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History textbooks, racism and the critique of Eurocentrism: beyond rectification or compensation

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Abstract:

This article is based on the theoretical framework developed within a research project on the construction of Eurocentrism and, more specifically, on the analysis of Portuguese history textbooks. We propose that the textbooks' master narrative constitutes a *power-evasive* discourse on history, which naturalises core processes such as colonialism, slavery and racism. Showing the limits of an approach that merely proposes the compensation or rectification of (mis)representations, we argue for the need to unbind the debate on Eurocentrism from a perspective that fails to make problematic the 'very idea of Europe'. Accordingly, our analysis of Portuguese history textbooks focuses on three core narrative devices: a) the *chronopolitics* of representation; b) the paradigm of the (democratic) national State; c) the definitive bond between concepts and historical processes.

Keywords: Eurocentrism – Race – Racism – Portugal – Education – History textbooks

We need to tell a story about ways in which 'Eurocentrism' as a category for the debate is hiding and obscuring something, obfuscating a debate, prepackaging a debate that thereby never really takes place and becomes, instead, this battle between bureaucrats over slots and curriculum. [...] the only way we get beyond a paralyzing either/or perspective is to take a look at this idea of Europe, the very idea of Europe as an ideological construct (Cornel West, 1993: 120-121).

Introduction: textbooks and the politics of (mis)representation

History textbooks, the main pedagogic resource used in classroom instruction in many contexts (Foster, 2006), have been a battleground for disputes on national identity and a core concern in the teaching of history, particularly European history and identity (CoE, 1995; 1996; 2001; Pingel *et al.*, 2000; Stradling, 2001). Yet, within these debates, Eurocentrism has not been a key concern and its critique has been often skin-deep: the dominant understanding of Eurocentrism takes it as a *perspective* that can be challenged with the enlargement of national histories (e.g. teaching European and World History) and the validation of other cultural narratives (Soysal & Schissler, 2005).

It is our view that this liberal tale of a 'kaleidoscope' of perspectives has been convincingly deemed insufficient and inefficient, as the mere inclusion of 'other' perspectives is not sufficient to overcome the hegemony of certain narratives. We thus argue for the need to open up the debate on knowledge and power, engaging with the *frames of interpretation* within which such perspectives are to be included. Thus, following Cornel West's argument, this article aims at showing the theoretical and analytical relevance of the notion of Eurocentrism for understanding the ways in which 'race' and racism are rendered (in)visible in the debate on *nationhood*, *citizenship* and *democracy*. We argue that the *effectiveness* of Eurocentrism lies not so much in prejudiced representations of the 'other', but in the *depoliticisation* of power relations that make plausible such (mis)representations. According to Wendy Brown (2006):

1
2
3 Depoliticization involves removing a political phenomenon from comprehension of its historical
4 emergence and from a recognition of the powers that produce and contour it. No matter its
5 particular form and mechanics, depoliticization always eschews power and history in the
6 representation of its subjects (p. 15, original emphasis).
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11 Our analysis shows that the textbooks' master narrative constitutes a *power-evasive*
12 discourse. The main discursive formula of this avoidance of 'power and history' is the
13 *naturalisation* of core processes such as colonialism, slavery and racism, that is, the
14 *naturalisation* of the *idea* of Europe and of its central role in the development of modern
15 capitalist world-system, scientific thought and liberal democracy, read as *achievements* within
16 a progress rationale (Wallerstein, 1997). Focusing on this *evasiveness* is crucial to understand
17 how Eurocentrism is constructed and reproduced and to challenge the idea that a more critical
18 pedagogy and history (as well as other disciplines) can be achieved by merely including other
19 perspectives and versions. Only thus can we overcome the process of critique as a matter of
20 'false' and 'erroneous' representations, and engage with the power relations that pervade the
21 production of knowledge and interpretations.
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35 We conceive of Eurocentrism as a paradigm rooted in what Aníbal Quijano (2000: 533-
36 539) designated as the (global) 'colonial/modern capitalism' inaugurated with the colonisation
37 of 'America' in the 15th and 16th centuries, marked by two interrelated processes: the
38 construction of the idea of 'race' and the establishment of a diversified structure of control of
39 labour. Eurocentrism, now hegemonic, is a paradigm that organises the production of
40 interpretations of social reality (past and present), while masking its ideological basis under
41 the pretence of political and scientific neutrality. More precisely, whereas Eurocentrism is tied
42 to the modern configuration of 'race' and racism, it produces a frame of interpretation that
43 masks this history, as illustrated by our analysis.
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54 This article draws on the theoretical framework developed within a research project¹ on
55 the construction of Eurocentrism and, more specifically, on our analysis of Portuguese history
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3 textbooks, taking into account the specific contexts of their production and consumption.² The
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5 project is centred around three moments: 1) Analysis of textbooks and education policy; 2)
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7 Interviews and focus groups with a variety of actors; 3) Participatory workshops. The project
8
9 takes a broad approach to these debates. Avoiding locating schools within a socio-political
10
11 vacuum, the empirical work of the project engages with a diversity of actors operating in this
12
13 field of symbolic power relations. In order to unravel such relations we worked on: 1) the
14
15 production and dissemination of historical knowledge; 2) the linkages between public policies,
16
17 the curriculum and textbooks; 3) the writing and producing of textbooks; 4) the pragmatics of
18
19 school teaching; 5) the participation of media and civil society organisations on related
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21 debates. Throughout the research, discussions with these actors were promoted through the
22
23 use of qualitative methodological strategies aiming to expand the social impact of the project.
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27 History textbooks were analysed in a systematic fashion, through the development of a
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29 grid of concepts. A critical approach to content analysis was used, taking also into account that
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31 which was made absent (Apple, 2004a). We analysed the five most popular textbooks in the
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33 school year 2008-09,³ at Key Stage 3 (Years 7, 8 and 9, for pupils aged 12 to 15).⁴ Throughout
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35 compulsory education, history is taught in three different moments, in an increasingly
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37 sophisticated fashion, that is, in a 'spiral curriculum' (Cruz, 2002: 328). Key Stage 3 was chosen
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39 as the syllabus for these school years includes World, European and Portuguese history, from
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41 'prehistory' to contemporary times. Within the syllabus, we analysed in detail the following
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43 themes/historical periods:
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47 INSERT ABOUT HERE: *Table 1 - Key themes/historical periods under analysis*
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51 The text is divided in three sections: first, we examine key debates on education, history
52
53 and Eurocentrism, arguing that current academic approaches have a limited potential. We
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55 then explore in detail the analytical lines developed from our reading of textbooks, taking into
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57 account the specificities of the Portuguese context. Finally, we conclude this article by
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3 considering the limits of compensation and rectification within the frame of Eurocentrism as a
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5 paradigm.
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10 **1. Eurocentrism in textbooks: debates on power and history**

