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A Comparison of Education in Post-Revolutionary Mexico and Post-Independence India

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

A COMPARISON OF EDUCATION IN

POST-REVOLUTIONARY MEXICO AND POST-INDEPENDENCE INDIA

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Para mi madre, María Adriana Hernández Vázquez.
Por su fortaleza, compasión y generosidad.

India, México: Vientos Paralelos

— Iturbide, Rao, and Salgado

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHI   Archivo Histórico de Iztapalapa – Historical Archive of Iztapalapa

CONALITEG   Comisión Nacional de Libros de Texto Gratuitos – National Comission for

                Free Textbooks (Mexico)

COVID–19   Coronavirus Disease 2019

GCO   Grupo Cultural Ollin – Cultural Group Ollin

GCNV   Grupo Cultural Noche Victoriosa – Cultural Group Victorious Night

IAM   India Association of Minnesota

IBE   International Bureau of Education – Bureau International d'Éducation

INEGI   Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informatica – National

                Institute of Statistics and Geography

MESR   Ministry for Education and Scientific Research (India)

NCERT   National Council of Educational Research and Training (India)

SEP   Secretaría de Educación Pública – Secretariat of Public Education

                (Mexico)

UAM-I   Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana Iztapalapa – Metropolitan

                Autonomous University at Iztapalapa

UNAM   Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México – National Autonomous

                University of Mexico

UNESCO   The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

ABSTRACT

This dissertation provides an educational comparison of post-revolutionary Mexico (1920-1940) and post-independence India (1947-1964). By comparing education between these two seemingly incomparable units, this research proposes new ways of engaging with post-colonial societies and regimes that were the result of transitional movements. This study explores why at different times of the 20th Century and in two distant regions of the world, both Mexico and India established modern nation-states with national education systems. Inspired by the concepts of hegemony and governmentality, this dissertation identifies three theoretical objects that allow a comparative education analysis: modern political authority, national ideology, and modernization. This research explores how the power to make educational decisions came to be national, how education became an ideal field for the spread of national ideologies, and how the expectation that people could be schooled into modernity developed in these countries. The dissertation is divided into five chapters and a concluding section. Chapter One sets the comparison by developing a theoretical apparatus to appropriately analyze these time-spaces. Chapter Two upsets the comparison and interweaves history, educational law, and institutional analysis. Chapter Three explores the textbook policies enacted by the Mexican and Indian governments. In Chapter Four, relevant aspects of the content of a selection of textbooks from each country are presented and discussed. Chapter Five concentrates on the oral histories of people who were students at the times of interest. Finally, the dissertation's conclusions wrap up the comparison.

INTRODUCTION

The familiarity between Mexico and India is not unknown to some travelers. In 2002 this kind of closeness despite distance led three distinguished photographers to create an exhibition, *India – Mexico, Parallel Winds*, based on the idea that "these two ancestral cultures [should] meet and recognize each other" (Iturbide, Rao & Salgado, 2002). The artists embedded elements of a complex history, a colonial past, and a diverse population. Moreover, these photographers exposed analogous challenges such as poverty, inequality, and violence. Across *Parallel Winds*, divergent elements such as India's larger population, the caste system, and the religious diversity that characterizes South Asia emerged in the artwork. Additionally, Mexico's earlier independence and Western heritage accounted for relevant distinctions. Nevertheless, academic research and comparative studies between Mexico and India are very limited.

This dissertation provides a comparison between education in Mexico and India. More specifically, the scope of this research examined the development of national education in Post-Revolutionary Mexico and Post-Independence India. Any comparison between Mexico and India is uncommon, and an educational approach is even more unusual. In recent years, authors have reflected on the importance of exploring South-South cooperation in different disciplines in the social sciences. However, in the comparative and international education field, efforts to address developing countries are framed in terms of policy borrowing, lending, and transfer (Jules & De-sá-e-Silva, 2008), and have not included an educational comparison between Mexico and India.

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This dissertation assembled a comparison which entangled Mexico after the Revolution[1] (1910-1920) and India after the Independence Movement (1905-1947). This juxtaposition analyzes two relevant moments of educational metamorphosis in two distant locations at different times of the 20th Century. Particularly, this research focuses on these societies after they experienced violent political processes and reassembled themselves as modern nation-states. Post-revolutionary Mexico emerged after the fall of the Porfirio Díaz dictatorship. Similarly, post-independence India arrived after the downfallen colonial state apparatus and economic system of British India. This research focuses on those periods of reconstruction; for Mexico, this project analyzes the "revolutionary governments," a period that starts with the first elected government, the Álvaro Obregón administration on November 1, 1920, to end of the *Maximato*[2] and the beginning of the Lázaro Cárdenas presidency on December 1, 1934. For India it involves the time from the Declaration of Independence (August 15, 1947) to the end of Jawaharlal Nehru's administration (Nehru died on May 27, 1964).

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[1] The end of the Mexican Revolution is disputed by historians. Most scholars consider the Álvaro Obregón presidency, which started on December 1st, 1920, as the end of the revolutionary period. However, other researchers regard the government of Lázaro Cárdenas as the reference point. This research favors the first interpretation since Mexico's educational system emerged during the Obregón administration. The Secretariat of Public Education, which became the most important institution for the instruction and modernization of the Mexican population, was created on October 3rd, 1921, by a presidential decree. Similarly, other important projects such as the "cultural missions", the expansion of public libraries, and the editorial projects that are analyzed in chapter 4, were all created within the secretariat, and with the political and economic support initially provided by Obregón. Additionally, the first reform of Article 3 of the Mexican Constitution, which establishes the right to education, took place on December 12, 1934, during the first days of the Cárdenas presidency. This reform was not only the first major educational reform after the Revolution, but it started a period of socialist education in the country, see Quintanilla & Vaughan (2003) and Loyo (1994).

[2] The *Maximato* was a historical and political period that took place in Mexico from 1928 to 1934, named after President Plutarco Elias Calles (1924 - 1928), who founded the National Revolutionary Party (PNR) and remained in power behind-the-scenes as the *jefe máximo* (maximum chief) until 1934. While the principle of no-reelection prevented Calles from staying in the presidency, his power and influence overshadowed presidents Emilio Portes Gil (1928-1930), Pascual Ortiz Rubio (1930-32), and Abelardo L. Rodríguez (1932-34).

Because of the parallels between Mexico and India, including an ancient history, a colonial past, and a diverse population, and because of the lack of scholarship in the field of comparative education on these countries, the purpose of this dissertation is to bring an uncommon juxtaposition and acquire valuable insights that advance methodologies for comparing educational systems in societies with a colonial past. Furthermore, taking into account the exceptionality of the comparison, this research offers an opportunity for advancing the comparative and international education field. This study was therefore approached as a comparison of multiple modernities, transitologies, hegemonies, and governmentalities in two seemingly divergent time-spaces. By addressing post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India, the educational components of modernity and the political nature of education came to light, thus revealing the utility of those conceptual elements for our field.

Moreover, this study followed the need to transcend a notion of space that is based on nations and national narratives, and to move towards the idea that people and networks of knowledge flow through and across spaces over time that may or may not be nationally constrained (Dussel & Ydesen, 2016: 232). By comparing post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India, this research intended to transcend a nationally based notion of space, move towards establishing networks of knowledge, and sought to explore new strategies for studying the relationship between the global and local in the construction of modernities (Popkewitz, 2005: xi). This research was therefore guided by an interest on how modernities unraveled in two distant locations in what is now sometimes labeled as the global-south[3].

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[3] The global-south is a concept that according to Anne Garland Mahler (2017) has three critical definitions. The first has been used within multilateral organizations specialized in development to refer to poor countries and as a post-cold war alternative to "third world". This first perspective addresses spaces and peoples negatively affected by globalization. The second definition refers to the deterritorialized geography of capitalism and accounts for the

Consequently, the research question that guided this project can be framed as follows: How were educational strategies used in post-revolutionary contexts of nation-state building and modernization? This question allows this research to explore the role of education in Mexico and India after they experienced revolutionary movements that transformed them such as the Mexican Revolution and the Indian Independence movement. A sub-question that derives from the complexity of this research project involves proposing an approach that answers: how can we set a comparison between two disparate units of analysis, post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India, that generates insights into issues such as the role of education in the consolidation of a political authority, the expansion of a national ideology, and the modernization of the population.

This dissertation explores what can we learn from an educational comparison between the Indian and Mexican time-spaces after they experienced moments of social transformation such as the Indian Independence Movement and the Mexican Revolution. This research focuses on the challenges of comparison as a research endeavor. I am primarily concerned with three issues in current social science research. The first is the current replacement of reflexivity and critique by Big Data analysis (Sobe, 2018). The second is the influence of colonialism in academia, particularly in the comparative and international education field (Esteva, 2018; Mignolo, 2000; Santos, 2014; Takayama, Sriprakash & Connell, 2017). The third is the neglect of context in

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presence of subjugated peoples within the borders of wealthier countries. In other words, the existence of economic souths in the geographic north and economic norths in the geographic south. Finally, the third meaning is attributed to a transnational political subject that results from a shared experience of subjugation under contemporary global capitalism. In this dissertation I use the term global-south as an alternative to "third world," "developing world," and "under-developed nations". For this research, the term offers important explanatory value such as the deterritorialized geography of capitalism and globalization, the negative impact of neoliberalism on peoples and communities around the world, and the transnational political resistance that has emerged against the effects of globalization.

educational research, and its consequential lack of understanding of the educational field (Sobe, 2018; Sobe & Kowalczyk, 2012; 2013).

Similarly, this dissertation offers an unlikely comparison of separated geographical spaces and divergent times; Mexico, located in Latin America India, and India in South-Asia. The former occurred during the first half of the 20th Century, in the 1920-30s, and the latter in the second half of the same period, in 1950-60s. And yet, both time-spaces experienced violent movements and significant transformations that led to the establishment of a modern nation-state with a national educational system. Insisting on the real distinctiveness of each case, this dissertation recognizes the limits of comparing and does not box India and Mexico in hegemonic comparative education approaches.

The fact that Mexico and India organized themselves as capitalist nation-states provided the opportunity to reflect on how national education contributed to modernize the Indian and Mexican populations and how communities and new territories were incorporated to the national economy. A central question that emerged from this comparison was how did schooling fit into larger modernizing projects of the Mexican and Indian elites? This question lays at the core of the construction of the political regimes that we inhabit today and the educational systems that they developed.

