

# Territory in 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century textbooks in the Basque Country

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## Abstract

This article gives an account of the evolution of the presence of the Basque territories as observed in the contents of textbooks published in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. The geographical content of textbooks is always located in a certain territory. In this study, analysis focuses on contents related to the Basque Country and its historical territories, with particular emphasis on the measurement of their contextualisation in this regard. The textbooks analysed were all used by fifth-grade students in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, textbooks written in Basque for the compulsory curriculum, along with their Spanish and French counterparts. The results provide an evaluation of the presence of Basque regions in the iconography of textbooks used in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. Part of this study is based on the UPV05/131 research project.

**Keywords:** Curriculum, content, identity, iconography, textbook

## 1. Introduction

Any society attaches considerable importance to what is studied by our descendants, by our children now at school. We know that by digesting the characteristics of the society and culture they study, to a large extent they will direct the reproduction of our system and behaviour towards new areas in the future society. This is how reproductions of culture and society are channelled, as are productions of new life patterns and ways of thinking.

There are two major fields of examination in relation to theories as to the curriculum used in schools – *What* is to be taught, and *How* it is to be taught. Here we have the answer theory and different discourses: the natures of the learning-teaching process and of knowledge, relations between culture and society, values etc. Laws set out clearly what the student is supposed to know, what kind of knowledge is good or important enough to feature on the curriculum, since knowledge is a cultural concept, and people build identity on the basis of a cultural system, on the social unit in which they live. Many areas, however, are not covered in the curricula of our societies, and these are concealed, even though there are increasing demands for a large number of these – gender, socio-cultural and ethnic realities, relations between the various age groups etc. – to be included on the list. The objective of this paper was to ascertain whether or not the territorial model as taught in schools in the Basque Country agrees with the territory of the Basque language and of the Basque Country. In increasingly generalised fashion nowadays, the school has replaced families and normal means of reproduction in cultural reproductions and changes – for instance, in the education of collective identities, in the distribution of knowledge, and in many other areas.

This paper is based on my thesis as defended in 2004, *Identitatea eta Ingurunea Curriculumean* (Identity and Context in the Curriculum), and following work on this line of research on an academic level we extended the sample to 2005.

The first section deals with theoretical reflection, defining the point of view we consider fundamental in the construction of identity, and also specifying the context of the Basque Country, and the place allocated to territory within the context. The following sections provide a study of how the Basque Country's territory is taught in 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century textbooks, and also with what frequency the historical territories are taught.

The last section provides a summary of all the data supplied in relation to the reflections on territory as set out in textbooks between 1876 and 2005.

## 2. The basis of construction of identity and context

Defining the point of view we consider as basic to the construction of identity and determining the context of the Basque Country was a complex task. Our research has been carried out in due consideration of the characteristics of modern society, in an understanding of trends between the globalisation process and the Nation-state hegemony. In our reflections on the construction of identity, we consider the identity of a people we construct through language in a known context as an essential human characteristic (Ezkurdia, 2004, 27-32).

We have distinguished at least three kinds of identity based on the writings of Castells (2000, 29): hegemonic identity, resistance identity, and project identity. In the terms used by sociological research, identity is understood as a reflection of sense and group experience. No people are nameless, nor are there any languages or cultures which do not mark out differences between us, me, them, or anybody else. Languages and

social and cultural contexts always condition the construction of a person's identity, since this is built over time at a specific location. Individuals ultimately build their personal identity and socio-cultural identity as part of the characteristics of the social group in which they interact, in a simultaneous synchronic and diachronic sense. To a certain extent, this is how people fulfil their overwhelming need to identify with something.

As identity is built as part of relations with our surroundings, we have taken account of the characteristics of our society by making a distinction between at least two contexts in the Basque Country: hegemonic context and socio-cultural context. The concepts of each, at least in the conceptual sense, are studied through school curricula, and in particular through the knowledge reflected in textbooks.

It is for this reason that we have studied the reflection of the contents of areas of knowledge and the curriculum, in a bid to secure knowledge of the effect of these contents on the construction of identity and definition of our closest surroundings. We have used textbooks as a vehicle to this end and produced a survey of their contents.

## **2.1 Hegemonic and non-hegemonic context in the Basque Country**

The types of identity put forward by Castells are constructed within a certain context. Following an examination of the situation in the Basque Country, we have encountered a system constructed on the basis of two major contradictions. The first is found in the principle of Capitalist States, i.e. a contradiction produced between property rights and the rights of the individual. The second contradiction is encountered in the pluri-nation State, emerging from the contradictions between the nation state and the hegemonic official language and non-hegemonic nations and languages. We have defined two kinds of context as a result of the two contradictions: on the one hand, a hegemonic context, an official context, which is taught as a single context, composed of the values and meanings of traditions and national aspirations. The second is an ethno-historical context, made up of the socio-cultural context distinguished by language. This is composed of the child's family, the groups formed between peers, the culture of the native group, territory and history, by bringing together the biological, social and cultural context of the person to create the socio-cultural and historical context of the Basque Country as a whole.

The pluri-nation State is based on the organisation of hegemonic context. To create a strong State, equality is encouraged in relation to everything within the State's territory – in social classes, in official knowledge and wisdom, in a single constitution, a single territory, a single national history, a single

language and a single national culture. Together they form the basis of the hegemonic nation (Poulantzas, 1979, 80), and as such they are reflected in the design of the curriculum.

Furthermore, non-hegemonic realities operate modes of resistance by developing non-hegemonic contexts. We have used the term resistance in adaptation to Castells' proposal.

The Basque Country, like many countries which base their historical nature on ethnicity, is a country with its own specific problems – a special social reality and a characteristic socio-cultural identity, among others, but in the modern age its well-known historical problems mean it does not have its own state within the international political structure.

The pluri-nation State is the root of the problem, as mentioned above, since within its territory there is no other socio-cultural nation. There are three basic pillars of the ethno-cultural nation: country, language and culture (Iztueta, 1996, 21). "And in terms of scientific argument, these claims are completely valid, if we take account of the claim since Wilhelm von Humboldt holding that the concepts of country, language and culture are subject to the influence of mutual dependence, as the three make up an indivisible union." The common denominator between the three is language, since a country builds a particular culture through communication. In other words, language gives a specific identity and culture to the specific social unit making up the country (Iztueta, 1996, 20-21): "The reasons put forward to decide whether or not language is an ethnic feature are for the main part ideological inventions created and recreated by political power as self-justification. Nation-states are completely artificial entities, with very few connections to ethnic roots. It is quite understandable that the State takes no account of the specificity of languages, and even less so when the nations underlying them demand their rights to sovereignty based on ethnic identity." We have taken account of several other areas in claims of ethno-cultural realities – territory, history, laws and knowledge, for instance.

In a bid to define the modern concept of the Basque Country, we have based our research on language, territory and social unit: a people which has lived and developed in Basque-language territory possesses an obvious collective identity. In terms of politics, up to the Middle Ages it had a special kind of political organisation – a people operating as a State (Iztueta, 2000, 112-113). Thus it had its own laws up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, whereas now we find it is subject to the Constitutions of the French and Spanish States. Linguistically and culturally one of Europe's oldest countries, it has been a participant in the culture of Auñamendi or the Pyrenees, in its organisation of society, in the origins of its laws, in the roles played by

women in society, and in many other areas. At the present time we find the Basque Country has become extremely unbalanced and destructured, since it has been a participant in two social and economic realities. On the one hand, to the west and south it is divided into two political and administrative territories, with power over certain areas of the law, while in the north-east, the unrecognised territory, it is a *Pays*, a territory of the Basses Pyrénées *département* in the French State's Aquitaine region with no particular identity and no rights whatsoever.

In the absence of a State, there have been serious problems in terms of internal composition as the result of the dispersion of territories. We have no history, and Basque language and culture are not regenerating to the full extent: The few sectors which had been based on the transmission of families and families members have to a great extent long been replaced by schools as the main agents of cultural and linguistic transmission. But here we must be careful! Schools are also subject to the influence of major State law plans, subject to hegemonic State laws (Karmele Pérez Urraza, 2002).

