Banking White Supremacy: A Comparative Evaluation of Racism in Brasilian and United States Education Systems in the 21st Century

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I.   INTRODUCTION

But we make the brain perfect before we blow it out. The command of the old despotisms was "Thou shalt not." The command of the totalitarians was "Thou shalt." Our command is "Thou art." . . . Obedience is not enough. . . . Power is inflicting pain and humiliation. Power is in tearing human minds to pieces and putting them together again in new shapes of your own choosing. George Orwell, *1984*

Neither imperialism nor colonialism is a simple act of accumulation and acquisition. Both are supported and perhaps even impelled by impressive ideological formations that include nations that certain territories and people require and beseech domination, as well as forms of knowledge affiliated with domination.   Edward   W.   Said, *Culture and Imperialism*

Current Asian, Latin American, and African countries all fell victim to European colonialism. Six[1] European nations instilled prolonged and substantial occupation throughout the world: Belgium[2], Britain[3], France[4], Italy[5], Portugal[6] and Spain[7]. Of these six, "four main modes took form: the Portuguese sea-borne empire[8], the Spanish conquest state[9], the Anglo-Dutch quasi-private mercantile corporation[10], and the chartered colonial plantation[11]" (Young 49). Despite slight variations, all forms shared the colonial motive of advancing the capitalist project through any means necessary. The negative effects of colonialism that resulted from this no holds barred promotion of capitalism continue to manifest themselves in every part of the world today for two main reasons: (1) the colonial and capitalist systems place the greatest value on

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[1] The Arabs in the Middle East and Northern Africa, in addition to the Japanese and Russians throughout Asia also instilled colonial-like systems, but for the purpose of this paper, I will not be including their methods in my analysis, which I must acknowledge will continue the Eurocentric focus.

[2] The Belgians occupied much of central Africa and a portion of the Northeastern Americas.

[3] The British occupied many nations throughout Africa and Asia and parts of the Caribbean.

[4] The French occupied much of Western Africa, parts of Asia, and parts of the Americas.

[5] The Italians occupied present-day Eritrea, Libya and Somalia in Africa.

[6] The Portuguese occupied Southern Africa and its islands and Brasil in Latin America.

[7] The Spanish occupied isolated nations in Africa and the bulk of the Americas.

[8] I will discuss the "Portuguese Seaborne Empire" in the next chapter.

[9] "The Spanish colonial state . . . was from its first beginnings a territorial rather than maritime construction" (Young 1994). In addition to acquiring land, the spread of Catholicism was also a main motive.

[10] "A wholly mercantile logic propelled their enterprises; no crusading commitments encumbered the East India companies . . . The Dutch East India Company at its birth in 1602 had a highly targeted goal: to capture the spice trade, then mainly in nutmeg, mace, cloves, pepper, and cinnamon . . . To secure its profits in a risky and volatile market, there were natural inducements to move beyond mere exchange relationships into physical control of the source. . . . The armed company acquired territorial control, exercised through existing rulers . . ." (Young 1994).

[11] I will discuss the chartered colonial plantation in the next chapter.

the white European, Christian, heterosexual male, thus endowing capitalism with five additional components to its economic objectives: white supremacy, Eurocentrism, Christianity, homophobia, and sexism;[12] and (2) because of these additional components, the colonialist project required disintegration and distortion of native cultures, leaving only a perverse notion of what once existed as a way of life.

Ultimately, capitalism and its five additional components constitute a culture. It has a history, a present, and seeks to reproduce itself in the future through its ideology that is controlled by white European, Christian, heterosexual males, who constitute the hegemony. This hegemony controls both national and international education and schooling systems, thus causing a continuous reproduction of their power because of how they structure these institutions. In this paper, I will focus on the components of white supremacy and Eurocentrism present in the colonial discourse. The institutionalized ethnic, national, and racial inequality produced as a result has detrimental effects on children in the public education systems of all nations, including the two I specifically examine: Brasil and the United States.

I first examine historical racial division in each nation, focusing on colonization and nation building, slavery, eugenics and genocide, demands for civil and human rights, and current conditions. I then review how race and education intersect. Next, I discuss national history courses in Brasil and the United States, employing the interviews I performed with administrators, teachers and students. Finally, I review education's importance for our global society and propose possible reforms.

When I look at past and current policy, I will review it with the idea that policy reflects an ideology and that the policy that passes reflects dominant ideology, especially those policies

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[12] For more information on the Christianity, heterosexuality, and maleness that capitalism values, I recommend *Pedagogies of Crossing: Meditations on Feminism, Sexual Politics, Memory, and the Sacred* (2005) by M. Jacqui Alexander.

pertaining to race. I will show that both social and educational policy have been and continue to be a reflection of colonial white supremacy in both Brasil and the United States.

As for white supremacy, I draw on Delmo Della Dora's definition of racism – "Racism is the 'power to carry out systematic discriminatory practices' through institutions dominated by whites, such as the government, corporations, industry, schools, unions, and churches" – to prove that contemporary racism and white supremacy are synonymous because minorities do not have sustained access to sufficient power to enforce their prejudices, especially against those with all additional valued components of capitalism.

I refer to race as a historical, social and cultural construction based upon purely physical traits. Race is not a legitimate biological classification for human beings because human variation among a race is larger than that across races. I am equally suspicious of biological arguments concerning race because many genetic conditions have been proven to be mere predispositions affected by one's surroundings, rather than determinate events in one's future.

II.   HISTORICAL RACIAL DIVISION

A state is both creature and agent of history. Embedded within its institutions is a memory, not simply a store of information but a transformation of this data into generalized images of the past as a narrative text. The past is a reservoir of instructive experience, a library of lessons. The present is but an evanescent moment in the passage to a future that the state struggles to control and shape.
Crawford Young, *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective.*

República Federativa do Brasil (Brasil) and the United States of America are two of the largest nations in the world in both area and population. Brasil ranks number five in both categories with more than 8.5 million kilometers^2 and 180 million people, and the U.S. ranks number three in both with over 9.6 million kilometers^2 and 300 million people.

Brasil and the United States also have two of the world's largest economies. Brasil has the ninth largest economy in the world according to purchasing power parity[13] and ranks tenth

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[13] International Monetary Fund.

using market exchange rates,[14] in addition to having the largest gross domestic product (GDP) in Latin America. The United States has the largest economy based upon all above data but may soon be overtaken by China. Despite these booming economies though, both nations are incredibly unequal. According to the 2004 United Nations Human Development Report, the U.S. has a Gini index of 40.8 – the highest among "developed" nations, and Brasil has a Gini index of 59.1 – the highest in Latin America, arguably the most unequal region of the world. Nonetheless, Brasil has recently made a more concerted effort to lessen this inequality through social policies, whereas the U.S. has been steadily moving away from social safety nets since the Nixon presidency.

Both nations' citizenry are multiracial, with European, indigenous, African and Asian roots, and Brasil actually has the largest population of African descent outside of Africa.[15] Likewise, both nations are religious: Catholicism is the predominant religion with Protestants being the largest growing group in Brasil, and Christians (both Catholics and Protestants) are the predominant religion in the U.S.[16]

Brasil became a sovereign nation in 1822, a federal republic in 1889, and a federal presidential representative democratic republic in 1988 as the result of a new constitution. The United States became a sovereign nation in 1776 and adopted its constitution which outlined a federal constitutional republic in 1789. The same constitution has served as the supreme law of

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[14] The World Bank.

[15] The 2000 IBGE census found Brasil to consist of: 0.5 percent Asian, 6.2 percent black, 38.5 percent mixed race, 0.4 percent indigenous, 0.7 percent unspecified, and 53.7 percent white. The Census Bureau's 2005 American Community Survey found the United States to consist of: 4.3 percent Asian, 12.1 percent black, 0.8 percent indigenous, 14.5 percent Latino, 7.9 percent other or of more than one race, and between 60.4 and 74.7 percent white. Because the United States Census does not have a "Latino" category, they are often included as white, hence accounting for the range.

[16] According to the IBGE census: 73.9 percent are Roman Catholic, 15.4 percent are Protestant, 7.4 percent are agnostic, atheist or without religion, 1.3 percent are followers of Spiritism, and 0.3 percent are followers of African traditional religions (like Candomblé). According to the U.S. Census, 76.7 percent of U.S. adults identified themselves as Christian, with 52 percent described as Protestant and 24.5 percent described as Roman Catholics. The most popular other faiths include Judaism (1.4 percent), Islam (0.5 percent), Buddhism (0.5 percent), Hinduism (0.4 percent) and Unitarian Universalism (0.3 percent). About 14.2% of respondents described themselves as having no religion.

the nation into the present, although it has been amended 27 times. Thus, both nations are considered to be democracies.

However, W.E.B. DuBois often concluded that no real democracy exists in nations that were largely founded upon capitalism, slavery and genocide, as both Brasil and the United States were. Why he believed this is closely related to the *Elite Foundations of Liberal Democracy* (Higley 2006). Indeed, "each advance in white freedom was purchased by Black enslavement; white affluence coexists with Black poverty; . . . income mobility for the few is rooted in income stasis for the many" (Marable 1983). Those few are the elite[17] that emerge in all complex societies and support and sustain all political regimes. The specific requirement for liberal democracies to occur is a "consensually united elite"[18] (Higley 2006). Because of this consensually united elite's favored positioning in and value of the underlying system, it seeks to continue the same system, hence explaining why "transformations from one type of political elite to another are quite rare" (Higley 19). Unfortunately, when one group considers their own interests over the interests of the majority, an unjust system arises:

> Fascism is a deformity of capitalism. It heightens the imperialist tendency towards domination which is inherent in capitalism, and it safeguards the principle of private property. At the same time, fascism immeasurably strengthens the institutional racism already bred by capitalism . . . Fascism reverses the political gains of the bourgeois democratic system such as free elections, equality before the law, parliaments, etc. (Rodney 1994).

Capitalism is always an exploitative system that seeks to accumulate capital as cheaply as possible and often at others' expense in manifest ways, including economic exploitation, political

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[17] The elite are defined as "people and groups who are powerful and privileged for whatever reason . . . [and are] able, by virtue of their strategic positions in powerful organizations and movements, to affect political outcomes regularly and substantially" (Higley 2006).

[18] "Structural integration is extensive in the sense that overlapping and interlocked communication and influence networks encompass and tie together all influential factions and sector elites, with no single faction or sector elite dominating the networks. Value consensus is extensive in the sense that, while factions and sector elites regularly and publicly oppose each other on ideological and policy matters, their actions over time suggest an underlying consensus about most norms of political behavior and the worth of existing political institutions. Elite persons and factions accord each other significant trust, they cooperate tacitly to contain explosive issues and conflicts, and their competitions for political power have a positive sum or 'politics as bargaining' character" (Higley 2006).

dependence, and fear. Because both nations began their capitalist markets depending upon Black slaves to do the real work, elites would like to continue to use this source of labor as its workers. Thus, Brasil's and the United State's "'democratic' government and 'free enterprise' system are structured deliberately and specifically to maximize Black oppression" (Marable 1983).

A. Colonization and Nation Building

> Modern colonial empire provides an unusual history of small numbers of people lording it over large masses and widely scattered groups, the relationship always fragile and uncertain, yet outwardly given the appearance of solidarity and certainty by pomp and circumstance. . . . [O]ne may say that things did not fall apart in the colonial world. They had never come harmoniously together except in speeches and writings of a pro-imperialist tenor . . . Raymond Betts, *Decolonization: Making of the Contemporary World*.

In *Marxism and Literature*, Raymond Williams demystifies our "natural" existence into that of a socially and culturally constructed being by stressing human capacity to understand and build social order and defining culture as "the whole social process in which people define and shape their specific and distinct ways of life," including both what people do and what people think. Accordingly, current practices shape current ideas, which then shape future practices and future ideas, all of which are shaped by past practices. Human life is thus relative to a society's time period, history, traditions, economy, politics, culture, ideology, and so much more. In sum, the practices that become tradition and then culture are socially constructed and historically specific to each society.

Within Williams' framework, he favors materialism[19] over idealism[20], though he acknowledges the role that each plays in constructing society. According to Williams though, what others (as individuals) have learned over time shapes how we (as a society) view the present by imposing meaning on our yet unlived experiences. In other words, the things we do

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[19] Materialism is the theory that physical matter constitutes fundamental reality and that all being, processes and phenomena can be explained as manifestations or results of this matter, hence requiring that economic and social change be materially caused (*Webster's*).

[20] Idealism favors the "cognitive structuring power," implying that what people know in their minds overrides their sense of perception.

shape how we think about and act in the world. Thus, the material actions that Europeans took in colonized nations definitely affected how the colonized thought and acted in a newly, forcefully constructed world.

