meant speaking Spanish and adopting a modern urban lifestyle. Being indigenous meant to not fully belong to the nation. Only with the assimilation of the indigenous population into a homogeneous mestizo identity would Mexico attain national unity (Teja Zabre 1935, 189). Thus, textbooks viewed mestizaje as both a historical process initiated during the colonial period and an idealized projection of mixture removed from contemporary lived experience.

The representation of Mexico as a mestizo nation converged with an emphasis on social class. Textbooks depicted mestizos as peasants, workers, and parts of the middle sectors. As shown in figure 1, the daily life of children from humble origins became a focal point of these texts.

This focus on popular classes also informed accounts of national history. "Against the orders of Moctezuma, the masses rose up and launched a massive attack against the Spanish" (de la Cerda 1943, 131). Subordinate sectors also appeared as a crucial force in national independence and the Mexican Revolution. "The people, who felt their oppression . . . that created the Dictatorship [of Porfirio Díaz], began with reclaiming their rights in a peaceful manner, but exasperated by the dictatorship, they had to act in a violent form" (Romero Flores 1939, 347). Thus, during the 1930s,

textbooks began to assign agency to popular sectors in shaping Mexican history.

Transcending particular historical epochs, the oligarchy constituted the main internal other. The Aztec empire was ruled by a “nobility” composed of “priests and warriors,” a “closed caste the plebeians could not enter into” (Chávez Orozco 1938, 103, 113). For the colonial period, textbooks identified “merchants, in their majority Spaniards,” as the worst exploiters (Castro Cancio 1935, 105), while after independence, criollo merchants and large landowners appeared as major obstacles to national progress (de la Cerda 1943, 243).

These class-based depictions of national history were complemented by more celebratory descriptions of the precolonial period. Textbooks drew an intrinsic connection between modern Mexico and the Aztec empire, often portraying ordinary Aztecs as Mexicans, and started to contextualize human sacrifices. The inquisition introduced by Spanish colonizers appeared to have “destroyed people with a more painful death when compared to Aztec sacrifices” (Bonilla 1930, 63). Textbooks also assessed Spanish colonialism in largely negative terms. Internal divisions were the main reason for the fall of the Aztec empire, and with Spanish colonial rule, a period of foreign domination began. Cortés “did not have much talent and abandoned his studies to pass his time on the street” (Castro Cancio 1935, 44). Thus, Cortés personified Spanish cruelty and greed, enhanced by the fact that the conqueror lacked a proper education.

Representations of Mexican independence followed the general emphasis on subordinate agency. The emergence of global capitalism weakened Spain’s authority, a process that enabled subordinate movements to gain more leverage vis-à-vis colonial authorities (Teja Zabre 1935, 120). Hidalgo was portrayed as responding to a “strong popular impulse” and providing “a politically, socially, and militarily oriented plan” when “enormous masses of people” began to “follow their instincts to fight for their freedom and economic improvement, tired of so much misery and tyranny” (Castro Cancio 1935, 145).

Yet textbooks were highly critical of the final outcome. In the end, “the Revolution of Independence was crushed. . . . It was the great landowners and higher clergy who contributed to carry out Independence as a purely political project of separation from Spain” (Teja Zabre 1935, 139). Only the revolutionary struggles between 1910 and 1917 secured Mexico’s full political and economic independence. Textbooks embraced the image of the Mexican Revolution as “a revolution of the exploited poor against the opulent exploiters” (Castro Cancio 1935, 250).

Under Cárdenas’s successors, educational authorities followed the general move toward the right of the postrevolutionary regime. However, during the 1940s and 1950s, most of the official textbooks introduced under Cárdenas remained in use (Vázquez 2000, 246). During the early 1960s,

the SEP established the so-called free text program, which distributed a single set of mandatory textbooks to students (Gilbert 1997, 274). This new generation of texts continued to envision Mexico as a mestizo nation and fully identified Mexico with the Aztec empire. While the free texts softened their tone, accounts of national history remained organized around class conflict and subordinate agency (Vázquez 2000, 256–257, 281–283). It was only during the 1980s and 1990s that state-approved textbooks witnessed another round of major changes, when the idea of a homogeneous mestizo nation gave way to the image of Mexico as a multiethnic nation (Gutiérrez Chong 1999, 72–89).

Argentina

In Argentina, state-approved textbooks went through two major transformative episodes. The first change developed against the backdrop of declining oligarchic power, and the almost-complete demographic reorganization of the country as a result of mass migration from Europe and the Middle East. Around 1910 educational authorities instituted patriotic education as the overarching principle of public schooling, which remained the dominant orientation for educational policy until the 1940s (Escudé 1990).

Textbooks published during this period portrayed Argentinean identity as grounded in a Hispanic national culture. The nation appeared to be constituted by those “who share the same language, have the same traditions, [and] come from the same ancestors” (de Bedogni 1910, 15). The gaucho emerged as the personification of Argentine identity. Of Spanish descent, in “his veins moved the blood of warriors, artists, nomads, and singers” (Bunge 1910, 155). Endowed with the “strength of lions” (Fesquet and Tolosa 1935, 99), he “ran free and rebellious like his horse” (Levene 1912, 21). The gaucho already was Argentine before national emancipation. He “serenaded the fatherland without even knowing it. He loved freedom and set the stage for national independence” (Bunge 1910, 155). The gaucho thus exemplified the existence of Argentina as a cultural community and allowed for the backward projection of the nation into the colonial period.

