

THE POLITICS OF HISTORY: A STUDY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE TEXTBOOKS AND  
REGIME CHANGE IN URUGUAY

© 2013  
By Leighton V. Wright

A thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for completion  
Of the Bachelor of Arts degree in International Studies at the  
Croft Institute for International Studies  
The University of Mississippi

University, Mississippi  
May 2013

Approved:

---

Advisor: Dr. Miguel Centellas

---

Reader: Dr. Kees Gispen

---

Reader: Dr. Deborah Chessin

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Miguel Centellas for guiding me through this project. His patience through countless questions and a truly obscene number of drafts has made such an impact on this project. I would also like to thank Dr. Kees Gispen and Dr. Deborah Chessin for their advice and support during this endeavor. I must also thank Dr. Kate Centellas, who provided support for this project in its earliest stages.

I would like to give an enormous thank you to my family. They were a source of support and encouragement throughout the writing process. I would like to thank them for always believing in me.

I would be remiss not to mention the loving friends that have kept me company through many all-night writing sessions. They never fail to make me laugh, and they are more than willing to help me out my never-ending hunt for words.

## Table of Contents

I.	Introduction	5
	a) Research Question and Rationale	7
	b) Theoretical Framework	8
	c) Case Selection and Research Design	11
	d) Outline	14
II.	Literature Review	15
	a) Eksterowicz: Founding Fathers	20
	b) Luykx: Creating Citizens	22
	c) Plotkin: Military Rule and Nationalism	24
	d) Postmodernism and Postructuralism	25
III.	Bolivia – A Pilot Project	28
	a) Research Question, Hypothesis, and Methodology	28
	b) Political Regimes and Reforms	30
	c) Content Analysis of Educational Texts	31
	d) Conclusion	42
IV.	History of Uruguay	44
	a) The Plan Varela	46
	b) The Birth of a Nation: 1811 – 1830	47
	c) Growing a Nation 1850s – 1940s	50
	d) Social Crisis and Dictatorship	51
	e) Conclusion	53

	4
V. Data and Analysis of Uruguayan Textbooks	55
a) Social Science Textbooks	58
José Artigas 1764 – 1850	61
Discussion of Immigration, Emigration, and Migration	65
Dictatorship 1973 to 1984	67
b) Moral and Civic Education	70
VI. Conclusion	73
Bibliography	76

**I****Introduction**

“The past is never dead. It’s not even past.”

William Faulkner

As Faulkner was well aware, history is not a singular, unchangeable account of events. This is true not only at the individual level but also on a global scale. While the physicality of the transpired occurrences cannot be altered, the perception of any given event is multiple, biased, and subject to discrepancy. Each nation contemplates passing history from a unique perspective; each government has the opportunity to alter the perception of history within the nation’s collective mentality. The manner in which students learn about their national history in the context delineated by the state can greatly impact how they view themselves in relation to the state and the world. Through education, students develop their identity as a part of the nation and develop prejudices against members of other nations. From these thoughts, I began evaluating how I identify myself as an American, what forces shaped this identity, and my beliefs as they have arisen as a result of my education.

As I thought, numerous questions about education, regimes, and identity manifest, but the question that ultimately drove my research as to how regime change affected social science textbooks in Uruguay was not solidified in my mind until my trip to Bolivia in the summer of 2012. Originally, I understood that fully analyzing an educational system would be far too ambitious to cover as thoroughly as I wanted in the time I had. There are numerous ways to approach analyzing an educational system, but I had to choose between focusing on math and science scores as tested by international standards and taking a more qualitative approach to examining an area within the social sciences. When I arrived in Bolivia, I was told that we, as

students, would be doing independent research projects (in the hands-on sense of the phrase). I found this intimidating and was clueless about how to begin researching a topic such as “history as it has been taught.” Drs. Miguel and Kate Centellas were supportive of the idea and held my hand through my first leap into research.

In Bolivia, I became interested in the idea of citizenship and the process by which a national identity is formed. I conducted a short study of how the ideas of citizenship and national identity had changed from the 1980s to the present. My research question for this project explored the political changes as related to the change in the presentation of nationality and civic duties in primary and early secondary educational texts. I found that the Bolivian identity has undergone significant changes in the past thirty years, recently embracing plurinationalism in a way that is contradictory to the assimilation technique previously promoted.

Inspired by my recent trip to Bolivia, I wanted to repeat a similar process in Uruguay. I found that Uruguay experienced a dictatorial period from the 1970s to the 1980s, causing a tremendous culture shock to the Uruguayan people who were accustomed to a nonviolent, democratic tradition. I was curious about how an educator would teach about a painful time period like the dictatorship when the children personally lived through the pain. I reflected on my own state, Mississippi, thinking of Civil Rights movements, racism, Confederate flags, and Ole Miss. Every country, nation, state, and city has a history. Within that history, there have been winners and losers of every conflict, yet each conflict did not disappear with clear legal resolution. Despite family background and political affiliation, all children in Bolivia, Uruguay, and the United States are exposed to some level of education that addresses national history. How can divisive or contested historical moments be presented in a truthful manner that does not

place blame or cause further division? How does the presentation of history impact a child's perception of his place in a nation?

### **Research Question and Rationale**

As a topic not limited to any one nation, region, or continent, education can be found on the agenda of every politician, legislature, and international development council. This study analyzed social science textbooks as a key part of the nation-building process, which is susceptible to governmental changes. Social studies (or social sciences) is a broad subject that could be analyzed from many angles, but I focus on answering two questions: How have textbooks evolved in relation to a nation's regime change? How has this evolution affected identity formation? While I am only able to answer the first of these questions, the second question is equally important but less manageable to address at this time.

The materials used in social studies classes are at the center of my research. When analyzing an area such as this in education, teachers themselves and the materials used are often means of evaluating subjects taught in educational systems. In this case, I analyze textbooks because I was able to find samples for the past fifty years and examine them during my semester abroad. I also stumbled upon a series of civic and moral education textbooks that I incorporated into the research project. Analyzing the process of training instructors or how teachers present their lessons would have been a more in-depth study, requiring more time and a higher level of training as a researcher, and this fell out of the scope of this thesis.

I analyze the differences in textbooks over time and how they corresponded to regime change in order to draw conclusions as to whether or not different regime types emphasize historical periods and events in unique ways. I also refer back to sections of the literature when a

change in textbooks fits with broader international trends in education, which is a separate cause for textbooks changes that should also be acknowledged. Accounting for changes in international trends allows me to more clearly see the changes that are regime related.

### **Theoretical Framework**

I draw on two literatures: nation building and education theory. As this study materialized, the use of education as an instrument of nation building became important. I reviewed the theory and literature on this area, but I also describe postmodernist and poststructuralist theory, as they relate to recent trends in educational practices, in a separate section. I use these two theory sets in a complementary manner. I use nation-building theory to examine the relationships between regime change and variance in textbooks, but at the same time, understanding current trends in education explained some of the changes that were not strictly regime related. For example, the trend towards embracing multiculturalism and pluriculturalism in the classroom has been a trend, which must be acknowledged, but national identity could also be affected by a state's stance on plurinationalism. In the nation building process, assimilation (or the creation of commonalities) has been emphasized for differing periods of times in numerous nations.

*Imagined Communities* by Benedict Anderson (1991), *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* by E.J. Hobsbawm (1992), and *Nations and Nationalism* by Ernest Gellner (1983) have been the foundation of nationalism research that has been applied and adapted to numerous case studies. While they have differing backgrounds and possess distinct opinions on the root causes of nationalism, they agree that national identity is a construct of the state. I use these theorists alongside Miller's "Historiography of nationalism and nation-building in Latin America" (2006),



which critiques the above theories and their applications by various scholars specific to Latin American cases, to introduce the three works that form the basis of my research.

As education is one aspect of nation building that the above authors discuss, it should be thought of as a constantly changing process that develops over time. This is an area where excluded materials are as important as the included materials because, like education itself, the perception of history is evolves as over time. An incomplete historical account or a misrepresentative one can greatly misshape a young student's worldview. Those commissioned with creating educational texts bear the weight of deciding how to portray events, characters, and times, which directly affects the students' ideas and concept development. During primary and secondary education, a nation's youth is instilled with values of citizenship that influence their identity of themselves as a part of a nation as well as a part of that nation in a greater global context.

Since citizenship ideals can be infused through education, changes in citizenship models can be traced through the history of the educational system. Textbooks are considered to be a powerful instrument of national identity formation in a population (Kubow and Fossum 2007). The burden of education falls on the state, which makes it susceptible to political influence (Kubow and Fossum 2007). Mario Ben Plotkin conducted a content analysis of textbooks created by the Peronist regime of Argentina in order to show how the Perons attempted to change the image of the state in the eyes of the people. Eva Perón is often portrayed in the likeness of the Virgin Mary in the textbooks. This furthered her image as the mother figure of Argentines; therefore, it encouraged the perception of her husband as the father figure (Plotkin 2003).

The effects of politics on historical accounts in the United States have also been studied. For instance, Anthony J. Eksterowicz analyzed the causes of the imbalance in the Federalist

versus Antifederalist debate during the ratification of the Constitution. The historical coverage of the debate was affected by post-ratification politics, the herd-mentality of textbook authors, and the controversial nature of a historically accurate coverage of the debate (Eksterowicz 1991). This shows the importance of textbooks and the materials that are included and excluded. They are also examples that demonstrate the constructive nature of the history used in textbooks. They found that there is not always intent to misshape history, but rather the editors follow popular trends, which can incidentally lead to unequal representation.

Firstly, Anthony Eksterowicz and Paul Cline's "Ratification of the Constitution: The Great Debate as Portrayed in American Government Textbooks" (1991) discussed the Antifederalist and Federalist arguments behind the ratification of the Constitution, which provided the methodology of my study as well as an example for why textbooks are important in forming a student's understanding. They stress the importance of balanced presentation of the ideas and arguments of each side of this founding event in the foundation of the United States. Through latent and manifest content analysis of government textbooks, they found an imbalance, which varies in degree with the level of education, in the representation between the Federalist and Antifederalist arguments.

Secondly, Luykx's study (1999) that examined the process of educating teachers in Bolivia provided an example of how education is used to shape a national identity. She analyzed the preparation of Aymara teachers in Bolivia in the 1980s, when the Bolivian government was still promoting assimilation through education. The Bolivian approach at this time corresponded to the methods used in Uruguay during early twentieth century modernization. While the medium of study (teachers) is different from my own, this case is applicable to Uruguay because

it does tie into similar processes that occurred in Uruguay during a period of early twentieth century modernization.

Thirdly, Mariano Ben Plotkin's research (2003) on the construction of Peronism in Argentina also significantly influenced my research and provided insight into the manner in which symbols can be manipulated in texts to alter collective opinion. Even though Plotkin examines the creation of a political movement that was heavily weighted in the populist personas of Juan and Eva Peron, the mediums he analyzes (i.e. the reinvention of national holidays and historical events, the evaluation of the role of Eva, and the changes made in textbooks and children's stories) are similar to the mediums examined when looking at the process of creating or recreating a national identity. His analysis of textbooks created by the Peron regime, specifically the stressed importance of civic and moral duty, was particularly helpful and comparable to my findings in Uruguayan textbooks.

I briefly review education theory and recent trends in education patterns. The postmodernist and poststructuralist theories apply to feminist theory and the creation of space in the classroom -- these processes have notably influenced the education process in the last several decades. I explain the theories relating to plurality and ethnicity in greater detail, seeing as those are most applicable to my study, or rather a manner of controlling for changes in textbooks that relate to these theories as opposed to changes meant to impact national identity.

### **Case Selection and Research Design**

While the primary focus of my research is Uruguay, I had the chance to practice my methods in Bolivia with Drs. Miguel and Kate Centellas. I include my pilot project to introduce the manner of my methodology. This pilot project not only shows how I learned the content

analysis methods I used in this thesis, but it also provides a good example of how education can evolve alongside politics. I transferred many of these methods to my primary case study in Uruguay.

I then analyze the manner in which key historical events are presented in the educational system of Uruguay. My study shows how social science textbooks used in late primary and early secondary levels have changed alongside regime turnover and new legislation. This study assumes that governmental policy shapes education. I hypothesize that education policy in the legislature affects curriculum, resources for teachers and students alike, the availability of education, and the contents of textbooks. I acknowledge the possibility of discrepancies in the implementation of education policy, but I do not analyze this.

This study is heavily based on the content analysis of primary sources borrowing directly from Eksterowicz's methodology that I found in the Museo Pedagógico in Montevideo. I use content analysis to evaluate the presentation of three key historical time periods in textbooks that have been used at different times in the Uruguayan school system: independence, early twentieth century modernization, dictatorship. The period I have shortened to "independence" encompasses the independence movement that began in 1811, the revolution against the Spanish, the period of war against the Portuguese until 1826, and the years from then until the ratification of the first Uruguayan constitution in 1831. The period termed early twentieth century modernization refers to the first wave of modernization in Uruguay that was accompanied by large influxes of European immigrants. The third time period I examined spans 1973 to 1984, during authoritarian regime rule in Uruguay. These three time periods appear in the chapter that provides background on Uruguay but also reappear in my data and analysis chapter.