From the beginning, the European colonizers not only neglected true development of colonized nations but also hindered progress that may have been made by natives. First, colonialism "crushed by force the surviving feudal states" (Rodney 1994).[21] As a result, independent nations or tribes could no longer rely on neighboring nations or tribes without appeasing the colonists as well. Then the Europeans sought to invent traditions both to obtain support from chosen natives and to downplay the importance of native rituals: "In the colonies themselves the Europeans frequently supported or even created rituals of power for local rulers whose cooperation they sought and needed" (Betts 1998). Likewise, they created caste systems based upon physical features that created degrees of belonging in order to divide the majority into many minorities, thus making it easy to hoard their illegitimate power because challengers no longer had sufficient support. At the same time, the Europeans rearranged physical space in the cities in much the same way that the Texans did in modern San Antonio.[22] After gearing the city toward market enterprise, the colonizers ensured that colonized nations would be used as sources of raw materials, rather than as diversified, self-sufficient actors.[23] As a result, the gatekeeper state developed in which "economic power remained concentrated at the gate between the inside and outside" (Cooper 2002), and Europe became the economic and productive center of the world in the process.

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[21] "When one society finds itself forced to relinquish power entirely to another society, that in itself is a form of underdevelopment" (Rodney 1994).

[22] "In reworking the physical space of the territories into which they moved so as to ensure and justify their own domination, as they did with forts and hospitals as well as with roads and railroads, the Europeans forced drastic changes in the local geography of the mind . . . the economic activities in the colonies were European by definition and market driven in purpose. . . .Therefore, the configurations of the land were redrawn to serve purposes largely external to those of the local population" (Betts 1998).

[23] "[N]on-industrialization . . . was not left to chance. It was deliberately enforced by stopping the transference . . . of machinery and skills which would have given competition to European industry in that epoch" (Rodney 1994).

When the Europeans crushed the old empires and nation states and replaced them with their constructions, much suffering followed. Most notably, it created a new reality, devoid of much of what used to drive everyday interaction: "'There are two worlds, ours is a world of respect and mystery and magic. Their world brings everything into the daylight, even the things that weren't meant to be . . . Well we must get used to it . . . 'What are we to these whites?'" (Oyono 1990). In addition to this elevated sense of lack of control, crushing old nations also crushed much of traditional practices, especially problematic because Europeans were creating competing "traditions" at the same time. With the rearranging of place and market enterprise, familial bonds broke, expressed by both Achebe and Vambe.[24] Also, the importance of community and group identity is lessened when prominent individuals reject or sublimate membership. "The colonial situation encouraged immigration. . . . As the Europeans left, so did many of their former colonial subjects" (Betts 1998). This explains why "brain drain" is so prevalent, which directly affects the quality of healthcare, education, housing, and many other services available to citizens. Hence, as the Europeans placed themselves and their ideas in the center, natives and their ideas began to break down because of constant exposure to domination.

Within this context, the first Portuguese explorers, led by Pedro Álvares Cabral, arrived in present-day Bahia, Brasil on 23 April 1500. Dutch, French and Spanish explorers also established colonies that were eventually taken over by the Portuguese. Similarly, Christopher Columbus made the first landing on 19 November 1493 in present-day Puerto Rico, and the Spanish established the first colonies in present-day Florida during the mid-1500s. Some French

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[24] "the majority of the young people were more than willing to be sucked into the materialistic machine of the white men. . . . They were lured from their tribal environment by the promises of education and economic enterprise . . . In this way the old bonds of tribal family cohesion, loyalty, discipline and other things . . . were torn asunder" (Vambe 1972).
"A man who calls his kinsmen to a feast does not do so to save them from starving. They all have food in their own homes. When we gather together in the moonlit village ground it is not because of the moon. Every man can see it in his own compound. We come together because it is good for kinsmen to do so. . . . But I fear for you young people because you do not understand how strong is the bond of kinship. You do not know what it is to speak with one voice" (Achebe 1994).

fur traders established outposts in the Great Lakes region, the Dutch settled in parts of present-day New York and New Jersey, the Swedes in present-day Delaware, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and the English in present-day Virginia and Massachusetts in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The British eventually took over the French, Dutch, and Swedish territories in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) but lost their image of invincibility and caused colonists who physically fought for Britain to want more because "the crown remained unable or unwilling to engage itself in direct colonial investment" (Marx 1998).

The "Portuguese Seaborne Empire" wanted to connect to the Saharan gold trade and accordingly set up ports along the African and Indian coasts in the early fifteenth century, in effect developing domination of the Indian Ocean through control of key trade routes. The Portuguese government preferred to tie colonial governance to self-standing viceroyalties linked directly to the Portuguese crown. Brasil's profits flowed directly to the Portuguese king, reinforcing state consolidation and centralized rule, and this centralization was reinforced by the state-supported Catholic church, as opposed to the multiple sects of Protestantism in the U.S. (Marx 1998). In fact, the Jesuits helped the Brasilians greatly by establishing mission networks in many parts of Brasil and exploiting vast supplies of indigenous labor to work the Jesuit-run ranches and vineyards (Skidmore 1999). The same elite who first ran Brasil continued to have control after the Portuguese Empire collapsed in 1889 (consistent with Higley's findings), and no civil war occurred because of "an occasionally clogged but still highly effective royal authority, able to circumvent or withstand challenges while the same elite remained in power" (Marx 1998).

After dramatic territorial expansion to the north, west, and south in the late sixteenth century, the Portuguese exploited the nation first for brazil wood (Pau-Brasil), then for sugarcane (Cana-de-Açúcar) and coffee beans, and then for gold and diamond mining throughout the

1700s, which financed the flowering of a rich culture in South-Central Brasil, where many European immigrants would come in the early twentieth century. From the beginning, the Portuguese believed, and were backed by W.E.B. DuBois and Gilberto Freyre, that they are a multiracial and kind society. However, "Moorish rule likely encouraged racial antagonism, camouflaged by the Portuguese as racial tolerance and respect in order to preserve their pride" (Marx 1998).

The British, on the other hand, historically ran huge plantations and used large, private companies to sell their produce. Often, the British set up governments in colonial territories with British authorities at the helm. Colonial rule ended a full century earlier in the U.S. through the much different process of successive military battles. In addition, governmental power was decentralized among the thirteen colonies that became the United States of America in 1776, unlike the absolute state in Brasil.

Despite differences in colonization styles, both nations qualify as what Robert Melson describes as "settler states," those that are inherently genocidal because they had to clear native populations in order to make room for their swelling numbers, an easier task in Brasil and the United States because of a lack of large indigenous empires (like the Inca, Aztec or Maya) found elsewhere in the Americas (Ward 1997). The semi-nomadic natives living in present-day Brasil previous to colonization are thought to have arrived in the region around 9000 BC. Over one hundred separate language groups, from the Charrua in the far south to the Macuxi in the far north, existed, and estimates of actual persons ranges from 500,000 to 8 million. Many were killed by the sugar industry in the Northeast, and those who survived retreated deep into the rain forest where the Portuguese dared not go. Likewise, various indigenous groups inhabited the present-day United States and are thought to have begun migrating between 35,000 and 11,000 years ago. As well, those who survived often retreated to parts of the country that European

settlers did not wish to explore. Both nations employed the model of "simple extermination," in which "the indigenous peoples were systematically subjected to mass killings, deadly disease, overwork and a total move to destroy their cultures" (Munck 2003).

B. Slavery

Before 1800, more people from Africa came here than from anywhere else, most of them enslaved or indentured and all of them poor and exploited. . . . This country has had slaves longer than it has been free. *Slavery and the Making of America*

Forced migration of Africans to Europe began in 1442, with Portugal making the first shipment in 1443, establishing the first trading post to this end in 1448 and shipping between 700 to 800 slaves to the country by the 1450s, and regularizing the trade by 1461 (Tannenbaum 1946). From this point forward, all European powers would collectively force 10 million African captives to the New World, with between one and two million dying en route and one-third of them arriving in Brasil (Marx 1998). Competition from other nations was very low in the 1400s, and the Pope thus gave the Portuguese monarch authority to "attack, conquer, and subdue all . . . 'unbelievers' from Morocco to the Indies, to reduce them to slavery, to transfer their lands and properties to the crown . . ." (Young 1994). Thus, Portuguese importation of slaves began in 1549, and 3.5 million total slaves would eventually be brought, making it the largest slave trading nation in history. All of Brasil's economic booms, based on the production of gold, diamonds, tobacco, cotton, and sugar in the North and coffee in the South, depended upon this massive slave labor, meaning that these slaves founded and built the nation (Marx 1998).

Frank Tannenbaum promotes a myth of Brasil's benign form of slavery because of the Catholic doctrine of equality in his book, *Slave and Citizen* (1948). However, like all forms of slavery, the Portuguese imposed the worst of conditions upon a whole group of peoples based solely upon their skin color and country of origin. The Church raised no objections because they

relied on large landholders' funding to continue operating, slave marriages were rare, masters could forcibly separate slaves until 1869, killing and injury to slaves by masters was common, slaves were locked in at night, manumission was often only offered to those who had become a burden to their masters, savings to buy freedom could be seized until 1871, and most importantly, life expectancy was much shorter – only seven to twelve years in the mines. For this reason, ten times the number of slaves as in North America arrived in Brasil. Because of continual energy of newly imported slaves and large numbers in urban areas, revolts were common. When the British ended the shipping of slaves into Brasil in 1850 (because slave labor was allowing the colonies to outpace production in Britain and thus increase competition and lower their profits), the Portuguese gradually began providing more rights to slaves, and slavery was finally outlawed in 1888. This "[m]ore extensive slavery in Brasil entrenched inequality and discrimination, the legacy of which helped to preserve the racial order without later legal action or racial labor restriction" (Marx 1998).

The first slaves brought to the northern United States arrived to New Amsterdam (present-day New York City) in 1619 by way of the Dutch West India Company. Quite differently from the Brasilian case in which slaves gained more rights as time moved forward, slaves in the U.S. initially had rights and entitlement to pay and marriage. They maintained these rights by converting to Christianity to use it as a negotiating ground because they knew that according to European Christianity, others are not supposed to enslave people, and they also used fear by saying they would fight alongside indigenous people if not guaranteed rights. Nonetheless, because of less reliance on continual imports and more focus on reproduction among slaves, rights were gradually degraded until none existed, often unnoticed individually because of a shared generational perception. As in Brasil, slave labor was absolutely necessary to the large plantations producing cotton, tobacco, sugar, and rice and allowed the GDP of the

South to grow almost equally with the industrializing North. Rebellions were much less common because of less urban concentration, although several important ones did occur, including the Stono Rebellion in South Carolina and Nat Turner's rebellion in 1831. After these rebellions, further restrictions followed, namely the Black Codes. Slavery was passed by mother's status, and free blacks were isolated from enslaved blacks in the U.S. Harsh rules ensued here as well: rape was not crime, slaves were forbidden to learn to read and write, ancestral/cultural traditions were eroded by suppression, manumission was steadily restricted through the early 1800s, and if caught running away, one could be branded on the face, castrated, or killed. Unlike in Brasil, regional concentration of slavery caused a civil war to be fought to bring about its end, which legally came in 1865.

C. Eugenic Policy

Two major events occurred in Brasilian and United States history that continue to affect blacks: slavery and eugenic policy. The two events are linked: black slaves had little say in their reproductive lives and were perceived as similar to animals in that "the strong survived." In addition, female slaves were further degraded: they were often the victims of white rape, and little attention was given to maternal health and prenatal care.

> These struggles were in large part against a prevailing system of capitalist exploitation, which used their bodies for breeding and their bloodline for the maintenance of racial order. . . . [T]hey were simply instruments guaranteeing the growth of the slave labor force. They were 'breeders'—animals, whose monetary value could be precisely calculated in terms of their ability to multiply their numbers (Frederick 2003).

Within this context, the following statement is incredibly relevant: "The first prerequisite for a nation capable of genocide is the belief that they are superior to their victims. They must believe that they are entitled to the control of the life and death of their victims" (in Dawkins 1983). Indeed, whites believed that they had this control over all others and set out to sanctify

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the superiority of the Nordic race through eugenic policy.[25] In Brasil and the United States, this

policy manifested itself in multiple ways for well over a century:

> Throughout the first six decades of the twentieth century, hundreds of thousands of Americans . . . were not permitted to continue their families by reproducing. Selected because of their ancestry, national origin, race or religion, they were forcibly sterilized, wrongly committed to mental institutions where they died in great numbers, prohibited from marrying, and sometimes even unmarried by state bureaucrats. . . . [T]his pernicious white-gloved war was prosecuted by esteemed professors, elite universities, wealthy industrialists and government officials colluding in a racist, pseudoscientific movement called eugenics. The purpose: create a superior Nordic race (Black 2003).[26]

Several decades before Hitler's Third Reich killed millions of people for being

"genetically inferior" in Germany and much of Europe,[27] the eugenics movement thrived in the

United States, who would eventually spread its beliefs throughout Asia, Europe and Latin

America. The Carnegie Institution and the Rockefeller Foundation supported further research

into eugenic policy and soon became the world's largest financial contributor to its spread, a

trend that continued well into the twentieth century, even after determining the methods to be

fraudulent. In Brasil, the elite relied heavily upon Auguste Comte's positivism that held

scientific knowledge to be the only real knowledge. Though stemming from different ideologies,

both nations' policies had the same effects.