European migration appeared as a mixed blessing. Migrants were critical for economic progress, yet textbooks lamented their lack of national identification. Migrant assimilation into a Hispanic national culture appeared as the only viable path toward unity and progress: “This fatherland, generous to the foreigner, demands the forgetting of all the other fatherlands in exchange for its provisions” (Blomberg 1940, 224).

This new emphasis on national culture combined with the continued celebration of elites as driving forces of national history. Accounts of the colonial period remained organized around the agency of Spanish con-

querors. Analogously, the “military genius,” “courage,” and “intelligence” of San Martín, the “greatest of all Argentines,” remained critical for transforming Argentina into a sovereign nation (de Bourguet 1932, 46; Macías 1933, 45).

The second major transformative episode unfolded in a context of major subordinate mobilization and changing political alliances. In 1946, Juan Domingo Perón, a former military officer, ascended to power and built a highly personalistic political movement grounded in a coalition with organized labor. The Peronist government radically redefined the school curriculum and modified the content of textbooks, all to be oriented toward the creation of the “true Argentine man” (Cucuzza and So-moza 2001, 212–213).

A new generation of textbooks advanced a class-based understanding of the nation. Workers and peasants appeared in opposition to the oligarchy that had ruled the country for centuries. Textbooks were especially critical of Spanish colonial elites and their role in exploiting Argentina’s natural resources. This new emphasis on popular sectors could also be detected on the visual level. As figure 2 shows, stonemasons, car mechanics, and carpenters populated Peronist textbooks, breaking with the exclusive focus on upper-class life found in previous texts (de García 1954, 17).

In the new Argentina, there was no need for class conflict anymore. Struggles between elites and the masses were a reality of the past. Instead, in a context where everybody, “even the most humble Argentines[, would] benefit from the riches of the country” (de García 1954, x), social peace would prevail. Textbooks portrayed Argentina as a “land where workers are happy” (Raggi 1953, 2), and where class conflict had given way to social harmony.

The people also emerged as protagonists of national history. The independence wars succeeded because of the “brave and heroic gauchos [who] strolled around the mountains and caused despair among the hostile troops with their surprising attacks” (de García 1954, 85). Peronist textbooks even envisioned San Martín as “a man of the people” (de Palacio 1952, 124). Historical accounts thus moved away from an exclusive focus on enlightened leadership and emphasized the critical role of subordinate classes.

This emphasis on popular agency stood in tension with the identification of a charismatic leader and his wife as the embodiment of the nation. Peronist textbooks engaged in a full-fledged personality cult centered on Perón and his wife Eva. Perón appeared as “the conductor” (de García 1954, 5), “the first worker of the Republic” (de Palacio 1952, 111), and “the authentic Argentine” (Raggi 1953, 33). Evita was represented as “Spiritual Mother” (de Palacio 1952, 38), and after her death in 1952, she ascended “to-



Figure 2 "My Father Is a Construction Worker." Luisa de García, *Patria Justa* (Buenos Aires: Kapelusz, 1953).

wards immortality" (Raggi 1953, 99), having "burned her life to build the New Argentina" (de García 1954, 11). Textbooks ultimately suggested that only the conjuncture between the heroism of the masses and the guidance of benevolent leadership would enable national development.

Compared to the 1910s, the representation of European migration became more positive. During the 1940s and 1950s, textbooks depicted Argentina as a *crisol de razas*, the local version of the melting pot. Most descriptions focused on migrants of European descent. "Blond and brown kids, Italians with blue eyes and Spaniards with dark hair, men and women from all parts come to Argentina, in the hope of [finding] a world of peace and calm, where the dignity of work is respected" (de García

1954, 164). Peronist textbooks thus fused a class-based understanding of the national community with the idea of Argentina as a white and European nation. The destination of the *crisol de razas* continued to be the assimilation into a Hispanic culture (de García 1954, 115).

In 1955 a military coup ousted Perón from government. The new educational authorities were quick to remove Peronist textbooks from schools. The texts published during the subsequent decades avoided any mentioning of Perón and Eva. At the same time, representations of national identity and history largely resembled those found in Peronist textbooks. Texts emphasized the Hispanic roots of Argentina, and accounts of national history continued to stress the agency of the people, especially in struggles against Spanish colonial rule. Similar to Mexico, major changes in textbook content unfolded again only during the 1980s and 1990s. From this period onward, state-approved textbooks began to problematize questions about the national “we” and celebrated the recognition of cultural differences within the nation (Romero, de Privitellio, Quintero, and Sabato 2004, 43, 49–64, 94–95, 168–169).

Peru

Comparable changes in textbook content unfolded much later in Peru, yet again in a context of subordinate mobilization and the decline of oligarchic power. During the 1960s, textbooks began to emphasize history, language, and religion as basic identity markers. “All of the Peruvians from the Coast, the Highlands, and the Jungle form the Peruvian nation, we all speak Spanish, profess to Catholicism [and] celebrate the same heroes” (*Venciendo* 1960, 531). Similar to Mexico during the 1920s and 1930s, textbooks envisioned *mestizaje* as the crucial underpinning of this shared culture (Pons Muzzo 1961, 23).