As a result of our current situation, we have serious problems in both reproducing and producing the Basque identity, we do not base our criteria on or use as a reference the identities transmitted to us within the Basque socio-cultural context (Odriozola, 2001, 95): “And having reached this point, we cannot confuse basic concepts. In other words, our modern “political conscience” is one thing, and this ethno-linguistic identity quite another. The former is an ideological capacity which is left in the hands of any nationalistic non-Basque speaker. The latter, however, is a capacity which depends on very few, for it is not just a political tendency relating to a known historical juncture, but rather a process of Basque cultural identity which has been the mainstay of the inner workings of Basque history. This second basic concept, moreover, was wound up some time ago in most areas. Thus we only find the endless sectors in the area of the traditional Basque world, in the little villages of the Basque world. The ambience of modern Basque culture now emerging is a world which has been stripped bare and is completely unrelated to the original Basque-speaking basis. A kind of elite, a crowd of ten thousand or so pioneers consuming Basque cultural products. A group of Basque intelligentsia and Basque speakers consuming and producing Basque within and for their own little group. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, since this bears no relation to the Basque collective at large, it is no more than a tiny corner. The emotion produced when it is mentioned is a reflection of the violent change we have experienced as Basque speakers. This is one of the topics we have readily used in our internal debates – in the real-life experience of any Basque child, what children study at school. We also wish to know what is constructed by what we teach – since classes are certainly taught in Basque, but we do not know what is being taught, the contents of Basque character or something totally different, whether it is

merely a name or whether it is real. We use the name, but we feel that the essence has been nipped in the bud.

As mentioned above, cultural identity as learned in our relations with our fellow citizens and at home has undergone profound changes in the modern society. We feel it is not transmitted in its entirety, but only partially – when Basque culture is dealt with, this is done as the archaic vestiges of an obsolete reality and not as an original source (Bilbao, 2002).

Below we will take a look at the pillars of the principle of the pluri-nation State, and also the essential modes of resistance.

### **2.1.1 Demands of the national collective and of the individual vis-à-vis the structuring of social classes and individualisation**

The individualisation process is one of the world's most robust tendencies. Human beings break away from others, and manage to weaken themselves in the process. The basis of these demands for separation is the personal rights owed to people, and no account is ever taken of collective rights in relation to identity, since an individual is born, lives and dies within a social unit: We may thus distinguish three separated subjects within the principle of hegemonic context:

- Political subject (Fernández Enguita, 1996, 33)
- Economic subject
- Cultural subject (Letamendia, 1991, 153)

In the socio-cultural context, separated individuals demand the right to develop within a socio-cultural characteristic and, in similar fashion, claim the right to immerse themselves in the collective identity. Nowadays we construct all this in schools – national identity, hegemonic identity, and also resistance identity.

Basque speakers living in the historical territories of Euskal Herria have French or Spanish nationality, not Basque. As Basque speakers we are certainly owed the right to be political, economic and cultural subjects in our own country – to be sovereign subjects of a State, in fact. In the same way, as economic subjects, taxpayers and workers, and also as cultural and Basque-speaking subjects, we are also entitled to an education with a curriculum based on Basque culture. But in the case of the Basque Country collectivity does not only appear in terms of age or gender or class difference – in our case, we have the solidarity of the ethno-historic group, the solidarity we are given by our language. What we demand is respect for this kind of solidarity.

### **2.1.2 Ethno-linguistic and cultural demands vis-à-vis hegemonic culture and language**

The basic framework of the Nation-state is language (Poulantzas, 1979, 137). National culture is determined through language, in accordance with the model of hegemonic units and classes. When language is

mentioned with no other characteristics considered, as often done by linguists, the language established in the State is the official language, since a national language equals out all citizens by laying down a single national code, but in the same way it also creates internal differences in terms of economic and cultural identities. The national language has been remodelled, since the creators who held authority and those in charge, appointed by the State – teachers and grammarians – have had it forcibly set and coded (Bourdieu, 1982, 27): “It is in the process of the constitution of the State that the conditions are created for the constitution of a linguistic market unified and dominated by the official language: compulsory on official occasions and at official locations (schools, public administrations, political institutions etc.), the State language becomes the theoretical norm against which all linguistic practices are objectively measured. Ignorance of the linguistic law is no excuse, for it has its legal corps, grammarians, and its agents to impose and control, schoolteachers invested with the power to subject the linguistic performance of speakers on a universal basis to examination and judicial sanction on school certificates.” All citizens are bound to learn the national language. In the cultured model, it becomes integrated at the highest level in hegemonic discourse, and similarly it is bureaucratized to make it useful in the general workings of the State (Poulantzas, 1979, 137).

The school becomes the most effective instrument for the imposition and dissemination of the national language, since one of its teachers’ basic duties is to make the citizen a patron of the Nation-state’s language, culture and national symbols.

This has led other non-official languages to be considered as alien and undeveloped or uncultured, and problems develop in relation to comparisons with the hegemonic national language. Non-hegemonic languages are treated as lowly modes of expression (Bourdieu, 1982, 30-31): “abandoned to the rural elements, they are defined negatively and pejoratively in opposition to distinguished or academic usages (as shown by, in addition to certain other indications, the change of meaning assigned to the word *patois* which, from “incomprehensible language”, is reduced to the meaning of “corrupted and coarse language, as used by humble folk” - Dictionnaire de Furetière, 1690). ... Imposition of the legitimate language over dialects and *patois* forms part of political strategies devised to ensure the perennialisation of the acquired assets of the Revolution through production and reproduction of the new man”. Imposition of the national language creates a life-or-death situation for most ethnic cultures and languages (Bourdieu, 1997, 107).

The ethno-linguistic claim for the Basque Country is based on the identity afforded by the language. The Basque language now has no territories in which all functions are carried out in Basque: the situation is subject to the dominance of the other two languages. There are many reasons for the diglossic situation, and

we could mention, for example, the historic trend of Euskara among the Basque Country’s bourgeoisie (Tejerina, 1992, 96-97). Secondly, we could cite the most Basque-speaking areas, the coasts – during the 20<sup>th</sup> century in particular, these were flooded by immigrants, thus producing different sociolinguistic situations and generally reinforcing the diglossia factor (Tejerina, 1992, 96-97). Thirdly we have the compulsory schooling system – this made all Basque speakers bilingual since they were forced to study the second hegemonic State language. A fourth reason may be found in the encouragement of assimilationism and integrationism, using the excuse of plurality and integration, since whether we like it or not the integration of a weaker element produces assimilation.

There have been three major achievements as the result of demands in favour of the Basque language – the first is the creation of *Euskaltzaindia*, the Basque language academy, which has worked on standardisation of Basque, the second is official consideration of Basque for the first time in history, and the third is the normalisation of Basque-language areas in the organisation of education.

There has been much hard work in terms of normalisation of the language within the education system, particularly in the western autonomy. There are, however, certain problems in relation to recovery of the language in that Basque-speaking territories are subject to different laws since several legal situations have been created. Additionally, since the work carried out to date to reinforce and encourage Basque has been based on respect for individual rights, this has caused problems on the practical side. For Basque to penetrate daily life and for the language to be reintroduced into Basque society, individual entitlement is not sufficient, “it is also necessary to alter the social structure, and there must be a deep respect for both individual and collective rights” (Iztueta, 1996, 465). For such changes to be enacted, political changes are necessary (Iztueta, 1996, 36), among others: “All languages have been developed and learned under the auspices of power, as proved by the history of all national languages, and for a language wishing to retrieve its nation-status there is no other option but to take political measures. The history of languages is ultimately the history of conflicts between classes, nations and languages.” The basic problem in relation to Euskara is structural, not just individual (Iztueta, 1996, 311), and an attempt has been made to find a solution to this problem with historical roots by Language Planning in the Autonomous Community. To find a solution to the political problem, according to P. Iztueta (1996, 367), in addition to the measures adopted, it is essential to secure political power in order to guarantee the future of Euskara: “The Nation-problem, yesterday as today, is basically a political problem. More specifically, it is a problem of power. When this has been accepted, a start must be made on implementing and developing close relationships between cultural and political sectors. And on this level there are certain points to be examined, i.e.

the characteristics of class struggles and language struggles and the results they produce. The most basic social elements in the historical development of a language – socio-political, economic, ideological and other elements – are all simultaneously involved in the normalisation of a language, particularly in terms of its status, and we are making a grave mistake if we do not take into consideration all these elements in language planning. Policy is always present in any language plan, even when the inner functioning of the mechanism which actually leads to such policies is not visible. Thus the wish to apoliticise the process of recovering the Basque language is the approach which has failed at grass roots level.” Below we have provided a summary of political and legal demands.