Further problematizing questions included taking an opposing perspective and asking if these were indeed moments of social transformation. Instead of only focusing on change, this project also focused on stability. In other words, this research explored what remained the same and interrogated if we could study these moments not just as revolutionary, but also as transitional periods. Following this logic, this project explored the continuities that we could find

between previous regimes and the political systems that emerged after the revolutionary movements.

A final set of questions interrogated power dynamics in Mexico and India by investigating who was involved in these processes of transformation and stability. In other words, what institutions and individuals were behind educational reform? What were their intentions in promoting those changes? Considering that new governmentalities emerged from both the Indian Independence Movement and the Mexican Revolution, this dissertation examined what was the role of schooling in constructing these political hegemonies.

An Unlikely Comparison of Post-Revolutionary Mexico and Post-Independence India

At first, post-revolutionary Mexico (1920-1940) and post-independence India (1947 - 1964) seem geographically distant and temporarily separated. This separation of time and space may seem unsurmountable for an educational comparison. However, inspired by the concepts of hegemony and governmentality, this dissertation identified three theoretical objects that allowed a comparative education analysis: modern political authority, national ideology, and modernization. By bringing Mexico and India together for an educational comparison, this research not only sets an unlikely comparison, but it up-sets traditional perspectives in the comparative and international education field. By developing its own approach, this dissertation refuses to pigeonhole Mexico and India in Eurocentric perspectives and insists in the real distinctiveness of each case.

Historians of education, political scientists, and policy makers are interested in exploring how education fits into larger political movements. It can be further argued that there is a consensus about the political role of education, but how this process actually happens is less

explored. This dissertation does explore how schooling fitted into the larger political, economic, and modernizing projects of the Mexican and Indian elites. Moreover, this study focuses on textbooks and oral histories to elucidate more specific ways in which these processes happened. This study follows historian and social scientist Sanjay Seth (2007) and discusses how new knowledges transformed people and reconstructed them as new knowers. The following chapters show how education contributed to solidify power, expand nationalism, modernize the population, and incorporate new territories and communities to the capitalist economy. This is how schooling fitted into the larger political projects in post-revolutionary Mexican and post-independence India.

It was important for this dissertation to study how the power to make educational decisions became national, as opposed to local, regional, or international power. Similarly, how and why education became an ideal field for the spread of national ideologies are important topics discussed in this work. Attached to this conversation, this research explains how education contributed to introduce the nation as a cultural unit with an ancient and continuous history. Likewise, this dissertation explores the expectation that people could be schooled into modernity and its implications for education.

Map of Chapters

Chapter One. Theoretical Framework

This dissertation proposed to compare education in Mexico and India. The limited number of South-South educational comparisons challenges researchers to generate academic apparatuses that fulfill the requirements of the comparative education field and, at the same time, are appropriate to analyze these time-spaces. In order to undertake this challenge, the first

chapter of this project outlines a theoretical framework to engage in an educational comparison between Mexico and India. I have entitled this framework a *Triveni Approach*[4] since it combines three elements: classic, critical, and methodological (see Figure 1). The first section of this chapter discusses three theoretical tools that are relevant for this research: multiple modernities (Eisenstadt, 2000; 2002), transitologies (Cowen, 2000), and a combination of the notions of governmentality (Ailwood, 2004; Foucault *et al,* 1991; 1995; Hindess, 1996) and hegemony[5] (Bobbio, 1979; Gramsci, Hoare, & Nowell-Smith, 1971; Mouffe, 1979).

Figure 1. The Triveni Approach

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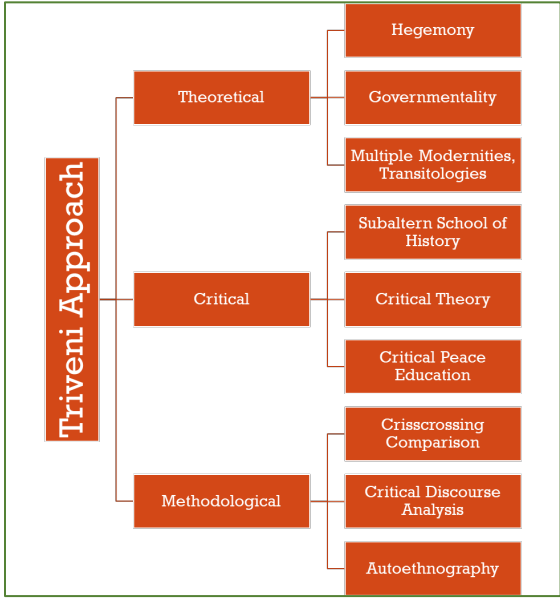
[4] Triveni (त्रिवेणी) is a Sanskrit word which means triple-braided, it alludes to the place of confluence of the three major rivers of India and also refers to a three-versed form of Hindi/Urdu poetry.

[5] Additionally, this research proposes a dialogue between Michel Foucault's concept of governmentality (1991; 1995) and Antonio Gramsci's notion of hegemony (2007; Gramsci, Hoare, & Nowell-Smith, 1971). When appropriate, I suggest using both terms in a dialogue, as a way to study how organized political power was exercised by the Indian and Mexican nation-states, how political consensus was created, and how modernizing projects advanced in both time-spaces.

This project is concerned with Mexico and India as two non-western contexts with a history of colonialism. Consequently, elements of the subaltern school of history, critical theory, and critical peace education are discussed in the second part of this chapter. Authors who questioned the role of the West as the center of history, modernity, and destiny of all humanity are included in this section (Chakrabarty, 2009; Dube, 1999; 2009; Dube & Banerjee-Dube, 2006). Taking into account the role of colonialism in the construction of knowledge, the position of "mainstream research" supporting power structures (Johnson & Christensen, 2014), and recent efforts to decolonize the comparative education field (Takayama, Sriprakash & Connell, 2017), the work of Latin American decolonial scholars (Esteva, 2018; Mignolo, 2000; Santos, 2014) in dialogue with critical theory (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016), is also analyzed in this critical stream. Finally, to complete this section and to address the level of violence that Mexico and India faced after the Mexican Revolution and the Partition of British India, a peace education approach helps to understand how structural violence reproduces unequal relations (Bajaj, 2014; Bajaj & Brantmeier, 2011; Galtung, 1969).

The third section of this chapter briefly deals with methodological issues. The triveni approach that I suggested goes well with methodologies that recognize the need to assemble multiple and heterogeneous elements. Similarly, following Sobe and Kowalczyk (2013), the triveni approach understands social life and social interaction as contingent and ephemeral. Therefore, elements of crisscrossing comparison, which is characteristic of an assemblage approach (Sobe, 2013; 2018; Sobe & Kowalczyk, 2012), as well as critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2013; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Johnson & Christensen, 2014), and

autoethnographic research (Boylorn & Orbe, 2016; Muncey, 2010; Wright, 2008) are included at the end of this chapter.

Chapter Two. [Up] Setting the Comparison

Chapter Two discusses the importance of up-setting widely accepted approaches of research in the comparative and international education field. This chapter explores new understandings of research that involve multiplying spaces and unfolding times (Novoa & Yariv-Mashal, 2003). This chapter follows ongoing trends in the comparative education field (Sobe & Kowalczyk, 2012; 2013; Sobe, 2018), by placing attention on the context to better understand education. This chapter frames a contextualizing approach that interweaves history, law, and institutions, to bring context to the front-end of research.

The second chapter uses context to bring to light the braid of educational discourses of the Mexican and Indian nation-states. This chapter brings to confluence a historical account of post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India, analyzing the resulting nation-states as the product of the Mexican Revolution (1910-20) and the Indian Independence Movement (1905-47). This account interprets the resulting political systems in the light of Foucault's concept of governmentality (Ailwood, 2004; Foucault *et al*, 1991; 1995; Hindess, 1996), and Gramsci's notion of hegemony (Bobbio, 1979; Gramsci, 2007; Gramsci, Hoare, & Nowell-Smith, 1971; Mouffe, 1979).

The educational law stream of this chapter concentrates on the 1917 Mexican Constitution (Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos) and the 1950 Constitution of India (*भारतीय संविधान*). These are socially influential documents that established the Mexican and Indian national education systems and further regulated the universal right to education.

Given the importance that the Indian nationalist leaders gave to economic planning and development, attention is given to the Five-Year Plans outlined by the Indian government, especially to chapter XXXIII of the First Five-Year Plan (1951-56), which is dedicated to education.

Finally, the last section of this chapter uses the assemblage approach to explore the institutions that became prominent agents in the development of national education systems in Mexico and India. In Mexico the most important institution was the Secretariat of Education. In contrast, in India this includes the Education Ministry, the National Planning Commission, and the University Education Commission (1948-49). Considering that both countries experienced regime transformations, this chapter interweaves history, educational law, and institutional structures in order to learn how these two time-spaces dealt with issues of modernization, reconstruction of state apparatuses, and national ideologies.

Chapter Three. Assembling Textbook Policies

Chapter Three studies textbooks as an entry point for the analysis of the interplay between knowledge and power. Following the arguments of Sobe and Kowalczyk (2012), this chapter opens a space for the crisscrossing of textbooks, contexts, and the epistemological structures that made them possible. Inspired by the work of Iveta Silova (2013; Meade & Silova, 2013; Brehm & Silova, 2016), Chapter Three approaches textbooks as mouthpieces for the governmentalities of post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India, analyzing them as "acts of knowledge," which means that textbooks were educational discourses that established forms of social practice and were used as resources that reflect discursive strategies with respect to power. Furthermore, textbooks were studied as modern and modernizing artifacts, objects

attached to state intuitions which conducted editorial policies in each country. In South Asia and Latin America, textbooks were used as modernizing tools that helped to expand Western knowledge and to contributed to the modernization of students.

Chapter Three begins to analyze the expectation that people could be schooled into modernity. This is an important belief identified in both countries. This belief has a colonial origin, it continued after colonialism, and is present in both post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India. The role of schooling in modernizing sectors of the Mexican and Indian population that were perceived as "backward" is addressed in this chapter.