The formation of a *mestizo* nation remained incomplete. Textbooks complained about “an alarming cultural diversity” caused by the “unfinished process of ‘transculturation’” (Pons Muzzo 1961, 16). “Let’s assume that we could unite [all Peruvians] on a large square. There would be ten million noisy people of different races, speaking different languages, belonging to different religious beliefs” (*Peruanito* 1964, 320). Those to blame for this lack of cohesion were indigenous people, whose insistence on maintaining their own “autochthonous culture” impeded their assimilation into a homogeneous national identity (Pons Muzzo 1961, 16).

Notions of transculturation thus remained wedded to occidental cultural forms. White children of middle- or upper-class backgrounds appeared as the main characters in textbooks, and their association with indigenous culture remained confined to the celebration of folklore and ethnic consumption (e.g., *Coquito* 1963, 233). Analogously, enlightened and

benevolent individuals—most of them military leaders—remained the driving forces of national history (e.g., Pons Muzzo 1962, 57–67; *Venciendo* 1960, 449).

More dramatic shifts in textbook content unfolded during the 1970s, when Velasco's military government initiated a period of substantial political, social, and ideological change. More than any previous president in modern Peruvian history, Velasco enjoyed a high degree of autonomy from traditional elites, and his ambitious reform program, most importantly agrarian reform, permanently weakened oligarchic domination.

Educational authorities designed a new generation of primary school texts that portrayed the people—conceived of as “workers, peasants, and the middle sectors” (*Fichas* 1974b, 5.5)—as constituting the core of the national community. Similar to Mexico and Argentina, visual representations focused on children whose parents worked as carpenters, farmers, or small shopkeepers (e.g., *Amigo* 1976; *Paseo* 1976). This class-based understanding of national identity also transformed representations of Peru's racial divisions. Textbooks understood indigenous people primarily as peasants and workers, while the oligarchy emerged as the most important internal other (*Fichas* 1974a, 3, 31.4; 1974b, 5.3).

During the 1970s, textbooks also became less celebratory when assessing the potentials of *mestizaje*. Texts described transculturation between Spain and indigenous societies as a violent process that led to the distortion of the previously existing national identity (*Fichas* 1974b, 1.3). Art forms, cognitive scripts, and normative orientations found among indigenous peoples in the Andes appeared as manifestations of an authentic national culture. The origins of Peru were located in the Inca empire. “A long time ago Peru was governed by kings called the *Incas*. Peru was then called the *Inca Empire*” (*Peruanito* 1974, 27).

Accounts of the colonial period reinforced Peru's precolonial origins. Similar to Mexico, textbooks represented Spanish colonialism as a period of foreign domination and emphasized that Spanish authorities faced considerable resistance from below. “Peruvians always fought against the Spanish” (*Fichas* 1974a, 31.3) and “rose up against the abuse colonial authorities committed against indigenous people” (*Venciendo* 1976, 111). Túpac Amaru emerged as the “Peruvian precursor” of national independence (*Venciendo* 1976, 112–115; *Amigo* 1976). “General San Martín declared the Independence of Peru, but the Peruvian people had already fought for many years to be free. The first great revolution that took place in America against Spain was orchestrated by *José Gabriel Condorcanqui Túpac Amaru* [*italics in original*]” (*Peruanito* 1974, 155). As shown in figure 3, Túpac Amaru's prominence as a central national hero also manifested itself in his increased visibility. He was credited for channeling the “state of consistent rebellion” against Spanish colonial rule found among popular classes into a major insurgency (*Fichas* 1974b, 15.2).