11 In education, debates on Eurocentrism have often focused on representations without
12 engaging adequately with the relation between knowledge and power. In particular, curricula
13 and textbooks have been frequently used to study representations of the 'other', in binary
14 opposition to a 'we' that tends to remain implicit and unquestioned (Hall, 1992). Framed as a
15 matter of the *absence* of representation and the *mis*-representation of the 'other', such
16 research has important theoretical shortcomings: it approaches Eurocentrism as an equivalent
17 to *ethnocentrism* (a mere situated perspective) and it frames racism as 'error' or 'ignorance'
18 (Lesko & Bloom, 1998). Focusing more on the incorrectness of certain representations than
19 analysing the frames of interpretation within which they are located, research has failed to
20 produce critical approaches to core processes such as colonialism, slavery and racism. This is
21 related, in our view, to a positivist approach to history that frames it as a question of
22 producing 'balanced' narratives between 'the good' and 'the bad' sides:
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37 An individual's identity is not predestined; it is always in a state of becoming; evolving in
38 response to life's experiences. The same applies to national identity. It has been shaped by and
39 continues to be shaped by shared experiences – both positive and negative, glorious and dark,
40 admirable and shameful. Multiperspectivity in the teaching of national history focuses on how
41 people have come to be what they are today (Stradling, 2001: 151).
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47 Previous research, particularly in the United States following the struggles by the Civil
48 Rights Movements of the mid-1960s (Apple, 2004b; Foster, 2006), has shown the limits of a
49 positivist approach based on the addition of multiple voices and perspectives (e.g. Swartz,
50 1992). Such compensatory approach, it is argued, fails to deal with the power arrangements
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3 that shape the inclusion and representation of the 'other' in school curricula in ways that do
4
5 not challenge the 'master script' (*id.*).⁵
6

7 This also became clear in our preliminary analysis of Portuguese history textbooks,
8
9 particularly the section dealing with the national liberation wars that started in Angola in 1961.
10
11 The perspective of António Salazar (a key figure of the authoritarian *Estado Novo* that ruled
12
13 Portugal from 1926 to 1974) is contrasted to that of Amílcal Cabral (the founder of the *African*
14
15 *Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde* and a leader in the struggles for national
16
17 liberation), in ways that fail to challenge the *master* narrative:
18

19
20 Doc. 4 Salazar, Discourses, Coimbra, 1957 (adapted)

21
22 (...) the route followed is defined by a strategy of integration into a Unitarian State, composed of
23
24 dispersed provinces and of different races (...) We believe that there are decadent races or races
25
26 lagging behind - as one wishes -, in relation to whom we share the duty of calling them to
27
28 civilisation.
29

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31 Doc. 5 Amílcar Cabral, Selected Works, Lisbon, 1972 (adapted)

32
33 To Africans, Portuguese colonialism is hell. (...) Portugal is an underdeveloped country, with 40%
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35 of illiterate people, and the lowest standards of living in Europe. If it could achieve a civilising
36
37 influence on any people it would be kind of a miracle. (...) (NH9: 179)
38

39 In the same page, the textbook features a picture entitled 'Portuguese soldiers captured by
40
41 Angolan guerrilla men', in which a group of uniformed soldiers and possibly locals (totalling 15
42
43 people) circles two dead Portuguese soldiers, lying on the floor. The war is not contextualised
44
45 politically, and therefore Cabral's discourse emerges as a critique of the incompetency of
46
47 *Portuguese* colonialism, rather than of colonialism itself. As a result, the legitimacy of
48
49 colonialism is never questioned. This illustrates the limits of a multiperspective approach to
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51 challenge the wider power arrangements in which different perspectives are to be
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53 *accommodated*. Whereas addressing relevant issues, it is our view that this construction of the
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3 debate - as a matter of promoting multiperspectivity and the enlargement of school history
4
5 beyond *the West* - has not challenged Eurocentrism as a paradigm.
6

