Spring 5-13-2016

Rhetorically Constructing Immigrants in French and U.S. History Textbooks: A Burkean Analysis

David Alexander

ACCEPTANCE

This dissertation, RHETORICALLY CONSTRUCTING IMMIGRANTS IN FRENCH AND U.S. HISTORY TEXTBOOKS: A BURKEAN ANALYSIS, by DAVID B. ALEXANDER, was prepared under the direction of the candidate's Dissertation Advisory Committee. It is accepted by the committee members in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree, Doctor of Philosophy, in the College of Education and Human Development, Georgia State University. The Dissertation Advisory Committee and the student's Department Chairperson, as representatives of the faculty, certify that this dissertation has met all standards of excellence and scholarship as determined by the faculty.

_____
Joyce E. King, PhD.
Committee Chair

_____
Kristen Buras, PhD.
Committee Member

_____
Chara Bohan, PhD.
Committee Member

_____
Deron R. Boyles, PhD.
Committee Member

_____
Teddi Fishman, PhD.
Committee Member

_____
Date

_____
William Curlette, PhD.
Chairperson, Department of Educational Policy Studies

_____
Paul A. Alberto, PhD.
Dean, College of Education and Human Development

AUTHOR'S STATEMENT

By presenting this dissertation as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for the advanced degree from Georgia State University, I agree that the library of Georgia State University shall make it available for inspection and circulation in accordance with its regulations governing materials of this type. I agree that permission to quote, to copy from, or to publish this dissertation may be granted by the professor under whose direction it was written, by the College of Education and Human Development's Director of Graduate Studies, or by me. Such quoting, copying, or publishing must be solely for scholarly purposes and will not involve potential financial gain. It is understood that any copying from or publication of this dissertation which involves potential financial gain will not be allowed without my written permission.

_____

David B. Alexander

NOTICE TO BORROWERS

All dissertations deposited in the Georgia State University library must be used in accordance with the stipulations prescribed by the author in the preceding statement. The author of this dissertation is:

David B. Alexander
Department of Educational Policy Studies
College of Education and Human Development
Georgia State University

The director of this dissertation is:

Dr. Joyce E. King
Department of Educational Policy Studies
College of Education and Human Development
Georgia State University
Atlanta, GA 30303

CURRICULUM VITAE

David B. Alexander

ADDRESS:

College of Education and Human Development – 4th floor
Georgia State University
30 Pryor Street
Atlanta, GA 30303-3083

EDUCATION:

Ph.D.	2016	Georgia State University Educational Policy Studies
M.A.	2007	Clemson University Professional Communication
B.A.	1998	Clemson University German & International Trade

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

2012 - present	Instructional Lead Teacher Georgia Virtual School
2012 – 2014	Graduate Teaching & Research Assistant Georgia State University
2008 – 2012	Assistant Administrator Fulton County Schools
2004 – 2008	German & French Teacher Fulton County Schools

PRESENTATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS:

Alexander, D.B., Bartone, M., and Young, J. (2014, May). *Youth Definitions of Race and Sexuality via New Social Media*. Paper presented at the International Congress of Qualitative Inquiry (ICQI), Champaign, IL.

Alexander, D.B. (2014, February). *The Political Economy of Truth: Foucault, Charter Schools, and Power*. Paper presented at the meeting of the Southeastern Philosophy of Education Society, Decatur, GA.

Alexander, D.B. (2013, February). *The Walking Dead: Education Reformers Examined through Hegel's Discourse on Death*. Paper presented at the meeting of the Southeastern Philosophy of Education Society, St. Petersburg, FL.

Alexander, D.B. and Bartone, M. (2012, February). *Latent Power in Shaping the Classroom Experience: The Heavy Hand of E-mail*. Paper at the meeting of the Southeastern Philosophy of Education Society, Birmingham, AL.

PROFESSIONAL SOCIETIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

2011 -	American Educational Research Association
2007 -	American Association of Teachers of French
2007 -	American Association of Teachers of German

RHETORICALLY CONSTRUCTING IMMIGRANTS IN FRENCH AND U.S. HISTORY TEXTBOOKS: A BURKEAN ANALYSIS

by

DAVID B. ALEXANDER

Under the Direction of Dr. Joyce E. King

ABSTRACT

Both France and the U.S. have witnessed extensive immigration in the twentieth century, and today, more than ever since World War II, the world's population is in dramatic flux. Currently almost fifty-four million people worldwide are identified by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) as displaced people. If and how France and the U.S. should accommodate displaced peoples has agitated political debate in France and the U.S. with conservatively aligned political parties in both countries rejecting calls to resettle displaced peoples in France and the U.S. At the center of this dissertation is the following research question: how are immigrants rhetorically constructed in high school French and U.S. history textbooks? Rhetoric is not just about persuading an audience; it is about using identifications that program the audience not to think, but to automatically believe that one thing is associated with another. In this dissertation I use Kenneth Burke's rhetoric as identification to examine how

immigrants are rhetorically constructed in four high school French history textbooks and two high school American history textbooks, all of which are widely distributed in their respective countries. I disarticulate rhetorical constructions of immigrants in these history textbooks by interrogating the interactions of their political, economic, social, and cultural structures. In Burke's rhetoric as identification "social cohesion and control" are realized through apposition and opposition. In the following quotation Burke explains a salient element of his rhetoric as identification: "A is not identical with his colleague, B. But insofar as their interests are joined, A is identified with B. Or he may identify himself with B even when their interests are not joined, if he assumes that they are, or is persuaded to believe so." Why are so many people in France and the U.S. persuaded that peoples displaced by war and poverty should be locked outside their borders? Through a Burkean analysis, I locate answers to this question in the historical master narrative evidenced in the high school French and U.S. history textbooks selected for this study--a narrative that rhetorically constructs skewed characterizations of immigrants.

INDEX WORDS: rhetoric, Kenneth Burke, hermeneutics, history education, ecological epistemology

RHETORICALLY CONSTRUCTING IMMIGRANTS IN FRENCH AND U.S. HISTORY TEXTBOOKS: A BURKEAN ANALYSIS

by

David B. Alexander

A Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for the

Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Social Foundations

in

Educational Policy Studies

in

the College of Education and Human Development

Georgia State University

Atlanta, GA
2016

DEDICATION

To all those who work to make our world more equitable, humane, inclusive and representative of peoples across our beautiful planet.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To my parents, Babydoll and Boo, you allowed me to be me in a small town in South Carolina where judgment rang through the church bells' chimes. I am fueled by your generosity, zeal for life, and unwavering dedication to social justice. You loved me and were proud of me in spite of this world. Your bodies may have failed you – your spirits though live strong through memories of laughter, exploding trucks, car engines hanging from the backyard tree, and the endless life absurdities that you both confronted with perseverance.

To my grandparents, Mozelle and Slappy, without you the life I have been able to lead would have been outside my reach. If only every child could be so lucky to have engaged and loving grandparents such as y'all, this world would be dramatically better. Forever shall I cherish those quiet evenings on the lake listening to katydids and gospel hymns as we talked about the world.

To Dr. King, I took a look at your syllabus and felt drawn to the mountains of reading you require. Taking your course was the best decision I made for understanding education systems. The intellectual and cultural stimulations your courses provided saved me from the dark, cold cavern in which our education systems attempt to place its teachers. Your interrogation of language systems and the words we use to other humankind brought me back to my rhetorical studies roots. Thank you.

To my committee members, Drs. Buras, Boyles, Bohan, and Fishman, I could write *sans cesse* about each of you each of you as an integral contributor to my understandings of this world, academia, and how to advance social justice, but I shall spare you the ramblings. Please know that I am grateful for your guidance.

To my forever friend and companion in the struggle, Joe, your willingness to discuss education, society, racism, and the world has proven invaluable in supplying me a wealth of ideas and considerations. I am in awe of your intellectual coherence. You are the best friend I have ever had.

To Tammye and Sandy, you changed my life through your candor, love, and unyielding friendship. Through your strength and grace, you have shown me how to keep it moving when the world seemingly wants to hold you still. You are loved!

To Michael, cue Philo's first day. You are one of the most unlikely friends I have ever had and one of the friends for whom I am most grateful.

To Mary Elizabeth, you, too, are a most unlikely friend, and you are one of the sincerest people I know. Thank you for your continual words of encouragement and many conversations of support.

À Mathieu, mon petit rebelle de gauche, premier fan de Christiane Taubira, ton côté français abstrait me laisse confus et m'inspire à la fois. Je suis curieux de savoir où notre petite aventure nous mène.

Table of Contents

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

For there to be national cohesion, we have to keep balance in the country, that is to say its cultural majority. We are a Judeo-Christian country – the general de Gaulle said it – of the white race that welcomes foreign persons. I want France to stay France. I do not want France to become Muslim. – Nadine Morano, European Deputy for *Les Républicains* political party in France.[1]

President Obama and Hillary Clinton's idea that we should bring tens of thousands of Syrian Muslim refugees to America – it is nothing less than lunacy…now on the other hand, Christians who are being targeted, for genocide, for persecution, Christians who are being beheaded or crucified, we should be providing safe haven to them. –Ted Cruz, 2016 presidential candidate for the Republican Party and United States State Senator from Texas Nov 15[2]

When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you. They're not sending you. They're sending people that have lots of problems and they're bringing those problems to us. They're bringing drugs, they're bringing crime, they're rapists, and some, I assume, are good people. –Donald Trump, 2016 presidential candidate for the Republican Party[3]

Henceforth migrants wander about in our neighborhoods, around the train stations or in shanty towns, causing France immense hygiene problems. – Marine Le Pen, president of *Le Front National* political party in France [4]

The four quotations above malign immigrants of color and they are rhetorical responses to immigration. These statements are ideological products that racialize and religiously "other" immigrants as non-Christian, and these political statements are attempting to persuade those

---

[1] Quote taken from statements Nadine Morano's made September 26, 2015 on the France 2 television show, "On n'est pas couché." Translation of original text provided by author: *Pour qu'il y ait une cohésion nationale, il faut garder un équilibre dans le pays, c'est-à-dire sa majorité culturelle. Nous sommes un pays judéo-chrétien – le général de Gaulle le disait –, de race blanche, qui accueille des personnes étrangères. J'ai envie que la France reste la France. Je n'ai pas envie que la France devienne musulmane.*

[2] Quote taken from statements Ted Cruz made on November 15, 2015 in an interview with Fox News.

[3] Quote taken from Donald Trump's speech announcing his presidential bid on June 16, 2015.

[4] Quote taken from statement made by Marine Le Pen during *Le Front National's* summer retreat in 2015. Translation of original text provided by author: *Désormais, des migrants errent dans nos quartiers, autour des gares ou dans des bidonvilles, causant à la France d'immenses problèmes de salubrité*.

listening to identify with their ideological positions. In this dissertation, I employ Burkean rhetorical analyses to examine the language of high school French and U.S. history textbooks that constructs the understandings of immigrants of color evidenced in Morano's, Cruz', Trump's, and Le Pen's proclamations about immigration. A rhetorical analysis is different than a discourse analysis, even if only slightly so. Glenn Stillar's scholarship provides explanations for the difference between rhetoric and discourse. Discourse describes text as "symbolic exchange between real social agents in situations bearing tangible consequences, and as such it always embodies motive and interest-not (simplistically) the motives and interests of the 'individuals' involved, but those of the whole host of social systems and structures."[5] The study of rhetoric, on the other hand, investigates the "dynamism and tension inherent in this variety of motives and interests…created by and marked in textual practice."[6] Text is symbolic action, and the rhetorical analysis I conduct in this dissertation "seeks to understand the transformations in perspectives that the symbolic action of text initiates"[7] about immigrants of color. Rhetoric is an attempt at transforming the attitude and orientation of its audience, and discourse is the vehicle for rhetoric's attempt.

In this dissertation I use Kenneth Burke's rhetoric as identification to show that the rhetoric employed in the quotations that lead this introduction chapter attempt to program the audience not to think, but to automatically believe that one thing is associated with another,[8]

---

[5] Glenn F. Stillar, *Analyzing Everyday Texts: Discourse, Rhetoric, and Social Perspectives*, Rhetoric & Society, v. 3 (Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 1998), 6.

[6] Ibid., 6.

[7] Ibid., 6.

namely that immigrants are associated with non-White, non-Christian, unsanitary vagrants whose presence is detrimental to society's well-being.

The Problem

As I write this dissertation, the world's population is in dramatic flux. Not since World War II have there been as many displaced people.[9] Almost fifty-four million people worldwide are identified by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) as people of concern, who are identified according to one of the following categories:

- refugees
- people in refugee-like situations
- asylum seekers
- internally displaced people (IDPs)
- returnees (refugees and IDPs)
- stateless people
- others of concern[10]

The presence of economically and politically displaced peoples has become an object of significant political debate in France and the United States. The disturbing realities of war and government policies that have resulted in millions of displaced people coupled with racialized statements like those above from Morano, Cruz, Trump and Le Pen illuminate rhetorical

---

[8] Kenneth Burke, *Language as Symbolic Action: Essays on Life, Literature, and Method*, Nachdr. (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1966).

[9] "World Refugee Day: Global Forced Displacement Tops 50 Million for First Time in Post-World War II Era," *UNHCR*, accessed January 9, 2016, http://www.unhcr.org/53a155bc6.html.

[10] "UNHCR Global Appeal 2016-2017 - Populations of Concern to UNHCR," *UNHCR*, accessed January 9, 2016, http://www.unhcr.org/564da0e3b.html.

iterations that impugn knowledge about immigration in Western countries—in this instance, in France and the United States.

The four quotations above communicate skewed and negative characterizations of immigrants of color and Muslims, and they represent what Lloyd Bitzer calls "The Rhetorical Situation." Lloyd Bitzer describes the rhetorical situation as a "sketched conception."[11] In its simplest explanation, the situation persuades the orator or writer that the situation (or issue) is urgent and important enough to speak or write rhetorically about it. The situation can be the result of many events. The quotations from Morano, Trump, Cruz and Le Pen represent sundry (mis)understandings produced by ideological systems and structures that support othering immigrants of color and non-Christian immigrants. The quotations are ideologically imbued with meanings that highlight certain interests while muting others.

Bitzer speaks about a fitting rhetorical response to a situation. The situation at hand is the mass displacements of peoples displaced by war and abject poverty. To illustrate what a fitting response to a rhetorical situation would be, Bitzer recounts the assassination of John F. Kennedy. The eulogies that were given after Kennedy's death would have never been given had it not been for his assassination. Bitzer explains that these eulogies were a rhetorical response to John F. Kennedy's death. These eulogies in essence would have been rhetorically implausible without the situation of John F. Kennedy's death. The same can be said for Dr. Martin Luther King's assassination. Neither of these murders and the assault on justice and freedom they represented were acceptable to the people across political swaths.

---

[11] Lloyd F. Bitzer, "The Rhetorical Situation," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 1, no. 1 (1968): 1–14.

What Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump views as a fitting response to a given situation though is not what President Obama has stated, which can be viewed as his understanding of a fitting response. President Obama has indicated that the United States should welcome Syrian refugees, for example, while Donald Trump has declared that he would put a complete halt to Muslims coming to the U.S. in any capacity. They stand in ideological opposition to each other (to what extent is arguable), but how they identify immigrants through their statements are rhetorical responses, and the subtexts of their responses depend upon the social, political, economic and cultural systems that form their understandings of immigrants. The statements from Morano, Trump, Cruz and Le Pen would be indecipherable without the "common sense" advanced by rhetoric and the specific ideologies that underlie its motivations. Education has not played its proper role in developing the necessary criticality to prevent the type of destructive rhetoric Morano, Trump, Cruz and Le Pen employed. Their statements are products of political dynamics, historical (mis)understandings, and identifications of immigrants. A "fitting" rhetorical response is, therefore, determined by the way the situation is presented and the constellation of events and statements that are deployed to comprise each situation. The rhetorical responses surrounding immigration would not have been elicited without today's refugee crisis and the historical contexts within which today's debate—in France and the United States—on whom to let in and to kick out operates.

Exigent discourse, such as ongoing discussions about immigration, is a key feature of the rhetorical situation. Bitzer explains that the exigence coupled with the "complex of persons, objects, events and relations which generate rhetorical discourse are located in reality, are objective and publicly observable historic facts in the world we experience, are there available

for scrutiny by an observer or critic who attends to them."[12] Furthermore, Bitzer states that real rhetorical situations are to be distinguished from "sophistic ones, in which, for example, a contrived exigence is asserted to be real."[13] The critical examination of events and the subsequent discourse about immigrants certify the rhetorical situation's existence—or its contrived exigence.

Rhetorical situations can exhibit simple or complex structures and organization. Bitzer notes that rhetorical situations can be simple in structure such as Franklin D. Roosevelt's brief Declaration of War against Japan on December 8, 1941. Bitzer elaborates on this point by stating that "the message exists as a response to one clear exigence easily perceived by one major audience."[14] However, the structure of a situation is complex when "many elements must be made to interact."[15] Bitzer explains that the "rhetorical audience may be scattered, uneducated regarding its duties and powers" and that constraints "may be incompatible."[16] The complexities and the innumerable sociological, political, economic and cultural intersections that characterize immigration speak to the existence of a rhetorical situation. Rhetorical situations are not static – they "come into existence, then either mature and decay or mature and persist—conceivably some persist indefinitely. In any case, situations grow and come to maturity; they evolve to just the time when a rhetorical discourse would be most fitting."[17] I add that some rhetorical

---

[12] Ibid., 7.

[13] Ibid., 9.

[14] Ibid., 11.

[15] Ibid., 11.

[16] Ibid., 12.

situations are, however, contrived and the actors instrumental in their development must be critically examined. Herein lies the importance of education in growing students' critical awareness and consciousness about language.

Today's rhetorical discourse about immigration is present on many levels of society – socially, economically, politically, culturally, and more importantly for the purposes of this study, educationally. This rhetorical situation permeates through and across many levels of society. As Bitzer points out, such situations exist as "rhetorical responses for us" because "they speak to situations which persist—which in some measure are universal."[18] Bitzer explains that "from day to day, year to year, comparable situations occur, prompting comparable responses; hence rhetorical forms are born and a special vocabulary, grammar, and style are established."[19] The situations reoccur. They take a life of their own, and, as Bitzer says, the rhetorical situation "comes to have a power of its own."[20] The tradition of a rhetorical situation "tends to function as a constraint upon any new response in the form."[21] The statements that are presented at the beginning of this chapter on immigration can be defined by their adherence to historical systems of identification that dramatically influence the constraints of today's rhetorical debates on immigration.

---

[17] Ibid., 12.

[18] Ibid., 13.

[19] Ibid., 13.

[20] Ibid., 13.

[21] Ibid., 8.

The rhetorical situation, as posited by Lloyd Bitzer, informs us that there are ideologies in the world that must be identified and mediated. As the numbers of displaced peoples trying to reach safety and stability swell, education about immigration will increasingly come into question and influence the political speak and policies on immigration. Schools serve as ideological instruments of the nation-state.[22] In this study I show that, by including rhetorical analyses as a tool for revealing ideological motivations of textbooks, political acts and the statements of politicians, teachers can be agents for destabilizing the collective "common sense" that Morano, Cruz, Trump and Le Pen communicate in their ideologically-laden discourse.

Research Questions

The principal research question steering this study is: how are immigrants rhetorically constructed in high school French and U.S. history textbooks? This research question though does not exclusively form the objectives of this study. Other questions answered in this study are:

- Is there diversity and variation in the rhetorical construction of immigrants across Western spaces?
- How can rhetoric be a method for disrupting the "common sense" or taken-for-granted social, cultural, economic, and political understandings that shape the characterizations of immigrants found in high school history textbooks?
- How can teachers use rhetoric to help students weave critical analyses of ideology and their own cultural experiences and histories through an ecosystem

[22] Michael W. Apple, ed., "Global Crises, Social Justice, and Education.," in *Global Crises, Social Justice, and Education* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 1–24.

of agentic learning in which students "re-member"[23] immigrants as nation-builders, citizens, and human beings?

- Does a rhetorical analysis of immigration in French and U.S. history textbooks illuminate global ideological and civilizational associations and divides?

Methods and Theoretical Framework

In this dissertation I use rhetorical analyses to examine how immigrants are constructed in French and U.S. textbooks. Based on conversations with French social studies teachers and information the American Textbook Council provides on their website about U.S. history textbooks,[24] I selected four widely distributed high school French history textbooks and two high school American history textbooks to index Western understandings of immigrants. I explain more fully the selection process for the textbooks later in this dissertation. I analyze the language about immigrants in these textbooks to interpret how the language in history textbooks is used to reproduce the societal and racialized (mis)understandings of immigrants communicated in the statements that begin this chapter.

Kenneth Burke is widely considered one of the founders of new rhetoric.[25] New rhetoric moves rhetoric past persuasion in the Aristotelian sense and recasts rhetoric as a tool for understanding and deconstructing the social, cultural, and political implications of language in

---

[23] Joyce Elaine King, Ellen E. Swartz, and Linda Campbell et al., *"Re-Membering" History in Student and Teacher Learning: An Afrocentric Culturally Informed Praxis* (New York: Routledge, 2014), Kindle Edition.

[24] "American Textbook Council - Widely Adopted History Textbooks," accessed January 19, 2016, http://historytextbooks.net/adopted.htm.

[25] Kris Rutten, André Mottart, and Ronald Soetaert, "The Rhetorical Construction of the Nation in Education: The Case of Flanders," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 42, no. 6 (November 2010): 775–90, doi:10.1080/00220270903494303.

the preservation of hegemonic structures. New rhetoric took a decidedly social turn in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and became an "instrument of social cohesion and control."[26] Rhetoric as such becomes a social force for good and, as Burke would contend, a force of cunning. Burke's rhetoric centers on rhetoric as identification in which "social cohesion and control" are realized through apposition and opposition. Burke explains rhetoric as identification: "*A* is not identical with his colleague, *B*. But insofar as their interests are joined, *A* is *identified* with *B*. Or he may *identify himself* with *B* even when their interests are not joined, if he assumes that they are, or is persuaded to believe so."[27]

In this dissertation I examine rhetorical constructions of immigrants in high school French and U.S. history textbooks by interrogating interactions of political, economic, social, and cultural structures. This inquiry evokes critical awareness and understandings of history textbooks that show, as Burke points out, there is more outside the text than in the text. What Burke signifies through his discussion about what resides "outside the text" is that language and texts are constructed in the social imaginary.[28] In this inquiry, I reveal the complexities of human relations that privilege the few and subjugate the many, using language to excavate authority. Historical texts about immigrants and their roles in French and U.S. societies are not static and they are not *a priori* facts.

---

[26] Peter Simonson, "Rhetoric as a Sociological Problem," *Spring 2014* 50, no. 4 (Spring 2014): 242–52.

[27] Kenneth Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives*, California ed., [Nachrdr.] (Berkeley, Calif.: Univ. of California Press, 1950).

[28] The term "social imaginary" encompasses the deeper normative notions and images that undergird collective understandings of social existence and expectations. For a more on social imaginary, see Charles Taylor, "Modern Social Imaginaries."

Significance of the Study

Language and discourse studies are gaining importance in educational studies.[29] However, the research and scholarship on curriculum as rhetorical text and the possibilities for rhetoric as a method of educational inquiry and agentic learning are wanting. Examining teaching, curricula and textbooks through a rhetorical lens provides new opportunities to interrogate the language and intentionality of textbooks' content – the language is a springboard into broader understandings of complex ideological phenomena. Just as important is that Burke's rhetoric as identification facilitates understandings of how language unites us and separates us through choices about words and content. In summation, I bring rhetorical, historical, and educational studies into a comparative rhetorical analysis that (a) expands on scholarship on curriculum as rhetorical text; (b) broadens methodological approaches to educational studies; (c) examines immigration to illuminate a globalized Western ideology through a study situated in different nation-state and cultural contexts; (d) furthers considerations of how sociological, political, economic, and cultural determinants intersect in high school French and U.S. history textbooks; and (e) considers epistemologies of knowing that provide potential for action for awakening critical consciousness in education.

Chapter Overviews

In chapter two I review the 2014 The Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) to document data and findings on immigrant students in French and U.S. schools. The data in the MIPEX are important for showing inequitable treatment of immigrant students in both these countries. These countries' responses have been slow and inadequate in including immigrants

[29] Maggie MacLure, *Discourse in Educational and Social Research,* Conducting Educational Research (Buckingham: Open Univ. Press, 2003).

into society. The MIPEX serves as a segue to a discussion on the responses of the academic and educational system responses to facilitate racialized immigrants' inclusion in French and U.S. schools. France and the U.S. adopted different responses to "integrating" immigrant students. Immigration is a globalized phenomenon and to this end I discuss the tensions that arise from globalization in education and from scholars such as Samuel Huntington's whose writing on classing civilizations dismisses the importance of ideology in understanding cross-cultural relations when, in fact, his theories supports the power that ideology has over thinking across society, even in the ranks of the Ivy League educated. Chapter two shows that immigration is a globalized phenomenon that forces the reconsideration of history textbook analyses in a world in which the concept of the nation-state wilts under global ideological pressures.

Chapter three focuses on history education and historical inquiry. At the center of this dissertation is analysis of high school history textbooks. It is, therefore, important to discuss how history teachers perceive their roles in teaching history and how these perceptions stand in opposition to academic understandings of historical inquiry. In chapter three I show that hermeneutics provided new methods for critically challenging history (and by extension history textbooks) as objective. The destabilization of historical inquiry as objective inquiry supports the use of Kenneth Burke's rhetoric as a method for interpreting historical texts.

Chapter four centers on Kenneth Burke's rhetoric and the theories and influences that formed his system of rhetoric as identification. I introduce Kenneth Burke to educational studies, discussing his corpus of scholarship, his theoretical perspectives, and his rhetoric as a tool for continuing critical scholarship in curriculum and educational studies.

In chapter five I conduct a Burkean analysis of the high school history textbooks selected for this study and show that three major motifs surface from the terms used to characterize

immigrants in the texts. I discuss these three motifs as Eurocentric[30] ideological products that are not bounded by the nation-state, but rather span Western spaces. These ideological history textbooks are an unfortunate reality of learning in high schools. However, teachers can use deplorable textbooks such as those I examine in this dissertation for emancipatory learning.

How to use Burke's rhetoric to advance critical teaching and learning is at the center of chapter six. I use Burke's to illustrate how democratized learning and knowledge take place in the classroom. Following the metaphor of an ecosystem of knowledge posited by Lorraine Code,[31] I show how agentic learning about immigrants can put the ecosystem of knowledge back in order. To this end, I draw upon the scholarship of Joyce E. King and others on teaching and learning within the framework of Afrocentric praxis as a means for having educators and students "re-member" the ecosystem of knowledge by putting back into the ecosystem what was omitted. I conclude chapter six with a discussion on the implications of this study for future research in educational studies.

---

[30] My employment of "Eurocentric" subscribes to the notion of "euro" advanced by Joyce Elaine King, Ellen E. Swartz, and Linda Campbell et al's book, *"Re-Membering" History in Student and Teacher Learning: An Afrocentric Culturally Informed Praxis*, in which they state that "Eurocentric" reflects the "eurocratic or official constraints imposed by a hierarchal system of European domination, authority, and ensuing hegemony determine whose culture has influence and whose knowledge is worth knowing in the educational system we have inherited." Location 174. Kindle edition.

[31] Lorraine Code, *Ecological Thinking: The Politics of Epistemic Location*, Studies in Feminist Philosophy (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

CHAPTER 2: IMMIGRATION IN FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES AND EDUCATION CONCEPTS AND THEORIES

Tu es toi et je suis moi.
Accepte-moi tel que je suis.
Ne cherche pas à dénaturer mon identité et ma civilisation.
-Aimé Césaire[32]

You are you and I am I.
Accept me as I am.
Do not seek to alter my identity and my civilization.
-Aimé Césaire

In this dissertation I study rhetorical constructions of immigrants in high school French and U.S. history textbooks. In this chapter I review the scholarship and research relevant to the contexts that shape constructions of immigrants of color. I first address the structural elements of immigration in these countries in order to frame systemic and theoretical responses in France and the U.S. for educating immigrant students. Immigration takes place on a global scale, and I conclude this chapter by reviewing scholarship on globalization and education.

Comparisons of Immigration to France and the U.S.

A detailed examination of the history of immigration to France and the U.S. is beyond the scope of this dissertation. This study's focus is on rhetorical constructions of immigrants in French and U.S. history textbooks. However, a comparison of certain findings on immigrants by The Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) facilitates an understanding of the phenomenon of immigration in current contexts by making generalizations about French and U.S. educational

[32] Bruno Doucey and Christian Kingue Epanya, *Aimé Césaire: un volcan nommé poésie* ([Paris]: les Éd. À dos d'âne, 2014). Translation provided by author.

policies. The MIPEX's generalizations are based on survey data and analyses of outcomes such as job placements and educational attainment of migrant populations.[33]

The Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) attempts to measure integration outcomes for migrants. The index is co-funded by the European Fund for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals. The index lists its three aims as:

> 1) LATEST POLICY COMPARISONS (MIPEX 2015): What are the trends and differences in integration policies in eight areas across Europe and the developed world?
> 2) MONITORING STATISTICS: Which integration outcomes can and do different integration policies affect? Which immigrants can and do benefit from these policies?
> 3) ROBUST EVALUATIONS: Which countries have robust evaluations of their policies' effects on integration? Which policies are found to be most effective for improving integration outcomes?[34]

In 2014, the MIPEX rated the U.S. favorably with a score of 63. The most favorably rated country is Sweden with a score of 78. France, on the other hand, is rated as slightly favorable with a score of 54. Table 1 below shows the MIPEX's scoring legend. In terms of the MIPEX's overall country rankings, the U.S. is number nine while France is number seventeen. The MIPEX measures a number of outcomes for immigrants such as labor market mobility and health. However, for the purposes of this study I am focusing on the MIPEX's evaluation of France's and the United States' educational policies and their outcomes for immigrant students.