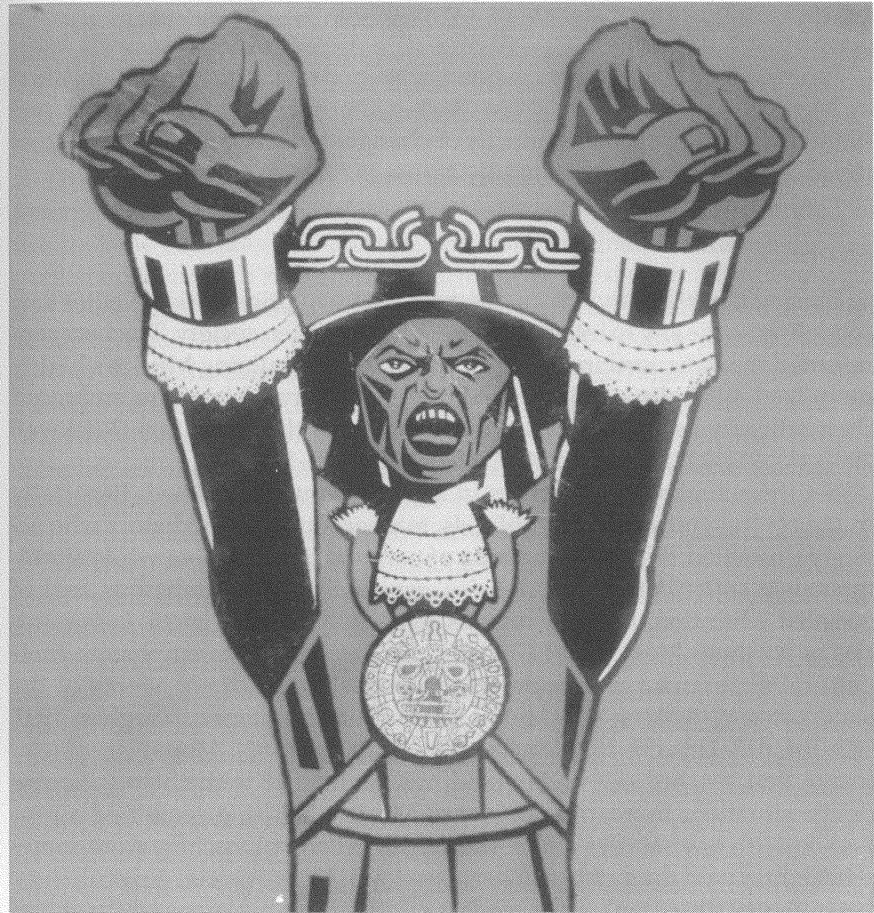


Figure 3 *Túpac Amaru*. Luis Guillermo Talavera, *Educación Cívica* (Lima: Editorial Colegio Militar Leoncio Prado, 1979).

In 1975 a dissident group within the military removed Velasco from power, and soon thereafter, the educational reform initiated under his government stalled. Many of the textbooks published during the 1960s regained state approval and were used together with the texts published under Velasco, as schools did not witness textbook removal efforts comparable to those of Argentina in 1955 (Portocarrero and Oliart 1989, 89–93). Similar to Mexico and Argentina, another round of substantial textbook changes unfolded again during the 1990s, when a new generation of textbooks began to depict Peru as a multiethnic nation and emphasize the recognition of cultural differences as integral part of the national project (García 2005, 78–83).

TEACHERS AND THE NEGOTIATION OF NATIONHOOD

From a comparative vantage point, state-approved textbooks published in Mexico, Argentina, and Peru during the mid-twentieth century exhibited strikingly similar patterns of change. Yet teachers' negotiation of those changes varied substantially across the three countries.

Mexico

During the 1920s and 1930s, the new postrevolutionary state elites saw schooling as the key to integrating a conflict-stricken society. Teachers represented the vanguard in transforming and nationalizing Mexico's highly mobilized subordinate classes. And the majority of teachers embraced their officially ascribed role as "messengers" of the revolution (Rockwell 2007, 181, 211, 222; Vaughan 1997, 6–7, 47, 103, 190–191).

Yet the actual role of teachers in local communities varied. Especially in the central and western highlands, teachers acted as mediators who actively promoted the official agenda of national development while simultaneously softening official policies, especially the antireligious zeal of socialist education. In other regions, especially in indigenous communities of northern Mexico and Chiapas, teachers tended to emphasize their cultural superiority and understood themselves as direct agents of the state, often provoking substantial community resistance (Vaughan 1997, 103–104, 117–118, 152–153, 178–181; Lewis 2001, 58–83). Moreover, official image and teacher self-understandings contrasted with their socioeconomic situation. In postrevolutionary Mexico, teaching remained a profession with low salaries and social prestige. Federal teachers were somewhat better paid than state teachers employed by provincial governments, yet both usually came from a modest middle-class background (Vaughan 1997, 12; Rockwell 2007, 178, 186).

Despite these social and regional differences, teachers across Mexico were largely sympathetic to the textbook changes enacted during the 1920s and 1930s. Studies show that teachers in Puebla (Vaughan 1997, 92–93, 125), Sonora (Vaughan 1997, 182–184), Tlaxcala (Rockwell 2007, 210–217), and Chiapas (Lewis 2001, 66–71) embraced the idea of Mexico as a mestizo nation and class-based interpretations of national history. The teacher testimonies from Tabasco and Mexico City reviewed here further support those findings. Interviewees depicted subordinate sectors as the main forces in shaping Mexico's fate, portrayed class conflict as decisive for Mexico's historical trajectory, and projected the nation back into the precolonial period. Before Spanish colonialism "the Mexicans were the owners of the land," and subsequently "large Spanish landowners, together with the clergy, took away the lands of the people" (public second-

ary school teacher, history, Mexico City, March 6, 1979). Colonial exploitation and oppression met with popular resistance. "The great majority of the Mexican people, from their initial movements onwards, were against Spanish colonialism" (public secondary school teacher, history, Mexico City, March 6, 1979).

There was a congruence between conceptions of nationhood found among teachers and their classroom practices. Most teachers tended to use the new educational materials. For instance, under Cárdenas the SEP published *Simiente*, a new series of introductory texts to reading and writing. These texts contained a rich popular iconography and "always talked about agrarianism and the redistribution of land" (public primary school teacher, Emiliano Zapata, Tabasco, November 30, 1979). Most of the interviewees reported their frequent use of *Simiente*, a pattern also found by Mary Kay Vaughan (1997, 97, 182). If teachers voiced concerns, they usually complained about the lack of educational materials. As one teacher remembers, textbooks often "were not available, the problem was that they were very scarce" (public primary school teacher, Villahermosa, May 1, 1979). Thus, teachers tended to embrace the new textbook contents and incorporate them into their teaching practices, yet at times they faced difficulties in accessing these materials.