This project is inspired by an entangled historical approach (Sobe, 2013). As such, Chapter Three focalizes on bringing together multiple, heterogeneous, and contingent elements. Consequently, this study first introduces the textbooks that were initially produced or sanctioned by the Indian and Mexican states. This chapter analyzes how those textbooks functioned as mouthpieces for their respective hegemonic governmentalities. Despite their inherent political bias, the use of textbooks as useful as policy documents produced deliberately as "acts of knowledge." In other words, as educational discourses that establish forms of social practice, and as resources that reflect discursive strategies with respect to power (Brehm & Silova, 2016).

Chapter Three begins by discussing post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India as transitologies, trying to find underlying discursive elements and practices that went beyond previous regimes and contextualized subsequent textbook projects. The second part of this chapter explores relevant institutions that conducted editorial policies in each country. The

use of textbooks as modern and modernizing artifacts is also examined in this chapter. Finally, specific editorial projects that are relevant to this research are presented in this chapter.[6]

This project follows the idea that an entangled approach cannot be dissociated from the empirical and documentary "data" dimensions of research (Sobe, 2013; Dube, 2017). Therefore, attention is given to the larger socio-political context during the time of the publication of the textbooks and the objectives that both governments sought to achieve by allowing the commercialization of certain texts or by undertaking printing projects themselves. Similarly, the edition, production, and distribution of these discursive practices is studied as part of the Indian and Mexican hegemonic governmentalities.

Chapter Four. Assembling Content

Chapter Four of this project turns its attention to textbooks themselves, taking them as primary sources. Beyond the historicity and contextualization of textbooks, the intention of this chapter is to create a space to discuss relevant aspects of the content of these sources. Textbooks are analyzed as constructs of particular discourses about the nation, progress, modernity, and literacies of childhood (Meade & Silova, 2013; Silova, 2013; Brehm & Silova, 2016). Similarly, the creation and distribution of textbooks as discursive practices are interpreted as part of the Indian and Mexican hegemonic governmentalities.

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[6] In Mexico, a more comprehensive revision of textbooks and curriculum only came in 1944. Moreover, free-unique-obligatory textbooks designed, printed, and widely distributed by the Mexican state were only possible after 1959, when the Mexican government created the National Commission of Free Textbooks (CONALITEG); almost 40 years after the Revolution ended and a period beyond the scope of this research. For more information about CONALITEG see Dussel & Ydesen (2016: 236), Quintanilla & Vaughan (2003: 91), Vaughan (1982: 215-238; 1997: 6, 190), and Villa Lever (2009: 35). In India, a couple of years after the creation of Mexico's CONALITEG and 14 years after achieving Independence, the Indian central government established the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) in 1961. For more information about NCERT see Bhattacharya (2009), Guichard (2010), and Thapar (2005; 2009).

This chapter studies textbooks as a modern necessity, concentrating on their nature as both modern and modernizing technologies. Textbooks are also seen as projects in which different fields of Western knowledge and political interests converged. Intellectuals, scholars, artists, physicians, and scientists collaborated in the production and edition of the selected books. Attention is also placed on how post-revolutionary and post-independence regimes favored materials in colonial languages, Spanish and English respectively, a predilection that emphasized the modernizing nature of educational projects in both countries. This chapter concentrates on how textbooks helped to spread nationalism in Mexico and India by advancing the conception of the nation as a cultural unit with an uninterrupted history. Twentieth Century Mexican and Indian nationalisms are analyzed as both anti-colonialist and cosmopolitan. Finally, Chapter Four analyzes how textbooks help to distance the population from religious authority.

Discourses about the nation give particular importance to the images portrayed in school textbooks. Consequently, attention is placed on image-making, aiming to reveal patterns of western-authorized orthodoxy, stigmatizing stereotypes, and otherness contained in textbooks (Allender, 2017). Considering the visual turn in the history of education, textbooks are also understood as "complex iconic productions" (Dussel, 2013: 32).

Based on availability, relevance, and distribution, six sources were selected for this chapter. These textbooks are studied as constructs of state discourses about the nation, modernity, and schooling. From Mexico the selection includes *Historia Patria* (Fatherland History) by Justo Sierra (1922), *Lecturas Clásicas para Niños* (Classic Readings for Children) by Gabriela Mistral *et al* (1924), and *Fermín* by Manuel Velazquez Andrade and illustrated by Diego Rivera (1928). From India, ज्ञान सरोवर (*Gyan Sarovar* - Lake of Knowledge), authored by

the Education and Scientific Research Ministry (1952), *All Men are Brothers: Life and Thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi*, published by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (1958), and *Ancient India: A Textbook of History for Middle Schools* (1966), by Romila Thapar.

In this chapter the concepts of multiple modernities, transitologies, hegemony, and governmentality are used to analyze the selected textbooks. This chapter investigates issues of modernization, the reconstruction of state apparatuses, and national ideologies as they were prescribed, imposed or disseminated to student populations. After discussing why governments got involved in the production of textbooks, Chapter Four is organized in two major sections: national ideology and processes of modernization.

Chapter Five. Assembling Archives

A critical aspect of this educational research includes studying how individuals and communities within Mexico and India reacted towards the governmentalities, discourses, and literacies that the post-revolutionary and post-independence states imposed upon them. In order to achieve these purposes, Chapter Five concentrates on oral histories retrieved from archives in Mexico and the United States.[7] This is an effort to contribute to the decolonization of the comparative education field, to address knowledge-power asymmetries, and to pose questions

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[7] Finding the voices of students and parents was very challenging, and the COVID-19 pandemic made it even more difficult. Despite the restrictions to travel that the pandemic imposed, right before the confinements started, I was lucky enough to travel to Mexico City and visited the Historical Archive of Iztapalapa, where I located the oral histories that informed this chapter. In contrast, a local archive from India was not accessible given the circumstances, but the Oral History Project of the India Association of Minnesota (IAM), helped me to find the oral histories that I needed. While this project is focused on immigrants who moved to the United States, it was still useful to find valuable information about the educational experiences of people who were born and lived in India shortly before and after independence. The oral history project was supported by the Minnesota Historical Society, and it is now part of their online collection.

about the negotiation of power and how educational structures reinforce its distribution. Chapter Five discusses valuables observations such as the exploitative character of the nation-state, the prevalence of forms of violence that the Mexican and Indian populations experienced, the importance of national aesthetics for nation building in schools, and the significant role of the Catholic Church in the educational field in both countries.

This chapter explores how students and their parents reacted to the educational discourses imposed upon them. Including these voices was necessary to provide a more comprehensive representation of modern education. The focus of this chapter are the oral histories contained in materials retrieved from the Historical Archive of Iztapalapa (Archivo Histórico de Iztapalapa - AHI) in Mexico City and the Oral History Project of the India Association of Minnesota (IAM) in the United States. Since previous chapters discussed educational law, institutions, and textbooks, in this chapter special consideration was placed on the accounts made by students and their parents, as opposed to teachers and other state authorities.

Chapter Five provides a comprehensive description of the archives that were accessed for this research. This characterization helps to contextualize the materials that were considered for this chapter. After contextualizing the archives, a section on the impact of the Mexican Revolution and the Indian Independence movement on students is presented. In the next section, the chapter explores how schooling projects in each country were taken by the authors of the oral histories. In Mexico, the chapter concentrates on the educational roles of the Catholic Church, community leaders, and the post-revolutionary state. In India, the focus is the emergence of English's hegemony as the preferred language, the role of parents and their attitudes towards schooling, and the work of the Catholic Church in India.

Conclusions

In this final section I conclude this dissertation by exposing key aspects of the comparison between education in Mexico and India. The entanglement of theory, history, textbook analysis, and archival work, has the potential to help us understand education in post-colonial societies. I finalize this chapter by briefly reflecting on the implications of this study for the Comparative Education field.

CHAPTER ONE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

To undertake the challenge of a South-South comparison, this dissertation offers a *triveni approach*. Triveni (त्रिवेणी) is a Sanskrit word which means triple-braided, it alludes to the place of confluence of the Ganges, Yamuna, and Sarasvati rivers. Additionally, the term refers to a form of Hindi/Urdu poetry composed of three verses. The etymology of the word multiple and meanings of this concept have served as an inspiration combine three elements. This dissertation brings together classic theory, critical theory, and methodology as way to compare post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India.

Education is composed by multiple and heterogenous elements. Consequently, an approach that braids a diversity of elements allows this dissertation to organize the complexity of the educational phenomena. This dissertation thus favors scholarship that recognizes the diverse and various constituents of schooling, but instead of neglecting the multiple parts, processes, and agents involved, this dissertation proposes to organize them in three categories or groups. Organizing social phenomena in three streams that converge in the research project favors a deeper analysis of those elements. This number further prevents getting lost in the complexity of the educational phenomena. Furthermore, the triveni approach leads the author of to discern those elements that are essential, selecting them in terms of their significance, pertinence, and

meaning. In other words, three is an appropriate number because it allows researchers to deeply

analyze enough categories, letting research projects to move forward[8].

In the spirit of contextualizing research, understood as a process of "inter-weaving"

elements across the entirety of a study (Sobe & Kowalczyk, 2012; 2013), this research proposes

to use the triveni approach as a conceptual device for braiding academic literature together.

Further, the interweaving metaphor can be used to reflect about the idea of confluence as

assemblage. The triveni approach goes well with recent scholarship that recognizes the need to

assemblage multiple and heterogeneous elements (Sobe, 2013). Similarly, as the flow of rivers,

the triveni idea appeals to the contingent and ephemeral nature of social life and social

interaction (Sobe & Kowalczyk, 2013).

As a consequence, this chapter braids together three sections: classic theory, critical, and

methodological. The first section, on classic theory, discusses three analytical tools that are

relevant for this project: multiple modernities, transitologies, and hegemonic governmentalities.

The critical stream brings to this confluence perspectives that address the role of colonialism in

the construction of knowledge/power (Allender, 2009; Mignolo, 2000; Takayama, Sriprakash, &

Connell, 2017) and questions the role of the West as the center of history, modernity, and destiny

(Chakrabarty, 2009; Dube, 2009). Considering that this project is concerned with Mexico and

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[8] The Triveni Approach is in part a result of my academic biography. As a teenager, I obtained a scholarship to study the International Baccalaureate at the Mahindra United World College of India, an international school located in a rural area of the state of Maharashtra, 35 kilometers away from Pune. In India, I started to study the history of South Asia, volunteered with local non-governmental organizations, and had the opportunity visit religious, archeological, and other historical sites. Later, as graduate student at El Colegio de Mexico, I continued my studies on the cultures, religions, languages, and histories of the Subcontinent, focusing on education in India. As I started to get more involved in education, both as a researcher and a practitioner, the idea of working with three components started to make more sense. As an educator, cultivating three elements was a way to study more in detail and showing connections.