---

[33] Although the Migrant Integration Policy Index provides rich information about immigrants' realities, I reject the word "integration" for reasons that will be more obvious in the analysis chapter of this study. The infinitive "to integrate" is commonly defined and understood as "to meld with and become part of the dominant culture." As a researcher I problematize the notion of dominant cultures and situate them in broader questions of oppression. I, thus, prefer the word "include," for it suggests that immigrants contribute meaningfully to society rather than just being "melded" into society. However, as the analysis chapter reveals, immigrants are subjected to "integration" rather than inclusion.

[34] "Migrant Integration Policy Index | MIPEX 2015," *Www.mipex.eu*, accessed January 5, 2016, http://www.mipex.eu/.

Table 1. MIPEX Scoring Legend

Rating	*Numeric Range*
Favorable	80-100
Slightly Favorable	60-79
Halfway Favorable	41-59
Slightly Unfavorable	21-40
Unfavorable	1-20
Critically Unfavorable	0

The MIPEX measures the outcomes of immigrants in students in countries' education systems. The MIPEX reveals that the share of 1st and 2nd generation students of immigrant origin register at 21.6% in the United States and at 15% in France. France has the largest percentage of students of foreign-born origin of any of the European Union's largest economies: Germany, the United Kingdom, France, and Italy. According to the MIPEX, "education emerges as the greatest weakness in integration policies in most countries," noting that in 23 of the countries evaluated for the MIPEX do not require teacher training about migrants' needs.[35] The MIPEX implicitly advocates for intercultural education in which children of different cultures and origins learn from each other and enrich their experiences living in the same communities. I use the word "implicitly" as the MIPEX does not directly advocate for intercultural education, but rather consistently suggests that opportunities for mutual intellectual and cultural enrichment exist through equitable exchanges about living in cultural diversity.

The MIPEX finds inequalities for immigrant students in the French education system and consequently scores France quite low at a score of 36, which on the MIPEX scale is slightly unfavorable. In fact, France's lowest score across the different policy domains evaluated by the MIPEX comes in education and strikingly so. The next lowest scoring policy domain comes at a

[35] "Education | MIPEX 2015," *Www.mipex.eu*, accessed January 6, 2016, http://www.mipex.eu/education.

score of 48 in policies related to permanent residence. The MIPEX identifies that about one-quarter of France's population is of immigrant background, thus making France one of Europe's oldest countries of immigration. Of the foreign-born population in France, two-thirds come from outside the European Union of that two-thirds, 90% come from low- or medium-developed countries. In terms of education attainment, approximately 71% of non-EU born immigrants have low or medium education attainment. The MIPEX also indicates that a "sizable minority of public hold anti-immigrant attitudes in [France] as in the average European country."[36]

In terms of rankings in education, the MIPEX places France at 21 of 38 countries. Slow to respond "to the needs and opportunities brought by its sizable number of 1st and 2nd generation students,"[37] France's education is characterized by an absence of diversity in its social studies education. In regards to access to education France is evaluated favorably in the MIPEX; however, France has only recently adopted measures to individualize and target the needs of immigrant students through language courses for newcomers along with specially trained teachers.[38] Largely the MIPEX indicts France's poor understanding of diversity's role in education and highlights that France abandoned intercultural education in the 1980s which stands in contrast to 34 of the 38 countries measured in the MIPEX. In addition, France stands out as having one of the "widest gaps in concentration of immigrant versus non-immigrant students with low-educated mothers" in disadvantaged schools. In short, immigrant children in France are concentrated in marginalized schools.

---

[36] "France | MIPEX 2015," accessed January 5, 2016, http://www.mipex.eu/france.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

As in France, the U.S. is considered a country of immigration with 25% of the U.S. population being 1st or 2nd generation immigrants. Approximately 13% of Americans, or 41 million, are foreign-born.[39] The MIPEX scores American education policies at 60, which barely puts the score into the slightly favorable category. Unlike France which scores lowest in education policies, the United States scores lowest in political participation at a score of 36, which by far is the United States' lowest score. The next lowest score for the United States is at 54 for permanent residence.

In terms of education rankings, the United States is 8 of 38 countries. The MIPEX generally associates the United States with more positive outcomes for immigrant children, noting that although the U.S. ranks 8th, it still lags considerably behind Canada and New Zealand in regards to targeted investments in education.[40] The U.S. does stand out though in terms of providing access to immigrant students, according to the MIPEX. The MIPEX also notes that the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB) provides the most targeted support for immigrant students among developed countries.

The MIPEX generalizes that U.S. students learn to some basic extent about diversity. The U.S., however, ranks lower than Canada, the U.K., and New Zealand in regards to education on diversity. Some states, as the MIPEX notes, "may include diversity education in their state education standards, and therefore it may be integrated throughout the curriculum but it is not necessarily required or practiced across all states."[41] Teacher preparation programs in the U.S.

---

[39] "USA | MIPEX 2015," *Www.mipex.eu*, accessed January 5, 2016, http://www.mipex.eu/usa.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid.

are also called into question by the MIPEX, finding that only a small minority of states require teacher candidates to include cultural diversity in their teacher preparation courses. Moreover, many teacher candidates do not student teach in culturally diverse settings. Like in France, immigrant students are concentrated in disadvantaged schools, which suffer from higher student-teacher ratios.

Although arguably negligible, the United States fares better in educating immigrant children than France, according to the MIPEX. The MIPEX makes a rather strong indictment of France's absence of diversity in educational policy while the U.S. is regarded as incorporating targeted measures to meet the educational needs of immigrant students. The variations between France and the United States can be explained by their positions on assimilation education and multicultural education. France has advanced assimilation as the framework for integrating immigrant students, while in the U.S., theoretically, policies emphasize multicultural education.

Assimilation in French Education

France rejects multiculturalism and purports to be a color-blind society. France's color-blind ideology is present across all public domains.[42] Color-blindness is even inscribed in the First Article of the 1958 French constitution in which *La République* promises equality before the law regardless of origin of race.[43] Lorcerie states explicitly: "Acknowledgment that the question of multiculturalism exists is to envision the idea that this diversity has an impact on

[42] Erik Bleich, "The French Model: Color-Blind Integration," in *Race in France: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Politics of Difference*, ed. Herrick Chapman and Laura Levine Frader (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004), 270–97.

[43] Elise S. Langan, "Assimilation and Affirmative Action in French Education Systems," *European Education* 40, no. 3 (September 1, 2008): 49–64, doi:10.2753/EUE1056-4934400303.

national institutions such that it can destabilize national identity."[44] Schain writes: "the French model recognizes the legitimacy of collective identities only outside the public sphere."[45] The identity imparted upon France's students is that of the French Republic's values: liberty, equality, and fraternity. These three values are inscribed on all government buildings and entities. These values, *liberté, égalité, et fraternité*, are salient features in the French understanding of self.[46] The French treatment of race is complex, even confusing, but it is decidedly homogenizing and anchored in integrating citizens into being "French"—with a major emphasis on the French language.

The French do not dedicate much research to immigrants because in their estimation there is no problem.[47] As Noiriel points out, immigrants are largely invisible from discourse about daily life.[48] Immigrants integrate into French society, adopting the values of French culture, in order to promote their own economic interests.[49] In the French estimation, assimilation into French society and culture is an economic imperative more than a cultural one.

To talk about race in France is taboo. Statistics on race are rejected by French

---

[44] Translation of original text provided by author: *Reconnaître qu'il existe une question multiculturelle, c'est envisager l'idée que cette diversité a un impact sur les institutions nationales, qu'elle peut déstabiliser l'identité nationale*.

[45] Martin A. Schain, "Managing Difference: Immigrant Integration Policy in France, Britain, and the United States," *Social Research* 77, no. 1 (2010): 205–36, 207.

[46] Jean-François Caron, "Understanding and Interpreting France's National Identity: The Meanings of Being French," *National Identities* 15, no. 3 (September 2013): 223–37.

[47] Gérard Noiriel, *Le creuset français: histoire de l'immigration, XIXe-XXe siècle* (Paris: Editions Points, 1988).

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid.

institutions. The French census does not consider race.[50] The subject of race is embattled, conflicted, and a source of great debate in France.[51] In 2013 *L'Assemblée Nationale* of France removed the word "race" from all legislative practices. The push for removal of the word "race" came from the socialist party. des Neiges Léonard explains that "it is illegal for French government structures and public or private institutions to request and hold information that includes racial or ethnic categories."[52] The resistance to race has its roots in resistance to what the French call "*communautarisme*."

Communautarisme is translated as communitarianism. However, communitarianism in the Anglo-Saxon sense is not imbued with the same meanings as in *communautarisme*. France's history as a unified country has been troubled by regional dissents dominated by resistance to the French language and cultural habits. A modern day example would be Corsica, a region of France that has recently witnessed resurgence of political parties seeking independence from France.[53] Before the establishment of modern day France, France was a conglomeration of feudal territories—each with its own identity and language. France was, and is to a much smaller extent today, a land of many identities and languages, many of which are no longer spoken. To trace France's resistance to multiculturalism brings to the surface questions about *communautarisme*,

---

[50] Marie des Neiges Leonard, "Census and Racial Categorization in France: Invisible Categories and Color-Blind Politics," *Humanity & Society* 38, no. 1 (February 1, 2014): 67–88.

[51] Patrick Simon, "The Choice of Ignorance: The Debate on Ethnic and Racial Statistics in France," *French Politics, Culture & Society* 26, no. 1 (April 30, 2008): 7–31.

[52] des Neiges Leonard, "Census and Racial Categorization in France, 68."

[53] John Lichfield, "Why Corsica's New Nationalist Government Has Got Paris Worried," *The Independent*, December 26, 2015, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/corsica-islands-new-nationalist-government-sparks-concern-in-paris-amid-renewed-calls-for-a6787016.html.

for the French view multiculturalism as fragmentation of identity and culture, not as the support of multiple cultures and identities residing in conjunction with one another.[54]

In resistance to multiculturalism the French turned to an assimilation model in its education system, especially in its schools, to negotiate, maybe even to mitigate, pluralism in educational institutions.[55] France's objective in its educational institutions is to integrate students "into the established fabric of society."[56] In the French assimilation model, conformity to French values and culture is paramount.

The absence of discussion on race in French society today can be explained by a number of conflicting factors. The acknowledgment of race would force the French to acknowledge their colonial past in which race was a justification for enslavement and domination of non-Europeans.[57] In fact, the French were the first European colonizers to employ the word *blanc* (white) to create the white-black binary between humans.[58] The French use of blanc dates back to 1673 in the French Antilles during which time The West Indies Company employed the term to make the distinction between the European, the Enslaved, and the *Mulâtre* (person of mixed race).[59] However, today, by ignoring the construct of race, the French can ignore racism.[60]

---

[54] Kenan Malik, "The Failure of Multiculturalism," *Foreign Affairs* 94, no. 2 (2015): 21–32.

[55] Bleich, "The French Model: Color-Blind Integration."

[56] Ibid., 87.

[57] Pap Ndiaye, "Questions de Couleur. Histoire, Idéologie et Pratiques Du Colorisme.," in *De La Question Sociale à La Question Raciale?: Représenter La Société Française*, ed. Didier Fassin and Eric Fassin, Cahiers Libres (Paris: Découverte, 2006), 45–52.

[58] Sylvie Laurent and Thierry Leclère, *De quelle couleur sont les Blancs? : "Des petits Blancs" des colonies au "racisme anti-Blancs"* (Paris: La Découverte, 2013).

[59] Ibid.

Another peril of acknowledging race is that doing so enables its use to politically other already essentialized and stigmatized groups.[61] Given France's history of institutionalized legal discrimination vis-à-vis its colonial history, acknowledgment of the race construct and discussions about race are viewed with skepticism and mistrust. To clarify, the French acknowledge that the construct of race was an integral part of their colonial history in which they enslaved, subjugated, and exploited peoples based on race. The French perceive any discussion on race as perpetuating the construct of race; thus, they silence the discourse on race and mistrust those who want to engage in discourse on race.

The French believe that seeing a person as black or Algerian endorses a racist version of society. One can imagine that the same holds true for immigrants, who, as the 2014 MIPEX shows, receive little in the way of educational supports in France. The French do not keep statistics on race, thereby prohibiting them from knowing whether a systemic race problem exists, from quantifying the extent of that problem, and consequently shielding them from accountability for it. Stéphane Jugnot, a French economist, argues that keeping statistics on race perpetuates "a racial, even racist, vision of humanity." In Jugnot's estimation, "discrimination comes 'from the eye of the beholder who sees the other as black, as a 'dark-skinned' person.'" Jugnot finds the "American approach" of including race in statistical measures to be racist.[62] Yet,

---

[60] Didier Fassin, "Nommer, Interpréter. Le Sens Commun de La Question Raciale," in *De La Question Sociale à La Question Raciale?: Représenter La Société Française*, ed. Didier Fassin and Eric Fassin, Cahiers Libres (Paris: Découverte, 2006), 27–44.

[61] des Neiges Leonard, "Census and Racial Categorization in France."

[62] Stéphane Jugnot, "Statistiques Raciales," *Libération.fr*, October 2, 2007, http://www.liberation.fr/tribune/2007/10/02/statistiques-raciales_102931.

studies in France have shown that the perception of race in France has resulted in marginalized groups, including immigrants who experience residential, economic, and political prejudices.[63]

France's obstinacy about race and by extension immigrants has profoundly shaped the French education system, in which all that matters is the adoption on the part of immigrant students, all students for that matter, of *les valeurs de la République Française – Liberté, Egalité et Fraternité,*[64] the likes of which are located above the entrance to all schools in France. French education is an instrument for assimilation. The French have a long history of assimilation dating back to its colonial past in which France attempted to assimilate indigenous peoples into French ways of living while occupying their lands and exploiting their resources. The French built French-styled cities in colonized lands, the remnants of which can still be seen in countries such as Morocco and Senegal.[65] The French model of assimilation subjugates sensitivities to diversity, cultural differences, and intercultural exchanges under a regime of "being French" by suppressing non-French (or perceived non-French) within France's cultural, social, and political *savoir-vivre*.

Multiculturalism in American Education

While France has a decidedly assimilationist, arguably denialist, approach to education characterized by its color-blindness, the U.S. has, at least in theory, adopted a more multicultural approach to educate its students about living in a diverse society. Some view multicultural

---

[63] Patrick Weil, *La République et Sa Diversité: Immigration, Intégration, Discrimination*, La République des Idées (Paris: Seuil, 2005).

[64] The values of the French Republic – Liberty, Equality and Fraternity

[65] Al Jazeera English, *Africa: States of Independence - the Scramble for Africa*, 2010, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CgzSnZidGuU.

education as disruptive to unification of people around a universal identity within the nation community. Others contend that multicultural education is resistance to the parochial and singular vision for education trapped within a euro-centric imaginary. Scholars and researchers have broadened education and curricula to recognize and to acknowledge the cultural assets of diverse populations, but multiculturalism is imbued with a myriad of meanings. What multiculturalism means depends on whom one asks.[66] James Banks identifies the characteristics of multicultural education as: "(1) content integration, (2) the knowledge construction process, (3) prejudice reduction, (4) an equity pedagogy, and (5) an empowering school culture and social structure."[67] Multiculturalism does encounter resistance as Wayne Urban and Jennings Wagoner articulate:

> Multiculturalism has captured the attention of a vocal group of American scholars concentrated in the fields of educational studies, the social sciences, and the humanities. In terms of a prescription for the school curriculum, however, multiculturalism may turn out to be a better idea in theory than it has been in practice. The constituency for multi culturalism is clearly larger in colleges and universities than it is in the schools and other parts of American society. Thus, educators and intellectuals who seek to introduce one or another aspect of multiculturalism into the schools often find a school system or a larger community that is uncomprehending of the problem or indifferent to the proposed solution. Furthermore, it cannot be said that multiculturalism has completely captured the nation's colleges and universities. Some scholars have raised serious questions about the tendency of multiculturalism to fracture and fragment a diverse American society that, in their view, is in need of unifying experiences, particularly in its classrooms.[68]

---

[66] Kristen L. Buras and Paulino Motter, "Toward a Subaltern Cosmopolitan Multiculturalism," in *The Subaltern Speak: Curriculum, Power, and Educational Struggles*, ed. Michael W. Apple and Kristen L. Buras (New York: Routledge, 2006), 243–70.

[67] James A. Banks, *An Introduction to Multicultural Education*, Fifth edition (Boston: Pearson, 2014), 35.

[68] Wayne J. Urban and Jennings L. Wagoner, *American Education: A History*, 4th ed (New York, NY: Routledge, 2009), 434.

Clearly multiculturalism invokes a myriad of meanings across the spectrum of education, and there are numerous iterations of multiculturalism that make the term unwieldy and difficult to neatly package into a singular definition. However, disruption of dominant, euro-centric narratives is a universal dynamic of multiculturalism.

Multicultural education problematizes curricula and deconstructs the concrete and existential components of the curriculum to make education equitable and culturally relevant to all students. Multicultural education disrupts Whiteness and empowers students to capitalize on their own cultural resources, not to ingest the cultural narratives of others about them. According to Gloria Ladson-Billings, the school curriculum is a "culturally specific artifact designed to maintain a White supremacist master script."[69] How can multicultural education interrupt the "White supremacist master script"? Sonia Nieto contends that multicultural education should use "the experiences of students" to focus "on the kinds of issues that they live every day."[70] Lisa Delpit expands on Nieto's position by stating: "successful instruction is constant, rigorous, integrated across disciplines, connected to students' lived cultures, connected to their intellectual legacies, engaging, and designed for critical thinking and problem solving that is useful beyond the classroom."[71] The negative representations of diverse populations throughout the curriculum, even when hidden, damage the self-efficacy of marginalized students.

---

[69] Gloria Ladson-Billings, "Just What Is Critical Race Theory and What's It Doing in a Nice Field like Education?," in *The RoutledgeFalmer Reader in Multicultural Education*, ed. David Gillborn and Gloria Ladson-Billings (London ; New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004), 49–68, 60.

[70] Sonia Nieto, "Critical Multicultural Education and Students' Perspectives," in *The RoutledgeFalmer Reader in Multicultural Education*, ed. David Gillborn and Gloria Ladson-Billings (London ; New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004), 179–200, 182.

The trajectory of multicultural education reaches far back historically. Carter Woodson said about education in 1933 that whites "hope to make the Negro conform quickly to the standard of the whites and thus remove the pretext for the barriers between the races."[72] Delpit reminds us that multicultural education is important because "if the curriculum we use to teach our children does not connect in positive ways to the culture young people bring to school, it is doomed to failure."[73] The narrative that diverse populations fail in schools because they do not possess the requisite cultural advantages that will elevate them persists even today. Multicultural education attempts to interrupt this deficit assumption.

Multicultural education though has been criticized as "tokenizing" people of color as "contributors" to society while not fully explaining the myriad of ways in which people of color have been nation-builders, social and scientific innovators, and community organizers. Thus other theories have been borne from the pursuit to transcend from multicultural education to emancipatory education.

Critical race theory seeks to disarticulate the White master script because, as Zeus Leonardo exclaims, "racial understanding proceeds at the snail's pace of the white imaginary."[74] African Americans' efforts to be educated have been speeding past the white imaginary for hundreds of years. A discussion on African American education must reside in the awareness

---

[71] Lisa D. Delpit, *"Multiplication Is for White People": Raising Expectations for Other People's Children* (New York: New Press : Distributed by Perseus Distribution, 2012), 37.

[72] Carter Woodson, *The Mis-Education of the Negro.*, Kindle, 1933, http://www.amazon.com.

[73] Delpit, *Multiplication Is for White People*, 21.

[74] Zeus Leonardo, *Race, Whiteness, and Education*, The Critical Social Thought Series (New York: Routledge, 2009), 80.

that African Americans have fought, in spite of white resistance and threats, to be educated. Education has been a liberatory pursuit for African Americans. Delpit draws on historical scholarship to explain:

> In the history of this country, as Theresa Perry points out in *Young, Gifted and Black*, African Americans pursued educational achievement with a vengeance, and for its own inherent rewards, even though there was no expectation of benefiting from advanced education in the same ways that whites did in the larger society. She poses several interesting questions: Why should one make an effort to excel in school if one cannot determine whether the learning will ever be valued, seen, or acknowledged? Why should one focus on learning in school if that learning will not affect, inform, or alter one's status as a member of an oppressed group? She looks to Jim Anderson, historian of African American education, to find an answer from African Americans themselves and concludes, 'For from slavery to the modern Civil Rights Movement, the answers were these: You pursued learning because this is how you asserted yourself as a free person; how you claimed your humanity. You pursued learning so you could work for social uplift, for the liberation of your people. You pursued education so you could prepare yourself to lead your people.' These answers are a far cry from the one we give our children today—to get a job.[75]

Getting a job though has never been a guarantee for African Americans in the white supremacist regime of the United States, a regime that generally excluded African Americans from upward economic mobility. W.E.B. Du Bois told us in 1903 that "to be a poor man is hard, but to be a poor race in a land of dollars is the very bottom of hardships."[76] The pursuit of education in African American communities extends beyond notions of education as a means to employment. Education is about human consciousness, about being a free and dignified human. If freedom and dignities are the goals of multicultural education, Greene provides us a stark reminder that "we have found that freedom is hardly likely to be achieved simply through the opening of

---

[75] Delpit, *Multiplication Is for White People*, 38-39.

[76] W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Kindle, 1903), http://www.amazon.com.

opportunities. Some kind of reciprocity is required between individuals in quest of freedom and the persons surrounding them…"[77]

Freedom though has been slow to arrive even as the corpus of research and scholarship on multicultural education continues to expand. Joyce E. King and Ellen E. Swartz explain that emancipatory education is possible, but that the voice that always narrates the narrative of U.S. development is White and eurocratic and mutes the experiences and histories of omitted groups such as indigenous people, people of color, and immigrants.[78] Where as multicultural education seeks to problematize and interrogate dominance in educational institutions and systems, King and Swartz ask:

> Why not replace the seemingly endless analysis of dominance— which, in effect, keeps us wedded to dominance— with critical analysis of democratized knowledge? Imagine that instead of thinking critically about the shortcomings of state-sanctioned standards and textbooks, students and teachers thought critically about texts that acknowledge the self-determination, sovereignty, and indigenous voices of all cultures and groups… Needless to say, as we debate how to use these canonical texts— not what to use instead— the corporate textbook industry is busy churning them out.[79]

King and Swartz argue that the Afrocentric culturally informed approach encompasses all cultures and is therefore the most appropriate metatheory for democratizing the production of social studies knowledge. Through Afrocentric concepts teachers can link "the principles of culturally informed curricular practice" to "bring back the silenced voices and put back together

---

[77] Maxine Greene, *The Dialectic of Freedom,* The John Dewey Lecture (New York: Teachers College Press, 1988), 92.

[78] King, Swartz, and Campbell, et al., *"Re-Membering" History in Student and Teacher Learning,* Kindle Edition.

[79] Ibid., Locations 505-506, Kindle Edition.

the once-lived, contiguous, and interdependent strands of history."[80] King and Swartz synthesize their arguments about Afrocentric concepts and culturally informed curricular practice through their explanation of "re-membering," in which omitted pieces of knowledge are reconstituted to produce the whole of knowledge—democratized knowledge.

Moving Multicultural Education Beyond the Nation-State

Thus far in this review of scholarship I have foregrounded the nation-state and its educational responses to teaching immigrant students in France and U.S. However, the scope of this study is decidedly transnational and seeks to challenge dominant rhetorical constructions of immigrants on a global scale. Kristen Buras and Paulino Motter contend that critical cosmopolitan multicultural education develops in students "a capacity for thinking and acting in counterhegemonic ways within and across borders,"[81] thereby reinforcing the importance of an international scale in critical examinations of hegemony as "most multicultural theories and practices, whether premised on conservative or liberal understandings of cultural diversity, are based on a vision that is historically and territorially bound by the state, and that frequently ignores cross-border inequalities."[82] Indeed as Buras and Motter illustrate the nation-state is no longer sufficient as a unit of analysis as it territorially bound. Dominant narratives must be problematized internationally.

Buras and Motter problematize popular understandings of multiculturalism as not going far enough: "liberal multiculturalists—affiliated with a classic tradition that stresses individual

---

[80] Ibid., Locations 589-590. Kindle Edition.

[81] Buras and Motter, "Toward a Subaltern Cosmopolitan Multiculturalism," 257.

[82] Ibid., 245.

autonomy— celebrate plurality without exploring the ways that difference is implicated in unequal relations of power or recognizing the need to distinguish between kinds of difference and their compatibility with democratic ends."[83] Instead, Buras and Motter advocate for a subaltern cosmopolitanism because "multicultural theories in circulation are not designed to deal with issues related to cosmopolitanism."[84] Multicultural theories in circulation cannot deliver what they promise when bounded by the nation-state; instead, multicultural theories must work globally.[85]

Globalization and Education

This study is part of a broader effort to move educational policies beyond the nation-state. A review of the scholarship on globalization and education helps to provide a more complete picture of how I relate rhetorical constructions of immigrants in history textbooks to global questions about texts as ideological instruments.

Globalization as an object of analysis cannot be examined in isolation; instead, globalization finds "its significance through the prism of…disciplinary-informed discursive practices."[86] Economists generally hold positive views of globalization as a conduit for economic and material growth whereas culturalists and anthropologists examine globalization as a force for the production of hybrid and new cultural forms that situate the local within the global. Political scientists identify the growing influence of economic actors in supranational and transnational

---

[83] Ibid., 247.

[84] Ibid., 249.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Paul Tarc, "The Uses of Globalization in the (Shifting) Landscape of Educational Studies," *Canadian Journal of Education* 35, no. 3 (2012): 4–29, 6.

companies as evidence that globalization has displaced the local in favor of the global. In this vein nation-states no longer perform as policy makers, as transnational or supranational enterprises usurp nation states' authority in policy determinations. And finally educationalists locate globalization within questions about the provision of education services, the global labor market, and the commodification of school children as human capital. The term globalization holds diverse meanings that flow within and through varying contexts of educational research.[87]

A global economy has existed for over 500 years,[88] but Theodore Levitt coined the term "globalization" in 1985 "to describe changes in global economics affecting production, consumption, and investment."[89] Researchers soon appropriated the term "globalization" to explain political and cultural changes that affect society.[90] The political and cultural changes Spring references are borne from the economic influences and imperatives of a globalized economy. Globalization's entry into educational discourses came in the 1990s.[91] Globalization as a domain of academic scholarship and inquiry is explained by Dale and Robertson's statement that "formal education is the most commonly found institution and most commonly shared experience of all contemporary world,"[92] which illuminates how concepts of education as a

---

[87] Nelly P. Stromquist, *Education in a Globalized World: The Connectivity of Economic Power, Technology, and Knowledge* (Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2002).

[88] Jeremy Brecher, Tim Costello, and Brendan Smith, *Globalization from below: The Power of Solidarity* (Cambridge, Mass: South End Press, 2000).

[89] Joel H. Spring, *Globalization of Education: An Introduction*, Sociocultural, Political, and Historical Studies in Education (New York, NY: Routledge, 2009, 2.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Ibid.

vehicle for growing economic markets, outputs, and human capital permeate intergovernmental agencies such as the Office for Economic and Cooperation and Development (OECD), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank.[93] National governments have taken note of the OECD's, World Bank's, and IMF's heightened interest in education systems as conduits for growing economies and markets and consequently have imbued educational policy discussions and debates with policies and curricula designed to meet the needs of a globalized economy, a globalized economy that has put the world's populations in flux.[94]

Views on Globalization and Education Studies

Rizvi argues that educational researchers and theorists must "avoid the universalistic impulse"[95] to ascribe universal meanings to globalization. In contrast to popular understandings of globalization in education, according to Rizvi, education takes place at the local level and that the external forces that connect local schools to globalization do not occur "in some reified fashion, to be simple 'read off' for their implications for education policy and governance."[96] The forces of globalization "need to be understood historically as being linked to the imperialist origins of globalization, not in some uniform way but in ways that are specific to particular

---

[92] Roger Dale and Susan Robertson, "Editorial: Introduction," *Globalisation, Societies and Education* 1, no. 1 (March 2003): 3–11, 7.

[93] David E. Bloom, "Globalization and Education: An Economic Perspective," in *Globalization: Culture and Education in the New Millennium*, ed. Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco and Desirée Qin-Hilliard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 56–77.

[94] Stromquist, *Education in a Globalized World*.

[95] Fazal Rizvi, "Postcolonialism and Globalization in Education," *Cultural Studies <=> Critical Methodologies* 7, no. 3 (August 1, 2007): 256–63.

[96] Ibid., 262.

localities."[97] Only through the complicated historicization of globalization can educational researchers and theorists come to produce new modes of resisting globalization in education. In this study I use rhetorical studies for identifying globalized representations of immigrants in two Western countries, thereby providing "a new mode," in the Rizvi spirit, for resisting globalization.

Assuming a naturalized view of globalization situates it as "taken for granted" without identifying how the effect of globalization occurs, Rizvi explains that without showing "the nature of the relationship between the global context and educational change,"[98] the relationship between globalization and educational change "is assumed to be self-evident, and the notion of the context itself is not problematized."[99] As Rizvi notes, "what counts as context can be articulated in a variety of ways, and what is foregrounded as the global context is often ideologically constituted, the acceptance of which already predisposes analysis toward certain solutions."[100] Rizvi points to "many critical analyses of globalization" as "paradoxically complicit with the claims of its empirical reality and historical inevitability found in international business, global politics, and popular media."[101] Educational scholars ascribe broad meanings and interpretations to the hegemonic infrastructure of globalization through which educational scholars examine globalization's effects on education. Rizvi contends that inferring

---

[97] Ibid., 262.

[98] Ibid., 258.

[99] Ibid., 258.

[100] Ibid., 258.

[101] Ibid., 258.

globalization's effects on education "is a fundamentally misguided way of theorizing the relationship between globalization and education."[102]

Immigration is driven by globalization. As countries exploit and deplete resources in one country, thereby dismantling its economic viability, people are forced to search for spaces in which they can be economically, in a global economic system, increasingly defined by the ideological and economics controls that create their economically depraved condition. What Rizvi illustrates though is that not everything we understand about education can be attributed to the ideologies of globalization. I claim that globalization as it is understood in popular, economic terms is a political resource of an ideology of whiteness[103] that has traversed and exploited the planet in its desire for accumulation, dispossession of indigenous lands and resources, and expansion of individualism. Though Rizvi raises provocative considerations of globalization, globalization is, nonetheless, an important consideration in the larger ideology that drives global poverty and war.