The public education system worked somewhat better with respect to the training of schoolteachers. During the 1930s, state authorities made teacher training one of their highest priorities, and inculcating popular conceptions of nationhood constituted a persistent goal (Civera 2004, 7–8). Participants remembered training institutes as advancing "an ideology in favor of the workers, the peasants, in defense of the proletariat" (public primary school teacher, Villahermosa, May 1, 1979). Their own role as teachers was to improve "the lot of the popular masses . . . so that they were liberated" (public primary school teacher, Villahermosa, May 2, 1979). Another major objective of the trainings was the professionalization of a largely inexperienced and young teaching body. Frequent attendance and good grades would improve salary and career perspectives. Again, teacher reaction was predominantly positive. Especially rural teachers, often feeling not fully prepared for their task, tended to embrace the new training programs and their ideological contents (public primary school teacher, Villahermosa, May 3, 1979).

Argentina

Perón (1946–1955) perceived schoolteachers as crucial contributors to the transformation of Argentina into an industrialized and cohesive society with a skilled labor force (Gvirtz 1991; Plotkin 2002, 96; Escudé 1990, 169–171). In their self-understandings, teachers active during the 1940s

and 1950s tended to exhibit a strong patriotic orientation and conceive of themselves as apostles of knowledge. They also converged in their anti-Peronism.

In comparison to Mexico under Cárdenas, Argentine teachers received quite generous salaries that placed them squarely into the middle class. Similar to Mexico, federal teachers were significantly better paid than state teachers, leading to recurrent tensions between the two factions (Bernetti and Puiggrós 1993, 208–209, 225–227). Moreover, the local role of teachers varied. In rural areas, from Patagonia to Salta to the Chaco, public schools constituted the state institution par excellence and teachers played a central role in local life. They were mediators of official educational policies and, often the only ones with a formal education, negotiated with the outside world on behalf of the community. In rural communities composed predominantly of indigenous peoples or European migrants, teachers usually remained more distant from local life, and their patriotic orientation was often met with hostility. Analogously, in Buenos Aires and the more urbanized Litoral, teachers usually played a less central role in local communities and were less involved in the organization of extracurricular activities (Artieda 1993, 307–308, 326–329, 333).

Regardless of social differences and regional location, most of the major studies on the subject reveal widespread teacher opposition to Peronist educational policies (e.g., Bernetti and Puiggrós 1993, 226–228; Escudé 1990, 175–179). Indeed, teachers largely opposed the new textbooks and training programs, and their ideological contents (Cucuzza and Somoza 2001, 214; Gvirtz 1996, 155–157). The primary sources consulted for this article provide a similar picture. Interviewees were alarmed about the introduction of new textbooks and complained that the new texts were “full of demagoguery up to the last page” (public primary school teacher, Buenos Aires, August 28, 2004). Especially their persistent celebration of the Peronist government made them suspect. “These textbooks were simply an eulogy of everything Perón and Evita did” (public primary school teacher, Buenos Aires, August 11, 2004).

The majority of teachers also rejected the celebration of the masses found in the new textbooks, noting that “mass politics and the theory of the dominant majority” would bear the danger of fostering “intolerance and coercion” (*La Obra* 1949, 581). In their own understandings of national identity and history teachers viewed assimilation into a Hispanic national culture as key for achieving national progress (Artieda 1993, 321–323). “[Migration] can to a certain degree divert the true sentiments of the Argentine nation,” which therefore made it important to “consolidate the ties of national cohesion by diffusing a culture [that is] authentically ours” (*La Obra* 1954, 392). Enlightened elites appeared as the driving force behind the nation’s fate and anchored most teachers’ accounts of Argentine history. For instance, San Martín appeared as “the brilliant securer of Argentin-

tina's freedom and independence" and constituted "the greatest hero of our national history" (*La Obra* 1946, 307).

Teacher opposition had real consequences for classroom activities. For instance, teachers used only a small amount of classroom time to discuss the new textbooks with students (public primary school teacher, Buenos Aires, August 11, 2004). Another strategy was to keep the old textbooks as part of a small library in the back of the classroom. As one teacher remembers, when asked by inspectors about these texts she responded by saying, "These are books from the students, books with stories that the students read over the weekend" (public primary school teacher, Buenos Aires, August 28, 2004). Finally, teachers often employed the new textbooks solely for grammar or orthographic exercises and did not further engage with their content (Gvirtz 1996, 157–162).

Teachers justified their opposition by pointing to the supposed authoritarianism of Perón. In their perspective, Peronism undercut citizen's democratic rights, a view reinforced by the fact that the Peronist government largely ignored the input of teachers and formed alternative associations to established teacher unions (Bernetti and Puiggrós 1993, 207–208, 227–228; Plotkin 2002, 101). Representing a common Argentine middle-class perspective during this period, teachers were also concerned about the increased public presence of popular sectors, the main supporters of Perón. Especially nonwhite immigrants from the interior of the country posed a threat to the idea of Argentina as a white and largely European nation. "Perón brought people from the interior, and they installed themselves in the shantytowns (*villas*) around the city. These *cabecitas negras* ["little blackheads," a racialized term for supporters of Perón, often nonwhite internal migrants from rural areas] even took baths in the fountain of the Plaza de Mayo!" (public primary school teacher, Buenos Aires, August 28, 2004).

Another major factor in teacher opposition was their already well-developed identity as members of a circumscribed status group (Artieda 1993, 319–321). In contrast to Mexico under Cárdenas, teachers in Argentina exhibited a strong sense of professional autonomy. They viewed the new educational policies under Perón as an interference in their work and an attack on their liberties to select their teaching materials according to their professional knowledge (secondary school teacher, history, Buenos Aires, August 25, 2004).