Some of the textbooks are published by the state, but private companies published others. Children between the fourth and sixth grades (9 to 12 years of age) are the targeted audiences of the sample texts analyzed. I chose this age group because the children are old enough to process substantive information but also still malleable in many ways. I analyzed the textbooks based on how each presented the period of independence and founding of the Uruguayan state, the period of modernization in the early twentieth century, and the period of dictatorship. I use latent analysis to evaluate how each textbook presents the three previously discussed time frames based on exclusion, inclusion, and amount of coverage.

The civic and moral education textbooks are in a subsection of the data and analysis chapter and are analyzed qualitatively. These are three textbooks used to teach civics and were published during the dictatorship. This is the only time period I found separate textbooks published to teach this subject. In all other periods, civic education is limited to a few pages or a short chapter of the textbooks. I analyze the content of the textbooks, but I also refer to the dictatorship that published them, alluding to the political motivation of publishing a series such as this.

I briefly analyze the Uruguayan politics from the social crisis in the 1960s that led to the dictatorship to present day Uruguay. I pair this with the changes in textbooks to highlight the differences between the democratic regimes and the authoritarian period of the 1970s to 1980s. This fits with the literature on nation building, and the approaches that have been taken by different regime types in Latin America.

## **Outline**

The following chapters are the literature review, an application of methodology in Bolivia, the Uruguayan case, the data and analysis from Uruguay, and conclusions. My literature review gives examples of how education is a part of nation building by describing the work in Bolivia by Luykx and Argentina by Plotkin. I then outline the literature on nation building and follow by an overview of education theory and recent trends.

The third chapter is a shorter chapter that outlines my pilot project in Bolivia. This is where I explicitly explain the process of content analysis and show how I practiced this skill in the field. The goal of including this chapter is to familiarize my audience with my methods so that the chapter on Uruguay is more easily understood with more space to get deeper into the textbooks.

Chapters 4 and 5 are dedicated to my main case study: Uruguay. The fourth chapter introduces the general patterns of history in Latin America first and follows with the more particular details of Uruguay. I describe Latin American history using the three key periods previously mentioned. Many nations experienced similar processes during the independence revolutions, immigration waves, and democratic collapse. This chapter is designed to “set the scene” because Chapter 5 refers to these events during analysis. As stated above, I analyze social science textbooks, and civic and moral education textbooks.

The final chapter reiterates my findings, states the limitations of my research, and outlines greater implications.

## II

### Literature Review

National identity is complex, varying in terms of depth and width according to time and place. The term – or the specific national identity in question – is alive, evolving alongside, in conjunction to, and as a reaction against other societal, cultural, and political pressures. (Identity is comparative, inherently variable, fluid, and context dependent – Turner, et al. 1994.) It has been defined and redefined emphasizing various political, social or cultural aspects with categorical limitations of time and space by scholars of varying fields. Benedict Anderson, Erik Hobsbawm, Ernest Gellner address nationalism as the product of European modernity. Although I do not apply their models of national identity formation, I discuss their arguments broadly in order to focus on the role of education in forming identity.

Anderson defines the nation as an intrinsically limited and sovereign imagined community. The community exists only in the imagination because even though the individual members likely do not know each other, there is a collective sentiment of belonging. Furthermore, this community exists within a physical nation, limited by definite physical boundaries that separate it from other nations and is sovereign in a fulfillment of the desire for self-determination. According to Anderson, nationalism developed as a product of the social and economic conditions of the modern, industrialized society. He closely links the development of nationalism to the evolution of print capitalism because increased interpersonal communication fostered a sense of human commonality. Anderson's emphasis on the "imagined" or created nature of nations led to the incorporation of Latin America into the broader theoretical framework of nationalism because a created nation does not necessarily have to fit into a linguistically, ethnically, or racially standard form (Miller 2003).

E. J. Hobsbawm also emphasizes the modernity of nationalism, referring again to the constructed nature of nationalism, arguing that the state and nationalism form the nation. He further suggests that a well-functioning state requires a degree of congruency or continuity between the political apparatus and national collective. Regardless of the particular source of the original identity, Hobsbawm posits that states and regimes have a pointed interest in maintaining a unifying identity. Thus, literacy and mass education are two factors crucial to the functionality of the nation-state, and therefore, the selection of an official language is a matter of great consequence (Hobsbawm 1992). While language is not the sole determinant of nationality, it has been a significant matter in its own right. In the process of education, it provides the medium by which symbols and history are infused into the national consciousness. In particular, the state uses primary education as a means of “spread[ing] the image and heritage of the ‘nation’” (Hobsbawm 1992: 91).

Gellner’s *Nations and Nationalism* takes a different approach to the rise of nationalism. He summarizes his argument: “Industrialization engenders a mobile and culturally homogeneous society, which consequently has egalitarian expectation, such as had been generally lacking in the previous stable, stratified, dogmatic, and absolutist agrarian societies” (Gellner 1983: 73). The nation is not inherent; rather it evolves from pre-existing cultures by appropriation, reinvention, or obliteration (Gellner 1983). He argues that nationalism arises in modern Europe due to the sociological need for standardized communication and cultural homogeneity in order to further the progressive industry of the state.

While many fault Gellner’s work for misreading the connection between industrialization and nationalism (in turn, failing to account for pre-industrial nationalism as well as post-industrial nationalism), his concept of education is pertinent to the process of assimilation



through education. Gellner views the educational system as a central part of the industrial state because it maintains cultural and linguistic standards (Gellner 1983). He states that this “engendered homogeneity” is the central role of education. This is taken to the level of citizenship, stating that citizens can only function within the educational and cultural construction of the state’s territory.

The formation of nationalism and the nation-state in Latin America is different than the European evolution, namely because European institutions were transplanted to Latin America during colonialism. These institutions did not arise of their own accord but were superimposed upon the preexisting culture, society, and political hierarchy of Latin America. This led to avoidance, sidestep, or minimal mention of Latin America on the topic of national identity because it only partially fits the theories and models developed from European cases (Miller 2006). The region is not as linguistically or ethnically diverse as Europe and Asia, but national identities in Latin America are and have been “multifold, created and recreated” through negotiation since the beginning of European colonization (Miller 2006). Past literature on nationalism, national identity, and nation-building has been critiqued for an over-emphasis on top-down identity construction through elites, the separation or break between the nation and the state, and a general lack of study due to the categorization as an anomaly (Miller 2006).

The renewed interest in Latin America’s nation-state identity may stem from the recent redemocratization, the reevaluation of citizenship and rights as concerning the resurgence of neo-liberal economics, and the question of legitimacy in a number of nations (Miller 2006). Through the investigation of these topics, trends begin to emerge: the inventedness of the state – as emphasized by modernists – is imperative to nation building, whether the nation’s history serves as a sound foundation or not (Miller 2006). The emphasis on tracing the historical development

through the creation and recreation of practices and imagery rather than on who is engaged in and who creates said imagery practices and imagery (Miller 2006).

In the study of Latin America, Anderson termed the division between studying the nation socially and the state politically the “crisis of the hyphen” (Anderson). He describes to the tendency for scholars of a particular field to generate theory without consideration for alternative approaches within other disciplines (Anderson). This disconnect has perpetuated the “chicken/egg” debate regarding to the chronology of the existence of the state and the nation (Anderson). The dynamics of the relationship aside, society and politics are linked processes in Latin America history (Miller 2006).

To avoid the pitfall of traditional approaches, Latin America scholars are currently approaching the region is through historiography, which allows for close examination of the particularities of a specific case. Recently scholars have analyzed historiographies as contested spheres. In referencing Uruguay, alongside Argentina, Chile, El Salvador, and Guatemala, Miller asked how the histories of highly divisive ‘national’ experiences were written and remembered (Miller 2006). From this, the questioning of “state-sanctioned” or official versions of national history arise. Historiographical analyses focus on the significance of national symbols (flags, anthems, coins, stamps), national ceremonies and rituals, and public edifices (monuments, statues, museums, exhibitions) (Miller 2006).

“Nationalism,” “nation,” and “nation-building” are loaded terms with multiple definitions; however, I am addressing nation-building on the premise that the idea of the nation (and the sentiment of national identity) is recreated and reinvented by the state. While this overlooks the discussion of the origins and relationship between the two, that debate is not particularly relevant to this study politically historical account of the Uruguayan state’s

<attempt> at the formation and reformation of its national identity. Thus, the argument cannot be completely ignored, but this is not the focus of my study.

My study falls under Miller's first approach of historiography. I apply a similar justification to my research; however, my research uses the additional medium of textbooks not listed by Miller, which are an aspect of formal schooling. Formal schooling includes curriculum, which shapes students' ideas and concept development based on the subjects, languages, and perspectives that are included or excluded and is a reflection of greater societal values; whereas, informal schooling includes lessons such as promptness and personal responsibility. Through this construction, schools create national identity, instill citizenship ideals, and further the economic prosperity of the nation (Kubow and Fossum 2007, 73).

In the next few paragraphs, I give two examples of how identity has been transformed intentionally through two different means, the first through teachers and the second through textbooks. In light of this, I use three scholars as the foundation of my study. These scholars (and their works) form the basis of my methodology and the historical periods I used to frame my study. I begin with Anthony J. Eksterowicz's *Ratification of the Constitution: The Great Debate as Portrayed in American Government Textbooks* because I replicate Eksterowicz's methodology in my own study. Eksterowicz also focuses on the first time period I study: the founding of a nation. He examines the way Founding Fathers are portrayed in textbooks as opposed to the reality of the debate.

Secondly, Aurolyn Luykx's *The Citizen Factory: Schooling and Cultural Production in Bolivia* analyzes the education of teachers in Bolivia in the 1980s. While this is chronologically later than the early twentieth century modernization of my study in Uruguay, the national

identity formation theory applied in Bolivia during this time period applies to the earlier Uruguayan period because Bolivia is slightly behind the game in modernization.

Thirdly, in *Mañana es San Perón*, Ben Plotkin (2003) analyzes the Peron regime in Argentina during the 1950s. This not only is an example of military authoritarianism restructuring society, but the study also uses textbooks created during this time period. Plotkin applies in the Uruguayan context I studied because he studied textbooks as altered by a military authoritarian regime. In respect to his analysis of how the Peron regime changed textbooks with the intent to influence Argentine identity and fortify its popularity, I examined how the military authoritarian regime in Uruguay may have taken similar measures.

These three texts form the foundation of my research; all three address civic reproduction within the education system as related to politics of a specific time period -- either the politics at the time of education or the politics occurring within the material taught.

### **Eksterowicz: Founding Fathers**

In 1991, Anthony J. Eksterowicz published an article in conjunction with Paul C. Cline on the Great Debate surrounding the ratification of the Constitution of the United States. While Eksterowicz and Cline acknowledge that textbooks are not the only source of information, they state that textbooks are often the primary source for students (1991). This study analyzes the portrayal of Federalist and Antifederalist discourse during the process of ratifying the Constitution. This debate is one that encompasses much of the theoretical discourse that shaped the foundation of our nation and resulted in the installment of Federalist ideals, but Antifederalist principles have resurfaced often in American politics, making the understanding of the original principles an important part of the learning process (Eksterowicz and Cline 1991).

Eksterowicz and Cline use manifest and latent content analysis of pre-college and college textbooks to gauge the amount and intensity of the handling of opposing positions (1991). They analyze twelve standard college texts and ten pre-college texts (four middle school, six high school) and employ a system of coding to streamline the work conducted by multiple researchers. Manifest categories of analysis included citations for Federalist and Antifederalist in text, sub-headings, captions and graphics and the number of paragraphs and pages devoted to principles of each. Minimum, moderate, and maximum categories were predetermined to use latent content analysis, and though each category had specific requirements, some texts overlapped from one category to another. In order to address this issue, Eksterowicz and Cline suggest viewing the categories as points on a continuum rather than set boxes.

The first section shows the results of manifest analysis of college and pre-college textbooks. Each text has a row for Federalist and Antifederalist with columns noting the citations, paragraphs and pages. Eksterowicz and Cline found that the representation of Federalist arguments and positions were far more prevalent than those of Antifederalists at both levels studied. At the college level, Eksterowicz and Cline say that this is surprising, considering that they are only studying the debate on the ratification, and there are separate sections on the Federalist influences in the Constitution. At the middle and high school levels, the coverage is more balanced overall with Federalist views and positions occurring slightly more often.

In this case, Eksterowicz and Cline are evaluating the quality of the portrayal of the Great Debate, showing what students are learning from their textbooks. They found that the sophistication of the Antifederalist argument declines from college to pre-college levels. Latent content analysis, the method used, is a type of qualitative analysis that evaluates material subjectively yet explicitly. Few samples give little more than minimum treatment of the

Antifederalist position, and one middle-school level text does not provide any treatment. They conclude that, due to imbalance in the explanation of the arguments, students may have difficulty understanding “the full nature of the debate and how it has influenced our government” (Eksterowicz and Cline 1991: 213).