Religion as Political Resource

In regards to religion, Samuel Huntington's essay on the clash of civilizations from 1993, shortly after the end of the Cold War, provides insights into the political statements from Morano, Trump, Cruz, and Le Pen that lead into this dissertation. Samuel Huntington writes: "the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict

---

[102] Ibid., 257.

[103] Whiteness is a term that has gained significant attention in academia in the last twenty years. Whiteness is a concept used to describe how the white imaginary and worldview generate cultural, political, social, and economic understandings that depend on racial othering for its ideological identity.

will be cultural."[104] Huntington continues by explaining that "Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global conflicts will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations."[105] Huntington's claim brings to the front questions about identity and in particular, religion.

Huntington explains that the Cold War was defined by two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, whose identities were anchored in ideology. The ideology of the United States was that of liberal democracy while the Soviet Union's was that of communism. These ideologies were diametrically opposed and served in dividing the globe into nations aligned with the United States' liberal democracy ideology or with the Soviet Union's communist ideology.[106] What matters in a post Cold War world is the idea of civilization, according to Huntington. To this end, Huntington expounds,

> With the end of the Cold War international politics moves out of its Western phase, and its centerpiece becomes the interaction between the West and non-Western civilizations and among non-Western civilizations. In the politics of civilizations, the peoples and governments of non-Western civilization no longer remain the objects of history as targets of Western colonialism but join the West as movers and shapers of history.[107]

The importance Huntington ascribes to civilizations in a post Cold War world bears directly on today's debates on immigration and how textbooks identify immigrants.

---

[104] Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?," *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3 (1993), 22.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Ibid., 23.

In Huntington's estimation multiple identities undergird his position on what constitutes a civilization. In short, Huntington states, "a civilization is a cultural identity."[108] Huntington illustrates his definition of civilization by explaining that:

> Villages, regions, ethnic groups, nationalities, religious groups, all have distinct cultures at different levels of cultural heterogeneity. The culture of a village in southern Italy may be different from that of a village in northern Italy, but both will share in a common Italian culture that distinguishes them from German villages. European communities, in turn, will share cultural features that distinguish them from Arab or Chinese communities. Arabs, Chinese and Westerners, however, are not part of any broader cultural entity. They constitute civilizations. A civilization is thus the highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of cultural identity people have short of that which distinguishes humans from other species. It is defined both by common objective elements, such as language, history, religion, customs, institutions, and by the subjective self-identification of people. People have levels of identity: a resident of Rome may define himself with varying degrees of intensity as a Roman, an Italian, a Catholic, a Christian, a European, a Westerner. The civilization to which he belongs is the broadest level of identification with which he intensely identifies. People can and do redefine their identities and, as a result, the composition and boundaries of civilizations change…Westerners tend to think of nation states as the principal actors in global affairs. They have been that, however, for only a few centuries. The broader reaches of human history have the history of civilizations.[109]

Huntington's claim is relevant to this study because he situates identity within civilizations. Certainly multiple identities exist within a civilization. More importantly, and this is a point not addressed in Huntington's discourse on civilizations, is that despite the presence and co-existence of multiple identities within a civilization, a civilization galvanizes these multitudes of identities around an overarching ideology. I examine ideology later in this study, how immigration troubles countries' identities, and how rhetorical constructions of immigrants in high school French and U.S. history textbooks force the debate about ideology back to the forefront, while Huntington seemingly tries to push ideology into the background. I do not

---

[108] Ibid., 23.

[109] Ibid., 23-25.

suggest, however, that Huntington's thesis is not provocative. Indeed, I find Huntington's claims about civilizational identity provide another lens through which to view rhetorical constructions of immigrants, especially where religions become a consideration in constructing binaries of "us versus them."

About civilization identity Huntington observes that "[it] will be increasingly important in the future, and the world will be shaped in large measure by the interactions among seven or eight major civilizations. These include Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin American and possibly African civilization. The most important conflicts of the future will occur along the cultural fault lines separating these civilizations from one another."[110]

Huntington makes his case about civilization identity by explicating six points:

1. People of different civilizations are different from each other in "history, language, culture, tradition and, most important, religion."[111] A civilization's views "on the relations between God and man, the individual and the group, the citizen and the state, and parents and children" are firmly entrench in a civilization's collective understanding of self and are the product of centuries. As Huntington assesses, these views "will not soon disappear."[112] The salient feature of Huntington's assessment is that a civilization's views about the world "are far more fundamental that differences among political ideologies and political regimes."[113]

---

[110] Ibid., 25.

[111] Ibid., 25.

[112] Ibid., 25.

[113] Ibid., 25.

2. The world is not as big as it used to be; in fact, it is becoming smaller. People across civilizations are increasing, especially due to technology. Huntington explains that "these increasing interactions intensify civilization consciousness and awareness of differences between civilizations and commonalities with civilizations."[114] Huntington illustrates this point, "North African immigration to France generates hostility among Frenchmen and at the same time increased receptivity to immigration by 'good' European Catholic Poles."[115]
3. Changes in economic and social models are alienating people from local identities. These economic and social changes diminish the influence of the nation state as a source of identity. In the absence of nation state identity religion has filled the void. Huntington remarks that "the revival of religion, '*la revanche de Dieu*,' as Gilles Kepel labeled it, provides a basis for identity and commitment that transcends national boundaries and unites civilizations."[116]
4. The West now stands as lone super power in opposition to non-Western peoples who "increasingly have the desire, the will and the resources to shape the world in non-Western ways." Huntington expounds on this claim by addressing the "failure of Western ideas and socialism and nationalism and hence the 're-Islamization' of the

---

[114] Ibid., 25.

[115] Ibid., 25.

[116] Ibid., 26.

Middle East"[117] and the tension between Russianization and Westernization in the former Soviet Union.

5. Political and economic issues are more easily muted than cultural ones. Huntington points out that "in the former Soviet Union, communists can become democrats, the rich can become poor and the poor rich, but Russians cannot become Estonians and Azeris cannot become Armenians."[118] The question borne from ideological conflicts is "Which side are you on"? and the question that comes to bear in conflicts between civilizations is "What are you"? Huntington demonstrates his claim: "A person can be half-French and half-Arab and simultaneously even a citizen of two countries. It is more difficult to be half-Catholic and half-Muslim."[119]
6. The last point Huntington addresses about civilization identity is that "economic regionalism is increasing."[120] From the European Union (EU) to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) to the South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA), regional economic blocs will heighten "civilization-consciousness." More importantly, "economic regionalism may succeed only when it is rooted in a common civilization."[121] Huntington provides the European Community as an example of a regional economic bloc that shares a common culture (European) and common religion in Western Christianity.

---

[117] Ibid., 26.

[118] Ibid., 27.

[119] Ibid., 27.

[120] Ibid., 27.

[121] Ibid., 27.

In light of rising civilization-consciousness and a departure from nation-state ideologies people will increasingly see an "us" versus "them" relation across ethnicities and religions. Huntington summarizes the crux of his claim by stating: "…the efforts of the West to promote its values of democracy and liberalism as universal values, to maintain its military predominance and to advance its economic interests engender countering responses from other civilizations."[122] Nation states' growing incapacity to mobilize support around ideology will force nation states to invoke sentiments of common religion and civilization identity.[123]

Huntington provides us one view of how national identities will be constructed in a post Cold War world – along civilization consciousness. His view ignores Africa, not even acknowledging that Africa is the birth land of human beings and by extension civilization. Another weakness in Huntington's analysis is the absence of discussions on how these civilization identities will be formed in a world of "denationalized" nation states. What is of particular interest about Huntington's thesis for this study is his dismissal of ideology in favor of civilization divides along religious lines, as if religion were not a political resource of ideology. Religion is an important dynamic in the rhetorical construction of immigrants. The importance of religion is also addressed in Spring's book on globalization and education in which Spring declares that any discussion on globalization that does not include religion has serious theoretical flaws. Moreover, religion, according to Spring, is important in knowledge production.[124] To place religion outside of ideology, as Huntington has, excludes many pieces of the ideological

---

[122] Ibid., 29.

[123] Ibid.

[124] Spring, *Globalization of Education*.

puzzle, and in the interpretation of the textbooks selected for this study, I show how religion is used in the ebb and flow of ideological manipulations. In fact, I claim that Huntington's blindness to Africa as a civilization and to ideology are the exact incarnations of the white, neoliberal ideology that drives the Eurocentric master scripts found in high school history textbooks.

CHAPTER 3: PURPOSES OF HISTORY EDUCATION, HISTORICAL INQUIRY AND SETTING THE STAGE FOR RHETORICAL ANALYSES IN CONSTRUCTING HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE

In this chapter I review the purposes of history education and the antagonisms that exist between perceived purposes of teaching history and historical inquiry. More importantly, I trace the evolution of historical analysis to show that it is insufficient to regard history as a collection of objective facts. As many have argued, historical facts are necessarily recorded by humans and are therefore mediated by their interpretations. Moreover, the facts in themselves exist as a consequence of subjective human decisions. Consequently, one cannot genuinely understand any piece of history without attempting to understand the points of view of all those involved in and impacted by historical events (and attempting to understand the perspectives of those who recorded the "facts"). In this chapter, I lay the foundation for rhetorical analysis as a suitable tool for deconstructing the language used to describe immigrants in high school history textbooks, in both France and the U.S., in order to unmask underlying ideological motives that create specific but skewed pictures of immigrants.

The Advent of Social Studies Education in the U.S.

Before discussing the purposes of high school history specifically, I step back and review scholarship on the beginnings of social education studies in the United States. History education falls under the umbrella of social studies education and it is important to understand the beginnings of social studies education to provide contexts for today's discussion on history education. Despite the cultural and epistemological assets immigrants bring with them, "social

studies as a field has been slow to address race and diversity."[125] Christine Woyshner and Chara Bohan trace the advent of social studies education to Thomas Jesse Jones and his work in the early twentieth century at the Hampton Institute.[126] They explain that Jones' work as an educator focused on integrating "ideas from civics, economics, and sociology" in order for Hampton students "to be more sympathetic towards those who opposed them; to help them understand that their condition was not permanent, but a step in their evolution; and to teach them to become 'more intelligent in their work, more patient under oppression [and] more hopeful as to the future."[127] This curriculum was specifically designed by Jones for African Americans and American Indians in order to assist them in "making change in [their] local community" while "expecting that race prejudice would eventually disappear."[128] Woyshner and Bohan note that "instead of highlighting society's responsibility for racism and prejudice, Jones's…emphasized the supposed weaknesses within students' races…thereby applying an evolutionary approach to social issues."[129] Jones's career took him from the Hampton Institute, to the U.S. Census Bureau, and to the U.S. Bureau of Education where he was appointed "specialist in Negro education."[130] Jones's influences on twentieth-century education and white intentions for education African Americans and American Indians are resonate even today in perceptions of the purposes of social

---

[125] Christine A. Woyshner and Chara Haeussler Bohan, "Introduction," in *Histories of Social Studies and Race: 1865-2000*, ed. Christine A. Woyshner and Chara Haeussler Bohan (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 1.

[126] Ibid.

[127] Ibid., 7.

[128] Ibid., 8.

[129] Ibid., 8.

[130] Ibid.

education and by extension history education. Woyshner and Bohan explain that "Jones was instrumental in establishing the legacy of social studies education as a means to shape society, an understanding that is prevalent in the field today."[131] Thus, social studies education's history is rooted in the racialized subordination of non-white people.[132]

Purposes of High School History Education in French and U.S. Context

Often teachers are certified broadly to teach social studies which includes history, geography, government, psychology, sociology, anthropology and/or economics. In many instances social studies teachers in the United States do not specifically have a history degree, which holds negative consequences for high school history students. Ravitch details the abysmal results of American high school students assessed on their command of American history. In Ravitch's estimation the preparation of those who teach history is to blame, finding that "28 percent of the nation's public school teachers…had neither a major nor minor in the main academic subject they were teaching." Ravitch continues by sharing that "81.5 percent of social studies teachers did not study history in college either as a major or as a minor."[133] Ravitch's

---

[131] Ibid., 9.

[132] Although I am examining rhetorical constructions of immigrants of color in high school history textbooks for this dissertation, LaGarrett J. King, Christopher Davis, and Anthony L. Brown (2012) provide important analyses on situating persons neglected in social studies scholarship, specifically African-Americans. As part of their research, King et al. reviewed Harold O. Rugg's social studies text. Rugg is considered a progressive who sought to redefine social studies curricula to be representative and inclusive of all Americans' historical experiences throughout his work in the early to mid-twentieth century. King et al. find though that Rugg represented African-Americans in the same stereotypical ways found in mainstream textbooks. I mention King et al.'s research to illuminate that despite progressive efforts to write more inclusive curricula, even today, Eurocentric stereotypes and understandings of people of color permeate through mainstream textbooks.

[133] Diane Ravitch, "Who Prepares Our History Teachers? Who Should Prepare Our History Teachers?," *The History Teacher* 31, no. 4 (1998): 495–503.

indictment of history teachers' poor preparation to become high school history teachers raises questions about how history teachers view "teaching history."

Most social studies teachers in the U.S. view themselves as instruments in educating young people to be "good citizens."[134] In what way, then, is history education important in the production of good citizenry? Fitzgerald explains that educational purposes of history reside in "the collective memory of mankind…so historical or collective memory serves as a basis for establishing our societal identity, an understanding of what our society is." [135] No matter what "attitude we adopt toward history, the past will still continue to exert its influence on human affairs."[136] Additionally, history is "concerned above all with the experience of people."[137] Finally, Fitzgerald provides the "third kind of justification which has generally been offered for the study of history in schools," which he claims by explaining, "apart from the advantages which a knowledge of history brings, it has been claimed that the actual process of acquiring that knowledge offers considerable educational reward."[138] Fitzgerald's third assertion stands in contrast to what is generally observed in high school history teaching, which is rote memorization of dates and historical "facts."

---

[134] Keith C. Barton and Linda S. Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good* (Mahwah, N.J: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004).

[135] James Fitzgerald, "History in the Curriculum: Debate on Aims and Values," *History and Theory* 22, no. 4 (December 1983): 81, 82.

[136] Ibid., 82.

[137] Ibid., 83.

[138] Ibid., 83.

High school history instruction has largely relied on the teaching of "facts" that are arbitrated by the ubiquitous history textbook.[139] The textbook resolves all conflict that may arise from students' inquiries of a topic, as the textbook acts as official arbiter. The textbook holds great ideological power in the history classroom, in all academic disciplines for that matter.[140] The textbook serves the central tenet of high school history education, which to construct the nation around a master narrative—a sentiment that also prevails in France.[141]

To become American or French requires that students be able to repeat the story of their country – that story lives in the textbook. How though can a nation's story hold life in the face of realities that disrupt the metanarrative of France and the U.S.? The reality is that France's and the U.S.'s narratives cannot cohere around one story. There are many stories, many of them from immigrants, some who immigrated voluntarily, others who were forced.[142] Thus the study of history becomes an endeavor to illuminate the multitude of stories that live outside the textbook. To this end, history is a method of inquiry for interrupting what appear to be *a priori* facts. More than this, not all of the "facts" (if they are accepted as such) can fit in a single textbook. That only the "most important facts" make it into the textbook makes studying history by definition a lesson in bias.

---

[139] Bruce Vansledright, "Thinking Historically," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 41, no. 3 (June 2009): 433–38.

[140] For more on ideological reproductions in textbooks, see Michael Apple, "Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age," and Kristen Buras, "Rightist Multiculturalism: Core Lessons on Neoconservative School Reform."

[141] Patrick Garcia, "Les Péripéties de La Discipline," in *Le Débat : Histoire, Politique, Société ; Revue Mensuelle*, ed. Pierre Nora, Le Débat, 2013, 8–17.

[142] Bruce VanSledright, "Narratives of Nation-State, Historical Knowledge, and School History Education," *Review of Research in Education* 32, no. 1 (February 1, 2008): 109–46.

Historical Inquiry and Philosophical Tensions

Historical inquiry as a research methodology has its own history and development as a methodology of inquiry. A tension between the empirical and subjective in historical inquiry cannot be ignored. It is the air of objectivity that has brought historical inquiry into question. Gadamer and Ricoeur show, agency, temporalities, and questions of domination continually surface through historical inquiry and it is through human interpretation that historical narratives come to be. Appelby et al. assert that historical inquiry can "make connections with the past in order to illuminate the problems of the present and the potential of the future."[143] Historical inquiry embodies ascendant and descendant qualities that continually traverse past and present continua seeking to constitute historical narratives from multiple sources and understandings.

In historical inquiry the obsession with the empirical resulted in "factual" representations of history, or historicism. By empirical, I mean expressing history as a collection of objective, observable facts. Leopold von Ranke, often considered "the father of modern historical research,"[144] believed that the historian's charge was to "penetrate to essences"[145] and to reveal God's work through the course of history. The empirical model became sacred in history and science alike. Francis Bacon developed his scientific model according to the assertion that hypotheses were "phantoms." The Baconian perspective held that "it was unscientific to go

---

[143] Joyce Oldham Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History* (New York: Norton, 1995), location 173, paragraph 1.

[144] Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession*, Ideas in Context (Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 26.

[145] Ibid., 28.

beyond what could be directly observed."[146] As Bacon contended, one cannot "anticipate nature." Ranke's and Bacon's understandings of *wissenschaftliche Objektivität* fashioned historical and scientific endeavors as those that are "rigidly factual and empirical."[147] Thus, absolute truth does exists when observed objectively.

Novick explores the construction of historical narratives. Continually situating objectivity within a chronological periodization that illuminates epistemological ruptures in historical thought, Novick problematizes objectivity in the historical profession. Novick recounts the ontological questions surrounding prominent historians at important junctures in history's trajectory as an "objective" discipline. Through an extensive, maybe sometimes tedious, read Novick reveals his position in the final chapter of his book by quoting the Book of Judges in the Bible: "In those days there was no king in Israel; every man did that which was right in his own eyes."[148] While hiding behind of smokescreens of objectivity, much of today's historical research and scholarship are products, not of objective ontological questions, but rather of subjective and biased efforts to privilege certain narratives over others. Novick troubles historians who view themselves as "illuminators of historical fact." "Historical facts" though, as Novick details, are developed through the substance of historical evidence in conjunction with the sociological, political, and cultural determinants that shape the historical evidence. Novick speaks to the influences of critical theorists such as Karl Marx and Michel Foucault who contest objectivity and power structures in the development of "apolitical" fact. Apolitical and objectivity must be

---

[146] Ibid., 34.

[147] Ibid., 37.

[148] Ibid., 628.

contextualized within a framework of sociological, psychological, cultural, and economic influences. The problem of contextualization undergirds troubling questions about history. Novick considers the history profession through the evolving and awakening self-consciousness that matters of fact do not exist *per se*; instead, facts are the conflation of a myriad of determinants in orchestra with substance.

A critical current also runs through historian Marc Bloch's understandings of historical inquiry. Bloch warns against "common sense" conclusions in historical research because they cannot lead us very far. Bloch elaborates this point: "common sense usually turns out to be nothing more than a compound of irrational postulates and hastily generalized experiences."[149] There were states of mind at different points in human development that differ considerably from what we understand today because we no longer share *those* states of minds. Bloch argues that doubt is a progressive quality, as doubt becomes an examiner in separating truth and falsehood. Doubt, thus, "becomes an instrument of knowledge."[150] Bloch speaks to historical inquiry as broadening horizons, much in the spirit of Gadamer's historical horizons. Bloch's "wider horizons" are imbued with the criticality found in Ricoeur's critical hermeneutics. Bloch's quotation is especially illuminating in regards to the absence of criticality in school history programs and the possibility for historical inquiry to broaden understandings of social justice:

> It is a scandal that in our own age, which is more than ever exposed to the poisons of fraud and false rumor, the critical method is so completely absent from our school programs. It has ceased to be the mere humble auxiliary to exercises of the study. Henceforth, far wider horizons open before it, and history may reckon among its most certain glories that, by this elaboration of its technique, it has pioneered for mankind a new path to truth and, hence, to justice.[151]

---

[149] Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft* (Princeton, N.J.: Vintage edition, 1964), 80.

[150] Ibid., 85.

Thus, history is an interpretive act that can be better understood through a hermeneutical frame.

Hermeneutics – Interpreting History

Gadamar states: "Understanding is, essentially, a historically effected event."[152] Historical consciousness is woven through a "web of historical effects." We are affected by history. Human consciousness resides in situations. Gadamar says:

> We always find ourselves within a situation, and throwing light on it is a task that is never entirely finished. This is also true of the hermeneutic situation —i.e., the situation in which we find ourselves with regard to the tradition that we are trying to understand. The illumination of this situation—reflection on effective history— can never be completely achieved; yet the fact that it cannot be completed is due not to a deficiency in reflection but to the essence of the historical being that we are. To be historically means that knowledge of oneself can never be complete.[153]

Gadamer places his discussion on situation and the knowledge of oneself in an Hegelian frame, in which, Hegel's "historically pregiven," what Hegel calls "substance," undergirds "all subjective intentions and actions." Gadamar identifies the purpose of philosophical hermeneutics as the "task…to retrace the path of Hegel's phenomenology of mind until we discover in all that is subjective the substantiality that determines it."[154]

Situation is a salient feature of historical inquiry. Gadamer frames situation as "a standpoint that limits the possibility of vision." Coupled with situation and expanding on the role of vision in seeing history is the concept of "horizon." Gadamar explains, "The horizon is the range of vision that includes everything that can be seen from a particular vantage point…a

---

[151] Ibid., 136-137.

[152] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, trans. Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall, The Bloomsbury Revelations Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 310.

[153] Ibid., 312-313.

[154] Ibid., 313.

person who has no horizon does not see far enough and hence over-values what is nearest to him."[155] The notion of horizon is particularly important in Gadamer's assertion that "historical understanding also involves acquiring an appropriate historical horizon, so that what we are trying to understand can be seen in its true dimensions."[156] We reveal our horizon to others as they do to us through conversations, as Gadamar illustrates through his example of people meeting for the first time. Gadamar explains that two people meeting for the first time do not engage in a true conversation for the sake of coming to consensus, but rather to learn each other's horizon. Gadamer elaborates, "historical consciousness is clearly doing something similar when it transposes itself into the situation of the past and thereby claims to have acquired the right historical horizon."[157]

Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics embodies the ascendant essence of Hegel's dialectic. At its core Gadamer's hermeneutics pave the path towards a greater historical consciousness, just as Hegel's dialectic is the *Aufhebung* (elevation) to a greater human consciousness. Fluidity and motion are central features of Gadamer's hermeneutics streaming through a single historical horizon. Gadamar's words best express the single historical horizon:

> When our historical consciousness transposes itself into historical horizons, this does not entail passing into alien worlds unconnected in any way with our own; instead, they together constitute the one great horizon that moves from within and that, beyond the frontiers of the present, embraces the historical depths of our self-consciousness. Everything contained in historical consciousness is in fact embraced by a single historical horizon. Our own past and that other past toward which our historical consciousness is directed help to shape this moving horizon out of which human life always lives and which determines it as heritage and tradition.[158]

---

[155] Ibid., 313.

[156] Ibid., 313.

[157] Ibid., 313.

In society schools are powerful spaces for the communication of heritage and tradition and what it means to be human, and curricula are the tools through which heritage, tradition, and being human are not only communicated, but also constructed. A historical horizon is required, as Gadamer points out, for understanding tradition. However, we do not develop a historical horizon by simply "transposing ourselves into a historical situation." Herein lies the crux of Gadamer's position that our transposition into a situation requires us, who we are, ourselves. Gadamer elaborates his position by stating, "if we put ourselves in someone else's shoes, for example, then we will understand him— i.e., become aware of the otherness, the indissoluble individuality of the other person— by putting ourselves in his position."[159] Thus, historical inquiry is, as Novick painstakingly details, not objective.

Gadamer seats historical inquiry within a universal human consciousness in which we continually "test our own prejudices":

> Transposing ourselves consists neither in the empathy of one individual for another nor in subordinating another person to our own standards; rather, it always involves rising to a higher universality that overcomes not only our own particularity but also that of the other. The concept of "horizon" suggests itself because it expresses the superior breadth of vision that the person who is trying to understand must have. To acquire a horizon means that one learns to look beyond what is close at hand— not in order to look away from it but to see it better, within a larger whole and in truer proportion.[160]

The horizon of the present cannot be viewed independently of the past.[161] Horizons of the past are not acquired just as horizons of the present do not exist in isolation. The past and present

---

[158] Ibid., 315.

[159] Ibid., 315.

[160] Ibid., 316.

[161] Ibid.

horizons are fused into a continuum in which neither exists in the foreground. The hermeneutic task thus does not hide tensions between past and present horizons, but rather the hermeneutic task "consciously brings" these tensions out. In regards to historical knowledge, Gadamer explains,

> Projecting a historical horizon, then, is only one phase in the process of understanding; it does not become solidified into the self-alienation of a past consciousness, but is overtaken by our own present horizon of understanding. In the process of understanding, a real fusing of horizons occurs— which means that as the historical horizon is projected, it is simultaneously superseded.[162]

Gadamer sees humankind as a historically effected consciousness, and what Gadamer's historical hermeneutics and horizons provide us are insights into the experience of history.[163] More importantly, historical hermeneutics form unities of meaning that flow through and about human consciousness in which, as Gadamaer asserts, we view ourselves belonging to history rather than history belonging to us.

Like Gadamer, Ricoeur addresses the notion of unity against questions about experience and objectivity. Ricoeur troubles the notion of objectivity in historical inquiry by placing hermeneutics as an alternative for "reflection on the historical condition of our existence."[164] We must interrogate the motivations and interests "underlying the foundation of history." Hermeneutics, according to Ricoeur, "claims…to generate a crisis with the very concept of the

---

[162] Ibid., 317.

[163] Michael Crotty, *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process* (London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 1998).

[164] Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, trans. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer, Paperback ed., [Nachdr.] (Chicago, Ill.: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2010), 685.

theoretical as it is expressed by the requirement for connectedness and unity."[165] Hermeneutics brings out a crisis that exposes the historical condition of pursuing "self-ascription of experience." This crisis serves as the impetus for a shift from historical inquiry to historicity.

Historicity in the hermeneutical tradition views the human existence as belonging to history, rather than as being in history. Thus, history is not external to us. It is not the product of objective examinations. In a hermeneutical understanding historicity is a "dynamic force that enters into all efforts to understand."[166] These characteristics of hermeneutical historicity are features of Ricoeur's critical hermeneutics, ones that he does not explicitly identify in his writing on history and hermeneutics. Historicity, however, undergirds his theory on history and hermeneutics.

History "belongs to" many temporalities and these temporalities reside within a flow of consciousness comprised of contemporaries, i.e., other people. To clarify this point further Ricoeur states: "The temporality of historical reality consists also in the fact that the accompanying of one temporal flow by another appears as a relation of contemporaneity, a relation which, in turn, is just a cross section of a larger all-encompassing temporality which includes succession as well as coexistence."[167] In simpler terms, individual temporalities inhabit larger temporalities. We "belong" to a larger temporality that "is the condition for what we understand…when we speak of the past as what is transmitted to use through traditions."[168] It is

---

[165] Ibid., 685.

[166] Thomas A. Schwandt, *Dictionary of Qualitative Inquiry*, 2nd ed (Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 2001), 117-118.

[167] Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 687.

within this larger temporality that "we speak of our predecessors and successors." The larger temporality sets the stage for Ricoeur's greater point about history as communication through:

> specific categories that include (a) the human agents who start events of which they are the authors; (b) these agents' interpretations of their actions in terms of motives; (c) the influence of one agent on another who takes the meaning of the first agent's action into account; (d) the regulation of projects by norms and of norms by institutions; (e) the founding of such institutions and their sediment; and (f) the continuation, breaking off, or renewal of contents to be transmitted. In short, historical transmission needs to be thought of differently than as succession as it is conceived by the natural sciences, and historical method must accordingly differ from the method used in these sciences.[169]

History thus becomes a project for affecting consciousness and for the "competence to stay affected."[170] In Ricoeur's critical hermeneutics "history must not be understood, but also interpreted," and just as we will see in the next chapter's discussion on Burke, intentionality cannot be ignored.[171] Ricoeur reminds us in the end that the hermeneutical way "downward" cannot objectify history and that "history's objectivity asymptomatically approaches the objectivity of the natural sciences, but it can never become absorbed in it."[172] The next chapter will show that Burke's rhetoric as identification is an interpretive (hermeneutical) tool for revealing broader questions about continuities and discontinuities in depictions of immigrants across historical horizons and within temporalities.

---

[168] Ibid., 687.

[169] Ibid., 688.

[170] Ibid., 690.

[171] Ibid., 692.

[172] Ibid., 695.

CHAPTER 4: RHETORICAL STUDIES AND KENNETH BURKE'S RHETORIC AS IDENTIFICATION

The inclusion of rhetorical analyses has been largely ignored in critical educational studies, in particular in the examination of curriculum as rhetorical text. I use rhetorical analysis to broaden not only educational studies, but also historical inquiry. Rhetoric has much to offer educational studies and history education, for the study of rhetoric provides a lens through which to understand how "we use language and are used by language."[173]

In this chapter I provide an overview of the history of rhetoric and the systems of rhetoric that mark its development. In particular, I detail the sociological turn that rhetoric took starting in the 1930s thanks largely to the scholarship of Kenneth Burke whose body of work I review later in this chapter. Kenneth's Burke writing on rhetoric as identification has been significant in developing rhetoric as an instrument for understanding how language manages and mismanages human relations and consciousness. By reaching into the social imagination of rhetoric I use Burke's rhetoric as a method for deconstructing educational and historical texts. I conclude this chapter with a discussion on my subjectivity and the limitations of this study.

