Nationalism in the English-Speaking World

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Edited by

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INTRODUCTION

Nationalism is commonly recognized as a central organizing force in the modern world. It is the defining ideology of the primary contemporary political unit, the nation-state, and, as such, has often determined how different states interact with one another, how they grant (or not) citizenship rights, as well as how groups and individuals identify themselves, their rights, and their responsibilities. The field of nationalism study has blossomed, particularly in the past four decades. Certain concepts that have emerged from this rich scholarship have gained widespread acceptance and are regularly cited across academic disciplines. Benedict Anderson's notion of "imagined communities" and Eric Hobsbawm's work on "the invention of tradition," for instance, provide frames of reference and tools of analysis for innumerable scholars. While certain researchers in this vast, interdisciplinary field continue to seek broad, unifying theories to explain the phenomena of nationalism (and, increasingly, to examine the questions of post-nationalism and globalisation), a great deal of controversy persists. Lines of debate have been drawn between perennialists, modernists, primordialists, and ethno-symbolists concerning modes of emergence and perpetuation of nations. Theorists also differ on such issues as the weight which they give to civic versus ethnic criteria of national belonging, questions of where national identity stands in a hierarchy of different forms of self-identification and multiple identities, as well as the importance of various factors (e.g., language, territory, culture, economy, citizenship rights…) in creating and maintaining national cohesion.

As Anthony Smith has pointed out, to a certain extent, different paradigms fit different contexts (1998, 226). Nevertheless, many scholars continue to seek theoretical convergence and to identify elements of a universal model of nationalism. The modest aim of this book is to contribute varied, empirical research that tests the opposing, existing theories. This volume is born of a conference held in 2007 organised by the CRESAB (*Centre de Recherche pour l'Etude des Sociétés Américaines et Britannique et du Monde Anglophone*)/IDEA (*Interdisciplinarité Dans les Etudes Anglophones*) research group at the University of Nancy. This conference brought together participants whose great diversity—of national origins, of geographical regions inhabited and studied, of fields of

discipline, of methodological approaches—provides for a variety of new case studies. The book's focus on the English-speaking world can be attributed to the fact that this conference was hosted by an English department. However, we hope that beyond reflecting the institutional imperatives of the French university system, this linguistically-delimited focus may offer another prism through which to compare the manifestations of nationalism.

We have chosen to divide the book into two parts, the first dealing with political manifestations of nationalism, and the second examining nationalism in the cultural arena. Rachel Hutchins-Viroux examines the perpetuation of the modern nation and the evolution of national identity as promoted and reflected in Texas elementary social studies curricula and American history textbooks published between 1982 and 2003. This was a period of marked struggle for dominance in defining the American nation, first in the "culture wars" of the 1980s and 1990s, and in a renewed capacity since the attacks of September 11, 2001. Specifically, this chapter seeks to determine to what extent Anthony Smith's ethno-symbolist theories apply to the contemporary American context by looking at the processes, various discourses, and results of ideological struggle in the highly contested domain of social studies education.

Georgia Shiells examines the complex ways in which categories of race, colour and ethnicity were harnessed by Australian nationalists between the 1890s and 1930s. She argues that Eriksen's conceptualisation of the nation as a "metaphorical kinship community" residing in a "metaphorical place" is supported by the Australian historical experience. While the categories of whiteness, Britishness, Anglo-Saxonness and Nordicness were variously invoked by nationalists, what remained consistent across this period in Australia was the reference to some form of "metaphorical kinship community" as a basis for nationhood. Attention to the Australian case thus reveals that while the "content" of ethnic nationalism can and does shift over time, nationalist rhetoric remains fundamentally grounded in appeals to the nation as "metaphorical kinship community".

Christophe Traisnel studies the Quebec nationalist movement of the past 40 years. He suggests that, generally, the task of defining the "nation" is undertaken by a central state which, through institutions, law, education or the use of clear symbols, transmits its conception of identity to the "national community". However, he asserts, this form of communication can be prevented or questioned by a social movement which contests the state's identity doctrine and puts forward another conception of national identity, as has occurred in Canada where the Quebec nationalist

movement has imposed its own vision of the "nation"—a nation without a sovereign state but whose sovereignty is nevertheless in the process of being created.

Belkacem Belmekki presents another version of nationalism than that which is common in the West: "Islamic nationalism". He argues that Western nationalism and Islamic nationalism have two vastly different sets of approaches and goals. Notably, whereas Western nationalism aims at the creation of individual nation-states, Islam calls for the creation of a universal entity, the worldwide Muslim nation called "Ummah" that includes all Muslims. This chapter examines these notions, as well as Muslim resistance to British rule and a pan-Indian identity based on Hindu culture through a case study of a nineteenth century Indian Muslim theologian.

In the second section, Mark Niemeyer looks at Longfellow's very popular narrative poem, *The Courtship of Miles Standish* (published in 1858). This was a crucial point in American history, just three years before the outbreak of the Civil War, and Niemeyer argues that the poem can been seen as an indirect plea for national unity. This fanciful story that takes place during an iconic setting in early American history can thus, in part, be viewed as a literary fulfillment of the very real desire to preserve the American union in the mid-nineteenth century as well as an attempt to influence the course of events, which, by that time, was already spiraling out of control.