Eksterowicz and Cline conclude that the Antifederalist argument has suffered from a lack of coverage. They suggest trend could easily lead to less coverage of the Antifederalist side if the large textbook companies have adopted this approach, pointing out the intrinsic controversy is missing from the presentation of the Great Debate in textbooks. As this founding debate largely shapes our nation, the failure to accurately portray both sides is detrimental to a student’s comprehension of the American philosophical heritage. Therefore, Eksterowicz and Cline advise publishers to reevaluate (and enlarge) the coverage of Antifederalist points by presenting excerpts and showing how Antifederalist ideals reappear in American politics.

Not only do I replicate the methodology that Eksterowicz implores in this article (insert footnote to the First Lady article, which I also used and follows similar pattern), but I also borrowed from his reasoning in selection to support my own choice to examine Uruguay’s foundation: the beginning of a nation, or rather how it is portrayed, cannot be understated because the issues and characters of the foundation of a nation always reappear.

### **Luykx: Creating Citizens**

*The Citizenship Factory* by Aurolyn Luykx is an example of how a sense of national identity was fostered in the indigenous peoples of Bolivia. Luykx states that educators see educational processes as cultural processes that influence “identity formation and social stratification” (Luykx 1999, xxxiii). Ethnicity and language are identified as important aspects of

“hidden curriculum,” or a way of assimilating minorities (Luykx 1999, xxxv). This means that ethnicity can be manipulated during the formation of a national identity because it, much like national identity or any other identity, is constructed (Luky 1999, xli). When speaking of national identity, ethnicity must be kept in perspective, in that it exists only in relation to other ethnicities (Luky 1999, xli). Globalization makes it impossible to view indigenous people as social systems disconnected from the rest of the world (Luky 1999, xxxvii). People are no longer able to function in isolation, so each must find an identity within the existing social structure. In this case, the purpose is to transform indigenous peoples into Bolivian citizens, whose national identity takes precedence over ethnic identity.

Luky observes Aymara students at a teacher education school to evaluate the conceptualization of teaching practices, how the practices are maintained, and how the students are affected by such practices (Luky 1999, xlii). Due to the special place that teachers have in the educational system of any nation and the fact that they are often a product of the societal workings of that nation, the thoughts of this group are key in altering an educational system. Bolivian teachers must overcome “linguistic diversity, a conflictive past, the persistence of indigenous cultures, a strong working-class consciousness, sharp social inequities, and marked regional differences” (Luky 1999, 18). These are the same problems associated with building national identity. Identity, national or ethnic, is often formed on the basis of common language, history, and culture in relation to one another. In order to overcome differences to form a unified identity, the power holder often subjugates minority languages, cultures, and pasts. For example, a school system may only permit one language to be spoken during school hours.

### **Plotkin: Military Rule and Nationalism**

Juan Domingo Perón and his wife Eva are one of the best known political couples in Latin American history. In *Mañana es San Perón: A cultural History of Perón's Argentina*, Mariano Ben Plotkin describes the rise of the Perón regime through the employment of myths, symbols, and rituals to inspire mobilization and political consensus. While Peronism precedes the dictatorships of the 1970s and 1980s in Latin America and has distinct origins from the crises that led to the later dictatorships, the conservative, authoritarian nationalism has been underestimated in nationalist literature on the region (Miller 2006). The manner in which the Perons constructed their images and transformed how Argentines viewed the state has some characteristics that are similar to what I found in Uruguay.

Plotkin's text can be divided into three sections: political rituals and personal charisma, the role of Evita and the reformation of the educational system. He analyzed how the regime "peronized" the Seventeenth of October and May Day. October 17, 1945 was closely linked to Perón, being the day workers mobilized in protest to Peron's arrest, and the regime was able to turn the date from a commemoration into a political ritual that is now the day of San Perón. The appropriation of May Day, which was a preexisting celebration of the international, socialist labor movement, was more complex because the regime was attempting to override the date's history of violence and workers' protests (Plotkin 1993).

The role of Eva Perón in the success of the Peronismo cannot be understated. She founded the Fundación de Ayuda Social María Eva Duarte de Perón to provide assistance, meaning from medical attention to material benefits, to peoples who were not within the state or syndical welfare programs (Plotkin 1993). Plotkin concludes that the foundation counterbalanced



the strength of the unions and reached out to otherwise marginalized sectors of society. Through the foundation, Eva maintained a personal link between the regime and the constituency. Her image as a saint who was easily accessible and willing to work past her physical capability was a significant part of the regime propaganda (Plotkin 1993).

Though teachers are powerful tools in the construction of identity, they are not the only means a state has of encouraging its ideals: “Textbooks and materials, perhaps the most obvious embodiments of the official curriculum, present students with particular images of the state and citizenship” (Kubow and Fossum 2007, 73). Juan and Eva Perón’s regime wrote new textbooks under their government to change the public’s view of the state and to cultivate a unified identity of an Argentine family with themselves being the parent figures.

Textbooks have a key role because their material is not easily manipulated and they are given to students who are at a receptive stage in life (Plotkin 2003, 105). The books were only used for a period of four years, so they are studied more to analyze the discourse promoted by Perón than to evaluate their impacts on Argentine youth (Plotkin 2003, 106). The first grade reading book *Evita* introduced “*Eva*” and “*Evita*” in the place of the traditional “*mama*” and “*mamita*,” which furthered her image as the mother figure of Argentines. In another text, *Tiempos nuevos*, the success of Argentina was contributed to the actions of Perón and Eva’s *Fundación* is explicitly mentioned as the coordinator of children’s soccer championships (Plotkin 2003, 110). In this, the Peróns changed how people thought of the state, which supplied social justice, “*justicialismo*,” rather than charity (Plotkin 2003, 111).

## **Postmodernist and Poststructuralist Theory**

In postmodernist theory, analysis of the role of language, power relations, and driving forces that shape ideas and beliefs reveals the constructed and subjective nature of reality. Relating to education, postmodern theory challenges “master narratives” of history, which are traditionally presented as accepted knowledge but are primarily written from the white, male, Western viewpoint. Post-colonial narratives of the developing world are often connected to postmodern thought due to the plurality of voices in any society. The manner in which the anthropological “other” has been constructed in schooling, particularly in post-colonial societies, is often critiqued (Phillips and Schweisfurth 2007).

Poststructuralism has roots in the linguistic work of Ferdinand de Saussure, who found that the object of linguistic study should be “the interface between sounds/letters and the concept they represent” (Kubow and Fusson 2007). This proved to further confuse matters because the interfaces and concepts were inseparable and unobservable (Kubow and Fusson 2007). Saussure eventually drew the conclusion that word meaning is determined by forces outside of the valued object (Kubow and Fusson 2007). Poststructuralists disagree with Saussure’s opinion that linguistics is uniquely abstract because, like all things, it is subject to “valuation by human observers” (Kubow and Fusson 2007). Furthermore, poststructuralists state that all truths, beliefs, and values are products of their own conceptions and that truth does not exist except in abstraction (Kubow and Fusson 2007). In simple terms, the viewpoint of the observer casts a conceptual meaning upon the object of study.

While the roots of postmodernism and poststructuralism are distinct, they come to similar conclusions: any study is subjective in nature due to the individual lens of the observer (Kubow

and Fusson 2007). The influences of postmodernism and poststructuralism are visible in the plurality of the classroom today (Kubow and Fossum 2007). Increasingly, teachers are confronted with a diversity of cultural perspectives, norms and biases, which have the possibility to cause internal strife within the individual students and complicates the educational process, as teachers strive to present fair and equal perspectives without causing confusion (Kubow and Fossum 2007). These theories are often considered immoral because they create a vacuum in which ethical actions are pointless; however, the basic goal of these theories, creating a “thinking space,” is helpful in fostering an inclusive educational atmosphere (Kubow and Fossum 2007).

Postmodernism and poststructuralism emphasize ecological preservation, feminism, and tolerance have evolved from branches of these theories. In my research, I use these theories to account for the appearance of plurinationalism sections in Uruguayan texts, the greater general emphasis on international events, and newly included, ecological preservation segments. In some cases, indigenous languages have been incorporated into formal curriculum. The adoption of multiculturalism, plurivocality, and indigenous languages has produced greater tolerance in the classroom as education systems adjust to fit globalized context of today.

### III

#### **A Pilot Study - Bolivia**

##### **The Effects of Political Reform on Identity Formation in Education**

The idea of citizenship in Bolivia has been a topic of controversy since before the nation's founding, but this pilot study examines how citizenship and national identity have evolved since the 1980s based on regime change and alterations in social studies textbooks. I include this study because it showcases the methodological process I reenacted in Uruguay, which leaves space for a more in-depth analysis of my central case study. Also, Bolivia provides a counterpoint that strengthens my argument regarding international trends and national identity formation. In Bolivia, national politics drove the adoption of plurinationalism by the state, rather than international trends. I am not negating the influence of international trends, but here another motive took precedence. I have shortened the pilot study so that it includes my research question, a brief overview of policy change in the last thirty years and the analysis of textbooks, making my techniques more transparent.

##### **Research Question, Hypothesis, and Methodology**

In order to narrow my study, I attempt to answer one question: have governmental policies and reforms affected social reproduction in the educational system since the late 1980s in La Paz? Social production refers to the processes that sustain social structures and traditions over time. I argue that educational materials, as manipulated by different political regimes, have had (and will have) the potential to affect identity formation in La Paz, which can be seen as a representation of the nation because of the centralized nature of Bolivia's educational system. This hypothesis assumes that educational materials are changed by political regimes according to

an agenda and that educational materials have some impact on identity. Here I take identity formation to mean the process of constructing identities, national and ethnic, as well as the construction of shared histories to solidify identity. I have also limited my hypothesis: I do not attempt to demonstrate causality here; rather, I show that formal education in early years could have a significant impact on national identity and ideals of citizenship. This is not to say that formal education is the only means by which a population becomes educated, merely that this is a means of education that I studied during my short stay in La Paz.

I chose to study only social studies texts from the fourth and seventh grades from a sampling of years from the last three decades. I chose the texts from the fourth grade because children are at an age where they begin to learn substantive material, but the information is still in plain form. The seventh grade texts were chosen because this is a period when students begin to delve deeper than the surface and are able to gain greater understanding from materials.

This pilot study uses an approach that is heavily based on the content analysis of primary sources that were available to me in the library of the Ministry of Education and Municipal Library of La Paz. I use the political reforms and political context to set a background for the changes made to educational texts throughout the period of study. The texts examined are official texts promoted and used in the public educational system. I am unsure whether or not the exact texts were used throughout the private educational system as well. The most current texts I examined are used in both private and public schools but should not be considered as the only texts in circulation at present. These texts come from different editorials because I studied the ones that were readily available to me, and provide a more accurate representation of the variety of textbooks that students may encounter. Through this multi-methodological approach, I show

how educational texts have changed in light of political reforms and the importance of my findings in the context of national identity as it relates to my research in Uruguay.

### **Political Regimes and Reforms**

Before I could evaluate how political reforms have affected textbooks, an investigation of the laws and reforms themselves and the placement of them in a broader political context had to be completed. I began with a visit to the Bolivian Library of Congress, where the laws, reforms, and decrees themselves were placed in my hands.

The first drastic change to the Bolivian educational system came with the *Código de la Educación* in 1955 under President Victor Paz Estenssoro. This set of laws uses language that is very different from more recent educational laws. For example, the first section lists that the educational system is anti-imperialist and anti-feudal. In another section, this law describes the need to incorporate the *campesinos* into the national life. Article 2 stated that education should form democratic citizens united through ideals of progress. Article 30 states that primary education consists of the process of forming the culture of citizens. These examples are shown to demonstrate the difference between previous educational laws and more recent ones.

Ley 1565 Reforma Educativa of 1994 was implemented by Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada as part of the Law of Popular Participation (LPP). During his first presidency, Sánchez de Lozada enacted many policies that opened the political space needed for the success of future movements and reforms, such as those of Evo Morales.

This law marks a drastic change in the education of Bolivians. The first article states that education is intercultural and bilingual because Bolivian culture is heterogeneous. This is different because it acknowledges Bolivia's diversity rather than attempting to transform the

multitude of identities into one uniform identity. It also implies the evolution of Bolivian citizenship to include a number of ethnicities, and the law means that languages other than Spanish would be taught as a first language. This was a significant change from prior rhetoric that limited language in schools to only Spanish. Article 2.4 explicitly states that one of the goals of education is to “strengthen a national identity exalting the historical and cultural values of the Bolivian nation in its vast and diverse multicultural and multiregional wealth.” This is obviously a change from the 1955 code that sought to create a singular national identity without acknowledging the multiculturalism of Bolivia.

Evo Morales Ayma was elected in 2005 by a majority vote. His election marked the resurgence of the revolutionary ideals of 1952 with nationalization and land reform (Skidmore 2009, 181). He expanded the participation of indigenous peoples in the national government and named Bolivia a plurinational state. In 2010, Morales created the Ley 070 “Avelino Siñani – Elizardo Pérez.” This law stresses the intercultural nature of Bolivia and lists recognized ethnicities. Under the goals section, the law references his plan of “Vivir Bien” and emphasizes the respect and acknowledgement of the nations that exist within Bolivia. The new educational laws not only promote plurinationalism, but also gender equality and respect between individuals. While this law is new, it is a clear extension of the 1994 Reforma Educativa, which was the first step toward a fully plurinational nation.