Peru

In Peru under Velasco, teacher reception of the new texts was equally hostile, yet for reasons other than those in Argentina. During the 1960s and 1970s, both civilian and military governments hoped to achieve the modernization of Peru through the expansion of education. The efforts

cumulated in the attempt of an encompassing educational reform by Velasco. Schoolteachers were seen as crucial in transforming established ideas about nationalism and development. At the same time, teachers nationwide were exposed to declining salaries and worsening working conditions. Moreover, as a profession teaching lost in prestige because it increasingly provided members of Peru's subordinate race-class groups with a path for social ascendance (Angell 1982, 4, 7–9; Wilson 2007, 728).

The literature indicates that the majority of Peruvian teachers embraced a class-based understanding of national history and fully identified Peru with the Inca empire (Portocarrero and Oliart 1989, 113–114; Vargas 2005, 7–8; Wilson 2007, 727, 734). My own findings resonate with this assessment. Especially schoolteachers from a lower-middle-class background with affinities to Sindicato Unitario de Trabajadores de la Educación del Perú (SUTEP)—the major independent teacher union under the control of the Maoist party *Patria Roja*—were sympathetic to popular understandings of nationhood. As a representative of this faction suggests, the aim of his classes was “to approach the phenomenon of history from the perspective of the great social mobilizations from below” (public school teacher, Lima, March 27, 2004). Túpac Amaru was considered the most important hero and “representative of Peruvian identity” (public school teacher, Lima, March 24, 2004).

Interviewees from an urban middle-class background articulated a different understanding of nationhood. This faction emphasized the political foundations of the national community. “The spine of a nation is a very good constitution” (private school teacher, Lima, March 29, 2004). Moreover, they viewed national history as driven by elites. As one such teacher pointed out, Pizarro “conquered Peru. He took all our gold and took advantage of the fact that Huascar y Atahualpa [two rivaling Inca rulers at that time] fought each other” (private school teacher, Lima, April 17, 2004).

The distinct understandings of nationhood are related to important regional differences among teachers in Peru. Teachers working in urban areas tended to be more concerned with proper middle-class appearance and maintained a distance from students and their parents. Rural teachers usually became more involved in the communities they worked in. Similar to post-revolutionary Mexico, the majority of teachers in the countryside acted as mediators between local communities and larger society, while a minority maintained a more paternalistic attitude and acted as *mistis*—mestizos convinced of their own racial and cultural superiority (Contreras 1996; Montero 1990).

Yet again, the social and regional differences among teachers went along with crucial similarities in their classroom practices. Across Peru, teachers from different backgrounds opposed the new educational materials put forward by the military government (Wilson 2001, 328–330;

Portocarrero and Oliart 1989, 117–118). Both rural and urban teachers portrayed the top-down character of the Velasco educational reforms as an offense against their professional autonomy and resisted the implementation of new educational materials, even when the new textbooks were in sync with their own conceptions of nationhood. Teachers often sought to circumvent textbook contents, for instance by dedicating only minimal classroom time to the official texts or by supplementing textbook content with opposing views from other sources, such as newspapers or their own texts.

One prominent example of teacher resistance against new textbooks was *Amigo*. The educational reform obliged primary school teachers to work with this new introduction to reading and writing. In the words of an interviewee from Lima, “all the pages [of *Amigo*] . . . were images of the profound Peru, of the rural Peru, and had nothing to do with groups of people that were administrators [or] bankers” (private school teacher, Lima, April 7, 2004). Yet even teachers actively involved with SUTEP did not like to work with *Amigo* because of its new approach to teaching literacy and preferred the traditional *Coquito* instead. In many cases, teachers made students buy *Coquito*, while the ministry of education distributed *Amigo* for free. Only when supervisors came, they used *Amigo*. “Every time supervisors came around, all the children had [*Amigo*] on their desks. But when the supervisors were gone, the teacher took out *Coquito* again and worked with *Coquito*” (public school teacher, Lima, March 29, 2004).

One major factor in teacher opposition against the new educational materials was the authoritarianism of the military government (Angel 1982, 4; Wilson 2001, 328). “The fundamental reason why Velasco’s project did not pan out was that he did not trust the people, and did not make them the protagonists of his reforms . . . with the educational reform it was the same. The teachers were told: ‘Here you have the reform, and now you have to apply it!’” (public school teacher, Lima, April 2, 2004). Moreover, beyond their political rights as citizens, it was especially their professional identity as teachers that required their inclusion in the reform process. Thus, similar to Argentina, teachers in Peru perceived the new policies and educational materials as an insult to their professional autonomy.

CONCLUSION

This article has examined the role of schooling in the construction of nationhood in Mexico, Argentina, and Peru. An analysis of school textbooks has provided a window on state-sponsored ideas about national identity and history. An analysis of the ideological outlooks and teaching practices of schoolteachers has revealed insights into the negotiation of those official national discourses in the classroom.

The main findings point to the importance of political and institutional factors in shaping nationalization efforts at schools. The striking similarities in how textbooks in Mexico, Argentina, and Peru changed in their representation of the nation—over the course of the twentieth-century state-approved texts shifted from political and elitist to cultural and class-based understandings of nationhood—support arguments about a general trend of convergence in curriculum development over the last hundred years (Frank, Wong, Meyer, and Ramirez 2000). Comparable changes in textbook content were not limited to these three countries but could be observed across Latin America (e.g., Harwich Vallenilla 1991; Luna Tamayo 2001), and even on a global scale (Soysal and Schissler 2005).

