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Slavery in Two Nations: Examining the Presentation of Slavery in Secondary U.S. and Brazilian

History Textbooks

By

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Doctor of Philosophy

Educational Studies

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Nafees M. Khan
B.A., Tufts University, 2001

Advisor: Carole L. Hahn, Ed.D.

An abstract of
A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
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Abstract

Slavery in Two Nations: Examining the Presentation of Slavery in Secondary U.S. and Brazilian
History Textbooks
By Nafees M. Khan

In social studies classrooms textbooks serve as arbiters of official knowledge as well as
tools for instruction. As such, it is important to investigate how these books present historical
content to both teachers and students and whether that presentation reflects current historical
scholarship and is likely to stimulate critical thinking and interpretation. The purpose of this
study was to explore how the topic of slavery was presented in secondary U.S. and Brazilian
history textbooks. The United States and Brazil were the two largest slave societies in the
history of New World slavery and the varying legacies of that history remain salient in both
nations. As a result, slavery and the slave trade are important topics to be taught in history
courses and future generations need to be given as accurate information as possible about the
history, complexities, and legacies of slavery in order to be well-informed citizens. I conducted
a content analysis of textbooks in the two countries to compare how slavery was presented to
students and to assess the degree to which the complexities and legacies of slavery are addressed.
In this study I found several important patterns. Among these were that the political and social
spheres of history dominated the references to slavery. Brazilian textbooks had more references
to the economic sphere of slavery than the U.S. textbooks, but the U.S. authors highlighted more
extraordinary individuals in relation to slavery than did the Brazilian authors. The authors of all
textbooks essentialized the varied experiences of enslaved people, particularly those of enslaved
women. As one of history's great injustices, the topic of slavery remains an enduring and
controversial issue with legacies that transcend many contemporary concerns that include, but
are not limited to race, class, gender, and identity.

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CHAPTER I
STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Both the United States and Brazil have long and complicated histories of slavery, which have led to varying legacies and understandings about slavery in their respective societies. This important topic remains controversial and future generations need to be given as accurate information as possible about the history, complexities, and legacies of slavery in order to be well-informed citizens. This study sought to provide an assessment of the general narrative of the history of slavery as it was presented in contemporary secondary history textbooks in both the United States and Brazil.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore how the topic of slavery was presented in secondary U.S. and Brazilian history textbooks. In this study I systematically analyzed the content relating to slavery in the textbooks, and assessed the degree to which the complexities and legacies of slavery were addressed in both nations. I used content analysis (Beck & McKeown, 1991; Holsti, 1968; Krippendorff, 1980; Neuendorf, 2002; Wade, 1993; Woodward, 1982) to highlight significant patterns on the presentation of slavery across the textbooks. Three research questions guided this project:

1) How do secondary U.S. and Brazilian history textbooks present the history of slavery?

2) What are the similarities and differences in the presentation of slavery in U.S. and Brazilian textbooks?

3) To what degree do the U.S. and Brazilian history textbooks address the complexities and legacies of slavery?

Background

European merchants began bringing enslaved Africans to Brazil in the late 16th century, and to mainland North America in the first half of the 17th century. By the end of the Transatlantic Slave Trade in the mid 19th century, the perpetrators of the trade would carry over 5.5 million enslaved Africans to Brazil (nearly 45% of the total volume of the slave trade), and approximately 400,000 enslaved Africans (or about 3% of the total) to North America (Eltis, 2008). However, despite this substantial difference in the number of enslaved Africans brought to Brazil and the United States, the domestic population of enslaved people in each country, at its peak in 1850, did not follow this pattern; the U.S. domestic slave population was over 1.5 times the size of Brazil's (4 million and 2.5 million, respectively) (Davis, 2006; Drescher & Engerman, 1998; Skidmore, 1974). Although the brutality and inhuman nature of slavery were constants in both the U.S. and Brazilian contexts, the scale, length (the United States abolished the trade in 1808 and slavery in 1865, whereas Brazil ended the trade in 1850 and slavery in 1888), and economy varied enough to make a comparison of how each nation remembers slavery meaningful. In this section, I discuss how several developments in recent years have added to the need to investigate how the history of slavery was presented to students in both the Brazilian and U.S. contexts.

The U.S. Context

In 2008 and 2009, the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate, respectively, officially apologized to African Americans for slavery and for segregation under Jim Crow laws. These official apologies expanded on acknowledgements by both Presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush of slavery's continuing legacy as it related to the "deep-seeded" problem of racism in the United States (H. R. Resolution 194, 2008; Senate Concurrent Resolution 26, 2009). Both

resolutions recognized the contradiction between slavery and the ideals expressed in the Declaration of Independence and resolved that Congress, "acknowledges the fundamental injustice, cruelty, brutality, and inhumanity of slavery and Jim Crow; apologizes to African Americans on behalf of the people of the United States, for the wrongs committed against them and their ancestors who suffered under slavery and Jim Crow (H. R. Resolution 194, 2008; Senate Concurrent Resolution 26, 2009)." However, the House went further in its language by committing to "rectify the lingering consequences of the misdeeds committed against African Americans under slavery and Jim Crow and to stop the occurrence of human rights violations in the future (H. R. Resolution 194, 2008)." This stronger language by the House encourages public action in addressing the acknowledged misdeeds. Although neither of the Congressional resolutions imposes any mandates, these official apologies for slavery and Jim Crow segregation are critical symbolic steps in confronting and recognizing the long-term legacies of enslavement in the United States. Education today can serve as a vehicle for tackling the legacies of slavery.

The state of Georgia, like the rest of the country, needs to address these issues related to the teaching of history in schools. In 2006, Georgia began implementing the new Georgia Performance Standards (GPS) for social studies instruction. Slavery was explicitly identified at least once in eight of the first ten standards for U.S. history, covering the period from European settlement through Reconstruction ("*Georgia performance standards*," 2006). However, the simple presence of slavery across the standards does not guarantee the quality of instruction about the history of slavery. The coverage of slavery in the GPSs form a minimum for instruction that can in turn be expanded and shaped by the teacher, the textbook, testing, and other class materials. Nevertheless, although the GPSs do identify many important themes and individuals related to slavery, they do omit several key aspects of slavery. For example, neither

the enslavement of Native Americans nor the experiences of African and African-American women under slavery are explicitly cited in the standards. Such omissions in the standards severely restrict the ability of students to understand the complexities and legacies of slavery.

More recently, in 2010 the Texas state Board of Education approved changes to their social studies curriculum that sought to emphasize conservative values on the content in history and economics textbooks (Mckinley Jr., 2010). The Texas' textbook adoption system is often credited with having considerable influence over the textbooks that are adopted throughout the nation (Altbach, 1991; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Loewen, 1995; Mckinley Jr., 2010), thus increasing the national attention given to the Board's decision beyond what occurs as a result of other state education board's decisions. Although, in Texas, slavery in U.S. history is only in the middle school social studies standards because the high school U.S. history course is from 1877 to the present. Nevertheless, an example of how slavery appears in the Texas 8th grade social studies standards is that slavery is now listed third as a cause for the Civil War after sectionalism and states' rights (Texas Education Agency, 2010).

The controversy over social studies curriculum and textbook content is not a recent occurrence (Evans, 2004), and both the desire to control the "official knowledge" of history (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991) and the capitalistic nature of the U.S. textbook publishing market indicate that the debate will not cease. For example, in 2011 the publishing industry sold over $8 billion in K-12 materials (Association of American Publishers, 2010). With such a lucrative market at stake, publishers tend to avoid controversial issues within textbooks in an effort not to offend anyone. In order to make the textbook adoption lists, particularly in states such as California and Texas that have large shares of the market, they omit or minimize controversial topics (Altbach, 1991; Apple, 1989, 1992; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Sewall,

2000; Thornton, 2006). Thus, as the United States continues to struggle with issues of class, race, and poverty, the tension over what content will be presented to students will remain.

The Brazilian Context

The education system of Brazil has undergone many reforms and transformations. Since 1824, after its independence from Portugal in 1822, all of Brazil's constitutions have included the right of free primary education for all citizens; however, that right was not actively encouraged until the mid 20th century (Goncalves e Silva, 2004). Two of the more significant reforms of education took place while the country was being ruled by a military dictatorship (lasting from 1964 to 1986). The first reform, the Brazilian Literacy Movement (*Movimento Brasileiro de Alfabetização*, MOBRAL) was established in 1970 to eradicate adult illiteracy. The second reform, Law 5,692 passed in 1971, restructured higher education by giving students a choice of a general or professional curriculum, and extended the mandatory basic education from four years to eight years (Marlow-Ferguson & Lopez, 2001). The education system today is more decentralized than under the military dictatorship, meaning the federal, state, and municipalities have separate roles in the structure of the system.

In 2003 the Brazilian government passed legislation requiring the inclusion of Afro-Brazilian and African history and culture in the school curriculum ("Lei 10,639," 2003). The law was amended in 2008 to include the history and culture of Brazil's indigenous peoples in addition to that of Afro-Brazilians. In all, the law sought to promote teaching about how the political, social, economic, and cultural contributions of Afro-Brazilians and indigenous peoples shaped the formation of Brazilian society ("Lei 11,645," 2008). Nevertheless, how educators, publishers, and administrators implemented this law has varied, highlighting the need for

additional research on the new curriculum. This study sought to inform this knowledge gap on the effectiveness of the new law.

The Brazilian textbook market is the single largest sector of the nation's publishing industry (Baensch, 2006; Mota, 2005). The government purchases all of the textbooks used in public elementary and high schools, accounting for over 40% of that total publishing market (Baensch, 2006). Although the Brazilian publishing industry is in general a fairly competitive market (approximately 530 separate publishers), there are only four publishers in Brazil that sell over 75% of the textbooks bought by the government (Mota, 2005). The Brazilian textbook industry is more centralized than the textbook market in the United States. The Brazilian government provides the publishers with the curricular guidelines for the creation of textbooks and then selects which books will be on the adoption list. As a result, the 2003/2008 law requiring the inclusion of Afro-Brazilian and indigenous history and culture should be reflected in those textbooks on the adoption list. This study assessed whether the requirements of this law have been implemented into Brazilian secondary history textbooks.

The discourse on race in Brazil is complex and dynamic. The notion of Brazil as a "racial democracy" was a widely accepted myth for much of the 20th century, although many recent scholars have challenged this conception of Brazilian society (Bailey, 2009; Dávila, 2003; Jones de Almeida, 2003; Telles, 2004). Race relations in Brazil differ in many ways from understandings of race in the United States. For example, historically the United States utilized a "one drop rule" to determine who was Black. This principle meant that if a person had any African ancestry, regardless of their appearance, they were identified as Black. Brazil never instituted such a rule. The racial structure in Brazil historically allowed people to avoid classifying themselves as Black (Degler, 1971), which was viewed by some Brazilians as a

victory against racism. The perception that the physical and cultural mixing of the races led to a racial democracy veiled the racial hierarchy in Brazilian society that places White at the top and Black at the bottom (Bailey, 2009; Jones de Almeida, 2003).

Recent affirmative action policies at most universities in Brazil have added to the complexity of race in Brazil. These policies have established quotas for members of particular groups based on class, gender, and race. However, it is the latter, the racial quotas, which have garnered the most controversy in Brazil (Lloyd, 2009). Opponents of the policies argue that the quotas are themselves discriminatory, whereas proponents maintain that the societal inequalities along racial lines are so severe that affirmative action is required to address the disparities – Black Brazilians make up 70% of the poorest group in the country (Htun, 2004). Beyond the specific policies, the racial discourse continues to expand and be layered on top of existing discourses on class inequality, poverty, and education. As such, debates over curricular content on racial and ethnic history and culture, specifically the history and legacy of slavery as presented in textbooks, remain prevalent in both Brazilian and U.S. societies.

Theoretical Framework

For this study, I drew on research from history education and democratic citizenship to inform my theoretical framework. In 1996 the National Center for History in the Schools (NCHS) published *National Standards for History* following the adoption of GOALS 2000 legislation by the U.S. Congress. The two directors of the standards project, historian Gary B. Nash and education scholar Charlotte Crabtree, divided the curriculum standards into two parts; K – 4th grade history standards and 5th – 12th grades U.S. and world history standards. The authors framed the standards into two broad categories, *historical understanding* and *historical thinking skills*. Historical understanding focused on what knowledge students should acquire,

drawn from the social, political, scientific, economic, and cultural spheres of the histories of humanity. Historical thinking skills were concerned with developing students' capacities for comparative and causal analyses, interpretation, and sound judgment on current issues based on historical evidence.

Nash and Crabtree (1996) argued that the purposes of learning history were linked directly to participation in a democratic society, and to creating a balance between the public citizen and the private individual. As they wrote, "knowledge of history is the precondition of political intelligence" (p. 41). History should foster a common memory that reflects the core values of society and how current situations are the result of past decisions, allow for inquiry into enduring issues and problems in society, and encourage informed, discriminating citizenship in a democracy (Nash & Crabtree, 1996). Nash and Crabtree contended that by investigating past decisions and choices students could confront contemporary problems with a multi-layered understanding of the alternatives and of their consequences.

Complementing the thinking underlying the standards and using a culturally situated rationale for the purpose of history in schools, Barton and Levstik (2004) offered the concept of *democratic humanistic education* as a way history can prepare students to participate in democratic life. Democratic humanistic education has three elements to guide history instruction: reasoned judgment, an expanded view of humanity, and deliberation over the common good. Reasoned judgment entails fostering reflection in students on the causes, consequences, significance, and alternatives to historical events and actions. An expanded view of humanity involves an understanding by students of alternative ways of thinking and acting (across time and space) different from their own. The last aspect, deliberation over the common good, facilitates the preparation of students to partake in social discussions as members of a

democracy. Democratic humanistic education combines purpose and instruction to provide not only a rationale for history education, but also a framework to examine whether the intended curriculum facilitates education for democracy. Together, the arguments for the purposes of history from Barton and Levstik (2004) and Nash and Crabtree (1996) encourage a history curriculum that is relevant, complex, active, and consistent with the ideals of a democratic society. These rationales are useful for a comparative study of history textbooks.

History textbooks have traditionally presented the content as absolute truths to be accepted by students without debate (Fitzgerald, 1979). The alternative was not to argue that there were no "facts" in history, but instead that students must learn to question and support opinions using multiple sources of evidence. In addition, not all material presented as "fact" in textbooks was completely true; for example, there was considerable debate and evidence that Christopher Columbus was not the first person from the "old world" to travel to the "new world" (Loewen, 1995). History should be presented as relevant, complex, and reflecting multiple perspectives. The history of slavery should be explored from a reflective and critical approach, closer to the method of historians. Based on the National Center for History in the Schools' (NCHS) history standards (Nash & Crabtree, 1996) and Barton and Levstik's (2004) concept of democratic humanistic education, textbook authors should present the work of historians on slavery in a manner that allows for historical understanding, encourages historical thinking skills, and incorporates the ideals of democratic humanistic education. In this study I assessed whether or not a reflective and critical approach to the history of slavery was presented in U.S. and Brazilian textbooks.

Definition of Terms

In this study, I employed several key terms to evaluate selected textbooks on their covering of the history of slavery. I have defined those terms below.

Slavery. Although slavery has existed throughout much of human history, for this study I focused on the history of New World slavery beginning in the late 15th century through the end of the 19th century (Davis, 2006). This time period began with Portuguese merchants establishing sugar plantations and importing enslaved Africans to the islands off the west coast of Africa, and concluded with the end of Reconstruction in the United States and the abolition of slavery in Brazil in 1888, the last country in the Americas to outlaw slavery.

Content analysis. Content analysis allowed for systematic examination using both quantitative and qualitative approaches in order to find "characteristics of messages" (Holsti, 1968, p. 601) contained within written, visual, and graphical representations of data.

Spheres of history. Drawn from the NCHS definition of historical understanding, I categorized the overall presentation of slavery according to the seven "spheres of history." The spheres were the cultural, economic, legal, personal, political, scientific or technological, and social history of slavery (Nash & Crabtree, 1996).

Complexity. For this study, complexity referred to the presentation of multiple viewpoints, varied experiences, and various aspects of events or actions in an integrative manner, examining the causes, significance, and alternatives of those events or actions.

Legacy. Legacy was concerned with how slavery affected society's various enduring issues, such as racism, gender, education, and religion among many others.

Democratic humanistic education. Barton and Levstik's (2004) concept of democratic humanistic education argued for reasoned judgment, an expanded view of humanity, and deliberation for the common good in history instruction.

Using these definitions I was able to identify a general narrative on the history of slavery presented to readers, as well as to evaluate the content on the history of slavery in secondary U.S. and Brazilian history textbooks.

CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A review of the relevant literature provided a foundation for this study. In the review, I discuss the comparative education literature on textbook analysis and the limited research on the presentation of slavery in history textbooks. This review serves to situate this study within a comparative, historical, and democratic citizenship framework. Additionally, over the span of the last 100 years only a handful of authors looked specifically at how slavery was presented in history textbooks in the United States. Although the topic of slavery was touched on in research about race in textbooks, for example, slavery as a topic remained tangential to the focus of such studies. Therefore, I decided not to include studies that focused on the issues of race or gender with only minimal attention to slavery. In the following section I discussed the studies on which this study builds.

Much of the scholarship published in English on education in Brazil has focused on issues and problems at the national level (Guimarães de Castro & Tiezzi, 2004; Haussman & Haar, 1978; Havighurst & Moreira, 1965; Plank, 1996; UNESCO, 2000). Researchers have looked largely at literacy rates, access, equity, retention rates, national reform policies, and the role of international assistance and intervention. Although many of the researchers have brought to light the existence and vastness of important educational problems in Brazil, recent scholars have sought to examine additional education issues including citizenship education (Goncalves e Silva, 2004; Myers, 2007; Schugurensky & Madjidi, 2008), identity, race, and racism in education (Dávila, 2003; Jones de Almeida, 2003; Silva, 2008), and affirmative action policies (Darby, 2010; Htun, 2004). However, my review of the literature yielded only one study that focused on Brazilian textbooks (Schmidt & Braga, 2010), but none that specifically focused on the presentation of slavery in Brazilian textbooks.