Marjorie Vanbaelinghem considers Benjamin Buchloh's essay *Figures of Authorities, Ciphers of Repression* (first published in *October*, vol. 16, Spring 1981) using it as a springboard to analyse the cultural conservatism and return to representational painting of England's "School of London" of the late 1970s and 1980s, examining the ways in which this backward-looking idiom is used to nationalistic ends. This chapter further reflects on the general question of nationalism in cultural policy, and to a comparison of Buchloh's overtly political discussion of nationalism with the results of Raymond Williams' sociological approach, as well as those of other, more recent scholars.

Nadège Le Lan explores the invention of a tradition by and through arthuriana, dating from the twelfth century, through three major works: William Caxton's preface of Malory's *Morte Darthur* (1485), Lord Alfred Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* (1849-1891), and the arthurian cycle of composer Rutland Boughton (1908-1945). This chapter examines nationalism and national identity in these texts according to Anthony Smith's "six main institutional dimensions": the state, territory, language, religion, history, and rites and ceremonies.

Lynda Ng argues, through an analysis of Christos Tsiolkas' novel *Dead Europe*, that in a world increasingly saturated by visual media, there is still much validity in turning to novels as a microcosm in which we can see how ideas of the nation are being played out. Drawing on Anderson's concept of "imagined communities", she posits that both the novel and the photograph are relatively recent art forms which emerged in conjunction with the modern nation-state. It is therefore not possible, she maintains, to study the proliferation of modern nationalism without examining the role that these two art forms played in creating, promoting and disseminating concepts of the nation. This chapter examines the tension that exists between the political and aesthetic aspects of art, and how the novel's inherently dialogic nature will ensure its continued relevance for the study of nations, especially in an increasingly globalized world.

Reference

Smith, Anthony D. 1998. *Nationalism and Modernism*. New York; London: Routledge.

PART I

NATIONALISM AND THE POLITICAL

TEACHING THE NATION: RENEGOTIATION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN UNITED STATES HISTORY TEXTBOOKS THROUGH THE PRISM OF THE THEORIES OF ANTHONY SMITH

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Across the different, opposing schools of nationalist theory, certain ideas have obtained a consensus. Notably, no theory contests that mass public education plays a vital role in the perpetuation of the modern nation (e.g., Gellner, 55; Smith 1998, 38-40; Zelinsky, 242-243), and that within education, the teaching of history holds a particularly prominent place.[1] Different theorists also agree that the nation is characterized by its members' feeling of belonging to it, a feeling which is largely inculcated through education.

In the United States, the nationalist function of education is made explicit in many states' education codes. That of Texas is particularly eloquent (though not unusual):

> A primary purpose of the public school curriculum is to prepare thoughtful, active citizens who understand the importance of patriotism and can function productively in a free enterprise society with appreciation for the basic democratic values of our state and national heritage (Texas Legislature Online 1995).

One discipline more than any other is charged with fulfilling this mission. The power of teaching history has been recognized by nationalist

[1] As Anthony Smith has written, history, literature and geography have long been recognized as "the pre-eminent disciplines for imbuing the young with a national outlook and feeling, for they revealed, more than most, the inner rhythms of the nation and its profound roots in the past" (1999, 154).

educators in the United States since the country's inception. In the US, one might well argue that such nation builders as Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Rush, and Noah Webster did, indeed, apply modernist theories of how education could unite people and impose a common, high culture long before modernist theorists such as Ernest Gellner were to articulate these ideas.

Since the early twentieth century, in the interest of Americanizing the vast influx of immigrants, educators deliberately and decisively split away from the disciplines of academic history and geography in favor of what they named "social studies," whose aim was and still is to teach American beliefs and traditions in the spirit of "citizenship education" (Marker and Mehlinger, 833-834). Though naturally, as we shall see, these values are open to different interpretations.

While questions of national memory and its links to national identity appear in many scholars' works, these questions are absolutely central to Anthony Smith's conception of the nation and nationalism. Though Smith agrees with modernist theorists that the state and the ideology of the nation are modern and novel, he feels that modernist explanations do not adequately account for citizens' deep attachment to their nations. He sees most modern nations as having pre-modern roots in a pre-existing ethnic community, which genuinely resonate with the people and are not uniquely elite constructs. Smith calls himself an "ethno-symbolist," believing that the key to understanding nationalism lies in examining, "how modern nationalisms and nations rediscover and reinterpret the symbols, myths, memories, values and traditions of their ethno-histories, as they face the problems of modernity," thereby looking both at how ethnic and national attachments are formed from the bottom up, and at how nationalists "have rediscovered and used the ethno-symbolic repertoire for national ends" (1998, 224). (His approach thus recognizes nationalism as having popular as well as elite roots.)