### **Content Analysis of Educational Texts**

The majority of my research involves content analysis of social studies textbooks used to teach social studies to fourth and seventh graders in the Bolivian primary schools of La Paz. My study is limited to the department of La Paz because I had a limited time frame. La Paz is a valid

case study because the educational system is still highly centralized, so the textbooks found here are likely used elsewhere in the nation. I use both manifest and latent analysis to examine a selection of texts. Manifest analysis is used to describe the number of total pages, units, and chapter as well as whether or not there is a chapter on civic education. If there is a civic education chapter, the number of pages will be counted. Throughout the texts, lists of national holidays, representations of indigenous peoples, and department breakdowns are also recorded. This shows how much physical space is given to civic education in each book as well as recording the inclusion of identity building components (i.e. national holidays). Through latent analysis, I compare chapter or unit titles to evaluate the change in phrasing for similar topics as well as inferring what is covered in each. For seventh grade texts, I examine the coverage of certain key historical moments.

**Table 1. Description of select 4<sup>th</sup> grade textbooks from 1989 to 2012**

Editorial	Title	Year	Total Pages	Number of Chapters	Civic education chapter?	Shows a breakdown of each department?	Representation of indigenous peoples?	List of national holidays?
Ministerio de Educación y Cultura	Texto escolar integrado (area urbana)	1989	98	21	No	Yes	Yes	No
Ministerio de Educación y Cultura	Texto escolar integrado (area rural)	1989	98	21	No	Yes	Yes	No
Don Bosco	Ciencias Sociales Primaria 4	2012	112	11	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
La Hoguera	Ciencias Sociales Primaria 4	2012	125	6	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes



Table 1 shows how data was collected about four fourth grade social studies textbooks from the city of La Paz. The two texts from 1989 were found at the library of the Ministry of Education in La Paz. One was for use in urban areas, and the other for use in rural areas. The distinction between these areas was not apparent to me, but I only studied the social studies book. These books contained the same number of pages and chapters. Likewise, indigenous peoples are portrayed in the context of departmental festivals and folklore. It is interesting to note that there is not a list of national holidays, but there are sections of important dates for every department, which was included in each department's chapter. This description supports the idea that Bolivian national identity at the time was divided by region and department with each having separate holidays.

In order to evaluate current textbooks, two examples were purchased, one from Don Bosco and the other from Olimpia. These texts are used in both public and private schools in the city of La Paz. The number of pages varies, but both have more pages than the texts from 1989. Both books have chapters dedicated solely to civic education. Similarly, the books breakdown each department but do not give each its own chapter as in the 1989 texts. Throughout, there are photographs of indigenous-looking people. These are not limited solely to the description of folklore and departmental traditions. Instead of having holidays for each department, there is a list of national holidays in each of these texts. This analysis shows that textbooks now have a greater representation of indigenous peoples and emphasize national holidays more than departmental distinctions.

History is not explicitly discussed in the fourth grade textbooks, which focus solely on geography and civic education. In the La Hoguera edition, only 4 of the 6 chapters are focused

specifically on Bolivia. One of the chapters is dedicated to history as a concept but not as an account of Bolivian history. Without a recounting of national history, the textbooks speak of the nation without any indication of how it came to be. If historical context is not provided in social studies textbooks, where are students learning about how Bolivia became the nation it is today? It is possible that fourth grade textbooks do not include Bolivia's history in an effort to avoid offending students or dealing with difficult times in the nation's past. This is problematic because without a complete account of previous events one cannot fully understand Bolivia today. This lack of information can lead to misinterpretations that students carry with them for their entire lives. If this is a trend that has continued for decades, it would create a rather historically ignorant population.

**Table 2. Description of select 7<sup>th</sup> grade texts from 1988 to 2012**

Editorial	Title	Year	Total Pages	Number of chapters	Civic education chapter?	Shows a breakdown by each department?	Representation of indigenous peoples?	List of national holidays
Empresa Editora Proinsa	El Mar Boliviano	1988	221	32	No	No	No	No
Empresa Editora Proinsa	Lo Positivo en la Historia de Bolivia	1989	205	19	No	No	No	No
Santillana Primaria	Ciencias Sociales 7	1997	192	18	No	No	Yes	No
Editorial "Lux"	Ciencias Sociales Segundo intermedio	1998	192	10	Yes	No	Yes	No
Don Bosco	Ciencias Sociales Secundaria 1	2012	208	14	Yes	No	Yes	No
Bruño	Ciencias Sociales Septimo Grado	2012	168	16	Yes	Yes	No	Yes

Table 2 repeats the same variables from Table 1 as applied to seventh grade social studies textbooks from La Paz. The texts from the 1980s are available in the library of the Ministry of Education. *El Mar Boliviano* focuses solely on the Pacific War. There is no chapter on civic education, no departmental break down, no images of indigenous peoples, and no list of national holidays. *Lo Positivo en la Historia Boliviana* does not have any of these things either. Both books have narrow focuses and do not seem to stress indigeniety or civic education.

The seventh grade textbook, published by Santillana Primaria from 1997, was given to me by Carolina Navia Roberts, a Bolivian who grew up in La Paz. This text focuses almost entirely on the colonial period of Bolivian history. It is interesting to me that there is no chapter on education, but there is a section at the end of the book dedicated to democracy and government. To me, this textbook is most interesting because there is also a geography section, which I did not find in any of the other seventh grade texts I examined.

For 1997, I was unable to find a second seventh grade history book, but there was an eighth grade text from 1998 at the Municipal Library. In Editorial Lux's *Ciencias Sociales*, there are three sections: colonial, independence, and civic education. This marks a distinctive change in social studies textbooks. Instead of covering a large period of time with a specific focus, the book only covers two time periods. The civic education section has been added, but at what cost? At this point, students are not learning about the pre-colonial period or the more recent events lead to this change in their education.

The two texts used to represent current curriculum differ widely from each other on the surface. Don Bosco's edition has more pages and fewer chapters than Bruño's. Both texts include chapters on civic education and cover the colonial and independence periods, but that is

where the similarities end. The edition published by Don Bosco does not have a breakdown of departments or a list of national holidays but does have images of indigenous peoples; whereas, Bruño's edition has department breakdowns and national holidays but not pictures of indigenous peoples. This shows me that civic education has become more of a priority in 7<sup>th</sup> grade textbooks now than in the 1980s and that current textbooks are not particularly streamlined other than covering the same time periods.

**Table 3. Description of chapters in fourth grade texts**

Editorial	Year	Geograph y and Nature	Depart- ments	National	Rights	Other
Ministerio de Educación y Cultura	1989	7	9	4	1	0
Don Bosco	2012	7	0	4	0	0
La Hoguera	2012	8	9	6	0	6

Table 3 shows how chapters are distributed by theme in the studied fourth grade texts. I grouped both books from 1989 into one row in the chart because they have identical chapters. As shown, a large portion of each book is dedicated to geography and nature in texts. This means that fourth graders are not learning about the pre-colonial societies, colonial period, Republican period, Pacific War, Federal War, Chaco War, dictatorships of the 1960s and 70s, the transition to democracy, or the political riots and protests of 2003.

The textbooks from 1989 and the La Hoguera 2012 edition have a section dedicated to each department. It is interesting to note that the departmental breakdowns are not the same in texts across time. In the 1989 texts, the departments are described by the economy, natural resources, historical places, and celebrated heroes. The departments almost appeared as separate individual countries, each having its own history and heroes. The 2012 edition from La Hoguera

dedicated a short chapter to each department but did not recount the individual histories or heroes of each department. Instead, each chapter discusses what the department is recognized for in Bolivia. For example, the chapter on Santa Cruz is titled “Santa Cruz, sinónimo de desarrollo,” which means that the department is a synonym of development due to its economic growth. One of the subheadings, “Así aporta Santa Cruz a la economía boliviana” shows that even while highlighting a specific department, there is a direct connection between the department and the greater Bolivian nation.

Similarly, the number of chapters dedicated to national symbols does not significantly vary. Most of the chapter titles are similar in these sections, such as “Simbolos de la Patria” in 1989 and “Los símbolos que nos identifican como bolivianos” in 2012. The difference between these two titles is that the first uses “Patria,” which is an abstract concept, and the second implies that the symbols are associated with Bolivians, assumingly an emic identification. It is worth noting that the Don Bosco edition includes each department flag in the patriotic symbols chapter, but the other texts focus primarily on national symbols. Each text also contains a chapter on the structure and governmental divisions of the nation. I have found that these sections have changed with the evolution of Bolivian government, but overall the chapters are similar.



I chose to divide the seventh grade texts for Table 4 in a different manner than those from the fourth grade because these examples focus more on history than departments or geography. I created categories of time periods and a few key events in Bolivia's history that I think should be included in any history book. These are broad categories that encompass periods that greatly impacted Bolivia's development as a nation and specific events that drastically altered Bolivia. The Empresa Editora Proinsa 1989 text focuses solely on the loss of the department Litoral de Atacama, so history is shown from all the periods above only in reference to the Pacific War and subsequent events. This text is an example of how events are shown in a particular light to inspire certain sentiments in a young population. The entire book is a political argument for why the department Litoral de Atacama is rightfully Bolivia's and how the Chileans are terrible.

As a Bolivian student has told me, children are taught a hatred for Chileans early on in life. There is a national holiday devoted each year to mourning the loss of the seacoast that keeps the remembrance of the Pacific War and Chile's transgressions fresh in the minds of Bolivian citizens. In terms of social reproduction, creating a common enemy or "other" is a way of solidifying identity. The idea is that Bolivians will unite together if there is an outside offender. Due to this text and personal experience in La Paz, I would say that the Bolivian state has effectively strengthened national identity through the creation of Chile as a common enemy.

Assessing these textbooks, keeping in mind that all have an argument, the differences are striking. The texts from the 1980s make an explicit argument. *El Mar Boliviano* is a highly politicized book in its portrayal of history through the eyes of the Bolivian government in regards to Chile. *Lo positivo en la historia de Bolivia* argues that Bolivia has had good leaders that positively influenced the nation. The exclusion of time periods and historical events in

current textbooks also makes an argument, although an implicit one, about the importance of some time periods over others.

While these books do push certain politics and ideals, they cover a large amount of Bolivian history. As shown in Table 3, *El Mar Boliviano* covers the colonial period and also the Republican period and forward. This text encompasses information on interactions between Chile, Bolivia, and Peru from the colonial period through the 1970s, which is a large span of history. Unfortunately, there are gaps such as the pre-colonial period and many of the wars of the twentieth century. *Lo Positivo en la Historia de Bolivia* covers neither the pre-colonial or colonial period, but does give solid historical information from Independence through the 1970s. This is the most comprehensive text I have examined about the history of Bolivia. It covers almost all the major events in Bolivian history that had occurred previous to publication.

The recent editions are divided into three sections: Colonial, Colonial examples, and Independence. Over half the books are spent on colonialism and the other third on a war that only lasts twenty years in the country's history. It surprised me that a government based on plurinationalism and indigenous roots would place such emphasis on the colonial period and exclude pre-colonial society. This lack of information could lead to a misunderstanding of historical events, peoples, and current politics.

It first struck me as peculiar that today's government stresses plurinationalism and the indigenous roots of its citizens, but the texts here do not discuss pre-colonial society. It is possible that this period of history is stressed in a different grade, but it is notable that there is no mention here. Don Bosco's edition has a section that describes the new laws of the plurinational state, which literally lists the Ley 070 "Avelino Siñani – Elizardo Pérez". Bruño's edition includes a citizenship section, but does not explicitly acknowledge Morales' new law. Over time,



social studies textbooks have emphasized different periods of history, but I do not sufficient information to determine why this is the case.

In recent texts, students are not given nearly the same amount of historical information as they were provided in the 1980s. The two time periods covered are nuanced and in depth, but the amount of history missing is difficult to overlook. Overall, I believe that the earlier texts provided a better knowledge base for students, even if they did not contain a civic education chapter. It may seem easier to leave information out than cover the difficult times in Bolivia's past, but this lack of information causes gaps in the learning process of Bolivian students. Excluded information comes to be thought of as unimportant if the population is not taught about it, which seems almost as offensive as its inclusion could be. A plurinational state, such as Bolivia, should stress the importance of the diversity of its cultural, etHistoria Nacionalic, and linguistic historical background in schools. If a state wishes to minimize racial and etHistoria Nacionalic discrimination, acknowledging aspects of history, such as the pre-colonial era and recent revolutionary events, would be a positive beginning.