Most unfortunate of all, the birth control movement became intertwined with this eugenic

movement. Margaret Sanger, the main voice pushing the creation of a birth control pill and

creator of Planned Parenthood, "saw the obstruction of birth control as a multi-tiered injustice.

One of the tiers was the way it enlarged the overall menace of social defectives plaguing society"

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[25] The American Heritage Dictionary defines eugenics as "[t]he study of hereditary improvement of the human race by controlled selective breeding."

[26] "It was a movement against non-Nordics regardless of their skin color, language or national origin" (Black 2003).

[27] "Nazi eugenics quickly outpaced American eugenics in both velocity and ferocity. . . . [, but] the scientific rationales that drove killer doctors at Auschwitz were first concocted on Long Island at the Carnegie Institution's eugenic enterprise at Cold Spring Harbor" (Black 2003).

(Black 2003).[28] Sanger went beyond Malthusian ideology[29] and became an outspoken Social Darwinist, condemning philanthropists who helped the poor and repeatedly referring to those needing help as little more than "human waste." These eugenic ideas, grounded in the desire to weed out undesirable traits, when put into action, are genocidal.

D. Demands for Civil and Human Rights

The civil rights movement most present in the United States from 1950 to 1970 did much to legally correct segregation in housing markets, schools, public institutions, voting, and other areas, but there remain huge discrepancies between *de jure* and *de facto* realities. Oddly enough, although "Latin America is, in many ways, the continent of social movements," Brasil has not experienced a concerted civil rights movement for Black rights (Munck 2003). There have been major Black social movements, the first emerging in the late 1970s with the decline of the military dictatorship, and alongside the new labor, environmental and women's movements, but they are more in response to basic military violations of human rights because Brasil never had legally defined racial barriers. "'Freyre created the most formidable ideological weapon against blacks.' He and his followers created an image of history and the present that denied any subordination against which blacks might resist" (Marx 1998). However, claims of "racial

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[28] In the beginning, Margaret Sanger stated: "Birth control, which has been criticized as negative and destructive, is really the greatest and most truly eugenic method, and its adoption as part of the program of Eugenics would immediately give a concrete and realistic power to that science. She would also advocate for the "extermination of so-called human weeds to bolster her own views" (Black 2003) throughout her lifetime. Even on 5 May 1953, she continued to maintain a staunch eugenic stance: "I do not see how we could leave out of its [International Planned Parenthood] aims some of the eugenic principles that are basically sound in constructing a decent civilization" (Black 2003).

[29] Malthusian Orthodoxy "not only makes good shock headlines in the press, but also draws on deep undercurrents of parochialism, racism, elitism, and sexism, complementing the Social Darwinist 'survival of the fittest' view. The most extreme Malthusians even advocate that famine relief be cut off to poor overpopulated countries" (Hartmann 13). All of these "alarmists" base their beliefs upon the writings of Thomas Malthus, a "British clergyman-turned-economist" who wrote in the late 1700s and early 1800s. Malthus maintained that, "unless restrained by 'preventative checks,' human populations would double every twenty-five years. The result would be geometric growth—1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, etc.—outstripping the earth's capacity for food production, which could at best be expected to increase in an arithmetic progression—1,2,3,4, 5, 6, 7, etc. . . . . Only 'misery'—the poverty, famine, and pestilence brought on by overpopulation, supplemented by the man-made deprivations of war and slaughter—would keep human numbers down" (Hartmann 1995).

democracy" are myths, proven by the similar (to the United States) historical and present conditions existing in Brasil.

E. Current Conditions

Developed nations continue material colonial dominance today because they do not create a supportive international system in multiple ways. First, the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs)[30] backed by the IMF and World Bank tie loans to increasing exports and decreasing state involvement. However, "[e]xport-led development . . . is unlikely to benefit most . . . countries under prevailing conditions" (Sandbrook 2000),[31] just as decreasing state involvement while increasing autonomy results in a large group of citizens who need assistance that the government is no longer equipped to provide.[32] Next, commodities are subsidized in developed nations, as discussed in the UNCTAD report,[33] while price volatility rages on the world market, disproportionately affecting developing nations because they rely so heavily on a single export for national revenue in many cases. In the same way, few nations receive "significant inflows of foreign investment," and the preferences afforded under the European Union's Lomé Convention were recently overturned (Sandbrook 2000). Finally, "[t]he top-down, secretive manner of negotiating adjustment loans and grants also contradicts the principle of ownership through democratic processes" (Sandbrook 2000).[34] Therefore, the global

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[30] "Social Action Programs (SAPs) are 'regular investment projects,' implemented in most cases by existing governmental departments. Social Funds (SFs) involve the formation of a more-or-less independent agency to administer funds contributed by donors and the host government" (Sandbrook 134). SAPs focus on work programs, healthcare, education, and water supply/sanitation, whereas SFs work closely with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to supplement the government's efforts.

[31] "Sub-Saharan Africa's share of world trade has steadily declined over forty years . . . Africa's weak position will probably continue because the region's comparative advantage, owing to relatively abundant natural resources and scarce human capital, lies in primary production, and in related unskilled activities" (Sandbrook 140).

[32] "The World Bank's acknowledgement of some of these problems led to its 1990 adoption of poverty reduction as a separate goal of structural adjustment. The neo-liberal view, after 1990, was that 'social dimensions of adjustment' (SDA) programs should target not only the 'new poor' and other vulnerable groups hurt by adjustment, but also the 'chronic poor'—including people whose low productivity had condemned them to poverty long before" (Sandbrook 133).

[33] United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). "Economic Development in Africa: Trade Performance and Commodity Dependence." 26 February 2003.

[34] "Usually a few top technocrats from the country's central bank and finance ministry act on behalf of the African government. . . . [T]his approach removes key areas of economic and social policy form the purview of representative institutions, so that elections and legislative debates lose their meaning" (Sandbrook 2000).

economy, ridden with asymmetric trading relationships, needs to be examined, and we must move from a global system of exploitation to one of global cooperation. Through these continuing material conditions, continued psychological, cultural, and emotional conditions persist as well.

Likewise, both governments still support and reinforce a system of slavery upon Black citizens. *Invisible Punishment: The Collateral Consequences of Mass Imprisonment* (2002), *Killing the Black Body: Race, Reproduction, and the Meaning of Liberty* (1997), *Reproductive Rights and Wrongs: The Global Politics of Population Control* (1995) and *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in São Paulo* (2001) describe the power imbalance between whites and minorities in Brasil and the United States.

Government policy promotes the separation of families among poor Black persons as did the slavery system. In *Killing the Black Body*'s Chapter 4, author Dorothy Roberts discusses the crack testing of mothers that arose in the 1980's during Reagan's push to decrease funding to federal programs.[35] Because of the strict punishment involved, these women were made to feel that they had no legal claim to their children and to then endure the extra punishment of government-enforced responsibility for their children not having the positive environments they could have provided when they are sent to live in foster homes with other people.

During the same time period, the United States declared war on drugs, and the policies[36] that followed served to separate already shaky families.[37] First, prisoners who previously lived

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[35] According to Chapter 4 of Roberts' book, the practice of crack testing overwhelmingly affects poor, black mothers, proven by the fact that all but a few of the women prosecuted are poor and Black.

[36] These include "three strikes and you're out laws, truth-in-sentencing schemes, sentencing commission designed to constrain judicial discretion, sex offender registration, mandatory minimums and the abolition of parole boards" (Mauer 2002).

[37] Since that time, prison enrollment has risen from under half a million to over 2 million people currently behind bars. "More than three-quarters of a million black men are now behind bars, and nearly 2 million are under some form of correctional supervision, including probation and parole. For black men ages twenty-five to thirty-four, . . . one of every eight is in prison or jail on any given day. . . . two thirds [of all prisoners] are ethnic minorities" (Mauer 2002). Just as the United States as the largest prison population in the world, Brasil has the largest prison population in South America. According to the DEPEN (Departamento Penitenciário Nacional), there are approximately 350,000 people living in Brazil's prisons. The majority of them are less them 30 years old, 95 percent are poor, and 95 percent are men. Researchers Ignacio Cano (1997) and Jorge Silva (2002) have shown that black males are the

in urban areas with their families are shipped to prisons in far-away rural areas, making visits hard and expensive. Second, telephone contact is limited and very expensive because all prisoners must call collect and pay extra to have their calls monitored. Hence, it is no surprise that one out of every fourteen Black children in the U.S. have a parent in prison and that half of these kids will never visit the incarcerated parent (Mauer). In addition, Donald Braman examines the lost income, help with childcare, community support and diminished social relationships that are caused, especially because most male inmates are fathers.

Like the slave codes and Jim Crow laws of the past, black and white citizens continue to be governed by different standards, with Blacks disproportionately being subjected to inhumane living conditions, objectification and denial of rights. First, government programs use White, middle-class values, standards, and norms to determine who receives punishment and who receives benefits. The crack testing of mothers discussed by Roberts occurred despite overwhelming evidence of its inequality and injustice, mainly that the negative effects of crack on fetal development are certainly debatable, and that, in fact, more common drugs – such as pills, alcohol, marijuana, and crystal meth, all more commonly used by white women – and behavioral traits – such as not taking bed rest, drinking large amounts of coffee, and stressing, also more common among white women – probably have greater negative effects. Within "The Welfare Debate" covered in Roberts' chapter five, the author points out that government deemed mothers receiving assistance as irresponsible and immoral freeloaders because they often do not follow the husband and wife family model in which the male is the main wage earner. At the same time, it is okay in our society to live off of inherited wealth, insurance proceeds and governmental agriculture subsidies without working but is absolutely unacceptable to do the same off of welfare payments. Drug crimes, like welfare, have also been encoded to have minority connotations. Persons incarcerated for a drug offense rose from 40,000 in 1980 to

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main victims not only of the criminals but also of the police in Brasil.

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nearly half a million in 2002, and 80 percent of those inmates in state prison for drug offenses are Black or Latino, not to mention that prison incarceration rates are 8 times higher for Blacks than whites (Mauer 2002). In addition, the drugs targeted are often more common in minority communities, best exhibited with the 500-1 ratio of crack to cocaine sentencing.

Second, Black citizens are more likely to be subjected to inhumane living and working conditions. The hard physical work, poor nutrition and abuse endured during slavery that affected infant birth weight and mortality continue today, evidenced by the lower birth weights and higher infant mortality rates present in the Black population. Also, the U.S. government has begun to move toward more invasive birth control methods for women receiving benefits: "Unlike every other method of birth control except the IUD, a woman cannot simply stop using it [Depo-Provera shots and Norplant devices] when she wants to. . . . 'It's a contraceptive that's controlled by the provider, not the woman.'" (Roberts 1997).

Third, just as Blacks were viewed as market objects during slavery, Black objectification continues. "[The whipping of pregnant slaves] is the most striking metaphor I know for the evils of [maternal-fetal] policies that seek to protect the fetus while disregarding the humanity of the mother" (Roberts 41). Roberts compares crack punishment policies that do not provide drug treatment options to pregnant women as following the same model. Roberts and Hartmann also expose how teaching hospitals use poor black mothers as practice subjects for their medical students in unneeded cesarean sections, blood transfusions, hysterectomies, and other highly invasive and dangerous operations. In the same way, prisoners are made to work for little or nothing, are identified by their inmate numbers rather than their names, and are subjected to random searches whenever the guards choose.

Fourth, Blacks are systematically denied rights normally guaranteed to white citizens. From forced sterilization in the 1970s to mandatory insertion of Norplant devices as a condition

of receiving federal aid, black women are not allowed to make their parenting and childbearing

decisions, just like when the master determined when, where, and with whom his slaves

produced. In addition, under Clinton's 1996 Welfare reform in the U.S., family caps were

instituted in many states, in which families could not receive additional funding for each child

after a set limit (usually two). This policy did not allow for exceptions of multiple births or

unavoidable pregnancy (rape and incest) and denied women the right to decide what kind of

family they would like to have. Nonetheless, "It is amazing how effective governments –

especially our own – are at making sterilization and contraceptives available to women of color,

despite their inability to reach these women with prenatal care, drug treatment, and other health

services" (Roberts 1997). In the same way that women are denied social benefits, ex-felons are

denied many social benefits and civil rights as well. According to the American Bar Association

task force:

> he may be ineligible for many federally-funded health and welfare benefits, food stamps,
> public housing, and federal educational assistance. His driver's license may be
> automatically suspended, and he may no longer qualify for certain employment and
> professional licenses. If he is convicted of another crime he may be subject to
> imprisonment as a repeat offender. He will not be permitted to enlist in the military, or
> possess a firearm, or obtain a federal security clearance. If a citizen, he may lose the
> right to vote;[38] if not, he becomes immediately deportable.