India as non-western contexts with a history of colonialism, incorporated critical tools include elements from the subaltern school of history, critical theory, and critical peace education. The third section of this chapter, the methodological flow, brings to the table discussions about crisscrossing comparison, discourse analysis, and autoethnography.

Classic Theory

This project takes up the proposed comparison that looks at post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India. In order to achieve this purpose, this study interweaves analytic and conceptual tools from the Comparative and International Education field, the History of Education, and Political Theory. After briefly discussing those terms and explaining how they relate to this research, attention will be redirected to issues of power. The historical and political perspectives provide access to broader projects of nation-building and nation consolidation, allowing this study to locate the development of national systems of schooling as pieces of hegemonies (Bobbio, 1979; Gramsci, 2007; Gramsci, Hoare, & Nowell-Smith, 1971; Mouffe, 1979;) and governmentalities (Ailwood, 2004; Hindess, 1996; Foucault 1991; 1995).

Learning from Nation-States: Commensurability

How to appropriately frame a comparison is a major concern for contemporary comparativists and their students. Rendering suitable units of comparison is an important scientific endeavor because it implies generating data and it contributes to justify a research project. Roger Dale (2005) warns researchers about issues of commensurability. The author urges scholars to consider if their projects are addressing a "comparable category," for which researchers should determine proper objects of comparison and make sure to cast them in formats that are comparable.

There is a commonly accepted assumption that prevalent criteria such as close location, cultural proximity, or coeval existence would render comparable categories. Moreover, there is an academic tradition of interlinking physical and social space (Sobe & Kowalczyk, 2013: 7). However, this study proposes to compare two "objects" that are geographically distant spaces and divergently separated times: post-1920 Mexico, positioned as part of Latin America, and post-1947 India, located in South-Asia. In order to address Dale's concerns about commensurability, I propose to shift the focus from those prevalent criteria to alternative ways of thinking about the world. Therefore, this dissertation takes Mexico and India as nation-building processes as a way to analyze them as comparable categories.

Mexico and India become comparable categories by identifying them as proper geographic objects of comparison and by casting them in comparable temporal formats. In terms of space and geography, this project studies two non-western societies, both countries have non-Christian roots, non-European languages and cultures, and their territory and population have a history of conquest and colonialism. Consequently, Mexico and India are proper objects of geographic comparison by studying them as non-Western and post-colonial societies. In temporal terms, this study proposes that attention should be directed to moments when schooling was made available to larger sections of the populations of these countries. Secondly, researchers can concentrate on times when hegemonic projects of education were possible. Finally, to analyze periods of time when education was part of larger projects that intended to modernize the Indian and Mexican populations. Therefore, post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India are comparable temporal formats because hegemonic and modernizing projects of education were imposed to their respective populations during those time-periods.

One more common concern about commensurability is related to the impact of globalization in current research. Comparativists debate whether or not the supranational level is the most important unit to study. This research follows Dale (2005) and agrees that while the nation-state should not be taken by default, the focus at the national level still makes sense because, even today, most decisions continue to be made by national governments. This argument is certainly true for the time-periods that this project is analyzing. A comparison between post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India is pertinent because it allows us to assemble the ways in which national governments translated and interpreted international educational trends into domestic policies.[9] States are further analyzed as socially constructed entities that are conceptualized and made effective through symbolic devices and practices of space. Metaphors and processes which are used by states to represent themselves as entities with particular spatial strategies, defined by Ferguson and Gupta (2002) as properties of "vertical encompassment." Moreover, this project gives us the opportunity to broaden the scope to elucidate international connections beyond time and space.

The interaction between the local and the global, and the focus of chapter 5 in oral histories, required to include recent considerations about the power of local research and case studies in history. In Limits of Localism, Peter Galison (2016) reacts to the increasing production of local histories in academia. The author opposes the idea that all phenomena are captured

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[9] When studying the influence of functionalism in Comparative Education, A. R. Welch (1985) argued that this paradigm dominated educational research in the postwar period. Analyzing the work of Nicholas Hans, Welch determined that while Hans' work was not rooted in the core features of functionalism, in his explanation of the study of national education systems, it was possible to discern elements of this paradigm. According to Welch, Hans' focus was placed "on the adaptation of institutions to the national needs of a country" (p. 11), looking at the functions that education served in various societies. Welch's analysis inspired me to study how Mexico and India translated and interpreted international trends into domestic policies.

locally. He further argues that looking exclusively to the local prevents researchers from seeing the effects of mass communication, transport, and societal mobilization. The author believes that a case study not only has to stand by itself, but it must represent something more than itself. In this source, Galison explains the three 19th Century bases that provide such a representation: stratigraphy, force fields, and thermodynamics. Stratigraphy assures that it is possible to dig anywhere within a region to find that representation. Force fields promises that one can capture the ubiquitousness of a social field by examining relevant spots and identifying the individuals and the governing surroundings that give rise to those individuals. Finally, thermodynamics' absolute principles affirm that a case can illustrate the universality that exists below the surface. This text has been important for this dissertation, and especially fundamental to approach Chapter Five, where I study oral histories and explore the local level. The national scale is in fact the main focus of this project. The interactions between the national and the global scopes are addressed in the first four chapters of this dissertation. For these reasons, Galison's preoccupations are less of concern for this study, but the author's arguments have not been neglected and were considered across the dissertation and to approach the oral histories and the local histories that enrich Chapter Five.

Galison and other authors' calls for a more observant analysis of the intersection between media of knowledge flows and the material-local, among them Ruben Gallo (2005), were relevant for this project. This perspective helped to better understand why post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India were more successful than previous regimes in their modernizing efforts. In chapter 2, this research discussed the importance of mass media communication technologies such as roads, books, radio, and films. In particular, Chapters Three

and Four concentrated on the role of textbooks as modern and modernizing technologies. Additionally, Galison conclusions guided my approach in Chapter Five.

Galison concludes that when studying a problem at the local level, researchers divide the world into small tractable parts, running the risk of choosing a scale that is not relevant to the issue we are considering. The author accepts that while there may be questions that are well answered at the local level, there are many others that are not solved there. Galison is concerned with the double risk of obscuring larger scale-phenomena of objectivity and of losing the scope of effective action. For Galison an exclusionist localism prevents us from accounting for the broader engagement with broader-scale changes.

Learning from Diversity: Multiple Modernities

This study compares post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India as two modernizing projects. This perspective allowed me to analyze how schooling systems developed by these countries are inextricably linked to political projects. This study advances that post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India can be analyzed as two examples of Shmuel N. Eisenstadt's multiple modernities. Eisenstadt (2000; 2002) argues against the common assumption that the cultural program of modernity, as it was developed in Europe, will eventually take over all societies. Following Eisenstadt, this study acknowledges a multiplicity of steadily evolving modernities, taking post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India as modernizing projects that share common elements and take European modernity as a reference. In fact, Eisenstadt's concept of multiple modernities goes well with the emergence of critical perspectives, amongst them subaltern historians, that question the role of the West as the center of history, modernity, and destiny (Chakrabarty, 2009; Dube, 2009; Mukherjee, 2011).

Eisenstadt (2000) talks about the emergence of three central aspects of the modern political process: (1) the restructuring of center-periphery relations; (2) the politicization of demands and conflicts; and (3) a struggle over the definition of the realm of the political. These three processes are illustrated by post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India. The political regimes that emerged after the Indian struggle for independence and the Mexican revolution reconfigured regional networks of power and further connected communities to national and global markets. In other words, economic and political relations were restructured, thus creating new center-periphery dynamics (Banerjee-Dube, 2015; Frankel, 2005; Gallo, 2005; Gauss, 2010; Kohli & Mullen 2003; Vaughan, 2006; Vaughan & Lewis, 2006).

In this context, old political arrangements would be substituted by government organized networks. Mexican and Indian modernizing projects incorporated men, women, and children into state-sanctioned ways of participation. However, against the assumption that subjects of the nation state were incorporated through political parties, trade unions, and civil society organizations, the politicization of demands and conflicts happened in less democratic ways. Men were incorporated to the hegemonic parties through their professions; this kind of political subordination has been studied in terms of corporatism and clientelism (Eisenstadt & Lemarchand, 1981; Kaufman-Purcell, 1981). Similarly, the role of women, perceived as guardians of the nation, has been analyzed in relation to female education, health campaigns, and moral crusades (Bliss, 2006; Vaughan, 1997; Pierce, 2011; Sharma, 2014; Srivastava, 1998). Children, seen as living metaphors of the nation, participated not only through schools but also in state-sanctioned activities, such as letter writing, art contests, and health campaigns (Jackson-Albarrán, 2011; 2015).

Consequently, Eisenstadt's argument about the definition of the political realm needs to be challenged in terms of modern agency. Agency is relevant because it is key for the nation-state since citizenship and political participation is tied to individual agency (Ferrarotti, 1985; Meyer, & Jepperson, 2000; Ramirez & Boli, 1982). Eisenstadt (2000) explains that modernity drastically changes the conception of human agency and its place in time. Eisenstadt poses that modernity characterizes the future as a number of possibilities that are feasible through autonomous human agency. Consequently, the bases of the political order and legitimation of authority changed, making autonomy a key feature of political participation and change in general. However, the incorporation of the Indian and Mexican population through corporativist and clientelar relations has a limiting effect on the autonomy that modern agency supposedly entails. Therefore, the realm of the political should be redefined with at least these asymmetric power relations in mind; the critical stream of this research addresses this point.

Agency is so important within modernity that Thomas S. Popkewitz (2005) argues that it became a key element in the pedagogical thought of the influential philosopher John Dewey. According to Popkewitz, there is a modern self-embodied in Dewey's pragmatism, which presupposes that the individual is "a purposeful agent of change in a world filled with contingency" (Popkewitz 2005: 4). Under this perspective, the world's order and stability are no longer a responsibility of the aristocracy, intellectuals or the ecclesiastical order. Modern change and stability are now spread, and consequently individual agency provides the world with balance and a consensus within constant change and uncertainty.