Comparative Studies of History and Social Studies Textbooks

Many scholars have researched history and social studies textbooks in an international context. The textbook as a pedagogical and curricular medium can appear and mean very different things depending on its national or regional context (Issitt, 2004); however, the textbook as an important and impactful entity is consistent across nations (Fuchs, 2011; Issitt, 2004). For example, in the United States, history textbooks tend to be large hardcover tomes of historical narrative spread across nearly one thousand pages of text. Whereas in Brazil, the history textbooks are, on average half that size. In reviewing the comparative research of history textbooks I found several patterns in the types of studies conducted in terms of the purpose, scale, and theme.

Comparative textbook researchers have examined school materials through various approaches. Institutions such as UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, Cultural Organization) and the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Germany have produced many studies on broad topics such as quality and textbook revision (Fuchs, 2011; Pingel, 2010). In general, much of the international textbook research has come from European institutions, although in recent years there has been an increase in studies out of East Asia, specifically from the Japan Textbook Research Center and the Korean Educational Development Institute. Some scholars have conducted large-scale cross-national studies of history and social studies textbooks looking at the coverage of particular topics, including human rights (Meyer, Bromley, & Ramirez, 2010), environmental discourse (Bromley, Meyer, & Ramirez, 2011a), and student centeredness (Bromley, Meyer, & Ramirez, 2011b).

The most commonly found comparative textbook research studies were those that focused on themes or topics within one or two nations' textbooks (Nakou & Barca, 2010;

Nicholls, 2006). These studies analyzed topics such as contested national identity (Nasser & Nasser, 2008; Zaidi, 2011), human rights (Firer, 1998; Moon & Koo, 2011), and historical events like wars or the Holocaust (Crawford, 2003; Wenzeler, 2003; Yogev, 2012). The comparative aspect of comparative textbook research was most often between studies, and not necessarily within a given study. However, Fuchs (2011) argued that despite the variety in the purpose, scale, and themes and topics of comparative textbook research there remains a lack of self-reflection within this field of research, especially as it relates to the historiography of textbook analysis. This gap in self-reflection connected to my review of the literature on studies on slavery in U.S. textbooks (I discuss this later in this chapter) and how there was a consistent practice of not citing previous studies of the same topic across the years and among most of the studies reviewed.

As I mentioned earlier, there was only one study published in English that focused on Brazilian history or social studies textbooks (Schmidt & Braga Garcia, 2010). Schmidt and Braga Garcia (2010) examined the connection of history textbooks to schools, governmental policies, and society in Brazil. The authors described the official process for evaluation by the government of history textbooks and noted that the increase in the production and distribution of textbooks has garnered more public discourse around these policies about school materials, as well as more textbook analysis than in previous decades. They argued that the evaluation process has created a paradigm that may hinder the development of historical consciousness, or "counter-consciousness" of students. Nonetheless, this research was a review and critique of the Brazilian textbook system and not an empirical study, thus there remains a need for comparative studies of Brazilian history textbooks.

Slavery in History Textbooks in the United States

In the last 60 years only a handful of U.S. scholars wrote specifically on the portrayal of slavery in history textbooks. Other authors broached the issue of slavery as part of a broader discussion about textbooks, for example evaluating overall quality (Fitzgerald, 1979; Loewen, 1995; Marino, 2011; Quillen, 1948; Romanowski, 1996; Sewall, 2000), civic education (Avery & Simmons, 2000; Lerner, Nagai, & Rothman, 1995), or the presence of ethnic minorities in history books (CIBC, 1977; Foster, 1999; Glazer & Ueda, 1983; Upshur-Ransome, 2000). Nonetheless, authors of published works on the treatment of slavery in U.S. textbooks found that despite continual development in the historiography of slavery towards increasingly complex and accurate interpretations about the topic, history textbooks remained inadequate in conveying those complexities, and often provide decontextualized "facts" about the system and human experiences during slavery (Abramowitz, 1949; Groff, 1963; Henry, 2011; Hilburn & Fitchett, 2012; Kolchin, 1998; Olwell, 2001; Swartz, 1992; Wasburn, 1997).

Three early researchers who examined the presentation of slavery in history textbooks found that textbook authors provided readers a favorable presentation of slavery. Over 60 years ago Abramowitz (1949) observed significant distortions and justifications for slavery in eight secondary U.S. history textbooks. He argued that the textbooks presented slavery as a paternalistic institution where the relationship between a master and his slaves was amicable rather than cruel (Abramowitz, 1949). In another early study, Krug (1961) examined three secondary U.S. history textbooks to determine how textbooks addressed the historical period of Reconstruction. He argued that in discussing Reconstruction, the textbook authors avoided controversial issues, and offered "agreeable" value judgments and generalizations to readers in a simplistic and often inaccurate manner. Groff (1963) observed similar bias and simplicity in his study of 18 American history textbooks on how the Abolitionist movement was presented to

students. The findings from all three early researchers indicated that slavery was problematically

presented in history textbooks and may remain salient today. However, because the authors did

not provide sufficient information about their methodology for selecting and analyzing the

textbooks, these studies are less useful than they might have been. Their omissions on

methodology made replication by later scholars difficult, if not impossible.

Since then, several researchers have found that textbooks continued to treat slavery in

problematic ways, although perhaps not as overtly biased as in the earlier years. Fleming's

(1987) review of 14 middle and high school U.S. history textbooks (seven books for each school

level) focused on the portrayal of slave life from the colonial period through emancipation, rather

than the political aspects of slavery. He analyzed the degrees of harshness and diversity

presented in the textbooks. Fleming found significant variation in both the type of detail offered

about the lives of the enslaved, as well as the amount of coverage given in each book. This

variation occurred for both middle and high school level textbooks. According to Fleming, some

books scarcely touched on the slave life, whereas other texts devoted a few pages to the topic.

Texts that glossed over the harshness of slave life often misrepresented the realities for those

enslaved versus those with their freedom. Those textbooks that did discuss slave life at some

length, tended to write about the severity and difficulties of a day in the life of the enslaved.

Nevertheless, the majority of the coverage on slave life was related to the political elements of

slavery.

Unlike Abramowitz, Krug, or Groff, Fleming did provide a brief overview of how he

selected the textbooks for his study, and how he defined slave life in order to analyze the texts.

However, despite this short discussion of his methods, Fleming failed to cite any of the previous

scholars who examined slavery in textbooks, including Abramowitz and Groff who published

their work in the same journal as Fleming. Fleming's findings would have been strengthened had he built upon the previous research on slavery in textbooks.

Swartz (1992) framed her analysis of slavery in four U.S. history textbooks within the tension between "emancipatory narratives" and "master scripts" in school curriculum. Her study differed from previous works on slavery in textbooks because she employed a theoretical framework to analyze how textbook authors presented several aspects of the history of slavery. Swartz demonstrated how to effectively ground textbook analysis in theory. Nonetheless, Swartz did not cite any of the earlier scholars who examined slavery in textbooks, which like Fleming, is troubling considering she, like the four previous scholars, also published her study in *The Journal of Negro Education*. For Swartz, mentioning and decontextualizing women and people of color in history were illustrations of "dysconscious" racism, classism, and sexism. Swartz employed King's concept of dyconsciousness (1991), which was the implicit internalization of racist, classist, or sexist ideologies that were legitimized through normative and uncritical practices, as a medium through which to examine the presentation of slavery in history textbooks. A result of dysconscious racism, according to Swartz, was the lack of discussion in textbooks of Black resistance or agency during slavery, as part of the Abolition movement, or in the Reconstruction period.

Gordy and Pritchard (1995) analyzed the extent of the inclusion of diverse perspectives in the presentation of slavery in 17 fifth-grade social studies textbooks. The researchers utilized Banks and Banks' (1993) four levels of integration of ethnic content within a multicultural paradigm. These levels, or stages, included the contributions approach, the additive approach, the transformative approach, and the decision-making and social participation approach to content. Using this model, the researchers analyzed the social studies textbooks for their level of

multicultural inclusion, with a particular focus on the interaction between race/ethnicity and gender.

Their analysis revealed that all of the textbooks reviewed reached the additive stage for race/ethnic groups, though only the contributions stage for women. Gordy and Pritchard argued that based on these results, the role of women and in particular women of color during slavery, has remained on the periphery of U.S. history instruction. Another important observation by the researchers was that the textbook authors did not connect the experiences of African Americans in a slave society with more recent struggles against discrimination and prejudice. In other words, the legacies of slavery were not presented in the textbooks in an explicit manner, severing a "critical link between past and present discrimination, racism, and sexism" (Gordy & Pritchard, 1995, p. 209).

Gordy and Pritchard were the first scholars on slavery in textbooks to provide both sufficient detail on their methods and to be theoretically grounded in their analysis. In addition, they cited some of the earlier authors and studies on slavery in textbooks, including Krug, Groff, Fleming, and Swartz. However, with the exception of Swartz's study, Gordy and Pritchard referenced studies by these authors that were not explicitly on slavery in textbooks. Consequently, the pattern of not referencing previous works on slavery in textbooks was only partially addressed by Gordy and Pritchard, and continued nevertheless.

The most extensive study of the presentation of slavery in history textbooks was Wasburn's (1997) historical analysis. She examined 65 middle and secondary U.S. history textbooks from 1900 to 1992 to explore the relationship between textbooks and the dominant societal ideologies at the time the books were published. Wasburn argued that broad political and structural beliefs influenced how history was constructed in school textbooks, and her

analysis of how slavery was interpreted and presented by textbook authors supported her contention.

Through what she termed "applied qualitative study" and guided by critical and feminist theories, Wasburn (1997) argued that the presentation of slavery varied across five time periods and categorized each period; Neutral Presentation of Slavery (1900 to about 1930), Justification of the Slave System (from the Great Depression through the post-World War Two years), Slavery as a Necessary Evil (mid-1940s through 1950s), Slavery as Un-American (late 1960s and 1970s), and Slavery as Reflection of Conservative Values (1980s to 1992). The textbooks of the last period to a greater extent than in previous eras, provided more information on slavery, offered less disdain for abolitionists, and condemned the slave system. However, Wasburn argued that despite the increased coverage of slavery, the textbooks nonetheless reflected the new conservatism of the time. As such, the textbook authors avoided controversy and emphasized American progress, traditional values and gender roles, resulting in decontextualized and simplistic discussion of one of the most significant topics in U.S. history.

Unlike most of the previous authors of studies on slavery in textbooks, Wasburn provided a remarkable amount of detail on her methods of selecting and analyzing the textbooks in her study. In addition, she successfully grounded her study in feminist and critical theories. However, Wasburn failed to include any of the previous studies on slavery in textbooks, continuing the pattern of basing studies on other research and not building upon authors who examined the same topic.

Kolchin (1998) examined eight college level survey textbooks on their presentations of slavery. Although his study focused on college level textbooks, at least one, *The Enduring Vision* was used in high school history courses. Kolchin was concerned primarily with how well

the textbooks incorporated historical research. Kolchin counted the number of pages in each textbook devoted to slavery either narrowly or broadly defined. "Narrowly defined" according to Kolchin, referred to life experiences under slavery, of the enslaved as well as the owners and others, and "broadly defined" was slavery as a larger political, economic, or societal issue. Kolchin concluded that all of the texts evaluated in his study failed to present the complexities of slavery, and did not express that slavery was a subject of considerable "research, debate, and reinterpretation" (p. 1435) by historians.

Kolchin's most significant argument regarding how textbooks addressed slavery was that the textbook authors separated slavery from the main narrative of American history. Kolchin's contention that textbook authors have divorced slavery from U.S. history succinctly connected with how the other scholars cited in this review of the literature have evaluated the presentation of slavery in history books. However, Kolchin based his analysis on page counts, which were not good indicators of the quality of presentation of slavery in textbooks, an issue that Kolchin recognized in his discussion. Page counts can be helpful in identifying omitted topics in textbooks, but they lose their value when used to analyze topics that are to varying degrees already present in books. The lack of correlation between the quality of presentation and the length of coverage means that page counts and straight word counts alone were not sufficient to draw meaningful and empirically based conclusions about textbooks.

More recently, Henry (2011) and Hilburn and Fitchett (2012) examined how slavery was presented in textbooks. Henry compared 16 U.S. history textbooks, including both secondary and college level books, on how slavery from 1776-1800 was discussed within the textbooks. Six of the textbooks were secondary school textbooks and ten were designed for college history courses. Henry argued that the secondary U.S. history textbooks presented the history of slavery

as superficial and incomplete, what he termed an "insipid" form of history. Whereas the college level textbooks were "profane" in their discussion of slavery. He found the presentation complex and critical of American history and that the authors of the college books highlighted the hypocrisies of the Founding Father's views of liberty and equal rights and their engagement with slavery. Henry concluded that the secondary textbooks avoided controversial issues and in some instances mild analysis of the history of slavery.

Nevertheless, Henry fell into some of the same problems of other researchers of slavery in textbooks. He did not provide any description of his methodology nor did he cite any previous scholarly work, let alone research studies on slavery in textbooks. Henry only identified which textbooks were selected for his review and whether they were for middle school, high school, or college, but he did not offer any information as to how he selected these textbooks or how he conducted his review. This lack of attention to methodology and not referencing previous scholars continued the problematic pattern I identified in earlier studies of slavery in U.S. textbooks.

Hillburn and Fitchett (2012) analyzed the presence of "involuntary Americans" in 25 eighth-grade North Carolina state history textbooks from 1911 to 2009. They utilized Martin and Midgely (2006)'s definition of involuntary Americans, which argued that involuntary Americans, as distinct from immigrants, were people coerced, or without their consent, into becoming Americans. For Hilburn and Fitchett, Native Americans and enslaved Africans fell under this category. As it related to slavery, they found that the textbooks mischaracterized enslaved Africans and emphasized that North Carolina was exceptional because there were fewer slaves within the state than in other regions of the United States. They also found that the textbooks have improved over time, but nonetheless, have a great deal of work to continue.

I identified two important critiques about Hilburn and Fitchett's study. First, in using the concept of involuntary Americans they did not mention refugees in any manner. This was an oversight because, under the definition used in the study, refugees could very well be considered involuntary as they are individuals who are outside of their country for fear of persecution and are unable to return due to said fear (UNHCR, 2012). The second critique was that, like many of the other studies discussed in this review of the literature, Hilburn and Fitchett did not reference previous studies specifically on slavery and textbooks. Although this was a well-written study that convincingly applied a theoretical framework to content analysis, the authors missed an opportunity to build on prior research on slavery and textbooks and therefore perpetuated the pattern.

This examination of studies on slavery in history books revealed that textbook authors have repeatedly minimized or marginalized slavery from the central story of U.S. history or confined it to particular time periods. Of the studies that focused exclusively on slavery in secondary history textbooks, Kolchin's and Wasburn's studies were published more than ten years ago (Hilburn and Fitchett examined Native Americans as well as slavery in their study). Since then Brazil and the United States have undergone significant political and societal shifts and new research was needed on how the experience and legacy of slavery was presented in textbooks to current and future generations of teachers and students. Among those political shifts were the Brazilian laws in 2003 and 2008 requiring the teaching of Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous history and culture, and both the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate passing resolutions (in 2008 and 2009, respectively) apologizing for the enslavement and racial segregation of African Americans. Considering these recent developments, it was an ideal

moment for this study to provide updated information and analysis on how current U.S. and Brazilian history textbooks constructed the history and legacy of slavery.

Considering the cumulative research on slavery in U.S. history textbooks, most of the studies did not provide sufficient detail on the methodology utilized in analyzing history textbooks. With few exceptions (Gordy & Pritchard, 1995; Hilburn & Fitchett, 2012; Kolchin, 1998; Wasburn, 1997), most of the authors gave no or limited indication of a systematic analysis of the textbooks, but instead stated that they conducted a survey of textbooks (Abramowitz, 1949; Fleming, 1987; Groff, 1963; Krug, 1961; Olwell, 2001; Swartz, 1992). Most authors omitted information on data gathering and analysis, as well as failed to cite earlier studies on slavery in textbooks. The lack of detail on methodology made it impossible for later scholars to replicate and apply the previous approaches to textbook analysis, limiting progress in this field. In addition, I found a pattern of not referencing prior studies on slavery and textbooks among most of the works cited in my review of the literature. Despite these problems, I was able to identify several studies conducted in the United States upon which I could build and in turn, offer through this study a systematic and replicable approach to the analysis of a historical topic, slavery, in history textbooks. In addition, I found only one study on Brazilian history textbooks (Schmidt & Braga Garcia, 2010) but no empirical studies of said textbooks published in English. As such, my comparative analysis of the treatment of slavery in textbooks could add to the literature in comparative education in which scholars examine the intended history and citizenship curriculum as reflected in textbooks.

CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY

In this study, I examined current secondary history textbooks adopted in the United States and in Brazil. I systematically analyzed the content relating to slavery and assessed the degree to which the complexities and legacies of slavery were addressed in these secondary history textbooks. Three specific research questions guided this study: 1) How do secondary U.S. and Brazilian history textbooks present slavery? 2) What are the similarities and differences in the presentation of slavery in U.S. and Brazilian textbooks? 3) To what degree do textbooks address the complexities and legacies of slavery? I used content analysis (Beck & McKeown, 1991; Holsti, 1968; Krippendorff, 1980; Neuendorf, 2002; Stemler, 2001; Wade, 1993) to address the research questions and highlight patterns in the presentation of slavery across the textbooks.

Sample

In this study I analyzed eight secondary history textbooks (see Appendix A). The four U.S. history textbooks I analyzed were the secondary history textbooks adopted for U.S. history courses in the six adjacent school districts in and around Atlanta, Georgia in 2009. At the time of the study, these were the six districts with the largest populations in the state of Georgia. Collectively they have 85 high schools and nearly 500,000 students in 9th to 12th grades ("Report Card," 2009). The Georgia Department of Education generated a list of recommended textbooks for social studies courses from which districts created an implementation plan for textbook adoption, although the districts were not limited to the state recommendations ("*Georgia textbook/instructional materials selection and recommendation*," 2004). Districts identified one textbook for each course for use across the entire county. In 2009, five districts used *The Americans* (2006 edition) and the remaining county used both *America: Pathways to the Present* (2005 edition) and *United States History* (2008 edition) for the standard U.S. history course. *The*

American Pageant (2006 edition) was used as the Advanced Placement (AP) textbook in four

districts. Although specific sales data for the U.S. textbooks were not publically available, I

confirmed that the U.S. history textbooks in this study were included on many other states' lists

of adopted textbooks, including those for California, Texas, Florida, and North Carolina.