7 Arguing that, in much work, Eurocentrism becomes an adjective or a *foregone conclusion*,
8
9 we propose to take further the debate and to challenge the idea of the 'multicentred curricula'
10
11 as a panacea. In our view, the challenge to overcome the deep-seated Eurocentric knowledge
12
13 productions in Western academies is considerable. As Ramón Grosfoguel (2009: 14) reminds
14
15 us, we should remain critical of 'an epistemic populism where knowledge produced from
16
17 below is automatically an epistemic subaltern'.⁶ We therefore reinforce the idea that in 'every
18
19 historical period, competing paradigms and forms of knowledge coexist' and that 'the groups
20
21 who exercise the most power within a society heavily influence what knowledge becomes
22
23 legitimized and widely disseminated' (Banks, 2004: 29). Thus, while by no means implying that
24
25 other perspectives and historiographies are not necessary, we argue that any alternative to
26
27 hegemonic narratives needs to be framed within its struggle for political legitimacy, scientific
28
29 validity and educational relevance.
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33 The development of multiperspectivity has also been linked, mainly in European contexts
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35 (CoE, 1995, 1996; Stradling, 2001), to the concern with the transformation of national
36
37 narratives,⁷ the misuses of history for nationalistic purposes, and particularly with the abuses
38
39 of *nationalistic history* – paramount to dictatorial regimes (eventually overcome by processes
40
41 of democratisation). In Portugal, illustrative of such debate is the general focus of research on
42
43 textbooks on the dictatorial period of *Estado Novo*, which results in taking dictatorships as *the*
44
45 *time of the misuses of history* and in constructing as burlesque the excess of nationalism (*e.g.*
46
47 Almeida, 1991; Carvalho, 1997; Santos, 2007). For instance, Santos (2007) focuses on this
48
49 period to demonstrate how textbooks 'influenced (children's) world visions' (p. 358). She
50
51 argues that 'It was, thus, a nationalistic and imperialistic spirit that was being attempted to
52
53 inculcate through history' (*id.*). Such approach, albeit unintentionally, paves way to the idea
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3 that the scientific production of history was unproblematic (*i.e.* neutral, not-biased) both
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5 before *Estado Novo* and following democratisation in the mid-1970s.
6

7 We thus defend a broader understanding of Eurocentrism that allows for the
8
9 contextualisation of textbooks as part of an *epistemology of history*. As Nancy Lesko and Leslie
10
11 Bloom (1998) have argued regarding multicultural education, what it is at stake is not so much
12
13 the confrontation between different *versions* of history, but rather the production of
14
15 *interpretations* which can unsettle positivist approaches to the neutrality of scientific
16
17 knowledge and the presumption of irrationality/ignorance lying behind certain ‘judgments’,
18
19 such as racism. This perspective can give us an analytical path beyond the ‘too-easy West-and-
20
21 the-rest polarization’ (Spivak, 2003: 39) that merely reproduces a centre/periphery historical
22
23 narrative.
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28 29 **2. Portuguese History textbooks: a ‘race’/power evasive discourse**

30 We consider Portuguese textbooks as an example of the contemporary configuration of
31
32 Eurocentrism, and therefore in this article we engage with the specificities of debates on
33
34 colonialism, ‘race’/racism and nationhood in that context.
35
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37 In Portugal, the politics of history teaching and textbooks is rooted in the republican
38
39 educational project. Since the second half of the 19th Century, and strongly influenced by
40
41 positivist pedagogy, it constructed a ‘nationalist and colonialist discourse’ with the *hope* of
42
43 ‘regenerating’ the country (Proença, 2001: 50-51). Hence political discourses and particularly
44
45 republican campaigns over colonial questions, marked by the impact of the 1890 British
46
47 Ultimatum, invested in the imaginary of “Portugal’s golden age [...] equated with the
48
49 Expansion and the spirit of the ‘Discoveries’; an epoch of national affirmation but also of
50
51 scientific pioneering and ‘modernity’” (Vakil, 1996: 44-45). Moreover, colonial discourses and
52
53 legislation enacted the thesis of Portuguese exceptionality. This could supposedly be seen in its
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55 Universalist and humanist colonialism and in the racial *tolerance* of its national *character*. This
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3 was an argument reinvented by the dictatorial regime in the 1950s (Alexandre, 1999; Castelo,
4 1998)⁸ and since the late 1980s by sectors of the political administration and the academia
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6 (Vakil, 1996).
7
8

9
10 These specificities define the particular contours of Eurocentrism in Portuguese
11 textbooks, while embedded in a globalised hegemonic paradigm of historical interpretation. In
12 order to systematise our analysis, we distinguished three main lines that relate to (i) the use of
13 time/space for the construction of a *logical* historical narrative, (ii) the establishment of the
14 *national state* and the process of *democratisation* as *the* commonsensical representation of
15 society and politics; and (iii) the tying of concepts and historical processes, presented as
16 logically bounded, and particularly evident in the notions of 'race' and racism.
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26 27 **2.1. The *chronopolitics* of representation: history as a 'moral success story'**