The Mexican and Indian nation-states actively promoted two out of the three characteristics of modern agency (Eisenstadt, 2000): the recognition of the possibility of

belonging to wider translocal and changing communities, and the awareness of a multiplicity of social roles beyond traditional ones. Post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India actively promoted peoples' belonging to the nation as a wider community and religious rituals were substituted by standardized secular ceremonies and symbols (Beezley, Martin, & French, 1994; Cohn, 1996). Feelings of belonging to the nation were further encouraged through nationalism and developmentalist promises; these elements helped to transcend local politics and traditional hierarchies. Likewise, the expansion of capitalism by incorporating communities to the national market-economy, contributed to spread awareness about social roles beyond traditional ones and to proletarianized the population. Similarly, the development of schooling, healthcare systems, national aesthetics, and the expansion of mass communication technologies helped to strengthen the first two attributes of modern agency.

Nonetheless, the third characteristic of modern agency, an emphasis on autonomy, prominently male autonomy, was not as well promoted as the other two characteristics. Roger Dale (2005) has observed that dominant classes in non-western contexts only took certain specific themes of the original Western modern civilization. This study suggests that elites have been less enthusiastic about the promotion of an autonomous human agency in order to secure and consolidate their hegemonies.

In studying the Indian and Mexican modernities, we can observe trends that significantly limit autonomy in non-western contexts. In post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India, agency is problematic in terms of the authoritarian nature of the Indian and Mexican political regimes. Both countries configured hegemonic party systems and co-opted labour relations. Consequently, the number of possibilities that are supposed to be feasible through the

exercise of autonomous human agency, and consequently modern political participation, change, and stability, are reduced and channeled through corporativist and clientelar relations. Additionally, modern agency is also limited by the high levels of inequality and poverty (Aboites & Loyo, 2010; Eisenstadt & Lemarchand, 1981; Incisa, 1981; Kaufman-Purcell, 1981; Mastropaolo, 1981). Attention was also be placed on the clashes between secularism and religion in both countries (Benei, 2008; Srivastava, 1998; Bantjes, 1994; Loyo, 1994), and the role of caste and jati in India cannot be overlooked (Banerjee-Dube, 2015; Dirks, 2001; Dube, 1999; Rao, 2011).

A key feature that authors should turn attention to is the lack of the "class compromise" between capital and labor (Harvey, 2005) that characterized Western Europe during the 20th Century. While capitalism has been installed in most countries, modern states managed to control worker organizations and kept low wages as part of the political consensus with the elite. Through corporatist and clientelar relations (Incisa 1981; Kaufman-Purcell 1981; Mastropaolo 1981), the checks-and-balances function of organized labour versus capital was restricted, thus limiting the autonomy of workers in other parts of the world.

This research proposes to follow Sanjay Seth (2007) in order to approach agency in post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India. Seth suggests that new knowledges do not merely "stuff" people's heads with new ideas, they transform people by positioning them in different ways, thus constructing them as new knowers. I therefore propose to take central aspects of the modern political process described by Eisenstadt (2000; 2002), as new knowledges that repositioned the Indian and Mexican populations, and consequently transformed them into modern knowers. But I believe that we need to expand and include the less democratic forms of

relating to the nation-state, those relations of subordination that limited modern autonomy, as new knowledges that repositioned the population; particularly clientelism and corporatism.

The ways in which post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India allowed and encouraged less democratic forms to engage members of society is an issue of modern bureaucracy and rationality. Modern political thought is marked by the tendency to consider the person as a rational being, and by a conception of the state as a product of reason (Bobbio, 1979). In the 20th Century, the relationship between power and modernity can be traced back to Max Weber (Weber & Knight, 1927; Weber, 1968). Weber established that rationalization is a key concept of western society and that it spread through law, economy, accounting, technology, and the "spirit" of functional efficiency and measurement (Bell, 1973:67). It is possible to add colonialism as a prominent way in which rationalization was spread beyond the West. Weber (1968:212-215) further explains that there is a belief in the legality of enacted rules and in the authority of those who issue legal commands, based on rational grounds. Especially if we consider that modernity challenges tradition as the only source of truth and rational enquiry makes it verifiable (Ferrarotti, 1985).

Consequently, how schooling and other important projects worked as modernizing plans received considerable attention and were understood as multiple modernities. Weber's and Seth's perceptions allowed this research to analyze the centrality of the Indian and Mexican state, to understand the role of rationality, and to study how traditional authority is replaced by state authority.

Learning from Change: Transitologies

Robert Cowen (2000) argues that useful comparative education reads the global, understands transitologies, comprehends 'the other,' and analyses pedagogies. For post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India "reading the global" not only means understanding economic globalization. Cowen (2000) claims that reading the global "leaves room for a range of categories of analysis which also stress the political, the social and the cultural" (p. 337). This set of categories is precisely what this comparison looked at, in other words, the globalization of modernity and its institutions.

This essay followed Cowen's (2000) suggestion that instead of assuming equilibrium conditions and linearities, educational comparativists should pay attention and analyze moments of educational metamorphosis. Post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India deserve that much attention because these are moments of educational transformation in history. Moreover, these projects represent modernizing metamorphosis in non-Western contexts through nation-building processes.

Cowen advances the concept of transitology and the idea that this approach is part of reading the global. Transitologies are important because they reveal educational patterns that are hard to see and allow us to reflect on key concepts that have been taken for granted. According to Cowen (2000) transitologies can be seen as simultaneous collapses and reconstructions of state apparatuses, economic stratification systems, and political visions of the future. Post-revolutionary Mexico involved the collapse of the neocolonialist dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz (Mabry, 1985) and the establishment of a populist, nationalist, and economically dependent state (Benjamin, 1985; Gauss, 2010; Vaughan, 1982). Similarly, Post-independence India can be

analyzed as a transitology because it entailed the downfall of the colonial state apparatus and economic system of British India, as well as its reconstruction in the form of the Indian nation-state (Allender, 2009; Banerjee-Dube, 2015; Kumar, 2005). In both cases, this dissertation heeded educational trends that transcended the Porfirian regime and the colonial state.

Hegemony and Governmentality

The concept of hegemony constantly appears in academic research that focuses on education.[10] Scholars discuss the role of education in supporting political hegemony. Nevertheless, more recent studies concentrate on Foucault's notion of governmentality to better understand the relationship between power and education. Asli Daldal (2014) argues that both Gramsci and Foucault were influenced by Machiavelli's notion of "relations of force". In my perspective, hegemony and governmentality are important and complementary concepts because both help to explain why the majority of the population, without being evidently coerced, agrees to follow a dominant group and their educational projects. This research benefited from both notions to approach post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India.[11]

The concept of hegemony was first defined by Antonio Gramsci (2007; Gramsci, Hoare, & Nowell-Smith, 1971) as a social function of power in which a ""spontaneous" consent [is] given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the

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[10] In an influential study, Chantal Mouffe (1979) explains that Gramsci's influence grew considerably after the events of 1968, due to a renewed interest in the transformation of advanced capitalist societies. Mouffe's interpretation of hegemony has become very popular in academia in the United States, and it is often quoted. The concept of hegemony, according to Mouffe (1979), is Gramsci's contribution to the realization that the development of capitalism would not result in the disappearance of the bourgeoisie.

[11] While this dissertation finds connections between Gramsci's and Foucault's work, such as the influence of Machiavellian thought, I am aware of the incommensurability of the concepts of hegemony and governmentality. These notions cannot be reduced to one and in the following chapters I will distinguish between either concept when appropriate.

dominant fundamental group" (p. 12). According to the author, this impromptu consensus has three characteristics: it is historical, it is based on the prestige, and it is determined by the dominant group's position in the process of production.[12] Gramsci grants education a significant role in generating that spontaneous consensus that the majority gives to the dominant group. In order to be functional, education should contribute to spreading knowledge about the dominant group's role in history, to increase their prestige, and to solidify their position in the economy.

More recent authors concentrate on how the concept of hegemony helps to understand the importance of civil society (Mouffe, 1979), and how Gramsci's social thought provides important insights on the question of dominance and subordination in modern capitalist societies (Lears, 1985). This project is influenced by Gramsci's arguments and ideas that involve education. First, the understanding that hegemony includes a moment of cultural leadership that seeks to form a collective will and disseminate new conceptions of the world (Bobbio 1979). Second, the role of organic intellectuals as thinking and organizing elements that have a role in spreading ideas and aspirations (Gramsci, 2007; Gramsci, Hoare, & Nowell-Smith, 1971). Additionally, the idea that modern societies follow a "fundamental division" within education, schooling intended for the dominant group and the intellectuals, and vocational schools created for the subaltern classes (Gramsci, 1979).

More recently, education scholars have turned their attention to Michel Foucault's concept of governmentality. In a series of lectures, Foucault (et al, 1991: 89) explains that governmentality is "a kind of rationality" that is intrinsic to the modern "art of government." For

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[12] It is important to clarify that Gramsci perceives hegemony as one of two social functions of power. Domination is the second action for which power manifests itself, and it is defined as the legal exercise of discipline. For Gramsci, hegemony works alongside domination.

Foucault, governmentality means essentially the following three things. First, an ensemble of institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics that allow the exercise of a specific form of power. This concrete form of power has the population as its fundamental target, the political economy as its main mode of knowledge, and the state's apparatuses of security as its essential technical means. Second, a tendency that was historically developed in the West and has steadily become preeminent over all other forms of power (particularly sovereignty and discipline), which has resulted in the formation of specific governmental apparatuses and the development of a whole complex of *savoirs*. Finally, the process of transforming justice into a modern administrative state.

Contemporary scholars use the concept of governmentality to analyze "shifting modes of regulation and governing," a perspective which requires a particular genealogical orientation to history and politics (Ailwood, 2004:21). Instead of searching for the foundations or the truths, *genealogies of governmentalities* look for contingencies, overlapping discourses, threads of power, and the conditions that allow the production of commonsense: the "taken-for-granted truths." This emphasis allows education and childhood historians to understand government as directed behaviour, not only the state's regulatory practices, but also to study the conditions in which individuals govern themselves and govern others. Additionally, Jo Ailwood (2004) directs attention to the fact that governmentality operates on multiple levels and in various complex, contingent, and changeable ways.