Much existing research and debate concerns the emergence of nations. I wish to focus here on Anthony Smith's theories of the perpetuation of the nation and the evolution of national identity in relation to social studies textbooks for fifth graders (i.e., 10 year olds) in the state of Texas published in 1982, 1997, and 2003, as they reflect on the contemporary United States. Texas constitutes a significant case study, as it exerts unequaled influence over the content of the books it purchases, which are then sold nationwide (Altbach *et al.* 1991:117-119; Delfattore 1992:138-142). The selection of these dates allows us to examine the effects of the "culture wars" of the 1980s and 1990s (that is, multiculturalism and the

conservative backlash), as well as the immediate repercussions of 9/11 on the textbooks.

Social studies textbooks' role and power is both practical and symbolic, as they transmit an official version of nation's history, a conception of its citizenship values, and its identity. They are therefore highly contested ideological terrain, and citizen groups from both the right and the left intervene in the textbook production and selection process to influence what children learn about their nation. To some extent, then, this system represents a democratic, bottom-up process. The books thus provide an excellent domain to examine some of Smith's main ideas about the perpetuation of the nation.

This paper will focus on the following symbolic elements of national identity, as Smith defines them, and their relationship to the nation of the United States: the concepts of *ethnie*—and particularly dominant *ethnie*; ethno-history—especially myths of ethnic origin and election, and the notion of the "ethnoscape."

Smith's concepts of *ethnie* and dominant *ethnie* can help to see the recent American culture wars as part of a standard and cyclical process. For Smith, most nations are modelled on and/or develop from older ethnic communities (Smith in Guibernau and Hutchinson, 196), a term which he often replaces with the French "*ethnie*." He differentiates between ethnic categories—"populations distinguished by outsiders as possessing the attributes of a common name or emblem, a shared cultural element (usually language or religion), and a link with a particular territory"—and ethnic communities or *ethnies*, which he defines as:

> human populations distinguished by both members and outsiders as possessing the attributes of:
>
> 1) an identifying name or emblem;
> 2) a *myth* of common ancestry;
> 3) shared historical memories and traditions;
> 4) one or more elements of common culture;
> 5) a link with an historic territory or 'homeland';
> 6) a measure of solidarity, at least among the élites (1999, 13).

(It is important to note that this definition of the *ethnie* should not be conflated with the common usage of the term "ethnic group" as a euphemism for "race.")

Smith affirms that the *ethnie* is the form of collective cultural identity whose symbolic patterns are the most closely related to those of the nation. Smith states that *ethnies* and nations share certain characteristics: both

have "named self-definitions, origin and other myths and symbols, as well as a link with particular territories." The nation and the *ethnie* differ, according to Smith, concerning their "occupation of a homeland, and the development of a distinctive public culture and standardised laws and customs with shared rights and duties for the members of a historic cultural community" (Guibernau, 197).

While the persistence and importance of different non-national ethnic communities in the US and the country's traditional image as a "civic" nation might make it seem difficult to conceive of the US as being based on an *ethnie*, Smith's models and theories nevertheless apply. Smith emphasizes the fact that the traditional distinction between "ethnic" and "civic" nations and nationalisms is often overdrawn. He argues that both types of nationhood often co-exist, and over time a given nation will oscillate back and forth between these conceptions of itself (Guibernau, 203). Furthermore, ethnic membership and the symbols which define it are, in reality, flexible. Therefore, membership in the ethnic nation is not, Smith contends, the closed affair it is often depicted as (1999, 15). Indeed, to the distinctions made between "civic" and "ethnic" nationalisms, Smith adds a third type: "a more plural version, a union of different immigrant *ethnies* under an overarching public culture of land, language, law and history" (Guibernau, 198). He, of course, cites the US as an example and model of this type of *immigrant-colonist* nation. He emphasizes that even though the US is built on a pluralist vision, it still emerged around a dominant *ethnie*:

> Nations have historically been formed mainly, but not invariably, around ethnic cores or dominant *ethnies*, which have provided the cultural and social basis of the nation, even when the nation has subsequently expanded to include individual members, or indeed whole fragments and parts, of other *ethnies*. The cultures of these dominant *ethnies* continue to provide the unifying elements (in terms of land, language, law and customs) of the modern nation, even after the addition of other ethnic and cultural elements; and they may be, and indeed often are, invoked in times of crisis, such as war and mass immigration, to reintegrate and purify contemporary polyethnic nations whose members experience the alienation of modernity (Guibernau, 197).

This championing of the traditional cultural elements of the dominant *ethnie* is precisely what has happened in the conservative backlash of the past three decades (Cauthen in Guibernau and Hutchinson, 199). Neo-conservatives have been defending an image of the US based on the traditions, history and legacy of the historically dominant Anglo-American *ethnie*. While this line of reasoning is nothing new in American history, it

has certainly undergone a resurgence since the multiculturalist movement which began in the 1960s, and this backlash has been heightened since 9/11.