Gwen Rubenstein and Debbie Mukamal conclude in chapter 2 that "[t]he bans . . . are

counterproductive public policies for addressing addiction and reintegration . . . since they

actually make it more difficult for low-income individuals to afford treatment, obtain food and

employment, and find safe and sober housing as they transition back into the community" (49).

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[38] 48 states and the District of Columbia deny prisoners the right to vote while in prison, and seven states (primarily in the South) deny felons the right to vote for life. "[A]n estimated 1.4 million African-American males, or 13 percent of the adult African-American population, as a result of felony disenfranchisement laws that strip current or former felons of voting rights" (Mauer 2002). Sociologists Christopher Uggen and Jeff Manza (2000) concluded by projecting the impact of these lost votes that disenfranchisement prevented Democratic control of the Senate from 1986 to 2000. In no other democracy are felons banned for life from voting, and though there is an appeals process, it is more illusory than factual.

Finally, the lack of trust by Black citizens in public institutions (like the media and government) continues today because of the same oversight and stereotyping of Blacks that persist. Throughout Roberts' book, she discusses the media's role in creating and perpetuating detrimental images of black women – from stereotypes of the sexual tigress Jezebel and black mammy during slavery to media exaggeration and manipulation of statistics to publisher's arbitrary standards of what is acceptable to publish to the image of both the crack mother and crack baby as irredeemable to the irresponsible, immoral freeloading welfare queen who makes money by making babies[39] to the sensational interracial baby born unto a white couple who paid thousands of dollars for *in vitro* fertilization. In addition, children who see their parents beaten by police when going to jail often foster hatred and resentment toward state enforcement thereafter. These feelings are often not helped because students who attend inner city schools are often searched and racially profiled on a daily basis in the schools that are supposed to be safe environments. Ultimately, Black people look around and see themselves being mistreated, and thus, are unable and unwilling to have faith in a government system that has never served their interests.

Eugenic policies and denial of genocide also persist, as illustrated in *American Eugenics: Race, Queer Anatomy, and the Science of Nationalism* (2003) and *"The Hour of Eugenics": Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (1991), in which both authors describe eugenic immigration, reproduction and schooling policies. Neither have demands for civil and human rights been met. Both Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton's *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* and Robert Bullard's *Dumping in Dixie: Race, Class, and Environmental Quality* describe continuing discriminatory practices in the United States that

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[39] In Chapter 5, Roberts discusses and disproves the three largest welfare myths that began to emerge when LBJ fully incorporated Black women into the system: (1) welfare induces childbirth, when actually, families receiving Welfare payments are smaller than average and the grants decrease with each child; (2) welfare dependency causes poverty and/or dependency, but, most women on Welfare work full-time; and (3) marriage can end children's poverty, which denies the racial differences in the path to poverty and the ability of a father's child support payments to make a meaningful difference.

disproportionately affect Black people – not only more than Whites but more than other minority groups as well. Similarly, Teresa Caldeira's *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in São Paulo* also describes continuing discriminatory practices in Brasil. All three books examine these discriminatory practices at the individual, organizational, and governmental level in both the public and private sectors using concrete, verifiable statistical data. Massey and Denton and Caldeira overwhelmingly prove that Blacks of all social classes live in similarly hypersegregated neighborhoods.[40] Using five distinct towns/cities throughout the U.S., Bullard proves a higher likelihood of hazardous waste in Black neighborhoods and rare employment opportunities for Blacks within the polluting industries, despite these Black communities taking sustained action – including neighborhood meetings, uniting together to protest, and gathering petitions – and caring a great deal about environmental justice.[41] Most importantly for this thesis, though, the education systems of these two nations are still highly segregated, an issue that I now address.

III.   RACE AND EDUCATION

> The effect of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities, and ultimately in themselves.   Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*

In both Brasil and the United States, education is divided into three levels: primary, secondary, and tertiary. Primary education (grades one through eight) is free for everyone and mandatory for children between the ages of six and fourteen in both nations. Secondary education (grades nine through twelve) is also free in both places, but it is not mandatory in Brasil. Tertiary education (including technical colleges, junior colleges, undergraduate study and graduate study) is not mandatory in either nation but is free at public universities in Brasil.

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[40] See Table 4.1 on page 86 of *American Apartheid*.
[41] See Table 4.2 on page 78 and Table 4.3 on page 82 of *Dumping in Dixie*.

Throughout the majority of United States history, educational institutions were segregated and sometimes not even offered to those who were not white. Just as very few women received any education before the Civil War, neither did Blacks, and as was mentioned in the first chapter, just teaching a slave to read was often a crime. Similar patterns existed in Brasil. After the U.S. Civil War, however, though the states themselves did not help, the federal government established the Freedman's Bureau to help educate former slaves on their rights and new citizenship status. Unfortunately, few bureaus throughout the South survived to the end of Reconstruction in 1877. Nonetheless, because all Blacks had begun to receive education, whites also sought to enroll all of their students, thus fully incorporating the state into child education. In Brasil, because of the lack of Civil War and slavery's longer continuance, Blacks continued not to be educated at this time.

In *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), the U.S. Supreme Court legalized "separate but equal" facilities for blacks and whites. Though very few black schools received equal resources (funding, facilities, textbooks, etc.), black students certainly managed to excel in the all black classrooms with all black faculties and mostly black perspectives on society and education. Then, the Civil Rights Movement led to *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954), in which the Supreme Court unanimously ruled that separate was inherently unequal and segregated schools are thus unconstitutional. As mentioned previously, Brasil never had legalized segregation, which is not to say that it did not occur, because it certainly did. Integration in both nations, however, still has yet to occur and has actually been less and less encouraged as time has passed. Jonathan Kozol documents resegregation in United States schools in his novel, *The Shame of the Nation* (2005). A large component of maintaining this *status quo* in both nations is through both employing neighborhood schools that inherently require segregated facilities since neighborhoods are as segregated today as they were fifty years

ago and the language of meritocracy in the school system, in which the intelligent earn their privileged positioning and the low-performing must accept their inferiority (Porter 1984).

The manner of inequality in each nation, though it has the same long term effects, does differ. Effective Maintained Inequality Theory proposes that there are two types of inequality, quantity inequality and quality inequality, and that socioeconomically advantaged actors secure for themselves and their children some degree of advantage wherever advantages are commonly possible (Lucas 2001). Hence, if quantitative differences are common, the socioeconomically advantaged will obtain quantitative advantages, and if qualitative differences are common, the socioeconomically advantaged will obtain qualitative advantage. Brasil suffers from quantitative inequality and the United States from qualitative inequality. Brasil has still not nationalized its secondary education and does not have anywhere near one hundred percent enrollment rates. In fact, less than a decade ago, close to 20 percent of children did not even obtain primary education, explaining why working-age Brasilians have only an average of 4.1 years of schooling. However, when government started distributing federal funds according to primary school enrollment rates, enrollment skyrocketed and high school attendance tripled, causing the quality to deteriorate additionally because of rapid increase in quantity (*The Economist* b). In the United States, however, almost everyone attends school through twelfth grade. But because the elite always maintain their advantage, the quality of education differs greatly among schools based upon societal distinctions. In Brasil, the school year lasts for 200 days and students average little more than 3 hours a day, and in the United States, school lasts between 175 and 185 days, depending on the state, and students average 6 hours a day.

Nonetheless, in "Collective Identity and the Burden of 'Acting White' in Black History, Community, and Education," John Ogbu argues that this school inequality does not fully explain

why there are differences in school performance among minority groups. He points out two additional factors: collective identity and cultural frame of reference.

Ogbu interprets racial disparities in school performance as historically oppressed groups' antagonism toward the dominant group (whites) through rejection of school goals. According to Opposite Culture Theory,

> involuntary minorities learn from those around them that they have limited job opportunities, and so they put forth little effort toward success in school because . . . there is a reciprocal relationship between the opportunities available to a minority group and the pattern of linguistic, cognitive, motivational, and other school-related skills they develop (Ogbu).

For example, black students who perform well in school are defined as "white," and thus high-achieving blacks feel burdened because other group members perceive them to be "selling out" and "acting white." Hence, this peer pressure contributes to the low school performance of black students. A study by Roland Fryer confirms that "above a certain grade point average, blacks and [Latinos] have fewer friends than other pupils, whereas whites have more" (*The Economist* a).

Finally, inner city schools, where minority students are often concentrated because of housing segregation, are more violent than others and often emulate prison systems. First, teachers and schools interpret and respond to students based on social representations about race, class, and gender that create diverse perceptions of their students. In other words, teachers distinguish and behave in different ways towards their students according to social representations based on the "matrix of domination" (gender, race, and class) and "construct" different types of students according to their criteria about what are "good' or "bad" studenst. Because most teachers are white, middle-class, and female, they often associate concentration of black people with a need for greater physical control because of images of Black males as violent and incredibly powerful. Thus, the teachers that are supposed to advocate for their students often

fail to do so because of their participation in racial stereotyping. Second, several scholars suggest that discipline, especially when harsh and controlling, often engenders resistance and alienation (Ferguson 2000; Foucault 1977; McNeil 1986). Thus, the impacts of disciplinary control or "normalization" might have unexpected effects such as the perpetuation of the marginalization and discrimination of minority groups as well as the demonization of alternative cultural expressions through the use of rules that enforce dominant cultural norms. In Chapter 9 of *Invisible Punishment* (Mauer, et. al. 2002), James Forman, Jr. discusses the similarities between prison systems and schools in inner city schools: students are subject to random search and seizure, required to wear identification cards in a prominent place, exposed to a large presence of police, and often receive harsher punishment than white students at suburban schools. Third, teaching methods differ greatly between inner city and suburban schools, with banking knowledge and strict discipline frequently favored in the former. Ultimately, "[t]he powerful Western image of childhood innocence does not seem to benefit Black children. Black children are born guilty" (Roberts 1997).

IV.   QUALITATIVE CASE STUDY DATA FROM BRASIL AND THE U.S.

If the Party could thrust its hand into the past and say of this or that event, it never happened – that, surely, was more terrifying than mere torture and death. . . . if all records told the same tale – then the lie passed into history and became truth. "Who controls the past, controls the future: who controls the present controls the past." George Orwell, *1984*

It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland. It makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves.   Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*

A. Literature Review

Within William's (1977) hegemonic framework previously referenced, Michel-Rolph Trouillot specifically describes the historical and narrative production process employed by the hegemony in order to maintain power in *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of*

History (1995). He expostulates that silencing is endemic to the production (of history and narrative) process because the power of production is always closely related to the power to produce. He describes four[42] stages at which this silencing occurs: (1) at the moment of fact creation when primary documents, dates, and events are selectively filtered to be recorded as fact; (2) at the moment of archival/assembly when the already created facts are actively chosen for compilation or making of archives to create historical intelligibility in a linear format; (3) at the moment of narrative/retrieval when certain archives are retrieved to develop a unified history of how and why the elements fit together and the effects they had; and (4) at the moment of retrospective significance when silences within silences are finalized as attachment of value and importance is assigned to certain events and facts after they have occurred and been put into narrative form. All of these silences create an incomplete and biased glimpse into the past that results in a difference between "what happened" and "that which is said to have happened." This social construction and production of history results in inequality at every level, culminating when the hegemony remove all traces of their silencing

At the same time, like Williams, Trouillot focuses on the process of historical production and its relevance in the present, just as both seek to acknowledge the overlap between production processes, narratives, and hegemonic power. Likewise, Trouillot also acknowledges Williams' statement that the hegemony maintains power by causing others to internalize their legitimacy: "Naiveté is often an excuse for those who exercise power. For those upon whom that power is exercised, naiveté is always a mistake. . . . The ultimate mark of power may be its invisibility" (Trouillot 1995). Hence, according to *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS*

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[42] In my opinion, a fifth moment of silencing at the moment of celebration and exhibition seems both useful and necessary. At this stage, even other moments of retrospective significance are selectively silenced to keep the hegemony intact, in effect fostering trivialization and banalization and creating a moment set strictly in the past (hence, no longer allowing it a present or a future).

Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering (1997), our cultural, personal, and officially-defined

historical memories are part of our individual identities, in which:

> the process of cultural memory is bound up in complex political stakes and meanings [, . . .] both defin[ing] a culture and [being] the means by which its divisions and conflicting agendas are revealed, . . . particularly events of trauma, where both the structures and the fractures of a culture are exposed (Sturken 1997).

This cultural memory is an important part of how nations define themselves, and more

specifically, by how individuals define themselves because none of these three types of memory

can be isolated from the other, and personal memories are in fact socially produced (Halbwachs

1980). Likewise, all memories entail that others be forgotten, and thus, "[f]orgetting is a

necessary component in the construction of memory" (Sturken 1997). A problem, however,

arises for two reasons: (1) "the forgetting of the past in a culture is often highly organized and

strategic[, often revealing . . .]who gets to participate in creating national meaning;" and (2)

most chosen, favored memories usually displace more charged and emotional memories (Sturken

1997). Thus, in regards to charged historical events in a nation's history, they are lessened in

degree as a result. Ultimately, though, "[a] nation which loses awareness of its past gradually

loses itself" (Sturken 1997). Specifically, if these gruesome details are spared, citizens are not

aware of present potential for equally atrocious behavior and deny healing to those past

atrocities' victims.