Introduction to Rhetoric

Rhetoric can be an unwieldy domain of study, as the study of rhetoric dates back to Aristotle, who is recognized as the first rhetorician to set down systematically, with precision and order, the principles of the art of public speaking. Aristotle has been a seminal presence in rhetorical studies, even after two millennia. Aristotelian rhetoric is one concerned with

[173] Winifred Horner, "Preface: An Allegory," *Rhetoric Review*, The Changing Culture of Rhetorical Studies, 20, no. 1/2 (2001): 5–9, 5.

persuasion and argumentation and has dominated much of the history of rhetoric.[174] However, a turn in rhetoric's purpose can be traced back to the eighteenth-century, at which point rhetoric took on new forms to include epistemological and sociological interests. Douglas Ehninger in *On Systems of Rhetoric* details the trajectory of rhetoric's history and identifies three systems of rhetoric: 1) classical rhetoric, 2) psychological rhetoric, and 3) social rhetoric.[175]

During the classical period persuasion was an aural art in which laws were debated, business conducted, and laws and policies were attacked in defended in the courtroom. The study of rhetoric in classical times was the study of grammar (syntax) persuasion, thereby coupling the pragmatic with the aesthetic.[176] Classical rhetoric had as its objects grammar and pedagogy. The perception of an elevated language style was paramount in being an effective rhetorician. Equally important though was the rhetorician's ability to impart style upon students of rhetoric. The art of speaking had to be teachable in classical rhetoric, which privileged mechanics of

---

[174] Aristotle is largely attributed with developing the three rhetorical appeals: pathos, ethos, logos. Pathos is as an important component for emphasizing sympathetic facts in persuasive discourse. Aristotle believed that the character and ultimate credibility of the speaker is instrumental in establishing the speaker's ethos. The character of the orator should seem morally upstanding, possessing prudence, virtue and goodwill towards his hearers. More importantly though, as discussed by Aristotle, the projection of ethos is equally as important as the actual possession of it. Apart from ethos and pathos, Aristotle wrote extensively on the topic of logos and associates logos with "logical arguments." However, the notion of logos in argumentation is much wider in its scope. The rhetorical appeals are complex, multi-faceted components of argumentation used as logical means to different proximate ends. According to Aristotle, two of the more powerful modes of logical argumentation are accessed through examples and enthymemes. Aristotle contends that examples are more tangible if they are drawn from historical parallels or fictitious parallels such as those presented in fables.

[175] Douglas Ehninger, "On Systems of Rhetoric," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 1, no. 3 (1968): 131–144.

[176] Ibid.

grammar and style, and in classical rhetoric's fixation on grammar and style, relationships between the act of speaking and the mind of the listener were ignored.[177]

The psychological period in the history of rhetorical studies established a link "between the communicative act and the mind of the listener-reader."[178] Rhetoricians from the psychological system of rhetoric believed that environment and the relationship between message and mind had not been fully examined in classical rhetoric. In regards to rhetoric of the psychological period, Ehninger details:

> …the architects of the new system gave rhetoric an epistemological rather than a grammatical or a logical starting point. Instead of approaching rhetoric through an analysis of what might be said on behalf of a cause, as had the ancients, they approached it through an analysis of the mind of the listener-reader, premising their doctrine upon assumptions concerning the ways in which men come to know what they know, believe what they believe, and feel what they feel.[179]

Thus, the psychological period of rhetoric framed rhetorical studies around the audience rather than the subject.[180] Rhetoric turned towards the audience to understand and effect how people come to believe.[181]

Rhetoric's Social Turn

The third system of rhetoric Ehninger discusses is the sociological.[182] I give particular attention to rhetoric as a sociological problem, for the sociology of education undergirds the

---

[177] Ibid.

[178] Ibid., 18.

[179] Ibid., 19.

[180] Ibid.

[181] Ibid.

[182] Ibid.

purposes of this study and provides a framework through which I examine the rhetorical constructions of immigrants. Rhetoric's evolution from the classical period to the psychological period laid the foundation for scholars to examine rhetoric as a social force in maintaining and altering social life.[183] In the sense that "we use language and are used by language," rhetoric influences what people believe (the psychological) and their logical (classical) understanding of details about society. The confluence of classical period and psychological period rhetorics brought rhetoric to turns towards the social.

Before rhetoric's social turn, rhetoric had become a dirty word and was often associated with deceptive language and false arguments.[184] Rhetoric was a system of flattery to satisfy a "the ends justify the means" approach in which rhetoricians would adapt themselves to the preferences of their audience.[185] Rhetoric's decline as a formal academic subject culminated as the study of literature replaced teaching oratory and debate in liberal education.[186] The decline of rhetoric can also be attributed to the fact that, "The theory of the arts of language that had united the concerns of ethics, law, and politics in a conceptual rhetoric for the orator-statesman had been displaced by the specialized languages of public policy and by the emerging influence of journalism and public relations."[187] What is less obvious is the philosophical and social causes of

---

[183] Simonson, "Rhetoric as a Sociological Problem."

[184] Wendy Olmsted, *Rhetoric: An Historical Introduction* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006).

[185] Ibid.

[186] Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1983).

[187] James Aune, "Modernity as a Rhetorical Problem: Phronesis, Forms, and Forums in Norms of Rhetorical Culture," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 41, no. 4 (2008): 402–20, 404.

rhetoric's decline. Beyond rhetoric's removal from liberal education, James Aune articulates some of the social and philosophical reasons for which rhetoric disappeared as an object of academic scholarship: 1) the rise of modern science emphasized inartistic proofs rather than artistic explanation; 2) capitalism and the Industrial Revolution "turned deliberative issues of public policy into matters of economic calculation"[188] and finally Aune explains that:

> Urbanization, secularization, and new forms of class stratification (especially between a now class-conscious proletariat and a politically sophisticated bourgeoisie) meant that public communicators addressed increasingly fragmented audiences more inclined to participate in public life or vote on the basis of group economic interests than on reasoned deliberation mediated by great orator-statesmen….the workplace…became increasingly "rationalized," as Taylorism split up the work process into efficient (if mind-numbing) separate procedures. Traditional liberal education became more detached from active citizenship, and the new land-grant universities emphasized the technical vocations of engineering and agriculture. As the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies…has argued, the old *Gemeinschaft* (community) was turning into *Gesellschaft* (society), creating something genuinely new in political communication: the 'mass' audience.[189]

The changes in social order attributable to the rise of modernism established the primacy of the individual, thus undermining the family and community as spaces for political discourse and understanding. As the autonomous individual superseded the importance of the family and community, rhetoric's decline was galvanized around the individual's mistrust of persuasion. Aune illuminates the mistrust of rhetoric and persuasion through Kant's claims that freedom exists outside the influences of others and "the free autonomous subject must rationally choose the universal moral laws he or she gives him- or herself, carefully avoiding any rationalizations that might lead him or her to create exceptions or treat the other person as a means rather than an end."[190] In Kant's estimation rhetoric was immoral and politically dangerous.

---

[188] Ibid.

[189] Ibid., 404.

Rhetoric though, when considered as sociological phenomenon, illustrates the notion that the individual resides within social contexts. Individuality can only exist in as much the social recognizes the individual as such because, in contrast to Kant's claims about freedom, humans cannot exist outside of the social. How society forms us became an object of examination in rhetorical studies "as a discipline articulated with historical and contemporary sociology, political economy, media studies, and anthropology" and consequently "rhetoric emerged in a space structured by institutions, social practices, communication media, and cultural rhetorics—the particular shape of which varied across societies and history."[191] The emergence of rhetoric as a tool for understanding and affecting the social landscape took place over time and can be traced back to Marx and Nietzsche whose studies of sociological phenomena and their manifestations laid the groundwork for a hermeneutic metadiscourse and thus developed rhetorical analysis as an instrument for social explanation.[192]

Background on Kenneth Burke

Born in 1897 Kenneth Burke's scholarship focused on the nature of literary form through examinations of literary theory, philosophy, and rhetoric.[193] Brock says about Burke that his "critical thought, as it evolved over a seventy-year period through his many articles and books, made him an influential thinker in the transition between the twentieth and twenty-first

---

[190] Ibid., 405.

[191] Simonson, "Rhetoric as a Sociological Problem," 242.

[192] Ibid.

[193] Kris Rutten and Ronald Soetaert, "A Rhetoric of Turns: Signs and Symbols in Education," *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 48, no. 4 (2014): 604–20.

centuries."[194] Until his death in 1993 Burke's body of work afforded him a "reputation for being a 'truly speculative thinker,'"[195] and in 1981 Burke was awarded National Medal for Literature for his "distinguished and continuing contribution to American letters."

Burke's scholarship on literary criticism informed later theories about language and rhetoric. How humans use symbols and are used by them was a centerpiece of Burke's work. Burke was a major figure in moving rhetoric into examinations of rhetoric as hermeneutic metadiscourse, for the corpus of Burke's rhetoric advanced human sciences in rhetorical terms. Burke recognized the fluid intersections of human relations through symbols and text, and he reflected on questions of human relations microscopically (text and institutions) and macroscopically (through the theories on the evolution of society).[196] Some of Burke's major contributions to rhetorical studies include *Counter-Statement* (1931), *Permanence and Change* (1935), *Attitudes Toward History* (1937), *A Grammar of Motives* (1945), and *A Rhetoric of Motives* (1950).

Central to this study is Burke's writing on rhetoric and identification. However, it is worth noting the evolution of Burke's scholarship to better detail the analyses to come in the next chapter. The corpus of Burke's scholarship cannot be easily reduced to extracts here and there. To understand Burke's rhetoric on identification, it is important to survey other seminal writings in Burke's collection. Burke's scholarship demonstrates critical thought that provides insights into human relations with each other and with the nature of the universe. An important

---

[194] Bernard L. Brock, "Introduction," in *Kenneth Burke and the 21st Century*, ed. Bernard L. Brock, SUNY Series in Speech Communication (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 1–18, 1.

[195] Ibid., 1.

[196] Ibid.

dimension to Burke's writing is his concern about technology and capitalism in muting human imagination.

Burke's first forays into literary criticism centered on language as symbolic action. However, Burke continued to examine language as symbolic action throughout his life. Burke explains that there is no action without motion, and he is careful to make the distinction between action and motion. Motion can exist without action. A tree can fall (motion) without human intervention. Action, on the other hand, cannot exist without motion. For example, animals move. Humans, however, motivate, mediate, and define those actions through the symbolism of language. Burke describes that one may have the will to act or the desire to act, but motion is what brings action to life. What motion did Burke describe? Manifestations of motion can be seen in obeying cultural, social, and institutional laws. Burke viewed obeisance of such laws as the bureaucratization of the imaginative, and becomes, as Joyce E. King describes, "uncritical habits of mind."[197] The bureaucratization of the imaginative forces humans into a rigid set of possibilities to the detriment of other (more liberating) possibilities. These rigid set of possibilities can be understood as ideology, which is an intellectual imprisonment, as ideology denies access to ideas outside that prison. Burke critiques magic, religion, and science as ideological parts in "a body of thought concerning the nature of the universe and man's [sic] relation to it."[198]

---

[197] Joyce E. King, "Dysconscious Racism: Ideology, Identity, and the Miseducation of Teachers," in *The RoutledgeFalmer Reader in Multicultural Education*, ed. Gloria Ladson-Billings and David Gillborn (New York, NY: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004), 71–83.

[198] Kenneth Burke, *Counter-Statement* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1931), 163.

Burke situates humans as symbol-using animals and to understand humans' actions means that understanding the myriad of meanings with which language is imbued becomes the task of the critic. Thus, Burke turned his attention to using literary texts in the examination of world problems. In two of his earlier books, *Permanence and Change* and *Attitudes Toward History*, which followed *Counter-Statement* but preceded his work on rhetoric as identification, Burke articulates a theory of the evolution of Western thought through his critiques of capitalism and technology. These critiques position the social by framing "perspective" as a means to discover human motives, to which end Burke writes:

> (a) There is a sense of relationships, developed by the contingencies of experience; (b) this sense of relationships is our orientation; (c) our orientation largely involves matters of expectancy, and affects our choice of means with reference to the future; (d) in the human sphere, the subject of expectancy and the judgment as to what is proper in conduct is largely bound up with the subject of motives for if we know why people do as they do we feel that we know what to expect of them and of ourselves, and we shape our decisions and judgments and policies to take such expectancies into account.[199]

Burke, thus, brings the social to the foreground and then presents magic, religion, and science and societal rationalizations with science ("attempt to control for our purposes the forces of technology, or machinery") replacing religion ("attempt to control human forces") which replaced magic ("control over the primitive forces of nature").[200] In *Attitudes Toward History* Burke continues to illuminate the weaknesses of capitalism and overspecialization through his analysis of acceptance and rejection. Ultimately, through these two books, Burke concludes that collectivism will be human salvation and that human cooperation and the "art of living" will reorient humans away from capitalism and towards humanism, thereby setting the stage for

---

[199] Kenneth Burke, *Permanence and Change: An Anatomy of Purpose* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1973 [1935]), 18.

[200] Ibid., 44.

Burke's pentad, his most widely understood and applied critical method,[201] and his rhetorical consideration of identification.

Burke's Rhetoric as Identification

Burke's rhetoric as identification is achieved through terministic screens which serve as rhetorical tools for unmasking people's motivations. Burke describes terministic screens as "different photographs of the same object."[202] Depending on the photographic filter one uses, the texture of the photograph changes, and "something so 'factual' as a photograph" reveals "notable distinctions" when the photographer changes the color filter.[203] The photographer uses different filters to record the photograph in different ways. Terministic screens are one way that Burke describes rhetoric as identification.

At the foundation of Burke's rhetoric is dramatism. As Omar Swartz explicates, rhetoric for Burke points to "ways of building community" and more importantly to ways of "uncovering the ways in which disunity is created"[204] in twentieth-century politics. Similar to the way that drama plays out on the stage, Burke's rhetoric is founded upon dramatism. Dramatism illuminates how human beings construct realities through strategic choices of symbols that compel us to embody particular attitudes, behaviors, and conceptualizations, all of which depend on "the language we employ."[205] As Burke states about dramatism, "it offers a system of

---

[201] Brock, "Introduction."

[202] Burke, *Language as Symbolic Action*, 1966, 45.

[203] Ibid., 45.

[204] Omar Swartz, "Symbols and Perspectives in Burkean Rhetorical Theory: Implications for Understanding Anti-Semitism," *World Communication* 25, no. 4 (1996): 183–90, 183.

[205] Ibid.

placement, and should enable us, by the systematic manipulation of the terms, to 'generate,' or 'anticipate' the various classes of motivational theory."[206] Human motivation is the rhetorical matter with which Burke is most concerned.

Timothy Crusius tells us: "in contrast to dialectic's exploration of verbal forms, Burke sees rhetoric's function as the overcoming of estrangement."[207] Human beings alienate each other through categorizations of race, education, ethnicity, socio-economics, age, etc. Burke contends that language can be employed to transcend these differences to establish community, which is the realm of rhetoric. Crusius expounds upon Burke's rhetoric, "all language use has a rhetorical dimension."[208]

Humans, according to Burke, are of the same substance. Burke views language as instructional[209] for language is a means through which to educate humans to be sensitive to the needs of others, to tap into the substance of humanity. Rhetorical theory is about unmasking ways to build community. Language can fragment humans, but it can equally unite humans. Critical investigation of language is the path to human unity. Language is paradoxical and words often are imbued with meanings that stand in opposition, hence the importance of "substance" in Burke's rhetoric.

---

[206] Kenneth Burke, *A Grammar of Motives* (Berkeley, Calif.: Univ. of California Press, 1945).

[207] Timothy W. Crusius, *Kenneth Burke and the Conversation after Philosophy*, Rhetorical Philosophy and Theory (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999), 24.

[208] Ibid., 24.

[209] Swartz, "Symbols and Perspectives in Burkean Rhetorical Theory: Implications for Understanding Anti-Semitism."

Burke explains that the word *substance* is often interchangeable with the word *essence*. Both words address the inherent nature of something. However, an etymological examination of the word substance reveals its paradoxical meaning. Sub-stance means to "stand under." Thus, it supports something else. Crusius provides more detail about substance, "a thing's substance in the root meaning would be its *necessary conditions for being, external* to itself, and therefore the very *opposite* of essence."[210] Burke's writing on substance is admittedly complex, and Crusius provides the example of the phrase, "a man of substance," to illustrate that substance in this sense is not about the man's essence or his innermost nature, but rather about his "connections, money, property, and power, to that which supports or 'substands' what he is."[211] Thus, substance takes on a social meaning.

Burke's dialectic can be used to reveal the underlying meaning of rhetoric, especially within apparently innocuous and ambiguous concepts like immigration. The paradox inherent to the word substance is an example of Burke's dialectic, for it brings to light what is *not* said. The word "substance" is "an abstruse philosophic term, beset by a long history of quandaries and puzzlements. It names so paradoxical a function in [men's] systematic terminologies, that thinkers finally tried to abolish it altogether."[212] Even if thinkers want to abolish the term, Burke explains, they cannot abolish the *function* of the term. In simpler terms, the functions of the word become embedded in "take for granted" perceptions and common sense. If one were to consider the myriad of phrases that shapes our understandings, that forms our "taken for granted" perceptions of our world, we would discover that these phrases operate as influential forces in

---

[210] Crusius, *Kenneth Burke and the Conversation after Philosophy*, 25.

[211] Ibid., 25.

[212] Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives*, 21.

constructing what we understand to be reality. Later in this dissertation, I examine such phrases and how they represent the *taken for granted* notions about our world that have become our "common sense." Considerations of substance thus fuel Burke's rhetoric as language is inherently contradictory. In trying to talk about what something is, we are invariably also talking about what something is *not*. Seeing the contradictions that inhabit the substance of a word or a rhetorical act keeps the dialectic going, and the human hope for truth is only attainable through the dialectic, a continual troubling of the *taken for granted* and more importantly the continual troubling of our "common sense." In lieu of residing in one small corner of human consciousness, the dialectic and the ability to see contradictions in language enable humans to explore consciousness beyond the small corner. Burke explains that the dialectic precedes the rhetorical.

Burke's rhetoric is identification; it is the means through which humans create and maintain community. Burke points out that rhetoric is generally assumed to be the art of persuasion. To reinforce his point, Burke quotes W.C. Blum who stated, "In identification lies the source of dedications and enslavements, in fact of cooperation."[213] Burke positions the notion of "consubstantiality" as the cornerstone of rhetoric as identification. Consubstantiality is, in Burke's explanation, the way of acting-together, and in acting-together people have common sensations, ideas, images, concepts that join them together that consequently make them consubstantial.[214] Consubstantiality is the result of rhetorical identification. Burke explicates rhetoric as identification, "*A* is not identical with his colleague, *B*. But insofar as their interests are joined, *A* is *identified* with *B*. Or he may *identify himself* with *B* even when their interests are

---

[213] Ibid.

[214] Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*.

not joined, if he assumes that they are, or is persuaded to believe so."[215] Thus, in the face of conflicting interests and values rhetoric as identification seeks to build community and to engender cohesion.

Crusius synthesizes Burke's purposes for rhetoric as identification through his argument that "identifications are constructed out of oppositions, that is, dialectical substance."[216] The importance of substance comes into play in the formation of identification because identifications rest upon consubstantialities, which create communities out of common interests. To illustrate this point I look to today's Republican Party, which comprises disparate groups of hyper rich and hyper poor whites. On the surface poor rural whites would have no political commonalities with the hyper wealthy. The poor rural whites represent "us" and the hyper wealthy elite represent "them." Yet, they find consubstantiality in their common love of Christianity and "family values." They share the symbolic substance of Christian family values. Crusius succinctly draws the point, "identifications rest on substance, rhetoric on dialectic."[217] Symbolic substance is the result of verbal actions and interpretations. Humans share symbolic substance with those that use the same or similar vocabulary, and more importantly "attribute motives based on the vocabulary we entertain."[218]

Burke uses the concept of "terministic screens" to illuminate how identification and consubstantiality are achieved. Humans see what their language equips them to see, and the conclusions humans draw are implicit in the terms they use. Burke coined the term "terministic

---

[215] Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives*.

[216] Crusius, *Kenneth Burke and the Conversation after Philosophy*, 29.

[217] Ibid., 29.

[218] Ibid., 30.

screens" to explain that language operates like a camera lens. In fact, Burke devised "terministic screens" after viewing a photograph that had been taken using varying lenses and filters. Burke surmised that if different camera lenses can change the way we view the same photograph, so too can language change the way we understand events. Burke says about terministic screens, "even if any given terminology is a *reflection* of reality, by its very nature as a terminology it must be a *selection* of reality; and to this extent it must function also as a *deflection* of reality."[219] As Burke contends, certain words or terms predispose humans to certain understandings and certain behaviors. Humans see "realities" through various interpretive vocabularies.[220]

Burke tells us that "basically, there are two kinds of terms: terms that put things together, and terms that take things apart."[221] Moreover, these terms can be remade and reimagined over time. Words do not have permanent meanings; thus, the "screen" like a kaleidoscope reveals a different meaning based on how it is turned. Terministic screens are not exclusively the realm of singular words. Kuhn's scientific paradigm can be thought of as a terministic screen because "the scientific paradigm is a template of meanings laid upon the 'facts' and what humans can observe in the world."[222] Terministic screens unveil ideologies; they cast a light upon what humans are by illuminating what they do *not* say they are. Language is about choices and purposeful representations. To this point, Burke states, "all terminologies must implicitly embody choices

---

[219] Kenneth Burke, "Language as Symbolic Action," in *The Rhetorical Tradition: Readings from Classical Times to the Present*, ed. Patricia Bizzell and Bruce Herzberg (New York, NY: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2001), 1340–47, 1341.

[220] Crusius, *Kenneth Burke and the Conversation after Philosophy*.

[221] Burke, "Language as Symbolic Action," 2001. 1341.

[222] Crusius, *Kenneth Burke and the Conversation after Philosophy*, 36.

between the principle of continuity and the principle of discontinuity."[223] If a group of people say that they are Democrats, they are saying by default that they are not Republicans, hence the principle of discontinuity through what is *not* said.

Burke's Theoretical Perspective

Burke's rhetoric is one of negation. In Burke's critical system of rhetoric, a process of selection, deselection, and deflection ensue. By identifying what we are, we are by default identifying what we are not. Such is the case with deselection and deflection. By stating what we are not, we are stating, even if implicitly, what we are. The role of negation is significant in ascertaining Burke's theoretical perspective, as it is "the philosophical stance that lies behind our…methodology."[224] Burke's way of "looking at the world"[225] was Marxist. In the the 1930s and 1940s Burke considered himself a Marxist and was highly sympathetic to the communist party.[226] Wander claims that Burke believed that "fostering intellectual distrust in established parties would hasten the victory of socialism" and that Burke "pursued a Marxist, even at times Marxist-Leninist, critique, though his commitment to the independence of the intellectual cut him off from vanguardism and the imperatives of party discipline."[227] Despite Burke's

---

[223] Burke, "Language as Symbolic Action," 2001. 1344.

[224] Michael Crotty, *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process* (London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 1998), 7.

[225] Robert Bogdan and Sari Knopp Biklen, *Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theories and Methods* (Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon, 2006).

[226] Phillip Wander, "The Ideological Turn in Modern Criticism," *Central States Speech Journal* 34, no. 1 (1983): 1–18.

[227] Ibid., 5.

ideological alignment with Marxism he has been examined as non-ideological in his critical rhetoric.

I examine Burke's rhetoric to position this study as one grounded in a Marxist theoretical perspective, and in this section, I trace the philosophical importance of negation and how negation structures Marx's writing on alienation. Alienation is a central concept in Burke's identification. Scholarship on Burke associates him with Marxist theories. However, in addition to Burke's Marxist alignment, I claim that Hegel's philosophy of negation cannot be ignored in situating Burke's rhetoric as identification. To discuss identification while ignoring Hegel's writing on negation and substance would leave out important historical and philosophical developments in Marxist theory in relation to Burke's system of rhetoric. Burke's rhetoric embodies negation. To the trace the trajectory of negation in Burke's rhetoric as identification, I discuss Hegel's philosophy of negation as a segue to Marx's writing on alienation. The philosophies of negation and alienation are influential in Burke's rhetoric.

Hegel's Dialectic of Negation

Driven by conflicting tendencies, Hegel's dialectic is characterized by three salient elements: 1) change, 2) becoming, and 3) opposition. These elements inhabit a state of constant transition. Hegel's dialectic seeks to unite the divergent and attempts to establish a reasoned, stable pattern of understanding through interpretation of unstable, discordant entities.[228] Hegel's dialectic is generally understood as one of negation. By denying what is, by problematizing the given, we push ourselves towards a new awareness and understanding of what was before and what was not. According to Hegel, we cannot understand anything in isolation; we must

[228] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel and Yirmiyahu Yovel, *Hegel's Preface to the Phenomenology of Spirit* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2005).

understand everything as connected, intertwined, and bound to something beyond itself. What actively constitutes us is not unique to us; it is but manifestations of a greater web of being or knowledge.

The greater web of knowledge though is not known to those who do not actively think about what is "taken for granted." The given must be troubled. Its fixity must be razed. Without negation we do not become. We just are. We are just static beings who, instead of spiraling upwards towards a greater consciousness, mire in the absence of understanding who we are in relation to our identities. We must identify what we are not in order to identify what we are. Through a process of negation, we penetrate to deeper understandings of self that are derived from a process of becoming rather than from a self-identified origin.[229]

The construction of identity is as much about separation as it is about relation. In Hegel's dialectic, we understand our identity to the extent to which we can separate ourselves from our identities and even to the extent to which we contradict our identities. Contradiction is a salient feature of the penetration to deeper understandings of self and ultimately to consciousness. Through contradiction we identify our shortcomings; we look to release who we are in the quest to become who we were not. Contradiction is "an ever-expanding expression of self-alienating movement" in the Hegelian dialectic. This "self-alienating movement" is the power within ourselves to liberate "thoughts from their fixity," whereby we find ourselves becoming rather than just being. By becoming, we learn to know ourselves not only as subjects but also as substance in a truthful "whole," or in "historical consciousness."

Negation alone though does not suffice in the Hegelian dialectic. Negation must be continual because the negation of the negativity drives Hegel's desired dialectical outcome—

---

[229] Ibid.

becoming, or moving in an upward spiral towards the whole of truth by synthesizing the negations. What is that we become though if not ourselves? We become what we were not. We alter or transform ourselves into people we did not know existed within us. We attain knowledge that we did not know was there. We do this through the estrangement of ourselves from ourselves. We could even say, as Hegel does, that we partake in an "activity of dissolution" that moves us up the spiral towards immanent knowledge. Hegel tells us that everything is in the "absolute restlessness of becoming." Becoming though, as Hegel notes, is not a process through which we are led to another thing. In fact, *becoming is the condition of everything*. Understanding the Hegelian dialectic illuminates that everything is imbued with the principle of dialectical opposition within itself. The attributes and essence of the dialectical opposition are cultivated by fluidity, by movement, and by self-dissolution.

The result (synthesis) of the Hegelian dialectic is what Hegel calls in German *Aufhebung*. *Aufhebung* is often translated as sublation in English. The word *Aufhebung* though has three primary meanings in German that can be translated as the following in English: 1) destruction or cancellation; 2) preservation or maintenance; and 3) elevation or transformation. Hegel's use of the word *Aufhebung* embodies Hegel's dialectic itself because the word *Aufhebung* cannot be understood in a singular sense. In its more common understanding in its use in German today, *Aufhebung* evokes a sense of removal or transformation.

The three primary meanings of *Aufhebung* themselves illuminate Hegel's dialectic in that the original form of something is destroyed, then in another sense maintained, and finally transformed altogether.[230] For illustrative purposes, we can consider a tree's history in becoming the wood of a table. The tree is first destroyed to become part of the table. It is maintained in a

[230] Ibid.

sense in that many of its original properties remain and are not lost in the table. Ultimately though, the tree is transformed in that it is now an integral part of the table without which the table would not exist. The tree illustrates a process of becoming. The tree becomes something other than itself. It is through the process of negating the tree's original form that the tree is "othered." The "othering" of the tree does not ignore its original form, however. In fact, the tree's original form is an integral element of its new, synthesized form.

The Hegelian dialectic does not necessarily prescribe that the dialectical result be one that stands in complete opposition of its origin. Instead, Hegel provides that an emergent result of the dialectic can be a scrutinized, closely examined initial position. The initial position though must be examined and ultimately surmounted. As a result of the examination and negation with which the Hegelian dialectic is imbued, we surpass the initial position toward a new result in which the initial position is implicit. *The initial position is, however, ultimately transformed*. The Hegelian dialectic problematizes circumstance as it is and uses negation as recognition, the German word for which is *Anerkennung*. *Anerkennung* is a salient feature in Burke's identification.

Marx and Alienation

Marx wrote extensively about production, labor, and economics in a capitalist system as inextricably linked activities in the production of human consciousness. To begin I share an extract from Marx's text, *The German Ideology*, in which he situates the alienation that capitalism engenders:

> In history up to the present it is certainly an empirical fact that separate individuals have, with the broadening of their activity into world-historical activity, become more and more enslaved under a power alien to them (a pressure which they have conceived of as a

> dirty trick on the part of the so-called universal spirit, etc.), a power which become more and more enormous and, in the last instance, turns out to be the *world market*.[231]

Marx is recognized "as one of the primary moulders of modern thought."[232] Marx, a German philosopher, historian, economist, sociologist, and social revolutionist, is frequently identified as a founding philosopher in creating critical systems to illuminate social inequities. Marx was a fierce critic of industrialization and what he perceived as the dehumanizing imperatives of industrialization and capitalism. Marx's writings were not abstracts about humanity, but rather reflections and thoughts on real men and women and their lived experiences in a society predicated on economic and social subjugation and exploitation. In the Western imaginary Marx is a controversial figure. His critiques of capitalism "as an economic system based on private ownership of the means of production"[233] became counternarratives to capitalism as the only viable economic system. Jean Anyon's interpretation of Marx's position on capitalism stems from Marx's argument that humans' beings (note emphasis on "being") are inextricably bound to their productive abilities.[234] In a capitalist world consumed by increasing productivity, Marx's positions on human productivity can be misconstrued in the capitalist imaginary as supportive of "increased production," i.e. increased economic activity.