### **2.1.3 Space and time: territory and history. Demands concerning the Basque Country’s History and Territory**

The concept of space and time is arrested among the characteristics of capitalism, a divided space, a separated period of concatenated time (Poulantzas, 1979, 115). The concept of time and space underwent a change of meaning in response to the changes in reality produced by capitalism and the creation of the Nation-state (Poulantzas, 1979, 117-118). To understand the concepts of territory and historicity reflected by space and time, it is absolutely essential to examine the task involved in the process of construction of the national State and the modern nation.

Territory is a defined, strict space, the material of the nature of the State, with boundary markers. At school we study the area of national territory and its geographic location, and most of what is studied is found here: the characteristics of the territory, its geological features, economy, demography, climatology etc. Boundaries, in particular. We find our first teachings of graphic representation of the territory at school on maps: we find the map and national territory completely identified with the essence of our national identity, and our territory is taught to us as though it were sacred. Thanks to national unity, all that lies within the inner boundaries is made equal, by giving content to the national territory and making it part of the nation, presenting all this as though it were natural. In similar fashion, the solidity of boundaries and history will mark out national territory. No changes of any kind, then, may be made to the boundaries, and where they are accepted this will only take place in terms of a demand for assimilation and equality (Poulantzas, 1979, 127). The non-temporal meaning attached to boundaries is false, since throughout history and in both economic and political situations realities are changeable features.

Along with space, time is a mainstay of the nation. The economic organisation of capitalism produces a new measurement of time. The State controls and accumulates time, converting power into a tool and monopolising history. History has direction and an objective, but no end. Within time, periods form a chain

one after the other, and generalise in a result – the present becomes a moment of transition between past and future (Poulantzas, 1979, 131). 4). “The present” is an area of transition, marked by “before” and “after”: while it is necessarily the result of the past, it is the basis of the future (Poulantzas, 1979, 134). Within our metahistory, from the Bible’s Judaic-Christian viewpoint, time is understood as linear, in search of a happy ending, in the pursuit of happiness, history studying the interminable development of science and reason. History is ultimately the search for instances in the construction of the State of no return (Poulantzas, 1979, 127). To this end the State takes history as its own and reconstructs the new state’s past. By accepting certain historicities and discarding others it homogenises the history of ethnic nations, riding roughshod over any differences. National history is ultimately written in terms of the new nation. This is even more patent if we take into account that the link created between history and territory combines in the hegemonic nation (Poulantzas, 1979, 134).

Up to this point in our short summary of the Nation-state territoriality and history, we have discussed only areas about which there is no doubt. We will now proceed to examine the demands of the Basque Country, what they are based on, and what they call for.

The term used for *Euskal Herria* in the rest of Europe is land, lander, pay, país, country – País Vasco, Pays Basque, Basque Country, Basken Land etc. When we use the term, however, we say *Euskal Herria*. The Basque Country is the territory of the Basque language, and also the country of the Basque language: the country which speaks Basque. The language gives identity to the group and also to the territory, i.e. both the social unit and the territory belong to the Basque language.

The demand is for a historical Basque-speaking territory, based on the historical and ethno-cultural characteristics of its context, because Euskara needs its territory and its peoples in order to thrive as a language. Euskara unites us. The territory claimed is the territory of Basque, the territory of a people with unified ethno-linguistic features. In a dominated diglossic situation in which it shares its territory with a language other than Basque, Basque demands its own territory, because a language needs its own territory to guarantee duration.

The territory of *Euskal Herria*, the historic territory of the Basque language, is completely dismembered, like a Stateless socio-cultural nation, subordinate to two states and in the south to different autonomous administrations. As the result of political and administrative division, it has lost internal cohesion. Another identity and other alliances have been formed, always within the socio-cultural contexts of another language, within hegemonic contexts. In consequence, we also find the causes of division between the Basque Country’s historical territories: division into autonomies is taught as though it were natural, identifying Basqueness with the western territories, and not with

Iparalde or Nafarroa. In these two areas the characteristics of the inhabitants' identity are not Basque – the former are French, and the latter are “Navarros”. Schools do not study similarities and differences between the historic territories. For example, landscapes are not a feature of school curricula, there are no comparisons between Nafarroa and Bizkaia, or between Zuberoa and Araba. We would not be putting too fine a point on it to say that the Basque Country has been broken up from within. Each location in its own measure, but within the Basque Country. Within the territorial demand we find two basic pillars. Firstly, political organisation is demanded as behoves a nation, a State, a solid organisation between territories, based on the sovereignty of the country. The first produces the second as a consequence: a demand for internal creation, a conjunction of the historical territories of the Basque Country, promotion of relations between them, in order to produce a united project. The most important tools to this end are the education system and the national curriculum.

In our study of the pillars of the State, we have found Territory and National Histories combined within the Nation. The Basque Country is a nation without a State, a country without any official history, despite the fact that it is one of Europe's oldest countries – it will demand its right to build its memory and construct its history to keep its nation status alive.

#### **2.1.4 Political and legal demands vis-à-vis the monopoly of the hegemonic State to violence and laws**

Here we will examine one of the key points. The monopoly of fear and violence in the Constitutional Democratic State is the basis of law, the power to make war. The State claims the legitimate capacity to use violence through those who make power decisions, even though this is not used directly or in a generalised fashion on most occasions (Iztueta, 2000, 20). Moreover, schools and the education system are the instruments used to implement the imposition of official knowledge – in this case, the use of violence is symbolic. The system is used both repressively and ideologically in order to instil the laws of bourgeois society, and the symbolic order is maintained in the process.

The Basque Country, after the fashion of other ethno-cultural peoples, is composed of a longstanding national identity which has lasted down through history (Intxausti, 1985, 529). Following the loss of political/legal/military sovereignty, the state of the Basque Country was reflected in the State of Navarre, and it has not been able to implement a collective trajectory down through the centuries, or reconstruct a State. As the result of this loss of sovereignty, despite an interminably long process of various types of resistance, subordination was strengthened and implemented down through the centuries. As a

consequence of the bourgeois revolution, domination was stepped up and disguised in judicial, political and cultural terms. In the autonomous entity in the southern Basque Country, domination has merely been disguised (Apalategi, 1988, 39). In the case of France, the Basque ethno-cultural unit has all but disappeared. The result of policies applied both in France and Spain has been ever-increasing disintegration. In a bid to oppose this situation, demands are heard for national sovereignty, for full legal and judicial status for the entire territory. We can distinguish two main trends within the nation conflict: support for the hegemonic Nation-state as manifested by those who feel they are either Spanish or French citizens, and those who demand sovereignty for the Basque Country, a posture, we might say, which reflects an autonomist and independentist project.

The basic premise of the first case is support for the hegemonic nation. More often than not this acts in support of new post-modernist cultural models, considering previous Basque culture as a fad of the past and lacking in modernity. Since the Basque Country has become much too small an entity for this vision of the world, a search is conducted for new more worldly models – hegemonic models at international level. This kind of discourse, on the pretext of development and modernisation, in pursuit of transformation and uprooting at international level, opens up the way to state domination and assimilation of Euskara, in the name of a “dignified death” for Euskara. In a more disguised format, but this is the autonomic path trodden by the Spanish State (Apalategi, Jokin, 1990, 61). The solution put forward by autonomism is based on falsehood – the nation is the Spanish nation and no other, and if the Basque Country has ever lodged a claim for something, again and again it has been the right to be a nation.

The second case demands sovereignty for the Basque Country based on the collective rights owed to a socio-cultural nation. Within this criterion, in addition to the wishes of modern political subjects, lies the claim of Nafarroa's historical status, a status of usurped sovereignty. The basis of this claim is the similarity of ancient Basque public law to the traditional system of laws in the Pyrenees, totally unlike the laws of Castile (Iztueta, 2000, 41). The long historical processes are extremely important (Iztueta, 2000, 112), since no solution can be found for the present situation if no account is taken of the past. In short, implementation of the right to self-determination would solve the Basque problem. Conflict arises since the French and Spanish States do not accept that another State can be created within their territories. Such is the debate (Apalategi, 1988, 63): “Do we as Basques not constitute a nation? Have democratic regimes not permitted respect for the principle of equality among peoples and their right to their own country by signing the first article of the United Nations Charter? Even if they tell us that the article was devised for subjugated Third World nations, we can surely remind them that in the modern age a definition of the article is still pending, and thus in the

absence of universal recognition, the sociological term “nation” (existing with autonomy with regard to the State in the first world and the second and third worlds) must be emancipated by a Universal Declaration of the Rights of Peoples, Ethnic Entities and Nations.” The problem, therefore, is a problem of considerable depth.