Smith differentiates between myths of descent based on genealogy, and those based on ideology/territory. While neo-conservatives do defend ethnic nationalism, I would argue that their vision of that nation is no longer as defined as it was prior to the multiculturalist movement by genealogy, but rather by ideology and territory, so they now envision a racially open, flexible nation, as long as all Americans are willing to adopt the ways of the traditional dominant ethnicity. (While multiculturalists have certainly not achieved all of their goals, this is perhaps their biggest triumph: southern conservatives no longer promote a racially limited conception of the nation, though their vision is certainly still assimilationist.)

It is no secret that the so-called "culture wars" have been a struggle to define American national identity, and at their center is conflict between a culturally pluralist vision and one based on assimilation to a dominant *ethnie*. Smith's "ethno-symbolic definition of national identity," as he calls it, certainly takes into account the symbolic renegotiation which we have been witnessing since the beginning of the multiculturalist movement. Smith defines national identity as: "the continuous reproduction and reinterpretation of the pattern of values, symbols, memories, myths and traditions that compose the distinctive heritage of nations, and the identification of individuals with that pattern and heritage and with its cultural elements" (2001, 18). The current multiculturalist movement and the backlash against it can therefore be seen as simply part of this ongoing process.

Smith also posits the useful concept of "ethno-history" which he defines as: "the ethnic members' memories and understanding of their communal past or pasts, rather than any more objective and dispassionate analysis by professional historians" (1999, 16). This conflict between ethno-history and academic history is an important notion. Indeed, discourse both from neo-conservatives and from such professional organizations as the Organization of American Historians directed at decrying the other clearly supports this contention.[2]

[2] For instance, in the very public debates over the proposed National History Standards, in which conservatives, led by Lynne Cheney, attacked the Standards drafted by dozens of historians and teachers (headed by Gary Nash and Charlotte Crabtree), John Leo wrote in *U.S. News & World Report*: "The fiasco over the American and Western history standards is a reflection of what has happened to the world of academic history. The profession and the American Historical

Smith makes another important point about ethno-history, which applies neatly to the current American context: he says ethno-history always has three facets: "it is multi-stranded and contested; it is always subject to change; and it is globally uneven" (1999, 16). In other words, there are always at least two popular versions of the nation's history—and identity in general—in competition. Smith writes, "national identity is never fixed or static: it is always being reconstructed in response to new needs, interests and perceptions, though always within certain limits" (1999, 17).

Smith identifies as a major component of ethno-history and national identity: ethnic myths (which can be transposed to national myths). I would like to consider four of these types of myths here:

> myths of "temporal origins" (i.e., when the community originated)
> myths of "location and migration" (i.e., spatial origins)—where the community's members came from and how they got where they are (Smith points out that these myths help legitimate claims to a homeland)
> myths of "ancestry" (i.e., who is at the origin of the community, and how the community developed; this ancestry need not by genealogical, but can be spiritual in nature; as Smith says, "It does not really matter whether the common ancestor or founding father is *mythical* or quasi-historical.")

Association are now dominated by younger historians with a familiar agenda: Take the West down a peg, romanticize 'the Other' (non-whites), treat all cultures as equal, refrain from criticizing non-white cultures." This type of rhetoric is common in conservative missives, as, for example, reviewers for the highly influential, Christian Right Texan citizen group, Mel Gablers' Educational Research Analysts, accuse a 1997 textbook of presenting a falsified version of the nation's past, which they see as potentially detrimental to students' patriotism: "A very 'watered' down version of what is considered true American history. Over emphasis on multicultural to the point of ridiculous. Half of the pictures and content used to stress the point would have gotten then point across. Pictures of slavery and oppression number 25! Fifth graders are seeing a lot of degredation [sic] that is trying to diminish the patriotic aspect of studying our past. This text includes 72 pages of content where the cruelty to slaves and other minorities is heavily emphasized. It is basically 'overkill'. Fifth graders getting this presented to them would definitly [sic] not cherish 'the Pledge of Allegiance' or singing the 'Star Spangled Banner'" (1997, n.p.).

Historians have sought to fight such criticism. In its publications, the Organization of American Historians regularly alerts its readers to censorship by the right, and the OAH took an active role in defending the National History Standards, writing that they feared that "the controversy threatens to create a serious misunderstanding, if not demonization, of several decades of scholarship in American history" (Jones, 1995).

> myths of the "heroic age" (Here, Smith's definition seems to describe the US perfectly: "While definitions of grandeur and glory vary, every nationalism requires a touchstone of virtue and heroism, to guide and give meaning to the tasks of regeneration. The future of the ethnic community can only derive meaning and achieve its form from the pristine 'golden age' when men were 'heroes.' Heroes provide models of virtuous conduct, their deeds of valour inspire faith and courage in their oppressed and decadent descendants. The epoch in which they flourished is the great age of liberation from the foreign yoke, which released the energies of the people for cultural innovation and original political experiment") (1999, 63 - 65).

Of course, as Smith points out, like other aspects of ethno-history in general, different groups within the same nation or *ethnie* may defend different versions of these myths.