Considering that these textbooks were on the major states' adoption lists and that the exact

nationwide sales records for history textbooks were not accessible, I could nonetheless claim that

these four textbooks were widely used in the United States.

In Brazil, the Ministry of Education at the federal level published a list of 18

recommended history textbooks, from which schools were able to select the desired books.

However, unlike in the United States, the Brazilian Ministry of Education released the sales

numbers for each textbook purchased from the various instructional materials publishers.

Nevertheless, the ministry did not release the regional or statewide breakdown of the textbook

sales, thus I could not determine if the sales were concentrated in, for example the state of São

Paulo, which is Brazil's largest state by population. For this study, I selected the four history

textbooks based on the quantity sold for 2010 in conjunction with consultation with education

experts in Brazil. The textbooks selected were *História Global: Brasil e Geral Volume Único*

(2008), *História: Das Cavernas ao Terceiro Milênio Volumes 1, 2, e 3* (2006), *História Geral e*

Brasil: Trabalho, Cultura, e Poder (2004), and *História para o Ensino Médio: História Geral e*

do Brasil (2009) (FNDE, 2009). Below, I provide a description of each of the four U.S. and four

Brazilian secondary history textbooks.

U.S. Textbooks

Of the four secondary U.S. history textbooks, three of them were designed for the regular

U.S. history course offered in high schools, and the fourth was an AP level textbook. All four of

the textbooks contain more than 1000 pages of text, not including the supplemental content (which can be over 100 pages in some cases), and weigh on average approximately 6lbs. Below I provide further descriptions for each of the U.S. textbooks analyzed in this study.

    The Americans. *The Americans* (McDougal Littell, publisher) was first published in 1997 but I analyzed the 2006 edition of the textbook for this study. The main body of text was displayed in a single column, with sections, subsections, and divisions. Each section began with a Main Idea, Why It Matters Now, and Terms & Names box, followed by One American's (or African's or European's) Story vignette. At the end of each section and each chapter was an Assessment section. It was divided into three areas, Terms & Names, Main Idea, and Critical Thinking (the chapter assessment had two additional headings, Standardized Test Practice and Alternative Assessment). Additionally, the first section listed the same terms from the beginning of the section (and a selection from all sections in the chapter assessment) and asked students to write a sentence explaining the term's significance. The second section provided a small "taking notes" graphic organizer of the main points of the section and asked students to write facts about each point (the chapter assessment asked questions on those main ideas from the sections). The last section posed three different types of questions, including compare, contrast, analyze, synthesize, hypothesize, evaluate, conclude, and summarize, among others.

    United States history. The main body of text within the 2008 edition (which was its first year of publication) of *United States History* (Pearson Prentice Hall, publisher) was displayed in a single column, with sections, subsections, and divisions. Each chapter began with an image (generally across two pages), introductory text, chapter preview, and smaller images on the right margin of second page. At the end of each subsection was a Checkpoint Question. On the first page of each section located to the left of the main text were several parts of the sections:

Objectives, Terms and People, and Note-taking Skills. At the end of each section was an Assessment, and at the end of each chapter were the Quick Study Guide, American Issues Connector, and Chapter Assessment.

America: Pathways to the present. I analyzed the 2005 edition of *Pathways to the Present* (Prentice Hall, publisher), which was first published in 1995. Each chapter generally began with two images with captions, a map (on the second page), and a timeline that displayed American and World Events across the time period. At the top of the page was a listing of the sections for this chapter. Each section provided Reading Focus questions, Key Terms (these were bolded where they were first mentioned in main text and in Assessment), Target Reading Skill (with small diagram), and Main Idea sentence. The main text, formatted in a single column, started with Setting the Scene paragraph(s), and included images and callout boxes placed within page margins. The subsections were titled in red, and the divisions were titled in blue font. The section ended with an Assessment that included several Reading Comprehension questions and generally two Critical Thinking and Writing questions. A special section called Skills for Life described ways to engage historical material. At the end of each chapter were Review and Assessment activities, which included Creating a Chapter Summary (diagram), Reviewing Key Terms (identifications), Reviewing Main Ideas (questions), Critical Thinking (questions), and Standardized Test Prep (questions). Another special section (i.e. American Heritage My Brush with History) followed with some questions about content (primary sources, geography, etc…).

The American pageant. The 2006 edition of *The American Pageant* (Houghton Mifflin, publisher) was the 13th edition of the textbook, which was first published in 1956. In addition, this textbook was the most widely employed textbook used in Advanced Placement U.S. history

courses in metropolitan Atlanta in 2009. The main text of each chapter was presented in two columns per page with sections several paragraphs long. Nearly every page had at least one image, chart, or map with appropriate caption. In various places, the textbook offered quotes from people contemporary to the era under discussion in boxes, although often without a caption. Each chapter contained at least one of three special sections: Examining the Evidence, Makers of America, and Varying Viewpoints. Examining the Evidence provided a primary source, a brief description of the source and its context, and concluded with several general questions. Makers of America spanned two pages and discussed how groups of people influenced U.S. history and society. Two examples were the sections on African Americans and the Californios. Varying Viewpoints began with a question, such as "What was the true nature of slavery?" and provided an explanation of how various historians interpreted that question or issue over time. The textbook did not provide assessment or summary questions after each chapter, instead there were twelve Document Based Questions (DBQs) at the end of the book.

Brazilian Textbooks

The four Brazilian history textbooks were smaller than the U.S. textbooks in terms of their physical appearance. Three of the Brazilian books were of similar dimensions, approximately one to one and half inches thick, although they had a page range from 450 to almost 700. The fourth book was broken into three smaller volumes of near equal size, totaling just over 1000 pages. The average weight of the books was 3lbs. Below I provide more detail on the organization and layout of each of the Brazilian textbooks.

História Global: Brasil e geral. The 2008 edition (Editora Saraiva, publisher), formatted the main text in two columns, and began with an introduction to the field of history and the work of historians. The textbook was broken into *unidade* (unit) and *capítulo* (chapter). Units

included anywhere between two and seven chapters. Each chapter began with an image (painting or photograph) and two questions about it titled, *Treinando o olhar* (training the eye). Next, the authors included a sentence or paragraph that introduced the topic of the chapter, which was then followed by a question about that topic. Each chapter generally had at least two sections (centered, capitalized, underlined, with subtitle), followed by subsections (square symbol, first letter capitalized, underlined, left justified), and sometimes divisions (left justified, first letter capitalized, underlined). Generally at the end of a subsection was a callout box (titled "*monitorando*" or sometimes "*observando*") that asked the reader to answer questions or perform other tasks such as, respond to a prompt. Throughout the chapter there were images, charts, maps, callout boxes, and glossary boxes with key terms. At the end of each chapter were summary questions (titled *Oficina de história*). The textbook did not have an index or a glossary, but did include a Bibliography and questions from the various state iterations of the *vestibular* (national college entrance exam).

    História: Das cavernas ao terceiro milênio, volumes 1, 2, e 3. In the 2006 edition (Editora Moderna, publisher), the history content was divided across three smaller volumes, with page lengths of 270, 424, and 328 pages respectively. The text was written in a two column format per page. Each volume was further segmented into units and chapters. The chapters began with an introductory passage and image, and then included sections (solid triangle symbol and bolded) and subsections (outlined triangle symbol, bolded, and smaller font size than section headings), as well as images, maps, and special vignette sections. Throughout the chapter, the authors incorporated boxed quotes from mostly historians or other scholars about the content being covered. At the end of each chapter was a special section entitled *texto complementar* (complementary text), which was a long passage from a secondary source and included a few

questions about the given text. The assessment portion of the chapter had several questions and activities about the topic of the chapter as well as questions from the *vestibular* exam. Some chapters had as few as two *vestibular* questions, whereas other chapters presented ten or more questions. At the end of each volume, the textbooks included a bibliography of secondary sources.

       História geral e Brasil: Trablho, cultura, poder. Published in 2004 by Atual Editora, this textbook divided the historical content into units and chapters. The main body text was presented in two columns per page. At the start of the book, the authors provided an introduction to the general study of history. The units could include anywhere from two to ten chapters. Each chapter included sections (red colored text) and subsections (blue, bolded text), summary bullet points (*lembre-se*), and culminating activities. In general, the images, tables, and maps were less prominent than in the other Brazilian textbooks. The activities included one or two passages from secondary sources and a few questions and tasks about the passages and chapter content. At the end of each unit were questions from the *vestibular*, to which the textbook included answers in the back of the book. The bibliography was divided into sources on general history and Brazilian history.

       História para ensino médio: História geral e do Brasil. Published in 2009 (Editora Scipione, publisher), this was the most recent of the Brazilian textbooks in my sample. The textbook was separated into five units and 45 chapters. The main text was presented in a two-column format, with images, charts, and maps distributed throughout the book. Each unit began with an introductory section entitled, *Discutindo a história* (discussing history) that offers an overview of the content. The chapters began with a passage or quote linked to a theme, such as *igualdade e propriedade* (equality and ownership), with the heading of *Para pensar*

historicamente (to think historically). Each chapter had sections (bolded and underlined headings), but not always subsections (bolded headings). After the main text of a chapter, there was a summary flow chart that displayed connections between the key ideas, themes, and events of the chapter. At the end of the chapter were exercises that asked readers to engage various tasks, including reading and reflection, writing an argument, and analyzing a passage. At the conclusion of each unit there was a special section called, *As cidades na história* (Cities in history), and anywhere from 37 to 70 questions from the *vestibular* exam. In addition to a bibliography of secondary sources at the end of the book, this textbook also included an index, which was not the case for the other three Brazilian textbooks.

Method

In this study, I used content analysis as my research method. Content analysis allowed for inferences based on systematic techniques of "identifying specified characteristics of messages" (Holsti, 1968, p. 601). Krippendorf (1980) defined content analysis as "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context" (p. 21). Content analysis went beyond simple word frequency counts to include both quantitative and qualitative methods (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2003). Although word frequency was helpful in identifying words of potential interest for further investigation, coding and categorizing the data helped to provide a rich analysis for the study (Stemler, 2001).

In addition to text, recently produced textbooks incorporate a great deal of visual and graphical content that can generate persistent images for readers (Pingel, 1999). As such, I conducted visual (Nicholls, 2003) and linguistic analyses (Pingel, 1999) to explore the pictorial and textual representations of slavery as well as the connotations and meaning of key words and phrases to assess whether the content paralleled what Beck and McKeown (1991) termed the

"content goal" of, in this case, slavery. The content goal was what textbook authors intended students to grasp about a given topic. The following procedures allowed for the identification of recurring themes and patterns to generate categories of the textbook's presentation of slavery.

In order to refine my methodology I conducted a pilot study on the three U.S. history textbooks used in Atlanta, Georgia (Khan, 2010). The purpose of the pilot study was to identify general patterns in the presentation of slavery in the textbooks, assess how the textbook authors addressed the complexities and legacies of slavery, and determine if the presentation of slavery fostered historical understanding and democratic humanistic education. To analyze the textbooks I developed a keyword list to identify passages in the textbooks that explicitly mentioned an aspect of slavery. Therefore, my unit of analysis for the main body of the textbook was the paragraph. In addition, I also counted each image, map, graph, table, and callout boxes as a single reference. I then created a worksheet to collect and code the various references to slavery from the textbooks, and to perform word frequencies. The protocol for data collection and analysis of the U.S. history textbooks provided a solid foundation on which I built the present study of U.S. and Brazilian history textbooks.

In order to assess my first research question on the overall presentation of slavery, I employed several procedures of content analysis. I first created a keyword list in both English and Portuguese based on several sources from the historical scholarship on slavery (see Appendix B). These lists allowed me to then identify the sentences and paragraphs in the textbook that explicitly covered an aspect of slavery and to determine what topics were emphasized in the book. I strengthened the validity of my keyword list by having two historians who were experts on U.S. and Brazilian slavery review the list and offer feedback on my selections. Drawing on the Brazilian Ministry of Education's National Curriculum Parameters

for Secondary Education (*Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais: Ensino médio*, PCN) ("Ministério da Educação," 2002) and the U.S. based National Center for History in the Schools (NCHS) historical understanding's spheres of history, I coded the presentation of slavery in the textbook as cultural, economic, legal, personal, political, science and technology, or social history (see Appendix C).

My second question sought to explore the similarities and differences between the presentations of slavery in the secondary U.S. and Brazilian textbooks. By comparing the textbooks I hoped to: first identify how the same historical topics are covered across both nations and second, identify aspects of slavery that are not included in either or both countries. Third, I hoped to discover patterns of the presentation of slavery in the textbooks. Such a comparison offered insight into Brazilian and U.S. history education.

The third research question spoke to how textbooks portrayed the complexities and legacies of slavery. In order to address this question I defined and operationalized complexity and legacy. A complex presentation of slavery offers multiple viewpoints, varied experiences, and various aspects of events or actions in an integrative manner (historical understanding). This definition was informed by what Barton and Levstik (2004) identify as Democratic Humanistic Education. They argue history education should: examine the causes, significance, alternatives of historical events and actions (reasoned judgment); present lives as just one set of alternatives (expanded view of humanity); and prepare students to partake in social discussions (deliberation for the common good). I coded each reference of the textbook presentations for complexity as explicit, somewhat, or not present.

For the legacy of slavery, I utilized the same scale (explicit, somewhat, and not present) to ascertain how the textbook connected the history of slavery with society's enduring issues.

These issues included racism, class conflict, citizenship, and immigration among others. I employed the works of several prominent and respected historians to identify significant and complex aspects of slavery and its legacy in U.S. and Brazilian history. The historians included, but were not limited to David Brion Davis' research on slavery, David Eltis' work on the slave trade, Thomas Skidmore's work on race in Brazil, João José Reis' work on slave resistance in Brazil, and Ira Berlin and James Oliver Horton's works on slavery in North America. I then compared the aspects generated from the historical scholarship on slavery to the recurring themes and patterns that emerged from the visual and linguistic analyses.

Reliability and Validity

Krippendorff (1980) conceptualized reliability as the degree to which the research design and instruments represented real phenomena rather than the effects of the measurement or the researcher. I first conducted a pilot empirical study to address reliability concerns in this study, which I describe below.

In the pilot study, a graduate student peer and I coded the same chapter in one U.S. textbook. I then calculated intercoder reliability coefficients for the spheres of history categories, complexity, and legacy. Because a sphere of history was a nominal unit (either cultural, economic, legal, personal, political, science and technology, or social history), I utilized a simple percent agreement (PA) coefficient to calculate reliability (Neuendorf, 2002). Both raters coded the same 10% sample of the references ($n = 59$), resulting in a coefficient of .81. Although there is debate over an appropriate level of intercoder reliability, Neuendorf (2002) argued that based on reliability research, a coefficient greater than .80 was acceptable in most circumstances. After considering this argument on an appropriate coefficient as well as the fact that the spheres of history were not mutually exclusive and that there was some overlap, for

example, with economic and political spheres, I decided to accept .81 and proceed with the study.

In the pilot study I operationalized the complexities and legacies of slavery as ordinal units each with three degrees, explicit, somewhat, and not present. Spearman *rho* statistic allows for rank ordered data, and has a range from -1.00 (complete disagreement) to 1.00 (perfect agreement); a result of .00 means there is no relationship between the raters' codes (Neuendorf, 2002). For both complexity and legacy there was a near perfect agreement between the coders ($rho_{complexity}$ = .998 and rho_{legacy} = .997, respectively). I implemented these protocols for reliability with the Portuguese keyword list and Brazilian textbooks. I had native speakers with knowledge of history code a portion of the history textbooks, and then I calculated percent agreement and Spearman *rho* to gain reliability coefficients as I did in the pilot.

Validity is primarily concerned with whether the research instrument being utilized measures what it was designed to measure (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984; Krippendorff, 1980). I consulted with two professors of history who specialize in the history of slavery to offer feedback on my terms and to determine the validity of the key word instrument. In addition I had key informants with knowledge of Brazilian history and education review my findings and interpretations. Through this study, I was interested in explaining how secondary history textbooks adopted in the United States and in Brazil presented slavery to their readers, and whether said presentations conveyed the complex history and legacy of slavery. Findings from this research can inform an understanding of the intended curriculum about slavery in secondary U.S. and Brazilian history courses.

Researcher Perspective

My decision to conduct research on the presentation of slavery in U.S. and Brazilian history textbooks stemmed from several experiences. These included learning about the African Burial Grounds in New York City as a child, taking a graduate course on race in Brazil, studying Portuguese, and working over the past six years on *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database* website.

I was in sixth grade when the African Burial Grounds were unearthed in 1991 during the excavation of lower Manhattan for a federal building. I was very familiar with the location of the discovery as my father worked on the same block as the excavation, and I was aware of the project as I walked passed it on countless occasions. Although I was young, I clearly remember the surprise of teachers and other adults that slavery had been so pervasive in New York City at one time. I remember earlier hearing from many people that slavery was a Southern problem that did not occur in the Northeast. As the burial grounds and the later exhibition at the New York Historical Society would vividly demonstrate, slavery not only existed in the North, but also was a critical factor in its development. This experience increased my interest in historical scholarship, particularly research related to slavery.

In 2006, I enrolled in a graduate history course that examined race and ethnicity in Brazil. Through the readings and class discussions, I learned about Brazil's massive slave history, a topic about which, prior to the class, I knew nothing. I was surprised to learn that at its height in 1850, Brazil was the second largest slave holding society with over 2.5 million enslaved people (Skidmore, 1974) (the United States had approximately 4 million enslaved people in 1850) and had imported more than 5 million enslaved Africans over the course of four centuries (in comparison, approximately 400,000 enslaved Africans disembarked in North America) (Eltis, 2008). These points of comparison, among others, challenged me to reflect upon my own

knowledge of the history of slavery as well as raised questions about the teaching of slavery currently in schools.

Following this graduate course I decided to begin studying Portuguese with the intention to conduct research in Brazil. I took beginning and intermediate courses in the United States and began conversing with native Portuguese speakers in Atlanta. In 2007, I travelled to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil to take a month long language program at the Catholic University (*A Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro*, PUC-RIO). While I was in Brazil I had informal conversations with other Brazilian graduate students about my research interests, and gained additional insights into education and history in Brazil. For example, I learned that conceptions and opinions about issues of race could vary considerably within a city based on location and class.