Finally, a monopoly on knowledge and wisdom is essential for the State hegemony to be maintained, and so the objective of our discussion is the function and importance of knowledge within the symbolic order.

### **2.1.5 Intellectual tasks and manual tasks – the demands of the Basque intelligentsia vis-à-vis the control of knowledge: National Curriculum, Education and University**

In accordance with the logic of the capitalist State, aspects which are made equal or homogenised are again separated in accordance with interests: patrimony, class, language, division of territory, division of time, division of knowledge, among others. A social separation of work is established along with the division of knowledge, both manual work and intellectual work (Poulantzas, 1979, 61-62).

The Enlightenment’s universal cultural model forms the basis of official knowledge: under the pretext of development (Iztueta, 1996, 22-23), this has divinified scientific knowledge, and transmitted it through the education system: “The teaching system reproduces the structure of social units, qualifying the dominant and/or major culture as the single and genuine culture” (Apple, 1986, 45). To direct this discourse, the state creates a socially structured universe, introducing a hegemonic, official view or conception in which objective, materialised systems or institutions are linked to cognitive constructions or concepts. In this way the relation of subordination to the official order is maintained and channelled. Bourdieu uses the “doxa” concept to confirm this (Bourdieu, 1997, 120-121): “the doxa is the specific viewpoint, the viewpoint of those who dominate, presented and imposed as a single universal view”. This is how logical and moral conformism in relation to the organisation of the world and the meaning of life is created, through a tacit agreement, with all reflections already made, in improvised fashion. These cognitive constructions have been created historically, and so they are arbitrary and conventional, and ultimately the toughest power relations may lie among them, strewn with symbolic relations, since the actions of acceptance of dominance and obedience are cognitive (Bourdieu, 1997, 117).

All this is reflected in the official knowledge doled out and transmitted at school. In particular, social sciences are those which justify social and political problems and construction of the State, those which have deliberately created and developed a national conscience through the curriculum (Bourdieu, 1998, 106).

With respect to paths of resistance, criticisms have been levelled for years at the lack of an intelligentsia in the Basque Country: we have no universities, no education system, and no national curriculum. External intelligentsia, that of the Church in the past, and of the State in the modern age, has never taken account of anything which does not constitute official Knowledge, anything individuals consider their own and which stems from socio-cultural models (Iztueta, 1996, 23), since these concepts of reason and universe have been appropriated.

The higher echelons of culture in the Basque Country have been organised in Spanish, not in Basque. Our situation today is the direct result of culture choices and decisions made by Basque society, and historically the upper classes in particular (Iztueta, 1996, 446): “... we have stated that the reasons must be sought in the socio-economic and political conditions experienced by the Basque Country. Development of the French and Spanish States has certainly been a decisive factor. Not, however, without the complicity of the Basque bourgeoisie, since it would not have been so easy to bring about the structural subordination of Euskara to Spanish-speaking areas without the active cooperation of this sector operating as an intellectual community during each period.” Moreover, in proportion to capital related to hegemonic cultural units, and the traditional historical tendency in the Basque Country towards Romance languages, it was not our destiny to constitute the Basque intelligentsia (Iztueta, 1996, 445): “... in other words, the weakness of Basque culture was caused by exterior intelligentsia, at the service of the language of the dominators down through the centuries, from the Middle Ages to the present day, in Latin, Hebrew, Spanish, and French.” In order to provide a positive response to the solutions put forward in response to intellectual ideological assaults, there is an increasing need for scientific, reasoned justification for these. This means an internal Intelligentsia is necessary, to obtain the greatest level of effectiveness in the process to construct the Basque Country.

In terms of resistance, thanks to the autonomous system in the western Basque Country teaching in Basque has been implemented for the first time in the history of Euskara, across the board up to university level. The Basque university has also been created to encourage Basque research and teaching at the highest level. The fact that the University of the Basque Country does not have the national Basque-speaking level which it ought to have is a problem in the education of the Basque intelligentsia (Iztueta, 1996, 446), and moreover the efforts made in this direction have been based mainly on personal options. Meanwhile, there have been calls for a national Basque Country University, and resistance movements have been at work on this. There have also been certain proposals as the result of initiatives by the Basque Summer University, and also Eusko Ikaskuntza, Udako Euskal Unibertsitatea, the new universities. There have also been calls for a national education system: Basque

National School, the Ikastola Movement, and the movement for a National Curriculum.

### 2.1.5.1 Demands for a socio-cultural curriculum vis-à-vis the hegemonic curriculum

What the next generations are supposed to know is set by the designs of a society's curriculum. 55% of knowledge in Spain is chosen by the State, as stipulated by the LOGSE Law of 1990 and the LOCE Law of 2002. "The curriculum is a cultural choice structured and accumulated in accordance with psychopedagogical needs, and it is this culture which the school offers, and no other. We need only cast a glance at the topics in the various levels and courses in our education system and their contents to confirm which culture schools value and reinforce (Bilbao, 1994, 11-12). Official knowledge is accumulated and defined in the national curriculum amid debate and resistance (Apple, 1995, 92-93). As a result, the curriculum bears all the trappings of power relations and Nation-states' political, social and economic history, and national equality or uniformisation is maintained against all forms of resistance and reform (Benítez Puelles, 1996, 19).

As mentioned above, the model of official knowledge on the national curriculum draws on "universal" western cultural models and the Nation-state's national characteristics in particular (Iztueta, 1996, 22-23), thus setting the model for scientific knowledge. The essence of this model contains the concept of technical and scientific progress, and condemns to death any cultures which do not square with the plan, turning a blind eye and refusing to accept them. Cultures and languages which do not make up the State are systematically treated as uncivilised languages – the differences between advanced and retarded cultures, the developed and the unwritten, between major languages and primitive languages, are the comments we find among the intellectual community (Iztueta, 1996, 26). Within this melange, whatever is not hegemonic culture is discarded from the academic curriculum in operation, revealing that the official curriculum is what is based on the choice of the cultural authorities without neutral knowledge (Apple, 1996, 87). As a result, the knowledge of certain groups is more important and more justifiable than that of other groups, since this knowledge is stipulated as official knowledge (Apple, 1986, 80): "However, even knowledge in schools – what is included and what is excluded, what is important and what is not – may also constitute an ideological posture". Official knowledge, therefore, is at the service of ideological objectives, even when many voice the opinion that the knowledge being taught reflects a neutral description of the world.

The history of demands for a Basque Curriculum is a long one. In the times of *Euzko Pizkunde* or Basque Renaissance, the experts assembled at the Basque Teaching Conference were already concerned by the contents of what was being taught. Subsequently, after Franco's regime came to an end, new materials were

created – among these the *Saioka* collection, based on a vision of the Basque Country conceived in, from and for the Basque Country. After this, in the 1990s, new curricula were created in the Spanish State as the beginnings of this kind of research, and work also started on the Basque Dimension in the Curriculum as prescribed by the Association of Ikastolas. More recently the Basque Country Curriculum was created, with the contributions of local people to our National Curriculum. Much effort has been put into all this, but the process is still pending if no unified initiative appears with regard to legislation.

### 3. Curriculum: amid problems of identities, hegemony and knowledge

The critical-dialectical theory of the curriculum, insofar as it understands the individual as a member of a unit, calls for rational participation in social, economic and cultural aspects of daily life, and for development of its ability to act as a transformation device, in acceptance of the political nature of education. Since the curriculum is understood within these tendencies as a unit of power, forms of knowledge as reflected in teaching are considered as being those chosen by hegemonic social relations and, in the same way, a curriculum channels the reproduction of hegemonic cultures and ideologies through adaptation of conscience, presenting the social organisation of capitalist society as good, single and desirable, and it also maintains the credibility of the capitalist Nation-state.

Critical research has also taught us that a curriculum is also a social construction, like other social inventions: the State, the nation, religion, football ... a *curriculum* is a form of knowledge determined by a cultural choice, determined amid topics and disciplines, distributed over a precise period of time, and organised on a hierarchical basis. It is thus a social and historical occurrence, since by choosing a number of modes and contents, and by discarding others, it becomes a major ideological tool for specifying historical moments. The core of the problem, however, is knowing which formats and types of knowledge are considered as acceptable or valuable, and which are rejected, and also knowing who decides this and why.