**Table 5. The degree of images of indigenous peoples by text**

Text	Low	Medium	High	Number
1989 Grado 4 Ciencias Sociales	X			18
Don Bosco: Ciencias Sociales Primaria 4	X			21
La Hoguera: Ciencias Sociales Primaria 4	X			23
El Mar Boliviano	X			0
Lo positivo en la historia de Bolivia	X			
Santillana Primaria: Ciencias Sociales 7		X		38
Ciencias sociales Segundo intermedio	X			6
Bruño: Ciencias sociales, septimo grado	X			10
Don Bosco: Ciencias, secundaria una			X	78

Table 5 contains a latent analysis of the images of indigenous peoples in all of the examined texts. I created categories of low, medium, and high. Textbooks with less than twenty-five images of indigenous peoples are placed in the low category; those containing between twenty-five and fifty are in the medium category. If a textbook contains over fifty images of indigenous peoples, it is placed in the high category. The vast majority of the textbooks I have studied fall under the low category, which is shocking considering the majority of Bolivia's population is indigenous. Don Bosco's current seventh grade text is the only text is categorized with high indigenous images. This text portrays indigenous peoples throughout the historical periods covered, but many of the images are in the civic education chapter and show the peoples of Bolivia today. This text is a more accurate representation of Bolivian society. The lack of indigenous representation throughout these texts is another gap in the historical account that has been and continues to be taught today. Indigenous peoples have played an important role in Bolivian history, and that should be given acknowledgement in historical texts, especially considering the texts are taught to a primarily indigenous or mestizo population.

## **Conclusion**

This discussion began by stating the importance of education in the formation of national identities. In the case of Bolivia, textbooks are powerful instruments of identity formation due to the complicated nature of the history of Bolivian cultures and etHistoria Nacionalities. I have found that the social studies textbooks that have been used over the last three decades are lacking in terms of content. Fourth grade texts cover almost no history at all, and what is covered in the 1980s texts is strictly departmental specific. Seventh grade texts today cover far less material

regarding Bolivia since the War of Independence than what was covered in the texts of the 1980s, which contained information up to the decade before publication.

History as it is currently being taught is exclusionary in a way that continues to marginalize and demote the importance of indigenous peoples in the shaping of Bolivia's nation. The national identity of Bolivia could be greatly strengthened through a more accurate account of history that places a heavier emphasis on the indigeneity that makes Bolivia the unique nation it is today. In terms of regimes and reform, the state has become more inclusionary (at least superficially). While plurinationalism has been adopted in the contemporary historical and civic education sections, Bolivia's full historical account has not yet been altered to voice this indigeneity that is currently popular.

## **IV: Uruguay**

### **History and Case Discussion**

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, independence movements swept across Latin America. In 1804, Haiti became the first colony to gain independence, and the majority of other Latin American regions earned rights as independent nations by the early 1820s. The three main catalysts to revolutionary cries in Latin America were the French Revolution, the crisis of the Spanish monarchy, and criollo resentment of absentee rule. The French Revolution of 1789 inspired ideas of freedom and equality in Latin America. Napoleon Bonaparte occupied the Spanish capital of Madrid in 1808, which triggered a crisis of legitimacy. According to Margarita Carriquiry, the Spanish monarchy had been accepted as the legitimate ruler, but the French takeover diverted responsibility to the people. Lastly, criollos, Europeans born in the Americas, had long fostered resentment towards Iberian born governors who were allowed to rule over the colony simply because they were born in Spain. These are the three overarching motivators of the revolutions in Latin America, but each revolution played out with its own unique circumstances.

Immigration has occurred and reoccurred throughout history. In the Americas, this process has distinctly impacted the development of nations with the introduction of new peoples, language, and culture into evolving societies. Immigration to the Americas began with the landing of Christopher Columbus in the Caribbean, but here I am more interested in how immigration influenced the social and cultural evolution that took place after the wars of independence.

Attempts at forming new democracies surged through Latin America following the Allied victory of World War II. In some instances, democracy experienced moderate success, but

dictatorship was also prevalent during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. Military coups occurred throughout much of Latin America in the 1960s and 1970s. Chile is one example of a democracy that developed a strong tradition in the 1890s with a stable and multiparty system but elected the first Marxist president, Salvador Allende, in 1970. The U.S. government supported coup d'état that placed Augusto Pinochet in the presidency in 1972 and military authoritarian regime that followed mark a twenty-five year break in Chile's democratic history. While Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia, Uruguay, Chile, Peru, Panama, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras all endured long periods of military rule, the Uruguayan case seems more similar to the right-wing dictatorships of Chile, Argentina and Brazil than the others.

With the enactment of extensive social and cultural reforms, José Batlle y Ordóñez and the Colorado Party launched Uruguay into a period that served as the example of democracy in Latin America. Uruguay was thought of as the "Switzerland of Latin America" for most of the twentieth century. Uruguay succumbed to a bureaucratic authoritarian military government in the same manner as many other Latin American countries, despite a long tradition of democracy. Uruguay would not fully reestablish their democracy until 1985.

I have selected three distinct time periods of Uruguayan history that reflect the birth, growth, and trials of this nation. The first period is development of Uruguay as a nation from colony to newly established democracy, which spans from 1811 when the revolution began to 1830 with the first constitution. In Uruguay the period of immigration spans roughly from the 1850s to the 1940s. The third period is the social crisis and the resulting dictatorship that occurred between 1960 and 1984. In Chapter V, I analyze how these events were presented in textbooks from 1980 to 2010, referring back to the characters and circumstances laid out here.

However, the Plan Varela is key to understanding the Uruguayan pride in its education system and the nation's mentality towards education. Uruguay was one of the earliest to adopt a free public education system that was religiously unaffiliated and mandatory. This plan significantly shaped the nation – in terms of identity and values.

### **Varela and the Law of Common Education 1877**

Respected writer, journalist, intellectual and politician, José Pedro Varela was born in Montevideo on March 19, 1845. As the Director of Public Instruction in 1876 during the dictatorship of Lorenzo Latorre, he designed an educational reform called the *Ley de educación común* or Law of Common Education, which was approved in 1877. He believed that education should be free, compulsory and secular. He wanted the education system to use more creative materials and the society to become more democratic. Varela prohibited the use of corporal punishment in classes. This law educated young Uruguayans, taught them the Spanish language, and helped immigrants to feel Uruguayan. In Uruguay today, cities, streets, museums, schools, and songs bear his name.

Previously, I spoke of three key periods in Uruguayan history, but this strong tradition of education is an important component of my research. Varela's Plan was key in the incorporation of immigrants and the creation of the Uruguayan identity. This is an example of a structuralist approach in education that has adapted the educational system in the interest of creating a commonality, an "imagined community." According to Anderson, Hobsbawm, and Gellner, mass education and a common language have a strong influence on the formation of a national identity. Here, Varela not only imposed commonalities, such as language, but was also careful to avoid exclusionary policy of other ways.

The public and secular aspects of the education process were inclusionary by a conscious decision to avoid exclusivity. By making education free, children were able to attend school despite economic background, an important aspect when recalling the number of immigrants surging into the nation. In many nations, public school systems were not fully developed, but Uruguay made the choice to include rather than exclude the lower classes in an effort to unify the citizens of their nation and define an identity of its own. A secular system was meant to avoid choosing a religious alignment, which would have excluded some portion of the population. The choice to be secular is especially significant in Latin America where the state and Church have often intertwined since Spanish rule. The Uruguayan people today do have an established identity that is heavily rooted in these principles, leading me to conclude that Varela's plan was successful in Uruguay.

### **The Birth of the Uruguayan Nation: 1811 – 1830**

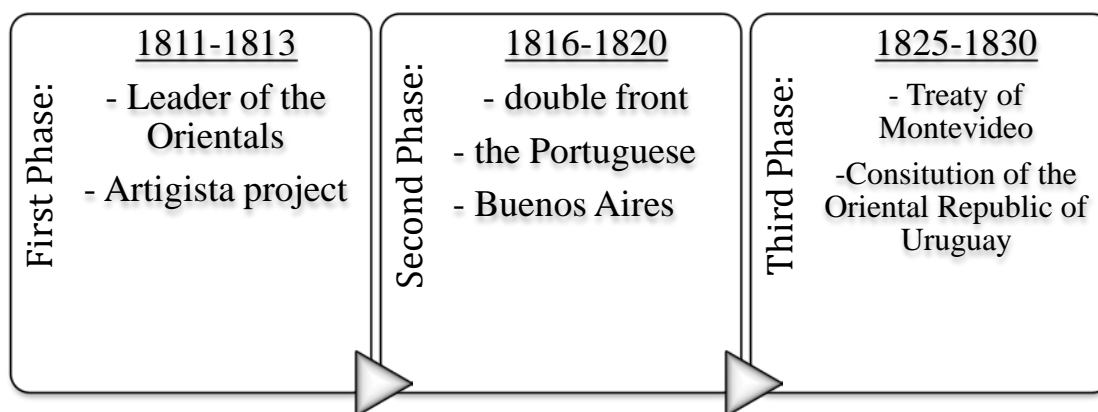
In the Southern Cone, the independence revolution began in Río de la Plata with the Junta de Mayo in Buenos Aires in 1810 (Monreal 2012). When Buenos Aires had already demonstrated its military strength by driving out the British in 1806, and the city established an economic monopoly in the region. José de San Martín, son of a Spanish military officer, led the military campaign in the south, much as Simón Bolívar led the revolutionary forces in the northern region.

This era is particularly important because the creation of a nation is important to the foundation and development of a national identity, giving the citizens a relatable example. The hero of Uruguay's independence story, José Artigas, set the tone for Uruguay. He appears frequently in literature, and is the subject of the most famous paintings and sculptures. The

history has been told in such a way that this persona continues to be referenced in the arts and is the epitome of an Uruguayan citizen.

While Uruguay was amongst the first to call for revolution, it was one of the last to gain independence and establish a republic. The struggle can be thought of in three parts: independence from Spain, the fight against both the Spanish and Portuguese, and independence from Portugal.

### Uruguayan Revolution: Three Periods<sup>1</sup>



Rural movement that extended spontaneously as a social and economic protest with one defined leader distinguishes the Uruguayan revolution from others in Latin America (Monreal 2012). The independence struggle began in 1811 with José Gervasio Artigas leading the revolution effort against the Spanish. During this first stage, he was named the “Leader of the Orientals” at the Oriental Assemblies (Monreal 2012). This period was marked by military

<sup>1</sup> Created from notes taken in Monreal’s *Pensamiento en Latino America y Uruguay* course. 2012.



triumph and defeat: the Battle of the Stones was the first victory of the revolution in the region, but the Exodus of the Oriental People was a discouraging loss.

The Artiguista project was defined during this period. The three principles were Independence from Spain, the formation of a republic, and the creation of a federation (Monreal 2012). He encouraged liberty and equality, and he also was against the centralism that allowed Buenos Aires to be the only political and economic force in the region (Monreal 2012). His goal was not to create an independent Uruguay, but rather a confederation that he called the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata (Monreal 2012). These are outlined in the instructions for Oriental representatives that attended the Constituent Assembly of Buenos Aires in 1813.

From 1816 to 1820, the independence struggle was fought on two fronts: the Portuguese to the north and Buenos Aires across the Río de la Plata (Monreal 2012). The Portuguese had been trying to claim parts of Uruguay for more than 100 years. Montevideo, which later became Uruguay's capital, was founded as a Spanish reaction to the Portuguese settlement of Colonia del Sacramento in the 1600s, which is located directly across the Río de la Plata from Buenos Aires (Margarita 2012). The attempt to annex this territory continued with the withdrawal of the Spanish from the region. Artigas was the vital figure throughout this period.

In the third period of the struggle for independence, Artigas promoted a regional confederation and fought against the Buenos Aires' monopoly in the region. The inhabitants of Uruguay were also fighting against the Portuguese, gaining independence from Portugal in 1828. The first Constitution of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay was ratified in 1830. Artigas was a prominent force throughout these events, but retired to Paraguay due to political conflict.

**Early modernization: 1850s – 1940s**

Before immigration, Uruguay was largely unpopulated land. The vast majority of Uruguayan citizens identify as being of European descent, with 90.76 % white in 2012 (Uruguay en Cifras). In 1850, the large waves of immigration to Uruguay began, starting with the French, particularly the Basques, and today comprise 10% of the population of Uruguay. The Italians immigrated in large groups in the 1860s and currently comprise 40% of the population now. After the influx of Italian immigrants, there was another wave of Spanish immigration (currently 30% of the population) that completed the first phase of primarily Western Europeans<sup>2</sup> immigration.

While each group of immigrants contributed to Uruguayan culture, the influences vary in area and degree. The Spanish influence is most obvious in markers such as language and the festive culture. The Italian link is inescapable in the architecture and cuisine, but the traces of French immigrants are less evident in the daily culture of Uruguay. However, it is the French who have ideologically impacted the theoretical academic discourse in Uruguay.

These three groups were the largest groups of immigrants between 1850 and 1900. Generally, these groups immigrated because of hunger, war and political persecutions. The first phase of immigrants did assimilate as a result of the education that had been in place since the initiation of Varela's Law of Common Education, which taught Spanish and created a sense of "being Uruguayan". In the first half of the twentieth century, smaller groups migrated to Uruguay. These smaller groups are considered to be a second phase because each group tended to settle in small towns, separate from Uruguayan culture.

---

<sup>2</sup> This paragraph is taken from my first "Parcial" in Cultura Uruguaya taught by Margarita in 2012.