Indeed, there has been a significant amount of controversy around textbooks' presentations of topics relating to these central types of national myths. Multiculturalists have sought greater inclusion of different ethnic groups to stress diversity in national origins, ancestry, and heroic myths. Conservatives have sought to maintain the predominance of traditional Anglo-American founders. The Gablers' Educational Research Analysts, for instance, have written: "These textbooks have several goals—to divide the students racially, to tear down heroes of our past (at a time when students are in desperate need of heroes), to present our nation in a negative light, and to re-write American history. These textbooks must be rejected because they are unpatriotic and create a racist atmosphere of division instead of working to bring unity" (Educational Research Analysts 1997, [n.p.]). This statement shows the correlation for many conservatives between positive, traditional images of national heroes and patriotism. That these activists are primarily concerned with perpetuating the legacies of traditional white, male heroes can be confirmed by their written protests. In 1982, for instance, they regularly criticized textbooks for giving too much space to people that they qualified as "minor," thus taking up space that could be used for the "real" heroes of American history. These "minor" figures were all women and minorities. One book, for example, featured biographies of various Americans, stating that their purpose was to foster patriotism. The Gablers wrote:

> Considering the fact that for the most part these sketches did not deal with traditional American heroes, this text has failed to reach its stated goal on emphasizing patriotism. Instead of heroes like George Washington, Patrick Henry, or Daniel Boone, the text singled out less significant people like

> Helen Hunt Jackson and Duke Ellington (Educational Research Analysts 1982a, 29).

Though their discourse has become more subtle, they continue to argue in favor of emphasizing the history of the majority. In their 2003 textbook evaluation guidelines, they state:

> Subtle forms of political correctness should not: *Let race and gender quotas dictate coverage*. People or events that had more influence for a longer time, should receive more attention than those with less influence (Educational Research Analysts 2003, 11. Emphasis in the original).

In more explicit language, in the 1996 textbook selection process, a representative of the Texas Eagle Forum (a branch of the national organization founded by Phyllis Schlafly) commented on the biographies in a Houghton Mifflin textbook, suggesting, "More importance to be given to great Americans, with less emphasis on minorities" (Responses to Written Comments, 79).

These excerpts remind us that though most neo-conservatives involved in the textbook production and selection process promote open criteria of national belonging, they nevertheless identify the historical core of the nation as being Anglo-American.

A look at conservatives' literature shows that representation of the revolutionary era holds a prominent place among their concerns. There is no doubt that for them, this is the primary heroic age of the United States. For instance, the exceptionally influential group of Texas conservatives, the Mel Gablers' Educational Research Analysts, published a checklist in 1982 of essential qualities that they looked for in textbooks. One of the categories in this list was entitled "American Heritage and Heroes," and it focused particularly on traditional heroes of the American Revolution who had begun slipping from national consciousness, notably Patrick Henry, Nathan Hale, and John Paul Jones (1982b). The Gablers' group continues to use these figures as a benchmark to evaluate textbooks. Similarly, one citizen protestor speaking in front of the Texas State Board of Education during a hearing to select the state's textbooks in 2002 made a statement that is representative:

> […] these two texts omit reference to our founding fathers. No mention of George Washington, John Adams, Thomas
> Jefferson, in the roles they played in establishing this nation. How can you foster patriotism if you have no heroes? (Transcript, 178).

It is worth noting, however, that this speaker was reviewing world history textbooks, and not those for American history, thus emphasizing to what degree many conservatives feel that the role of all history teaching is the inculcation of traditional patriotism largely based on the myths and symbols of the dominant *ethnie*.

Multiculturalists, on the other hand, wish to add to the pantheon of national heroes, and they also emphasize the importance of other heroic ages, notably those in which the US moved closer to its revolutionary ideals of equality and freedom. Textbooks have, indeed, incorporated multiculturalists' wishes on this front, thus leading to an expanded definition of the American people and what constitutes American values. These books have added multiethnic heroes throughout American history, notably many who fought for the rights of their ethnic group (e.g., Metacom [AKA King Philip], Chief Joseph, Queen Liliuokalani of Hawaii, W.E.B. Du Bois, Linda Brown, Thurgood Marshall). Recent books also emphasize female and minority heroes of the Revolution, devoting a sub-chapter each to African American and women heroes of the Revolution.

In addition to increasing the visibility of women and minority Revolutionary heroes, the textbooks augment their coverage of this chapter of the nation's history and include more illustrations of the traditional Anglo-American heroes dear to the hearts of conservatives. Patrick Henry, Nathan Hale, John Paul Jones, and Paul Revere, largely absent from the 1982 books, have all returned from obscurity by 2003, with several books now dedicating relatively lengthy biographies to Henry or to Revere. Similarly, George Washington, who serves as a sort of benchmark for conservatives to evaluate textbooks' "patriotism," goes from figuring in illustrations an average of just under five times in the 1982 books, to nearly 13 illustrations in the 1997 books, and nearly 18 in those of 2003. It is worth keeping in mind that these books must cover all of American history (from the arrival of the first people some 30,000 years ago to events that were unfolding as the books went to press) in about 600 pages. As such, their space is limited, so the choice to dedicate 20 illustrations to the same person is significant.