Within the organisation and control of the education system in any capitalist state, not only do we find relations between the different social classes, but also between other groups such as contractions of gender, age, ethnic groups, races and families, in addition to national contradictions, and this makes operation of the system extremely complex. Thus, curriculum is an area of conflict between identities, striving to assert its hegemony among each social class and national identity. In this sense, the curriculum is a cultural tool, like any other social invention, since it is an "institutionalised curriculum", and as the "content" of curriculum is social construction, it cannot be examined from outside the context of power relations. Among



these contradictions we find the curriculum, which selects only one type of knowledge, rejecting or putting aside other forms of knowledge, bearing in mind that our initial basis is a concept of knowledge where naturalness is not understood as a mirror of reality, but rather as an interpretation built within a social process (Da Silva, 2001, 169). However, we find the following among the basic concepts of the vocabulary used in studies of curriculum from the critical viewpoint – ideology, cultural and social indoctrination, power, social class, capitalism, the social relations of production, awareness, freedom and emancipation, the hidden curriculum, resistance, and certain others arising from cultural research: personality or identity, difference, meaning and discourse, knowledge and power, culture, gender, race, ethnic group, sexuality, multi-culture etc. All of these are areas of research for us. We might also cite certain others in relation to contents specified by the curriculum, since the curriculum adapts relations between society and culture to the teaching/learning process, and what students are meant to know, because it specifies which kind of knowledge is good and important.

A person builds identity through content, in accordance with the socio-cultural unit and the system of culture. We can distinguish two sides to the construction of identity: firstly, what is handed down to us from our ancestors and makes us part of a unit. This is known as Reproduction. However, we frequently create new cultural patterns in adaptation to new situations by altering and changing the previous models. We call this Culture Production.

We understand school as a distributor and creator of knowledge. The connection between curriculum and education, determined by power relations, is extremely complex. Through the curriculum, cultural values and meanings are built with “objective” knowledge, and also with certain forms of hidden knowledge which are not chosen or taught. Without denying the effect of the person’s surroundings on the construction of identity, the viewpoint of the environment as reflected in the curriculum, that which is chosen and determined by the schooling process and through knowledge – contents – taught or not taught, is an extremely important factor.

On the basis of the above concerning official knowledge, Apple considers the importance attached by Althusser to the State, Bourdieu to culture, and Williams to hegemony, and also studies the link between the curriculum and education, the economy, culture and knowledge. The connection between these areas is complex, particularly when it is linked in with power relations. This concern led him to examine the concept of hegemony through the vision as proposed by Gramsci and developed by Williams: “The concept of hegemony perceives the social field as an area of conflict, a field in which dominant groups are compelled to resort to a permanent effort in terms of ideological persuasion in order to maintain their domination. This persuasive effort transforms economic

dominance into cultural hegemony” (Da Silva, 2001, 54). Using the hegemony concept, Apple claims that social recreation is not a tranquil guaranteed process, since people must be convinced by the beneficial nature of social agreements, and conflictivity marks the curriculum: conflict appears in social values, meanings and proposals, not only when areas of the curriculum are based on domination and imposition, but also when they are based on areas of resistance and opposition.

Thus the curriculum is not a neutral innocent construction free of cunning, because the knowledge reflected in the curriculum is a special kind of knowledge, a selected knowledge, selected by hegemonic units, in fact. The problem of hegemonic knowledge, however, is not knowing which kind of knowledge is genuine, but rather which kind is selected and imposed as the genuine knowledge: “What concerns us here is why certain kinds of knowledge are seen as legitimate, to the detriment of others which are seen as illegitimate” (Apple; Weis, 2001, 144). Hegemonic knowledge is reflected in the official hidden curriculum and is transmitted via publishers’ discourse, pedagogical projects and textbooks. Apple suggests a number of areas of this topic for examination – for example, the irregularities and inter-relations of the hidden daily curriculum (Apple; Weis, 2001, 144), the visible curriculum laid out in planned texts and materials, and also the criteria used by teachers at schools for the purposes of organisation, evaluation and planning. Thus the visible curriculum gathers strength in our hypotheses, since among other reasons, the contents chosen and taught in the visible curriculum create pedagogical, social and also national identity in the construction process.

In our work we have considered as basic principles, continuing the theoretical contribution originating in the Basque Country, on the one hand the critical pedagogy of ethical freedom struggles as proposed by Iztueta (2000, 85-89), and on the other the work of Apple, Bernstein and Bourdieu, particularly in terms of work on the relations between hegemonic classes, knowledge and identities, and even more particularly the work of the first two on pedagogical identity and official knowledge. The following is the ultimate crux of our work: we want to know whether or not the contents of what is taught in schools in the Basque Country are based on our socio-cultural identity, since we can hardly reproduce if our identity is not taught in schools.

#### **4. The contents of the curriculum in textbooks**

There are a number of different levels in the development of the curriculum. The first is the design of the curriculum. In addition to the law laid down by the authorities, this is the first step of the process which is followed at schools and ends in the classroom, and is presented in a broad and flexible fashion to be followed obligatorily by both teachers and pupils.

The second level of definition relates to the school, or rather to the teaching unit. Teachers classify and shape the topics submitted to them in a generalised fashion, taking into account the socio-cultural conditions in accordance with the context of the school, thus creating the School's Curriculum Plans.

The last level in definition of the official curriculum is the textbook. This replaces a portion of the work to be carried out by the teacher, and becomes an intermediary between the official curriculum and the teacher. Ultimately, this teaching tool gathers together and organises the contents of what is taught at school. This classroom programming process directs the relations between teacher and pupil, insofar as it sets out what is to be done in the classroom over the school year (Bilbao, Ezkurdia, Pérez, 2001, 181-182).

The teachers' domination of books is reflected in research conducted by many authors, since this acts as a bridge (Apple, 1996, 93): "although many teachers use the textbook as a starting point, instead of following it verbatim, many of them in fact to a large extent use the text as the basic element of the curriculum in their classrooms" – in other words, the textbook alone is a bridge between the curriculum and the student, because it is a device used by the teacher to bring the student closer to the curriculum (Bilbao, Ezkurdia, Pérez, 2002, 175-198). In the textbook, publishers propose the practical model of what the official curriculum stipulates. They provide the last level of definition of what the teacher must do – planning and measuring the teaching process outside the classroom – they save the teachers time, and also eliminate some of their workload. On most occasions publishers' textbooks are organised as projects, defining on a step-by-step basis, replacing the work which ought to be done by teaching units at each stage, so that all they have to do is choose which part to use. All this, however, has a context – the context of the teacher's working conditions – since on many occasions (most occasions, we might say) teachers are oppressed and overwhelmed by the daily workload, and the work situation encourages them to use the textbook. The qualified work of their profession, as the result of labour relations, is discharged in basic functions, moving away from the process of execution and conception and from the planning of what they have to teach. The system by nature is more suitable, since the work is provided for them in the textbook.

Among teaching materials, the textbook is what accumulates the plan and contents which have to be known and must be learned in order to move up the learning grades. Textbooks or manuals as the books used by students have their own particular characteristics – the information they contain is the minimum required by evaluation tests, since they provide the contents which must be learned for students to pass the year. This is what we have specifically studied in our research, and we will use the textbook for the sake of precision. In any case, we have taken

account of the fact that "manual" is used as a synonym in schools in Iparralde.

The textbook is often used to reinforce official hegemonic lines of thought, in both written and graphic text. It is in the textbook that the school of the era is ultimately reflected, understood as a kind of report on schools, since the curriculum of the time is shown in textbooks. As Choppin claims (2000, 107-166), the image society wishes to give of itself is reflected in the textbook like a mirror.

The textbook reflects and selects what the official curriculum marks out to determine a certain level, in the Minimum Knowledge Decree. By choosing the contents it develops the hidden curriculum by selection: it produces certain information or contents, but also to a large extent it does not produce or mention much knowledge which is non-hegemonic, and in this way it directs the specific viewpoint of reality. We must conduct a deep examination of this basic instrument, which is in teaching and in classrooms and is not at all aseptic. Therefore, the characteristics of the socio-cultural context, the precise contents and the social model produced as knowledge in textbooks have a direct effect on construction of the identity of the student by providing a single precise vision of the context and the world. It is the most important feature of the materials we use in classrooms, particularly since it is the major, most direct way in which information is gathered.