Emigration out of Uruguay began in the 1960s due to political persecution and continued until 2004. Currently, some Uruguayans are beginning to return to their native nation, but Uruguay is still considered to be an emigration country with more than 18% of the population living abroad (International Organization for Migration 2012). Because many emigrants are young, population demographics have been affected (International Organization for Migration 2012). In recent years, international economic crisis has led to an increase in the number of Uruguayans returning (International Organization for Migration 2012). Over the last fifty years Uruguayans emigrated and are now returning, as a separate process from the immigration that populated the country. While motives such as political persecution may be the driving force in both eras, I do not believe the two to be correlated.

When building a national identity, the origins of the population necessitate an explanation. This is especially true when, as in the Uruguayan case, indigenous peoples represent a very small percentage of the population. The process of populating Uruguay and the subsequent effort in shaping immigrants into Uruguayan citizens are related in a way that can be tracked from the Plan Varela and forward. The question is, now that the national Uruguayan identity has been formed, how does education evolve to include the plurality and multicultural trends that are currently popular and distinctly more open? How does one maintain the “Uruguayan-ness” of the society, while accepting multiculturalism and competing in a highly globalized context?

### **Social Crisis and Dictatorship**

This third and final period is an example of a particularly difficult event in Uruguay’s past that must be acknowledged in some way. While many may choose to avoid teaching about

the era, those who do speak of painful times that can encourage young Uruguayans to uphold the democracy or justify the dictatorship as the only possible manner to end the chaos of the 1960s. All nations have dealt experienced events and periods either socially or politically that bring up difficult subjects, and I believe that the management of such times in the educational setting can impact the national feelings towards said event.

Uruguay experienced a political and social crisis in the 1960s that led to the military coup and dictatorship. The crisis can be described in three parts: the birth of the radical left, the politics from Gestido to Pacheco, and the clash between intellectuals and politicians<sup>3</sup>. The MLN-Tupamaros (Movimiento de Liberación Nacional – Tupamaros) were the radical left that provoked political tension by violent attacks on governmental officials and buildings in the 1960s. Óscar Gestido of the Colorado Party was elected President of Uruguay in 1966, but his death placed Vice President Jorge Pacheco Areco in office. Pacheco’s popularity grew as a result of his firm stance against chaos and his moderate success at controlling inflation, but he is still on of the more controversial figures in Uruguayan history because of his repressive and authoritarian tendencies. During this period, when the term “intellectual” was equated with leftist, politicians blamed the intellectuals such as José Enrique Rodó, Carlos Vaz Ferreira, Pedro Figari and Mario Benedetti for the formation of unruly and violent leftist radicals. The radicals claimed to be nonviolent and return the responsibility back to the politicians. The decade of the 1960s was complicated, and Uruguay was in the midst of chaos.

From 1973 to 1984, Uruguay was governed by a military authoritarian regime. The dictatorship, enduring eleven long years, was much shorter the twenty-one year Brazilian

---

<sup>3</sup> Da Silveira, Pablo y otros, *Historia reciente* (25 fascículos). Montevideo, El País, 2007:  
 N° 19: El nacimiento de la izquierda radical en Uruguay;  
 N° 20: De Gestido a Pacheco;  
 N° 21: Intelectuales y política;

dictatorship and the seventeen years Chile spent under Pinochet. Even though the government was dictatorial, the constitutional presidential office and title were kept. Uruguay had the highest imprisonment rate at 31 per 10,000 citizens. This was a period of abductions, disappearances, and killings that occurred not only within Uruguay but also in Chile and Argentina during the same time period. Many intellectuals, such as Mario Benedetti, were exiled during the dictatorship.

In 1984, the demands for return to civilian rule led to national presidential elections. Rafael Addiego Bruno served as interim president, and Julio María Sanguinetti served as the first democratically elected president from 1985 to 1990, marking Uruguay's official return to democracy. Los Olimareños performed a concert in the Centenary Stadium in 1984 to celebrate Uruguay's return to democracy, singing "A Redoblar" which had been adopted as the song of resistance.

This period left a distinct mark on Uruguay. In my study, this was a period in which the government was undemocratic and infringed upon the autonomy of the school system, particularly at the university level. This was a period of human rights violations that was detrimental to the Uruguayan psyche. Not only a historical time period, I study textbooks from this era, in which I could see the regime change reflected in the alterations made to textbooks.

## **Conclusions**

In the next chapter, I refer back to the periods of foundation, early modernization and dictatorship, using the people and places to evaluate Uruguayan textbooks. Each period serves a particular role in building an identity and shaping the national historical view. The birth of Uruguay serves as the starting point, and José Artigas is a model Uruguayan. The way the

independence story is taught shows how the government prioritized this event over time. Is Artigas the central character of a historical textbook or just a mentioned name in the independence process? Are the Artigista principles outlined?

Immigration is the process by which the nation's open farmland was populated, which explains the urban population and the demographic composition of Uruguay today. Vast influxes of immigrants created the need for a solid education system that would instill national values and a common language in young or new Uruguayan citizens. This topic has become more complex as immigration has shifted to emigration with the tide slowly turning once more. I refer to the historical waves that grew Uruguayan population as I analyze the evolution of immigration in textbooks.

I refer back to the 1970s and 1980s to better understand how this period is taught and what conclusions can be drawn if it is not taught. When is it taught? Does the text justify or condemn the dictatorship? What could the answers mean when thinking about the formation of a identity and historical perception?

## V

### **Data and Analysis**

To analyze the relationship between textbook alterations and education policy, I divide this chapter into two sections; the bulk of the chapter discusses Uruguayan textbooks, and a smaller section covers education policy that applies to primary education. Within the first section, history and social science texts are the first primary focus with an aside about civic education. Throughout the analysis of these texts, I reference the historical periods outlined in Chapter 4. The second section of this chapter addresses education policy, but much of the education policy from the second half of the twentieth century is directed at the university level, rather than the primary level. I begin by painting a clearer picture of my experience conducting research in Uruguay and how this has affected my study.

The center of my analysis focuses on history, social science, and civic and moral education textbooks published between 1961 and 2010 used in the Uruguayan educational system. I found textbooks that were published by varying publishing companies with multiple authors as well as examples published by the Uruguayan government. These textbooks were available at the Pedagogical Museum and Library in Montevideo. Within the museum, separate rooms house the book stacks, the newspaper archives, the photocopier, and the reading area. I was allowed to sit in the reading room while studying texts that were brought to me by the library staff. In the quiet reading room with squeaky wooden floors, I dove into Uruguayan history as it has been taught to the last two generations.

Starting out, I hoped to find out how a difficult time period in Uruguayan history is taught and when it was excluded. History is not always taught from start to finish each year of schooling, so I also looked for thematic and emphatic differences across texts. From my summer

experience in Bolivia, I learned that excluding information is as important as including information where teaching history is concerned. Knowing this, I kept track of what periods, themes, and historical figures were included in each text. Since I had already become familiar with the Uruguayan timeline, I expected to find gauchos, artists, and authors that highlight the nation's birth and development.

The Uruguayan textbooks surprised me in a number of ways. I found that overall a fairly complete historical record has been provided in terms of covering the main historical time periods (pre-colonial, colonial, revolution, independence, republic periods). Bias aside, the content of history and social science texts included each major period at least once between the fourth and sixth grades. The dedication to environmental and civil rights issues found in current texts was also unexpected, but made sense when I recalled the textbooks I found in Bolivia. Artigas, as a national hero, was at least referenced, if not a more central part, in the majority of the texts I found, which was not surprising.

I must admit that my Uruguayan experience is biased as well because I learned about the history and culture through a contemporary lens at the Catholic University of Uruguay and through home life with an Uruguayan family. The people with whom I interacted largely shaped my perception of historical events and the current position taken by Uruguayans, as did the lectures I attended at the university. An unbiased third party did not teach history to me, but the Uruguayans themselves did, many of who could remember life during the dictatorship. By living with a family, I learned about how Uruguayans deal with history in their personal lives. I say my writing is biased because of personal experience, but this bias does not negate the overall conclusions drawn.



Within my first month in Montevideo, I stumbled upon the Pedagogical Museum and Library that was coincidentally three blocks away from my apartment. The museum was marked as a place of interest within a plaza on a map that came in the orientation packet handed out by the Catholic university, and I decide to stop by one morning before my classes. I spent an hour talking to the librarians about who I am, where I live, and why I cared about Uruguayan history. I told them about my community service project at a middle school on the outskirts of Montevideo and how I had no idea where the middle school was. One of the ladies whipped out a book that listed all of the public schools in Montevideo to give me the address and show me photographs of the school. This first encounter is the reason I researched almost exclusively at this library.

When I was not traveling or studying, I would walk down to the library and spend a few hours pouring over textbooks and inquiring about the books and the gaps between books. The computerized catalog system was complicated to navigate, so I opted to rely more on the expertise of the library staff. The reading room was lined with bookshelves and provided a pleasant atmosphere that was heightened by the sounds of children playing at the neighboring school and the soft shuffle of feet in the hallway. The lessons learned while researching in this library are some of the most valuable experiences I brought back from Uruguay.

The first lesson I learned in research was that I would not find everything that I set out to find. I learned this in Bolivia over the summer and tried to reign in my expectations in Uruguay. I hoped to find a sampling of textbooks used to teach history that were published from the 1960s to 2012. The selection of early textbooks was limited, and I had difficulty establishing the frequency of textbook turnover. I was also told by one of the librarians that in the earlier period of my study texts were approved for use in the public school system, but that there was not an

official text used universally. Then, I discovered the Moral and Civic Education textbooks that were published by the Ministry of Education in 1980, which spurred questions I had not thought of beforehand but would become essential to my research.

The archival work I was able to do using the resources of this library significantly impacted my project. Besides granting me access to textbooks, the staff that patiently sat with me while I struggled with the Uruguayan accent and the unfamiliar vocabulary made this research an enjoyable experience and filled the unwritten gaps between textbooks. Through these conversations, I learned when and how certain texts were used and regulated during the dictatorship. While I still have many questions about the process and evolution of textbook writing and publication, I would still be missing an essential piece of my project without this experience. Considering I was never able to figure out how to work the computer system, my success locating texts would have been impossible without human assistance.

### **Social Science Textbooks**

Over the course of the semester, I spent a couple hours each week working at the library or on another aspect of my research. Below, the texts that I analyze as units of analysis are written in biographical form and ordered alphabetically by author. Four are editions of the same text that were published over the span of twenty-six years. I use the text published in 1963, which is the third edition of the book, as a “base text” or point of reference throughout my analysis. These texts are particularly important when discussing the presentation of the dictatorship. Each text has a shortened name that appears in the succeeding tables and in my analysis.

**Table 1: Uruguayan Textbooks Analyzed**


---

Nosotros en el Mundo 4	Equipo Santillana. 1999. Montevideo. (Nosotros)
Libro de Ciencias Sociales de Cuarto Año	Galeano, Lucía Forteza and Alejandra Rodríguez Cammarano. 2008. Montevideo: Administración Nacional de Educación Pública. (Ciencias Sociales Cuatro)
Historia nacional	Imprenta del Consejo de Educación Primaria. 1980. Montevideo: Talleres Gráficos de A. Monteverde y Cía S.A. (Historia Nacional)
Una América por Descubrir.	Mendéz, Nelly Raquel and Juan Eduardo Morales. 2000. Montevideo: Ediciones Impresora Polo. (Descubrir)
Libro de Ciencias Sociales de Quinto Año	Míguez, Susana B., Mariela R. Peña, and Alicia G. Pereira. 2010. Montevideo: Administración Nacional de Educación Pública. (Ciencias Sociales Cinco)
Historia del Uruguay para uso escolar	Pacheco, Mauricio Schurmann and Maria Luisa Coolighan Sanguinetti. 1961. 3 <sup>rd</sup> ed., Montevideo: Libreros Editores A Monteverde y Cía S.A. (Historia del Uruguay)
Historia del Uruguay para uso escolar: tomo 2	Pacheco, Mauricio Schurmann and Maria Luisa Collighan Sanguinettie. 1981. 16 <sup>th</sup> ed., Montevideo: Libreros Editores A Monteverde y Cía S.A. (Historia del Uruguay 2)
Mi libro de Historia escolar. (Cuarto y quinto año)	Pacheco, Mauricio Schurmann and Maria Luisa Collighan Sanguinettie. 1986. Montevideo: Libreros Editores A Monteverde y Cía S.A. (Historia Escolar 3)
Mi libro de Historia escolar. (Sexto año)	Pacheco, Mauricio Schurmann and Maria Luisa Collighan Sanguinettie. 1987. Montevideo: Libreros Editores A Monteverde y Cía S.A. (Historia Escolar 1)
Libro de Ciencias Sociales	Roland, María and Elina Rostan. 2000. Montevideo: Impresora Editorial. (Ciencias Sociales)
Libro de Ciencias Sociales de Sexto Año	Sanchez, Ana Claudia, Silvia Reyes Alonso, and Rossana Perez. Montevideo: Administración Nacional de Educación Pública. (Ciencias Sociales Seis)
Historia escolar quinto año	Traversoni, Alfredo. 1988. Montevideo: Editorial Kapelusz, S.A. (Historia Escolar 2)

---

Since I was learning about Uruguayan history and improving my understanding of the Spanish language, there were particular moments of personal epiphany in relation to these texts. Sharing two of these moments help to illustrate the progression of my research. The first moment occurred when the professor of my Uruguayan culture class explained immigration. I had stared

at the current fifth grade textbook the week before and wondered why the first pages explained immigration in great detail. As it turns out, Uruguay was populated in waves of immigration, hence most citizens have European Union citizenship and the culture is known for being heavily European influenced. Varela created an education plan to incorporate immigrants into Uruguayan citizens who shared a common language and national identity.