The books' coverage of the Revolution and its heroes provides an excellent example of the results of publishers' negotiations between different pressure groups. The fervor with which these groups pursue the inclusion of the heroes most dear to them illustrates what Smith has called the need for resonance of national symbols with the national population. While their primary goal is, most likely, to increase their sales, publishers' inclusion of different groups' heroes also helps their version of national

history to resonate with a greater part of the population and thereby confers upon these books greater legitimacy, which could, in turn, help both their sales and help to further the perpetuation of nationalism with which the Texas Education Code charges them. It is also worth noting that, seemingly as a reaction to 9/11, and perhaps also as a reaction to ongoing conservative pressure predating the 2001 attacks, the textbooks of 2003 focus much more heavily on military history than did the books of 1997 and tend to link patriotism much more directly to military duty and service. This expanded coverage of the Revolution, therefore, not only represents the renegotiation of national myths of the heroic age, but also is in keeping with the new, more martial approach to American history.

If the revolutionary leaders are the spiritual ancestors of the United States, the nation's spatial and temporal origins would seem to go back to European exploration and colonial times. Where it is relatively easy for publishers to please multiculturalists as well as conservatives by simply including all of their various Revolutionary heroes, the myths of spatial and temporal origins are very much contested, are much more difficult to reconcile, and are, therefore, a primary locus of renegotiation of national identity. Conservatives clearly regard the Pilgrims and Puritans as the spiritual founders of the future national community, and they are more concerned with the presentation of this group of colonists than any other, as well as with the presentation of the role of religion in American history. The Gablers, for instance, have written a great deal about this subject. For example, they have affirmed that the Puritans "are a very important part of our heritage and helped shape the destiny of our country." They also have criticized a book, saying "The text has completely ignored the tremendous qualities exhibited by the Puritans, such as hardwork [sic] and faith." Further, "The text indicates the Puritans came seeking religious freedom, rather than their real desire to be a 'city on a hill,' a 'light to the world.' They desired to be an example of what a perfect, Biblically governed society would be like. This goal needs to be developed, later it was secularized and helped to form part of America's foreign policy" (Educational Research Analysts 1982a [A. King], 2).

In recent books, publishers have made more of an effort to accommodate conservatives' wishes on this point, showing the role of religion in Puritan society and how their value system led to the success of their settlement (though they do not sugar-coat Puritans' intolerance, notably as it led to the exiles of Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson who are depicted as heroes in the own right, mavericks who stood up for their beliefs and helped establish freedom of religion in the future United States). One of the most striking examples of conservatives' influence in

this domain appears in Scott Foresman's 2003 edition. At the beginning of each chapter, this book (like the others) features a two-page spread with a large illustration, a relevant quote, and some information on the chapter to come. Their chapter entitled "The New England Colonies" features a large photograph of a typical New England church, with a quote from Puritan minister Cotton Mather which reads: "The New Englanders are a people of God…" (187). Bearing in mind that this book is destined for 10-year olds, and that the quote is given with no explanation or context, a child of this age could certainly take it at face value. This highly visible spread seems to be a clear effort to appeal to conservatives, and it promotes a traditional version of nationalism based on Protestant religious principles, from which older books had moved away, presumably in order to avoid the contentious territory of blurring the boundaries between church and state.

Multiculturalists, as we have already seen, have fought for greater emphasis on the nation's diverse ancestors (as opposed to accounts in older textbooks which focused primarily on the British colonies), and they have been successful, at least to a certain extent. For instance, textbooks now begin with a unit on pre-Columbian Indian civilizations, to which they dedicate approximately 50 pages, thus resituating the nation's temporal origins in a significant way, as to include Native Americans as part of the nation's foundations. Books now also include a unit on all European colonization (with six pages each dedicated to Spanish and French settlement). However, the vast majority is still focused on the British colonies (an average of 93 pages, not including the chapter on the American Revolution), and the British colonies are shown as the source of American political ideas, thus emphasizing the continued dominant position of the Anglo-American *ethnie* in the national historical narrative.

The Columbus myth, of course, has also been a source of controversy. Conservatives regard Columbus as a sort of national fore-father, or grandfather. They are generally much more concerned with the representation of the English colonists than with that of the Spanish colonists and Columbus. They do not seem to see Columbus as a founder of the future United States on the same level as the Puritans and other English settlers and their descendants. Still, they do not want the navigator and the Spanish colonists to be shown as morally worse than Native Americans.[3] These positions indicate that these Christian Right activists attach primary importance to the US's Anglo-American heritage, and

[3] See, for example, Educational Research Analysts, *Comparison of Social Studies Series, Grades 4-6*, Longview, TX: Educational Research Analysts, 1982, [n.p.]. Educational Research Analysts, *2003 5th Grade Social Studies Textbook Rating*, Longview, TX: Educational Research Analysts, 2003, [n.p.].

secondary importance to broader European roots. They have opposed multiculturalist attempts to show Columbus' role in the barbaric acts surrounding Europeans' arrival in the Americas, as they fear it will tarnish his image as well as that of the future nation, thus potentially threatening children's patriotic vision of their history (Educational Research Analysts, 1982a [Gross], 2).