Written text and iconography are used to produce and explain the exact contents as set out page by page in textbooks. The chosen contents are developed as the result of the relations between these two features, building a view of the world, a single view. As we have already mentioned, the criteria used in the selection process are not the criteria of the teacher or the student. These contents are those produced by the education authorities (Apple, 1996, 87), and adapted by publishers, each in accordance with their own ideology. In any case, through contents as set out in the book, precise social and cultural models are produced, those chosen in accordance with official designs and programmes, and so they are the models which will officially be taught, discarding and omitting other social realities and contents. This is why certain forms of knowledge are valued in schools – very highly valued, in fact – and others are rejected, either openly or by stealth (Apple, 1996). Thus nothing is produced in textbooks beyond the contents defined by the education authorities. This is how the situation has developed historically, and therefore the state curriculum has been reflected in textbooks (Bilbao, Ezkurdia, Pérez, 2001, 185).

The textbook has its own precise way of gathering and organising contents. Although different ways of organising this have been used throughout history, initially iconography was not used. Nowadays icons account for a large percentage of the contents, at the expense of blank space, in an attempt to balance the two

features. This must also be taken into consideration in our research.

The text is an essential component of a textbook, along with the icon. The length and lightness of texts have undergone considerable changes throughout history. This much is obvious when we take any textbook from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: the mass of text is much denser than nowadays, with no images. Division of the text mass has been transformed into organising and complementing it with images, and the message in the text is shared out between them.

In order to examine construction of the basic discourse in the text, we have taken into consideration the connections between basic concepts, using conceptual maps and also the concept's link to the image. We have found the reason for this type of examination in the critical work of Apple, Bernstein and Bourdieu in particular, but also within our own conjectures, since it is essential to take account of the contextualisation of contents in order to examine the basic message of official discourse in the curriculum, because the message of the written text not only relates to linguistic areas, but also to social and ideological areas. We have distinguished three methods in terms of the construction of discourse in textbooks, as follows:

1. The written text marks the path: the concepts explained are interlinked, and are written in progression. The function of the icons is to make it easier to understand and remember the concepts explained in the text.
2. Discourse constructed between the written text and the icon: it is built up in a constant relationship with the icon, and on many occasions the icon constitutes exercises, reflections and systematisations in relation to the icon.
3. The path traced by the written text and what is shown by the icon do not agree, or bear no relation, or are presented with no contextualisation. In this way, the discourse as presented in the text is a specific reflection, and the icon is a reflection of a number of realities.

We have, of course, talked of the icon as an essential component in modern textbooks along with the text itself. The icon gives life to communication, enriches the message, and makes the learning-teaching process more adorned and attractive. The use of icons has increased from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to the modern age in terms of frequency, colours, design, size etc.

Iconography in textbooks (Bilbao, Ezkurdia, Pérez, 2001, 186-187) emerged along with the invention of the printing press – our first illustrated textbook was produced by Juan Amós Comenius, *Orbis sensualium pictus*, printed in 1698. The use of illustrations initially sought to make it easier to understand what was written and make the learning process more suitable. Since then, this tendency to bring together text and images in

textbooks has not been lost, and technical progress has also made it possible to produce such information.

The criteria we have used to delimit the samples were linguistic, geographic, psycho-pedagogical and criteria relating to areas of knowledge. In terms of the geographic criterion, we chose textbooks used in schools in the Basque Country, and this criterion obliged us to use textbooks published in Spanish to a certain extent.

In terms of the linguistic criterion, conditioned by the socio-linguistic situation in the Basque Country, we selected textbooks written in both Basque and Spanish – those written in Basque (originally published in Basque, and also those translated into Basque), and also written in the other two languages, French and Spanish. Since very few were produced or translated into Basque in Iparralde and the material used was mostly in French, those we selected were mostly in French. We chose the following of those written in Spanish – all the books published in Basque, along with the corresponding volumes in Spanish, when a publisher presents the textbook or a similar volume in both languages in accordance with the linguistic model, or when a special textbook has been published for Nafarroa. Apart from this, since there were very few textbooks published in Basque during the first period, we decided to study several of them published in Spanish, for the purposes of comparison.

In terms of the psycho-pedagogical criterion, because this is the most frequently used resource and the major knowledge regulator, we left aside the exercise book and smaller books (less than 50 pages). Furthermore, the specific nature of the investigation and the large amount of textbooks compelled us to select only one level. This meant the age at which precise thinking changes to abstract thinking - 10-11 years old in the South of the Basque Country, fifth grade of Primary Education, and CM2 in the North, was chosen, along with similar material. This level focuses firstly on the Basque Country as a geographic and historic concept, setting out the first historical-geographical indications.

We examined textbooks covering knowledge of our environment, to reckon up numbers of Basque icons and study them – in the South this constitutes the area of knowledge known as Knowledge of our Surroundings and, in the North, Geography, History, Science and Technology. Our work involved gauging the proximity to pupils' reality of the characteristics of context, studying all areas of context, but here we cover only territory and history.

## 5. Sampling and textbook study periods

We distinguished four different periods for the study of textbooks including material on the subject matter, from the start of compulsory education to the present day. The first commences when the first textbooks published in Basque were used in schools, as of 1925,

up to 1970. The second period is from 1970 to 1990, and the third from the introduction of new laws in 1990 (1995 in the North) to 2000. Finally we lengthened our survey to include textbooks to the end of the Legislature in 2005. We based our study on regulations and production in the South to define the periods, since it was here that the century's greatest output was recorded.

- First period (1876-1974): beginnings
- Second period (1975-1991): boom, abundance of textbooks
- Third period (1992-2000): publishing reallocation
- Fourth period (2000-2005): up to the end of the legislature

### 5.1 The textbooks analysed

As mentioned above, the range of books selected from 1876 to 2005 is composed of textbooks published in Basque, but also similar material in French and Spanish. The books were produced by both Basque publishers and foreign publishers. The table below sets out the books chosen for the various periods, with numbers of pages and icons:

Period	Number of books	Number of pages	Number of icons
1 <sup>st</sup> period (1876-1974)	14	2,692	2,649
2 <sup>nd</sup> period (1975-1991)	26	4,644	8,386
3 <sup>rd</sup> period (1992-2000)	30	5,974	11,193
4 <sup>th</sup> period (2000-2005)	20	3,791	6,953
Total (1876-2005)	90	17,101	29,181

Table 1: Characteristics of the sample

As Table 1 shows, our sample is composed of ninety books, seventeen thousand one hundred and one pages, and twenty-nine thousand one hundred and eighty-one icons.

The work method used was as follows: the pages of the book were counted one by one, and we studied the number, colours and location of the icons. We then measured, located and described the message represented by the icons in accordance with a number of topics. We used one hundred and eighty-four descriptives or categories to define the contents of the icons and state what is observed in the icon. The required categories were used to define the contents of each icon until all contents had been described. In this way an icon can be described with very small numbers

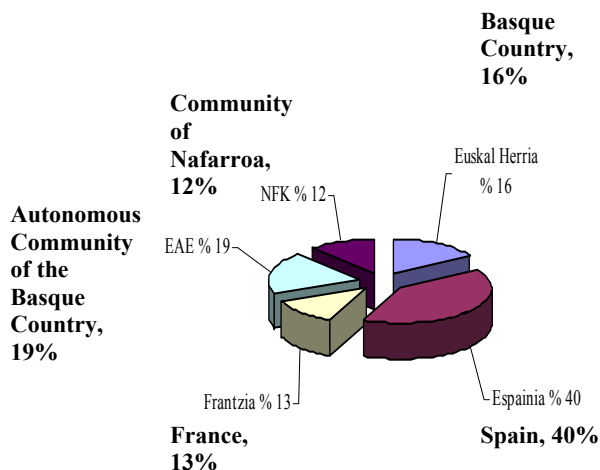
of categories, while other icons make the list longer. In most cases, a higher or lower number of categories depended on the richness of the icon. Lastly, we used six categories to gauge whether or not each icon bore a relation to the context of the page: a socio-cultural category, when information was found in connection with the Basque Country, a judicial category for reflections of the autonomous situation, a mixed category when we found mixed information on both, information in non Basque-speaking locations, information located in the State, and information located in unspecified contexts. We used this category to gauge and reflect unspecified icons and information.