For educational comparativists, such as Iveta Silova (Mead & Silova, 2013), the concept of governmentality allows researchers to investigate how educational narratives were constructed and disseminated through school policies, classroom practices, and textbooks. This study

followed Silova's interpretation of governmentality in terms of how educational narratives enable and constrain people's conceptions, especially children, of the realm of possible actions for themselves and others.

This dissertation studied post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India in terms of a dialogue between Gramsci's notion of hegemony and Foucault's concept of governmentality. suggest using this dialogue as a theoretical instrument to study how political power was exercised by the Mexican and Indian nation-states, how political consensus was created, and how modernizing projects were advanced in both time-spaces. This approach considers both, understanding hegemony as a social function of power and governmentality as a rationality for the exercise of power. As a function, hegemony allows us to think about intentions and interests, and thus elucidate practical objectives. As a rationality, the concept of governmentality allows to reflect about knowledge and its links to colonialism and the European enlightenment. As an ensemble of practices, institutions, and persons, using both the notions of hegemony and governmentality has the additional advantage of connecting well with an assemblage historical approach (Sobe, 2013; 2018; Sobe & Kowalczyk, 2012). By talking about hegemonic governmentalities, populations are both targets of the exercise of power but also participate in consenting to it. Furthermore, the taken for granted truths become more understandable when we look at the history, prestige, and economic position of those who benefit from them.

The cultural leadership that the notion of hegemony involves, connects well with recent historical scholarship in both Mexico and India that concentrate on culture. Consequently, this project studied educational institutions, people, and practices as sets of intentional ensembles

directed by the Indian and Mexican states respectively. From an educational perspective, the notion of governmentality involves directed behavior and regulatory practices by the state, individuals themselves, and others. This project is concerned with educational narratives constructed and disseminated through school policies, classroom practices, and textbooks by post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India. In the following chapters, attention is given to new conceptions of the world, the role of intellectuals in spreading ideas and aspirations, and to the existence of Gramsci's "fundamental division" within education, namely elitist schooling for the dominant group and the intellectuals, and vocational schools for the subaltern classes (Gramsci, 1979).

Althusser's Ideological State Apparatus

The relationship between education and power is a topic analyzed by Marxist theorist Louis Althusser (1971), who conceived the state as a repressive entity and followed a distinction between state power and state apparatus. The author posed that the state apparatus has two bodies: one which is constituted by repressive institutions, called state repressive apparatus and included among others the army, the police, the courts, prisons; and the other body integrated by ideological institutions, known as the ideological apparatus of the state, including religions, the legal framework, the political system, unions, communications, and cultural institutions. There are major differences between these apparatuses. While the repressive apparatus is a unit, belongs to the public domain, and works through violence; the ideological apparatus is a plurality, belongs to the private domain, and it is based on ideology.

For Althusser (1971:143), the ideological apparatuses of the State were institutions guided by a certain ideology, usually the ideology of the ruling elite, that seeks to determine the

conduct of the subjects of the State. Althusser further explained that individuals behave in such a way that they adopt attitudes and participate in certain practices that are those in which the ideological apparatus depends. This perspective is useful to better understand the role of education in post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India because the ruling elites that emerged from the transformational processes that occurred in each country, managed to determine the conduct of the people through educational projects.

Althusser (1971) considered education as one of the institutions that form the *ideological apparatus of the state*. As an ideological apparatus, the state uses educational institutions to train its citizens, disseminate moral and philosophical principles, and educate the people based on calculations of economic planning (Althusser, 1971:137-177). In both in post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India these regimes used schools to train their subjects into modernity, disseminate a national ideology, and educate them into capitalism.

Critical Stream

Phillips and Schweisfurth (2014) argue that "learning from the experience of others" (p. 15) may be the single most important purpose of comparative education. This argument connotes hope and denotes improvement. Recently, this objective has acquired new meanings; there is an academic enthusiasm for "South-South Cooperation" (Jules & De-sá-e-Silva, 2008) and for new efforts to decolonize the comparative education field and other social sciences (Mignolo, 2000; Takayama, Sriprakash, & Connell, 2017).

Studying post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India offers the possibility to compare units that are less likely to be contrasted, thus making this project a unique study. Analyzing non-Western modernities is important to address political questions and to

provincialize Europe (Chakrabarty, 2009; Mignolo, 2000). As a consequence, this study involved

a basic level of South-South cooperation and follows recent efforts to decolonize comparative

education.

Considering that this project is concerned with two non-western contexts with a history

of colonialism, it is important to braid into this project a critical approach. This critical stream is

composed of elements of the subaltern school of history, critical theory, and critical peace

education. The objective of interweaving these fields is to promote South-South cooperation,

decenter the West, and reflect on subordination, power asymmetries, and violence.

Subaltern Perspectives

This project was inspired by post-colonial and decolonial arguments that challenge the

historical narratives and historiographical traditions that emerged from Europe. Post-colonial

history considers the parochial character of historical arguments that understand modernity and

its origins as endogenously European, thus suggesting the necessity of moving away from

Europe and acknowledging the emergence of the modern world in broader terms and from

narratives of colonialism, imperialism, and enslavement (Bhambra, 2014).

Among those post-colonial efforts, the Subaltern Studies project is relevant for this

research because it allows scholars to analyze subordination in non-western contexts with a

history of colonialism. Similarly, authors study everyday forms of resistance of groups and

communities, allowing us to understand power in a broader sense and beyond the state; also

connecting these relations to Foucault's perception of power as dispersed. Additionally, the term

"subaltern" comes from Gramsci's political writings and is influenced by the concept of

hegemony, thus establishing a theoretical link between the subaltern school and research on education.

The subaltern studies project originated in a series of meetings held around Marxist scholar Ranajit Guha. This was a group of radical and young historians, originally from South Asia and based in England, who shared a political sensibility produced by the events of 1968, the Naxalbari movement in India, and the authoritarianism of the state of emergency declared by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1975-77. The subaltern historical program sought to recognize the centrality of subordinated groups and conceived them as legitimate protagonists of history but disinherited by previous historians in the making of the past. Furthermore, this new agenda wanted to correct the "elitist imbalance" of written history (Allender, 2010; Dube, 1999; Mukherjee, 2011; Prakash, 2011).

Defying the typical Marxist class-division analysis as simplistic and naive, the project undertook the elaboration of a new category: the subaltern. Derived from the writings of Gramsci, the subaltern became a metaphor for the general attributes of subordination in South Asian societies, whether it expressed class, caste, age, gender or public office (Dube, 1999; Mukherjee, 2011; Prakash, 2011). The subaltern category also contains the potential of being the basis for an analysis to deepen the articulation of different and intertwined dividing principles of social and cultural domination, including community and class, caste, race, gender, and nation. This potential is instrumental for understanding political relations in non-westerns contexts and connects well with both the triveni approach and crisscrossing comparisons.

While western researchers such as Eisenstadt (2000; 2002) argue against the assumption that the European program of modernity will eventually take over all societies, subaltern authors

deeply analyze the epistemological bases of western power. Saurabh Dube (2009) argues that academia has witnessed the emergence of critical perspectives that question the role of the West as the center of history, modernity, and destiny. Dube (2009, Dube & Banerjee-Dube, 2006) explains that more recent subaltern scholarly critique underlines three key issues: understanding human history as universal, conceiving of modernity as singular and monolithic, and thinking about antiquated antinomies. All these issues work together in constructing the West, including the United States, as the center of history, the yardstick of modernity, and the future destination for all cultures.

Univocal conceptions of a universal history have been questioned in the last 50 years (Dube, 2009; Dube & Banerjee-Dube, 2006). For this project, understanding human history as having multiple meanings is very important, it allows the existence of multiple pasts, multiple futures, and thus multiple modernities. Moreover, it allows us to critically question the idea of a universal backward past and a linear path towards a common future. Western perceptions of backwardness not only informed and justified colonial rule in India, but these ideas were also prominent amongst the Porfirian elite in Mexico. Most importantly these perceptions transitioned to post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India, shaping notions of the past, particularly official histories of the revolutionary movement and the struggle for independence respectively. Furthermore, the idea of a single linear path towards a common future also shaped notions about progress and development, a conception that is more evident in moral, health, and educational campaigns. Therefore, the subaltern particular emphasis on questioning the idea of a historical progress, which is intertwined with representations that reify Europe as superior, is key

for the decolonization of social sciences and for the study of a multiplicity of modernities, and consequently it informs different stages of this research.

Along with Eisenstadt's multiple modernities (2000; 2002), subaltern researchers also question predominant designs of a single modernity. This means that there is a multiplicity of paths towards modernity implemented by nation-states. Nevertheless, a third important argument for this dissertation is the subaltern challenge of old antinomies, prominently: tradition and modernity, ritual and rationality, myth and history, East and West, community and state, magic and the modern, emotion and reason. These dichotomies, argues Dube (2009), have modeled the most common ways of understanding the past and shape key notions of other cultures. Therefore, if learning from the experience of others is truly an important purpose of comparative education (Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2014), efforts to decolonize the comparative education field must be aware of these antinomies in order to identify and question them.

Scholars have also analyzed how the belief in science has replaced tradition, thus installing scientific knowledge as a new faith and as the motor of progress (Cohn, 1996; Popkewitz, 2005: 29).[13] This modern emphasis on science generates a perception of a world that is disenchanted that has important effects on academia. Dube and Banerjee-Dube (2006) asserts that the formative agendas of humanities and social sciences have been predicated upon the authoritative antinomies previously mentioned. Nowadays these antinomies continue to occupy an influential place in the elaborations of tradition and the making of modernity in both western and non-western spaces. Under these perspectives, cultural differences are still presented as

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[13] The interactions between Western knowledge, reason and science, and how these relate to British colonialism and the emergence of modern India have been widely and eloquently discussed by well known authors such as David Arnold (2004), Deepak Kumar (1997), Nicholas Dirks (2001), and Gyan Prakash (1999).

"principles of order" and "stages of succession" that are transformed into "hierarchies of otherness," labeling people as exotic, erotic, and dangerous (Asad, 1993: 269, in Dube & Banerjee-Dube, 2006; Sobe & Kowalczyk, 2012: 59).