The Columbus myth has been evolving in a way that takes into account these opposing visions. The image of European "discovery" of America, still prevalent in books in the 1980s, has given way to a vision of the convergence of different cultures. Indeed, certain recent books explicitly refute the traditional narrative (which is still present in American popular culture). McGraw-Hill's 2003 edition contains the following text:

> When Christopher Columbus returned to Europe with six Taino and many new and exciting food products and animals, Europeans decided he had discovered a "new world." They began to call the Americas the "New World," but it wasn't a "new world" to the Native Americans who had been living in the Americas for thousands of years.
>
> However, a "New World" developed after Columbus met the Taino. It was the New World made by joining two old worlds—east and west—that had not known about each other before this time (125).

The books published since the late 1990s not only present Columbus' arrival as the meeting of Europe and America, but as the result of many cultural and commercial exchanges between Europe, Africa, and Asia. The publishers thereby promote the image of the future US as being founded on the confluence of the history of every continent in the world. Indeed, these books all incorporate new chapters of the societies of fifteenth-century Asia, Africa, and Europe, in order to explain the changes that led to the era of exploration. In addition, they show the arrival of Africans on American soil almost immediately following that of the first Europeans, thus further emphasizing ethnic diversity. America thereby appears as a universal society.

Diversity has become one of the values that American history textbooks celebrate and promote. They regularly associate images of the United States' diversity with pictures of the American flag or the Statue of Liberty, encouraging students to be proud of this national trait and to view celebration of diversity as patriotic.

Publishers, then, have made a clear effort to provide a more multicultural image of America's past, as about 35% of illustrations depicting historical events feature ethnic minorities, and these books also

contain an increasing number of photographs showing ethnically diverse contemporary Americans.[4] These images are, without a doubt, intended to emphasize America's diversity, as in 2003, 75% of these illustrations featured ethnic minorities. However, the large majority of white historical figures and the emphasis on Anglo-American history still show the core of the nation and its ideological ideals as being rooted in the traditionally dominant *ethnie*. This is not to criticize the books; after all, whites do make up nearly 70% of the population (see Kaufmann, 258). This data simply demonstrates the accuracy of Smith's theories: American history textbooks reflect the schema of Smith's "immigrant-colonist" national model, where the nation is based on the history and traditions of the dominant *ethnie*, but absorbs other *ethnies*. As Smith also points out, in times of crisis, traditional elements of the dominant *ethnie*'s culture are often promoted, in order to strengthen national unity. The growing emphasis in textbooks on traditional heroes and patriotic symbols, first following the intensification of the culture wars, and to an even greater degree in the wake of 9/11, certainly supports this theory.[5]

Another important aspect of nationalism is the national territory and the feeling of rootedness in that shared space. Smith says that ancestral or sacred territory gains significance through "*ethnoscapes*," which he defines as "landscapes endowed with poetic ethnic meaning through the historicization of nature and the territorialization of ethnic memories" (1999, 16). He explains that the ethnoscape is seen as being "imbued with the culture and history of a group, and vice versa, a group part of whose character is felt by themselves and outsiders to derive from the particular landscape they inhabit, and commemorated as such in verse and song." The ethnoscape gives focus to the national community, uniting its members both culturally and symbolically as well as politically and militarily: "… the ethnoscape becomes an intrinsic part of the character, history and destiny of the culture community, to be commemorated regularly and defended at all costs lest the 'personality' of the ethnic or regional community be impugned. That is why many new states pay so much attention to inculcating a love and veneration for particular

[4] Books from 1982 contain on average 24.6 photos of contemporary Americans, those from 1997 contain an average of 51.5 such images, and in 2003, that number rises to 64.3.

[5] The number of patriotic symbols pictured in these books increases more than ten-fold from 1982 to 2003. The books of 1982, for example, include on average 2.5 pictures in which the US flag features prominently. In 1997, this number rises to 11 and reaches 28 in 2003.

ethnoscapes and lavish so much praise on the natural features of the territory they control" (1999, 151).

Textbooks, particularly since the 1990s, illustrate perfectly Smith's theories. These books all contain chapters presenting American geography. Rather than simply discussing landforms, natural resources, etc., the textbooks from 1997 and 2003 celebrate the beauty, richness, and variety of the national territory in photographs and prose. Many quote patriotic songs, such as "This Land Is Your Land" or, more commonly, "America, The Beautiful," juxtaposing the text of these songs with photos of spectacular scenery (as in Scott Foresman's 2003 edition, which features a photo of Grand Teton National Park) or with images of Americana (as in McGraw-Hill's 1997 edition, which dedicates a full page to the sheet music of "America, the Beautiful" set into the photo of a picturesque farm).

Recent textbooks also demonstrate another significant evolution, which ties together questions of ethnic national identity and ethnoscape: these books picture multiethnic soldiers throughout U.S. history. These images emphasize various groups' historical roots in America and show them as national heroes and patriots who are tied to the national territory by their sacrifice and defense of the nation. This technique represents multiculturalism and assimilation on conservative, traditionally nationalist and military terms, which, as previously mentioned, is not surprising in the wake of 9/11.