Lastly, I have worked with an important project housed at Emory University. The *Voyages* project published quantitative data on the transatlantic slave trade through a searchable and graphical interface, making information on nearly 35,000 slaving voyages freely available to academic and general audiences on the Internet. As the Curriculum Development Advisor for the project, I coordinated the creation of lesson plans based on the website from teachers across the country. In addition, I also presented the website at numerous events and venues including, education conferences, teacher workshops, and a senior center among others. Attendees at these sessions continually raised two points, that they had never known the global extent of the slave trade and that slavery in general needed to be presented to students in a more complex manner. The present study thus arose from personal and pedagogical interests in understanding how slavery was presented to younger generations and from the apparent need for a more complete picture of the history of slavery.

CHAPTER IV
FINDINGS

The purpose of this study was to assess how new world slavery was covered in U.S. and Brazilian secondary history textbooks. In this section, I provide results on the overall presentation of slavery, the similarities and differences between U.S. and Brazilian textbooks, the degree of complexity of the coverage, and the extent to which the textbooks discussed the legacies of slavery. Because of the structure and layout of the U.S. textbooks, it was appropriate to group and compare the three textbooks used in regular U.S. history courses together, and treat the one used in Advanced Placement U.S. history classes separately. The four Brazilian textbooks were grouped together as they had similar chapter and content structures.

Overall Presentation of Slavery

In order to answer question one about how slavery was presented in U.S. and Brazilian textbooks, I looked at the structure and layout of the textbooks. The textbook structure included the layout of the chapters and the chronological order of the historical content within the textbook. I provide my findings from the four U.S. textbooks first, followed by the findings from the four Brazilian textbooks.

U.S. Textbooks

In the three books for standard U.S. history courses, I limited my analysis to the first 12 chapters because the textbooks covered history from ancient history through Reconstruction within those chapters. In the one book for Advanced Placement (AP) courses, *The American Pageant* (*TAP*)[1], the same time period was spread across the first 25 chapters. The period

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[1] I chose to abbreviate *The American Pageant* as *TAP* in this study in order to differentiate the abbreviation of Advanced Placement (AP).

covering 593 pages in *TAP*, as opposed to 403 pages in *The Americans*, 450 pages in *Pathways to the Present* (*PTP*), and 433 pages in *United States History* (*USH*).

Table 1

Chapters in Selected Secondary U.S. History Textbooks

Textbook Title	Total Pages	Total Chapters	Chapters Analyzed
The Americans	1,294	35	12
PTP	1,250	34	12
USH	1,272	33	12
TAP (AP)	1,168	42	25

Slavery was not discussed in any detail in the sections following Reconstruction. Table 2 shows the first 12 chapter titles for the three standard U.S. history textbooks.

Table 2

Chapter Titles for Three Standard U.S. History Textbooks

	The Americans	*Pathways to the Present*	*United States History*
1	Three Worlds Meet, 1200 b.c. – a.d. 1500	The Atlantic World, to 1600	Many Cultures Meet, Prehistory-1550
2	The American Colonies Emerge, 1492–1681	European Colonization of the Americas, 1492-1752	Europeans Establish Colonies, 1492-1752
3	The Colonies Come of Age, 1650-1765	Growth of the American Colonies, 1689-1754	The American Colonies Take Shape, 1607-1765
4	The War for Independence, 1765-1783	The Road to Independence, 1753-1783	The American Revolution, 1765-1783
5	Shaping a New Nation, 1781-1788	The Constitution of the United States, 1776-1800	Creating the Constitution, 1781-1789
6	Launching the New Nation, 1789-1816	The Origins of American Politics, 1789-1820	The New Republic, 1789-1816
7	Balancing Nationalism and Sectionalism, 1815-1840	Life in the New Nation, 1783-1830	Nationalism and Sectionalism, 1812-1855

8	Reforming American Society, 1820-1850	The Growth of a National Economy, 1790-1850	Religion and Reform, 1812-1860
9	Expanding Markets and Moving West, 1825-1847	Religion and Reform, 1800-1850	Manifest Destiny, 1800-1850
10	The Union in Peril, 1850-1861	The Coming of the Civil War, 1848-1861	The Union in Crisis, 1846-1861
11	The Civil War, 1861-1865	The Civil War, 1861-1865	The Civil War, 1861-1865
12	Reconstruction and Its Effects, 1865-1877	Reconstruction, 1865-1877	The Reconstruction Era, 1865-1877

As was evident from the chapter titles, these three textbooks organized U.S. history in near identical manners with the exceptions of the order of chapters eight and nine in *PTP* and some of the ranges of years covered. The authors of *TAP* spread similar U.S. history content over twice as many chapters as these three standard textbooks yet maintained the same basic chronological and topical structure.

All four of the U.S. history textbooks focused almost entirely on historical events and individuals that took place or lived in North America. Beyond the first chapter, global events prior to the 20th century were rarely discussed within these U.S. history textbooks. All of the U.S. textbooks had a visual timeline in either the beginning or the end of each chapter. It was on these timelines that I found most of the global events prior to the 20th century. This focus on U.S. centric history reinforces the narrative of U.S. history as a singular linear phenomenon that over time improves or progresses toward an ideal society as laid out in the founding documents, the U.S. Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution. The presentation of slavery in these textbooks implied that despite the harsh or brutal realities of slavery, conditions of people have improved and that society will continue to inevitably progress.

After assessing the general structure and layout of the U.S. textbooks, I looked specifically at the titles of chapters, sections, subsections, and divisions for the explicit presence

of slavery. Unlike the keywords I utilized to identify the paragraphs containing a reference to the history of slavery, for specific title headings I limited my keywords to only a few terms, including slave (and any word including slave, i.e. antislavery), free (as opposed to enslaved), emancipation, abolition, and individuals only associated with slavery (such as Harriet Tubman or John Brown). Of the U.S. textbooks analyzed, only one chapter in the AP book *TAP* entitled, "The South and the Slavery Controversy, 1793-1860" explicitly referred to slavery. None of the chapters in the three textbooks for standard U.S. history courses made overt mentions of slavery in their titles.

Within the three standard textbooks, there were four levels of headings. I identified three section headings in each book explicitly about slavery. Seven out of the nine sections on slavery were situated around the antebellum and reform periods of the mid 19th century. As a point of reference, these textbooks had between 48 and 51 sections across the first 12 chapters. *TAP* had a slightly different structure with only three levels of headings. In this case, I identified 38 section headings explicitly about slavery. Although the sections on slavery in *TAP* appeared in several chapters, they were, nonetheless, thematically clustered around the antebellum and reform periods like the three standard textbooks.

When I examined the glossaries and indices of the U.S. textbooks, I found several intriguing patterns as they related to the history of slavery. First, only the standard textbooks had glossaries, and the key terms and phrases listed were nearly identical across the three books. Within the glossaries, I identified 26 terms in *USH*, 28 terms in *PTP*, and 33 terms in *The Americans*, which averaged less than 6% of the total phrases across each textbook. Second, although I found relatively few variant terms, the definitions did in some cases differ in terms of whether the phrase was explicitly linked to slavery. For example, *The Americans* defines

triangular trade as, "The transatlantic system of trade in which goods and people, including slaves, were exchanged between Africa, England, Europe, the West Indies, and the colonies in North America (p. R68)." Whereas, *USH* described the trade as the, "three-way pattern of trade that involved England, English colonies in the Americas, and West Africa (p. 1220)." Both of these definitions of the triangular trade were problematic in that neither conveyed the centrality of enslaved Africans to the trade. Thus, either not including enslaved persons, as with *USH*, or only mentioning the inclusion of slaves along with the other goods in the trade, as with *The Americans*, misrepresented the history of the slave trade to readers. However, the majority of glossary entries on the history of slavery in all three textbooks were not as egregious in failing to explicitly link slavery to the key terms as was the case with the triangular trade.

Across the indices of all four U.S. textbooks, I identified the topics with the most number of entries. In both *USH* and *PTP*, the indices included all of the callout boxes and various activities (such as, "Connect to Your World" in *USH*) located throughout the books, which were in fact the headings with the most entries by far. Nevertheless, I counted the entries of historical topics in order to highlight meaningful patterns from the indices. In some instances, I found it beneficial to combine historically linked topics in my count when they were listed after one another. For example, I combined "slavery," "slaves," "slave ship," and "slave trade" from *The Americans'* index. In all four textbooks, the topics that appeared in the top ten, and often within the top five, based on the number of entries were African Americans, Native Americans, slavery, and women. In the case of *TAP*, women and slavery were numbers one and two, respectively. Therefore, and at least in the indices and glossaries, I noted the presence of slavery, my primary focus, as well as the presence of non-European male topics in meaningful ways. However, as I will illustrate later in this chapter, there was considerable variance in the quality of discussion of

the history of slavery as well as in the quantity of coverage related to slavery across all of the

U.S. textbooks. In many instances, the presence of slavery in the structure and layout of the

textbooks (i.e. section headings, indices, and glossaries) was inconsistent with the textual and

visual presentation of the history of slavery.

One interesting comparison among the U.S. textbooks was the use of the words

"enslaved" and "slave" when referencing people or a person. For example, in the third chapter

of two of textbooks on the formation of the North American colonies in the 17th and 18th

centuries, *USH* made use of "enslaved" much more than *The Americans* (*PTP* had similar

numbers to *The Americans*) (see Table 3 below).

Table 3

Counts of Slave vs. Enslaved in Standard U.S. History Textbooks

Key Word/Phrase	*The Americans* Ch 3	*The Americans* Total (thru Ch 12)	*USH* Ch 3	*USH* Total (thru Ch 12)
Slave	45	204	10	157
Enslaved	13	26	41	111

For comparison, the *TAP* authors used "slave" 328 times throughout the entire textbook, and

used "enslaved" only 19 times, mirroring the findings from *The Americans*. The distinction

between the two terms was important when discussing slavery because the phrase "enslaved

person," conveyed the belief that an individual's identity was not solely defined as a slave, but

rather as a person who has been forced into the condition of slavery; there was a further

unspoken influence – that someone enslaved them. Balance in the usage between the two terms

can help to present a more humanistic history of those that lived in bondage. In recent decades

scholars have been more sensitive to this issue than they were earlier, but the shift is not reflected in the high school books that were originally published more than ten years ago. The shift is evident in *USH*, first edition published in 2008. This finding might reflect the fact that there was little revision since the first edition printing of three of the textbooks. For example, *TAP* was originally published in 1956 and is now in its thirteenth edition. I can only speculate on the potential influence of the first edition publication date, as I did not analyze the previous editions of either the U.S. or Brazilian textbooks included in this study.

In both *PTP* and in *The Americans*, at the end of every section (as well as in the middle of some sections) and at the end of each chapter, there were critical thinking questions for readers to consider. In *USH* there were questions at the end of each sub section (termed "checkpoint" questions) as well as in the assessment areas of each section within chapters. For these textbooks there were different types of questions, including compare, contrast, analyze, synthesize, hypothesize, evaluate, conclude, and summarize, among others. In some sections, the questions did a good job raising the salient issues of an aspect of slavery. For instance, from *The Americans*, "(hypothesizing) how might the course of American history have changed if the Bill of Rights had forbidden discrimination of all kinds and had protected the rights of minorities (Danzer, Klor de Alva, Krieger, Wilson, & Woloch, 2006, p. 149)?" Another example from *PTP* was, "(making comparisons) (a) in what ways was Olaudah Equiano's experience similar to that of other enslaved Africans? (b) In what ways was his experience different (Cayton, Perry, Reed, & Winkler, 2005, p. 88)?" Nevertheless, other questions did not address slavery directly or were not intended to address slavery based on the chapter.

Brazilian Textbooks

The four Brazilian textbooks were *História Global: Brasil e Geral* (*HG*), *História: Das Cavernas ao Terceiro Milênio* (*HCT*), *História Geral e Brasil: Trabalho, Cultura, e Poder* (*HGB*), *História para o Ensino Médio: História Geral e do Brasil* (*HGDB*). All four of the textbooks had four levels of heading: chapter, section, subsection, and division. The Brazilian textbooks varied from the U.S. books on chapter structure, content, and page length. In general, the Brazilian books had more chapters spread across fewer pages (See Table 4). This meant that the average length for a given chapter in the Brazilian textbooks was shorter than for the U.S. textbook chapters. However, I did not find a direct relationship between the length of a chapter or section and the quality of presentation of slavery. I chose to analyze those chapters that covered new world slavery from ancient history until either the start of the Republic era (1889) or the end of the 19th century.

Table 4

Chapters in Selected Secondary Brazilian History Textbooks

Textbook Title	Total Pages	Total Chapters	Total Chapters Analyzed
HG	688	58	22
HCT (three vols.)	1,023	58	17
HGB	448	53	18
HGDB	632	45	16

As with the U.S. textbooks, there were no meaningful references on new world slavery in the chapters following those that covered the Republic era (1889-1930).

Unlike the U.S. authors, the authors of the Brazilian textbooks included more global history within the national history narrative. Three out of the four Brazilian textbooks included

the word *geral* (general) within their titles, one used *global*, and the last had the broad subtitle

Das cavernas ao terceiro milênio (from caves to the third millennium). However, the textbooks

were not world history books in the sense that they attempted to cover all of human history

across the globe. The authors instead incorporated particular world historical events and topics,

from ancient history to modern history, as they related to Brazilian history. Nearly all of those

particular events and topics included were from European history. For example, all of the

textbooks had chapters devoted to Greek and Roman history as well as the French Revolution.

In addition, the regions of Southeast Asia, East Asia, and Oceania were not discussed in the

Brazilian textbooks until the chapters covering the 20th century.

Across the Brazilian textbooks, slavery was explicitly mentioned on nearly all four levels

of heading. As indicated in Table 5 (below), there was similarity in the number of headings

explicitly mentioning slavery between the four textbooks.

Table 5

Levels of Heading Titles Explicitly Mentioning Slavery in Brazilian Textbooks

Textbook Title	Chapter	Section	Sub Section	Division
HG	1	5	15	22
HCT (three vols.)	0	2	15	9
HGB	2	2	15	3
HGDB	0	2	4	9

However, *HG*'s number of mentions at the division level was more than twice any of the other

books. After I dug further, I found that this textbook had more titled callout boxes (i.e. maps,

tables, and charts) about slavery than the other textbooks. *HGB*'s low number in the same level

was due mostly to the fewer number of non-text items throughout the book, including images and callout boxes. In *HGDB*, similar to the U.S. textbook *TAP*, there were few instances of sub sections in general as compared with the other books, thus accounting for the relatively low number of subsection headings explicitly mentioning slavery. Although I found more references to slavery in some parts of the textbooks than other parts, and I did notice some clustering of references around particular times or topics, the Brazilian textbooks distributed the coverage of slavery a little wider than I found in the U.S. textbooks. Those time periods and topics included colonial Brazil, economy and labor, empire of Brazil, and abolitionism.

I noted additional structural and layout differences between U.S. and Brazilian textbooks. First, none of the Brazilian textbooks had a glossary at the end of the book like the U.S. ones. When the textbook authors highlighted key terms in the text, the definitions would either be in a glossary box on the same page or within the text itself. Second, only one of the Brazilian textbooks had an index, *HGDB*. And unlike the indices in the U.S. textbooks, the terms with the most entries were *batalha* (battle), *guerra* (war), *reino Africano* (African kingdom), and *revolução* (revolution). And third, all of the Brazilian books had bibliographies, whereas none of the U.S. textbooks had one. *TAP* did have an appendix section for suggested reading, but this difference in particular reflected the pattern of Brazilian textbooks presenting history as a discipline, reflecting how historians do history. Additionally, I identified more phrases like "some historians argue..." in Brazilian textbooks than in U.S. ones, as well as more consistent use of footnotes on sources used in the book.

Also distinct from the U.S. books, Brazilian textbooks did not use visual timelines to display historical people or events. The only timeline in any of the four books was in the introduction of *HGDB* wherein the authors were describing the different ways to understand

historical time and periodization. The timeline in this instance displayed the centuries and years of the Gregorian, or Christian calendar. Whereas the timelines in the U.S textbooks reinforced the narrative of U.S. history as a singular linear phenomenon, the absence of timelines in the Brazilian textbooks reflected a less rigid linear notion of Brazilian history.

The chronological and geographical layout of the chapters in these books presented a narrative of Brazilian history that emphasized its European roots, and to a much lesser degree its Indigenous and African origins. For example, in *HGDB*, the chapter on African history, chapter 31, was situated within Unit Four entitled "The Construction of the Contemporary World." The placement of this chapter appeared to be the result of the 2003 Brazilian law requiring the inclusion of African history in the curriculum and the publishers not thinking through the context and implications of the chapter. The majority of the content within this chapter covered African history from the origins of humans through the kingdoms of Ghana and Mali in the 13th and 14th centuries; as such, this was not a direct connection with the theme of the unit. The last section of the chapter, however, did discuss the slave trades to both the Arabic world and to the Atlantic world. Nevertheless, as I will discuss in subsequent sections, the content of these chapters oscillated between this Eurocentric narrative and a slightly more inclusive one.

Similarities and Differences in Two Countries Textbooks

Through my second research question I sought to explore the similarities and differences in the presentation of slavery between U.S. and Brazilian history textbooks. Previously, I described the broad variations of the textbooks with regards to the overall structure of the books including number of pages, chapter breakdown, glossaries, and indices. In this section I focused on how the content of the textbooks converged or differed as it related to the various aspects (spheres of history) of the history of slavery.

Spheres of History

In both sets of textbooks, slavery was at least mentioned across many chapters and sections throughout much of the books. I coded the references to slavery across both the U.S. and Brazilian textbooks according to the sphere of history to which they belonged. As was previously defined, the spheres of history were the cultural, economic, legal, personal, political, science and technology, and social aspects of the history of slavery. A cultural reference to slavery was, for example, a mention to the fact that the leaders of the Mâles Revolt of 1835 in Bahia, Brazil were Muslims who were literate in Arabic. An example of an economic reference was the discussion of the importance of sugar and later coffee plantations to the Brazilian economy. The legal sphere of slavery would be mentioning a specific law such as the 1850 Eusébio de Queiroz Law, known as the "Bill Aberdeen" which abolished the slave trade to Brazil. An individual such as Harriet Tubman was an example of the personal sphere of slavery. The political sphere referred to discussions in the textbooks like the Lincoln-Douglas debates in 1858 over slavery in the United States. An example of a science and technology reference was the cotton gin and its influence on the expansion of slavery in the southern U.S. states. And lastly, the social sphere of slavery included mentions about the working or living conditions of plantations in either the U.S. or Brazilian contexts. In Appendix C I provide further details on each of these codes and subcodes.