As discussed previously, historical and present racial division in both Brazilian and

United States societies is well documented, and despite both nations having this terrible history

and presence of racism, its reality is watered down in national history courses because of

hegemonic interests. Some education scholars have tried to determine when and why this racial

stratification begins, and Kenneth and Mamie Clark's (1939) doll studies[43] proved that racial

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[43] For Mamie's master's degree thesis, she used dolls to study children's racial attitudes in 1939-1940. She found that black children preferred to play with white dolls over black dolls, used a lighter color to shade their skin color on a drawing, and that whiteness represents goodness while blackness represents badness. These studies have been consistently reproduced over the years and may not necessarily mean that black children value themselves less, but rather could simply meant that they have learned what society wants them to value. Regardless, they do prove that

stratification begins early, and testing data proves that achievement gaps widen over time. Moreover, many scholars have proven that numerous outside factors affect a child's ability to learn, including health status (Ross and Mirowsky), cultural and ethnic background (Orfield and Eaton), socio-economic status (Morris 2005), geographic location (Jencks, et al), etc., just as Richard Rothstein makes a strong case in *Class and Schools: Using Social, Economic, and Educational Reform to Close the Black-White Achievement Gap* (2004) that in addition to reforming schools, we must also reform society. Nonetheless, school practices do have some, if not substantial, influence on student development and self-respect. Specifically, in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1968), Paulo Freire discusses how teaching methods affect student learning. When combined with James W. Loewen's *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong* (1995) and Michel-Rolph Trouillot's *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, we learn that national history is especially susceptible to questionable practices because most courses seek to produce proud citizens and maintain the power elite. All three men believe that these practices affect self-value of students in subjugated or non-dominant groups, such as students of color and low socio-economic status.

Keeping in mind that I have exposed the historical trauma of racism in both nations but that I have also described the limitations of the education system, namely that:

> Knowledge, no matter how thoughtful and logical, usually fades when it goes against powerful political and economic forces. Knowledge is viewed as most influential when it reinforces the beliefs, ideologies, and assumptions of the people who exercise the most political and economic power within a society (Banks 2004b),

children are very aware of societal constructions of race.

James A. Banks (2004a) identifies five dimensions of multicultural education: (1) content

integration[44], (2) the knowledge construction process[45], (3) prejudice reduction[46], (4) an equity

pedagogy[47], and (5) an empowering school culture and social structure. Within this framework, I

am concerned with content integration and the knowledge construction process. In Epstein's

1998 article, we learn that black and white students construct U.S. history differently because of

differences in the lived experience, thus making it clear that there are differences in how young

people understand and learn history. Using the two dimensions of Bank's system mentioned

above, history is composed of memorizing historical facts and of learning to think historically

(Greene 1994, Spoehr and Spoehr 1994). Students have mastered fact memorization, but

historical consciousness, "a trans-generational mental orientation to time . . . based on the human

aptitude to think back and forth in time [allowing students to] construct expectations for the

future [and realize . . .] human given meanings and moral issues," is lacking (Ahonen 2005 and

Wineburg 2006), despite proving that children are capable of processing such information at

young ages (Pappas 1991).

B. Methodology

I focus upon national history courses and seek to answer: Whether, and in what ways,

institutionalized racism affects children in the public education systems of Brasil and the United

States? And if so: (1) How are these effects produced? and (2) Do these effects have

implications for both white students and students of color? There is very little literature on how

students learn and understand history, and as stated by Epstein (1998), there is even less research

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[44] "Content integration deals with the extent to which teachers use examples, data, and information from a variety of cultures and groups to illustrate key concepts, principles, generalizations, and theories in their subject area or discipline" (J.A. Banks, 1993). This is the most common focus of multicultural curriculum reform.

[45] "The knowledge construction process describes the procedures by which social, behavioral, and natural scientists create knowledge, and the manner in which the implicit cultural assumptions, frames of reference, perspectives, and biases within a discipline influence how knowledge is constructed within it" (J.A. Banks, 1993).

[46] "The prejudice reduction dimension of multicultural education describes the characteristics of children's racial attitudes and suggests strategies that can be used to help students develop more democratic attitudes and values" (J.A. Banks, 1993).

[47] "Equity pedagogy exists when teachers use techniques and methods that facilitate the academic achievement of students from diverse racial, ethnic, and social-class groups" (J.A. Banks, 1993).

on how young people perceive racial experiences in national history courses and how what is selectively taught affects self-value and class performance.

Within a postcolonial analysis, I explored the ways institutionalized racism affects children in public education systems of both countries and assumed that the way history courses are taught (and the materials used) is one aspect of how these effects are produced. I also assumed that these findings have implications for both white students and students of color, mainly that each group internalizes the power system promulgated by postcolonial values, which has different results depending upon the student's characteristics.

I thus interviewed two administrators, eight students, and one teacher in a Brasilian city and one administrator, six students, and one teacher in a United States city. I received Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval for two separate qualitative case studies (one for teachers and administrators and one for students) and two research grants to fund my travel.

In Brasil, I conducted interviews in a large city in the Southeast between 9 March 2007 and 17 March 2007. State education is only guaranteed through age fourteen, and for this reason (in addition to limited funding), this large city only has two public learning institutions with high school courses. After not being granted access to the newest and most centrally located school, I went to the largest and oldest of the two, Escola Cidade, where one of my colleagues used to work and where I conducted all of my interviews. At this school, there are over 4,000 students enrolled in grades K-12 and technical certification courses with approximately 160 teachers and twenty-eight (28) classrooms. High school students attend classes from 8:00 to 12:00, middle school students from 12:00 to 16:00, primary students from 16:00 to 20:00, and technical students throughout the day depending upon their concentration.

There is one principal at the school and no assistant principals, although there are three secretaries. In addition, there is a curriculum coordinator servicing all classes at all grade levels.

I interviewed the principal and the curriculum coordinator, both of whom have been history teachers in the past. The principle is assistant principal at a private school ten kilometers away, is in his mid-thirties, and is of mixed racial heritage. The curriculum coordinator is in her late fifties and racially classified as white. At the same time, there is one history teacher for all students in all grade levels, and I interviewed her. She is in her forties and is racially classified as white. Because of the short school day, her students only receive history instruction for two 45-minute sessions in a week. I interviewed both the administrators and the teacher alone and in their offices for 30 to 45 minutes.

After receiving permission from the principal for me to interview her students, the teacher hand-selected eight students between the ages of 15 and 30. She chose her best students from each class and explained that she had to do so because they would speak the most formal Portuguese[48] and be able to make up the missed class work the easiest. Six students are enrolled in regular high school courses and the two older students are enrolled in technical history instruction classes, taking classes with the students in the morning and teaching at an elementary school in the evening. Two students are white, one is black, and the other five are racially mixed.

Because I had to interview the students within the forty-five minute class they were taking with their teacher, all students were interviewed in groups. I had two groups of two (Luiz and Isabella, and Alessandra and Beatriz) and one group of four, which I must admit did affect at least some students' answers, if not all of them. All students were interviewed in the teacher's lounge of the school, with each group interview lasting between 30 to 60 minutes and a break being provided at the half-hour mark.

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[48] When I told Brasilian citizens about the research I was conducting, they constantly warned me that students in the city's public high schools speak slang (*giria*) that is even hard for native speakers to understand. Whether this is true or not, I cannot say.

I did my first two interviews with the administrators without a translator because they spoke some English and Spanish, and I was willing to test my Portuguese with these two languages to fall upon if I needed to do so. Though the interviews went well, I decided that I would prefer to have a translator for the others, especially because they would not have the English and Spanish background that the administrators do. Hence, I contacted Universidade de São Paulo about obtaining a graduate student studying English to help translate my undergraduate thesis research. They provided me the name of the English Department's Director who then provided me the name of his doctoral student who had studied in Britain for two years and has published extensively in English. She translated all of the student interviews and the teacher's interviews, which I then transcribed only in English once I returned to the United States.

In the United States, I conducted interviews in a mid-size city in the South between 7 April 2007 and 20 April 2007. This mid-size city has eleven high schools, and I conducted all of my interviews with administrators, teachers, and students involved with the campus where the school district's magnet program is located. I did so because I work there regularly through a program that aims to help potential first-generation college students complete the demands of this school's curriculum, and thus, I have built relationships with the needed subjects. The school, Hooks High School, enrolls over 1,600 students (about 800 in the magnet program and 800 in the non-magnet program) and has approximately 110 teachers and over sixty classrooms. The students attend classes from 8:15 to 15:30.

There are two principals at the school – one for each program – and four assistant principals. In addition, there is a curriculum coordinator and an academic director. I interviewed the academic director of the non-magnet program, who has been a history and economics teacher in the past. There are two U.S. history teachers, one for the magnet program and one for the

non-magnet program. Both teachers meet with their students five times for fifty minutes on a weekly basis. I could only interview the magnet teacher because the non-magnet teacher was very concerned with preparing her students and classroom for the TAKS Test during the time period I conducted my interviews. Both the academic director and magnet teacher are white males, one of whom is in his fifties and the other of whom is in his late thirties. I interviewed both of them alone and in their offices or classrooms for 40 to 60 minutes.

The program with which I work that aims to help potential first-generation college students complete the demands of this school's curriculum has eight students enrolled in U.S. history courses at this school. Two students did not agree to participate in my study. All students, except two, are enrolled in the school's magnet program and thus either take an AP history class or a dual credit history course through the local community college. One of the students enrolled in regular courses takes regular U.S. History, and the other takes non-magnet AP History. Two students are taking the dual credit course, which meets twice a week for 90 minutes each time, and three students are taking the AP history class. All students are between the ages of 15 and 17, and two students are black, two students are racially mixed, and two students are white. I met with students after school at the library on my university campus or at their house on the weekend, and the interviews usually lasted twenty minutes, although one lasted forty minutes and one was done by email.

The interviews in each country were semi-structured and consisted of 11 to 16 open-ended questions,[49] with clarifying questions sometimes following. I began all interviews by asking my subjects basic information (structure, demographics, materials used, and feelings associated) about their school, school day, and national history course. I then proceeded to ask what role teachers, administrators, race and class, and text books play in how history is taught. From there, we discussed how the information is covered in the course and text and how students

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[49] I have appended my guiding questions at the end of this document.

are affected by what they learn. We concluded with questions over racial inequality and progress, what they would change about national history courses, and the importance of exposing inequality. Before beginning, I obtained written consent from all administrators, students (and their parents), and teachers, in addition to providing forms in English, Portuguese and Spanish.

After recording and listening to these interviews, I manually coded transcripts of interviews and analyzed them as Huberman and Miles (1984) suggest by noting patterns and themes, arriving at comparisons and contrasts, and determining conceptual explanations of the case study. For example, as administrators, teachers, and students provided me multiple examples of white supremacy, Eurocentrism, and indoctrination in their history courses, I connected these patterns with those discussed in *Decolonising the Mind* (1981) to gather that colonial methods are indeed still used in classrooms around the world. The patterns, themes, and comparisons of interview, observation and artifact data lead me to the findings included in this paper. After finishing my use with this material, I erased the tapes and deleted the transcripts. In addition, I assigned a code name to each subject interviewed in order to protect their confidentiality.

C. Profiles
1. Brasilian Administrators and Teachers

Carolina is a white female in her forties who is the history teacher at Escola Cidade. She has a strong dislike for textbooks and does not use them, which is good because the school only has twenty textbooks for all 4,000 students. Instead, Carolina employs as many materials as possible at any given time: videos, journals, newspapers, magazines, primary documents, literature books and poetry, and course packets. She highly values her students' creativity and attempts to give them outlets to express themselves, often favoring essays, artwork and reenactments over multiple-choice exams. Brasilian history is taught within the larger context of world history and current events, and thus, she feels that national history courses are supposed to

help students place themselves within the larger world context. She adamantly denies that race and class play a role in how history is taught in her classroom. Every year, she is most emotional when teaching about the Holocaust and the atomic bomb, and interestingly enough, all of her students said that they had strong emotional reactions to these two events as well. Most of her students have had her for all five years that she has been teaching at the school.

Benedita is a white female in her fifties who is the curriculum coordinator at Escola Cidade. She taught history for twenty years before holding this position and believes that these courses provide children a framework with which to understand the world and their place in it. She views race and class as crucial parts of teaching national history courses because they are crucial parts of how nations are built and the power structure that continues to affect what happens. Benedita acknowledges that many events are not accurately portrayed in history textbooks and courses and general; when this misrepresentation occurs, as is the case with slavery, teachers need to discuss with students why some events are distorted more than others.