Yet country-specific patterns, especially with respect to when textbooks adopted different understandings of national identity and history, and how schoolteachers reacted to them, also indicate the importance of domestic factors behind curriculum development (Dierkes 2005; vom Hau 2008). In Mexico, Argentina, and Peru, changing political configurations—whether brought about by subordinate mobilization, regime change, or revolution—raised new questions about national inclusion and historical agency, and made previously established framings of nationhood more difficult to sustain.

Teachers' reactions to the new educational materials point to the critical role of state institutional development. In all three countries, teachers varied in their political orientation, community involvement, and socio-economic background. Yet by themselves, these variations cannot account for how Mexican, Argentine, and Peruvian schoolteachers reacted to the textbook changes. In Argentina, teacher resistance against Peronist textbooks was, to an important extent, motivated by their opposition to Peronism and a well-developed sense of professional autonomy. The two factors were closely related to their prior socialization within an established educational system. In contrast to Mexico's newly recruited teachers in a public school system under construction, Argentine teachers had an already-well-established career path with clear guidelines for promotion. They were also paid a decent salary, which positioned them in the ranks of the middle class. Likewise, the majority of Peruvian teachers had already entered the profession before the military government came to power in 1968, and their sense of professional autonomy and level of organization provided them with the ability to challenge the Velasco reforms (vom Hau 2008).

An exclusive focus on textbooks and teachers also has its limitations. First, the modern classroom includes a variety of other artifacts—most prominently maps, wall charts, and photographs—that are equally involved in the national framing of lived experience. Expressions of nationhood may also be negotiated outside the classroom, at schoolwide events and ceremonies, such as flag pledges and patriotic festivals, or at visual dis-

plays found in school spaces, such as memorials and name plaques. As Grosvenor (1999) suggests, the cumulative effects and relative importance of the value messages and cognitive orientations negotiated at schools have received relatively little scholarly attention and therefore warrant future research.

Moreover, what is taught in the classroom is distinct from the messages students take home. Their learning experience is obviously influenced by textbooks and how teachers select, package, and present these texts, yet it is also shaped by the outlooks that students have already brought to school. National socialization at home may reinforce or counteract the particular visions of national identity and history advanced in schools. Recent research on the relationship between parents and teachers (e.g., Levinson 2001; Vaughan 1997) provides a promising starting point to further unpack the interaction between different agents of national socialization.

Second, treating textbook content as a window on state-sponsored ideas about national identity and history is only one of many possible approaches to the study of textbooks. While the political hand of the state certainly plays a central role, textbook production ultimately is a multifaceted process that—among other things—involves authors, publishers, educational authorities, and teacher associations. In turn, these actors draw on a variety of broader pedagogical, philosophical, ideological discourses (Ossenbach and Somoza 2001). For example, during the late nineteenth century, most textbooks resembled religious catechisms, written in the style of a supposed dialogue between an all-knowing author and a fictive student. During the first half of the twentieth century, school texts became structured around a narrative with plot and characters, and sought to be of greater visual appeal. The driving forces behind those shifts in textbook form were global changes in pedagogical styles and the increasing professionalization of textbook authorship.

Finally, a growing literature emphasizes the significance of gender in the construction of Latin American nationalisms (e.g., Gutiérrez Chong 2007; see also Yuval-Davis 1997). Even a cursory review reveals that the conceptions of nationhood conveyed in Mexican, Argentine, and Peruvian textbooks were inherently gendered. In many texts the nation appeared as embodied by a female figure, *La Patria*, that had to be protected by male agents, whether enlightened elites or popular movements. Analogously, the shift toward cultural and class-based ideas about national identity did not change the established gender hierarchy displayed in textbooks. Female figures remained largely absent from descriptions of national history. Another extension of this research would thus be to focus on gender as an analytical category.

Beyond these limitations, however, what this article does provide is an analytical grid for the comparative study of nationalism and schooling in Latin America. For example, textbook representations of Spanish colo-

nialism found in Ecuador and Venezuela (Harwich Vallenilla 1991; Luna Tamayo 2001) were similarly structured around the activities and outlooks of Spanish conquerors and indigenous rulers. Analogously, studies on textbooks in Bolivia after 1952 and Brazil under Vargas indicate that, during these periods, popular sectors emerged as protagonists of national history (Luykx 1998; Nava 2006). Thus, the framework developed here for examining the nexus between schooling in the construction of nationhood in Mexico, Argentina, and Peru opens up a starting point for synthesizing this literature and systematically comparing national socialization in Latin America.