Figure 1 displays the breakdown of the average references for the standard U.S. history textbooks and the Brazilian textbooks by spheres of history.
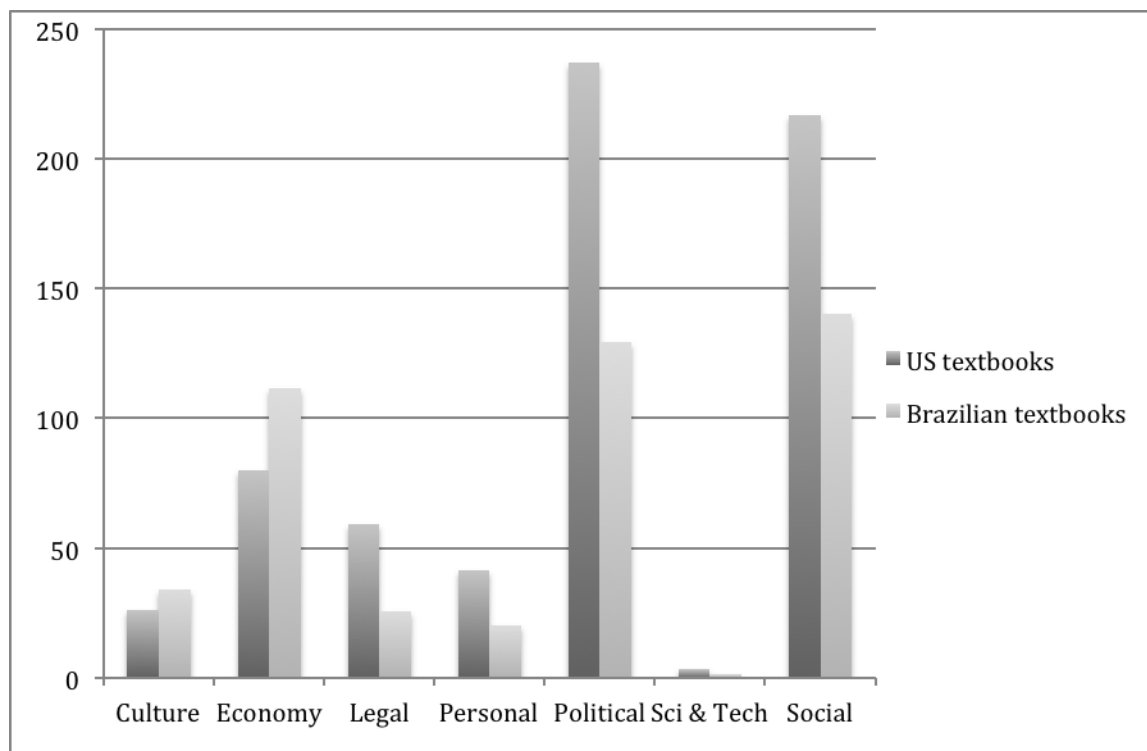
Figure 1. Average References by Spheres of History

It was clear from the graph that both the U.S. and Brazilian textbooks had particular patterns in terms of the references to slavery under specific spheres of history. For all books, the emphasis was on the political and social aspects of slavery. When these numbers were examined further, different spheres were prevalent in particular chapters in the U.S. textbooks. In *The Americans*, for example, there were more references to the political than social history of slavery across the first 12 chapters, although in chapters three and eight social history was the clear focus of the presentation of slavery, and the reverse was true in chapter ten (see Table 6 below).

Table 6

Counts of References of Social and Political Spheres of History for The Americans

	The Americans			
Sphere of History	Ch 3	Ch 8	Ch 10	Total (thru Ch 12)
Political History	1	13	94	230
Social History	43	61	34	220

The same pattern of emphasis was found in chapters three, eight, and ten of both *USH* and *PTP*. However, for the Brazilian textbooks, although the political and social spheres were the two categories with the highest number of references, there was more explicit attention to the economic history of slavery in the Brazilian ones than in the U.S. ones. For example, *HG* had 130 and 125 references to the political and social spheres, respectively, and 99 references to the economic sphere of slavery, whereas *The Americans* had 85 references to the economic sphere. In viewing the content of textbooks through the lenses of the spheres of history, I was able to highlight the particular aspects of the history of slavery on which the textbook authors focused, as well as identify which topics or perspectives were avoided.

Cultural. This sphere of history is concerned with the cultural aspects of history. These aspects include discourses on religion, language, ethnicity, rituals, art, and philosophy, among others. In the U.S. textbooks, religious references to slavery were the most common of the cultural sphere across all of the books. For example, all four textbooks made explicit mention of enslaved African-Americans being inspired by Christianity during the Second Great Awakening in the early 19th century to call for their freedom from slavery. The three regular textbooks all mentioned Richard Allen, the founder of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church in

1816, as a personal example of Black religious leaders calling for freedom. Interestingly, *TAP*, the only Advanced Placement textbook I analyzed, did not mention him specifically but did briefly discuss AME in the context of growing Black churches following the Civil War. For all of the U.S. textbooks, the religious references were confined to the chapter on social and religious reforms during the 19th century in the United States.

The cultural references were not as constrained to a particular chapter in the Brazilian textbooks as they were in the U.S. books. I found that in the Brazilian textbooks religion had the most number of references, but that number on average accounted for about half of the cultural references. For example, in *HCT*, 23 of the 40 cultural references were related to religion. The majority of the religious references focused on one of three topics; first, the African religious practices that enslaved Africans carried to Brazil; second, the role of Jesuit missionaries and the colonial system of Brazil; and third, the fusion of Catholicism and African rituals among the enslaved, specifically *Candomblé*. The other cultural references were more general in their relation to the history of slavery, most often with statements such as,

> *Espalhadas por todas as regiões do país, as culturas africanas integram o modo de ser, pensar e viver da população brasileira. Do mesmo modo, o trabalho do africano e de seus descendentes marca a economia brasileira ao longo de sua história, no passado e no presente*. [Spread throughout the country, African cultures are part of the way the Brazilian population is, thinks, and lives. In the same way, the labor of Africans and their descendants also marked the Brazilian economy throughout its history, in the past and in the present.] (Cotrim, 2008, p. 250)

This theme that various aspects of African cultures have influenced and permeated Brazilian culture through the experiences of enslaved Africans appeared in all four of the Brazilian textbooks.

       Economic. The economic sphere includes discussions of economic systems, motivations, and terminology as they relate to the history of slavery. Economic systems and motivations may also be thought of as the macro and micro economic aspects of history. In both the U.S. and Brazilian textbooks, one similar finding was the discussion of the importance of a particular crop in driving and expanding slavery in each nation. In the United States, the expansion of cotton into the Deep South increased and further entrenched slavery into society. In Brazil, sugar, and later coffee, dominated the market for enslaved Africans and affected price and trade patterns throughout the Atlantic world. Both sugar and cotton (and to a lesser extent coffee, tobacco, and rice) were mentioned in all eight textbooks as having importance to the expansion of slavery in the respective countries. However, in the U.S. textbooks, nearly all of this discussion was focused on the domestic importance, with only a passing mention to England being a major market for Southern cotton leading up to the Civil War. Brazilian textbook authors presented a slightly more global view of sugars role in slavery and the slave trade, although not in any great detail.

       In the U.S. textbooks, economic references to slavery were a distant third to the political and social spheres of history. The economic system references focused primarily on the colonial plantation system in the United States, and later on the difference between the Northern commercial and industrial economy and the Southern agricultural economy. However, the majority of these references were only surface descriptions of the economics of slavery in the United States. For example, in none of the four textbooks did the authors explain that although

the North and the South had different types of economies, the two systems were inextricably linked together by slavery. Northern markets traded and manufactured Southern raw goods, insured slave ships and enslaved people, and thus benefited from the slave economy.

The economic sphere in general was more prevalent throughout the Brazilian books as it related to such topics as labor, capitalism, and trade than in the U.S. textbooks. For example, in *HG* the author cited a Brazilian historian, Fernando Novais, who argued that the main reason for the growth of African slavery in Brazil was that the high revenues from taxes on the trade of enslaved Africans encouraged the trade over the further enslavement of the indigenous population. Novais also argued that indigenous slavery was prohibited in some areas because of the profits from African slavery. The economic discussion in the Brazilian textbooks focused more on the economic system of slavery than the economic motivations of individuals or groups, and in addition, the economic inevitability for the end of slavery.

Legal. The legal sphere of history refers to any mention of specific laws or court decisions related to the history of slavery. In the U.S. textbooks, the majority of the references related to the legal history of slavery were concentrated in, but not limited to, the chapter on the Antebellum South in the decade before the start of the Civil War. All four books mentioned the same series of compromises linked to slavery in the United States, The Missouri Compromise of 1820, the Compromise of 1850, and the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. The authors identified these compromises, along with the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 and the Dred Scott Supreme Court decision of 1857 as part of the long term causes of the Civil War. For all of the U.S. textbooks, the abolition of the Transatlantic Slave Trade in 1808 received only a passing mention; in most cases the authors wrote either 1808 or 1810 (the latter being when enforcement of the abolition began) in discussing the end of the importation of enslaved Africans without an explanation as to

why that year was important. However, taken together, the most discussed laws were the

Emancipation Proclamation and the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1863 and 1865,

respectively.

In the Brazilian textbooks, the legal references to slavery varied across topics a little

more than in the U.S. books. The most prevalent laws mentioned within the four textbooks were

the 1850 abolition of the slave trade, the 1871 law of the Free Womb, the 1885 law freeing

enslaved persons 60 years of age or older, and the 1888 "Golden Law" which abolished slavery

in Brazil. As can be seen with these particular laws, and with several others mentioned to

varying degrees in the books, the legal discourse on slavery followed a pattern of restricting

slavery over time. Whereas with the U.S. textbooks, most of the laws mentioned either further

entrenched slavery into society or shifted the focus of the slave economy, with the notable

exceptions of the Emancipation Proclamation and the 13th Amendment. This is not to say that

Brazil historically restricted slavery more than the United States, but in the Brazilian textbooks,

the narrative that emerges, as it relates to the legal sphere of the history of slavery, is one of

limiting slavery until the eventual abolition of slavery.

Personal. The personal sphere of history covers the references to individuals related to

the history of slavery. This includes enslaved individuals, persons explicitly identified as "free",

political or social leaders, and others directly tied to an aspect of slavery. The U.S. textbooks

had almost twice as many personal references to slavery as did the Brazilian textbooks, although

relative to the other spheres of history, the personal category was low. In the U.S. books, the

most discussed individuals directly linked to slavery were Fredrick Douglass, Harriet Tubman,

Sojourner Truth, Nat Turner, John Brown, Abraham Lincoln, and Harriet Beecher Stowe. There

were other people associated with an aspect of slavery who were mentioned across the textbooks,

but these seven had at least a paragraph written on them and on their connection to slavery in each book. The authors discussed Abraham Lincoln's role with slavery when he was both a senator from Illinois and the President of the United States. The narrative surrounding these individuals was one of extraordinary people leading others in the cause against slavery. What I did not find were prominent individuals who overtly and actively supported slavery as presented in the textbooks. The textbook authors would either mention that a person was a slave owner, but not whether they called for the expansion of slavery, or mention that, for example, John C. Calhoun was a supporter of "state's rights" and not explicitly a proponent of slavery. Groups, such as "planters" or "slave owners" were most often identified as advocates for the maintenance of slavery rather than any one person. This pattern of highlighting the individuals who fought against slavery and not individuals who advocated for slavery aligns with the theme of American progress.

In the Brazilian textbooks, there were fewer individuals mentioned who were directly tied to slavery than in the U.S. books. The most prominent person connected to slavery across three of the four books was Zumbi or Zumbi dos Palmares, the *quilombo* (maroon colony) leader in the 17th century. The other individuals mentioned in the textbooks were made in passing without detail beyond identification, such as Jaoquim Nabuco who was an abolitionist leader in the 1880s. Although people are named throughout the Brazilian textbooks in connection with slavery, there was not a focus on extraordinary individuals similar to what I found in the U.S. books.

Political. The political sphere of the history of slavery encompasses the actions, debates, and motivations undertaken and expressed by the government or in direct relation to the government. This includes speeches, legislation and policy, military actions, political

movements, and in some instances revolts. As was shown earlier, the political sphere had the highest number of references across all four U.S. textbooks. The most common political references connected to the history of slavery were the various compromises and the related debates and legislation, from the Revolutionary War through Reconstruction. These include, among others, the Three-Fifths Clause of the U.S. Constitution, the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, the Missouri Compromise, the Compromise of 1850, and the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. The textbooks focused on the debates over popular sovereignty and states' rights, for example, as contributing to the increasing divide between the Northern and Southern states, culminating in the outbreak of the Civil War. Although none of the textbooks analyzed stated that slavery was not the major cause of the Civil War, the constructed narrative reflected the idea of an expanding division within the country, in part over the issue of slavery. Following the Civil War, the majority of the political references to slavery were focused on the various Reconstruction plans and the implementation of the new policies of the Reconstruction era.

The political references had the second highest amount after the social sphere of history for the Brazilian textbooks, although the two categories were very close. The majority of the references were in the context of the government of that particular era of Brazilian history. Beginning in the Colonial era and continuing until the present, Brazil has had several forms of government throughout its history. After declaring its independence from Portugal in 1822, the former colony became the Empire of Brazil under monarchical rule until 1889 when the Republic of Brazil was formed. As such, most of the political references to slavery were about the various policies and actions of the different governments, including military action and international treaties. For example, in *HGB*, in discussing the situation of slavery in Brazil after the 1850 abolishment of the international slave trade, the authors focused on how the several

factors pressured the Imperial government to reluctantly address the growing unpopularity of

slavery. These factors were the British government's constant pressure to end slavery, the

Paraguayan War (1865-1870), and that after the U.S. Civil War ended in 1865 Brazil was among

the last few nations engaging in slavery (Cuba being the main other country). Brazil's victory

over Paraguay, for which both enslaved and free Afro-Brazilians fought, pushed the topic of

slavery into Parliament, although the discussion was limited to granting freedom to those

enslaved Brazilians who had enlisted. Nevertheless, the textbook authors framed this historical

context in terms of the political influences leading to the passing of the Law of the Free Womb

(*Lei do Ventre Livre*) in 1871, which, among other provisions designed to slowly reduce slavery

in Brazilian society, freed the children of enslaved mothers after they turned 21 years of age.

This example is illustrative of the type of references to the political sphere of history in the

Brazilian textbooks.

>   **Science and technology.** The science and technology sphere of history was the category

with the fewest number of references across both the U.S. and Brazilian textbooks. In fact, there

were only a few references that fell into this sphere and of those that did, they followed the same

pattern; a particular technology increased the economy of slavery in the respective country. For

the U.S. textbooks, the invention of the cotton gin in 1793 by Eli Whitney was the example of

this sphere. All of the U.S. textbook authors discussed the cotton gin as having greatly expanded

the profitability of cotton and the spread of slavery into the Deep South. This expansion, they

argued, further divided Southern society from the North thus tying into the narrative of the

causes of the Civil War stemming from this division.

>   In the Brazilian textbooks, the only references that connected slavery with science and

technology were in *HCT*. The authors mentioned that beginning in the 1850s, the building of the

railroad in Brazil, especially in the state of São Paulo, reduced the transport costs on coffee therefore increasing the profits for the plantation owners. Coffee, by this time, had surpassed sugar to become Brazil's main slave produced export and the reduction of costs further entrenched slavery into Brazilian society.

Social. As was discussed previously in this chapter, the social sphere of history was either the second most referenced category, as was the case for the U.S. textbooks, or first most referenced category, as was the situation in the Brazilian textbooks. I further specified the social sphere to include sub categories that captured references to social status, social movements, the conditions and experiences under slavery, demographic data, and social violence. For the U.S. textbooks, the majority of the references fell under either social movements or conditions and experiences, followed by social status, demographic data, and social violence. The social movement references in these books were primarily about abolition activities and people acting outside of the government. These included the likes of William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass, Elizabeth Cody Stanton, and Sojourner Truth travelling around the country speaking against slavery. The U.S. books also mentioned the connections between the 19th century women's movement and abolition by highlighting specific individuals, such as Sarah and Angelina Grimke and Lucretia Mott, who spoke out against slavery and for improved conditions for women.

The conditions and experiences category incorporated descriptions of the lives of enslaved people, both in general and specific to individuals. All of the U.S. textbooks utilized the word "brutal" among others in describing the conditions of slavery. For example, in *USH*, the authors described the harsh circumstances faced by enslaved people,

Most of these unfortunate men, women, and children labored from dawn to dusk at

backbreaking tasks—cultivating fields of cotton, loading freight onto ships, or preparing

meals in scorching hot kitchens. Their "overseers" maintained brutal work routines by

punishing people physically with beatings, whipping, and maimings, and mentally,

through humiliation and the threat of being separated from family members. The basics

of life—food, clothing, and shelter—were barely adequate for most enslaved people.

(Lapsansky-Werner, Levy, Roberts, & Taylor, 2008, pp. 278-279)

Some textbooks included more detail or cited personal narratives in order to describe conditions.

A typical example of this was from *PTP* and how the authors discussed the Middle Passage,

The Middle Passage was one leg of the triangular trade between the Americas, Europe,

and Africa. The term is also used to refer to the forced transport of slaves from Africa to

the Americas. Although historians differ on the actual figures, from 10 to 40 percent of

the Africans on a slave ship typically died in the crossing. Sick and frightened by what

might lay ahead, they were forced to endure chains, heat, disease, and the overpowering

odor caused by the lack of sanitation and their cramped, stuffy quarters. (Cayton, et al.,

2005*, p.84)

This passage was part of a very limited discussion of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and of

Qlaudah Equiano. All three of the standard U.S. textbooks both mentioned Equiano in the text

and had his image on the pages. Interestingly, *TAP* did not mention Equiano anywhere in the

main text, and only cited his narrative in the suggested reading appendix.

The social status references related to slavery were those that mention issues of free or

enslaved designations, class, race, societal expectations or norms, and citizenship status. For

example, in *USH*, the authors argued that even the poor Southern White farmers felt a shared

racial bond and a sense of racial superiority with the wealthy plantation owners because of a social structure that kept Blacks, both enslaved and free, at the bottom. There were other social status references that touched on distinctions of education, labor skill, and gender. The gender references were generally comparisons between White women and either, men in general or to the entire enslaved population, without specifying enslaved women.