---

[231] Karl Marx, *The Marx-Engels Reader*, ed. Robert C. Tucker, 2d ed (New York: Norton, 1978), 161.

[232] Crotty, *The Foundations of Social Research*, 115.

[233] Jean Anyon, *Marx and Education*, Routledge Key Ideas in Education Series (New York: Routledge, 2011), 7.

[234] Ibid.

Marx critiqued capitalism as sinking "humans to the level of commodity" and becoming "indeed the most wretched of commodities."[235] Marx identifies the "accumulation of capital in a few hands"[236] as the result of competition. Marx maligns the accumulation of wealth in a few hands for it creates a social divide between a small elite capitalist class and a large class of poor workers. Marx's claims that poor workers become "estranged" from their labor. The estrangement of labor thesis that Marx develops has held and still holds currency in today's debates about education's purpose in a "global world."

Marx critiques that workers become estranged from their labor, their product, through a systematic objectification. According to Marx, human production anchors humans' "species life." Species life in conjunction with the "social life" and the "sensuous life" of humans embody their beings. Marx explains that the product of human labor becomes alien to humans. Marx poses the question: "how would the worker come to face the product of his activity as a stranger, were it not that in the very act of production he was estranging himself from himself"?[237] Thus, the production becomes a process of alienation, and the product of human labor becomes external to humans. Labor then, as Marx describes, becomes something that no longer belongs to the person who produces the labor, but the person's labor belongs to another. Through the estrangement of labor, humans no longer subsist as human beings, but rather as commodities. The social being that determines human consciousness thus devolves into an economic being,[238]

---

[235] Karl Marx, *The Marx-Engels Reader*, ed. Robert C. Tucker, 2d ed (New York: Norton, 1978), 70.

[236] Ibid., 70.

[237] Ibid., 73.

[238] Crotty, *The Foundations of Social Research*.

not into a human being. Many scholars and researchers have used Marxism to examine oppression, class consciousness, and alienation.

Alienation and Identification

Don Abbott writes a convincing claim that Burke's rhetoric as identification embodies Marx's alienation. Burke positions that studying implicit social practices renders them explicit, and once such social practices are explicit, scholars can better understand the forms that alienation takes in human experiences.[239] Consequently, by illuminating forms of alienation (or estrangement to use Marx's language) they can be combatted against and remedied. In Abbott's interpretation of Burke "the change of identity is a most necessary and basic response to alienation."[240]

Burke's rhetoric as identification shows the manifestations of a philosophical evolution from Hegel' dialectic to Marx's alienation that culminates in his system of rhetoric. Burke does not directly address his sympathies for Marx's theories in the corpus of his scholarship. However, based on readings of Burke and scholarship on Burke's influence, I suggest, like Abbott, that Marx's theories undergird Burke's theoretical perspective as Marxist—the theoretical perspective that frames this inquiry.

Methods

In the literature review of this dissertation, I discuss Buras and Motter's scholarship on subaltern cosmopolitan multiculturalism in which considerations of multiculturalism move

---

[239] Don Abbott, "Marxist Influences on the Rhetorical Theory of Kenneth Burke," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 7, no. 4 (1974): 217–33.

[240] Ibid., 225.

outside the sphere of the nation-state and into a global sphere. Globalization and education along with political science scholarship such as Samuel Huntington's support expanding educational studies outside boundary specific nation-state conceptualizations. As the pressures of globalization mount and religion increasingly becomes a political resource of Eurocentric Western ideology to discriminate against immigration, it is important to understand the language that buoys Eurocentric thinking and ideology. Textbooks, which are viewed by students and teachers as arbiters of fact,[241] provide an important ideological artifact for examining language consumed by ideology.

To this end I identify the motifs that surface from the high school French and U.S. history textbooks through application of Burke's rhetoric of identification. These motifs establish a means for illuminating the language that develops global, homogenized characterizations of immigrants. The motifs also unravel the language employed to select, deselect and reflect characterizations of immigration in French and U.S. high school history textbooks. By using motifs, I draw conclusions about globalizing language in high school history textbooks across two Western countries recognized as immigrant countries.

Significance of the Study

Specifically, Burke's rhetoric as identification was used to explain identity in Flanders, Belgium and demonstrates that nationalism can be taught from a rhetorical perspective.[242] That was in 2010 and is to the best of my knowledge the only piece of scholarship that examines

---

[241] Michael W. Apple, *Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age*, Third edition (New York: Routledge, 2014).

[242] Rutten, Mottart, and Soetaert, "The Rhetorical Construction of the Nation in Education."

national identity through Burke's rhetoric as identification. Rutten et al.'s study, however, only focused solely on the Flanders region of Belgium. This study is larger in scope than that of Rutten et al. and will expand the body of scholarship on rhetoric in educational studies. In contrast, curriculum studies have examined curriculum as racial text, feminist text, as political text, etc.[243] There seems to be no shortage of what kind of text curriculum can be. In this study, I, however, situate curriculum as rhetorical text—a field of curriculum studies that has been largely ignored. Through rhetoric this study broadens understanding of curriculum.

Of greater importance though is the study's efforts to situate identity as macro-global phenomena. As Huntington contends, the nation state has been displaced by a clash of civilizations. Yet, current political and social events surrounding resistance to immigrants reveal that there is a palpable desire to close borders and to return to the security of defined and restricted nation state boundaries. Burke's rhetoric as identification and the analysis of history textbooks in the United States and France helps us to isolate motifs across two of the more influential Western cultures' historical representations of immigration. What children learn about the history of immigrants in the United States and France provides insights into how their national identities are constructed so that we can intervene to remedy mis-educations through educational policy.

The purpose of this study is not only to identify a problem, but also to provide possible alternatives. Discourse is agentic, and through this rhetorical analysis I continue the corpus of critical scholarship that seeks to disrupt history as *a priori* fact and to challenge popular assumptions about immigrants that operate as our collective common sense. At the time of this writing, there is much work to do in raising consciousness of the economic and social inequities

---

[243] William F. Pinar, *What Is Curriculum Theory?* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2012).

forcing millions of people into life-threatening, dire circumstances. This study is a step forward in re-seizing our humanity because, before there were races, before there were immigrants, before there were refugees, we were all just human beings.

Study Limitations

Reflexivity is important in conducting research for understanding how the researcher's role can limit a study's design and findings. Author bias is an important consideration in how it impacts this study. I do not have firsthand perspectives from immigrants on the documents I am analyzing. As a white male having grown up in a small town at the foothills of the South Carolina Appalachians, I had limited exposure to immigrants during my childhood and never traveled much for anything other than tennis tournaments, which never took me outside of the south. I did have a mother from Pennsylvania whom we affectionately acknowledged as a Yankee, and I did travel with her sometimes to Pennsylvania to visit extended family where I was repeatedly told how cute it was that I had a southern accent. My high school was half black and half white, but I had few black classmates in my high school courses as I was in the honors program at my high school, and there was only one black female in my honors classes. I mention these circumstances of my past to illustrate that my perspective is a decidedly white one.

Being othered, however, is process of social and hegemonic exclusion that I understand to some extent. Although I live within white privilege, I am a gay male in a heteronormative world made for and ruled by straight white men who have little need to invite "gay others" in. I have what W.E.B. Du Bois called a double-consciousness. Du Bois explains that having a double-consciousness provokes tension in having to look at one's self through others' eyes. I am first a white man and then a gay man. In contrast to people of color who must continually live

their "otherness," I do not have to live my gayness in view of others, but I hear and read what people say about homosexuals to keep them on the social periphery.

This study is about how immigrants are rhetorically constructed in high school history textbooks in France and the U.S. I have lived abroad for extended periods since my late teens. While living in France prior to and during the writing of this dissertation, I developed another double-consciousness as a white "expat." France has many immigrants. Debates surrounding how to "integrate" (assimilate) immigrants dominate daily news programs on televisions and in newspaper op-eds. But in the eyes of the French government and the French with whom I am friends, I am not an immigrant – I am an expat (*expatrié*). When I was younger living and going to high school in Germany, I had no awareness of "expats." The same is true for my time as a student in France at the University of Grenoble as an undergraduate. My visa status as a student shielded me from the harsh bureaucratic realities of securing a visa to reside in Europe. As an adult though, I could not just hop into the local German or French consulate and apply for a student visa. Now I have to navigate the labyrinth of required documents to secure a long-stay French visa. Yet, my labyrinth is not nearly as bewildering as it is for those without the benefit of a United States passport. In reflection, I know that I cannot equate my circumstances to those of immigrants and refugees.

The following anecdote illustrates the inequity generated by being a white expat in Paris. When renewing my visa to stay in France a second year, I had already submitted my paperwork and was told to return four weeks later to pick up my residence card. I went to the *préfecture* (town hall) four weeks later to pick up my card and went to the wrong room to pick it up. I found myself in a room swelling with people of what I perceived as Arab or African origin waiting in excruciatingly long lines, and on a hot Parisian day in a building with no air conditioning that

room was an inferno. I did not realize that I was in the wrong room although the scene I witnessed was much more chaotic and desperate than when I had submitted the paperwork for my residence card renewal. The situation felt "off." I stood though in line to wait my turn. An employee behind the desks noticed me and asked why I was there. She asked as if she knew I did not "belong" there. I said that I was there to pick up my residence card. She asked my nationality, which I identified as American. I was then politely taken to another room that was empty and calm. It was there in this quiet room that I was handed my residence card from a rather kind and smiling *préfecture* employee. When I explained the inequity of my experience, some of my French friends noted that I am asking nothing of the French government. I do not seek refuge. I do not seek employment in France. I have health insurance, and I have proof that I myself am financing my stay in France. Therein lies the conundrum that studies like this help to illuminate – nothing is as it appears. The privileges I "enjoy" as a white male American are not a product of my efforts; these privileges are, in fact, constructed for me.

My French double-consciousness stems from living in a culture that is not my own, although I do come from a Eurocentric country. I choose to be in France. I am content here, but I am not French. I perceive the world differently than they do while recognizing many of the vestiges of their worldviews are the worldviews of my home culture in the United States. I know that I am an immigrant, but I will never be labeled as such because being an immigrant in France is imbued with questions of race, heritage, and financial means. Being gay and living as a foreigner, but not as an "immigrant," in another country has enriched my capacities of empathy for people who are othered, which is why this study interested me. I want to understand the discursive arrangements that buoy oppression and othering, but I am limited by my white male privilege in doing so despite my best efforts to free myself from that ideological prison.

I can only know what to study and how to study it through the scholarly possibilities arranged for me by institutions such as education, which are engrossed in an ideology of whiteness.[244] On the surface such a statement may appear cumbersome, but Reiland Rabaka provides an illustrative and comprehensive intellectual biography of W.E.B. Du Bois' work to show how epistemic apartheid functions in White dominated academia. Instead of recognizing W.E.B. Du Bois as a transdisciplinary social theorist who made significant contributions to the study of sociology, history, philosophy, political science, economics, education, criminology, and religion, W.E.B. Du Bois is more popularly understood in academia as a black man writing about the issues blacks faced in education at the turn on the twentieth-century.[245] This point is important in understanding the limitations of Burke's theories about rhetoric as a force for social cohesion.

Burke was a white man who, despite his important contributions to bringing rhetoric into sociological, political, and ideological analyses, was culturally conditioned to see the world through his white, male perspective. To be even more blunt, Kenneth Burke did not include discussions about race (at least the conceptualization of race)[246] in his writing. Certainly, Burke's work is characterized by the attention he dedicates to equitable human relations through which a critical current runs; however, Burke produced the majority of his seminal works in an era

---

[244] For more on whiteness and education, see Audrey Thompson (1999), Kathy Hytten and Amee Adkins (2001), and Zeus Leonardo (2009).

[245] Reiland Rabaka, *Against Epistemic Apartheid: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Disciplinary Decadence of Sociology* (Lanham, Md: Lexington Books, 2010).

[246] I reject the conceptualization of race as biological—race is a social construct. There is no biological evidence for the existence of human races. There are only humans. However, I recognize that race is a construct used in social sciences to study how different groups of people are treated differently based on the social construct of race. I, therefore, use the concept of race for purposes of inquiry. For more on race as a construct, see Michael Yudell (2014).

leading up to the civil rights movement without acknowledging racialized differences. One must wonder if his culturally conditioned perspective rendered him blind to the importance of socially constructed racial differences.

Critics of Burke question how he could be often considered as nonideological and apolitical when, in fact, Burke like all scholars had an ideological posture and ideological tendencies that undergirded his work.[247] Moreover, as James Chesebro explains, "one of the issues generated by Burke's critical analyses turns on the question of the cultural orientation of a critic and how a critic's cultural orientation affects the decisions made by a critic to describe, interpret, and evaluate communicative acts."[248] Little examination is given to Burke's ethnocentric bias and how his bias shaped his critical system. As the investigator of this study, I situate the questions of this study and my interpretation of its data in a specific white cultural conditioning. My selection of Burke's critical system is a product of my cultural conditioning towards white theorists and scholars who have historically been elevated in academic scholarship. Burke's scholarship does describe cultural determinants through rhetorical productions. The cultural determinants Burke recognizes though are not transcultural, but rather monocultural. It is important to consider my reflexivity, not as some narcissistic exercise, but rather as a means for understanding how my subjectivity influences the construction of this study and the interpretation of its data. I am a product of Eurocentric Western thought and practices,

---

[247] James W. Chesebro, "Multiculturalism and the Burkean System: Limitations and Extensions," in *Kenneth Burke and the 21st Century*, ed. Bernard L. Brock, SUNY Series in Speech Communication (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 167–88, 168.

[248] Ibid.

and in this study I must be mindful of the roles my colonizing[249] white perspectives and the theories of a bunch of "dead old white" play in this study.[250]

[249] Lorraine Code, "The Power of Ignorance," in *Race and Epistemologies of Ignorance*, ed. Shannon Sullivan and Nancy Tuana, SUNY Series, Philosophy and Race (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 213–30.

[250]For more on colonizing research, see Lorraine Code (2007). Code argues that ignorance (unawareness) perpetuates immoral and socially-politically oppressive beliefs through colonizing research.

CHAPTER 5: TEXTBOOK ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

In this chapter I present the main findings from a Burkean analysis of French and U.S. history textbooks conducted for this study. Following the critical hermeneutical theoretical perspective chapter 4 details, these findings do not center on individual texts, but rather on broader motifs evidenced through the rhetorical analysis. I use Burke's rhetoric as identification as the methodology for examining individual texts to reveal three main motifs present across the corpora of the French and U.S. history textbooks selected for this study. The analysis of rhetorical constructions of immigrants formed in these textbooks focused on three guiding questions:

1. What words are frequently used to identify immigrants in French and U.S. history textbooks?
2. In what ways are these frequently used words used to write narratives about immigrants?
3. What words or ideas or other representations of immigrants are missing from these narratives about immigrants?

Table 2. History textbooks reviewed for this study

Title	Publisher	Publication year
American Vision: Modern Times	McGraw-Hill Glencoe	2010
The Americans	Houghton Mifflin Harcourt	2012
Histoire: Questions pour comprendre le XXe siècle	Hachette	2011
Histoire: Questions pour comprendre le XXe siècle	Nathan	2013
Histoire: Questions pour comprendre le XXe siècle	Magnard	2011
Histoire: Questions pour comprendre le XXe siècle	Hatier	2015

Data Source

The consolidation of textbook publishers in the United States left me little opportunity for choosing among an array of U.S. history textbooks. The American Textbook Council (ATC) states on their website that "Textbook choice for teachers has in recent decades shrunk to almost nothing," and that only three major K-12 textbook publishers remain—Pearson, McGraw-Hill Glencoe, and Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.[251] The ATC notes that Pearson acquired Prentice Hall publishing and subsequently discontinued three of Prentice Hall's established U.S. history textbooks. Thus, only two textbook publishers remain in the U.S. history textbook market: McGraw-Hill and Houghton Mifflin Harcourt. Consequently, I chose Houghton Mifflin Harcout's *The Americans* and McGraw Hill Glencoe's *The American Vision: Modern Times*. In regards to the general content of U.S. history textbooks available, the ATC contends that the major K-12 publishers produce social studies textbooks that are "nearly identical 'products' to be sold…nationwide. Scrubbed and focus-tested to be 'teacher friendly' and 'inclusive,' today's cartoonish, text-light, diversity-themed social studies readers are imbedded in multimedia 'programs.' They are pitched to the least capable instructors and students, designed to sell in every state and district."[252] My impressions of two U.S. history textbooks selected for this study align with the ATC's observations about current U.S. history textbooks available to American teachers and students.

Like in the United States, French textbook publishers respond to changes in curricula by publishing new textbooks that support the new curricula. In 2010 a new *programme de seconde*

---

[251] "American Textbook Council - Widely Adopted History Textbooks."

[252] Ibid.

went into place,[253] thereby obliging French textbook publisher to update their textbooks. Consequently, I examined French history textbooks published after 2010 and chose the most recently published version of the textbook when possible. There are six school textbook publishers in France. Based on conversations with two *lycée* social studies teachers, I chose the four history textbooks with which they expressed familiarity.[254] There are marked differences in the formatting and conceptualization of the French and U.S. history textbooks analyzed for this study.

The U.S. history textbook covers visually represent American patriotism through the American flag as is the case in *The Americans* or through imagery from the wars in which the United States fought. There are also pictures of notable historical figures placed about the cover of both U.S. history textbooks, which include the likes of Dr. Martin Luther King and Abraham Lincoln. There are images of people of different ethnicities, not just whites. It appears that the U.S. history textbooks are trying to represent the diversity of the United States.

The French history textbooks focus on the twentieth century as part of the French baccalaureate history program for the *première classe*, which is approximately corresponds to the eleventh grade in U.S. schools. Earlier periods of French history are covered in previous grades (*classes*). As with the U.S. history textbooks, the covers of the French textbooks include pictures of prominent historical events and people; however, the French textbooks only focused

---

[253] Michel Leroy, "Les manuels scolaires : situation et perspectives" (Inspection générale de l'éducation nationale, March 2012), http://www.education.gouv.fr/archives/2012/refondonslecole/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/manuels_scolaires.pdf. *Programme de seconde* refers to the curriculum found in French high schools.

[254] Antoine Boutemy, e-mail message to author, September 24, 2015; Sofyen N., in a telephone conversation with author, September 27, 2015.

on images representing the twentieth century. Only one person of non-European descent is seen on the French textbooks—that of an Algerian woman waiving the Algerian flag. All other persons and faces are those of what appear to be Europeans. The French textbook published by Hachette only shows two pictures: 1) a group of French women celebrating and 2) the World Trade Center Towers in the U.S. on fire on the day of the September 11, 2001 attacks.

The differences between the French and U.S. history textbooks take quite different approaches in form. The U.S. textbooks are much more lesson driven, meaning that an historical event is explained and then the next topic is presented in the same manner. There are a few anecdotes provided throughout the U.S. history textbooks, but generally the text is predominantly instructional in nature. The French history textbooks on the other hand provide more primary sources such as newspaper and magazine extracts, personal narratives, political speeches, and posters from a given time period. The French history textbooks also give more attention to methods of historical inquiry with a focus on preparation for the French *baccalauréat* history exam.[255] In both the French and U.S. history textbooks authors mention dark periods in the countries' histories in which French and American policies and practices resulted in discrimination against marginalized groups. These disturbing policies and practices are treated, however, quite cursorily.

[255] The French baccalauréat geography and history exam is four hours long. For the history part of the exam students are typically provided two or more historical documents in the form of a visual, a textual extract, or even a song text. The historical documents vary, but the purpose of the assessment is for students to examine the documents and to write a synthesis in response to the exam prompt. There is no multiple choice. Students write their responses by hand.

Study periodization

U.S. history textbooks attempt to cover the history of the United States from its beginnings. The history of the United States is not nearly as extensive as France's history, and French history is, thus, taught through courses that study the antiquity, the middle ages, and the Enlightenment. Moreover, French history is taught in deference to European and world history with a focus on "universal values."[256] As Tutiaux-Guillon explains, "Teaching about Europe—or about Western history—is also teaching about France."[257] However, the French national curriculum for the *première classe* (11th grade equivalent) examines the twentieth century and France's response to historical events of the twentieth century. Given the nature of the French national curriculum's examination of twentieth century history, by default, the history text of the *première classe* becomes a course largely centered on French history.

In light of the French national curriculum's focus on the twentieth century, the study is concerned with rhetorical constructions of immigrants in history texts about the twentieth century. For this study, I divided the century to into three periods: 1) pre-World War II (WWII); 2) post-WWII through the 1970s; and 3) 1970s through the end of the twentieth century. There were significant waves of immigration to the United States and France at the turn of the century and prior to WWII in the wake of mass industrialization and population displacements due to World War I. Following WWII there was an economic boom in both the United States and France along with immigration legislation that made the post-WWII through the 1970s period a

---

[256] Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon, "A Traditional Frame for Global History: The Narrative of Modernity in French Secondary School," in *History Education and the Construction of National Identities*, ed. Mario Carretero, Mikel Asensio, and María Rodríguez Moneo (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, INC., 2012), 109–24.

[257] Ibid., 115.

logical choice. In addition, this period encompasses a time span commonly identified by the French as *Les Trente Glorieuses* (the Glorious Thirty). From 1945 through 1975 France witnessed dramatic economic growth. *Les Trente Glorieuses* are also characterized by expansion of France's social entitlement programs. The mid-1970s saw a downturn in economic productivity and also brought an end to the Vietnam War, after which France and the United States enacted policies and legislation to grapple with the outcomes of decolonization in France and waves of immigration in the United States. This study's periodization facilitates the identification of demographic changes in immigration in France and the United States in the twentieth century.

Across all textbooks immigrants at the turn of the century were predominantly European from Italy, Spain, and Portugal. In U.S. history textbooks Chinese and Japanese immigrants are noted as a significant immigrant population until the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was implemented that prevented further immigration from Chinese nationals until its repeal in 1943. Thus, the majority of immigrants to the U.S. were European at the turn of the twentieth century. After WWII the patterns of immigration identified across the textbooks for this study changed from majority European immigrants to majority non-European immigrants. Table 3 shows the chronology of the non-European immigrant in the six textbooks.

Table 3. Most identified continent of origin for immigrants in history textbooks

Period	Hachette	Nathan	Magnard	Hatier	Houghton Mifflin Harcourt	McGraw-Hill
1900-1945	E	E	E	E	E	E
1945-1975	N	N	N	N	N	N
1975-2000	N	N	N	N	N	N

*Textbook Key: E = *European* N = *Non-European*

Data Analysis

To identify and categorize the terms used to identify immigrants in this study's history textbooks, I employed a content analysis.[258] I closely examined the six textbooks for this study and established a list of all terms and images associated with immigrants in the textbooks. Using the list of these terms, I coded the textbooks to determine application of terms. Generally, the terms were adjectives to describe immigrants. The identifiers are not necessarily engrossed in lengthy text or explanations about immigrants. Burke reminds us that the ways in which we *identify* with others or *deflec*t what others are can work unconsciously. More importantly, it is Burke's position that "the 'ambiguities of substance'… make for rhetorical opportunities."[259] Thus, some terms may seem ambiguous or incongruent with typical representations of immigrants. However, the substance of this study inhabits these "ambiguous" spaces. Table 4 illustrates how these terms are used across the six textbooks.

Table 4. Terms associated with immigrants in the textbooks of this study

Terms	Hachette	Nathan	Magnard	Hatier	Houghton Mifflin Harcourt	McGraw-Hill	Totals
unskilled labor	x	x	x	x	x	x	6
difficult living conditions	x	x	x	x	x	x	6
social change	x	x	x		x	x	5

[258] James Paul Gee, *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*, 3rd ed (Milton Park, Abingdon ; New York: Routledge, 2011).

[259] Thomas Harte, "The Concept of Identification in the Rhetorical Theories of Kenneth Burke and Eric Hoffer," *Communicator* 7, no. 2 (1977): 64–69, 65.

needed labor	x	x	x	x		x	5
integration	x	x	x	x	x		5
halt to immigration	x	x	x	x	x	x	5
illegal immigration (clandestine)	x	x			x	x	4
urban violence & crime	x	x			x	x	4
organized expulsions	x	x	x	x			4
mixed marriages	x	x		x			3

*The x signifies that this term is evidenced in the history textbook.

Findings

Once I determined the list of terms, I related them to one of three motifs. These motifs serve as the basis for this study's analysis, and they lean heavily upon the text and images to illustrate how Burke's rhetoric facilitates a nuanced understanding of "common-sense" perspectives on immigrants that rhetoric supports. The three motifs provide the frame for understanding the ways in which these textbooks' discourse and images intersect in ostensibly impersonal discourse about immigrants to create divisions between text audience and immigrants. The relationships between terms constitute the motifs and provide a system for understanding how terms can simultaneously reflect and deflect reality. Burke states that "Even if a given terminology is a reflection of reality, by its very nature as a terminology it must be a

selection of reality; and to this extent it must function also as a deflection of reality."[260] Burke's rhetoric illuminates the rhetorical devices that bear discontinuities between immigrants and citizens born in France and U.S. proper in history textbooks. I analyze each motif through Burke's rhetoric by addressing the selection and deflection of immigrants' realities in the history texts. The motifs do intersect, and they cannot be entirely considered in isolation independently of each other. To reduce immigrants' experiences as just those of labor, or alienation, or social upheaval would contribute to the same reductionism that blinds readers of these texts to alternative realities of immigrants – the ones not reflected in the texts. Table 5 shows the motifs I identified and the terms that comprise each motif.

Table 5. Motifs and constitutive terms

Immigrant as labor commodity	Immigrant as alien	Immigrant as social disorder
unskilled labor	integration	social change
needed labor	halt to immigration	difficult living conditions
	mixed marriages	urban violence and crime
	organized expulsions	illegal immigrant

Immigrant as labor commodity

The terms I associate with the motif, immigrant as labor commodity, are unskilled labor and needed labor. Immigrant as labor commodity was common across all six textbooks. A nuanced difference surfaces in the explication for why immigrants occupy "unskilled" and "low wage" jobs. French texts show that France needed labor while U.S. texts suggest that immigrants came for employment opportunities, thereby fleeing saturated labor markets that could not support their employment.

[260] Burke, *Language as Symbolic Action*, 1966.

In regards to Polish labor immigrants who worked primarily in French mines, the Hachette[261] text explains, "At the beginning of the twentieth century, France, which lacked labor for its industries due to weak demographic growth and weak exodus from rural regions, called on immigrant works."[262] During the economic crisis of the mid 1930s France expelled its Polish mine workers. During *Les Trente Glorieuses* France witnessed an economic boom that increased immigration from former North African French colonies. The Nathan[263] text states:

> At the start of the 1950s, economic expansion and the absence of labor necessitated an open plea for immigration. Immigration is characterized by the massive arrival of Algerians, followed by Moroccans and Tunisians at the end of the 1960s. Thus, the number of North Africans grew from 2% of all foreigners in France in 1946 to nearly a third of all foreigners in 1975.[264]

Figures 1 and 2 show immigrant labor (of color) working in the menial and arduous tasks that native French did not want.

---

[261] Pascal Zachary, Géraldine Ancel-Géry, and Vincent Adoumié, eds., *Histoire. 1res L, ES, S, [Schülerbd.]: Questions pour comprendre le XXe siècle*, Nouv. programme, nouv. collection (Paris: Hachette Éducation, 2011).

[262] Translation of French text provided by author: *Au début du XXe siècle, la France qui manque de main-d'œuvre pour son industrie, en raison d'une croissance démographique et d'un exode rural trop faibles, fait appel à des travailleurs immigrés.*

[263] Joëlle Alazard et al., *Histoire 1re S: nouveau programme 2013* (Paris: Nathan, 2013), 204.

[264] Translation of French text provided by author: *À partir des années 1950, l'expansion économique et le manque de main d'œuvre rendent nécessaire un large recours à l'immigration. Elle se caractérise par l'arrivée massive des Algériens, suivie à la fin des années 1960 des Marocains et des Tunisiens. Ainsi, les Magrébins passent de 2% du total des étrangers en France en 1946 à près d'un tiers en 1975. Le ralentissement de la croissance change la donne et le gouvernement décide de suspendre l'immigration.*

Figure 1. Immigrant labor in Nathan text.

Figure 2. Immigrant labor in Magnard text.

Despite the financial benefits immigrant labor provided, under political duress, France suspended immigration programs in 1975 as a result of what is represented in French texts as "diminishing economic growth." In the French textbooks a need for immigrant labor is clearly identified as economic expedient, and immigrants were invited to meet the economic need to help grow the country's economy.

In the U.S. texts, immigrants are also an economic expedient. However, the reality selected for immigrants to the United States reflects a subtle economic urgency on both the parts of immigrants and the United States. Immigrants are portrayed as eager to gain entry into a labor market that was fueling industrial growth – a need the United States was eager to meet through immigrant labor. Immigrants, as extracts from U.S. texts represent, came to the United States for

employment opportunities, the result of which helped "factories to increase their production" and furthered "the demand for industrial products."[265] In *The Americans* Mexican immigrants responded to "the demand for cheap farm labor in California and the Southwest steadily increased" and consequently "Mexican immigrants crossed the border in record numbers."[266] Across all the textbooks the need for labor is reflected in narratives about immigrants.

Another narrative about immigrants commonly found in the texts reflects immigrant labor as unskilled and cheap. In the text published by the Nathan publishing house, [267] "immigrants find themselves largely in **industries** in which they occupy **low-skilled positions**."[268] The Nathan text bolds the terms "industry" and "low-skilled positions." No explanation is provided as to why these terms are bolded. The Hatier text repeats the sentiments expressed in the Nathan text by explaining that immigrants came to France "especially for unskilled employment."[269] In *American Vision* the story of Alfred Levitt, who despite "his poor English and lack of education" became a successful artist, is used to reveal that not all immigrants encountered success like Levitt. The text states in comparison to Levitt: "Not all immigrants, many of whom were unskilled workers, fared so well." *The American Vision* contextualizes the travails of unskilled labor against a backdrop of the "ethnic and religious

---

[265] Joyce Oldham Appleby and National Geographic Society (U.S.), eds., *The American Vision: Modern Times*, Teacher wraparound ed (Columbus, Ohio: Glencoe/McGraw-Hill, 2010), 244.