28 The anthropologist Johannes Fabian used the term *coevalness*⁹ to critically analyse 'how
29 anthropologists use Time in constructing their theories and composing their writings' (2002:
30 25). Fabian considers that anthropology, as a discipline and as a discourse, has *denied*
31 *coevalness* through the 'persistent and systematic tendency to place the referent(s) of
32 anthropology in a Time other than the present of the producer of anthropological discourse'
33 (*Ibid*: 31). In a similar fashion, history textbooks, subsuming the 'other' into a linear narrative,
34 locate the latter in a radically different time from the 'European', that is, the 'other' remains at
35 an *inferior* stage of civilisation and humankind's development. This naturalisation of Time is
36 geographically legitimated: the first *human species* appeared in 'Africa', but the processes of
37 sedentarisation and of complex social differentiation took place in Egypt (depicted as outside
38 Africa), the Middle East and Europe (VH7-I). The section 'From the hunter gatherer societies to
39 the first civilisations' is illustrative. The picture of a man (a peasant) holding a hammer is
40 described as 'Herding in a present-day village (Niger, Western Africa)', with the following
41 clarification:
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3 Similarly to what happened during the Neolithic Age, rudimentary agriculture and herding is
4 practised in this village. One of the agricultural utensils still used today is the polished stone
5 hammer. [...] Establish a comparison between the way of life of this population and that of the
6
7 Neolithic Age (VH7-I: 22).¹⁰
8
9

10 This understanding of *other* peoples as located in a remote age (i.e. the Neolithic, the Stone
11 Age) mobilises a temporal device paradigmatic of the modern representation of difference as
12 *distance* (Fabian, 2002: 16): 'There are still in our present times hunter peoples from the Stone
13 Age that live in the Amazonia and in some Pacific islands.' (LH7: 17). Regarding *Egyptian*
14 *Civilisation*, however, the text states that: 'The agricultural techniques of Ancient Egypt are still
15 used in present times, such as the plug, the construction of dikes and drainage techniques to
16 distribute water all over the land' (VH7-I: 35). The linear timing locates the 'African village' in a
17 different time (the Neolithic) and at a different stage of development (*rudimentary*), whereas
18 'Egyptian *civilisation*' – overlooking that it is in the African continent – is *still* present in our
19 scientifically advanced societies, as we can appreciate from the enduring use of their
20 techniques. This thus establishes which society 'qualifies' for the status of *civilisation* and the
21 location of the people who *still* live in archaic conditions. Following Eric Wolf, this
22 representation of time and space 'turns history into a moral success story' - that of
23 *modernisation* which, since the 19th century, has become 'an instrument for bestowing praise
24 on societies deemed to be modern and casting a critical eye on those that had yet to attain
25 that achievement' (1997: 12).
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45 An important consequence of this Eurocentric and authoritarian representation of time
46 and space is the fixing of certain (racial, ethnic) markers and postures as *belonging to* specific
47 territories. Accordingly, *decontextualised* images of black people in a suffering/violent posture
48 are deployed to represent contemporary Africa:
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53 Regarding Document 4 (picture of starving black children with empty plates in their hands,
54 waiting for food):
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56 - Identify the level of development of the people represented;
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- Identify the continent where nowadays there is a larger number of countries with the same level of development;
- Relate this level of development to the process of decolonisation;
- Give two examples of NGOs that try to respond to the problems of these populations (NH9: 169).

Students are thus expected to internalise a pattern of recognition/representation, expressed in the following equation:

[black] Africa = failed decolonisation = underdevelopment = required [Western] humanitarian intervention

2.2. A paradigm of social, economic and political organisation: the (democratic) national State

The notions of Society and Europe, what do they suggest to you? (VH7-II: 22).

The complex process of the nationalisation as the homogenisation of society (Tilly, 1992; 1994), that is, the constitution of 'the social' as 'the nation'¹¹ (one community, one language, one culture, in a well-bounded territory) is naturalised and reified in textbooks. This is a crucial feature of those implicit constructions of 'Selfhood' that underwrite the representation of the 'other' because their core narrative authorises a paradigm of political organisation – the democratic national state. This perspective does not only render *invisible* other forms of the political as, more importantly, it *neglects* the political features of different forms of organisation. Accordingly, Africa – with the exception of Egypt – is presented as an empty land with no complex social and political organisation until the Europeans arrived there (Wolf's 'ethnographic present', 1997) and where, instead of nations, 'we' found *tribes or indigenous chiefs*¹²; thus, the notion of 'Africa' only becomes meaningful *when* related to what Europeans and the Portuguese, possessed, achieved and *designated* in that territory:

The objective of the Portuguese in Africa was trade [15th and 16th centuries]. From Morocco to Senegal, they traded with tribes of nomad Moors that lived in the Western Saharan region.

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3 Further south, they traded with the 'Guinéus' ['Guineans'], the designation given by the
4 Portuguese to the inhabitants of Black Africa (H8: 38).

5
6 Portuguese history textbooks reify not only the idea of the national-state but also of
7 Europe. Such historical formations are subsumed under a teleological discourse that makes
8 sense according to the 'final result', *i.e.* the European Community¹³. For instance, the period
9 between the 6th and the 9th centuries – 'The Barbarian Invasions' – emerges as a time when,
10 paradoxically, *Europe invades Europe*:

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18 *Europe under threat.* Fear and insecurity. Western Europe was characterised by a climate of great
19 insecurity since the fifth century, due to the barbarian invasions. This atmosphere was
20 aggravated with the new wave of invasions that Europe suffered between the 7th and 10th
21 Centuries. Three were the attacking peoples: the Muslims, the Normans and the Hungarians.
22 Europe felt threatened and entrenched for more than two centuries (LH7: 128).