Victor is a mixed male in his thirties who is principal of Escola Cidade. He feels that the role of national history courses is to learn about self and others and that these courses and their texts promote societal values of "equality, diversity, progress and appreciation," all of which are not consistent with his country's values. In addition, he said that race and class play a very important role in how history is taught because "the roles they played in the past present themselves in the present and in the future and create more barriers for some groups of people."

2. United States Administrators and Teachers

Lance is a white male in his mid-thirties who is the magnet history teacher at Hooks High School. He has also been responsible for writing the curriculum at both schools where he has taught. He uses the textbook infrequently "they either give an incomplete picture or are so biased that it's almost worthless" and supplements it with *Howard's End People's History of the*

United States, *Lies My Teacher Told Me*, a lot of lecture (half the time), projects (about one per six weeks), discussions, assigned independent reading, and review of primary documents. As for his desire, he said that "I like to sort of puncture the myths of U.S. History as best I can." He feels that the role of national history courses is to "give students some sort of touchstone, you know, as far, as some shared vision of what this country is. . . . this common mythology, that you know, many of them are going to carry for the rest of life" and that promoting certain societal values are a main objective, "yeah, that this is the greatest country in the world and that we have basically never done anything wrong, that everything has been either ordained by some higher power or done for these very pure reasons. You know, basically that America is the greatest place ever." He feels that race and class play a huge role in how history is taught because "they shaped events from the very beginning in this country." He gets most emotional about teaching the slavery lecture and the Truman Trial reenactment each year. He felt that the text book portrays more racial progress than has actually occurred and explained why in this way:

> It seems to me . . . that the textbooks always like to portray . . . things like the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as having a quite substantial effect on society, whereas the reality is that yes it had an effect but not as much as intended or portrayed. . . . Also, they like to give these events a degree of finality . . . like that the Women's Rights Movement, The Civil Rights Movement is over . . . that it's not continuing anymore. The students sort of believe it. . . . Unless, you taught them to read and think critically, they're going to think: Oh, we've already accomplished these things so what are we worried about now?

Jim is a white male in his fifties who is the academic director of the non-magnet program at Hooks High. He believes that the TAKS test has limited history instruction because "there's a scope and sequence that has to be followed" now and that ensuring adequate performance on the exam by all students is one of his main tasks. When asked about history texts and societal values, he affirmed:

> Certainly, through the adoption process, someone's values are consistent. I think valuing freedoms, what those freedoms are, where they came from . . . yeah, generally speaking, they're pretty much reflected in the history text. . . . And our nation's values are consistent.

As for race and class:

> Um, well . . . race and class are always gonna play a role. . . . Like with all things, I think there's a period where that went to extremes. . . . moving away from some of the basics like the constitution. . . . teaching more of this means teaching less of that, and you have to decide what you want to include.

He does not feel that most events are covered well, but that "modern America from '68 is probably better done" because of a current wave of liberalism and reconstructivism. When talking about the events for which he had experienced strong emotion – the Civil Rights Movement, 9/11, and the Branch Dividian Crisis – he said that these events forced contextualization and "made it more important for our students to know that you have to look at history . . . You can't just have what you think is your history and that it doesn't affect others and their history." When asked whether racial equality had progressed, he responded:

> Definitely, I don't see any doubt of that. . . . Now, has it gone far enough in some places? No. Has it gone too far in some cases? Yes. . . . For a while, they [affirmative action policies] did some good, but now, they've engendered some resentment . . . making people appreciate less when minority folk do get ahead. It's always a problem in history when you make one generation pay for another generation's mistakes. . . . I think we've definitely hit the point of diminishing returns with programs like affirmative action. . . . Now the hard work of cleaning up this last 10 percent is going to be the individuals not the institutions any more. The laws are out there to support you.

3. Black Student in Brasil

Matheus is a sixteen-year-old black male who is currently taking 11th grade history and receiving an "A" for the year. He believes that we should learn history in order "to avoid the same mistakes – no more, no less." In addition, he thinks that each individual student has some responsibility for the quality of education he or she receives because students choose the amount of effort they invest. When on the topic of race and social class, he spoke passionately that Brasilian society had not changed that much and that "poor people still remain poor, and black people still remain black. But there are some changes. . . . Like, now, it is ethnicity not race. . . . and, if you fight, you can obtain education and other opportunities to maybe, maybe break out.

People should fight, even though it is so hard. That is how change will happen." He argued with his three class mates when they did not agree with his view of current race relations in Brasil and incorporated ways in which his darker family members are treated in vastly different ways from lighter counterparts.

4. Black Students in the United States

Maya is a seventeen-year-old black female who is currently taking non-magnet AP U.S. History and has received a "B" in the course. They only use lecture notes in class and are sometimes required to read the textbook on their own. She believes national history courses should "tell young people about . . . our past" and enjoys history because she believes the past is "stuff that we need to know because history repeats itself."   She believes "text books are the back bone of history. It's the facts, and it's here, and this is history . . . the number one resource I guess . . . and then everyone else can give their own opinions."   She feels that the information about the events she deemed most important – the Civil War, World War I, and the Civil Rights Movement – is distorted because:

> nobody wants to talk about – don't want to bring it [the racial struggle for rights] back up, they [white people] want to leave it in the past. They don't want the blame to be on them. We went through slavery. They [whites] may think it's over because they don't have that background, that history, and we [blacks] are still trying to push through.

She then says that all events are distorted, but some more than others, primarily slavery and the Holocaust, because they both deal with race. She then immediately stated that she was not clear why the Nazis didn't like the Jews. Maya still believes that racism occurs at an organizational level, and that "it is easier to end individual discrimination." She believes that history texts will be accurate fifty years from now about race relations even though she specifically pointed out how distorted they are now.

Erica is a seventeen-year-old black female who is currently taking correspondent U.S. History and receiving a "B" for the year. She does not like history because she thinks it is boring

and it does not "appeal to her." She uses the textbook, lecture notes, and primary documents in her course. Erica feels that "the class is more sensitive, and they [white students] don't really wanna say anything and others [minorities] speak out more" when her class is discussing race issues. She prefers to read primary documents but likes textbooks because they provide useful visuals. However, Erica realizes that "some events are covered better than others because they [the writers] think some are more important than others. I guess they decide by how people have reacted to the actual event." For this reason, she feels primary documents are more believable because they are not as filtered. She felt that the Civil Rights Movement was covered well in her course and noted: "I did much better on these written assignments. I don't speak out in class, so . . . I guess I'm more empowered, I guess, yeah [learning about Civil Rights] because we overcame all that, and I have to think I can too." She generally feels that the text does an accurate job of showing the actual amount of racial progress and considers racism to be an individual problem now. At the end, without prompting, Erica mentioned that she would be more interested in history if her teachers would discuss why and how inequality occurred.

5. *Mixed Students in Brasil*

Luiz is a fifteen-year-old mixed male who is currently taking tenth grade history and receiving an "A" for the year. He enjoys history very much and would like to study it in university. Although he thinks it is important to know history, he does not feel that it applies to everyday life. When asked about the role of race and class in how history is taught, he said: "our experience, is that, differences such as race and class have created huge barriers in society. There are many more barriers for people in the lower classes than those in the higher classes. Most of the time, more dark people are in the lower class." In addition to the distrust of textbooks his teacher has encouraged, his mom, grandmom, and family have also emphasized that their perspectives and his teacher's are much more important than those of a textbook. "It is

their life, with their living explanations." On the topic of racial progress, Luiz discussed the obvious racial discrimination of the past to the more sophisticated methods used now. As we discussed important historical events, he referenced the "discovery" of Africa as an important historical event in the world. He then said that he would like to learn more about Brasilian history because he feels that only twenty percent of the class is devoted to that subject. When I asked him why he thought they did not learn more about their country, he silently brooded and seemed close to an answer, but then Isabela replied that "all of the important events happened in Europe. For this reason, we have to learn about Europe." He reluctantly agreed.

Isabella is a sixteen-year-old mixed female who is currently taking eleventh grade history and receiving an "A" for the year. She feels that history courses should teach students how to avoid making the same mistakes of the past. She sees a strong connection between race and class: "For example, with Brasilian history, we have many events connected to race; so, often, financial status is closely tied. And today's problems in this area began in the past. So, I would like not to make the same mistakes of the past by learning the way those people thought and acted incorrectly." Isabella thinks that actual racial progress has been very slow in Brasil, but that now, "we can talk about these issues, which is quite different from the past." She and Luiz interviewed together and often responded to the questions in the same way.

Felipe is a seventeen-year-old mixed male who is currently taking eleventh grade history and receiving an "A" for the year. He generally repeated what his peers said or chose not to answer the question asked.

Alessandra is a twenty-three-year-old mixed female who is currently taking teacher training courses in history. She believes that teachers are responsible for instilling a love of learning and the pursuit of knowledge in their students. "Whatever has to be done to this end should be done – use other subjects, let students present, be creative." She thinks that both race

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and class still play large roles in Brasilian society and what is taught in the classroom, both formally and informally. However, she also argues that minorities and poor students cannot give up, that they must instead fight, "or it will always be that way." When we discussed which events taught in the history course are most important, she poignantly pointed out that those events actually taught are the most important ones because so many others do not make it to this level.

Beatriz is a thirty-year-old mixed female who is currently taking teacher training courses in history. She felt great emotional connection to the feminist movement in multiple parts of the worlds and would like to inspire her students by teaching the events which make them passionate. She did not necessarily see a strong connection between race, social class and history and simply said that individuals should not let unwanted characteristics define who he or she is.

6. Mixed Students in the United States

Marcos is a seventeen-year-old mixed male who is currently taking magnet AP U.S. History and receiving a high "C" for the year. His teacher uses the media, internet, books "every now and then" (*Founding Fathers*, *Killer Angels*), lectures, notes, and no textbook. He finds history terribly boring and does not "see the point" in taking history because he will "never use it outside of school." He could not name any values that the course promoted but was adamant that if the course did promote some, they were probably not consistent with United States values. Marcos additionally feels that textbooks "focus on the white perspective of history" because whites write the books, and other groups do not write books because "they don't care." He also feels that white students identify with the text "because they haven't had to go through as much struggle. Analysis of predominantly white history is deeper because just 'cuz. I feel a little more attachment when we learn about racial struggles because we never talk about it." After

discussing racial progress, he replied: "We have equal rights now, but there's still hatred. . . . It seems like we try harder not to make it embedded. . . . We have African Americans and Latinos in the government. At times, I feel like there's still inequality embedded."

Aaron is a sixteen-year-old mixed male who is currently taking correspondent U.S. History and receiving an "A" for the year. He enjoys history and uses a textbook, lectures, maps, and pictures in the course. He does not feel that race and class affect how history is taught but that it does affect what the teacher chooses to emphasize. Aaron thinks that the course and text thoroughly cover all events and has never experienced strong emotion to anything learned in a history course because: "Normally, I just like accept it, as it already happened, you know. So, I'm not really involved. . . . A couple of times I felt, I felt, not bad, but just disappointed, like why would this happen?" He feels that there has been a great deal of racial progress, more so than the text portrays, and pointed to the fact that "black people have the right to vote." When I asked him about multicultural approaches to education, he replied: "I'm sure it's good an all, but in a history course, we only have one year. . . . if it comes down to the line . . . I'm sure it's okay to leave out the smaller people. . . . it's better to stick to the main figures, the main politicians, the main events. Ya know?" He then said that the amount of change an event creates, on a national and lasting level, determines whether it is important. Finally, when I asked him if how and why inequality arose should be exposed, he told me:

> My approach to history is not in comparing it with now because it's just things you can't compare with then. . . . But, why talk about the present? You shouldn't bring present difficulties into the past. . . . I mean you can talk about the present but only to learn about the present, you know?

7. White Students in Brasil

Silvia is a sixteen-year-old white female who is currently taking eleventh grade history and receiving an "A" for the year. She does not think that race or social class plays any role in

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education or how history is taught: "if you decide to do something – really decide – then you can do it. . . . Racial distinctions are no longer valid. Society has changed."

Júlia is a fifteen-year-old white female who is currently taking tenth grade history and receiving an "A" for the year. She believes that history courses help us make sense of the present and how we have arrived at a particular moment in time. She focused on the social class distinctions and did not feel that race played as large of a role. Júlia sees education as a key component to lessening class inequality because then students of different socioeconomic status will be friends and learn from each other. Then, generational cycles will end.