[266] Gerald A. Danzer, ed., *The Americans* (Evanston, Ill: Holt McDougal, 2012), 410.

[267] Alazard et al., *Histoire 1re S.*, 206.

[268] Translation of French text provided by author: *Les immigrés se retrouvent très majoritairement dans l'**industrie** où ils occupent **des postes peu qualifiés**.*

[269] Guillaume Bourel et al., *Histoire, 1re L-ES-S: [livre de l'élève]* (Paris: Hatier, 2015), 292.

prejudices" they met. *The American Vision* notes that "workers and unions rejoiced" when immigration acts of 1921 and 1924 "reduced the available labor pool in the United States" much to the chagrin of employers who "desperately needed laborers for agriculture, mining, and railroad work." The desperately needed laborers were Mexican immigrants.[270] These three history texts reflect narratives expressed in all the texts for this study, namely that immigrants were cheap, unskilled grunts. The reality less selected (deflected) is the extent to which immigrants economically fueled French and U.S. industries and agriculture to the benefit of France's and the U.S.'s conglomerate wealth. More importantly, without immigrant labor France and the U.S. would have struggled mightily to erect the industrial infrastructure needed to facilitate their ascension into the ranks of twentieth-century economic superpowers.[271]

Immigrant as alien

Despite the researched and observable realities of the positive economic contributions of immigrants to French and American societies, immigrants' histories are reflected as people who struggle to integrate into society. The terms that constitute this motif are: integration, halt to immigration, mixed marriage, and organized expulsions. The French and U.S. texts varied considerably in their reflections of the immigrant "other" with the French texts concentrating on the difficulty of "integrating" immigrants while the U.S. texts explicitly detail efforts to "Americanize" immigrants. What the texts have in common is a history of expelling immigrants and putting a halt to their arrival. Unlike the U.S. texts, the majority of the French texts include references about "mixed marriages" as sign of successful integration.

---

[270] Appleby and National Geographic Society (U.S.), *The American Vision*, 409.

[271] George J. Borjas, "The Economics of Immigration," *Journal of Economic Literature* 32 (1994): 1667–1717.

The French texts dedicated specific sections to the question of integrating immigrants and France's failure to do so. Of particular concern in the French texts is immigrants' desires to stay amongst themselves, separated from French natives. The Nathan text explains in regards to Polish miners, "At first, and often because they keep hope of returning, immigrants keep their nationality. They live amongst themselves, have their own associations and newspapers, practice their native language."[272] The Nathan text appears to suggest that Polish miners chose not to integrate.

Broader questions of integration though focus on North African immigrants, and the language used to identify them is quite, maybe even warranting a second reading. The Nathan text notes that since the 1970s "immigrants originating from North African, black Africa or Asia are more numerous while **the share of Europeans diminishes**."[273] The increasing presence of non-European immigrants sets the stage for questions about integration. The Magnard text attempts to provide an explication for the difficulty with integration:

> Since the 1980s integration has become a political theme. Laws alternate between hardening and softening of naturalization. Xenophobia uses the same arguments as in the 1930s but against non-European populations, considered as more difficult to integrate because they are distanced from European ways of life and cultural practices.[274]

---

[272] Alazard et al., *Histoire 1re S.*, 62. Translation of French text provided by author: *Dans un premier temps, et souvent parce qu'ils conservent un espoir de retour, les immigrés gardent leur nationalité. Ils vivent entre eux, ont leurs propres associations et journaux, pratiquent leur langue d'origine.*

[273] Alazard et al., *Histoire 1re S.*, 207. Translation of French text provided by author: *Les immigrés originaires d'Afrique du Nord, d'Afrique noire ou d'Asie sont plus nombreux, tandis que **la part des Européens recule***. Script in bold in original text.

[274] Sylvie Aprile, Hugo Billard, and Franck Bodin, *Histoire 1re [ES, L, S]* (Paris: Magnard, 2011) 44. Translation of French text provided by author: *Depuis les années 1980, l'intégration devient un thème politique. Les lois alternent entre durcissement et assouplissement de la naturalisation. La xénophobie utilise les mêmes arguments que dans les années 1930 mais*

The nature of European cultural practices is not specified in the text nor is a European way of life, and one is left to wonder how distance in this sense is observed and measured. The Hatier sees progress in integrating non-European immigrants although, in their estimation, the progress of integration has been slow and they do not explicitly identify which immigrants they mean. They let the reader imagine which immigrants with their explication that: "Even if the number of immigrants has stabilized, it is integration of the last arrivals that seems to be broken down…but for all that the increase in mixed marriages and naturalizations along with the social ascent of sons and daughters of immigrants are just as much signs of a slow evolution."[275] The Hatier text struggles to even name North-African immigrants as such, employing the term "the last arrivals" instead.

The problems of integration sometimes have violent consequences as the Hachette text shows. They state that "the riots in suburbs heavily populated with immigrants (2009) play witness to the difficulties of integration, which, despite everything, progresses (mixed marriages)."[276] This statement tempers the violence perpetuated by immigrants (one would imagine in protest to social and economic inequities) with the carrot of progress borne from integration. All the French texts include at least some reference to the role that sports, literature,

---

contre les populations extra européens, considérées comme plus difficiles à intégrer parce qu'éloignées des modes de vie et des pratiques culturelles européennes.

[275] Bourel et al., *Histoire, 1re L-ES-S,* 292. Translation of French text provided by author: *Si le nombre d'immigrés est stable, c'est l'intégration des derniers arrivants qui semble en panne…pour autant la hausse des mariages mixtes, celle des naturalisations et l'ascension sociale des fils et filles d'immigrées sont autant de signes qui montrent une lente évolution.*

[276] Zachary, Ancel-Géry, and Adoumié, *Histoire. 1res L, ES, S, [Schülerbd.]*, 63. Translation of French text provided by author: *Les émeutes dans les banlieues à forte population immigrée (2009) témoignent des difficultés de l'intégration qui, malgré tout, progresse (mariages mixtes).*

or business play in the advancement of integration. The Magnard text provides an illuminating anecdote about the power of hard work and merit in elevating a child of immigrants to the upper echelons of French society. The title of this anecdote is *Social ascent through merit*:

> Nacer Meddah is prefect of the Republic. Born in France to Algerian immigrant parents in the 1960s, pupil of the nation, cleaning lady for a mother. He is civil administrator, counsel to the Court of Auditors. Since the 1950s France has been shyly searching to promote personalities of immigrant origins who succeeded through their studies: this is called positive discrimination.[277]

The Magnard has selected to reflect the neoliberal narrative of individual determination defined by "pull yourself up by your bootstraps" attitude to identify how North African immigrants can be like the French. U.S. texts reflect immigrants' integration into the United States more explicitly.

In U.S. texts "Americanization" is a common thread in regards to integrating immigrants and is visible at different junctures in American history. *American Vision* shares that "After World War I, American immigration policies changed in response to the postwar recession and nativist pleas to 'Keep America American.'"[278] The Americanization movement continued through the early part of the twentieth-century and as *The Americans* describes:

> The Americanization movement was designed to assimilate people of wide-ranging cultures into the dominant culture. This social campaign was sponsored by the government and by concerned citizens. Schools and voluntary associations provided programs to teach immigrants skills needed for citizenship, such as English literacy and American history and government. Subjects such as cooking and social etiquette were

---

[277] Aprile, Billard, and Bodin, *Histoire 1re [ES, L, S]*, 49. Translation of French text provided by author: *Nacer Meddah est préfet de la République. Né en France de parents algériens immigrées dans les années 1950, pupille de la nation, mère femme de ménage, il est administrateur civil, conseiller à la Cour des Comptes. Depuis les années 1990 la France cherche timidement à mettre en avant des personnalités issues de l'immigration et qui ont réussi par les études : on parle de discrimination positive.*

[278] Appleby and National Geographic Society (U.S.), *The American Vision*, 408.

> included in the curriculum to help the newcomers learn the ways of native-born Americans.

Despite these efforts, many immigrants did not wish to abandon their traditions. Ethnic communities provided the social support of other immigrants from the same country. This enabled them to speak their own language and practice their customs and religion. However, these neighborhoods soon became overcrowded, a problem that was intensified by the arrival of new transplants from America's rural areas.[279]

These extracts from the U.S. texts reflect the resistance Americans born on U.S. soil felt towards immigrants. The texts also insinuate culpability lay at the feet of immigrants who chose not "to abandon their traditions." Immigrants are naturalized as insular people who shun opportunities to assimilate into the "dominant culture." That immigrants may come from societies with strong social cultures characterized by heightened attention to social mores is not selected as immigrants' realities in the U.S. texts.

In more recent contexts, Spanish-speaking immigrants from North and South American countries became the foci of Americanization efforts, and language is the main point of contention. English is portrayed as a means of success in American society and education becomes the medium to immersing nonnative English speakers in the American experience. According to *American Vision,*

> In recent years there has been some movement away from bilingualism in states with large Hispanic populations. Some educators argue that total immersion in English is the soundest road to educational success. Some American voters opposed bilingual education, believing it makes it more difficult for a child to adjust to American culture and that it was costly besides.[280]

---

[279] Danzer, *The Americans*, 469.

[280] Appleby and National Geographic Society (U.S.), *The American Vision*., 829.

The problem of language continues throughout U.S. texts and *The Americans* note that "Hispanic Americans are the fastest-growing minority in the United States," and while they "cherish their heritage," speaking Spanish amongst their friends and family is resulting in them often finding "school confusing and humiliating" as their teachers speak English.[281] With the multitude of problems that immigrants in France and the United States have confronted throughout history, as the texts reflect, then it certainly is no wonder that immigrants are then portrayed as purveyors of social disorder as they struggle to assimilate in the dominant culture.

Immigrant as social disorder

Encouraged to settle in France and the U.S. as cheap, unskilled labor and seemingly incapable of acclimating socially and culturally, as the texts for this study reflect, immigrants are associated with negative social changes, difficult living conditions unthinkable for the native population, urban violence and crime, and breaking immigration laws. In many instances the history texts provide reflections of immigrants' experiences that encompass myriad of socially disruptive problems. For example, the Nathan texts states:

> Immigrants, majority of which are manual laborers, are particularly affected by unemployment and poverty. In 1993, they constitute 5.8% of salaried employees but together form 12% of the unemployed. They concentrate themselves in neighborhoods often in bad conditions far from the city center. The recurrent urban violence (1981, 2005) illustrates the malaise of these populations, notably among the youth.[282]

---

[281] Danzer, *The Americans*, 1910.

[282] Alazard et al., *Histoire 1re S.*, 207. Translation of French text provided by author: *Les immigrés, majoritairement ouvriers, sont particulièrement touchés par le chômage et la pauvreté. En 1993, ils forment 5,8% des salaries mais rassemblent 12% des chômeurs. Ils se concentrent dans des quartiers souvent en mauvais état et loin des centres. Les violences urbaines récurrentes (1981,2205) illustrent le malaise de ces populations, notamment des plus jeunes.*

The texts reflect these "neighborhoods in bad conditions" in a number of ways, and these representations of difficult living conditions span the whole of the twentieth century.

That immigrants do not live like the natives is recurrent theme associated with immigrants, especially in the French texts. In particular, immigrants inhabit *Bidonvilles* or shanty towns as they are understood in English, and in three of the four French texts examined for this study, pictures of the *Bidonville* are included. See figures 3 and 4 below for an example.

Figure 3. Bidonville in Nanterre (outskirts of Paris)

Figure 4. Bidonville in Nanterre (outskirts of Paris)

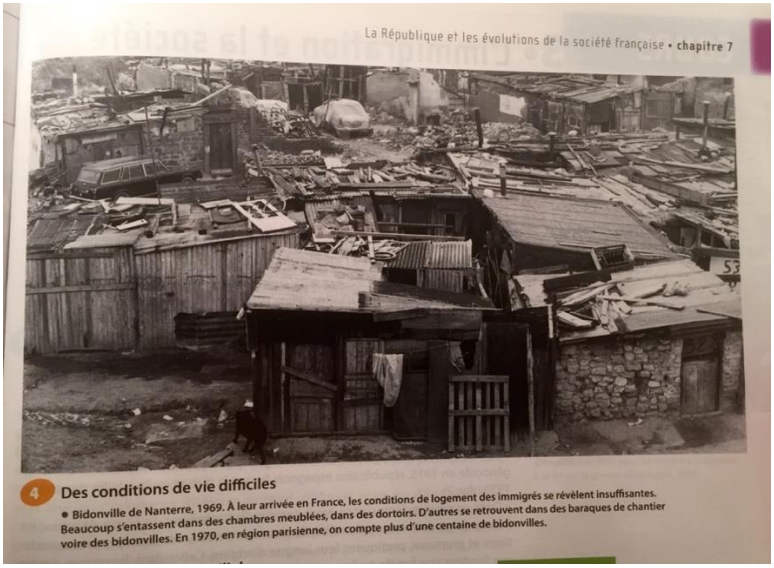

Figure 3 comes from the Hatier text and figure 4 comes from the Nathan text. What makes figure 3 particularly interesting as an object of rhetorical analysis is that no contextualization is provided to the student about *Bidonvilles* in the Hatier text. In the Burke system of rhetoric these figures are terministic screens used to direct our attention to certain interpretations while turning our attention away from other interpretations. Figure 3 places the lens on the inhabitants of the *Bidonville* whereas Figure 4 in contrast focuses more on the condition of the *Bidonville*. Figure 3 is just there in the Hatier text and students are asked to describe the living conditions of North African immigrants in the 1960s. Yet, the lens is on the people in the picture. Students' interpretations are steered toward the two people in the picture while figure 4 steers students' interpretations towards the condition of the *Bidonville*.

Bidonvilles are not the only objects of squalor identified in the texts. The texts represent tightly packed *foyers* (residence halls) in which immigrant laborers live tightly and chaotically. The Nathan texts associates *foyers* with North African immigrants. It is worth noting that the Polish immigrants who made French mines economically viable through the late 1930s are not depicted in the same difficult living conditions. Instead what is reflected for Polish miners is communities in which they lived as they would have lived in Poland. There are no shanty towns, no *foyers* associated with Polish immigrants. One is left to identify darker skinned immigrants from Italy, Spain, Portugal, and North Africans as "dirty aliens." Figure 5 shows an image from the Hachette text of a *foyer* occupied by Portuguese immigrants. The text asks students what this document (image) teaches them about immigration in France during The Glorious Thirty.

Figure 5. Foyer occupied by Portuguese immigrants.

In the U.S. textbooks, there are no images depicting the living conditions of immigrants or their working conditions. Generally speaking, there are many images throughout the U.S. texts, but none are related to representations of immigrants. In fact, while examining the two U.S. textbooks for this study, I noted no meaningful representations of immigrants apart from images that show what they look like. In terms of labor, the only people seen enjoying the "value of work" are white.

If the texts are not interpreted critically, one would believe that the presence of immigrants brings out character shortcomings and violence in the native population. In modern contexts the Nathan text explains that economic crises "fuel a new boost to the extreme right xenophobe who makes immigrants, primarily from North Africa, responsible for unemployment and thus has been gaining election votes since 1984."[283] However, before immigrants could be

[283] Ibid., 207. Translation of French text provided by author: *La crise économique alimente une nouvelle poussée de l'extrême-droite xénophobe qui rend les immigrés, principalement d'origine nord-africaine, responsables du chômage et gagne des voix aux élections depuis 1984.*

blamed for unemployment, they were blamed for a rise in violence in native populations. What the history texts reflect is the narrative that native populations become suspicious of immigrants whose skin color may be different. The narrative continues that natives are fearful that immigrants are taking jobs that belong to the natives, and these sentiments of suspicion and fear actually bring out the worst in natives. *The Americans* provides a telling piece placed after a brief section on limiting immigration at the turn of the twentieth century and a section on The Emergency Quota Act of 1921 which established a quota system placing restrictions on how many immigrants could come from each country. Entitled "The Klan Rises Again," *The Americans* explains:

> As a result of the Red Scare and anti-immigrant feelings, different groups of bigots used anti-communism as an excuse to harass any group unlike themselves. One such group was the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). The KKK was devoted to "100 percent Americanism." By 1924, KKK membership reached 4.5 million "white male persons, native-born gentile citizens." The Klan also believed in keeping blacks "in their place," destroying saloons, opposing unions, and driving Roman Catholics, Jews, and foreign-born people out of the country. KKK members were paid to recruit new members into their world of secret rituals and racial violence. Though the Klan dominated state politic in many states, by the end of the decade its criminal activity led to a decrease in power.[284]

This passage suggests that the presence of immigrants actually induces violence in native populations. Do violent racists really need an excuse to be violent and racist? If immigrants had not been present, how would KKK members justify their criminality? Note that the text describes that the KKK also believed in keeping blacks "in their place" and running "others" out of the country. Yet, the text reflects that the incitement to commit acts of violence against native (other) populations is a "result of anti-immigrant feelings." No contextualization apart from the excerpt above is provided to reflect a more complete reality by including that the KKK is a group of

---

[284] Danzer, *The Americans*, 469.

pathological racists who do not need excuses to act on their penchants for violence. *The Americans* text implicates immigrants as a factor in perpetuating a social malaise (the KKK) native to white Americans. *The American Vision* text supports the position that the KKK was at the forefront "to restrict immigration." However, the KKK's decline, as *The American Vision* reflects, occurred with "the sharp reduction in immigrants due to new immigration laws."[285] A direct correlation is drawn between the presence of immigrants on American soil and the rise and fall of the KKK.

Immigrants are also law-breakers in the texts for this study. Across the French and U.S. texts immigrants illegally access French and U.S. territories. The French texts are subdued in their representations of "*immigration clandestine,*" while U.S. texts encapsulate illegal immigration in narratives about fleeing political persecution while searching for a better life in the United States. *The American Vision* explains:

> In 1960 about 3 million Hispanics lived in the United States. This number increased rapidly after the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965. Hispanics came to the United States from countries such as Cuba and Mexico to flee repressive political regimes or to find jobs and better lives. The largest group was Mexican Americans, many of whom arrived during and after World War II to work on huge farms in the South and West. Many Hispanics arrived illegally, sometimes crossing the U.S.-Mexican border with the help of 'coyotes,' often unscrupulous guides who charged huge sums of money for their services.[286]

The unscrupulous coyotes are also addressed in *The Americans* text in a vignette about "desperate journeys" that recounts that "In the 1960s and 1970s, thousands of poor Mexicans illegally crossed the 2,000-mile border between the United States and Mexico each year. The journey these illegal aliens undertook was often made more difficult by 'coyotes.'" To conclude

---

[285] Appleby and National Geographic Society (U.S.), *The American Vision*, 408.

[286] Ibid., 828.

the vignette, *The Americans* explains that the presence of so many illegal aliens discouraged the employment of legal immigrants as the Immigration and Naturalization Service "urged businesses to refrain from hiring them [illegal aliens]."[287] *The Americans* echoes *The American Vision* text about illegal immigrants by detailing the story of braceros (hired hands) from Mexico who came to the United States to harvest crops. Hundreds of thousands of braceros came to the States to work, and they were expected to leave once employment was ended. However, as *The American Vision* text reflects, "many remained in the United States," which resulted in the deportation of more than two million "illegal" Mexican immigrants, a fact noted in the margins of the textbook.[288]

Discussion

Although there is little text dedicated to immigrants in all the history textbooks examined for this study, what few words are present speak volumes about capitalism, whiteness, religion and the evidence that immigrants in the West are rhetorically constructed in strikingly similar language, thus providing credence to the growing body of scholarship on the diminishing role of the nation-state. What makes the findings of this analysis particularly interesting is that two countries with different approaches for integrating immigrants rely on the same tropes to represent them in history textbooks. Another universal quality is that immigrants are homogenized across all textbooks and are identified as economic commodities, as non-European, and as difficult to integrate with subtext given that there is a problem with their religion. Where French history textbooks stand out in contrast to the U.S. history textbooks is the coded language

---

[287] Danzer, *The Americans*, 975.

[288] Danzer, *The Americans*, 868.

underpinning the reasons why the "last arrivals"[289] are difficult to integrate. There is a religious subtext about North-Africans lurking under the surface of code language such as the "last arrivals," a point I explain later in this discussion.

Burke speaks to the economic exigencies of capitalism and the weight that capitalism thrusts upon the human psyche in order to mute awareness of social inequity and economic exploitation. Burke's sentiments directly reflect Marx's claim that capitalism commodifies and thus alienates humans from their labor. The findings of this analysis bear witness to France's and the U.S.'s commodification of immigrants' labor, the consumption of that labor, and the discarding of that labor. According to the history textbooks, immigrants were invited to come to France and the U.S. to provide cheap labor. When the economic imperatives for cheap labor were no longer present, French and U.S. policies required the removal of the cheap labor. This is the capitalist consumption model. Buy, accumulate, throw away, and then buy again when needed or desired. Through the associations the texts draw between economic imperative and immigrant labor, the common sense of capitalist necessity takes over. If we identify immigrants as cheap labor, we are not identifying them as fully human, which parallels Burke's writing on rhetoric as identification and consubstantiality. If the immigrant's labor is to be consumed, then the immigrant is not consubstantial with the citizen.

Economic expediency becomes a veneer for racism and the homogenization of immigrants. The Romani people are invisible in the French texts despite the fact that hundreds of

[289] The "last arrivals" refers to the Hatier text which called North-Africans the "last arrivals" in lieu of identifying them as North-African.

thousands have arrived in Europe since the 1990s, tens of thousands of which reside in France.[290] Surely there was enough time and historical evidence to document their presence in France after French textbook publishers rewrote texts due to standards reforms. So seemingly undesirable are some peoples that they are not even allowed to live in the text. Discussions on forced immigration such as the violent enslavement of Africans to fuel industrializing economies are absent in the texts. The history textbooks do address the enslavement of Africans in North America and French Haiti, but they do so in a positivist frame that situates evil as unfortunate circumstance, almost as *a priori* fact. "For the sake of the economy it just sadly had to be that way" is a prevailing sentiment throughout the textbooks evaluated for this study. It bears noting that the texts provide almost no accounts of immigrants' role in growing French and American societies and culture outside entertaining people through music and sport.

The economic exploitation of immigration is mitigated by the representation of immigrants as socially corrupt and participants in illegal behaviors. Once their time is up and the farmers of California no longer need Mexicans to harvest the fruits and vegetables of their farm fields, the legal and legislative expectations are that Mexicans leave once the U.S. has exhausted their economic need for Mexican labor. To stay turns the once needed Mexican farm worker into a clandestine illegal alien who has long overstayed his welcome. The same holds true for France and the thousands of laborers who settled in France during the Glorious Thirty that provided the financial backbone of France's gracious social entitlement system.

The theme of immigration illuminates an especially complex intersection between capitalist commodification, whiteness, religion and the blurred borders between countries of like

---

[290] Henri Astier, "France's Unwanted Roma," *BBC News*, accessed February 8, 2016, http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-25419423.

civilizational backgrounds. Huntington's[291] claim that the world's conflicts will increasingly fall along civilizational divides surfaces through this study's analysis. As discussed in chapter two, Huntington contends that the world will fracture along civilizational divides largely drawn by religious associations while the ideologies that fueled the Cold War will fall to the wayside. This study shows that French and U.S. textbooks similarly identify immigrants as labor commodities that are difficult to integrate into the broader cultural fabric of these countries because of their race and religion. Where Huntington falls short in his claims is that ideology takes a backseat in the post-Cold War world is in regards to religion. Religion is not an ideology. Religion is a political resource of a given ideology, and religion serves in supporting the given ideology, which brings me to an important subtext about North African immigrants in French history textbooks.

In a country that keeps no statistics on race, France certainly has found a way to racialize North Africans in France through religion.[292] I return to the high school French history texts' discussions on mixed marriages and difficulty with integrating immigrants because the immigrants' values are far removed from those of Europe. The immigrants in question are those from North Africa. France has a long history with North Africa. For many decades France colonized North Africa, and Algeria was at one point in its history part of France although distinctions between "Muslims" and "French" were politically, socially, and economically memorialized in French Algeria.[293] France attempted to assimilate Algeria, the product of which

---

[291] Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?"

[292] des Neiges Leonard, "Census and Racial Categorization in France."

[293] Azzedine Haddour, "The Camus-Sartre Debate and the Colonial Question in Algeria," in *Francophone Postcolonial Studies: A Critical Introduction*, ed. Charles Forsdick and David

was a long war fought between the French and Algerian Muslims. Tens of thousands were killed on both sides, and France eventually retreated from Algeria. Yet, many Algerians who supported the French presence (or occupation) in Algeria were forced to emigrate to France, and France also invited laborers from Algeria and the rest of North Africa to help fuel the economic boom of the Glorious Thirty in France. Given North Africans' understanding of French culture and their fluency in French, France imagined that laborers from North Africa would be a good fit.

The exclusion of religion in discussions about immigrants of North African descent reveals, as Burke calls it, rhetorical cunning. It would not be not fair on my part to pretend that the French textbooks do not include discussions on the Algerian War; however, discussions on the Algerian War include nothing in terms of immigration. A lengthy discussion on the causes and consequences of the Algerian War for Independence is outside the scope of this dissertation; however, the consequences of the Algerian War for Independence resulting in forced immigration of North Africans to France due to economic chaos borne from the war are worth noting and relate to the findings of this analysis. My use of the words "forced immigration" may seem radical, but it cannot go without saying that the economic turmoil and political destabilization generated by France's colonization of North Africa created economic and political conflicts that produced displaced peoples in search of economic viability. If there is no work and no means of sustenance, people will leave in search of means of feeding themselves.

France brought North Africans to French soil to exploit their labor. When the labor was no longer needed or wanted, processes of "othering" ensued to exclude North Africans from French society. Schools are but one of many institutions and instruments available to the state for

---

Murphy (London : New York: Arnold ; Distributed in the United States of America by Oxford University Press, 2003), 67–76.

othering unwanted immigrants, and there are many political and cultural resources available to support the state's efforts to other – religion being an important resource – or in the case of France, the absence of religion.

As in the United States, France is a secular country with the separation of church and state inscribed in their constitution.[294] The treatment of the separation of church and state, the French term for which is *laïcité*, has become tantamount to the French Republic's values of *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*. Especially after the two 2015 terrorist attacks in Paris, the rallying cry for France has become *laïcité*, as the separation of church and state is perceived to be a means to an end – de-muslimizing France. Muslim girls are legislatively and judicially not allowed to wear head scarves to school, nor can Muslim teachers. To be French is to be *laïque*. It is a means of social exclusion.[295] What the analysis of this study shows is that religion is a feature of the ideology being imparted to students through their history textbooks. French universal values cannot neatly accommodate everyone. The North Africans are difficult to integrate. Why? It is never specifically identified why, but the rhetorical clues are there and they point to religion.

Whiteness is another ideological resource this study illuminates. Immigrants are explicitly identified as non-European in all the history textbooks analyzed for this study. The word white does not even need to be written. If immigrants are identified as non-European, they are by default identified as not white.

---

[294] Patrick Cabanel, "Catholicisme, Protestantisme et Laïcité: Réflexion Sur La Trace Religieuse Dans L'histoire Contemporaine de La France," *Modern & Contemporary France* 10, no. 1 (February 2002): 89–103.

[295] Trica Danielle Keaton, *Muslim Girls and the Other France: Race, Identity Politics, & Social Exclusion* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006).

The veiled attacks on religion and the persistent identification of the waves of non-European immigrants serve the ideological purposes of capitalism. Immigrants are needed commodities for fueling the capitalist economy. In order to exploit them with little or no guilt, they are identified as something that lives on the periphery of society, illegally sowing seeds of disruption and crime. If we see immigrants of color as less than ourselves, then we do not have to see them as human. This study's analysis shows that global conceptions of whiteness coupled with the commodification of human beings strokes a wide ideological brush across the North Atlantic, the complexities of which must be examined carefully and with attention to multiple modalities of knowing. The next chapter discusses how we can move educational policy and curriculum studies towards an ecological and equitable understanding of "knowing history."

CHAPTER 6: IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL STUDIES

I began to suspect that white people did not act as they did because they were white, but for some other reason, and I began to try to locate and understand the reason. – James Baldwin[296]

I am sure of nothing except never to find peace if I had the intention of silencing my conscience. – Christiane Taubira [297]

In this chapter, I show how Burke's rhetoric is a tool for directing us to and from language that must be disarticulated in educational studies. Just as language does not function in isolation, but is the product of socio-semiotic processes, how educational research is advanced must call upon the complexities and many methods and epistemologies available to educators. This study may appear easy on the surface. Take some textbooks, read the passages on immigrants, and deduce alternative meanings that can be attributed to the language employed to describe immigrants. In this study I cast a spotlight on the complexities of language as a vehicle for rhetorically constructing immigrants in high school French and U.S. history textbooks. Text is not unbiased and neutral; it is imbued with numerous ideological meanings that bring us together and also separate us. This study shows that the rhetorical construction of immigrants in high school French and U.S. history textbook serves the ideological purposes of capitalism in the forms of capital investment and accumulation through labor exploitation. If immigrants of color are not consubstantial (to use Burke's term) with Europeans and their descendants in the U.S., then we no longer have moral obligations towards immigrants as human beings because we shroud them in discourse that makes them "illegal, shantytown dwellers, and unskilled." Often

---

[296] James Baldwin, *The Devil Finds Work: An Essay*, 1st Vintage International ed (New York: Vintage International, 2011).

[297] Christiane Taubira, *Murmures à La Jeunesse* (Paris: Philippe Rey, 2016). Translation of original text provided by author: *Je ne suis sûre de rien, sauf de ne jamais trouver la paix si je m'avisais de bâillonner ma conscience.*

such terms, which incarnate innumerous connotations, act as our collective common sense. The question then is: how do we, in education, use Burke's rhetoric to unravel the ideologies with which textbook language is imbued in order to disrupt the "common sense" and "taken-for-grantedness" ideologies construct? There are many epistemological perspectives, methods, and approaches that circulate through educational studies, some more relevant than others depending on the contexts and motivations of a given study. David Berliner talks about the "ubiquity of interactions" in educational research and that "educational research is the hardest science of all."[298] Thus, any learning approach I propose would have to be robust, supple, inclusive, and responsive.