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27
28 The national-state paradigm is presented as the process of both Christianisation and of
29 democratisation. Significant parts of two textbooks are dedicated to 'The formation of
30 Western Christianity and Islamic Expansion', from the 6th to the 13th centuries (VH7-II; LH7),
31 with subtitles such as 'The birth of Western Christian Europe', 'The Catholic Church in Western
32 Europe' or 'Europe under threat'. Therefore, the following historical formation and collective
33 identity is established:
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42 [White] Portugal = the National State = Western Christian Europe [the Roman Catholic Church]

43
44 There is a naturalisation of the relation between *society* and a culturally *homogeneous nation*
45 deployed in contrast to the heterogeneous, nomad (stateless) 'tribes'¹⁴ found by the
46 Europeans in the African context; this equation is clear in the interpretation of the processes of
47 independence of the North American colonies: 'The Independence of the United States of
48 America: all these colonies had common bonds: the majority of the population spoke English
49 and practiced the Protestant religion' (LH8-2: 16). As the map below shows, the expansion of
50 the national-state paradigm thus sees its turning point with the 'Liberal Revolutions',
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3 epitomised by the American and French Revolutions. These processes show the intellectual
4
5 interrelation between the Americas and Europe, which combined Christianity and Nationalism.
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7 Political processes in other regions (such as Africa and Asia) are not considered relevant, as
8
9 they do not match those 'revolutionary' processes that engendered the ideals of modern
10
11 citizenship and liberal democracy.
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14
15 INSERT ABOUT HERE *Figure 1. 'The Liberal Revolutions in Europe and the Americas' (1776-1825)*

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18 (SH8:157)
19

20
21
22 Whereas the 'American Revolution' is depicted as a successful process of nation-formation and
23
24 democratisation, the processes of 'Independence' in 20th-century Africa and more precisely,
25
26 the so called 'Colonial War' between Portugal and the African colonies, are considered not so
27
28 much as a political process, but rather as 'Guerrilla Warfare'; the images deployed highlight
29
30 the violent character of the guerrilla: 'Portuguese soldiers captured by Angolan guerrilla
31
32 troops' (NH9: 179). In a similar fashion, the narrative describes the Portuguese colonisers'
33
34 violent behaviour as *defensive*, whereas the 'Angolan guerrilla' is depicted as *murderous*:
35

36
37
38 A generalised feeling of fear among colonial settlers led them to kill many indigenous people,
39
40 while some of the latter ran away to join the guerrilla movement. Afterwards, tribes from
41
42 Northern Angola murdered hundreds of colonial settlers (NH9: 178).
43

44
45 The description of the Angolan guerrilla troops as 'tribes' is important because contemporary
46
47 'Africa' is usually described as a failed continent (the failure of national states), trapped in
48
49 corruption, poverty and internal violence; for instance, a picture showing a group of armed
50
51 black men has the following footnote: 'Internal conflicts in an African country, present days'
52
53 (NH9: 162). As argued above, the violent *and* the suffering (black) Africa are two sides of the
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55 same coin, authorising not only certain decontextualised representations of power relations
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57 but also the requirement for Western (humanitarian) intervention:
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Until recently, the history of Portuguese capitalist colonial genocidal practices was written from a white man's perspective. The West persists in positioning Africa as a continent without human political solutions, and the mainstream media depicts Africa as a 'red cross' problem. That is, there is no political solution for the African continent (Paraskeva, 2006: 250).

2.3. Racism within the definitive bond between concepts and historical processes

Socio-historical studies have demonstrated that it was in the second half of the 18th century, within the Enlightenment's growing centrality of scientific and empiricist rationality, that the idea of 'race' entered common usage. At the time, it was used to refer to discrete categories, empirically observable, according to phenotypical traits (Mosse, 1978; Solomos and Back, 1996; Hannaford, 1996). Nevertheless, we argue that it is crucial to consider that racially defined discourses and administrations of populations have existed without a clear concept of 'race' – scientifically sustained – that refers to bounded groupings of human beings. The governing of populations based on racial ideas was already in place in 15th century Iberian Peninsula, illustrated by the idea of 'purity of blood' in the persecution of New Christians (Fredrickson, 2002) or in the construction of the category 'Negro' as an equivalent to slave (Sweet, 2003). This is of great importance for the analysis of Portuguese textbooks regarding two aspects: on the one hand, the conceptual shrinkage in the understanding of racism (reduced to an extremist ideology) and, on the other, the establishment of a definitive bond between racism, 19th-century Imperialism and the Nazi regime.