Decolonial Theory Perspectives

This dissertation is inspired by the work of decolonial theory approaches. These perspectives have allowed researchers and activists to hold the official narratives of the state accountable. Decoloniality emerged as an intellectual movement strongly linked to world-systems theory, underdevelopment approaches, and the critical theory tradition. Decolonial studies are associated with the work of scholars from Latin America, who address issues of colonialism from the early European incursions in the fifteenth century to the present. Decolonial arguments are relevant for this research because they challenge the insularity of European historical narratives and the parochial character of studies that consider modernity as an endogenously European project. In contrast, Latin American decolonial authors suggest that modernity emerged from broader histories of colonialism, empire, and enslavement (Bhambra 2014). This research considered the work of three relevant decolonial authors: Boaventura de Sousa Santos, Gustavo Esteva, and Walter Mignolo.

In *Epistemologies of the South*, Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2014) establishes that social justice requires the inclusion of non-western understandings of the world, in his own words, "there is no global social justice without global cognitive justice." This argument suggests that there is a multiplicity of ways to comprehend the world, thus connecting Santos with Eisenstadt's concept of multiple modernities. The different arguments provided by Santos are useful to question the role of education as an instrument of socialization of western thought,

knowledge, epistemologies, and myths in non-western contexts such as post-independence India and post-revolutionary Mexico. Santos challenges global-north theory, especially left-wing and progressive approaches, arguing that it has not been useful to understand oppression in the global-south. The author suggests that instead of favoring scientific knowledge, we should talk about an "ecologies of knowledges." This idea not only accepts the existence of different knowledge systems, but it sees reality as a set of relations which are subsequently interrelated in complex ways. The ecology of knowledges that Santos promotes does not refuse to recognize the value of scientific western knowledge. It rather uses it in a dialogue with non-western and less accepted alternatives. Santos' ecology of knowledges is relevant for the Indian and Mexican contexts because of their non-western traditions.

Gustavo Esteva is a Mexican scholar, as well as a Latin American political thinker, whose work deserves attention as a critique of development and a political evaluation of the Mexican nation-state. Esteva is based in Oaxaca (Southern Mexico) as an academic of the *Universidad de la Tierra*. This institution was conceived as an alternative to formal education and was created by communities and social movements. It focuses on revealing the oppressive effects that public education instills on indigenous people. In *The Future of Global Development* (Esteva, Babones, & Babcicky, 2013) and in *Dialogue Under the Storm* (2018, March), Esteva discussed how development is now used as a political discourse that divides and oppresses people in dichotomic terms. The author argues that "developed" and "underdeveloped" are categories used as new colonizing weapons. Esteva further explains that "natives" were transformed into the "underdeveloped," and that belonging to this category implies an inferior position. Moreover, these subordinating effects require people to compare themselves to an

established standard, a "yardstick" which is prominently western; thus leaving the majority of the people in a subordinated position. Additionally, in *Constructing a Historical Knowledge of Struggle* (2018, March), Esteva builds up on Santos' ecology of knowledges and cognitive justice, using this framework to question the role of universities and the dominance of science epistemology. The author thus proposes to go beyond the classic Greek concept of *episteme* and adding *techne* as complementary philosophical device with more potential to include indigenous ways to understand the world.

Finally, Walter Mignolo's work on transculturation is useful to analyze transitologies and nation building processes. Mignolo (2012) draws from the work of Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz and suggests using the concept of transculturation to talk about the different stages of a transitional process from one culture to another. According to Mignolo, transculturation does not imply neither the acquisition of another culture, nor the loss of the previous one, the result of this process is the creation of a new culture. There are two important features of transculturation discussed by Mignolo that are relevant for this project. First, that transculturation stresses the complex and multidimensional nature of cultural change. Second, the fact that talking about transculturation instead of "mestizaje" has the advantage of moving the discussion away from racial considerations.

Peace Education Perspectives

One key component of peace education is the analysis of how structural violence generates unequal relations. This perspective contributes to understanding how some members of society receive benefits, privileges, and the ability to be in command, while others are deprived of their rights, subjected to oppression, and bound to obey (Galtung, 1969). It is of particular

importance for this project to reflect on how schooling contributed to the creation of authoritarian and intransigent regimes (Cremin, 2016). Attention is placed on how schooling contributed to the reproduction of power relations and the reduction of opportunities. The peace education approach is also key to decolonizing knowledge, and it connects well with the subaltern and critical perspectives that inform this research. Following Mahatma Gandhi's thought, this approach helps to challenge certain aspects of western modernity, particularly the role of science and technology in allowing domination (Allen 2007).

Pioneer peace education scholar, Johan Galtung advanced a valuable distinction for this dissertation, the difference between direct and indirect violence (Bajaj & Hantzopoulos, 2016; Cremin, 2016; Galtung, 1969). Direct violence refers to physical aggression; it can lead to physical harm and go as far as causing death. Indirect violence refers to structural and cultural factors. Structural violence is relevant for this research because it is part of socially unjust societies and uses cultural violence to validate itself (Cremin, 2016). Furthermore, the symbolic nature of cultural violence is important for studying post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India, not only because both countries were experiencing the trauma of violent processes such as the Mexican Revolution and the Partition of British India, but also because of the religious based violence that these societies continued to endure after those processes (Galtung, 1996, in Salomon & Cairns, 2010: 5).

Contemporary peace education scholars analyze structural and cultural forms of violence, especially racism, sexism, colonialism, and other forms of culturally condoned exclusion that privilege some and denigrate others (Bajaj, 2008; Bajaj & Hantzopoulos, 2016). Current issues of peace education and the founding dichotomy of the field, direct versus indirect violence,

drives the field to pay attention to power relations. Structural violence generates power asymmetries, in other words, unequal relations in which some members receive benefits, privileges, and the ability to be in command, while others are deprived of their rights, subjected to oppression, and bound to obey. The political side of peace education arose when Galtung (1964; 1969) called researchers to pay attention to the context, and when scholars explore how unjust societies use cultural violence to validate themselves (Cremin, 2016). This side of peace education is linked with more recent suggestions for Contextualizing comparative research as an interweaving process (Sobe & Kowalczyk, 2012; 2013).

One possible path for studying power asymmetries consists of looking at the role of schooling and its relationship with the nation-state. Hilary Cremin (2016) considers that education reproduces power relations and reduces opportunities by producing citizens who are conformist, passive, and politically docile. According to the author, this is the dominant model of schooling in the world; it could be labeled as authoritarian and highly reluctant to change. This path leads Cremin to question the impact of peace education and challenge the legitimacy of the field when it is embedded in culturally violent systems of schooling.

Another path to study power relations has been taken by scholars that apply critical theory to peace education. Monisha Bajaj is a salient supporter of what has been known as Critical Peace Education. The author (Bajaj, 2014) argues that all forms of violence limit human flourishing, and consequently, critical peace educators should highlight that asymmetrical power relationships create unequal forms of citizenship. Under this perspective, this dissertation studies how educators in post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India provided information and experiences that promote peace or violence.

Additionally, the contributions of Indian leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi and Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar are considered in this research, however these perspectives have not been adequately studied from a peace education perspective. Gandhi was in fact the first person to differentiate between physical and structural violence. Gandhi argued that economic violence is not a law of nature but mostly human-caused, and thus preventable. Moreover, Gandhi questioned certain aspects of modernity that western authors take for granted. Among others, the role of science and technology in allowing domination, the state of permanent war in the economy, and how universities are part of the military-industrial complex (Allen, 2007).

The study of the life and work of Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, a prominent low caste leader and freedom fighter, is important for its educational impact in post-independence India. According to Anupama Rao (2011) Ambedkar pointed to the hostility of high castes towards the "untouchables" as an element deeply embedded in the structure of Hindu society. For Krishna Kumar (2005), the struggle for independence involved a fight for social justice led by Ambedkar, a quest that expressed itself in a demand for educational opportunities for the oppressed castes.

Methodological Flow

Crisscrossing Comparison

This dissertation followed Sobe and Kowalczyk's (2012; 2013) concern about the need to pay more attention to context. The authors explain that context should not be taken for granted, is not to be treated as uncontestable, and is heavily linked to power/knowledge.

For Sobe and Kowalczyk, context should not just be at the front-end of a research project, the authors argue in favor of thinking about it as an ever-changing process that should be practiced across the entire project. Consequently, context should be interwoven because the

confluence of practices and objects are constantly flowing and changing. Context, with a capital -C-, should therefore be treated as a matter of concern and not as a matter of fact. This involves identifying categories and analytic topics that intersect, overlap, and change overtime.

Sobe and Kowalczyk (2012; 2013) bring to the discussion key elements of Contextualizing to address issues of commensurability. The authors advise researchers to be aware of the tendency to assume the global as an external intruder and the local as a spatialized actuality (in other words as material and geographic) and also question the perception of the relationship between the global and the local as concentric circles in order to conceptualize scale. Sobe and Kowalczyk's work about the subdivision of context and how this implies the creation of knowledge that can be governed, is also very relevant to theorize the construction of domains of action and surfaces of intervention in post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India; and has the additional advantage to connect well with subaltern critiques of modernity and Western knowledge.

Following Aihwa Ong (2006), Sobe and Kowalczyk (2013) suggest that instead of spaces, we may study assemblages. An assemblage can be seen as a site where strategies play dynamically to solve challenges by constantly situating and resituating populations in particular scales of regulation. Post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India were thus treated as modern and no-Western assemblages that situate and resituate their populations. This approach is useful because it is less interested in the perception of the object of study as contained within a context but stresses the relationality between objects and contexts. The notion of interweaving, together with the triveni approach, allows me to concentrate on Contexts as assemblages of a

multiplicity of discourses, practices, techniques, objects, and propositions that come together in particular places at particular times, as defined by Sobe and Kowalczyk (2013: 11).

Considering that this research is concerned with the comparison of two "objects" that are geographically distant spaces and divergently separated times, the assemblage approach is appropriate because it allows us to understand "non-place/non-structured structure" and helps to give conceptual form to things that are always in flow. Furthermore, it allows to theorize contingent ensembles of practices and things that on the one hand can be differentiated, and on the other hand, can be aligned to territoriality and deterritorialization (Sobe & Kowalczyk, 2012). The assemblage approach is interested in how objects and Contexts become intelligible and conjoined: "In other words, the researcher is interested in the crisscrossing between objects and Contexts, and also in the epistemological structures that make it possible to see the objects as objects (and problems to be studied) and Contexts as an assemblage of multiple, at times paradoxical, things and practices that come together in particular places at particular times" (Sobe & Kowalczyk, 2012: 65).