I show in this study that Burke's rhetoric as identification is a powerful tool in educational research for illuminating the binaries of language that potentially manipulate, misrepresent, conjoin, and harmonize students' understandings and interactions with knowledge. Disarticulating the language is but one step in a broader process of disarticulating the "ubiquity of interactions" and bringing back knowledge cunningly omitted. In this chapter I illustrate how the topic of immigration confronts past and presents contexts in an ecosystem of learning. For future research, I envision Burke's rhetoric in conjunction with the metaphor of an ecosystem to show that many parts working in orchestra with each other comprise learning and knowledge and when one part is omitted, the ecosystem is out of balance.

[298] David C. Berliner, "Educational Research: The Hardest Science of All," *Educational Researcher* 31, no. 8 (2002): 18–20.

Ecological Thinking

Ecological studies examine the interdependence of living systems.[299] Lorraine Code asserts that knowledge is generated by interactions of living systems and interdependent forms of knowing. Code's thesis is that "the creative possibilities of ecological thinking for interrupting and restructuring the dominant social and philosophical imaginary have yet to be adequately explored."[300] The disruption of dominant social and philosophical imaginaries fuels Code's examination of how "theories of knowledge shape and are shaped by dominant social-political imaginaries."[301] The possibilities for ecological epistemology are boundless. Code says about ecological epistemology:

> Yet the practice-dependent, communicative, deliberative processes of negotiation from which knowledge, on this model, is made and remade, its critical reflexivity, and its grounding in the "givenness" of the physical, historical, corporeal *Lebenswelt*, guard against the subjectivism and/or relativisim that have deterred philosophers from granting epistemic significance to place, particularity, imagination and interpretation.[302]

Ecological epistemology demands ethical and "principled adjudication of incompatible claims"[303] in order not to reinscribe the same oppression being interrogated.

Ecological epistemology turns away from reducing the inquiry of knowledge to discrete, disparate beings and situates knowledge in a social imaginary -- one that reconnects humans to each other and their ways of knowing. Code states:

---

[299] Richmond Campbell, "How Ecological Should Epistemology Be?," *Hypatia* 23, no. 1 (February 2008): 161–69.

[300] Lorraine Code, *Ecological Thinking: The Politics of Epistemic Location*, 4.

[301] Ibid., 4-5.

[302] Ibid., 6.

[303] Ibid., 6.

> A principal aim of this project is to understand the metaphorics, images, sybolisms woven into dominant social-political imaginaries: to examine how they work to shape and govern possibilities of being, thinking, acting; how they legitimate or preclude certain epistemic and other human relations, to one another and to the physical/natural/conceptual world; how philosophical systems reflect and reinforce these imaginaries.[304]

Code borrows Verena Conley's words to describe ecological epistemology as a means towards a "better 'way of inhabiting the world.'"[305] A salient tenet of ecological epistemology for this dissertation is Code's assertion that "multifaceted analyses of knowledge production and circulation in diverse biographical, historical, demographic, and geographic locations generate more responsible knowings than reductionism in the positivist post-Enlightenment legacy."[306] Ecological epistemology wrestles knowing from a *monocultural* chokehold.

Monocultural knowing in Code's estimation stands "in contradistinction to...hegemonic discourses of mastery and domination," which means that "*ecological* thinking becomes a frame for reconfiguring knowledge, sociality, and subjectivity and for reexamining the potential of epistemic and ethico-political practices to produce habitats where people can live well together with and within the physical/natural world."[307] By examining the production of knowledge ecologically and through multiple epistemological lenses we can interrogate "single stories" of knowing and thereby render knowledge more inclusive and authentic.

Campbell explains that there are no limits on the possibilities of ecological epistemology. Campbell finds Code's metaphor of ecological epistemology to be an "evocative metaphor...to

---

[304] Ibid., 7.

[305] Ibid., 7.

[306] Ibid., 9.

[307] Ibid., 19.

alter our way of thinking about knowledge."[308] Campbell divides his interpretation of Code's ecological epistemology into five parts:

> (1) Our best knowledge of living systems is not reductive in the sense of knowledge arising purely from knowing their parts. Living systems cannot be fully known independent of their natural environment, and the same for those living systems that generate knowledge. (2) Living systems cannot be fully understood by applying universal laws of nature, as required by the nomological deductive model of scientific knowledge, thereby ignoring the ways in which the living systems may display patterns of behavior unique to their environment. The same can be said at the epistemic level for systems that generate knowledge. (3) The primary sites of knowledge generation are not individual organisms, as is usually assumed. (4) Knowledge generation almost always depends on an evaluative environment that contains nonepistemic values. (5) Epistemology must be reflexive and treat the activity of explaining knowledge as itself worthy of study as an embodied, living activity interdependent with nonepistemic activities.[309]

Campbell asserts that these five features of Code's ecological epistemology are "skills necessary for being an epistemic agent"[310] in troubling knowledge "through the consideration of new hypotheses that are consistent with the original evidence but inconsistent with the usual thinking."[311] "Usual thinking" is a problematic dynamic in the social imaginary's treatment of "single stories," for "usual thinking" or "common sense" render original evidence invisible to those entrenched in dominant ideologies.

The Ecology Metaphor in Policy Analysis

Ecological knowing and agentic knowing hold transformational opportunities for looking “from below” and for advancing multiculturalism across global education. Teacher preparation is, as always, an integral piece to developing criticality in teachers whose efforts will liberate

---

[308] Campbell, “How Ecological Should Epistemology Be?", 161.

[309] Ibid., 161.

[310] Ibid., 165.

[311] Ibid., 167.

their students from conformist, reductive textbooks and learning materials. Weaver-Hightower's examination of ecological thinking in education policy analysis is an example of how the ecological metaphor can broaden analyses in educational studies.[312]

Weaver-Hightower reviews scholarship on applications of ecological metaphor in educational studies noting that their applications had been thin and based on environment.[313] Weaver-Hightower contends that an ecological analysis is a call to complexity. He says in regards to an ecological analysis of educational policy:

> An ecological analysis looks at the media, parent groups, religious groups, printers, travel agents, spouses, and all other persons or institutions that allow the process to work, no matter how insignificant their role may appear at first glance. It also necessitates understanding the broader cultures and society in which a policy resides. Limits, of course, are necessary on how deep any analysis can go, but the ecology metaphor's usefulness lies in its ability to extend analysis further.[314]

In Weaver-Hightower's ecological model, an ecological analysis is comprised of: actors, relationships, environments and structures, and processes. These components of Weaver-Hightower's comprise his ecosystem. Like in a biological ecosystem, there are a myriad of actors who participate in the ecosystem in varying capacities from people who care for the ill to people who teach society's children. Actors do not exist independently of each other in an ecosystem but rather in complex relationships that maintain the ecosystem. These relationships can be symbiotic or explicitly cooperative in nature. In the ecosystem, "all of the actors and groups, and even the relationships among them, interact with and are influenced by the environment and by

---

[312] M. B. Weaver-Hightower, "An Ecology Metaphor for Educational Policy Analysis: A Call to Complexity," *Educational Researcher* 37, no. 3 (April 1, 2008): 153–67.

[313] Ibid.

[314] Ibid., 155.

social and institutional structures."[315] Weaver-Hightower notes that boundaries exist within the ecosystem but that they are difficult to discern. For the ecosystem's environments and structures to function, there need to be pressures and inputs. Examples of pressures that Weaver-Hightower provides are immigrants who push for reforms to gain access to education. Inputs could be characterized by funding or other resources that affect the pressures being applied. The fact that some actors are resistant to the pressures and inputs within the ecosystem demonstrates agency on the actors' parts. The ecosystem is not always stable and interactive processes create ecosystems from the original ecosystem as an adaptation to pressures in order to reach a new equilibrium. The ecosystem Weaver-Hightower describes is one in constant flux, malleable to the pressures, inputs, fragmentations, and redundancies that constitute actors' relationships and interactions within the ecosystem. Weaver-Hightower's ecosystem for understanding educational policy provides similar frame for situating rhetoric, ecological knowing, and agentic knowing, as the ecosystem of learning entails many of same components, or pieces of a puzzle, that Weaver-Hightower describes.

Ecological Epistemology and Agentic Knowing

As seen through Weaver-Hightower's application of ecological thinking in policy analysis, ecosystems of learning hold powerful possibilities for knowing. Ecological epistemology engages people in broader understandings of their world and of themselves. Boyles examines Code's ecological epistemology in order to bridge ecological epistemology with education, a bridge that Code does not adequately construct herself.[316] Boyles begins a

[315] Ibid., 156.

consideration of Code's ecological epistemology by asking about knowing: "But what if this 'knowing' is so narrowly construed that the primary agents for knowing in schools —students and teachers —are structurally restricted in their potential for knowing"?[317] Boyles asserts "that ecological thinking and standpoints for knowing should be primary elements in a general theory of knowledge for reconstructing schools and schooling as sites for agentic knowing."[318]

Boyles writes that Code's ecological epistemology "reinforces the sociality of humans" and that Code places "an epistemic responsibility...on members of society to 'know well,' that is to understand." Agentic knowing becomes the ethical and epistemological task that disentangles learning from "disembodied" and "neutral" knowledge and thus socially situates knowledge production. Boyles further clarifies that agentic knowing is anchored in the understanding that "teachers and students have subjugated standpoints."[319] Therefore, knowing becomes a question of "how to see from below." Boyles refers to Maxine Greene's writing to uncover "what masquerade as neutral frameworks."[320] Questioning neutrality in today's curriculum, as Boyles points out, disempowers students and teachers--they are not "generative meaning-makers."

The focus on individualism in today's schools is a source in the representation of disembodied facts as knowledge.[321] Ecological epistemology reconfigures knowledge production

---

[316] Deron Boyles, "Considering Lorraine Code's Ecological Thinking and Standpoint Epistemology: A Theory of Knowledge for Agentic Knowing in Schools?," *Philosophical Studies in Education* 40 (2009): 125–37.

[317] Ibid., 125.

[318] Ibid., 125.

[319] Ibid., 131.

[320] Ibid., 132.

to include multitudes of knowing that require connections to others in "non-individualist" ways. Boyles adds, "there are no 'individual' learners who exist apart from social relations."[322] The focus on individualism is why in school curricula the "knower is a faceless, dispassionate, infinitely replicable 'individual' who knows only when he suppresses interdependence both situational and personal, along with affect, meaning, and indeed all aspects of his sociality and individuality."[323] Boyles makes the distinction between individualism and individuality by stating: "Individualism is about 'me.' Individuality, on the other hand, includes 'me,' but also recognizes the world and others around me."[324]

Interrogating the world around us is an integral dynamic of the ecosystem of learning metaphor. Unraveling the language of textbooks through Burke's rhetoric shows that knowledge is missing, that the ecosystem of learning is out of balance, how then do educators facilitate the growth of students as agents of their learning? The scholarship of King et al. on "re-membering" knowledge provides a means through which ecosystems of learning can be reconstituted or "re-membered."

Rhetoric and Ecological Thinking: Agentic Knowing for "Re-membering" the Ecoystem of Knowledge

In chapter two of this dissertation I briefly discuss the scholarship of King et al. on "re-membering" knowledge in an Afrocentric approach to teaching and learning. "Re-membering"

---

[321] Ibid.

[322] Ibid., 132.

[323] Code, *Ecological Thinking*, as quoted in Boyles, "Considering Lorraine Code's Ecological Thinking and Standpoint Epistemology: A Theory of Knowledge for Agentic Knowing in Schools?", 131.

[324] Boyles, "Considering Lorraine Code's Ecological Thinking and Standpoint Epistemology: A Theory of Knowledge for Agentic Knowing in Schools?", 133.

historical knowledge holds a myriad of possibilities for ecosystem learning and knowledge production as I see "re-membering" knowledge as a means for "re-membering" a broken ecosystem. When an ecosystem is in distress and integral pieces are missing, scientists work to identify and to re-introduce what was removed from the ecosystem (either by design or by consequence of carelessness) in order to put the ecosystem back into balance.

King et al. detail the development of the term "re-member" in Afrocentric learning as an extension of Barbara Christian's analysis of the itemization of African bodies during enslavement. Just as Christian used "re-member" to put back together the "members of parts of bodies," King et al. "re-member" omitted knowledge from historical master narratives. Integral to understanding "re-membering" is that itemizing and separating Africans' body parts at auction was a form of "subjugation that involved dismembering wholeness; and that putting those strands or parts back together is part of liberation from residual effects of such inhumane practices."[325] Such a reconceptualization of the infinitive *to remember* embodies Burke's terministic screens and provides a lens through which "re-membering" takes on powerful and emancipatory dimensions for "re-membering" ecosystems of learning and knowledge that are out of balance.

Putting Theory into Praxis

In this section, I provide an example of how rhetoric, ecological thinking, agentic knowing,[326] and "re-membering" [327] ecosystems of learning and knowledge coalesce to

---

[325] King, Swartz, Campbell, et al., *"Re-Membering" History in Student and Teacher Learning*, Location 600. Kindle Edition.

[326] Boyles, "Considering Lorraine Code's Ecological Thinking and Standpoint Epistemology: A Theory of Knowledge for Agentic Knowing in Schools?"

emancipate and democratize knowledge. Learning in ecological contexts is fluid and calls upon students' cultural and community assets to set the ecosystem of knowledge in balance. The metaphor of ecological learning illustrates that historical learning is not linear, but rather meanders in and out of many modalities of learning and knowing that conjoin current contexts with past contexts.

At the time of this writing, France and the United States have been embroiled in debates about immigration. At the center of these debates are questions about identity, what it means to be French or American, and what economic costs and benefits are associated with immigration. The debates about immigration are impassioned and provide opportunities for substantive learning about the construct of race, citizenship, civic life, government, and history. To illustrate how knowing historically and democratically about immigration in France and U.S. contexts can be accomplished, and I revisit the four political statements from the introduction of this dissertation. They are:

> For there to be national cohesion, we have to keep balance in the country, that is to say its cultural majority. We are a Judeo-Christian country – the general de Gaulle said it – of the white race that welcomes foreign persons. I want France to stay France. I do not want France to become Muslim. – Nadine Morano, European Deputy for Les Républicains political party in France.[328]

> President Obama and Hillary Clinton's idea that we should bring tens of thousands of Syrian Muslim refugees to America – it is nothing less than lunacy…now on the other

---

[327] King, Swartz, Campbell, et al., *"Re-Membering" History in Student and Teacher Learning.*

[328] Quote taken from statements Nadine Morano's made September 26, 2015 on the France 2 television show, "On n'est pas couché." Translation of original text provided by author: *Pour qu'il y ait une cohésion nationale, il faut garder un équilibre dans le pays, c'est-à-dire sa majorité culturelle. Nous sommes un pays judéo-chrétien – le général de Gaulle le disait –, de race blanche, qui accueille des personnes étrangères. J'ai envie que la France reste la France. Je n'ai pas envie que la France devienne musulmane.*

> hand, Christians who are being targeted, for genocide, for persecution, Christians who are being beheaded or crucified, we should be providing safe haven to them. –Ted Cruz, 2016 presidential candidate for the Republican Party and United States State Senator from Texas Nov 15[329]
>
> When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you. They're not sending you. They're sending people that have lots of problems and they're bringing those problems to us. They're bringing drugs, they're bringing crime, they're rapists, and some, I assume, are good people. –Donald Trump, 2016 presidential candidate for the Republican Party[330]
>
> Henceforth migrants wander about in our neighborhoods, around the train stations or in shanty towns, causing France immense hygiene problems. – Marine Le Pen, president of Le Front National political party in France [331]

The political statements are rhetorical, and they respond to the rhetorical situation of immigration. I assume that teachers and students bring to the classroom cultural, historical, and community assets that can unshackle knowledge from hegemonic historical master scripts. These four political statements characterize Bitzer's rhetorical situation but in a pedagogical sense, they represent opportunities for agentic knowing. If I were in a classroom facilitating student learning on immigrants, I would ask: What terms are used to identify immigrants in these four statements? Table 6 shows responses I imagine students giving.

---

[329] Quote taken from statements Ted Cruz made on November 15, 2015 in an interview with Fox News.

[330] Quote taken from Donald Trump's speech announcing his presidential bid on June 16, 2015.

[331] Quote taken from statement made by Marine Le Pen during *Le Front National's* summer retreat in 2015. Translation of original text provided by author: *Désormais, des migrants errent dans nos quartiers, autour des gares ou dans des bidonvilles, causant à la France d'immenses problèmes de salubrité*.

Table 6. Students' hypothetical responses to hypothetical lesson

Immigrants identified as:	Attributable to:
non-Christian	Morano
non-White	Morano, Trump
Muslim	Morano, Cruz
Foreign	Morano
Problems	Trump
drug dealers	Trump
Rapists	Trump
Criminals	Trump
Dirty	Le Pen
vagrant	Le Pen

I would ask students to think about these terms as filters that direct our attention towards certain meanings while hiding other meanings. I would have students couple the terms from the political statements with terms from the textbook to form motifs. I see the motifs as: religion, race, and criminality. Using these political statements provides opportunities to facilitate students' awareness that that textbooks are not objective, that, in fact, textbooks condition us into certain understandings about foreign-born immigrants while blinding us to alternatives about immigrants and citizens who were born and raised in France and the U.S. I would provide students questions to initiate reflexive considerations of the political statements. The questions would resemble the following in content and tenor:

1. What economic and cultural conditions are in place that produce shanty towns? Why are immigrants often found in shanty towns in France? Are there shanty towns in the U.S.?
2. How have Mexicans been an integral part of building economic prosperity in the United States? What made economic conditions such that Mexicans would come to the U.S. to work?

3. Is France a country of the white race? What does it mean to be white? What do writers and philosophers such as Franz Fanon and Aimé Césaire say about being a French citizen of color? What is the négritude movement and why did it come to be?
4. Algeria was once French territory. What does that say about the history of France as a country of the white race? Or is France a country of white invaders? What is Françafrique and what does Françafrique tell us about France as a country of the white race?
5. What is life like as non-White in France and the U.S.? What narratives and pieces of literature are available to us to illuminate narratives about non-white experiences in France and the U.S.? How can we put non-white experiences at the forefront to tell us about an ideology of whiteness?
6. Why are Christians welcome in the U.S. but not Muslims in Cruz' estimation? Have there been instances in U.S. history in which Christianity was used to oppress people? Has Christianity been used to justify crimes against humanity?
7. Why would secular countries like France and the U.S. care about the religion of immigrants? Is it about religion or is it about religion as a political resource of ideology?

The questions may be leading, but they are also paths for teachers and students to work in conjunction towards making meaning of deplorable textbooks and political statements. Meaning making when considered as an ecological phenomenon in which the ecosystem must be "re-membered" imbues learning with critical, reflexive, emancipatory, and democratized learning in which the whole of knowledge is visible through the lens of humanity and not just skewed by a hegemonic lens of self-interested wealth accumulation through subjugation of peoples of color. Recognizing the world and others around us is a project in seeing others as equally human and

worthy of dignity—it is a project in democratizing knowledge. "Better ways of inhabiting the world" can be achieved through the inclusion of all metanarratives about being human in ways that preceded the concepts of race, religion, and the immigrant other. In the appendices of this dissertation I borrow from Weaver-Hightower's writing on ecological policy analysis to illustrate how I would sketch an ecosystem of learning on immigration using the above example.

Suggestions for Further Research

This study shows that rhetoric and discourse analysis still play an important role in preparing educators for the complexities and "ubiquity of interactions" that they will face in teaching history. Just as important are ways of knowing such as Lorraine Code's ecological epistemology and Joyce E. King's Afrocentric praxis of "re-membering" knowledge that demand global examinations of knowledge production. Educational studies have moved beyond the nation-state, and as I show in this study, ideology traverses nation-state borders and permeates globalized spaces.

Admittedly, it would be difficult to argue that the nation-state does not play a significant role in curriculum in countries such as the United States and France. Clearly, the scandal that ensued when the College Board redeveloped the advanced placement (AP) U.S. history curriculum illustrates the importance of the nation-state in U.S. curricula. The College Board spent years developing a new AP U.S. history curriculum that interrogated U.S. history and included international dimensions that were not welcomed by conservatively aligned politicians. The inclusion of an internationalized perspective of U.S. history resulted in furious debates about what students should learn about their country's history, and ultimately the College Board

returned to the previous curriculum and abandoned the new AP U.S. history curriculum.[332] History curriculum reforms also spark debates about French sovereignty and exceptionalism.[333] It is, however, important to discuss curriculum development (and by extension textbook publishing) in relation to textbooks used in anglophone and francophone Africa. A report the World Bank produced on textbooks in secondary education in sub-Saharan Africa reveals the importance of textbooks in undermining nation-states such as Uganda and Senegal.

The World Bank report explains in regards to secondary textbooks in francophone sub-Saharan African that "local school textbook publishing is still a rarity in francophone Africa, where probably 90 percent of books used in schools are still published by metropolitan publishers based in France and Belgium."[334] In anglophone Africa the World Bank notes that United Kingdom publishing companies have been quick to set up publishing subsidiaries in English-speaking African countries such as Uganda and South Africa. In light of neoliberal superpowers like France and the United Kingdom providing the majority of textbooks to sub-Saharan Africa questions about African countries' sovereignty surface. In the textbook scheme the World Bank provides in its report on secondary textbooks we learn that sub-Saharan African children acquire knowledge through European perspectives, not those respective to their own

---

[332] Adam B. Lerner, "History Class Becomes a Debate on America," *POLITICO*, accessed December 17, 2015, http://www.politico.com/story/2015/02/ap-us-history-controversy-becomes-a-debate-on-america-115381.html.

[333] "Latin, Histoire, Classes Bilingues : Les Points Chauds de La Réforme Du Collège," *Le Figaro*, May 18, 2015, http://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/2015/05/18/01016-20150518ARTFIG00144-epi-latin-histoire-l-abcd-de-la-reforme-du-college.php.

[334] *Textbooks and School Library Provision in Secondary Education in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2008), 53.

cultures and indigenous languages. The World Bank provides one example of how neoliberal ideologies undermine the nation-state in this instance in countries in sub-Sahara Africa.

The fact that the World Bank even published a 134-page report on secondary textbooks in sub-Sahara Africa holds implications for further research. In this dissertation I claim that Eurocentric neoliberal ideology rhetorically constructs understandings of immigrants of color through a process of (mis)identifications and negation. The World Bank and other supranational organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Office for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) reproduce the colonizing forces that occupied and exploited Africa, the Middle East, and parts of Asia through most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Whereas as these organizations do not organize a physical military presence as France and the UK did, they nonetheless exercise cultural and political pressures through their regime of neoliberal economics. The attention the World Bank dedicates to secondary textbooks in the form of their extensive report provides insights into the business of textbooks.

The World Bank's report seems innocuous on the surface. In the report the World Bank details the importance of securing a stable and extensive textbook supply in sub-Saharan Africa to strengthen their educational infrastructure. The World Bank explains that access to textbooks will facilitate economic development in sub-Saharan Africa while securing social stability that a thriving economy ensures. After documenting the reasons why secondary textbooks are important for economically growing and politically stabilizing sub-Saharan Africa, the World Bank provides its solution.

Before providing its ultimate solution, the World Bank explains that sub-Saharan Africans suffer from a lack of capital that will "prove daunting, and probably impossible, for a

majority of secondary school students" to purchase textbooks and that "at the same time, the support costs involved in establishing, maintaining and replacing core textbook stocks will be very high for government."[335] The initial costs of textbooks that sub-Saharan Africans cannot afford can be, according to the World Bank, amortized through a book rental scheme. Specifically, the World Bank states:

> The most obvious form of cost reduction is the development of school textbook banks financed by annual student rental fees. This enables the initial costs of supply to be amortized over the period of assumed book life (six years in Uganda?), provided only that financial support is available for the initial costs of investment. Textbook rental fees are normally calculated to take into account the likely costs of annual loss and damage replacement and the cost of full stock replacement at the end of the normal period of book life. To ensure that funds are sufficient for replacement an inflation allocation is also built into the calculation.[336]

The World Bank has identified in textbooks opportunities for expanding textbook consumption by using the booming population of sub-Saharan Africa as new stream (flood) of revenue, and to facilitate the acquisition of secondary textbooks, the World Bank has fastidiously detailed a means through which secondary students and schools can obtain textbooks – rent to own.

Apart from the economic implications the World Bank's textbook proposal holds, there are colonization implications. I detail in my findings that the processes of rhetorical (mis)identifications reify a Eurocentric colonization of knowledge. The World Bank's textbook

---

[335] Ibid, 83.

[336] Ibid, 83.

rent to own scheme and their admission that the vast majority of secondary textbooks in sub-Saharan Africa is produced by European publishers are evidence that European colonization still exists. Frantz Fanon, a French citizen, psychiatrist, and philosopher of Antillean origins who supported decolonization, says about colonization, "it is the colonist who fabricated and continues to fabricate the colonized subject. The colonist derives his validity, i.e., his wealth, from the colonial system."[337] The World Bank's focus on secondary textbooks represents continued efforts to colonize Africa through schemes to grow European wealth and to define for Africans what they know about themselves through European textbooks – the result of which is European countries usurping African nation-states and their epistemological sovereignty.

The nation-state is also compromised in considerations of K-12 education as the presence of online learning continues to expand, moving teachers and students out of physical proximity to each other in favor of virtual proximity. The constraints and possibilities for democratized knowledge in online learning need to be researched further, especially as K-12 courses traverse state boundaries and nation-state boundaries. As online learning expands the spaces of curricular and knowledge dissemination, the ideological screen that filters the production of online curriculum and knowledge becomes paramount in understanding how to put the ecosystem of learning back into balance. Of particular interest is how online learning providers address "standards" and academic oversight. Furthermore, research on online learning providers and the infrastructure, or lack of infrastructure, in place to ensure adherence to socially just and inclusive curricula in online learning can broaden our understandings of what ideologies are situated in this broadening domain of education. Seemingly, the cachet of "technology" and "innovative learning platforms" stand unquestioned, and as online learning globalizes learning and becomes

---

[337] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1963), 2.

more ubiquitous, we must increasingly interrogate online learning and its purposes. Again, organizations such as the World Bank are implicated in questions about online learning as they seek to grow their influence in directing educational policy.[338]

Conclusion

This dissertation examines history textbooks currently in use in France and the United States – two lands on opposite sides of the Atlantic Ocean that are considered immigrant countries. I show through the analysis and findings of the textbooks selected for this dissertation that contexts and legislative infrastructures may dramatically differ in considerations of the race construct, but there is little difference in how immigrants of color are rhetorically constructed across Western, Eurocentric spaces. Even in light of the considerable corpus of scholarship and research on socially just and inclusive curricula, skewed and miseducative narratives about immigrants of color persist. Broader questions about the sociological, economic, and political determinants that enable and perpetuate the exclusion of immigrants of color as nation-builders and founders from French and American historical narratives should continued to interrogated. Historical narratives are important in centering children in the experience of being human, but the narratives children learn must disrupt the ideologies that oppress us all by conforming our understandings of each other into constructed categories that serve hegemonic and economic purposes.

---

[338] "World Bank and Coursera to Partner on Open Learning," Text/HTML, *World Bank*, accessed April 2, 2016, http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2013/10/15/world-bank-coursera-partner-open-learning.

REFERENCES

Abbott, Don. "Marxist Influences on the Rhetorical Theory of Kenneth Burke." *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 7, no. 4 (1974): 217–33.

"A Guide to the Worst Refugee Crisis since WWII." *Mondoweiss*. Accessed October 11, 2015. http://mondoweiss.net/2015/09/refugee-crisis-since.

Alazard, Joëlle, Éric Godeau, Jean-Marcel Guigou, and Sébastien Cote. *Histoire 1re S: nouveau programme 2013*. Paris: Nathan, 2013.

Al Jazeera English. *Africa: States of Independence - the Scramble for Africa*, 2010. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CgzSnZidGuU.

Alridge, Derrick P. "The Limits of Master Narratives in History Textbooks: An Analysis of Representations of Martin Luther King, Jr." *Teachers College Record* 108, no. 4 (April 1, 2006): 662–86.

"American Textbook Council - Widely Adopted History Textbooks." Accessed January 19, 2016. http://historytextbooks.net/adopted.htm.

Anyon, Jean. *Marx and Education*. Routledge Key Ideas in Education Series. New York: Routledge, 2011.

Appleby, Joyce Oldham, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob. *Telling the Truth about History*. New York: Norton, 1995.

Appleby, Joyce Oldham, and National Geographic Society (U.S.), eds. *The American Vision: Modern Times*. Teacher wraparound ed. Columbus, Ohio: Glencoe/McGraw-Hill, 2010.

Apple, Michael W., ed. "Global Crises, Social Justice, and Education." In *Global Crises, Social Justice, and Education*, 1–24. New York: Routledge, 2010.

Apple, Michael W., *Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age*. Third edition. New York: Routledge, 2014.

Aprile, Sylvie, Hugo Billard, and Franck Bodin. *Histoire 1re [ES, L, S]*. Paris: Magnard, 2011.

Astier, Henri. "France's Unwanted Roma." *BBC News*. Accessed February 8, 2016. http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-25419423.

Aune, James. "Modernity as a Rhetorical Problem: Phronesis, Forms, and Forums in Norms of Rhetorical Culture." *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 41, no. 4 (2008): 402–20.

Aune, James Arnt. "The Politics of Rhetorical Studies: A Piacular Rite." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 92, no. 1 (February 2006).

Baldwin, James. *The Devil Finds Work: An Essay*. 1st Vintage International ed. New York: Vintage International, 2011.

Banks, James A. *An Introduction to Multicultural Education*. Fifth edition. Boston: Pearson, 2014.

Barab, Sasha A., and Wolff-Michael Roth. "Curriculum-Based Ecosystems: Supporting Knowing from an Ecological Perspective." *Educational Researcher* 35, no. 5 (n.d.): 3–13.

Barou, Jacques. "Integration of Immigrants in France: A Historical Perspective." *Identities* 21, no. 6 (November 2, 2014): 642–57.