All textbooks analysed refer to racism for the first time in the period at the turn of the 20th century, focused on 'Imperialism and Colonialism' – emphasising the British and French cases. Subsequently racism is thoroughly discussed as a *prejudice* characteristic of the Italian and German totalitarian regimes of the 1930s and 1940s (LH9-1; NH9). Racism is only mentioned again in relation to the 'situation of minorities' in Western societies during the 1950s and 1960s, illustrated by the *Ku-Klux-Klan* as an example of a 'racist organisation' (LH9-2: 46). We

1
2
3 thus consider that textbooks reinforce a Eurocentric concept of racism that associates it with
4
5 'some form of extremism or exceptionalism, rather than something more conventional and
6
7 mainstream' (Hesse, 2004: 14; see also Gilroy, 1992). This linkage of racism and racial
8
9 discourses to very specific projects, such as 19th-century's Imperialist enterprise, locates racism
10
11 in the colonial territories while conceiving these as *outside and unrelated to Europe*. Such
12
13 approach hinders a broader understanding of 'the interaction between racism as a modern
14
15 political project and the European nation-state' (Lentin, 2004: 36), beyond the Nazi State and
16
17 anti-Semitism. Following Barnor Hesse, this can be seen as the double bind that operates in
18
19 the (Eurocentric) concept of racism:
20
21

22
23 the concept of racism is doubly-bound into revealing (nationalism) and concealing (liberalism),
24
25 foregrounding (sub-humanism) and foreclosing (non-Europeanism), affirming (extremist
26
27 ideology) and denying (routine governmentality) (Hesse, 2004: 14).

28
29 Furthermore, it is fundamental to emphasise the historical shrinkage that confines racial
30
31 governmentality to the so called 'new Imperialism' (LH9-1: 14) and the Western European
32
33 countries 'greed for Africa': 'Europeans considered it was their duty to bring their 'superior
34
35 civilisation' to the less-developed peoples. Africa was thus the most desired continent' (LH9-1:
36
37 16). The textbooks analysed do not consider racial differentiation and racist governmentality
38
39 within the Portuguese and Spanish 'Expansion' and the systems of slave trade and slavery.
40
41 Slave trade is mainly depicted as part of the 'circulation of new products' between Europe and
42
43 the other continents. Following Ellen Swartz's study of American history textbooks, we also
44
45 consider that in the Portuguese textbooks analysed, 'slavery discourse (...) generally serves to
46
47 justify and normalise the system of slavery' (1992: 345). Slavery thus appears 'more as a
48
49 necessity, not as a choice, implying that slavery was natural, inevitable, and unalterable' (*Ibid*:
50
51 345):
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54
55 *Portuguese presence in Black Africa*. The climate in São Tomé is hot and damp and the soil is
56
57 quite fertile. The Europeans, however, were deeply affected by tropical diseases, particularly
58
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1
2
3 malaria, and it was mainly thanks to the African slave labour that a dynamic sugar production
4 was settled. The two archipelagos [S. Tomé and Cape Verde] became *entrepôts* of the slave
5 trade. Slaves were acquired in the African coast and thereafter re-exported to Europe and the
6
7 American continent (LH8-1: 38, original emphasis).
8
9

10 The depoliticised accounts of Portuguese colonialism guarantee the absence of a discussion of
11 racism and racial consciousness before the emergence of specific racist ideologies and theories
12 of 'race' in the late 18th century; this is key to understanding the prevalence of a discourse that
13 underwrites the 'good sides of colonialism' in terms of *multiculturalism* and *cultural contact*.
14
15 On the contrary, we consider that the historical period characterised in textbooks as the
16 'Expansion' or the 'Discoveries' was crucial for the emergence of hierarchical racial
17 classifications and of racist governmentality¹⁵:
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26 The sixteenth century thus marks the divide in the rise of race consciousness. Not only does the
27 concept of race become explicitly and consciously applied but also one begins to see racial
28 characterization emerging in art as much as in politico-philosophical debates. [...] while slavery
29 may be explained largely (though not nearly exhaustively) in economic terms, one must insist in
30 asking why it was at this time that racial difference came to define fitness for enslavement and
31 why some kinds of racial difference rather than others (Goldberg, 2002: 287).
32
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38 Some textbooks focus rather on the 'degrading conditions' under which those enslaved
39 were treated, stressing a moral narrative on the 'inhumanity' of slavery (LH8-1: 39). Thus,
40 rather than an articulated discourse on racism¹⁶, euphemisms pervade a benevolent and
41 compassionate discourse on 'circulation', 'acculturation' and 'miscegenation', illustrated by the
42 following passage:
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49 The practice of slavery, the large-scale transportation of African population to America and
50 Europe, gave rise to miscegenation (the mixing of races) and sometimes created among
51 Europeans a feeling of superiority in relation to the indigenous peoples. This attitude, however,
52 brought about in some European minds, namely members of the clergy, an awareness of the
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2
3 need to defend these peoples antagonised by others. Moreover, maritime expansion led to a
4
5 broader understanding of Nature (*Ibid*: 39).