We used the six categories defined above to classify the different contexts of the icons, assigning a type to the message conveyed by the icon and the written text. To assign the type, we took account of the message conveyed by both the iconographic and written message and also of that of the didactic unit – on most occasions, those found have extremely coherent connections. In this way the trajectory of the book was gradually defined, to finally define the nature of the book in accordance with the greatest percentages. We created a database with the categories of each icon in each textbook – after assigning an identification number to each icon, we arrived at a total of the columns containing the references, languages, periods, years, publishers and publishing locations. We then provided a number-coding system for each area or column, and carried out a statistical examination.

To delimit our research work, we gauged and examined icons describing Basque territory or the Basque Country, and also those referring to the historical territories and political and administrative realities, autonomies and states.

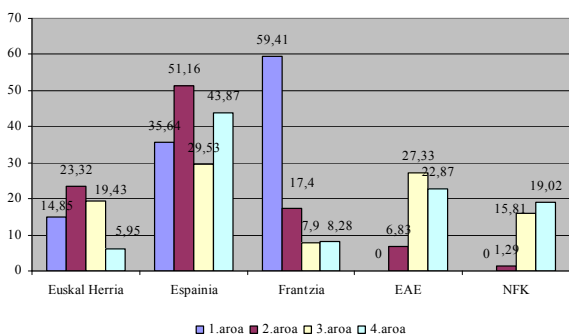
### 6. The Basque Country in textbooks between 1876 and 2005

We find a total of 424 references to the Basque Country over the four periods. In the first place, in order to gauge the value of these references, we must compare references to the Basque Country with references made to other territories.



Graph 1: Average percentages of Basque Country icons and icons relating to other territories

As we see above, among the icons signalling territory – those showing maps, landscapes and locations – the majority, 40%, are in reference to Spain. 19% of them refer to the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country. The Basque Country is also referred to, but no more than 16%. The least references are to France, with 13%, and Nafarroa, 12%.



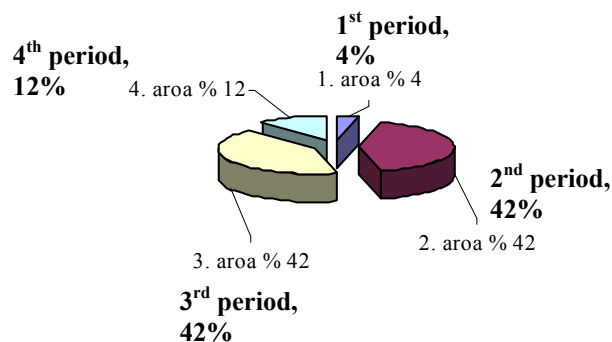
Basque Country	Spain	France	Autonomous Community of the Basque Country	Community of Nafarroa
	1 <sup>st</sup> period	2 <sup>nd</sup> period	3 <sup>rd</sup> period	4 <sup>th</sup> period

Graph 2: Averages for icons relating to the Basque Country, Spain, France, the Autonomous Basque Community and the Community of Nafarroa between 1876 and 2005

A period-by-period study of the icons clearly shows that the majority are those which reflect the realities of states and, in the last period, of the autonomies, since these are the greatest percentages obtained. Most of the Basque Country icons are found within the second

period (1975-1991), no more than 23.32%. Icons in relation to Spain are also mostly found in this second period, but in this case the percentage is much higher – 51.16%. Icons referring to French territory in French textbooks decrease year on year. The first period (1876-1975) shows the largest percentage, 59.41%. The reality of the autonomies starts to develop as of the second period (1975-1991). Most icons in reference to the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country, 27.33%, are found during the third period (1992-2000), whereas most icons in reference to Nafarroa are found in the fourth period (2000-2005), with 19.92%. It should be mentioned that no references to the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country are found in textbooks used in Nafarroa, where the preference is either to refer to Spain or to employ other foreign references.

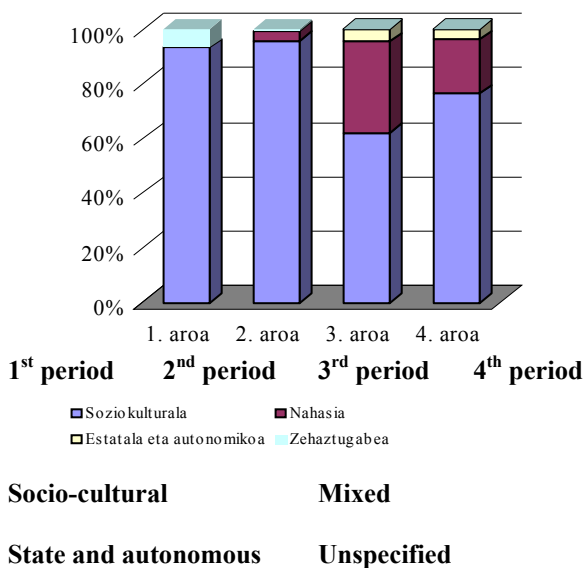
Following close examination of the references to the Basque Country, we calculated how many icons appear as located in the Basque Country.



Graph 3: Percentage of Basque Country icons over the four periods

In the sample studied, most icons located in the Basque Country appear during the second and third periods (1975-2000), where the percentages are identical at 42%. The first period (1876-1975) shows very few and is almost testimonial, we might say, at 4%, whereas the numbers drop during the fourth period (2000-2005) to 12%.

In the iconography used in textbooks throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century we very frequently find the nature of Basque icons in relation to the socio-cultural context.



Graph 4: Percentages of the nature of Basque Country icons over the periods

Icons located in the Basque Country appear in different contexts. Most of them are related to socio-cultural contexts, but the percentages are different for the various periods. During the first period, 93.33% of the icons have a socio-cultural context, whilst the unspecified quantity is 6.67%. In the second, the socio-cultural percentage increases by 2% to 95.58%, while the mixed unit is very low at 3.87%, along with unspecified icons – 0.55%. During the third period, the socio-cultural unit falls to 62.15%, maintaining its predominance. During this period judicial nature is not used, although the mixed unit is, during the third and fourth periods in particular – 33.33% in the third, and slightly lower in the fourth. The state category appears as a lower percentage as of the third period.

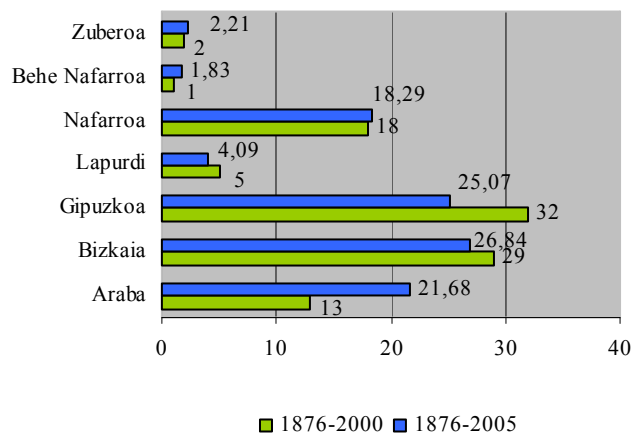
To sum up, most icons in reference to the Basque Country are of a socio-cultural nature, except for the unspecified variety in the first period, with 6.67%. As the unspecified amount decreases during the second period, the mixed and socio-cultural figures rise. During the third period, the socio-cultural unit decreases, while a combination of the hegemonic, mixed at 33.33% and state units at 4.52% shows an increase to 37.85%. In the fourth period, more Basque Country icons are found within the socio-cultural context, rising to 70%.

## 7. Basque territories in textbooks between 1876 and 2005

The Basque Country is composed of seven historic territories. We find Nafarroa divided into two between the Spanish autonomy as the Community of Nafarroa, and in the French State along with two other historical territories, Lapurdi on the coast, and Zuberoa further inland.

In the western territories of the Basque Country we find Bizkaia on the coast, Araba further inland, and Gipuzkoa partly on the coast but also reaching into the central hinterland. These three territories make up the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country.

The territories appear in textbook icons in different ways. We have drawn up an average based on the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries to observe the differences.



Graph 5: Average of Basque Country icons by territories in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries (1876-2005), in percentages

We find two political realities imposed by States. On the one hand, the autonomous organisations of the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country and the Community of Nafarroa, and on the other the three historical territories located in the French State.