Barton, Keith C., and Linda S. Levstik. *Teaching History for the Common Good*. Mahwah, N.J: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004.

Begag, Azouz. "Les Relations France-Algérie Vues de La Diaspora Algérienne." *Modern & Contemporary France* 10, no. 4 (November 2002): 475–82.

Berdah, Arthur. "Régionales : Marine Le Pen Veut «éradiquer L'immigration Bactérienne»." *Le Figaro*, November 10, 2015. http://www.lefigaro.fr/politique/le-scan/citations/2015/11/10/25002-20151110ARTFIG00142-regionales-marine-le-pen-veut-eradiquer-l-immigration-bacterienne.php.

Berger, Stefan. "History and National Identity: Why They Should Remain Divorced." *History & Policy*, 2007. http://www.historyandpolicy.org/index.php/policy-papers/papers/history-and-national-identity-why-they-should-remain-divorced.

Berliner, David C. "Educational Research: The Hardest Science of All." *Educational Researcher* 31, no. 8 (2002): 18–20.

Berman, Russell. "Donald Trump Calls for Banning Muslim Immigrants - The Atlantic." Accessed December 9, 2015. http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/12/donald-trumps-call-to-ban-muslim-immigrants/419298/.

Bitzer, Lloyd F. "The Rhetorical Situation." *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 1, no. 1 (1968): 1–14.

Bleich, Erik. "The French Model: Color-Blind Integration." In *Race in France: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Politics of Difference*, edited by Herrick Chapman and Laura Levine Frader, 270–97. New York: Berghahn Books, 2004.

Bloch, Marc. *The Historian's Craft*. Princeton, N.J.: Vintage edition, 1964.

Bloom, David E. “Globalization and Education: An Economic Perspective.” In *Globalization: Culture and Education in the New Millennium*, edited by Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco and Desirée Qin-Hilliard, 56–77. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

Bogdan, Robert, and Sari Knopp Biklen. *Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theories and Methods*. Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon, 2006.

Borjas, George J. “The Economics of Immigration.” *Journal of Economic Literature* 32 (1994): 1667–1717.

Bourel, Guillaume, Ivan Dufresnoy, Axelle Guillausseau, Jean Hubac, François-Xavier Nérard, Tramor Quemeneur, Sylvain Venayre, Xavier Lapray, and Marielle Chevallier. *Histoire, 1re L-ES-S: [livre de l’élève]*. Paris: Hatier, 2015.

Boyles, Deron. “Considering Lorraine Code’s Ecological Thinking and Standpoint Epistemology: A Theory of Knowledge for Agentic Knowing in Schools?” *Philosophical Studies in Education* 40 (2009): 125–37.

Brecher, Jeremy, Tim Costello, and Brendan Smith. *Globalization from below: The Power of Solidarity*. Cambridge, Mass: South End Press, 2000.

Brock, Bernard L. “Introduction.” In *Kenneth Burke and the 21st Century*, edited by Bernard L. Brock, 1–18. SUNY Series in Speech Communication. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999.

———., ed. *Kenneth Burke and the 21st Century*. SUNY Series in Speech Communication. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999.

Buras, Kristen L., and Paulino Motter. “Toward a Subaltern Cosmopolitan Multiculturalism.” In *The Subaltern Speak: Curriculum, Power, and Educational Struggles*, edited by Michael W. Apple and Kristen L. Buras, 243–70. New York: Routledge, 2006.

Buras, Kristen L. *Rightist Multiculturalism: Core Lessons on Neoconservative School Reform*. The Critical Social Thought Series. New York: Routledge, 2008.

Burke, Kenneth. *A Grammar of Motives*. Berkeley, Calif.: Univ. of California Press, 1945.

———. *A Rhetoric of Motives*. California ed., [Nachrdr.]. Berkeley, Calif.: Univ. of California Press, 1950.

———. *Counter-Statement*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1931.

———. “Language as Symbolic Action.” In *The Rhetorical Tradition: Readings from Classical Times to the Present*, edited by Patricia Bizzell and Bruce Herzberg, 1340–47. New York, NY: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2001.

———. *Language as Symbolic Action: Essays on Life, Literature, and Method*. Nachdr. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1966.

———. "Linguistic Approach to Problems of Education." In *MODERN PHILOSOPHIES and EDUCATION: The Fifty-Fourth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, edited by Henry Nelson, 259–303. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1955.

———. *Permanence and Change: An Anatomy of Purpose*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1973.

———. "RHETORIC-OLD AND NEW" 5, no. 3 (1951): 202–9.

Cabanel, Patrick. "Catholicisme, Protestantisme et Laïcité: Réflexion Sur La Trace Religieuse Dans L'histoire Contemporaine de La France." *Modern & Contemporary France* 10, no. 1 (February 2002): 89–103.

Cahill, William. "Kenneth Burke's Pedagogy of Motives | KB Journal." Accessed October 14, 2015. http://kbjournal.org/william_cahill.

Campbell, Richmond. "How Ecological Should Epistemology Be?" *Hypatia* 23, no. 1 (February 2008): 161–69.

Caron, Jean-François. "Understanding and Interpreting France's National Identity: The Meanings of Being French." *National Identities* 15, no. 3 (September 2013): 223–37.

Carretero, Mario, Mikel Asensio, and María Rodríguez Moneo, eds. *History Education and the Construction of National Identities*. International Review of History Education. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Pub, 2012.

Cheney, George, Kathy Garvin-Doxas, and Kathleen Torrens. "Kenneth Burke's Implicit Theory of Power." In *Kenneth Burke and the 21st Century*, edited by Bernard L. Brock, 133–50. SUNY Series in Speech Communication. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999.

Chesebro, James W. "Multiculturalism and the Burkean System: Limitations and Extensions." In *Kenneth Burke and the 21st Century*, edited by Bernard L. Brock, 167–88. SUNY Series in Speech Communication. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999.

Code, Lorraine. *Ecological Thinking: The Politics of Epistemic Location*. Studies in Feminist Philosophy. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

———. "The Power of Ignorance." In *Race and Epistemologies of Ignorance*, edited by Shannon Sullivan and Nancy Tuana, 213–30. SUNY Series, Philosophy and Race. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007.

Crotty, Michael. *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process*. London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 1998.

Crusius, Timothy W. *Kenneth Burke and the Conversation after Philosophy*. Rhetorical Philosophy and Theory. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999.

Dale, Roger, and Susan Robertson. "Editorial: Introduction." *Globalisation, Societies and Education* 1, no. 1 (March 2003): 3–11.

Danzer, Gerald A., ed. *The Americans*. Evanston, Ill: Holt McDougal, 2012.

De Cock, Laurence, Emmanuelle Picard, and Comité de vigilance face aux usages publics de l'histoire, eds. *La Fabrique Scolaire de L'histoire: Illusions et Désillusions Du Roman National*. Passé & Présent. Marseille: Agone, 2009.

Delpit, Lisa D. *"Multiplication Is for White People": Raising Expectations for Other People's Children*. New York: New Press : Distributed by Perseus Distribution, 2012.

des Neiges Leonard, Marie. "Census and Racial Categorization in France: Invisible Categories and Color-Blind Politics." *Humanity & Society* 38, no. 1 (February 1, 2014): 67–88.

Du Bois, W.E.B. *The Souls of Black Folk*. Kindle, 1903. http://www.amazon.com.

Eagleton, Terry. *Literary Theory: An Introduction*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1983.

"Education | MIPEX 2015." *Www.mipex.eu*. Accessed January 6, 2016. http://www.mipex.eu/education.

Ehninger, Douglas. "On Systems of Rhetoric." *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 1, no. 3 (1968): 131–44.

Enoch, Jessica. "Becoming Symbol-Wise: Kenneth Burke's Pedagogy of Critical Reflection." *College Composition and Communication* 56, no. 2 (December 2004): 272.

Fallace, Thomas. "Historiography and Teacher Education: Reflections on an Experimental Course." *The History Teacher* 42, no. 2 (2009): 205–22.

Fantozzi, Victoria B. "Divergent Purposes: A Case Study of a History Education Course Co-Taught by a Historian and Social Studies Education Expert." *History Teacher* 45, no. 2 (2012): 241–59.

Fassin, Didier. "Nommer, Interpréter. Le Sens Commun de La Question Raciale." In *De La Question Sociale à La Question Raciale?: Représenter La Société Française*, edited by Didier Fassin and Eric Fassin, 27–44. Cahiers Libres. Paris: Découverte, 2006.

Fitzgerald, James. “History in the Curriculum: Debate on Aims and Values.” *History and Theory* 22, no. 4 (December 1983): 81.

Forsdick, Charles, and David Murphy, eds. *Francophone Postcolonial Studies: A Critical Introduction*. London : New York: Arnold ; Distributed in the United States of America by Oxford University Press, 2003.

———., eds. “Introduction.” In *Francophone Postcolonial Studies: A Critical Introduction*. London : New York: Arnold ; Distributed in the United States of America by Oxford University Press, 2003.

Foster, Stuart. “Re-Thinking History Textbooks in a Globalized World.” In *History Education and the Construction of National Identities*, edited by Mario Carretero, Mikel Asensio, and María Rodríguez Moneo, 49–62. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, INC., 2012.

“France | MIPEX 2015.” Accessed January 5, 2016. http://www.mipex.eu/france.

“Full Text of ‘Modern Philosophies And Education The Fifty-Fourth Yearbook Of The National Society For The Study Of Education Part I.’” Accessed October 14, 2015. https://archive.org/stream/modernphilosophi008975mbp/modernphilosophi008975mbp_djvu.txt.

Gadamer, Hans-Georg. *Truth and Method*. Translated by Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall. The Bloomsbury Revelations Series. London: Bloomsbury, 2013.

Gairin, Victoria. “Réforme Du Collège : ‘L’histoire Nationale N’est Pas Un Récit Mythifié.’” *Le Point*. Accessed October 4, 2015. http://www.lepoint.fr/societe/reforme-du-college-faire-connaitre-l-histoire-ce-n-est-pas-livrer-un-recit-mythifie-15-05-2015-1928697_23.php.

Garcia, Patrick. “Les Péripéties de La Discipline.” In *Le Débat : Histoire, Politique, Société ; Revue Mensuelle*, edited by Pierre Nora, 8–17. Le Débat, 2013.

Gee, James Paul. *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*. 3rd ed. Milton Park, Abingdon ; New York: Routledge, 2011.

Greene, Maxine. *The Dialectic of Freedom*. The John Dewey Lecture. New York: Teachers College Press, 1988.

Grever, Maria. “Dilemmas of Common and Plural History: Reflections on History Education and Heritage in a Globalizing World.” In *History Education and the Construction of National Identities*, edited by Mario Carretero, Mikel Asensio, and María Rodríguez Moneo, 75–92. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, INC., 2012.

Guess, Teresa J. “The Social Construction of Whiteness: Racism by Intent, Racism by Consequence.” *Critical Sociology* 32, no. 4 (2006): 649–73.

Haddour, Azzedine. “The Camus-Sartre Debate and the Colonial Question in Algeria.” In *Francophone Postcolonial Studies: A Critical Introduction*, edited by Charles Forsdick and David Murphy, 67–76. London : New York: Arnold ; Distributed in the United States of America by Oxford University Press, 2003.

Hansen, Jonathan. “De-Nationalize History and What Have We Done? Ontology, Essentialism, and the Search for a Comsopolitan Alternative.” In *History Education and the Construction of National Identities*, edited by Mario Carretero, Mikel Asensio, and María Rodríguez Moneo, 17–31. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, INC., 2012.

Harte, Thomas. “The Concept of Identification in the Rhetorical Theories of Kenneth Burke and Eric Hoffer.” *Communicator* 7, no. 2 (1977): 64–69.

Hartman, Andrew. “‘A Trojan Horse for Social Engineering’: The Curriculum Wars in Recent American History.” *Journal of Policy History* 25, no. 01 (January 2013): 114–36.

Haveman, J., and J. Lavorel. “Identification of the 120 Mus Phase in the Decay of Delayed Fluorescence in Spinach Chloroplasts and Subchloroplast Particles as the Intrinsic Back Reaction. The Dependence of the Level of This Phase on the Thylakoids Internal pH.” *Biochimica Et Biophysica Acta* 408, no. 3 (December 11, 1975): 269–238.

Hawhee, Debra. “Burke and Nietzsche.” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 85, no. 2 (May 1999): 129–45.

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, and Yirmiyahu Yovel. *Hegel’s Preface to the Phenomenology of Spirit*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Hiser, W., R. W. Penman, and J. T. Reeves. “Preservation of Hypoxic Pulmonary Pressor Response in Canine Pneumococcal Pneumonia.” *The American Review of Respiratory Disease* 112, no. 6 (December 1975): 817–22.

Horner, Winifred. “Preface: An Allegory.” *Rhetoric Review*, The Changing Culture of Rhetorical Studies, 20, no. 1/2 (2001): 5–9.

Howard, Gary R. *We Can’t Teach What We Don’t Know: White Teachers, Multiracial Schools*. 2nd ed. Multicultural Education Series. New York: Teachers College Press, 2006.

Huntington, Samuel P. “The Clash of Civilizations?” *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3 (1993): 22.

Husbands, Chris, Alison Kitson, and Anna Pendry. *Understanding History Teaching*. Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2003.

Hytten, Kathy, and Amee Adkins. “Thinking Through a Pedagogy of Whiteness.” *Educational Theory* 51, no. 4 (2001).

"Immigration : Les Adhérents Les Républicains Plébiscitent Les Solutions de Sarkozy." *LeJDD.fr*, September 19, 2015. http://www.lejdd.fr/Politique/Sur-l-immigration-les-adherents-Les-Republicains-donnent-raison-a-Sarkozy-751733.

Jugnot, Stéphane. "Statistiques Raciales." *Libération.fr*, October 2, 2007. http://www.liberation.fr/tribune/2007/10/02/statistiques-raciales_102931.

Kastoryano, Riva. "Codes of Otherness." *Social Research* 77, no. 1 (2010): 79–100.

Keaton, T. D. "Racial Profiling and the 'French Exception.'" *French Cultural Studies* 24, no. 2 (May 1, 2013): 231–42.

Keaton, Trica Danielle. *Muslim Girls and the Other France: Race, Identity Politics, & Social Exclusion*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006.

King, Andrew. "Burkean Theory Reborn: How Burkean Studies Assimilated Its Postmodern Critics." *Rhetoric Review*, The Changing Culture of Rhetorical Studies, 20, no. 1/2 (2001): 32–37.

King, Joyce E. "Dysconscious Racism: Ideology, Identity, and the Miseducation of Teachers." In *The RoutledgeFalmer Reader in Multicultural Education*, edited by Gloria Ladson-Billings and David Gillborn, 71–83. New York, NY: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004.

———. *Dysconscious Racism, Afrocentric Praxis, and Education for Human Freedom: Through the Years I Keep on Toiling: The Selected Work of Joyce E. King*. World Library of Educationalists Series. New York: Routledge, 2015.

King, Joyce E., Ellen E. Swartz, and Linda Campbell. *"Re-Membering" History in Student and Teacher Learning: An Afrocentric Culturally Informed Praxis*. New York: Routledge, 2014.

King, LaGarett J., Christopher Davis, and Anthony L. Brown. "African American History, Race and Textbooks: An Examination of the Works of Harold O. Rugg and Carter G. Woodson." *Journal of Social Studies Research* 36, no. 4 (2012): 359–86.

Kotowski, Jan Michael. "Narratives of Immigration and National Identity: Findings from a Discourse Analysis of German and U.S. Social Students Textbooks." *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 13, no. 3 (2013): 295–318.

Ladson-Billings, Gloria. "Just What Is Critical Race Theory and What's It Doing in a Nice Field like Education?" In *The RoutledgeFalmer Reader in Multicultural Education*, edited by David Gillborn and Gloria Ladson-Billings, 49–68. London ; New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004.

Langan, Elise S. "Assimilation and Affirmative Action in French Education Systems." *European Education* 40, no. 3 (September 1, 2008): 49–64.

"Latin, Histoire, Classes Bilangues : Les Points Chauds de La Réforme Du Collège." *Le Figaro*, May 18, 2015. http://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/2015/05/18/01016-20150518ARTFIG00144-epi-latin-histoire-l-abcd-de-la-reforme-du-college.php.

Laurentin, Emmanuel, ed. *A Quoi Sert L'histoire Aujourd'hui?* Montrouge : [Paris]: Bayard : France Culture, 2010.

Laurent, Sylvie, and Thierry Leclère. *De quelle couleur sont les Blancs? : "Des petits Blancs" des colonies au "racisme anti-Blancs."* Paris: La Découverte, 2013.

Leclère, Thierry. "Sortie de Morano : la France, un pays de race blanche ?" *September 30, 2015*, n.d. http://www.liberation.fr/debats/2015/09/30/la-france-un-pays-de-race-blanche_1394179.

Leduc, Jean. "Pourquoi enseigner l'histoire ? La réponse d'Ernest Lavisse." *Histoire@Politique* 21, no. 3 (2013): 39.

Lee, P. J. "History Teaching and Philosophy of History." *History and Theory* 22, no. 4 (December 1983): 19.

Le Journal Du Week-End - Vrai Ou Faux ? Vérités et Idées Reçues Sur La Réforme Du Collège. Accessed October 13, 2015. http://lci.tf1.fr/jt-we/videos/2015/vrai-ou-faux-verites-et-idees-recues-sur-la-reforme-du-college-8609718.html.

Leonardo, Zeus. *Race, Whiteness, and Education*. The Critical Social Thought Series. New York: Routledge, 2009.

Leroy, Michel. "Les manuels scolaires : situation et perspectives." Inspection générale de l'éducation nationale, March 2012. http://www.education.gouv.fr/archives/2012/refondonslecole/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/manuels_scolaires.pdf.

Loewen, James W. *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong*. Touchstone trade pbk. ed. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2007.

Lorcerie, Françoise. "France : Le Rejet de L'interculturalisme." *International Journal of Migration Studies* 186 (2012): 278–301.

MacLure, Maggie. *Discourse in Educational and Social Research*. Conducting Educational Research. Buckingham: Open Univ. Press, 2003.

Marx, Karl. *The Marx-Engels Reader*. Edited by Robert C. Tucker. 2d ed. New York: Norton, 1978.

McKenzie, John M. "Reading Resistance to Kenneth Burke: 'Burke the Usurper' and Other Themes." *KB Journal* 7, no. 1 (2010): No pagination.

"Migrant Integration Policy Index | MIPEX 2015." *Www.mipex.eu*. Accessed January 5, 2016. http://www.mipex.eu/.

Mollenkopf, John, and Jennifer Hochschild. "Immigrant Political Incorporation: Comparing Success in the United States and Western Europe." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33, no. 1 (January 2010): 19–38. doi:10.1080/01419870903197373.

Monkman, Karen, and Mark Baird. "Educational Change in the Context of Globalization." *Comparative Education Review* 46, no. 4 (2002): 497–508.

"Nadine Morano évoque « la race blanche » de la France." *Le Monde.fr*, September 27, 2015, sec. Politique. http://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2015/09/27/nadine-morano-evoque-la-race-blanche-de-la-france_4773927_823448.html.

Ndiaye, Pap. "Questions de Couleur. Histoire, Idéologie et Pratiques Du Colorisme." In *De La Question Sociale à La Question Raciale?: Représenter La Société Française*, edited by Didier Fassin and Eric Fassin, 45–52. Cahiers Libres. Paris: Découverte, 2006.

Nguyen, Tuan. "The Effectiveness of Online Learning: Beyond No Significant Difference and Future Horizons." *Journal of Online Learning & Teaching* 11, no. 2 (2015): 309–19.

Nieto, Sonia. "Critical Multicultural Education and Students' Perspectives." In *The RoutledgeFalmer Reader in Multicultural Education*, edited by David Gillborn and Gloria Ladson-Billings, 179–200. London ; New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004.

Noiriel, Gérard. *État, nation et immigration: vers une histoire du pouvoir*. Collection Folio Histoire 137. Paris: Gallimard, 2005.

———. *État, nation et immigration: vers une histoire du pouvoir*. Collection Folio Histoire 137. Paris: Gallimard, 2005.

———. *Le creuset français: histoire de l'immigration, XIXe-XXe siècle*. Paris: Editions Points, 1988.

Novick, Peter. *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession*. Ideas in Context. Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Olmsted, Wendy. *Rhetoric: An Historical Introduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

Pinar, William F. *What Is Curriculum Theory?* New York, NY: Routledge, 2012.

Prior, Lindsay. *Using Documents in Social Research*. Reprinted. Los Angeles: Sage, 2008.

Rabaka, Reiland. *Against Epistemic Apartheid: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Disciplinary Decadence of Sociology*. Lanham, Md: Lexington Books, 2010.

Raissiguier, Catherine. *Reinventing the Republic: Gender, Migration, and Citizenship in France*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2010.

"Rapport Manuels Scolaires 2012-036 - Manuels_scolaires.pdf." Accessed January 24, 2016. http://www.education.gouv.fr/archives/2012/refondonslecole/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/manuels_scolaires.pdf.

Ravitch, Diane. "Who Prepares Our History Teachers? Who Should Prepare Our History Teachers?" *The History Teacher* 31, no. 4 (1998): 495–503.

Renan, Ernest. *Qu'est-Ce Qu'une Nation?* [Place of publication not identified]: Mille et une nuits, 1997.

Ricœur, Paul. *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences: Essays on Language, Action, and Interpretation*. Edited by John B. Thompson. Cambridge [Eng.] ; New York : Paris: Cambridge University Press ; Editions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1981.

———. *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Translated by Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer. Paperback ed., [Nachdr.]. Chicago, Ill.: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2010.

Rizvi, Fazal. "Postcolonialism and Globalization in Education." *Cultural Studies <=> Critical Methodologies* 7, no. 3 (August 1, 2007): 256–63.

Rosa, Alberto. "Commentary: What History to Teach? Whose History?" In *History Education and the Construction of National Identities*, edited by Mario Carretero, Mikel Asensio, and María Rodríguez Moneo, 63–74. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, INC., 2012.

Roulston, Kathryn. *Reflective Interviewing: A Guide to Theory and Practice*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2010.

Rutten, Kris, André Mottart, and Ronald Soetaert. "The Rhetorical Construction of the Nation in Education: The Case of Flanders." *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 42, no. 6 (November 2010): 775–90.

Rutten, Kris, and Ronald Soetaert. "A Rhetoric of Turns: Signs and Symbols in Education." *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 48, no. 4 (2014): 604–20.

———. "Narrative and Rhetorical Approaches to Problems of Education. Jerome Bruner and Kenneth Burke Revisited." *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, August 24, 2012.

Sabbagh, Daniel, and Shanny Peer. “French Color Blindness in Perspective
 The Controversy over <I>‘Statistiques Ethniques’</I>” *French Politics, Culture & Society* 26, no. 1 (April 30, 2008): 1–6. doi:10.3167/fpcs.2008.260101.

“SAVOIR LIVRE.” Accessed January 24, 2016. http://www.savoirlivre.com/faq.php.

Schain, Martin A. “Managing Difference: Immigrant Integration Policy in France, Britain, and the United States.” *Social Research* 77, no. 1 (2010): 205–36.

Schlanger, Zoë. “Revised AP U.S. History Standards Will Emphasize American Exceptionalism.” *Newsweek*. Accessed October 4, 2015. http://www.newsweek.com/revised-ap-history-standards-will-emphasize-american-exceptionalism-358210.

Schwandt, Thomas A. *Dictionary of Qualitative Inquiry*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 2001.

Seixas, Peter. “Beyond ‘Content’ and ‘Pedagogy’: In Search of a Way to Talk about History Education.” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 31, no. 3 (May 1999): 317–37.

———. “Historical Understanding among Adolescents in a Multicultural Setting.” *Curriculum Inquiry* 23, no. 3 (1993): 301.

———. “The Community of Inquiry as a Basis for Knowledge and Learning: The Case of History.” *American Educational Rsearch Journal* 30, no. 2 (1993): 305–24.

Sheckels, Theodore F. “The Rhetorical Success of Thabo Mbeki’s 1996 ‘I Am an African’ Address.” *Communication Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (August 25, 2009): 319–33.

Simon, Patrick. “The Choice of Ignorance: The Debate on Ethnic and Racial Statistics in France.” *French Politics, Culture & Society* 26, no. 1 (April 30, 2008): 7–31.

Simonson, Peter. “Rhetoric as a Sociological Problem.” *Argumentation and Advocacy*, no. 50 (2014): 242–52.

Spring, Joel H. *Globalization of Education: An Introduction*. Sociocultural, Political, and Historical Studies in Education. New York, NY: Routledge, 2009.

Stillar, Glenn F. *Analyzing Everyday Texts: Discourse, Rhetoric, and Social Perspectives*. Rhetoric & Society, v. 3. Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 1998.

Stromquist, Nelly P. *Education in a Globalized World: The Connectivity of Economic Power, Technology, and Knowledge*. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2002.

Stronach, Ian, and Margaret MacLure. *Educational Research Undone: The Postmodern Embrace*. Buckingham [England] ; Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1997.

Swartz, Omar. “Symbols and Perspectives in Burkean Rhetorical Theory: Implications for Understanding Anti-Semitism.” *World Communication* 25, no. 4 (1996): 183–90.

Tarc, Paul. “The Uses of Globalization in the (Shifting) Landscape of Educational Studies.” *Canadian Journal of Education* 35, no. 3 (2012): 4–29.

Taubira, Christiane. *Murmures à La Jeunesse*. Paris: Philippe Rey, 2016.

Taylor, Charles. *Modern Social Imaginaries*. Public Planet Books. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.

Textbooks and School Library Provision in Secondary Education in Sub-Saharan Africa. Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2008.

Thiesse, Anne-Marie. *La création des identités nationales: Europe, XVIIIe-XXe siècle*. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 2001.

Thompson, Audrey. “Colortalk: Whiteness and Off White.” *Educational Studies* 30, no. 2 (1999): 141–60.

Tin, Louis-Georges. “Who Is Afraid of Blacks in France?
 The Black Question: The Name Taboo, the Number Taboo.” *French Politics, Culture & Society* 26, no. 1 (April 30, 2008): 32–44. doi:10.3167/fpcs.2008.260103.

“Trump on Muslims: Donald Trump’s New Anti-Muslim Outrage Is a Fresh Test for His Rivals | The Economist.” Accessed December 24, 2015. http://www.economist.com/blogs/democracyinamerica/2015/12/trump-muslims.

Tutiaux-Guillon, Nicole. “A Traditional Frame for Global History: The Narrative of Modernity in French Secondary School.” In *History Education and the Construction of National Identities*, edited by Mario Carretero, Mikel Asensio, and María Rodríguez Moneo, 109–24. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, INC., 2012.

“UNHCR Global Appeal 2015 Update - Europe Summary.” *UNHCR*. Accessed October 11, 2015. http://www.unhcr.org/5461e5f80.html.

“UNHCR Global Appeal 2016-2017 - Populations of Concern to UNHCR.” *UNHCR*. Accessed January 9, 2016. http://www.unhcr.org/564da0e3b.html.

“UNHCR - Refugee Figures.” Accessed October 11, 2015. http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c1d.html.

“Update on UNHCR’s Operations in Europe.” *UNHCR*. Accessed October 11, 2015. http://www.unhcr.org/560505ae9.html.

Urban, Wayne J., and Jennings L. Wagoner. *American Education: A History*. 4th ed. New York, NY: Routledge, 2009.

"USA | MIPEX 2015." *Www.mipex.eu*. Accessed January 5, 2016. http://www.mipex.eu/usa.

VanSledright, Bruce. "Narratives of Nation-State, Historical Knowledge, and School History Education." *Review of Research in Education* 32, no. 1 (February 1, 2008): 109–46.

———.*The Challenge of Rethinking History Education: On Practices, Theories, and Policy*. New York: Routledge, 2010.

———. "Thinking Historically." *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 41, no. 3 (June 2009): 433–38.

van Zanten, Agnes. "Schooling Immigrants in France in the 1990s: Success or Failure of the Republican Model of Integration?" *Anthropology <html_ent Glyph="@amp;" Ascii="&"/> Education Quarterly* 28, no. 3 (September 1997): 351–74.

Verbund, Gilles, and Gerard Noiriel. "Le Creuset Francais: Histoire de L'immigration XIX-XX Siecles." *International Migration Review* 23, no. 4 (1989): 961.

Wander, Phillip. "The Ideological Turn in Modern Criticism." *Central States Speech Journal* 34, no. 1 (1983): 1–18.

Warren, Wilson J. "Closing the Distance Between Authentic History Pedagogy and Everyday Classroom Practice." *The History Teacher* 40, no. 2 (2007): 249–55.

Weaver-Hightower, M. B. "An Ecology Metaphor for Educational Policy Analysis: A Call to Complexity." *Educational Researcher* 37, no. 3 (April 1, 2008): 153–67.

Weil, Patrick. *La République et Sa Diversité: Immigration, Intégration, Discrimination*. La République Des Idées. Paris: Seuil, 2005.

Williams, Rhys H. "Religion as Political Resource: Culture or Ideology?" *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 35, no. 4 (1996): 368–78.

Woodson, Carter. *The Mis-Education of the Negro.* Kindle., 1933. http://www.amazon.com.

"World Bank and Coursera to Partner on Open Learning." Text/HTML. *World Bank*. Accessed April 1, 2016. http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2013/10/15/world-bank-coursera-partner-open-learning.

"World Refugee Day: Global Forced Displacement Tops 50 Million for First Time in Post-World War II Era." *UNHCR*. Accessed January 9, 2016. http://www.unhcr.org/53a155bc6.html.

Woyshner, Christine A., and Chara Haeussler Bohan. “Introduction.” In *Histories of Social Studies and Race: 1865-2000*, edited by Christine A. Woyshner and Chara Haeussler Bohan. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Yudell, Michael. *Race Unmasked: Biology and Race in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2014.

Zachary, Pascal, Géraldine Ancel-Géry, and Vincent Adoumié, eds. *Histoire. 1res L, ES, S, [Schülerbd.]: Questions pour comprendre le XXe siècle*. Nouv. programme, nouv. collec tion. Paris: Hachette Éducation, 2011

APPENDICES

Appendix A