6
7 Racism is (not) named with the euphemistic 'sentiment of superiority', and therefore not
8
9 considered as a 'routine governmentality' (Hesse, 2004) structuring society and politics, but as
10
11 an 'attitude'. Conceived as an individual disposition, racism can be combated in the same way
12
13 some 'members of the clergy' did in those times. This is an example of the deployment of a
14
15 moralising approach to speak of racism: challenges to injustice, violent socio-economic
16
17 structures are projected as being undertaken by the 'good people', whose immersion within
18
19 the colonial ideology is masked. The narrative shifts the focus onto the humanitarianism of the
20
21 clergy. Within this humanist take on difference, empathy¹⁷ emerges as the only available
22
23 device to approach the 'other'.¹⁸ In the textbooks analysed, empathy is deployed to favour the
24
25 identification of the reader with the feelings of the victim – *i.e.* the 'slaves' - facilitating the
26
27 cognitive and emotional *understanding* of the victim's suffering.¹⁹

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29
30
31 Write a text to be titled *Living and Working in a 17th-century Brazilian Sugar Mill (...)*

32 Which sufferings did slaves experience, during transport and captivity? Were they truly
33
34 considered and treated as human beings? Which moral opinions did – and still does – this drama
35
36 elicit? (LH8-1: 97-98).

37
38 Empathy with the enslaved emerges as a way of sustaining a humanist and moralising view
39
40 that evades issues of power/'race' and is incapable of questioning the master narrative that
41
42 runs throughout the textbooks, consistent with a view of slavery and colonialism as an *evil*
43
44 located in the *past*. The shortcomings of this device are also evident in a section on the
45
46 Holocaust, where racism is addressed regarding the participation of Jesse Owens, the black
47
48 American athlete, in the 1936 Summer Olympics in Berlin. Next to the picture of him collecting
49
50 a medal, it is asked 'What would Jesse Owens feel when he went to collect his fourth medal at
51
52 the podium? Why?' (LH9-1: 159). While the students are invited to walk in his shoes, racism is
53
54 framed as something morally 'wrong', happening to individual *powerless* victims. Victims are
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3 thus presented as lacking any meaningful political action in those historical processes (seen in
4
5 the way the history of abolitionism or colonial independencies are told).
6

7 In the textbooks analysed, the underlying assumption seems to be that teaching students
8
9 knowledge about the *feelings* of victims will result in their sympathy and change of attitudes
10
11 towards oppression. Yet, empathy alone cannot contest the broader depoliticised narrative
12
13 being deployed. Indeed, as Johnson (2005: 44) suggests, empathy may be ‘managed, limited,
14
15 and restrained’ in ways that do not challenge subordination. We thus argue that the framing of
16
17 the debate within a moral, binary opposition – the good victim vs. the bad aggressor – is not
18
19 capable of questioning the structural role played by colonialism, slavery and racism in Western
20
21 societies.
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27 **Conclusions**

28
29 This question of the ‘encounter of cultures’ [...] became central in the new commemorative cycle
30
31 opened in 1986. [...] For what it suggests and mostly for what it attempts to hide, this new
32
33 formulation of the ‘encounter’ is a much more demagogical rhetoric move than the former one
34
35 [‘discovery’]. [...] Nevertheless, the collective spirit promoted by the idea of the ‘encounter of
36
37 cultures’ was positive. [...] this image has functioned as a factor promoting humanistic and anti-
38
39 racist values. In any case, a clarification of the memory of the expansion can only result in the
40
41 fostering of a more complex and plural approach to history, the same strategy that was explicitly
42
43 adopted in 1996. For technical reasons of rigueur, for the adequacy to an ecumenical pedagogy
44
45 and, finally, for the ethical sense linked to the duty of amending cultural biases within the
46
47 approach to the other (Hespanha, 1999: 18-19).
48

49
50 In Portugal, when discussing the teaching of history, it is important to consider the work of the
51
52 *National Commission for the Commemoration of the Portuguese Discoveries* (1986-2002),
53
54 established to coordinate the activities marking the fifth centenary of the ‘Discoveries’, which
55
56 invested in research on historical sources and in the production of pedagogical resources. The
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1
2
3 Commission played a crucial role in projecting a *renovated* portrait of Portuguese national
4 identity and of *its* colonial history: the reading of the 'Discoveries' as 'inter-cultural dialogue'
5 and of the Portuguese as 'cultural mediators', thus replacing the New State's version of 'racial
6 mediators' (Vakil, 1996: 36). Accordingly, we see António Hespanha's²⁰ assessment of the
7 Commission's work as embedded in a dominant perspective on the benefits of a 'more plural
8 history', which is also present in debates on textbooks and school history. As argued
9 throughout this article, we see multiperspectivity as limiting the possibility of adequately
10 challenging Eurocentrism and Eurocentric notions of racism. That is, the positivist approach
11 that proposes 'complexity' and 'clarification' – a more *rigorous knowledge* of the history of the
12 'expansion', in this case – merely paves way to the balance between the positive and negatives
13 sides of history and the rectification of wrong, biased representations of the other.
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27 Understanding Eurocentrism as a paradigm requires considering the enactment of specific
28 power relations and the devices through which narratives work (e.g. the interplay of notions
29 like time, place and national-state). A clear example is the deployment of time/space that
30 conveys explanations of difference as being either 'deficient' (underdeveloped, violent) or
31 'alike' (part of civilization, achieving independency as national states). This pattern *secures* a
32 reading of history and particularly of modernity as a tale of 'Europe's' achievements, and thus
33 of world capitalism and liberal democracy as the inevitable accomplishment of 'being modern'.
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42 What is at stake is the relation between power and knowledge within the configuration of
43 core patterns of interpretation/representation/recognition. Albeit in a more sanitised manner,
44 the failure to overcome rectification or compensation is legitimising colonialism and
45 naturalising racism.
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17 - Year 9 [NH9]

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23 ¹ The project *'Race' and Africa in Portugal: a study on history textbooks (2008-2011)*, is funded by the Foundation
24 for Science and Technology (ref. FCOMP-01-0124-FEDER-007554, within the EU programme COMPETE).