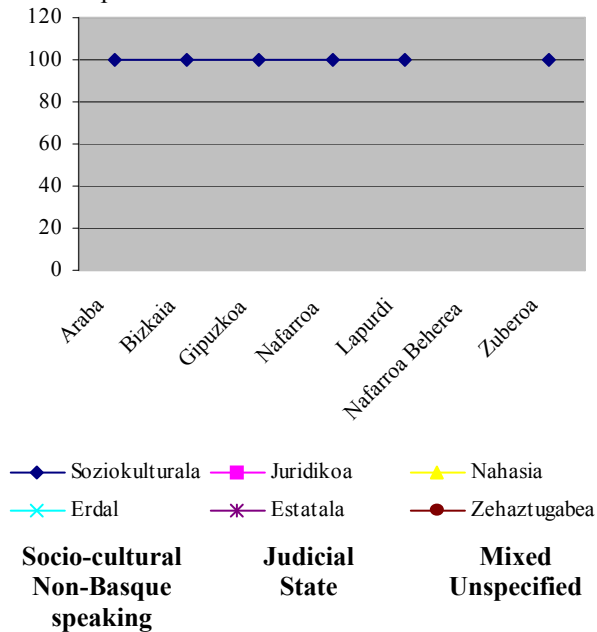
The latter territories appear least frequently, least of all Lower Nafarroa with 1.83%, followed by Zuberoa with 2.21%. Both have decreased in frequency during the 21<sup>st</sup> century, while Lapurdi holds its own.

Spain's political and administrative organisation has conditioned the situation. On the one hand, Nafarroa is referred to in two ways: in certain textbooks it is mentioned as a historic territory of the Basque Country, whilst in others it is referred to as an autonomous Spanish territory. We have measured its percentage of appearances as a Basque territory in this investigation as 18%.

The territories which make up the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country are those most frequently mentioned in textbook icons. There are some considerable differences here. Up to the year 2000, Gipuzkoa appeared most frequently with 32%, followed by Bizkaia with 29%, and lastly Araba, with 13%. Up to 2005, however, although the percentages have decreased, Bizkaia now appears as the most frequent reference, with 27%, while Gipuzkoa decreases by 7% to 25%. Lastly, Araba has reacted in a different manner – it is mentioned much more frequently, moving from 13% to 22%. It would seem that this is the result of its status as the capital of the Autonomous Community.

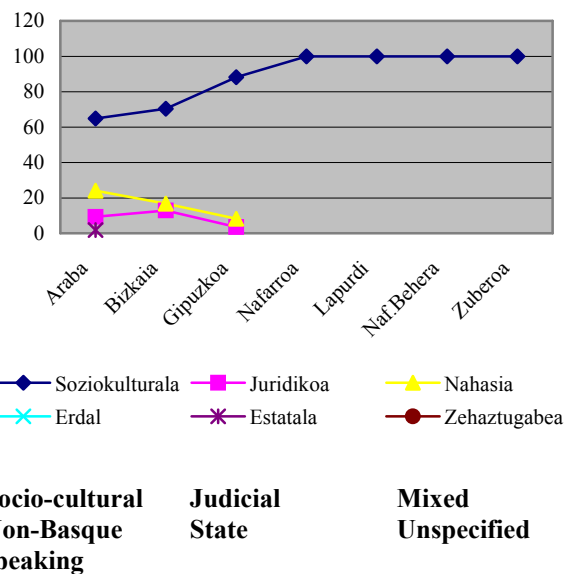
## 8. Context of Basque territory icons, by periods

Textbook icons are located in different contexts in accordance with the connection between texts and iconographic messages, and we took account of the different contexts on this occasion in our calculations for each period.



Graph 6: Nature of Basque territory icons during the first period (1876-1975)

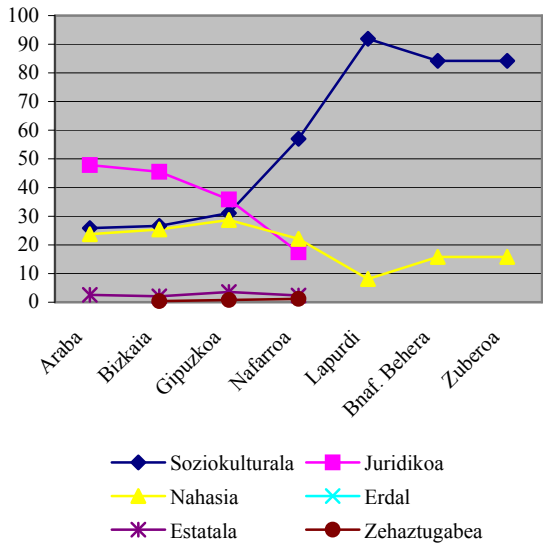
During the first period (1876-2005), all the territories are covered in 100% of the socio-cultural context. Lower Nafarroa is the only one which is not mentioned, since it is covered as the ancient *Merindad* territorial denomination.



Graph 7: Nature of Basque territory icons during the second period (1976-1991)

During the second period (1976-1991), the development of the Spanish autonomies is reflected in textbook icons.

Araba, and especially Bizkaia, which were covered 100% in the socio-cultural context during the first period, fell during the second period to 60%, while Gipuzkoa fell slightly less to 80%. This period reflects the autonomous situation more than the socio-cultural context. All the other territories retained their 100% in terms of socio-cultural context.



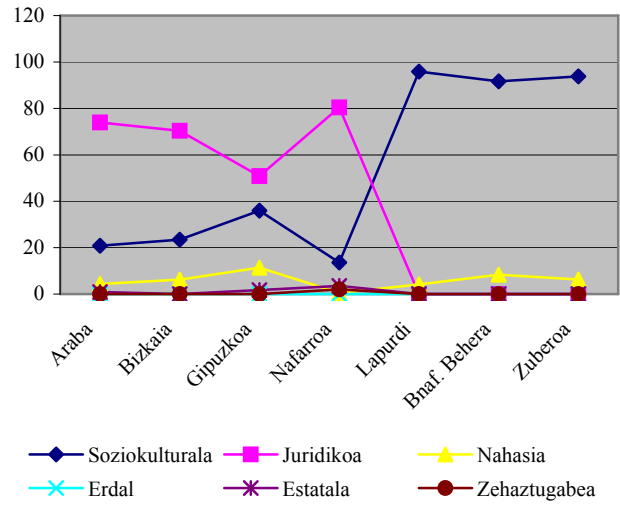
**Socio-cultural Mixed State**      **Judicial Non Basque-speaking Unspecified**

Graph 8: Nature of Basque territory icons during the third period (1992-2000)

During the third period (1992-2000), the context of the icons becomes slightly more complicated. We find the three territories of Iparralde have links to the socio-cultural context, while Araba and Bizkaia are those which are least covered by the socio-cultural context, hardly 30%. In Gipuzkoa, however, the percentage is slightly higher and does in fact reach 30%.

The autonomous context, however, has become more solid in Araba, with 50%, in Bizkaia with 45%, and slightly less so in Gipuzkoa with 37%. Nafarroa becomes the territory which has lost least in the socio-cultural context as a Basque territory, with 58%, and 20% as an autonomous territory.

Other contexts were also used to gauge the nature of Basque icons in the south, the Unspecified and the Mixed. The mixed criterion is quite substantial, particularly in Gipuzkoa, where it is 30%.



**Socio-cultural Non-Basque speaking**      **Judicial State**      **Mixed Unspecified**

Graph 9: Nature of Basque territory icons during the fourth period (2000-2005)

During the fourth period (2000-2005), the socio-cultural percentages fell in the southern territories – around 20% in Araba and Bizkaia, and 40% in Gipuzkoa, but Nafarroa experienced a dramatic fall from 58% to 10%: a loss of 40% from one period to another. The autonomous context replaces it with a greater percentage than the Mixed unit.

### 9. Summary

Fewer textbook icons are located in the Basque Country than in Spain and in the Autonomous Communities. Additionally, when they are mentioned, the percentage of their socio-cultural nature undergoes a constant decrease. The percentage of the loss in terms of socio-cultural nature acts to the benefit of judicial nature and the mixed unit. Territorial icons for Iparralde are located in socio-cultural contexts. Nafarroa Garaia – in this case the only territory in the South of the Basque Country - loses socio-cultural importance in a much greater percentage, due to judicial constraints.

In any case, compared with the nature of the icons of Araba, Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa, while Lapurdi, Nafarroa Garaia and Behere and Zuberoa maintain the socio-cultural feature during the third period, the three mentioned lose the socio-cultural nature, and develop a considerable autonomous content. The autonomous situation is ushered in and consolidates during the fourth period (2000-2005). The territories in Iparralde show a socio-cultural content – when we find them in the textbooks – whereas the southern territories reflect hegemony at the end of the century, following their loss of Basque status.



## 10. Acknowledgements

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