8. *White Students in the United States*

Jacob is a sixteen-year-old white male who is currently taking non-magnet, regular U.S. History and has received an "A" in the course every six weeks during the 2006-2007 school year. In his history course, he receives few assignments, does not use materials other than the textbook and publisher-provided videos, and indirectly mentioned that the teacher "is only at school so that she can get a paycheck." Jacob feels that the role of history courses "is to show patterns in human development over time and to teach students that they can avoid negative aspects of these patterns [in order to] act more responsibly." Though he acknowledged the teacher's ability to negatively affect history by not caring, he noted that he is completely unaffected by whom is teaching the class "as long as [he] has the proper materials to learn on [his] own." Closely related, he feels that "[t]he textbook is the most important aspect of [his] history class as the teacher doesn't seem to possess a great knowledge of U.S. History." Hence, when asked if important events in our history are covered well in the text, he answered positively and then said he hoped he was right. He believes his course teaches him that "no person or persons should be treated unfairly without an opportunity to change how they are treated[, . . . a view proven by] the American Revolution, . . . Civil War, and Civil Rights Movement." When asked what role

race and class play in how history is taught, the student pointed to the teacher being obviously uncomfortable discussing slavery because of her fear of how black students would react and her tendency to avoid "controversial subjects." Furthermore, he does not experience strong emotion in the class because of the teacher's fear "that a disruption might result." Jacob believes that there has been much progress toward racial equality in the past fifty years because of the Civil Rights movement allowing children of different races to grow up together under the "same circumstances, leading to common ground, but that 'races' will never be equal as long as they are described as races, which divides humanity into separate groups. When society as a whole can accept that all people are equal, then racial equality will be a reality."

Margaret is a seventeen-year-old white female who is currently taking magnet AP U.S. History and has an "A" average for the 2006-2007 school year. Her teacher infrequently uses the textbook, and instead, employs notes and power points. She believes that national history courses should "teach us about past mistakes and past societies and what role we can take to change things." She does not feel that race and class play a role in how history is taught but acknowledged that it might be different in another class. Margaret thinks that textbooks are "good for, like, facts and straight things but not so much for really learning the information" and acknowledges that all textbooks are going to have biased information. She has never experienced strong emotion from something she learned in a history course and had this to say about racial progress: "I think there has [been], . . . I think there's always going to be improvements to be made, like with everything. It's not as big of a deal as it was fifty years ago. I think it's more just the individual person now, you know. In the past it was group or organizational though."

D. Themes

Several themes emerged throughout the interviews. First, all persons interviewed would like to change history courses in some way, ranging from learning more about other races,

societies, and societal effects and less about the Western world and memorizable facts, to using better teaching materials (computers, videos, reenactments, primary documents and historical secondary sources), to employing more question-based and experiential learning (museums and reenactments), to more student-generated discussion. Second, no one knows the role that administrators play except for administrators and one regular student in the United States.

Third, teachers play a large role in how history is taught. According to all administrators and teachers, all students in Brasil, and half of students in the United States, teachers, in fact, play the most important role in this process, and Jacob is the lone exception who thinks that teachers play no role. In addition, most interviewed agreed that the better teachers incorporate their life experiences sufficiently, but at the same time, not so much that their insight and perspective is limited.

Fourth, when asked to identify strong emotions because of something taught, administrators, teachers, and students only identified negative feelings – those of sadness, disgust, anger and horror. In addition, students often failed to make connections between the events which most enraged/saddened/horrified them and similar events that occurred before or after, despite teachers specifically discussing the similarities with students. For example, students in Brasil failed to make the connection between World War II dictatorships and Latin American dictatorships later in the century, just as United States students failed to make connections between both slavery and the Holocaust being racially and eugenically motivated.

Fifth, race and class do indeed play a role in how history is taught. All administrators are in agreement on this, although the Brasilian teacher, Carolina does not concur in any part. In addition, students generally did not understand the question and instead discussed how race and social class are still present in society, rather than how they structure meaning and value all around them, specifically in the schooling system. At the same time, students of all races in the

United States were very afraid and initially timid to discuss race issues with me and did not address class issues at all, whereas all Brasilian students openly discussed both topics and half favored class distinctions.

Sixth, all administrators, teachers and students agreed that if a society is unequal, both how and why this society became so should be exposed and discussed. Where this should occur and how differed though: all Brasilians, administrators and teachers think that a history class is an appropriate place to do so, whereas half of U.S. students disagree and, and in fact, think that history courses should play no role in this exposure. At the same time, students fail to understand that because of society's inequality, they do not learn more about marginalized groups, and in the Brasilian case, Brasilian history, despite teachers and administrators trying to explain these dynamics. Likewise, students fail to identify the values that administrators and teachers attempt to uncover in history classrooms in both nations.

Finally, according to administrators, teachers and students, both education systems still employ colonial methods, mainly Eurocentrism, white supremacy, and indoctrination. Nonetheless, students, teachers and administrators have an extreme distrust of textbooks because they are "limited, biased, linear, catered to tests, and poorly written." All teachers and administrators, in addition to all Brasilian students, shared this view; but, four of six United States students felt that the textbook is the best source of information. Teachers and administrators had similar reasoning to my own for this distrust, whereas students seemed to repeat what their teachers had asserted to them and that history textbooks lacked diversity because they are only "one person's story." I will now discuss and analyze the last three themes in greater detail.

E. Analysis and Discussion

Referring back to Williams (1977), he defines ideology as a system of meanings and values that is "the expression or projection of a particular class interest[50] that serves as a mediation of culture," very similar to a *camera obscura* ("a conscious device for discerning proportions of the physical processes of the retina and the brain which are necessarily connected"). In this sense, everything written or spoken has a cultural point of view and is embedded in a cultural system of ideas that seeks to naturalize, historicize, and eternalize its legitimacy and permanence. In the process of promoting favored groups, ideology subjugates those not favored. The five additional components of capitalism mentioned in the introduction are all part of colonialism's ideology.

Beyond the more readily apparent, material political and market actions previously discussed, Europeans also subdued and legitimated their power, through "[i]nstitutionalized racism, which hugely disadvantaged the indigenous people [and affected] . . . almost every sphere of their social, political and economic life" (Potts 1993). Many factors played a role in this process: religion[51], education[52], language, custom practices, and so much more. "The colonial state was unsparing in its efforts – through the Christian missions, the educational systems, and language policies – to monopolize the production of meaning and thus the construction of culture" (Young 1993).

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[50] A great problem for me is that though he (and other Marxists) briefly discusses social and political force, his main focus is the economic base, which inadvertently causes him to concentrate much of his analysis on the bourgeoisie class. For this reason, his writings fail to offer a true global scope and instead focus on individual cultures, rather than how they interact with each other internationally. Hence, discussion of racial, ethnic, political, and other social identities is excluded, and his analysis thus lacks a great deal. Thus, I would add the other five components of capitalism I named to class interest.

[51] "The root of destruction of black cultures can be traced to the turn of the nineteenth century when missionaries, explorers and imperial capitalists promoted the idea and perception of the civilization of [natives] as 'pagan.' Black traditional leaders were therefore evicted from places of honour within their traditional rituals as the white missionaries took over control of the land. White land administrators formed an alliance with such missionaries in efforts to sanctify the conquest of land. . . . Subjugation of traditional leaders (such as chiefs and spirit mediums) and promotion of Christianity led to divide-and-rule tactics in controlling land and minerals such as diamonds and gold" (Moyo 2004).

[52] "They further express the peculiar geography of imperialism wherein Europe was the center of world affairs. . . . discoveries and explorations came from without and with them came the assumption that the 'modern' phase of history was initiated by the Europeans" (Betts 1998).

Most detrimental to individuals was the caste system created upon physical features, namely race. Thus, historical racial division in both Brazilian and U.S. societies is well documented, from colonization to slavery to current housing segregation (Massey 1993) resulting in highly segregated public schools. Likewise, this division continues today: when reviewing current statistical data on infant mortality rates, life expectancy, educational attainment, annual earnings, suicide rates and other indicators, patterns of racial inequality are clear (U.S. Census Bureau). Furthermore, environmental (Bullard 1990) and healthcare (Roberts 1997) racism builds more heavily now than ever before. All of the above facts hold true across income levels; and therefore, race is a separate category from class (West 1993).

Thus, not surprisingly, the complexity of colonialism creates effects on an individual basis, both for those who are favored and those who are not. Many, all those who do not meet all components of capitalism's favored, experience "the distancing of oneself from reality, and the identification with what is external to one's environment" (Betts 1998).[53] This occurs for several reasons. It occurs when doubt of one's humanity and equality enters, as is illustrated in *An Ill Fated People*: "The white man's superiority in the field of battle had turned the minds of the VaShawasha people from a state of indifference into that of highly receptive sponges, ready to absorb almost any piece of knowledge, fact or fiction, dropped from the lips of a European" (Vambe 1990). In addition, this detachment enables a fatalist outlook on life in which the individual has no control: "'God of our Fathers, what have we done to deserve this?'" (Vambe 1990). At the same time, more privileged members of the marginalized natives, namely those who meet the most other favored components of capitalism, instill secondary marginalization among those with the least power.[54] This marginalization occurs because of deviance from the

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[53] "However, what made the postcolonial world distinctive was the double foreignness of the cultural condition it endured: change imposed from without and not generated within while justified – or rationalized – by values and attitudes that found no comfortable place in traditional indigenous thought" (Betts 1998).

[54] In *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics*, Cathy J. Cohen outlines four "patterns of marginalization": (1) categorical exclusion, in which complete denial of rights and humanity is enforced; (2) integrative marginalization, in which a chosen few, again those who most closely parallel the

identities and norms valued by the capitalist ideology and results in a forcibly altered world view (Cohen 1999). Also, language is detached from experience, a situation that occurs both when the native adapts the settler's tongue, when the settler tries to speak the native's tongue, and when past ways of life are discussed in new capitalist terms within one's language.

Keeping the material and ideological implications in mind, Williams describes how hegemony relegates culture to rule-governed behavior and explains the resulting production of power throughout time. Hegemony is defined as the "lived experience of how the complex interlocking of political, social, and cultural forces influences" every arena of one's life, creating feelings of pressure to conform. This penultimate idea both includes and goes beyond culture and ideology by relating the whole social process of culture to specific distributions of power and influence, in the process introducing necessary recognition of dominance and subordination. However, like culture and ideology, it is both continually renewed, recreated, defended and modified and continually resisted, limited, altered and challenged by the counter, residual, and emergent hegemonies that coexist.

According to Crawford Young, there are eight (8) qualities of a state: territory, sovereignty, population, power, law, nation, international actor, and idea, three of which have been constantly denied to past colonial polities. The reflection of the past colonial state in the present is therefore flawed:

> Sovereignty was emphatically denied; this comprehensive, ultimate power was vested in the colonizing state, delegated to its agents of rule. The doctrine of nation . . . was vigorously disputed by the proprietary powers until the eve of their departure. And the colonial state was not an actor in the international scene; at most, it was occasionally a stage hand (Young 1993).

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additional valued components of capitalism, "have limited access to dominant institutions and resources" (58); (3) advanced marginalization, in which formal multiculturalism (*de jure*) and practical apartheid (*de facto*) exist in unison; and (4) secondary marginalization, in which the marginalized group further marginalizes group members.

Within this context, the new populist and nationalist rulers who took office confronted many obstacles, which many tried to overcome by continuing colonial mechanisms[55], often resulting in more corruption because of multiple candidates fighting to gain money from former colonizers who rarely asked questions beyond those concerning their capitalist motives. Predictably, "[T]he record of military leadership became one of military dictatorship . . . The 1970s and 1980s were the years of rule by . . . the 'Big Men': authoritarian, ruthless, self-serving" (Betts 1998). Nonetheless, economic growth continued, in spite of the fact that patron-client relationships within the state flourished, and opposition parties were either "voluntarily" merged or banned. The 1980s, however, brought Cold War factionalism and world-wide recession, resulting in a retracting economy throughout the world. After taking loans to finance their debt, the former colonies succumbed to the structural adjustments programs of the 1990s.[56] Recently, though, there has been movement toward democracy throughout the world, though progress is debatable in many nations.[57] These democratic experiments of the 1990s have, for the most part, been "reduced to a procedural exercise – periodic competitive elections in which organized groups vie for the popular vote . . ." as a result of the lack of democratic development in previous periods (Cooper 2002). At the same time, African and Latin American nations, with a few exceptions, still rely heavily on international lending institutions, thus requiring them to meet international standards to receive money.

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[55] The political infrastructure and development model of state governance has continued throughout the post colonial period. The regimes begun by colonialism and "built upon state sovereignty (Cooper 2002)" were reinforced because new leaders at the end of colonial rule "did not . . . seek to dismantle the organizations which had brought [them] to power [,] . . . and [they] did not want to break [their] . . . connections . . . (Cooper 2002)."

[56] As destabilization subdued, the IMF and World Bank tried to make the nations don the "Golden Straitjacket (Friedman 105)," also known as packages of market-oriented reform and Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs). Negative effects of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in 1990 were immediate and sustained.

[57] Democratization's impact varies "markedly from country to country" (Sandbrook 2003). Sandbrook describes democratization as a two phase process in which elections are held, and in "the second, lengthier phase[,] . . . the growth of widespread support for the formal institutions of democratic competition and governance" (Cooper 2002) occur, including protection of civil and political rights.