Immigration is key to Uruguay's past but is also a part of its present. Within Latin America, immigration has played a key role in the urbanization and modernization processes of the twentieth century. Teaching the distinction between the two words before diving into the history made sense given Uruguay's story. After this, everything about the textbook I had been looking at clicked in my mind.

The second breakthrough occurred while speaking with one of the librarians. I was flipping through *Historia del Uruguay 2* and thought that the entire text looked familiar. Thinking that there must have been a mistake in my notes, I checked everything again. This book was definitely similar to another one in my notes; even the authors were the same. Wanting to verify this information, I asked the librarian working the morning shift. She laughed and brought three texts to my reading area. One was the text I had already seen before from 1961, but the other two were new to me. She explained that she used an edition of this text when she was in school and that her mother had studied a previous edition before her. These texts had been used in various forms for many years. This discovery surprised me, and I was able to examine the same text as it was edited before, during, and after the dictatorship. The earliest edition from 1961 is the one that I use as a basis for my analysis.

I began asking questions about each one, which resulted in a conversation about the process of textbook publication. Before 1973, the Uruguayan government approved textbooks,

but teachers were allowed to select one to use in their class. During the dictatorship, the government prohibited the use of certain texts while allowing other texts to continue being used before publishing its own edition of this text in 1981. This influenced my opinion of how Uruguayan education has evolved alongside politics, and I value these texts in particular because they have been used to educate many Uruguayans over a long period of time.

### **José Artigas 1764 – 1850**

Teaching Uruguayan revolution and independence without mentioning José Artigas would be similar to teaching the American Revolution without George Washington: it would not happen. That being said, the reoccurring references to Artigas in these texts are expected, which shifts my focus to how he is presented as opposed to if he is presented. The number of pages that are related to Artigas and the manner of his presentation alter the tone of a text.

While Artigas is still an important character in Uruguayan history, recent texts do not focus heavily on him or the time period in which he lived, but he is rarely excluded entirely. Human rights, equality, tolerance, and injustice are given considerable weight in the current texts, and the history of the twentieth century on a global scale seems to be the central focus in contemporary texts. This does not mean that Artigas has been excluded from educational texts: he appears frequently in the poems and short stories that define Uruguayan literature. On more than one occasion, he was referenced to or an explicit part of a story in the Uruguayan Literature class I took in Montevideo. This could mean that Artigas has been memorialized in a more romanticized history that is more typically a part of literature and less of a centrality that is emblematic of the modern Uruguayan.

**Table 2: Coverage of José Artigas in Texts**

Text	Time Period			Level of Coverage		
	Yes; with Artigas	Yes; without Artigas	No	Min	Mod	Max
<b>During the Dictatorship</b>						
Historia Nacional	X					X
<b>After the Dictatorship</b>						
Historia Escolar 3	X				X	
Historia Escolar	X				X	
Nosotros	X			X		
Ciencias Sociales Cuatro	X			X		
Descubrir	X			X		
Ciencias Sociales Cinco	X				X	
Ciencias Sociales	X				X	

Table 2 shows whether the time period of Artigas was covered with reference to him or without, if the text does not cover the time period or Artigas, and the level of coverage in each text. This section and table are included mostly because *Historia Nacional* was published during the dictatorship, and I found it be a case worthy of attention.

Upon opening the text, the first image is the painting “Artigas en la Puerta de la Ciudadela” by Juan Manuel Blanes with the quote, “the youth should receive a favorable (positive?) influence in their education so that they are virtuous and useful to their country<sup>4</sup>.” The combination of the words accompanying the image of the national hero standing in the doorway of the city wall that once surrounded Montevideo is very powerful.

Figure 1 is an image of the painting (Blanes 1884), “Artigas en la Puerta de la Ciudadela.” The significance of this painting alone is heavily weighted given the history of Artigas as the national hero, the history of the wall that was destroyed to symbolically break the

<sup>4</sup> In Spanish, this was stated, “Los jóvenes deben recibir un influjo favorable en su educación para que sean virtuosos y útiles a su país.”

new nation away from its colonial past, and the fame associated with one of Uruguay's most well known artists. The quotation is not part of the original work but makes the intention of this text explicitly clear. This text was not used for many years because it was published with only four years before the return to democracy in Uruguay. Regardless of the lack of opportunity to be completely incorporated into the thoughts and minds of a people, the government ministry that published this text did so with the intention of encouraging the formation of "virtuous and useful" citizens. This page was only the beginning of a text that covered the revolution and years leading up to independence with a heavy emphasis on Artigas's role.



**Figure 1**

The textbooks published after the dictatorship provide minimal to moderate coverage of Artigas. *Historia Escolar 3*, *Historia Escolar 2*, *Ciencias Sociales Cinco* and *Ciencias Sociales* all provide moderate coverage. The process of revolution and Artigas are generally covered in a chapter that describes how Uruguay became independent. *Historia Escolar 3* is a text that is divided into three parts: precolonial, colonial, and revolution. Artigas appears as a central figure

in the final part. This text outlines his ideals of autonomy and sovereignty and also points to his life as a model.

*Historia Escolar* is divided into four sections: precolombian cultures, Montevideo, revolution, the history of man and technical achievements. This text spends a third of the chapter on revolution covering the broader causes of the revolution and the characters such as Simón Bolívar and José de San Martín. Artigas and his ideals are outlined towards the end of the chapter, focusing on his ideals of government. The text calls Artigas the national hero of Uruguay and emphasizes his heroic moral values.

Of the thirteen chapters in *Ciencias Sociales Cinco*, one chapter is devoted to Artigas. *Ciencias Sociales* has an even shorter coverage of Artigas, addressing him and the period of revolution in only one of seventeen chapters. While these two examples provide less coverage than the other two in the moderate category, they still devoted an entire chapter to the subject, even though the length varies. Once again, the texts cover the Artiguista ideals.

Three texts cover Artigas and the independence period minimally: *Nosotros*, *Ciencias Sociales Cuatro* and *Descubrir*. One page covers Artigas as a national hero towards the end of *Nosotros*. In *Ciencias Sociales Cuatro*, Artigas is mentioned briefly in the history of the department named Artigas. He is mentioned alongside other revolutionaries of Latin America in *Descubrir*. These three texts do not give an in depth description of Artigas's role in the independence movements or fully explain his viewpoints.

In conclusion, Artigas was covered most extensively in the text published during the dictatorship. The text examined showed Artigas as having good moral character with the aim to inspire positive values in readers. Recently, this subject is not given as much attention, but Artigas is still considered to be an Uruguayan of ideal character.



## **Discussion of Immigration, Emigration, and Migration**

The movement or migration of people groups has shaped the history of the world. Uruguayan history has been notably marked by immigration, emigration, and urban migration. These terms can be confusing, but each applies to certain time periods and resulting phenomenon that occur in Uruguay. Many of these trends are common throughout Latin America (and some even more widespread), but Uruguay is a special case. Prior to Spanish colonization, the region was sparsely populated with indigenous groups that were subsequently eliminated. Uruguay was repopulated in various phases, but its small population that has remained fairly stable since the last large immigration wave.

The waves of immigration that led to the repopulation of Uruguay was described in Chapter 4 and are historically easy to follow. The subjects of emigration and urban migration are more recent issues. During the second half of the twentieth century, many Uruguayans emigrated to Spain and other European countries seeking refuge from political persecutions and/or finessing their artistic and literary talents. While some have returned, the exit and entry of these people is noted because many are well-known poets, writers and painters. Uruguay's population is mostly urban; but, even so, the population shift towards even further urbanization has coined the phrase: *el Éxodo rural* or the rural exodus. Table 3 records these terms as they appear in textbooks.

**Table 3: Coverage of Immigration, Emigration and Migration - Post Dictatorial**

Text	Terms			Level of Coverage		
	Immigration	Emigration	Migration	Min	Mod	Max
Descubrir	X	X	X	X		
Ciencias Sociales Cinco	X	X	X		X	
Ciencias Sociales	X		X		X	
Ciencias Sociales Seis	X		X	X		

The discussion of and differentiation between these terms occurs only in the textbooks issued in current years. In *Descubrir*, the terms are mentioned in the final chapter that is about contemporary South America. The text takes care to distinguish between internal and external migration as well as urban to rural migration. Internal migration is said to consist mainly of rural to urban migration.

*Ciencias Sociales Cinco* is the text that first drew my attention to this subject. The first pages explain each of these terms explicitly with a world map and arrows showing the movement of peoples around the world. This page is followed by a three-part description of citizenship: political, civil, and social. This speaks to the relationship between citizenship and immigration in Uruguayan history and society. In the final section, international migration is discussed as a recent issue. Here, these terms are not applied more to the present situation globally and Uruguay rather than discussed in a historical light.

Another interesting example is *Ciencias Sociales* because the terms are discussed in two parts. The third section of the text is about the population of the world, including the rural-urban movement as part of the inequality in population distribution on a global scale. Later, Immigration and the relationship between growing migration and increasing urbanization are discussed as social and cultural changes. This section relates the terms to Uruguay's past as

many immigrants were coming from urban centers of other countries, which led to the growth of Uruguayan cities.

The topic of immigration is covered in a separate chapter in *Ciencias Sociales Seis*. This text discusses immigration first in relation to global population growth and then more specifically within Uruguay. Urbanization is linked to rural-urban migration in this text. The material covered in this text is comparable to those covered in *Ciencias Sociales*.

The base text (*Historia del Uruguay*) was published in 1961, which was about fifteen years after the last major wave of immigration ended. Given this timeline, many Uruguayan children may have been first generation Uruguayan with immigrant parents. From Uruguay's prior use of education as a means of integration, I draw that immigration was not usually discussed in detail because it can highlight the differences between students rather than the shared qualities. Recently, plurivocality, plurinationalism and tolerance have become important trends in politics, education and society. In keeping with international trends, these textbooks now speak on immigration, emigration, and migration favorably because this keeps with international trends and no longer threatens the formation of the Uruguayan national identity. In addition to the international migrant patterns of today, a number of Uruguayans have recently begun to return to their homelands. Many exiles returned directly after the transition back to democracy, but others did not. Today, Uruguayans are returning due to the economic situations of their host nations, Spain being a prime example.

### **Dictatorship 1973-1984**

Amidst the polarization of the Cold War, a number of Latin American democracies fell to military dictatorships. Chile and Argentina are two well-known examples that share similarities

with the Uruguayan experience. During the 1970s and 1980s, military juntas that abused human rights and infringed on the democratic liberties that had previously been respected governed these states. The Uruguayan case is particular because a peaceful, democratic tradition had been established for some time. The country was considered an example of stability in the region. Furthermore, Uruguayans took pride in their education system that was “*gratuita, laica, y obligatoria*.” The manner in which this difficult and painful subject has been taught and is being taught reflects how the government has approached the topic over time.

When examining history and social science texts, I paid attention to how the authors addressed this time period. Textbook regulators have three options when dealing with a sensitive time period: avoid the time period altogether, describe the time period without acknowledging the issue, or cover the time period acknowledging the issue. In this case, those regulating textbook material have the ability to influence how the Uruguayan youth view the dictatorship. Table 4 shows which books include 1973 to 1984 and how thoroughly it is covered.

**Table 4: Coverage of the Dictatorship**

Text	Time Period 1973-1984			Level of Coverage		
	Yes, acknowledged	Yes, ignored	No	Min	Mod	Max
<b>During the Dictatorship</b>						
Historia del Uruguay 2	X				X	
<b>After the Dictatorship</b>						
Historia Escolar 2			X			
Ciencias Sociales	X			X		
Ciencias Sociales Seis	X				X	

Table 4 shows the texts as units of analysis from Table 1 again (excluding the base text) with the Time Period 1973-1984 and Level of Coverage as variables that have been further subdivided. Within Time Period 1973-1984, I made a column to describe each option available to textbook writers. Of the eleven units shown, only three both covered the time period (as in the years?) and acknowledge the ongoing events. *Historia del Uruguay 2* was published in 1980, and this section of the texts reads similarly to a justification of recent events. I categorized this as moderate coverage because a number of pages were dedicated to the subject, but the text did not focus on this time period. *Ciencias Sociales* mentioned this period by including half a page at the end of the text that addressed the issue; thus, I categorize the coverage as minimal. *Ciencias Sociales Seis* moderately covers the time period in a separate chapter that provides the most detailed account of the units observed. The dictatorial period is not looked upon favorably in this text, which mentions the human rights abuse that occurred. However, I still categorize this as moderate because the majority of the text covers a wide variety of other time periods and subjects.

*Historia Escolar 2*, another edition of the base text, was published in 1987. This text is very similar to *Historia del Uruguay 2* but ends the text at 1967, which means that someone decided to exclude recent history. I do not have other examples from this time period, so I cannot conclusively state that all texts published at the return to democracy took this approach.