The textbooks did provide readers with many tables, charts, maps, and statistics related to the demographic history of slavery. These references included data on the number of enslaved people transported to the United States during the Transatlantic Slave Trade, mortality rates during the Middle Passage, or enslaved and free population in different locations among others. Nevertheless, the figures in several instances were not consistent across the U.S. textbooks and in some cases not in concert with more recent historical scholarship. An example of the former issue was the mortality rate during the Middle Passage. In *TAP*, the authors stated that those rates went as high as 20% without indicating what the average might have been. In *USH*, that statistic was "at least 10%" during the 1700s, and in *PTP*, the range was from 10-40% of the enslaved died during the journey. The average rate across the entirety of the slave trade was 12% (Eltis, 2008), and that statistic varied across era and region, and went as high as 100% if a slave vessel sank during the voyage across the ocean.

The social violence category most often captured discussions of violent slave revolts. I distinguished social violence from political violence based on the perspective of the reference in the textbook. When, for example, the textbook authors wrote about the actions and motivations of Nat Turner, I coded it as social violence. On the other hand, when the authors described the violence that occurred during "Bleeding Kansas" in 1855 and 1856 in the context of the political

debates over popular sovereignty, I coded those references as political violence. Across all of the U.S. textbooks, Nat Turner's uprising was the most cited social violence reference.

The Brazilian textbooks had more social references to slavery than any other category. However, unlike the U.S. textbooks, there was more variation across the sub categories of the social references to slavery. Social conditions and experiences was the largest sphere, followed by the other areas. The majority of these references were on the treatment of and restrictions on enslaved Africans in Brazil. In *HCT*, the authors mentioned both the torture and punishments the enslaved Africans working on plantations and in mines often faced. In the same book, as in others, the authors pointed out that some owners had some slaves cultivate a small piece of land to supplement the agriculture needs of the plantation system, which offered means for some enslaved individuals to purchase materials and in time their manumission, if the owner allowed it.

The social status references were similar to the U.S. books in that they mentioned the role of class, societal norms, free and enslaved designations, and in some cases explicitly race. For example, in *HG*, the authors described that difference between various categories of enslaved people in Brazil. There were *escravos de ganho* who worked in cities on temporary jobs and received payment, of which generally all would go back to the original owner. There were *negroes do eito* who worked on large plantations or in mines under the supervision of an overseer, and would receive severe punishments and as a group, have the highest mortality of enslaved people. Lastly, there were *escravos domesticos* who worked in the owner's house and were often young women.

Both the social movements and the social violence categories fluctuated across the Brazilian textbooks. When one of them had more references, the other had very few in the same

book. I took this to indicate the perspective and tone of the textbook as either focusing on the motivations and actions of antislavery movements, or focusing on the violent conflicts with, most often, government forces. For example, in *HCT*, the authors stated that the reason they were going to focus on the three antislavery movements of the 19th century was because of their social and political importance and the movements' character against the slave-owning and elitist empire. In another textbook, *HG*, the same rebellions were presented with more attention to the result of the uprising conflicting with the government's military response to the movements.

The last sub category under the social sphere of history was demographic. As was the case with the U.S. textbooks, much of this information was presented by way of tables, charts, and maps in the Brazilian textbooks. The data given in the textbooks were primarily about the numbers of enslaved Africans brought to Brazil, and the domestic slave population for the nation and for some cities and regions. There was scarcely any further breakdown of the enslaved population by gender or age, which is critical to gaining a more complex understanding of slavery in Brazil, as well as in the United States.

In analyzing the presentation of slavery in U.S. and Brazilian textbooks through the lenses of the spheres of history, I found an important pattern among the similarities and differences for each nation. The greater attention to the economic aspect of slavery in the Brazilian textbooks presented a narrative of economic inevitability for the end of slavery in Brazil. The U.S. textbooks presented a narrative of general progress over time, one in which the conditions of enslaved people improved along a linear path. Therefore, while there were many differences in the details and some of the framing of the presentation of the spheres of history, both sets of textbooks offered readers a notion of inevitable progress of their society.

Complexities and Legacies of Slavery

Through my third research question I sought to investigate the complexities and legacies of the history of slavery as presented in secondary U.S. and Brazilian history textbooks. My previous two research questions examined the overall presentation of slavery in the textbooks and the similarities and differences in the discussion of slavery through the lenses of the spheres of history. In this section I will report my findings on how the U.S. and Brazilian textbooks in this study addressed the complexities and legacies of slavery.

Complexity

In this study, complexity referred to the presentation of multiple viewpoints, varied experiences, and various aspects of events or actions in an integrative manner, examining the causes, significance, and alternatives of those events or actions. All eight textbooks in some places highlighted complexity or the integrative aspect of history. For example, the U.S. textbooks presented the long-term implications of the various compromises made over slavery in constructing the U.S. Constitution and the Brazilian textbooks cited and compared different historians' interpretations of an event or individual. However, in most cases the texts only touched the surface of the issues involved before moving on to the next point. Following an overview of complexity in the textbooks I will describe how the books addressed women and slavery, indigenous slavery, and decontextualization of slavery.

Overview. As I described in the Methods chapter, I operationalized the construct of complexity in textbooks into three degrees; explicit, somewhat, and not present. My unit of analysis was at the paragraph level. Overall, I found a similar pattern for the degree of complexity in both the U.S. and Brazilian textbooks (Figure 2).
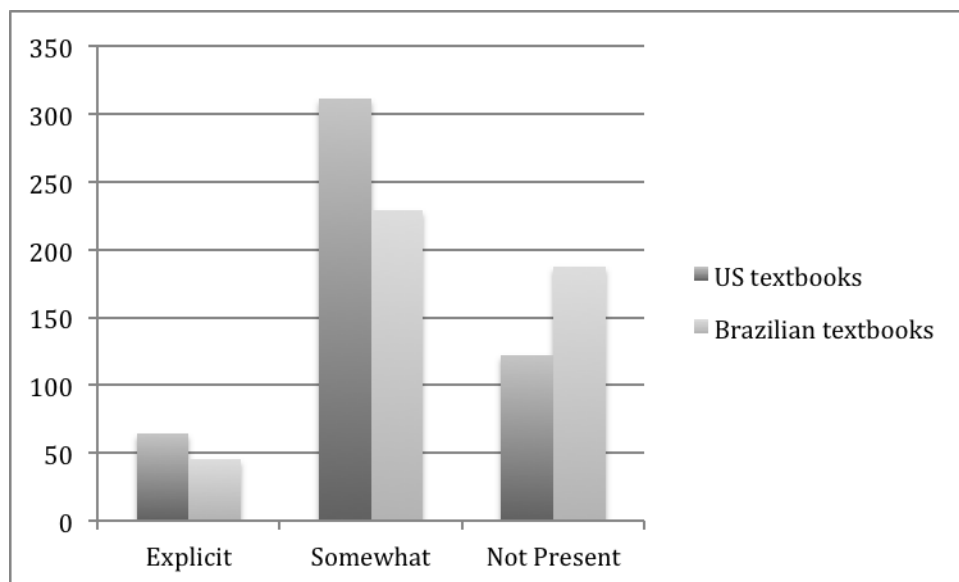
Figure 2. Counts of References of Degrees of Complexity for U.S. and Brazilian Textbooks

From this figure, there was a clear emphasis on the "somewhat" level of complexity, followed by "not present" and "explicit" for both the U.S. and Brazilian textbooks. Although the U.S. books were in some cases twice as long as the Brazilian books, and had more references (which included paragraphs, images, maps, graphs, tables, and callout boxes as units of analysis) about slavery per book than the Brazilian ones, the difference, on average was less than 100 references per textbook. As such, the comparison of the degrees of complexity remains salient.

TAP (the AP U.S. history textbook) had sections at the end of several chapters entitled "Varying Viewpoints" where the authors provided a brief historiography on a particular topic. These sections did encourage the development of historical thinking skills. For example, in the section on the nature of slavery, the authors traced the changing interpretations of the history of slavery from Ulrich B. Phillips in 1918, Stanley Elkins in 1959, through Ira Berlin in the 1970s and 1980s. The passages conveyed the ideas that not only did the nature of slavery evolve over generations, but also that the historic interpretations of slavery changed over several decades (but unfortunately they did not include the work of recent scholars such as Davis and Eltis whose

research was published after the earliest publication date for the book). However, the main body of the text did not reflect the critical thinking and complexity of these sections. Although this study did not analyze the previous editions of either the U.S. or Brazilian textbooks, I can speculate that the majority of the text and content from earlier editions of the books remains throughout the publication of newer editions. Therefore, perhaps publishers of the newer editions of these textbooks do not keep up with historical research and scholarship until an extended period of time has elapsed, or specific issues have been raised about inaccuracies in the content. Thus, maybe it is not until that point that the publishers update the existing content, aside from including recent events such as presidential elections.

In the Brazilian textbooks, the authors cited both older and more recent historians more often than U.S. textbook authors. In addition, the Brazilian books had the citations for the sources used, whereas the U.S. books only referenced scholars occasionally, most often in special sections like in *TAP*. Although the discussion of race was very limited, if at all, in the Brazilian textbooks, in *HGB*, one of the end of chapter activities presented a more complex view of slavery and race. The authors presented readers two passages from two recent historians, the first on the slave trade, and the second on structural asymmetry in Brazilian society along racial lines. The readers were asked to connect the two passages and then explain asymmetry along racial lines. This was an example of a complex task, as well as a connection to the legacy of slavery. However, in this particular textbook, there was almost no discussion of race in relation to slavery in the main body of the text.

Women and slavery. In all eight of the textbooks, women's experiences under slavery were given minimal attention. However, unlike the authors of the other books, the *TAP* authors did explicitly state that enslaved women were in "constant fear of sexual exploitation by

predatory masters" (Kennedy, Cohen, & Bailey, 2006, p. 75). They wrote further in this section and in a later chapter that women had multiple responsibilities that included the harsh physical labor of plantation life, raising the children of their owners, and taking care of their chores for their families. Nevertheless, the tone of the entire text placed slavery on the margins of U.S. history. Similarly in the Brazilian textbooks, only *HCT* made an explicit mention of the sexual abuse against women and in that reference only stated that the abuse existed under slavery. In the same textbook, the authors also mentioned that the colonial government allowed relationships between European men and Indigenous women to increase the forced labor population through reproduction. This was in spite of the increase of Portuguese women arriving in the colonies. Nonetheless, neither of these references to women during slavery went beyond a single statement about abuse or reproduction.

HCT was the only Brazilian text to explicitly discuss an enslaved woman, Chica da Silva. She was an ex-slave who became famous for having an affair with her master, a wealthy diamond mine owner, and the colonial government fining him for the affair, for which he paid. Her story has since been mythologized into films and novellas (Brazilian soap operas). The authors included a photograph of an actress playing Chica da Silva, signifying the legend of her story rather than the historical reality of the lives of enslaved women.

In the few passages of the standard U.S. textbooks that did address enslaved women, the authors highlighted the experiences of individuals. Two prominent African American women who were directly discussed in connection with slavery were Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman. Although these two women have tremendous historical and symbolic importance in American history, their stories, as presented in these textbooks, do not reflect the common experiences of enslaved women. For example, when discussing Truth, the authors of all four

textbooks only mentioned that she was a slave until she was 30 years old, and instead focused on her role as an abolitionist and her connection to the 19th century women's movement. In *The Americans*, Truth was featured in a Key Player callout box as well as in two paragraphs and a quote in the main body of the text. In *USH*, Truth was mentioned in one sentence within a section on women reformers, and there was a short special section on her at the end of the chapter. For Tubman, the two standard textbooks provided some detail on her life while enslaved and on her escape, but nonetheless devoted the majority of the content to her role as a "conductor" on the Underground Railroad.

Another example of the U.S. textbook authors diminishing women in slavery was how Malinche, a Mayan noble woman sold as a concubine to Hernando Cortés by the Aztecs was discussed in *The Americans* and in *TAP* (there was no mention of Malinche in the main text of either of the other U.S. textbooks, and only in *HCT* of the Brazilians was she mentioned). The texts only focused on her role as a loyal interpreter and guide for Cortés and the Spanish in Central America. There was no mention of her being enslaved. For the textbooks not to have explored the varied experiences of enslaved women in the Americas in an accurate and complex manner presented a distorted and incomplete narrative of the history of slavery.

The most blatant omission in the standard U.S. textbooks was the silence about the general experiences of enslaved women in North America. With the exceptions of Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman (as discussed above), *The Americans*, for example, only explicitly mentioned enslaved women in a few instances with respect to the type of labor done on plantations. In these cases, the authors emphasized that women often did the same tasks as enslaved men. Similarly, *USH* mostly mentioned enslaved women in the context of types of labor, although it did offer several quotes from narratives of enslaved women that did provide

broader perspective. Nevertheless, none of these descriptions in any of the textbooks addressed the experiences of enslaved women as distinguished from the experiences of enslaved men.

All eight of the U.S. and Brazilian textbooks raised the issue of slave owners and traders purposely separating families. The *USH* provided an image of a mother and daughter being sold and separated at a slave auction that depicted to some degree the horror of being split from loved ones. *The Americans* presented this in the context of Reconstruction when African Americans attempted to locate their families. Nevertheless, neither with the discussion of labor on plantations nor in separating enslaved families was there an effort to address the sexual exploitation of enslaved women. This was a clear oversimplification of the historical record.

The exploitation of women in the context of slavery was critical to understanding the spread and entrenchment of slavery throughout the Americas. One of the unique aspects of slavery in the United States was the overall positive growth rate of the enslaved population (this rate varied in Brazil from region to region), meaning that the birth rate of enslaved people was higher than the mortality rate. This growth increased the enslaved population by nearly three million between 1820 and 1850 (Davis, 2006). It was significant to note that legal importations of enslaved Africans from West Africa was ended in 1808, thus the population grew as a result of the exploitation of enslaved women and the "breeding" practices of slave owners (Davis, 2006).

Indigenous slavery. Whereas previous researchers found that U.S. textbooks did not discuss the enslavement of Native Americans by European colonists in much detail, if at all, I found limited attention in the U.S. books. In comparison, the Brazilian textbook authors devoted more attention to the enslavement of the indigenous population than U.S. authors.

The U.S. book, *The Americans* did mention slavery and Native Americans, although with limited detail. For example, the text stated that,

> The enslavement of Native Americans was a controversial issue among the Spaniards. Unfortunately, the Spanish saw the use of Africans as a possible solution to the colonies' labor shortage. Advised Las Casas, "the labor of one…[African]…[is] more valuable than that of four Indians; every effort should be made to bring many…[Africans] from Guinea." (Danzer et al., 2006, p. 29)

The authors did not explain why the enslavement of Native Americans was controversial to the Spanish until the following chapter when they discussed how some Spanish friars questioned the morality of slavery. Also in this passage was the idea that enslaved Africans were more valuable than Native Americans to the Spanish, but the text did not offer a reason until mentioning that the English settlers (many decades later) turned to Africans for slave labor. The discussion of the enslavement of Native Americans was limited to the Spanish *encomienda* labor system (which included farming, mining, or ranching for Spanish landlords) and was only minimally mentioned in other parts of the text.

In Brazil, the enslavement of the indigenous people garnered more coverage in textbooks than in the United States. The majority of this discussion was related to the contention between the Portuguese crown's colonial expansion and the Jesuit missionaries' push for converts from indigenous groups. The Brazilian books did mention that the conditions in the mines, where much of the indigenous slavery was focused, were harsh and punishment severe. The books also discussed that the Portuguese need for labor justified the crown's declaration of war against some indigenous groups, as well as that those groups with whom they allied were not eligible to be enslaved.

In all four of the U.S. textbooks, one significant omission related to the enslavement of Native Americans or indigenous people was in relation to Christopher Columbus. In 1495, he transported 500 Native American slaves to Seville, Spain, thus initiating the transatlantic coerced migration of people (Davis, 2006). Although *The Americans* did not celebrate Columbus, and actually presented the historiographical debate over how Columbus has been remembered (an example of critical thinking), this omission pointed to the selective linking of particular events or individuals to slavery for the purposes, it seemed, of a traditional narrative of progress.

Decontextualization. The textbook authors often made statements that were vague, overly simplistic, or inaccurate, resulting in a decontextualized presentation of slavery. In the U.S. textbooks, for example, in discussing the impact of the American Revolution on American society in the years after the revolution, the authors of *The Americans* (2006) wrote that,

> The Southern states, where slavery was more entrenched, did not outlaw the practice, but most made it easier for slave owners to free their slaves. Planters in the upper South debated the morality of slavery, and some, like George Washington, freed their slaves. In Maryland and Virginia, the number of free blacks increased from about 4,000 to over 20,000 following the war. The slavery debate generally did not reach the Deep South, although some Southern slaveholders did have grave misgivings. (p. 123)

Similarly, in *USH* (2008) the authors misrepresented the power dynamics of the government during the mid 19th century,

> The stunted commercial development in the South did not attract the immigrants who needed wage work. Consequently, the northern population grew much faster than the southern population. In 1850, the North had twice as many free people as did the South. That trend increased the political power of the North, especially in the House of

Representatives. And that political trend alarmed southern whites who did not trust northerners to protect slavery. (pp. 236-237)

These passages conflicted with historian Davis' (2006) argument that from 1789 until 1861 the U.S. Senate, the Supreme Court, Northern presidents, and both political parties willingly supported the proslavery policies of the slaveholding Southern presidents and politicians. Davis added that Southern presidents presided over the country for nearly 50 of 72 years between George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. Consequently, to state that the debate did not reach the Deep South and that some Southern slaveholders had "grave misgivings" about slavery without providing evidence, or to argue that because of its large free population the Northern states had increasing power in the federal government was misleading considering that the Southern states dominated national politics in the decades prior to the Civil War (Davis, 2006; Horton & Horton, 2005). In addition, in reporting the number of free Blacks in Maryland and Virginia and not reporting the total number of African Americans (free and enslaved), *The Americans'* authors left the reader to figure out the relative significance of 20,000 free Blacks.