Conclusion

Thus, we have seen that under the influence of multiculturalism and the culture wars, textbook publishers have renegotiated the interpretations of the national myths. These myths have become more inclusive (showing a greater variety of multiethnic heroes and the diverse roots of the nation), but in many cases, also more conservative, as they focus on the traditional heroes of the Revolution, the religiosity of the Puritans, a more martial patriotism, and on the forging of affective ties between children and their national territory.

Anthony Smith's theories fit cleanly with contemporary American nationalism. They can help us to understand the "culture wars" and even post-9/11 ideological debates not as a true crisis of national identity or a rupture, but as a perfectly normal, recurring process in a modern Western nation. We can define the evolution of American national identity in Smith's terms as a move away from a de facto (at times) genealogical ethnic conception of the nation, and an ideal, purely civic conception of

the nation, toward the deliberate promotion of the ideal of a pluralist nation of Smith's "immigrant-colonist" type, where diversity is taken into account, but where assimilation to an ideologically and territorially defined American "ethnic" national community is the ultimate goal.

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COMPLICATING "WHITE AUSTRALIA": SHIFTING INVOCATIONS OF "METAPHORICAL KINSHIP COMMUNITY" IN AUSTRALIA, 1890-1930S

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In the first decades of the twentieth century nationalists[1] in Australia—and in many nation-states around the world—constructed and pursued a fantasy of national racial homogeneity. This represented, of course, an impossible project. It was also a project that has left an enduring legacy of violence and injustice. Yet there remains much urgent political and analytical work to be done in investigating the complex interplay between nationalism and racialism.[2] While nationalist claims may be couched today in terms of culture rather than race, nationalist discourses and practices continue to draw much of their power from appeals to nation as what Thomas Hylland Eriksen has called a "metaphorical kinship community" (Eriksen 2002, 107; Eriksen 2004). This chapter explores the discursive

[1] I use the term "nationalists" to refer to those members of the national community who desire to maintain and strengthen the nation-state and who, within the realm of public political discourse, articulate and assert a particular vision of the nation, its defining characteristics, origins and destiny. Nationalists thus construct narratives of the nation that function to sustain the nation; they speak from a position of what Ghassan Hage has described as "governmental belonging," in which they imagine themselves as possessors and managers of the national space (Ghassan Hage, *Against Paranoid Nationalism: Searching for hope in a shrinking society*, Annandale (NSW): Pluto Press Australia, 2003, 33).

[2] Kwame Anthony Appiah has offered the useful concept of racialism to describe a belief in the existence of races which "are marked by certain generalizable, visible and heritable traits" (Kwame Anthony Appiah, *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, 13-14). This is subtly distinct from racism, which involves purposeful violence or oppression of another on the basis of perceived "racial" inferiority.

linking of nationalism and racialism and argues that, in the early twentieth century, Australian nationalist elites constructed the nation as a "metaphorical kinship community" in relation to *multiple* racial Others. At different historical conjunctures, the Australian nation was invoked as a "metaphorical kinship community" variously defined in terms of whiteness, Britishness, Anglo-Saxonness, Nordicness or in terms of an emerging "Australian race". Nationalist appropriations of the language and ideology of race were, therefore, slippery, fluid and contingent: in the era of "White Australia," the nation was imagined in terms of multiple classificatory regimes that cut through and across "whiteness".

The chapter is divided into two parts. In the first part, I briefly examine the historical entwinement of nationalism and racialism, and I note the responses of some theorists of nationalism to the persistent allusions to "metaphorical kinship community" in nationalist discourses. In the second part, I ask: in those decades that followed the establishment of the Australian nation-state in 1901, how was Australian nationalism constituted in official and intellectual discourse in relation to multiple categories of "metaphorical kinship community"? I suggest that any theorisation of the relationship between nationalism and "metaphorical kinship communities"—whether they be constituted as communities of colour, race, ethnicity or otherwise—must take into account the complex and ambiguous ways in which these categories have historically become entangled in nationalist discourse.

First, however, I offer some definitions. Race[1] and the other members of this "family of concepts"[2]—racialism, racism, racialisation and racial group—are notoriously difficult to define. I use race to denote a group of people who are categorised as possessing, and/or who believe themselves to possess, shared inherited characteristics that distinguish them from other racial groups. Races do not exist in any objective biological sense,

[1] It has become a convention amongst scholars concerned with race to enclose the term within quotation marks so as to indicate recognition that the concept is not valid in any biological sense. I note this convention but for purposes of readability, do not use it in this chapter.

[2] Walker Connor uses the term "family of concepts" to evoke the development, particularly amongst social scientists, of an entire vocabulary of terms relating to the concept of race: racism, racialism, racial group, race relations. Similarly, for nation: nationalism, nationality, nationness, nationalist. While the use of these terms reflects, in some instances, greater analytical clarity, their interchangible use in some texts can create confusion. Here, I shall define those terms and concepts most relevant to my analysis; my definitions are not intended to be definitive (they could not be), but are intended to aid the reader in their engagement with my wider argument.