Thus, national leaders in these nations must cater to continuing colonial norms, and lower-level leaders in these nations must cater to those same norms to receive money from federal government, and so on down to the individual level. Most importantly for this thesis, though, public schools must cater to these norms as well both to receive funding and to create individuals capable of functioning in that kind of society. Hence, in the same way that all other colonial institutions promote dominant capitalist culture and destroy native and minority culture, so schooling institutions follow this model.

That race and class do indeed play a role in how history is taught is no surprise considering the continuing presence of the culture of colonialism and capitalism, which as discussed previously, places the highest value upon the white, European, Christian, heterosexual male while at the same time attempting to destroy all cultures going against these elite, dominant norms. This elite white, European, Christian, heterosexual male hegemony reproduces its power through what is taught in history courses because they write the curriculum and books, approve the curriculum and books, and sometimes teach the curriculum and books. Thus, as in colonial times, scientific learning and objectivity at the highest level is valued, which results in both nations employing banking knowledge rather than question-seeking knowledge, allowing the elite to choose what is learned and what is silenced. "Banking" is defined by Paulo Freire in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* as a learning system where "[e]ducation . . . becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiqués and makes deposits which the students patiently receive, memorize, and repeat" (72). This system both hinders the student's and oppressed's ability to be conscious of a system of oppression and assumes that there is one objectively valued curriculum to teach. For this reason, students fail to grasp how race and class structure their knowledge.

In addition, this one-dimensional knowledge explains why no white students experienced strong emotion, and the other students only experienced negative strong emotions (sadness, anger, etc.). As Sturken (1997) posited, cultural, personal, and officially-defined memories are all tied together. For this reason, when white students learn national history displaying white dominance throughout time, they rarely question why whites have power and minority groups do not, and in the process, fail to see the legitimation taking place. Minority students, on the other hand, identify strong emotions because the events about which they learn regarding their group memberships are often portrayals of horrific mistreatments, with slavery being the main example. Thus, these students told me that they felt more powerful after learning about the struggles their prior group members had endured. At the same time, the self doubt and fatalism that Vambe (1990) discusses comes in because minority students, and black students especially, know that race continues to shape societal participation, but also that how it does so is silenced, as referenced by Alessandra. For this reason, Marcos saw no alternative to white history and whites writing the books. Closely related, Aaron's form of secondary marginalization (Cohen 1999), in which he favors traditional history over multicultural perspectives, arises from the myth of meritocracy, in which the intelligent supposedly earn their privileged positioning and the low-performing must accept their inferiority, that hides this silencing (Porter 1984).

Likewise, as Eduardo Bonilla-Silva exposes in *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States* (2006), the new ideology of a color-blind society promotes the same levels of racism and discourages dialogue that briefly occurred, consistent with Luiz's comments about society's more advanced racism. For this reason, students of all races in the United States were very afraid and initially timid to discuss race issues with me and did not address class issues at all, whereas all Brasilian students openly discussed both topics and half favored class distinctions. Students in the United States have

learned that they should not discuss race because these distinctions are no longer valid, and no matter how untrue they may be, students find it hard to break free. Hence, "[t]hey're scared about offending the Afro American students. . . . A lot of Afro students get mad. And you never know what they're gonna get mad about. I'd be scared too if I was white b/c you never know what'll make people angry." The elite use fear to keep students from openly discussing continuing problems.

Despite all administrators, teachers and students agreeing that if a society is unequal, both how and why this society became so should be exposed and discussed, students fail to understand that because of society's inequality, they do not learn more about marginalized groups, and in the Brasilian case, Brasilian history (just as they fail to identify values promoted and historical connections mentioned in the fourth theme), despite teachers and administrators trying to explain these dynamics. All teachers and administrators believed that national history courses should provide students a framework to understand the world and their place in it, just as they all believed that race and class played crucial roles and how both nations were built and are maintained. Nonetheless, because historical consciousness is not developed in these students (Ahonen 2005 and Wineberg 2006), they cannot access this information. Also, students disagree on where this should occur in the United States because of the restrictions the hegemony has created on what constitutes history.

Finally, that both education systems still employ colonial methods, mainly Eurocentrism, white supremacy, and indoctrination, which results in distrust of textbooks is not surprising either. For the same reasons that race and class play a role in how history is taught, colonial methods are still used: hegemonic interests in maintaining the *status quo*. Hence, we have Jim and Aaron's comments that when we are forced to decide what to teach, the "traditional" events must be prioritized, a sentiment echoed by Luiz and Isabella when they say that all important

events occurred in Europe. Thus, as capitalism centered the beginning of the modern world in Europe, the education systems continues to center cultural legitimacy there through what is taught. At the same time, because students (Aaron and Silvia) accept history as something that "already happened" and is not to be compared with now, students believe what they learn without questioning it because no room for error is present when history is not viewed as the dynamic process historical consciousness would promote. Thus inaccurate portrayals of past and current conditions (such as Jim's comments about continuing racism only at the individual level) continue. Ultimately, all students continue to be indoctrinated with the elite's worldview. When I asked one student how she felt about the inequality she learned about in her history course, she told me she no longer noticed it.

V.   CONCLUSION

> I am what time, circumstance, history, have made of me, certainly, but I am also, much more than that. So are we all. James Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time*

I examined the history and form of racial division in both Brasil and the United States, revealing the racism present in colonization and nation building, slavery, social policy, demands for civil and human rights and how all of these conditions continue in some form. From the current conditions, I then discussed how racism operates in the schooling systems of Brasil and the United States. Then, I specifically examined the racism present in national history courses through the qualitative case study data gathered from interviews of students, teachers and administrators in Brasil and the United States. Thus, I have illustrated and discussed racism's continuing existence in both societies, education systems, and national history courses.

On a side note, I would like to acknowledge that, though I have proven past and continuing racism at all levels of society in both nations, I do think that progress – however limited – has occurred. Whether or not it will continue to do so depends upon the actions taken and the genuine commitments made.

The individual's life is impacted by his or her society's time period, history, traditions, economy, politics, culture, ideology, and so much more. Indeed, the practices that become tradition and then culture are socially constructed and historically specific to each society. However, objective or absolute statements, values, views, truths, etc. apply across continents and throughout time. In fact, these objective values bind us to show respect to all others. One aspect of respect is to allow the individual to exercise and have access to his or her free will. Within this context, now, more than ever before, societies around the world need to make the inclusion of youth a main goal. Two important steps toward this inclusion are making education a fundamental right and reforming the teaching method used.

Crucial to self-fulfillment and awareness is education and orientation toward knowledge. Both are denied to many children around the world because they must attend inadequate and improperly funded schools or none at all, not to mention the institutionalized societal inequality that persists in most countries, which is often manifested through the extant education system.

The main barrier to realizing and embracing responsible free will is the ironic process involved: to transcend the self, one must center there to learn of and acknowledge the self. In order to remove one's self from social, cultural and temporal conditioning, one must first identify, examine and actually internalize these limits (realize one's own ignorance, while at the same time embracing the concept of reverence). Before a person will want to learn of self, though, he or she must value the self. By sending children to good schools, they are exposed to caring environments that encourage them to explore and legitimate themselves. In addition, a caring and open environment will allow children to question and be curious, hence laying the foundation for future introspection.

This foundation is invaluable and is supported by the Public Morality Principle, which states that "society has a legitimate interest in protecting and encouraging attitudes, practices,

institutions, and social conditions that tend to sustain the moral sphere and in discouraging attitudes, practices, institutions, and conditions that would lend to its breakdown" (Kane 1994). This is so because once self-realization (the what of who one is) is uncovered through meticulous and continuous examination, the individual can then be more aware and awake to differences and commonalities with others of different situations and backgrounds. Just noticing, however, is not enough. One must ask what this or that person can contribute to his or her life, and contrarily, what this or that person can teach him or her not to do.

The person who has been successful will be compassionate, empathetic, patient, and engaged. He or she will care about her or his fellow human beings and will work to ensure their progress as well. These individuals will value knowledge, freedom, and examination, knowing that all are required to become enlightened. Their actions and observations are not judgmental. Their advice is not condescending. They seek (and often achieve) genuine and deep understanding of what others are encountering. One also realizes that certain conditions (extreme wealth or poverty, inequality, injustice, etc.) impede the process and thus work to reverse and eliminate these elements from the world.

In addition, because our viewpoint is limited, we gain a great deal from considering other perspectives. Ultimately, I think that each religion, person, tradition, etc. has a part of the larger truth. Perhaps, when these components are united and viewed holistically, a clearer image becomes available and individual progress toward transcendence is more readily accessible. However, in order to access each part, we must have reverence that we are incapable of knowing all on our own. To access the world's mystery's, we need the world's assistance through all its resources available to us at a given time and place. Without seeing difference and valuing it, but at the same time learning to determine which values should be eliminated, we cannot hope to progress as a global society.

Therefore, what and how we are actually teaching our students is quite important. We must illustrate that questioning is to be valued and that there are a plurality of values (more than one way) to do so. Hence, we need to diversify standard curriculum to include more works from different cultures, from non-dominant perspectives, and those with explanations of how and why events occur. First, we need to gain other culture's perspectives through their writings (and travel, if possible), and second, we need to make sure the students of those backgrounds do not feel inferior because all they are exposed to is the white man's ideas of excellence. Second, we need to realize that cultures and societies frame our entire lives, and thus, to understand each, we must not only memorize facts but also understand how and why those are certain facts are selected to be memorized.

Everything written or spoken has a cultural point of view and is embedded in a cultural system of ideas that seeks to naturalize, historicize, and eternalize its legitimacy and permanence. One way it does so is through the hegemony,[58] which relegates culture to rule-governed behavior and explains the resulting production of power throughout time. For this reason, we gain insight by reading works from other parts of the world and other sectors of society that have not traditionally been included. Even if teachers choose not to critically view events, students can start to develop their own ideas of how societies differ and why.

Isaiah Berlin (1969) addresses the difference between positive (associated with equality) and negative (associated with liberty) liberty and how U.S. society overwhelmingly focuses on the latter, which involves the right not to be obstructed *from* doing, rather than the right *to* do. Ultimately, to end inequality, our government will have to incorporate at least some aspects of positive liberty. I truly believe that our society, on state, national, and global levels, is severely

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[58] Hegemony is defined as the "lived experience of how the complex interlocking of political, social, and cultural forces influences" every arena of one's life, creating feelings of pressure to conform (Williams 1977). This penultimate idea both includes and goes beyond culture and ideology by relating the whole social process of culture to specific distributions of power and influence, in the process introducing necessary recognition of dominance and subordination.

limiting our potential by continuing the discriminatory practices of the past. We must all embrace our responsibility to each other as members of the human race if we are going to successfully address society's ill. Many children die either a physical or emotional death before maturity. When society suffocates the hope and creativity inherent in its future generation, no one wins. In fact, everyone is negatively affected because the children will not dream as big, and nations will then not receive as many of the benefits as it could have. Within the capitalist system, class inequality is inevitable. However, racial inequality does not have to be. Unfortunately, nearly all nations have a past history of racial inequality that is closely tied to the capitalist system.

To overcome this, I would like to see schools begin exposing the reasoning behind teaching and education policy to students from the very beginning. To say that students are incapable of understanding such "complex" ideas at ages four and five is not consistent with Kenneth Clark's doll studies that proved children are very much aware of society's values around them. Hence, allow and encourage children to question and focus more on instilling a search for truth in them while they are young. Ultimately, a society of critically aware individuals will result in a critically aware nation which will result in sustained and substantial progress.

APPENDIX A

Guiding Interview Questions

1. Tell me about your school. About the structure of a typical school day. About the demographics of students and teachers. (teachers and school directors)
2. Tell me about you current history course. How is it structured? How do you feel about the course? What materials are used – text, newspapers, media, etc.?
3. What do you think the role of history courses is? What societal values does the text and course promote? Do you feel that your country's values are consistent with these?
4. What role do teachers play in how history is taught?
5. What role do administrators play in how history is taught?
6. What role does race and class play in how history is taught?
7. What role do text books play in how history is taught?
8. How do you think that important events are covered in the course and text? Are there any examples of excellent information, distorted information or inadequate discussion? If so, please provide me examples.
9. Have you experienced strong emotion, whether it be joy, sadness, pride, grief, etc., as a reaction to something taught in a history class in which you have experience? Did these feelings affect how you participated afterward? Did these feelings affect how you view yourself or groups to which you are a member? Were these feelings visible in students as well? Please explain.
10. Based upon your history text, do you feel that racial equality has progressed over the past fifty years?

11. Based upon personal observations, conversations with others, and other sources of information outside of the history text, do you feel that racial equality has progressed over the past fifty years?
12. If you provided different responses, why do you think the two different methods of inquiry produce dissimilar answers? In general, is what you learn in your history course consistent with what you already knew?
13. If you could change current history courses in some way, how would you do so and why?
14. How do you feel about multicultural approaches to education? What does the "culture" in multicultural mean to you? Please explain. (teachers and school directors)
15. If a society is unequal, is it important to expose how and why? If so, is a history course the best place to do so?

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