In *TAP*, the authors' information did not reflect recent scholarship about the Transatlantic Slave Trade in relation to North America during the colonial period. In a "Makers of America" section of the textbook titled "From African to African American" the authors wrote, "by 1740 large groups of slaves lived together on sprawling plantations, the American-born outnumbered the African-born, and the importation of African slaves slowed" (Kennedy et al., 2006, [first edition, 1956] pp. 74-75). The last portion of this sentence was in direct opposition to the historical research on the importation rates of enslaved Africans. From 1726-1750, 106,000 enslaved Africans disembarked in mainland North America, whereas from 1751-1775 118,000 enslaved persons disembarked (Eltis, 1999, 2008). Thus, to state in the textbook that the

importation of slaves to North America slowed after 1740 did not reflect current scholarship; indeed it misinformed readers about the nature of the Atlantic slave trade.

In the Brazilian textbook, *HGB*, the authors argued that slavery was economically unprofitable as they described the political context leading to the abolition of slavery. The main problem with this statement is that historians have shown that for those engaged in slavery and the slave trade, it was extremely profitable, even with the increase in competition from free labor (Davis, 2006; Drescher & Engerman, 1998). This type of statement about the unprofitability of slavery implies that slavery as an institution was going to inevitably come to an end, regardless of human intervention and action. It removes the responsibility from people and places it on the larger societal and economic forces, fostering a narrative of inevitable progress.

I found other instances in which historical scholarship was overly simplified. When making the connection between the economic conditions of the North and South and the tensions in the political realm, all four U.S. textbooks failed to underscore the interconnectedness of the two economies. Although the North and South had very different economies, the link between them was slavery. For example, the commercial trading markets of 19th century Northern cities traded for the crops grown in the South, sold manufactured goods and surplus produce to the South, and insured the ships transporting both enslaved Africans and cotton to and from Southern ports (Davis, 2006; Drescher & Engerman, 1998). Also, the majority of slave vessels that sailed under the U.S. flag were built in Rhode Island (Davis, 2006; Eltis, 2008). Therefore, although there were significant economic and political differences between the North and South, both economies were inextricably linked together through the system of slavery, despite the fact that by 1830 most of the Northern states had abolished slavery.

Across all eight textbooks, about 10% of the references to slavery were images. There were slightly more images in the Brazilian textbooks of whom could be identified as Afro-descendent, but there were more images of specific, named people in the U.S. books. The *TAP* authors did well to include more photographs (as opposed to etchings or paintings) related to slavery than did the other three U.S. textbooks, which helped to present a more vivid history than only using etchings or paintings. However, several of the charts and tables given in *TAP* were problematic. For example, one chart on the Columbian Exchange showed Africa as separate from the Old World and depicted Africa as sending only slave labor to the New World. The chart did not mention food items (such as okra), diseases, or resources originating on the African continent, but only depicted those types of items as the exports from the Old World. Also, the authors cited another secondary U.S. history textbook from 1999 as the source for the chart as opposed to published historical research.

In a later chapter in *TAP*, the authors presented a table entitled "Population increase, including slaves and Indians, 1790-1860" with an accompanying chart. There were two significant issues with the table. The first problem was the column headings of "white," "nonwhite," and "percent nonwhite." These headings pushed African Americans and American Indians to the periphery of history, and this was despite the fact that the groups were identified in the caption title. The second concern was that the population number for 1850 "nonwhite" showed 3.6 million people, whereas contemporary historians have estimated that the enslaved population alone was 4 million people (Davis, 2006; Drescher & Engerman, 1998). For *TAP*, the presentation was in general simplistic and decontextualized, and with omissions and some inaccuracies that presented an incomplete narrative of slavery.

In summarizing the level of complexity presented in the books, across all of the textbooks in this study, the omission of a discussion of the unique experiences of enslaved women presented an incomplete and problematic view of the history of slavery. The coverage of the enslavement of Native Americans and the indigenous people of South America was limited in the U.S. books but more extensive in the Brazilian ones. And lastly, the misleading and inaccurate statements about the demographics and economics of slavery in both sets of textbooks decontextualized the presentation of slavery from the history of each country, as well as restricted the complex history of slavery. In particular, *TAP* was the most egregious in not reflecting the available historical scholarship at the time of publication and presenting erroneous data with respect to the demographic and economic history of slavery. I suspect that textbooks like *TAP*, which was first published in 1956, rarely revise their content over the years and updated editions, and as a result, present outdated historical information about the history of slavery.

Legacy

Through examining the legacy of slavery in the context of history textbooks, I sought to identify how the books connected slavery with the enduring issues of society, including, race, gender, class, education, and religion among others. As I did with complexity, for legacy my unit of analysis for each reference was at the paragraph level. The authors of the U.S. and Brazilian textbooks treated the enduring legacies of slavery in similar ways. Across the eight textbooks, there were fewer references that "explicitly" indicated the enduring issues of slavery than references that could be classified at either the "somewhat" or "not present" levels. For both sets of books, there were more "not present" references to the legacy of slavery than the other two levels. A more meaningful presentation of the legacies of slavery would be to provide

additional connections between a historical phenomenon and its long-term effects, than to the short-term consequences. In this section I will present my findings of the legacy of slavery in the U.S. textbooks, followed by the Brazilian ones.

U.S. textbooks. The overriding narrative of the textbook was one of American progress, the idea that from one generation to the next, society was advancing towards the ideals laid out in the founding documents, the U.S. Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution. Slavery has been incorporated into that story as an example of how the society has improved, but still has more to do. An example of this social progress was from a discussion on Thomas Jefferson's indictment of King George III's actions towards the colonies:

> Jefferson's withering blast was admittedly one-sided. But he was in effect the prosecuting attorney, and he took certain liberties with historical truth. He was not writing history; he was making it through what has been called "the world's greatest editorial." He owned many slaves, and his affirmation that "all men are created equal" was to haunt him and his fellow citizens for generations. (Kennedy et al., 2006, p. 145)

The generalization that Jefferson's statement on natural rights hung over "him and his fellow citizens" painted a picture of guilt and a sense that later generations of White men (who were the only recognized citizens for much of early U.S. history) would hopefully address this contradiction. However, the fact that slavery in the United States became more entrenched after those words were written and expanded to become the largest slave system in the world contradicts the progress theme.

A major theme of all four U.S. textbooks was the growing political divide between the Northern and Southern states stemming from the divergent economies, with the North becoming industrial and commerce oriented and the South remaining primarily agricultural. In general, the

textbooks did a good job in highlighting how the compromises made over slavery by political leaders during the creation of the Constitution and during and after James Monroe's presidency, would fester and ultimately result in the Civil War. The authors of *The Americans* provide an example of the legacy of the compromises over slavery, citing Thomas Jefferson following the signing of the Missouri Compromise in 1820,

> Thomas Jefferson was among those who feared for the Union's future after the Missouri Compromise. His words would prove prophetic. "This momentous question, like a fireball in the night, awkward and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union. It is hushed, indeed, for the moment. But this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence." (Danzer et al., 2006, p. 223)

The authors proceeded to build on this theme of growing political tensions over slavery throughout the middle of the 19th century. However, the coverage of slavery in all four U.S. textbooks tended to focus more on the debate over slavery than on the history of slavery in North America. The result of this pattern was that most of the references to the legacies of slavery were couched in the political realm of history.

The one exception to this focus on the political legacies of slavery was the coverage of the abolitionist movement. In all four U.S. textbooks, the authors made an explicit connection between the antislavery movement and the women's suffrage and Civil Rights movements. For example, in *USH*, the authors wrote,

> What is sometimes overlooked in the history of the abolitionist movement is the important role women played in it. Indeed, female abolitionists formed the first independent feminist movement in the United States, using the antislavery crusade as a

springboard for women's suffrage and their own crusade for equality. (Lapsansky-

Werner et al., 2008, p. 320)

Nonetheless, the explicit connections rarely delved into how abolitionism influenced later

movements or the ways in which the various issues around slavery endured beyond its abolition.

Brazilian textbooks. In reviewing the presentation of the legacies of slavery in Brazilian

textbooks, I found a general theme of progress. However, this idea of progress was slightly

different than the concept I found in U.S. books. Brazilian textbooks did not highlight a specific

set of founding documents, like the United States, and instead offered a less defined ideal

society, but one that nonetheless progresses over time.

The two main explicit references to the legacy in Brazilian textbooks were to its culture

and religion. All four of the books made statements that mentioned how the cultures that the

enslaved Africans carried with them to Brazil have greatly influenced Brazilian culture and

society. The textbooks all gave the example of *capoeira*, the martial art hidden through

communal dance that stems from Angola. The authors also highlighted that much of the music,

dance, and food of Brazil are from the enslaved Africans and their descendants. The textbooks

also mentioned the influence of African spiritual beliefs in Brazil, specifically the practice of

candomblé in the Northeast region of Brazil. Nevertheless, despite these explicit connections to

the cultural and religious legacies of slavery in Brazil, the textbook authors only made limited

references to issues of race, gender, or class as related to the history of slavery. The exception

was *HCT*, which was the only Brazilian textbook that consistently mentioned issues of race both

historically and through the legacy of slavery.

Overall, both the U.S. and Brazilian textbook authors "somewhat" presented the

complexities of slavery, and legacies of slavery were mostly "not present" in all of the textbooks.

Although the authors highlighted some of the complexities of the history of slavery when comparing historians' interpretations, for example, the general narrative remained at a superficial level. In addition to inaccurate information on the slave trade, the authors failed to distinguish the experiences of enslaved women from those of enslaved men, which was critical to understanding the expansion and entrenchment of slavery in North America. The authors did well to explicitly discuss the legacies of the numerous governmental compromises during the antebellum period as well as the ties between abolitionism and later social movements, yet the vague, oversimplified, and misleading statements undermined these positive aspects, and instead presented a decontextualized presentation of slavery. For all of the textbooks, the significant omissions and overly simplistic discussion of issues related to slavery indicates that the books did not meet Barton and Levstik's (2004) criteria for democratic humanistic education: deeply engage the reader in reasoned judgment, offer an expanded notion of humanity, and consider the value of deliberation for the common good. In general, despite the increased attention to the general conditions of and the cruelty inflicted upon enslaved Africans, African-Americans, and Afro-Brazilians in recent U.S. and Brazilian textbooks, as compared to those analyzed by earlier researchers, slavery was still presented in an essentialized manner that did not address the considerable variations in the experiences of enslaved peoples, especially the experiences of women under slavery.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

I had three goals for this study. First, I used systematic content analysis to explore how secondary U.S. and Brazilian history textbooks presented the history of slavery to their readers. Second, I compared the respective presentations of slavery in selected U.S. and Brazilian textbooks by highlighting the similarities and differences in the books of the two largest former slave societies. And lastly, I assessed the degrees to which the complexities and legacies of slavery were conveyed through these history textbooks. Findings from this research inform scholarship on the intended curriculum about slavery for secondary students in Brazil and the United States. In addition, this type of comparative education research serves as both a window into another society as well as a mirror reflecting back on our own national context (Hahn, 1998). In this chapter, I reflect on the findings of this study in relation to the findings of previous researchers, consider the limitations of this study, offer additional avenues that future researchers could pursue on the presentation of slavery, and propose implications of this study for practice.

Previous Research

Previous scholars of history and social studies textbooks research have conducted studies from national and international perspectives as well as examined how particular constructs or phenomena have been presented. In this study, I analyzed eight secondary U.S. and Brazilian history textbooks on how the history of slavery was presented. I found several important similarities and differences in the respective books with regards to slavery. Both sets of textbooks presented a narrative of progress and their respective presentations of slavery reflected that narrative. The political and social spheres of history dominated the references to slavery in all eight textbooks from the two countries. The authors of all eight textbooks essentialized the

varied experiences of enslaved people, particularly those of enslaved women. With the exception of a brief reference in *TAP* and in *HCT*, there was no explicit attention to the unique experiences of enslaved women and no mention of the sexual exploitation women faced. The Brazilian authors made more references to the economics of slavery than did the U.S. authors, despite the fact that I found a greater number of references overall to slavery in the U.S. textbooks than in the Brazilian ones. None of the U.S. authors presented how slavery was the basis for the interconnectedness of the Northern and Southern economic systems prior to the Civil War. And lastly, there was more coverage of the enslavement of Indigenous people in Brazilian textbooks than there was of the enslavement of Native Americans in the U.S. textbooks, although in those few references across all eight textbooks, I found limited detail on the nature of the enslavement of Indigenous and Native American people.

Many of the previous researchers offered insufficient detail on data gathering and analysis, as well as failed to cite earlier studies on slavery in textbooks. The lack of detail on methodology made it impossible for later scholars to replicate and apply the previous approaches to textbook analysis, limiting progress in this field. However, more recent scholars (Gordy & Pritchard, 1995; Hilburn & Fitchett, 2012; Kolchin, 1998; Wasburn, 1997) provided greater information on their methodology and theoretical framework for analyzing textbooks than did earlier researchers. In addition, I found a pattern of not referencing prior studies on slavery and textbooks among most of the works cited in my review of the literature. Despite these problems, I was able to identify several studies conducted in the United States upon which I could build and in turn, offer through this study a systematic and replicable approach to the analysis of a historical topic, slavery, in history textbooks. These findings relate to the existing literature on both comparative studies of history textbooks and on slavery in history textbooks.

Comparative Studies of Textbooks

As I discussed in my review of the literature, many scholars have examined history or social studies textbooks from a comparative perspective. My research here is situated among the comparative studies that investigated a particular topic in history textbooks in one or two nations. The comparative studies on history textbooks have shown that although textbooks do look and feel very differently in different countries, the presence of textbooks remained consistent and important to pedagogy and curriculum. This was also the case in my analysis of U.S. and Brazilian textbooks, that despite their physical differences and content, they remained official arbiters of a national narrative.

Even though scholars in other disciplines have compared the United States and Brazil on the history of slavery or race (Degler, 1971; Telles, 2004), none have compared the teaching of history, let alone the teaching of the history of slavery in their respective schools. However, I identified only one article on Brazilian history textbooks (Schmidt & Braga Garcia, 2010) and none that were empirical research. Schmidt and Braga described and critiqued the textbook evaluation and distribution policies in Brazil and how that affected the potential to develop historical consciousness in students. They argued that the evaluation protocols of history textbooks would make fostering historical consciousness through those textbooks difficult. In addition, the authors argued that the increase in the production and distribution of textbooks throughout Brazil has allowed for greater public awareness and debate around textbooks, specifically history books. This increase, they maintained, has also increased the interest in history textbook analysis research in Brazil, although that new research has not as yet been published in English. My study will help to fill the literature gap on Brazilian history textbooks in a comparative empirical study, conducted in English.

Slavery in Textbooks

The findings of the present study in most instances are consistent with previous research on slavery in U.S. history textbooks, although with important differences. I believe it is important to reiterate that there were no studies on slavery in Brazilian textbooks and, thus, I will relate my findings of slavery in both countries' textbooks to the explicit scholarship on slavery in U.S. textbooks. Previous researchers identified several patterns for the coverage of slavery in U.S. history textbooks. These patterns were: that slavery was presented in a simplistic way and tends to be decontextualized from the main narrative of American history (Fleming, 1987; Groff, 1963; Hilburn & Fitchett, 2012; Kolchin, 1998; Swartz, 1992; Wasburn, 1997); the coverage was limited to particular time periods such as the Antebellum and Civil War periods (Kolchin, 1998); a select group of individuals were discussed including Harriet Tubman, John Brown, William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass, and Nat Turner (Gordy & Pritchard, 1995; Swartz, 1992); limited if any discussions of slavery and Native Americans during the colonial period were included (Hilburn & Fitchett, 2012; Swartz, 1992); there was a focus on the political or legal discourse of slavery rather than on the conditions (Fleming, 1987); and that the role of women, and women of color in particular remained on the margins of U.S. history (Gordy & Pritchard, 1995; Swartz, 1992). Researchers in the past found that the treatment given by textbooks to slavery was not complex, nor did the text encourage critical thinking (Fitzgerald, 1979; Kolchin, 1998; Shaver, 1965; Thornton, 2006). My findings echo and reinforce all of these themes.

Gordy and Pritchard (1995) argued women are on the periphery of the history of slavery in the Untied States. My analysis of eight U.S. and Brazilian textbooks yielded similar findings. Both the U.S. and Brazilian textbooks essentialized the experiences of slaves in the Americas, meaning the authors failed to meaningfully distinguish the varying experiences of enslaved

persons along gender lines. Although there was some differentiation across regions and between urban and rural settings, there was virtually no discussion of what women endured under slavery. For example, in all but two of the history textbooks (*TAP*, and *HCT*), there was no mention of the sexual exploitation and abuse enslaved women suffered, which is a critical factor for understanding the brutality and violent nature of slavery. In both of these textbooks, the sexual abuse of enslaved women was only stated as having existed without further discussion of such a sensitive and important aspect of slavery. Additionally, the U.S. authors did not make a connection between the unprecedented natural growth rate of slaves in the United States and the experiences of enslaved women (Davis, 2006).

Fleming (1987) found that textbooks focused on the political and legal events rather than the daily conditions of slavery. In the present study, the authors of the four U.S. books devoted substantial space to the political debates and legislation passed on slavery from the colonial period through Reconstruction. The authors of the Brazilian books similarly had a high number of references to the political sphere of slavery. However, there were a considerable number of references in all four U.S. textbooks on the social aspects of slavery, and in the three standard U.S. textbooks nearly the same number of social and political references. And across the four Brazilian textbooks, the social sphere of history was depicted slightly more than the political sphere in terms of the average number of references. Although I found more discussion of the conditions of slavery than Fleming, the lack of attention to the unique experiences of enslaved women indicates that these history textbooks remain in need of improvement in order to offer their readers a more complete presentation of the history of slavery.

Through her analysis of slavery in textbooks, Wasburn (1997) found that across the 20th century U.S. history textbooks presented a general narrative of progress and continual national

development. Other U.S. textbook researchers have also identified this same national narrative

of progress in history textbooks (Fitzgerald, 1979; Foster, 1999; Sewall, 2000; VanSledright,

2008). In this study, I too identified an overall narrative of progress across the U.S. textbooks,

through the analysis of slavery. I found that the ideal for American society, as presented in the

textbooks, is based on the ideals written in the Declaration of Independence and in the U.S.

Constitution (i.e. liberty and freedom). In other words, the goal for society is already spelled out

and it is up to the people or society to allow it to come to fruition. Thus, U.S. history with all of

its brutal and controversial history remains a singular linear phenomenon progressing towards

the utopian ideals from the founding documents, an inevitable force of history.