APPENDIX: SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS CITED

- Aguirre Cinta, Rafael
1897 *Lecciones de historia general de México*. Mexico City: Sociedad de Ediciones y Librería Franco-América.
- Blomberg, Hector Pedro
1940 *El Surco: Libro de lectura*. Buenos Aires: Ángel Estrada.
- Bonilla, José María
1925 *La evolución del pueblo mexicano: Elementos de historia patria*. 2nd ed. Mexico City: Herrero Hermanos Sucesores.
1930 *La evolución del pueblo mexicano: Elementos de historia patria*. 3rd ed. Mexico City: Herrero Hermanos Sucesores.
- Bunge, Carlos
1910 *Nuestra patria: Libro de lectura para la educación nacional*. Buenos Aires: Ángel Estrada.
- Castro Cancio, Jorge
1935 *Historia patria (4o. año)*. Mexico City: Editorial Patria.
- Chávez Orozco, Luis
1949 [1938] *Historia patria (3er año)*. Mexico City: Editorial Patria.
- de Bedogni, Emma
1910 *Alegre despertar: Libro de lectura para el cuarto grado*. Buenos Aires: Aquilino Fernandez.
- de Bourguet, Lola
1932 *Agua Mansa: Texto de lectura para tercer grado*. Buenos Aires: Independencia.
- de García, Luisa F.
1954 *Patria justa: Libro de lectura para tercer grado*. Buenos Aires: Kapelusz.
- de la Cerda Silva, Roberto
1943 *Breve historia de México*. Mexico City: El Nacional.
- de Palacio, Ángela
1952 *La Argentina de Perón*. Buenos Aires: Luis Lasserre.
- Eizaguirre, José Manuel
1895 *La patria*. Buenos Aires: Ángel Estrada.
- Enciclopedias Coquito
1963 *Fanal: Para el primer año de educación primaria*. Lima: Colección Coquito.
- Fanning, Teresa G. de
1915 *Lecciones de historia del Peru*. Lima: Sanmarti y Ca.
- Ferreira, Andres
1895 *El Nene: Método de lectura*. Buenos Aires: Ángel Estrada.
- Fesquet, Alberto, and P. O. Tolosa
1935 *Proa: Libro de lectura para cuarto grado*. Buenos Aires: Ángel Estrada.
- Fregeiro, C. L.
1896 *Lecciones de historia argentina*. Buenos Aires: G. Mendeský.

- 1890 *Catecismo de historia general de Méjico*. Mexico City: Tipografía La Providencia.
- Levene, Ricardo
1912 *Cómo se ama a la patria*. Buenos Aires: Crespillo.
- Lucio, G.
1935 *Simiente: Libro cuarto para escuelas rurales*. Mexico City: Secretaria de la Educación Pública.
- Macías, José
1933 *Arco iris: Texto de lectura corriente*. Buenos Aires: Ángel Estrada.
- Ministerio de Educación del Perú
1974a *Fichas de ciencias histórico-sociales. Cuarto grado, educación básico regular*. Lima: Ministerio de Educación.
1974b *Fichas de ciencias histórico-sociales. Segundo grado, educación básico regular*. Lima: Ministerio de Educación.
1976a *Amigo: Libro de lectura (primer grado)*. Lima: Ministerio de Educación.
1976b *Paseo: de lecturas e imagenes (segundo grado)*. Lima: Ministerio de Educación.
- Oviedo, Aurelio
1894 *Nuevo catecismo de historia de México*. Mexico City: Gallegos Hermanos Sucesor.
- Pelliza, Mariano A.
1892 *Historia argentina al alcance de los niños*. Buenos Aires: Alsina.
- Pizzurno, Pablo
1901 *El libro del escolar*. Buenos Aires: Aquilino Fernandez.
- Pons Muzzo, Gustavo
1961 *Historia del Perú: El Perú contemporáneo*. Lima: Editorial Universo.
1962 *Historia del Perú: Dedicada a los alumnos del segundo año de secundaria*. Lima: Editorial Universo.
- Raggi, Angela
1952 *Pueblo feliz: Libro de lectura para segundo grado*. Buenos Aires: Luis Lasserre.
- Rodríguez, Pedro Manuel
1900 *Nociones generales de la historia del Peru: Para las escuelas y colegios de la república*. Lima: Librería Científica y Casa Editora Galland.
- Rojas Portilla, Teodoro, Alberto Faggioni Mallea, Carlos La Torre Balza, and Rolando Cortijo Bustíos
1960 *Enciclopedia Venciendo: Quinto año*. Lima: Antonio Lulli.
1962 *Enciclopedia Venciendo: El primer año*. Lima: Antonio Lulli.
1976 *Enciclopedia Venciendo: Quinto año*. Lima: Studium.
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1939 *Historia de la civilización mexicana*. Mexico City: Ediciones Águilas.
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1964 *Peruanito: Enciclopedia escolar para el quinto año de primaria*. Lima: Educación Renovada.
- Rosay, Emilio
1913 *Mi primera historia del Perú*. Lima: Librería Francesa Científica Galland y Casa Editora E. Rosay.
- Ruiz López, Rafael
1937 *Caminito de luz: Libro de lectura para tercer grado*. Buenos Aires: Kapelusz.
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1974 *Peruanito: Tercer grado*. Lima: Enrique Miranda.
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1922 [1894]. *Historia patria*. Mexico City: Secretaria de Educación Pública.
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1979 *Educación cívica*. Lima: Editorial Colegio Militar Leoncio Prado.
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1935 *Breve historia de México: Texto para escuelas rurales y primarias*. Mexico City: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación.
- Velázquez Andrade, Manuel
1927 *Fermin*. Mexico City: Secretaria de Educación Pública.

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1913 *Elementos de instrucción moral y cívica*. Lima: E. Rosay.
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1899 *Compendio de historia general de México*. Mexico City: Librería de la Vda. de Ch. Bouret.

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1993 *Peronismo: Cultura política y educación (1945–1955)*. Buenos Aires: Galerna.
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