In *Historia del Uruguay 2*, the events that occurred between the onset of military rule and publication are addressed in a way that justifies the actions of the government and seeking legitimacy. The Uruguayan presidents and their constitutional acts are reviewed first giving a description of articles in the constitution that defend the suspension of the rights of the individual and the responsibility of the armed forces to maintain internal and external security. The

common theme here is that the government lacked legitimacy amongst the people, so it relied on the notion that the military served to protect the citizens. A military government was the best way to protect the people and the people's interest, and a lack of intervention would have been worse.

During the dictatorship, the base text was edited to include contemporary issues as a defense of the government in power at the time. Directly after the return to democracy, the publishers simply cut the textbook at 1967 rather than covering the dictatorship, circumventing the discussion. This is understandable given the sensitive nature of the dictatorship in the recent collective memory of Uruguay. In recent years, an impersonal manner has been taken to discuss the dictatorship. The period is discussed briefly and factually instead of personally.

### **Civic and Moral Education**

In 1980, the Ministry of Education and Culture (Ministerio de Educación y Cultura) published a set of textbooks titled *Educación Cívica y Moral* (Civic and Moral Education). These texts were used in the classroom to help form the civic and moral standards in the Uruguayan youth. The presence of civic and moral education is common in the Uruguayan textbooks I examined. However, these texts were published alone rather than as a section of the social science books that would also be used in the classroom. This means that the number of pages dedicated to this material was drastically increased.

If the number of pages a topic receives is indicative of the importance given it by the publishers, civic and moral education was given more weight under this government. A topic that is generally covered in one chapter or less during other time periods was thought to be important enough to deserve a separate book. The reason for emphasizing civic and moral education would

have to be compelling for a government or ministry to undergo the process of publishing a completely new textbook. Given that this material was of considerable importance at the time, the conclusion that the government found fault in the way this subject was previously addressed, or sought to alter (or, at least, influence) a societal value.

Outlining the three texts that were available at the pedagogical museum and library shows a clear cause for the creation of the texts and the envisioned outcome that would result. I examined the texts for third and fourth grades, fifth grade, and sixth grade. One text served both the third and fourth grades, but fifth and sixth grades received separate texts. The Primary Education Council, a council within the National Education Council in the Ministry of Education and Culture, published all three in 1980. The description of government, the treatment of elections, and the portrayal of national figures drew my attention.

In the third and fourth grade text, government is first introduced inexplicitly. The text states that, in order to maintain peace and happiness, some Uruguayans should write laws. While different governments dictated the laws, the laws were always meant for the good of the inhabitants of the nation. Furthermore, due to these laws, Uruguayans can be proud to live in a free “Patria.” The idea that the purpose of government is to protect and provide for citizens is not a novelty, but I do find the wording interesting. The Constitution and democracy are not mentioned in this section at all, yet the “Patria” is described as free. The government is defining Uruguay as a free nation even though there had not been an election since 1971.

While there may be multiple reasons for this attempt at justification or reinforcement of the government’s “goodness,” I find it plausible that the social strife and tension facing the readers of this text influenced the presentation. For one, the readers would be in the third and fourth grades, or between the ages of eight and ten. Considering that there had not been elections

between 1971 and 1980 and that the Uruguayan dictatorship began in 1973, these readers were either unborn or very young during the last election and regime transition. They do not remember life under another government, so why did the publishers deem this allusion to the laws created by other governments in this section necessary? Being familiar with Uruguayan history, I conclude that social turmoil, repression, fear, and disappearances made the government a controversial (if not negative) topic in many families. A government trying to assure a doubtful or rebellious population its legitimacy would logically point to its own strengths, while encouraging the idea that it can be trusted to do the best for its people just as the preceding governments.

Within the third and fourth grade text, elections are mentioned in a chapter titled “Habitantes y Ciudadanos” or “Inhabitants and Citizens.” This chapter reviews the rights of the people as human beings and as citizens, clearly stating that citizens have the right to elect and be elected. The fifth grade text addresses under “citizenship and suffrage,” a subsection of the chapter on government. The obvious issue with all of the above is that Uruguay had been governed by a dictatorship for the seven years before the publication of these texts and no elections had been held in past nine years. The act of electing and being elected are discussed in present tense, as if regular elections had been occurring. The government, under which these texts were published, was not elected. Therefore, the current government had denied the outlined rights of participation. Keeping the audience in mind once again, these readers have not voted in an election seeing as they would not have been of legal age for a number of years to come. I presume that the inclusion of election information and listing it as a right of the citizen would have been necessary to a government defining its nation as free.



## VI

### Conclusion

The state plays an active role in the formation of national identity, and history is a malleable medium of education that is used for multiple purposes. The formation, maintenance, and reinvention of history are ways the state can alter its perceived image and instill national values. Democratic and authoritarian regimes manipulate the national identity in distinct ways. In the Uruguayan case, the military-authoritarian regime used education in order to justify and legitimize its actions through emphasis on the protective responsibility of the state. This regime type was also more heavily invested in promoting civic and moral duty.

My research began with a question and a history. By analyzing the presentation of Uruguay's founding, early period of modernization, and military authoritarian rule, I found that textbooks have altered with regime change. These changes do affect identity formation, meaning that an individual now does not necessarily base his sense of "Uruguayan-ness" on the same ideals as the generation from fifty years ago did. This is partially because history continues to be created but also could be due to a shift in values. Whichever the case, this second question of how the changes in textbooks affected identity formation was beyond the scope of this thesis.

I reviewed theorists such as Gellner, Hobsbawm, and Anderson to show how education has been a cornerstone of nation building. Eksterowicz, Cline, Luykx, and Plotkin are more specific examples that shaped my study. Eksterowicz and Cline showed how a misrepresentation of events could skew history. Luykx showed that a way another South American nation took to forming an identity through the public education system. Plotkin's work on Argentina also demonstrated how a regime is motivated to alter curriculum to suit political desires. Finally, poststructuralism and postfunctionalism outline the international trends that open the classroom

to be more accepting of multiculturalism and plurivocality and provide for a globalized view of the world.

After reviewing key points in Uruguayan history and the strong tradition of public education, I launched into analyzing social science textbooks. I found that the textbooks currently are more global and include economic and ecological sections that were not a part of earlier samples. The dictatorship placed more emphasis on Artigas as well as civic and moral education than the contemporary textbooks published under democratic governments.

The democratic regime afterward limited the material on civic duty and took a modern international approach to teaching history with the inclusion of immigration material. The textbook that was reedited immediately after the dictatorship simply excluded the dictatorship. In more recent textbooks, the event is discussed but with a degree of distance. The dictatorship happened. The human rights violations happened. So while the texts present an accurate account of the events during this time period, I believe this distance is an issue requiring address.

In Uruguay, there are consequences of not discussing the dictatorship. For one, those who were imprisoned or tortured may feel their stories are discounted because they are not given a public voice. This also leaves space for animosity against those who imprisoned and tortured their fellow citizens to grow in the privacy of victims. This brings to mind another complication: the concept of victim. Also, an unclear understanding of the causes and forces involved in the dictatorship could allow a similar situation to arise in the future.

The consequences in Uruguay are perhaps more complicated by the silence. No Uruguayan offered to explain his family history during the dictatorship. Difficult though it may be, an honest education about these periods in history would help mend the societal divisions created. While the school system is not the only place in which social values are formed, it is too

that is easiest controlled. Giving a more humanized account could potentially leave less room for the instilment of unwanted values.

This brought me back once again to my own situation in Oxford, Mississippi. Growing up in the public education system of Lee County only a short distance away, I remember being taught about the Civil War and the Civil Rights movement, but I did not connect the dots until I was seated in my living room watching ESPN's 30 for 30: "Ghosts of Ole Miss." One of the men interviewed remarked that his education about James Meredith and his period in Mississippi history had been lacking. He went on to explain that the questions are difficult, and many times older generations do not want to acknowledge where they may have been or what they had thought during that period. In order to avoid embarrassment and pain, our society has also created a distance between us as people of Mississippi and a divisive period in history during which terrible actions occurred. While the causes and consequences are distinct, both cases are in need of a more accurate and personal account of these historical events.

### Bibliography

- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso, 1983.
- Arnade, Charles W. "Bolivia's Social Revolution, 1952-1959: A Discussion of Sources." *Journal of Inter-American Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 3: 341-352. 1959.
- Aylesworth, Gary, "Postmodernism", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Winter 2010 Edition)*, Edward N. Zalta (ed.).
- Carriquiry, Margarita. *Cultura Uruguaya*. 2013.
- "Ciencias Sociales." *Texto escolar integrado: area urbana cuarto grado*. La Paz, Bolivia: Ministerio de Educación y Cultura: 1989.
- "Ciencias Sociales." *Texto escolar integrado: area rural cuarto grado*. La Paz, Bolivia: Ministerio de Educación y Cultura: 1989.
- Ciencias Sociales Primaria 4*. La Paz, Bolivia: Editorial Don Bosco: 2012.
- Ciencias Sociales Primaria 4*. La Paz, Bolivia: La Hoguera: 2012.
- Ciencias Sociales Secundaria 1*. La Paz, Bolivia: Editorial Don Bosco: 2012.
- Domingo, Pilar. 2005. "Democracy and new Social Forces in Bolivia." *Social Forces* Vol. 83, N.4: 1727-1747.
- Eksterowicz, Anthony J. and Paul C. Cline. 1991. "Ratification of the Constitution: the Great Debate as Portrayed in American Government Textbooks." *The Political Science Teacher*. June.
- Gaceta Oficial de Bolivia. Código de la Educación Boliviana. La Paz, Bolivia: 1955.
- Gaceta Oficial de Bolivia. Ley de la Educación N 070 "Avelino Siñani – Elizardo Pérez." La Paz, Bolivia: 2010.
- Gaceta Oficial de Bolivia. Ley de Reforma Educativa N 1565. La Paz, Bolivia: 1994.
- Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. 2nd ed. Ithaca, New York: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2006.
- Gotkowitz, Laura. *A Revolution for Our Rights: Indigenous Struggles for Land and Justice in Bolivia 1880-1952*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008.

- Hobsbawm, Eric J. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. 2nd ed. Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Hoover, Kenneth and Todd Donovan. *The Elements of Social Scientific Thinking*, 10th ed. Boston: Wadsworth, 2011.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística. “La Paz: Resultados Departamentales” (Censo Nacional de Población y Educación 2001). La Paz: INE. 2001.
- Halls, W.D. (ed.) (1990): *Comparative Education: Contemporary issues and trends*, London (Jessica Kingsley/UNESCO).
- Habermas, Jürgen, 1987, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*, Frederick Lawrence (trans.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. ‘Nationalism and national identity in Latin America’ in Bouda Etermad, Jean Baton and Thomas David (eds). 1995.
- Kubow, Patricia K., and Paul R. Fossum. *Comparative Education: Exploring issues in international context*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education Inc., 2007.
- Luykx, Aurolyn. *The Citizen Factory: Schooling and Cultural Production in Bolivia*. N.p.: State University of New York Press, 1999.
- Mazurek, Kas, and Margaret A. Winzer, eds. *Schooling Around the World: Debates, Challenges, and Practices*. Boston: Pearson Education, Inc., 2006.
- Miller, Nicola. “The historiography of nationalism and national identity in Latin America.” *Nations and Nationalism*. 2006.
- Monreal, Susana. *Pensamiento en Latino América y Uruguay*. 2013.
- Navarro M., Victor Hugo, editor. *Ciencias Sociales 7*. La Paz: Santillana Primaria, 1997.
- Phillips, David, and Michele Schweisfurth. *Comparative and International Education: An introduction to theory, method, and practice*. New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2007.
- Plotkin, Mariano Ben. *Mañana es San Perón: A cultural history of Perón's Argentina*. Wilmington, DE: A Scholarly Resources Inc. Imprint, 2003.
- Prevost, Gary and Harry E. Vanden. *Latin America: an Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Sanabria G., Floren. *El Mar Boliviano*. La Paz, Bolivia: Empresa Editora Proinsa, 1989.

Sanabria G., Floren. *Lo Positivo en la Historia de Bolivia*. La Paz, Bolivia: Empresa Editora Proinsa, 1990.

Schneider, Mark. "The International PISA Test." *Education Next*. Fall 2009: Vol. 9, No. 4.

Skidmore, Thomas, Peter Smith, and James Green. "The Colonial Foundations" and "The Andes: Soldiers, Indians, and Oligarchs." *Modern Latin America*, 7th ed. London: Oxford University Press, 2009: 14-41, 150-190.

Turner, J. C.; Oakes, P.J.; Haslam, S.A.; McGarty, C. "Self and collective: Cognition and social context". *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 20: 454–463. 1994

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. *UNESCO and Education: "Everyone has the right to education."* Paris: 2011.

"Uruguay." International Organization for Migration. April 2012.

Zamora, Raquel and Mario Figueroa. *Ciencias Sociales Segundo Intermedio*. La Paz, Bolivia: Editorial Lux, 1998.

Zamora S., Raquel. *Ciencias Sociales Septimo Grado*. La Paz, Bolivia: Editorial Bruño, 2012.