In the Brazilian textbooks, I found a similar progressive narrative, but it was not tied to

specific ideals written down in any founding documents of Brazil. Since its independence in

1822, Brazil has had seven constitutions, the most recent of which was written in 1988. I found

that the narrative of progress was presented, in general, as part of historical, economic, political,

and social processes of society. History in Brazilian textbooks was slightly less rigid when

compared to the U.S. books in terms of being a singular linear phenomenon. It was still

chronologically progressing towards the present, but the lack of timelines in the Brazilian books

implied a slight difference in the temporal stress of Brazilian history. In particular with slavery,

the textbooks presented the view that there was an economic inevitability to the end of slavery,

therefore diminishing the role of actors in shaping society.

The relatively few individuals highlighted in Brazilian textbooks reflected the focus on

broader processes rather than individuals and their actions affecting society, whereas in the U.S.

textbooks, the authors emphasized several extraordinary individuals and how they were on the

side of progress. Even a complicated historic person like Thomas Jefferson was not presented so

much as a man with contradictory views regarding slavery, but as a person who wrote about liberty and equality for "men" and the creation of a new nation who happened to own slaves. In all, reading both the U.S. and Brazilian textbooks the narrative of progress, albeit in different forms, was present and the presentation of slavery in both national contexts supported that progressive narrative.

In this study, I sought to examine how slavery was presented in current secondary U.S. and Brazilian history textbooks, and whether said presentations conveyed the complex history and legacy of slavery. Even though in all eight books I identified specific examples of a more complex description of slavery and an increase in the amount of coverage as compared to previous researchers, the overall discourse on slavery was simplistic, essentialized, and decontextualized. Findings from this research inform our understanding of the intended curriculum about slavery for secondary school students.

Implications for Research

This study explored the intended curriculum of the history of slavery through secondary history textbooks in the United States and Brazil. Additional research is needed on both instruction on the history of slavery and on how students are learning about the history of slavery specifically, and more broadly about history teaching and learning. This gap in the literature on the implemented and received curriculum pertains to the U.S. and Brazilian contexts, as well as to the field of comparative and international textbook research. Comparative studies have shown that despite the differences in textbooks' physical appearance and content across nations, the constant is that textbooks remain central to the pedagogy and curriculum of history education in countries. As such, continued research on textbooks is needed to better understand how nations present their official historical narrative to their students.

This study was a content analysis of textbooks in both a primary language (English) and secondary language (Portuguese). It is important for future researchers to be transparent and direct about how they address issues of language, meaning, and translation with respect to conducting a content analysis of textbooks. These concerns have implications for not only the potential findings of a study but also for issues of validity.

The topic of slavery is also a unique phenomenon through which other researchers could analyze history textbooks. Unlike specific historical events such as World War II or the Holocaust, which were major events within a relatively short timeframe, new world slavery was historically an international and global enterprise that spanned four centuries, directly impacting tens of millions of people and numerous countries of the Atlantic world, and in some cases beyond. Therefore further research on how the history of slavery is taught in schools (including the intended, implemented, and received curricula) could be conducted in every nation of the Americas, most Western European countries, and in at least half of the nations on the African continent, all of which had direct experience with slavery. There could also be scholarly interest in how those nations not directly involved with new world slavery teach their students about topics beyond their national borders. In addition, a longitudinal study is needed to examine how students carry what they learn about the history of slavery into adulthood, specifically, whether the key words presented in textbooks remain with them more than a substantive understanding of this topic.

Implications for Practice

If future researchers analyze other textbooks and obtain similar findings, then there are implications for practice. Teachers in the United States and Brazil need to have the opportunities to acquire information about recent scholarship through professional development programs.

This is especially important when textbooks are used over many years and even when new editions are published the scholarship is not updated as appeared to be the case with three of the U.S. textbooks I examined. Teachers in both national contexts can have their students use primary and secondary sources to critically compare how the textbooks they use in class present history. Access to primary sources continues to expand through online portals, such as the Library of Congress' website and the curriculum materials created following the Brazilian law on Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous history and culture. Teachers and students alike can engage history in more meaningful and critical ways than through traditional textbook-based instruction. U.S. and Brazilian teacher education programs can foster a critical and complex approach to history instruction by encouraging new teachers to move beyond the simplistic presentation of history in textbooks, utilizing the ample resources available to get teachers (and their students) to think more critically, and modeling democratic humanistic education in the classroom.

Limitations

There are several important limitations to this study. First, the study only included four U.S. history textbooks and four Brazilian history textbooks. Without detailed data on sales and distribution, we cannot generalize the findings to all textbooks used in all parts of both countries. Second, the study did not assess how teachers in the United States and Brazil use the textbooks, or more generally, how they teach about slavery. Third, the research project did not evaluate either what U.S. and Brazilian students are learning about slavery or how they understand the history of slavery. And fourth, I am not a native Portuguese speaker and have lived my entire life in the United States, and thus do not bring the same dispositions a native Brazilian might carry. However, I used key informants from Brazil to review my findings and interpretations. Additionally, an outsider can notice patterns that an insider could overlook which helped me to

construct a broader impression of social phenomena than would otherwise be found. Further work is required from both insider and outsider perspectives to improve understanding in two national contexts.

As seen in the Brazilian law requiring the inclusion of Afro-Brazilian and indigenous history and culture and in the recent apologies issued by the U.S. Congress, Brazil and the United States still confront the legacies of slavery to this day, and how a country teaches the current and future generations about the past reflects the attitudes, values, and beliefs of that society. It is critical for students to gain historical understanding (Nash & Crabtree, 1996) and empathy (Barton & Levstik, 2004) in order for them to become informed citizens. The topic of slavery is not only a useful means for helping students develop historical thinking skills, but also can offer perspective to many social issues confronting contemporary society. As one of history's great injustices, the topic of slavery remains an enduring and controversial issue with legacies that transcend many contemporary concerns that include, but are not limited to race, class, gender, and identity. This study contributes valuable knowledge to the fields of social studies and history education and comparative education by focusing on this important topic from a comparative perspective.

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Appendix A

Selected U.S. and Brazilian secondary history textbooks

Textbook	Year & Edition (First year published)	Publisher	Textbook Number Sold 2009
The Americans	2006, TE (1997)	McDougal Littell	n/a
The American Pageant (Advanced Placement)	2006, 13th ed. (1956)	Houghton Mifflin	n/a
America: Pathways to the Present	2005, TE (1995)	Prentice Hall	n/a
United States History	2008, TE (2008)	Pearson Prentice Hall	n/a
História Global: Brasil e Geral Volume Único	2008, 9th ed. (1995)	Saraiva S/A Livreiros Editores	315,404
História: Das Cavernas ao Terceiro Milênio Volumes 1, 2, e 3	2006, 1st ed.	Editora Moderna LTDA	208,988; 143,335; 126,915
História Geral e Brasil: Trabalho, Cultura, e Poder	2008, 3rd ed. (2004)	Saraiva S/A Livreiros Editores	n/a
História para o Ensino Médio: História Geral e do Brasil	2009, 3rd ed. (2008)	Editora Scipione	n/a

Appendix B
Slavery English keyword list

Keywords: English words or phrases that are explicitly linked to an aspect of the history of slavery.

1. Abolition/abolitionism/antislavery
2. Abolitionist
3. Appeal to the Colored People of the World
4. Black/slave Codes
5. Bondage/captivity/enslavement
6. Border States
7. Captives
8. Carpetbaggers
9. Chattel
10. Coffles
11. Compromise of 1850
12. Concubinage
13. Concubine
14. Cotton Gin
15. Debt Peonage
16. Dred Scott Decision 1857
17. Emancipate/emancipation
18. Emancipation Proclamation
19. Encomiendas
20. Enslave(d)
21. Fifteenth Amendment
22. Forced/coerced (labor, migration)
23. Former slave-holding (area)
24. Former slave-owner
25. Former Slave(s)
26. Free / freed (person)
27. Free blacks
28. Free labor/worker
29. Free State
30. Free-born
31. Free-Soil (party)
32. Freedmen's Bureau (acts)
33. Freedom
34. Freed slaves
35. Fugitive Slave Act/Law
36. Fugitive Slave(s)
37. Gang-labor system
38. Gullah/geechee
39. Harpers Ferry, 1859
40. Kansas-Nebraska Act 1854
41. King Cotton/Cotton Kingdom
42. Liberate
43. Manumission
44. Maroon/quilombo
45. Mason-Dixon line
46. Master
47. Middle Passage
48. Miscegenation
49. Missouri Compromise 1821
50. Non-slaveholding (farmer)
51. Overseer/field boss
52. Plantation
53. Planter(s)/plantation owner
54. Popular sovereignty
55. Post-slavery
56. Proslavery
57. Resistance (slave or abolitionist)
58. Runaway slave(s)
59. Scalawags
60. Seasoned/seasoning
61. Sharecropping
62. Slave
63. Slave (holding) society
64. Slave catcher
65. Slave labor
66. Slave laws
67. Slave market
68. Slave name
69. Slave owner
70. Slave power
71. Slave quarters
72. Slave revolt (rebellion/uprising)
73. Slave ship/vessel
74. Slave state/territory
75. Slave trade
76. Slave wedding
77. Slavers
78. Slavery
79. Tenant Farming
80. Thirteenth Amendment
81. Three-fifths clause
82. Trafficking (human)
83. Triangular Trade
84. Uncle Tom's Cabin
85. Underground Railroad
86. Wet nurse
87. Wilmot Proviso

Slavery Portuguese keyword list

Keywords: Portuguese words or phrases that are explicitly linked to an aspect of the history of slavery.

1. "O Navio Negreiro"
2. Abolição
3. Abolicionista
4. Alforria, Manumissão
5. Amas de leite
6. Capitães do Mato
7. Caravana de escravos / Libambo
8. Casamento de escravos
9. Cativeiro / escravização
10. Cativos
11. Comércio triangular
12. Concubina
13. Concubinagem
14. Crioulo
15. Emancipar / Emancipação
16. *Encomiendas / Repartimiento*
17. Engenho de Açúcar / Fazenda de Café
18. Escravidão
19. Escravistas / Escravocratas
20. Escravistas / Pró-escravidão / A favor da escravidão
21. Escravizado
22. Escravo
23. Escravo ladino / Africano ladino / Negro ladino / Preto ladino
24. Escravos fujões / Fugitivos
25. Ex-escravo
26. Ex-senhor de escravo
27. Feitor
28. Gangues
29. Ingênuos / Nascido Livre
30. Lei Áurea
31. Leis Escravistas
32. Liberdade
33. Libertado
34. Libertos
35. Livre / Liberto
36. Mercado Escravo
37. Miscigenação
38. Navio negeiro
39. Negros libertos
40. Nome Escravo
41. O Abolicionista
42. Pós-escravidão
43. Quilombo / Mocambo
44. Rebelião escrava / Revolta escrava
45. Resistência
46. Senhor / Mestre / Amo
47. Senhor de Engenho / Barão do Café (Fazendeiro)
48. Senhor de escravos
49. Senzala
50. Sociedade Escravista
51. Trabalho Escravo
52. Trabalho forçado
53. Trabalho Livre / Tabalhador Livre
54. Traficantes
55. Tráfico de escravos / Tráfico negreiro / Tráfico de almas / Tráfico de fôlegos / Trato dos viventes

Appendix C
Coding scheme

Spheres of History

Code	Description
Cultural	Information related culture in general and slavery
Cult-religious	Information related to religion and slavery
Cult-arts	Information related to literature, music, dance, or similar arts and slavery
Cult-language	Information related to language and slavery
Economic	Information related economics in general and slavery
Econ-systems	Information related to economic systems and slavery
Econ-motivations	Information related to economic motivations of people and slavery
Econ-terms	Use of economic terms and slavery
Legal	Information related to specific laws, legislation, or legal status and slavery
Personal	Individuals explicitly connected to slavery
Political	Information related politics in general and slavery
Pol-government	Information related to government actions or individuals in government and slavery
Pol-military	Information related to military actions and slavery
Pol-violence	Information related to political violence and slavery
Pol-movement	Information related movements in government and slavery
Science and Technology	Information related science and/or technology in general and slavery
Sci-inventions	Information about inventions and slavery
Sci-weapons	Information about weapons and slavery
Social	Information about social aspects in general and slavery
Soc-status	Information related to social status and slavery
Soc-movements	Information related to social movements (e.g. abolitionism) and slavery
Soc-conditions and experiences	Information on the conditions of slavery and or peoples' experiences under slavery
Soc-demographic	Information on to demographic data related to slavery
Soc-violence	Information on social violence (nongovernmental), such as slave revolts

Complexity

Code	Description
Explicitly-**EX**	Explicit reference to complex nature history of slavery
Somewhat-**SW**	Partial reference to complex nature of history of slavery
Not Present-**NP**	No reference to complex nature of history of slavery

Legacy

Code	Description
Explicitly-**EX**	Explicit reference to one or more legacies of slavery
Somewhat-**SW**	Partial reference to one or more legacies of slavery
Not Present-**NP**	No reference to one or more legacies of slavery

Content Analysis Worksheet – *Chapter Nine*

Administrative Information

Textbook ID – REG02

Title	*United States History*
Author(s)	Lapsansky-Werner, Emma J.; Levy, Peter B.; Roberts, Randy; Taylor, Alan
Year & Edition	2008, Teacher's edition
Publisher	Pearson Prentice Hall
City	Boston, MA

Intended Audience – Course level

Audience	Secondary U.S. History
County(s)	Cobb

Organizational Information – Levels of nested recording unit

Page Layout

Each chapter begins with an image (generally across two pages), introductory text, chapter preview, and smaller images on the right margin of second page. The main body of text is displayed in a single column, with sections, subsections, and divisions. The section number is displayed in the top right corner of the page at the beginning of the section, while the name is written in blue font beneath an image and quote on the top portion of the page. The subsection names are also in a blue font color, beginning after introductory paragraph titled Why It Matters. At the end of each subsection is a Checkpoint Question. Next there are divisions within a subsection written in red letters at the beginning of a paragraph. On the first page of each section located to the left of the main text are section Objectives, Terms & Names, and Note-taking Skills. At the end of each section is an Assessment. At times there are special sections. At the end of each chapter are Quick Study Guide, American Issues Connector, and Chapter Assessment.

Unit	Three: Expansion and Reform
Chapter	Nine: Manifest Destiny, 1800-1850
Page(s)	296-322
# of references	17

Substantive Information

Key word or phrase	Word or phrase count	Ref ID(s)
Slave states	5	0201; 0206; 0208; 0209; 0214;
Slavery	11	0202; 0203; 0205; 0210; 0211; 0212; 0214; 0215; 0217(3);
Enslaved (person)	1	0203;
Plantation	1	0203;
Slaves	2	0204; 0213;
Slaveholder (owner)	3	0205; 0207; 0213;
Proslavery	1	0205;
Wilmot Proviso	6	0210(4); 0211(2);
Free (black/person)	2	0213(2);
Slave labor	1	0213;
Free state	2	0214(2);
Antislavery	1	0217;
Abolitionist	5	0217(5);
Former slave	1	0217;

Section Name	Objectives	Terms & Names	Note-Taking Skills
1-Migrating to the West	• Trace the settlement and development of the Spanish borderlands. • Explain the concept of Manifest Destiny. • Describe the causes and challenges of westward migration.	Junípero Serra; expansionist; Manifest Destiny; Santa Fe Trail; Mountain Men; Oregon Trail; Brigham Young; Treaty of Fort Laramie	Reading Skill: Identify Main Ideas Outline the main ideas relating to westward migration.
2-Texas and the Mexican-American War	• Explain how Texas won independence from Mexico. • Analyze the goals of President Polk. • Trace the causes and outcome of the Mexican-American War.	Stephen F. Austin; Antonio López de Santa Anna; autonomy; Lone Star Republic; Alamo; Sam Houston; James K. Polk; Zachary Taylor; Winfield Scott	Reading Skill: Recognize Sequence Look for the steps that led to war with Mexico.
3-Effects of Territorial Expansion	• Explain the effects of the Mexican-American War on the	Treaty of Guadalupe; Hidalgo Gadsden Purchase; Wilmot Proviso;	Reading Skill: Understand Effects Trace the effects of the Mexican-

		United States.									
		• Trace the causes and effects of the California Gold Rush.			California Gold Rush; forty-niners; placer mining; hydraulic mining				American War.		
		• Describe the political impact of California's application for statehood.									

Textual Analysis

Ref ID	Pg #	Quotation	Sec	Subsec	Div	¶ #	Sent #	Sph of Hist 1	Sph of Hist 2	Cplx	Lgcy	Comments
0201	301	Expansionists were soon using the term Manifest Destiny to refer to the belief that God wanted the United States to own all of North America. But O'Sullivan envisioned liberty primarily for white men. Expansion would come at the expense of Indians and Mexicans. And southern expansionists hoped to add more **slave states** to strengthen their political position in Congress.	Migrating to the West	Americans Look Westward	Expansionists Seek Manifest Destin	3 of 3	1-4	Pol-mov		Np	Np	• Southern expansionist wanted more slave states.
0202	305	To develop and defend the province, Mexico adopted a risky strategy: It agreed to allow Americans to settle in Texas. In return for cheap land grants, Americans had to agree to become Mexican citizens, to worship as Roman Catholics, and to accept the Mexican constitution, which banned **slavery**. Mexico hoped this strategy would convert American settlers from a potential threat to an economic asset.	Texas and the Mexican-American War	Texas Wins Independence	Americans Migrate to Texas	1 of 2	1-3	Pol-gov		Np	Np	• Mexico forced American settlers to become citizens. • Mexican constitution banned slavery.

Ref ID	Pg #	Quotation	Sec	Subsec	Div	¶ #	Sent #	Sph of Hist 1	Sph of Hist 2	Cplx	Lgcy	Comments
0203	306	Relations between Anglo-Texans and the Mexican government soured by 1830. Despite their oaths of allegiance and their land grants, the settlers had not honored their part of the bargain. They remained Protestants and ignored Mexico's **slavery** ban by smuggling in **enslaved African Americans** to work their farms and **plantations**. In turn, the Anglo-Texans felt dismayed by the unstable Mexican government, which suffered from military coups.	Texas and the Mexican-American War	Texas Wins Independence	Tensions Build	1 of 2	1-4	Pol-gov		Sw	Np	• Tensions between settlers and Mexican government. • Ignored ban on slavery. • Felt dismayed by instability of Mexican government.