25 ² We are aware that textbooks have a multiplicity of readings and are used in different ways within the pragmatics
26 of history teaching. Yet our focus in this paper is not on everyday teaching practices but on how textbooks embody
27 specific politics of representation.

28 ³ Selection of the textbooks in most common usage in schools was based on information provided by the Ministry of
29 Education.

30 ⁴ KS3 is the only stage in compulsory schooling in which History is taught separately as a subject, even though
31 officially there has been a call for its merger with Geography. Currently, history teaching has a 90-minute time slot.

32 ⁵ The correction of misrepresentations through the use of multiperspectivity has been often uncritically endorsed in
33 the field of inter/multicultural education. For instance, Carmel Borg and Peter Mayo (2006) treat Eurocentrism as a
34 matter of 'misconceptions', 'lack of basic knowledge' and 'distortions' (p. 151), despite recognising the limits of such
35 approach (p. 152) and alluding to the operation of 'Western regimes of truth' (p. 153). Therefore, the challenge is
36 perceived as a matter of re-centring the 'subaltern' to achieve multcentred curricula (Borg & Mayo, 2006: 158).

37 ⁶ For a detailed discussion on the difficulties in formulating alternative epistemologies see Grosfoguel (2009).

38 ⁷ Regarding this, the processes of transformation in textbooks and curricula are usually framed as an issue of the
39 representation of the 'other' (i.e. minorities and immigrants) and its effect on the (national) dominant narrative, in
40 an 'either/or' perspective (e.g. Soysal & Shissler, 2005: 7), rendering Eurocentrism as the aforementioned condition
41 of adjective or *foregone conclusion*.

42 ⁸ Salazar's regime partially drew on Gilberto Freyre's work, enunciated as *Lusotropicalism* in 1952.

43 ⁹ From the Latin *coaevus*, referring to people and things that exist at the same time, that coexist.

44 ¹⁰ All translations are our own.

45 ¹¹ It is important to note that the history of Western social sciences, and more specifically of Sociology and Political
46 Science, is tied to the configuration of the modern National States; therefore, the conceptualisation of 'the social'
47 has been equated to that of the national state (Wolf, 1997). For a discussion of the crisis of this mode of
48 categorisation in the field of sociological theory and analysis, see Pérez-Agote (1996).

49 ¹² We have found only one map that represents processes of political organisation in Africa, registered with terms
50 such as 'African states', 'Kingdoms' or 'Empires' (H8: 38).

51 ¹³ The numerous symposia and conferences organised by the Council of Europe on the teaching history and history
52 textbooks since the 1950s have stressed the importance of promoting the 'European dimension of education
53 through history' (Council of Europe, 1995: 10-11).

54 ¹⁴ As Lentin (2008) underlines, at the footsteps of David Goldberg's analysis of Thomas Hobbes' theory of the state,
55 '[the modern state] stood in contrast to the chaos represented by statelessness. In the context of the 'discoveries',
56 the territories inhabited by racial others were representative of statelessness. The fathers of European philosophy
57 all referred to the lives of 'natives', 'savages', 'Indians' or 'Negroes' to exemplify their conceptions of the State of
58 Nature' (p. 25).

59 ¹⁵ In this sense, we consider that some literature seems excessively concerned with the emergence of the idea of
60 race (as fixed biological differences between human groups) and, therefore, they confine the 'modernity of racism'
to 18th-century Enlightenment (for example, Lentin, 2004: 4-7), disregarding the particularities of racial
governmentality before that period.

¹⁶ See also van Dijk (1993).

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4 ¹⁷ We make a distinction between empathy - imagining another's emotions or perspectives ('walking in one's
5 shoes') and sympathy - a shared emotion, including a feeling of pity or contempt that does not require empathic
6 understanding. Some authors (e.g. Schaap, 2001) use the concept of sympathetic identification as an equivalent to
7 empathy.

8 ¹⁸ The Sofia Symposium on 'History, democratic values and tolerance in Europe' organised by the Council of Europe,
9 recommended that 'attitudes such as empathy and acceptance of diversity' should be encouraged within history
10 curricula (Council of Europe, 1995: 64).

11 ¹⁹ Luc Boltanski stressed how this 'reflexive device' on humanitarian discourses envisages constructing the 'moral
12 spectator' (*le spectateur moral*) through the inclusion of her/his feelings within the description of the other's
13 suffering (2007: 90). See also Sontag (2004).

14 ²⁰ Hespanha was the Committee's chief Commissioner from November 1995 to February 1999.

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Table 1 - Key themes/historical periods under analysis

Year 7	From the Hunter Gatherer Societies to the First Civilizations; The Formation of Western Christianity and Islamic Expansion;
Year 8	Expansion and Change in the 15th and 16th Centuries; Portugal in the European Context of the 17th and 18th Centuries;
Year 9	Europe and the World at the Turn of the Twentieth Century From Post-WWII to the 1980s; Cultural Challenges of Our Times.

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Figure 1. "The Liberal Revolutions in Europe and the Americas" (1776-1825) (RH8: 114)