The concept of criss-crossing comparison is further developed and complemented with the use of Context assemblages and entangled analysis. An entangled analysis comes from the histoire croisee tradition and pays attention to the effects of intercrossing. This means not only the crossing over of something from one site to another or from one temporal space to a different one, but it also means to see how things crisscross or interweave (Sobe & Kowalczyk, 2012). Crisscrossing and interweaving are essential for this project because these theoretical instruments allow me to transcend the barriers of time and space that are traditionally established in the comparative education field.

Context, assemblages, and entangled analysis are interested in transformation and production, which means that entities, persons, practices, and objects are intertwined with and/or affected by crossing process. As a consequence, these elements do not necessarily remain intact, but they are further transformed and possibly produced. An entangled analysis also gives especial attention to the tangling together of disparate actors, devices, discourses and practices, but this comes with the recognition that this tangling process is partly created by the involved parts, but also partly generated by the researcher (Sobe & Kowalczyk, 2012: 66-67; Sobe, 2013: 100). This research analyzes the tangling together of disparate elements in post-independent India and post-revolutionary Mexico, and furthermore, it looks for transnational connections and relationships (Sobe, 2013).

Critical Discourse Analysis

Since this research includes the analysis of textbooks and archive work, discourse analysis is used to approach primary sources. I am particularly interested in critical discourse analysis because these methodological orientations seek to broaden the scope of research and not just to explain what is happening but to critique social phenomena hoping to bring about a more just society (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016: 60). Critical research is concerned with social discrimination and inequality, and also argues that mainstream theory supports current power structures (Johnson & Christensen, 2014; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). These arguments link critical research to the previously discussed critical stream of this project and to social justice as one of its contextualizing factors. The critical component allows us to analyze data in terms of the theoretical framework and power relations of society that inform how people make meaning (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

The work of Norman L. Fairclough and Ruth Wodak (1997; Fairclough, 2013) on critical discourse analysis is inspirational and useful for this project. The authors understand discourse as a dialectical social practice that implies a dialectical relationship between a discursive event and situations, institutions, and social structures. In other words, the event and the other elements affect each other mutually. The work of Fairclough and Wodak (1997) can be linked to power asymmetries because they explore how discourse sustains and reproduces the status quo but also contributes to transform it.

Critical discourse analysis allows this research to elucidate discursive practices of the Indian and Mexican states that have major ideological effects. This dissertation looks at how textbooks published or sanctioned by Indian and Mexican authorities helped to produce and reproduce unequal power relations. Special attention is given to how relations between social classes and cultural majorities-minorities, represent things and position people (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

Textbook analysis conducted in Chapter Four follows Fairclough and Wodak (1997) with the aim of revealing how social problems are addressed in post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India. Through textbook analysis, this research looks at how discourse constitutes society and culture, and vice versa, through representations of the world, social relations, and people's social and personal identities. Secondly, how discourse does ideological work through representations and constructions of society that reproduce domination and exploitation. Third, that discourse is historical, not produced without context and cannot be understood without taking the context into consideration; a characteristic that connects critical discourse analysis

with Sobe and Kowalczyk's (2012; 2013) concern about the need to pay more attention to context.

Autoethnography

Data generation and the role of the researcher in that process is another preoccupation of Sobe and Kowalczyk's (2012). The authors establish that treating the Context as a matter of concern implies recognizing a major role of the researcher in accomplishing the entanglement. Sobe and Kowalczyk advance that "matters of concern" make conceivers and producers visible. Following Zimmerman and Werner (2006: 39), the authors (Sobe & Kowalczyk's, 2012: 67) identify a constant "to-and-fro movement between researcher and object" which they read as a need to recognize the inevitable involvement of the researcher and the necessity to introduce a degree of reflexivity, thus making that involvement an explicit part of the research.

Sobe and Kowalczyk's (2012) reject positionality, a common strategy for approaching the researcher-object relationship, because of its confessional nature and its introductory function. They argue that ideas about positionality take on a formulaic quality in which class, gender, and race are presented at the beginning of the study, in an almost "confessional" mode, and rarely engaging the researcher throughout the entire research process. For this reason, elements of autoethnography inform this research, especially it aims at keeping both the subject (knower or researcher) and object (that which is examined) in simultaneous views (Schwandt, 2015; Muncey, 2010; Wright, 2008).

As Sobe and Kowalczyk do in their work (2012; 2013), autoethnographers acknowledge the importance of contingency and their concerns and techniques are very useful for the archival work of this research. They recognize the possibility of multiple ways of experiencing the

"same" event and consequently question well established terms such as reliability, validity, and generalizability, when they are applied to autoethnography, the context, and meaning (Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011). In fact, autoethnographic research connects well with subaltern historian's approach to archives and the role of subaltern groups in history.

Additionally, critical autoethnography is a useful resource for approaching cultural identities in everyday life (Boylorn & Orbe, 2016). Relevant elements for this research include narratology and sense making. Narratology is important because it is a scholarly strategy to assist in a sensemaking process that counters a rational-scientific model, something that helps to approach how people and communities made sense of the governmentalities of post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India. Sensemaking is the process of converting, adapting or transforming circumstances into situations that can be comprehended in words and then serve as springboard into action.

Literature Review of Scholarship on Education in Post-Independence India and Post-Revolutionary Mexico

Attempting a review of scholarship of post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India is a challenging task and any periodization is contested. Mexican history is generally divided into three periods: Pre-Hispanic, Colonial, and National (Knight, 2006). India's history has also been divided into three periods: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern (Singh, 2012). This dissertation is concerned with the later periods, therefore there is convergence in national history and modernity.

Sources on Post-Revolutionary Mexico

According to Donald J. Mabry (1985), the central issue of 20th Century Mexican historiography is how scholars understand the effect of the Revolution on Mexican society. A widely accepted binary divides interpretations between traditional, also labeled as orthodox, and revisionist branches (Benjamin, 1985; Knight, 1994). Traditional interpretations posit that the revolutionary movement was a true "social revolution" because it ended a neocolonialist dictatorship and institutionalized social change (Mabry, 1985). The orthodox interpretation is directly related to official history, and it supports the narrative and promises of the revolutionary ideology. This interpretation is relevant because official history contributed to support the hegemonic governmentality of the post-revolutionary regime.

The revisionist interpretation came out after the 1968 student protests and the violent repression of the movement by the Mexican government. Revisionist historians see the post-revolutionary period as the institutionalization of a new political order, a single party state that appeared to be populist but was in fact dedicated to preserve the privileges of the postrevolutionary political elite, and thus used the past selectively to perpetuate their power (Benjamin, 1985; Wells, 1991). Revisionist authors would argue that the Revolution changed little except to bring a different elite into power (Mabry, 1985). Researchers have noted that the number of historians increased during this period, but they had little in common except for the rejection of the official mythology. Influenced by Marxism and empiricism, this second interpretation saw the Revolution as a modernizing project that consolidated capitalism in Mexico (Benjamin, 1985). Some of the Marxist historians would even deny that the movement

was a true revolution, and further argue that it operated in favor of the national and international bourgeoisie (Mabry, 1985).

Beyond the orthodox-revisionist dichotomy, other scholars have identified alternative interpretations such as political sociology and political history (Benjamin, 1985). In the political sociology trend, scholars turned their attention to socio economic structures and complex group-power relations. In the political history interpretation, historians analyze the state as the product of a struggle between individuals, political factions, interest groups, and political institutions (Benjamin, 1985).

More recent works of history, I would argue, can be considered postmodern because they follow the move towards the decentering of authority and thus concentrate on the mini narratives (Lyotard, 1984) of the Mexican Revolution, that is, as they were experienced in certain regions of the country. For British historian Allan Knight (2006), this is a cultural turn in historiography. Cultural historians focus on the regional impact of the Revolution and study both the armed phase (1910-1920) and the state-building period (1920-40). For this author, the cultural turn includes historians of education.

In *Historia de la Educación Pública en México*, Solana, Cardiel, and Bolaños (2014/1981) offer a comprehensive study of public education in Mexico from 1876 to 1976. The editors provide evidence about the importance of Mexican liberalism in advancing public education and concentrate on the achievements of the post-revolutionary state. Despite being published after 1968, this work is a good example of orthodox Mexican historiography. The chapters contained in this book analyze the history of Mexican education as a movement towards progress. Furthermore, this source goes well with official history, supports the narrative and

promises of the revolutionary ideology, and the authors perceive the institutionalization of education as part of a new political order, stressing the populist nature of the post-revolutionary state.

Relevant chapters in *Historia de la Educación Pública en México* include Leonardo Gómez Navas' study on popular education and the Mexican Revolution. This section narrates how article 3 of the 1917 Constitution was drafted and discussed. Moreover, the author explains the educational repercussions of the Constitution beyond Mexico City; thus, helping to identify modernizing agents in both the southern and northern states. José E. Iturriaga's chapter on the creation of the Secretariat of Education is useful to understand the objectives of the centralization process of public education in Mexico. Álvaro Matute's essay on José Vasconcelos' educative policy explains the logic behind the internal organization of the secretariat of education, the creation of a reading campaign, and the printing projects during Vasconcelos' term as secretariat. Finally, Raúl Mejía Zúñiga's chapter about the kind of school that emerges from the revolution, includes an orthodox perspective on rural schools, the cultural missions, and the *normales rurales* (community colleges specialized in educating teachers and located in rural areas of Mexico) that were created during the early years of post-revolutionary Mexico.

In *The state, education, and social class in Mexico,* Mary Kay Vaughan (1982) provides a Marxist analysis of the relationship between the growth of the Mexican State, the expansion of capitalism in its dependent form, and the development of an educational apparatus. This source is a clear example of the post 1968 scholarship. It is influenced by Marxism, rejects the official mythology, considers the Mexican Revolution a project to consolidate capitalism, and it turns attention to socio economic structures and complex group-power relations. Moreover, this source

focuses on the continuities and discontinuities between the Porfirio Diaz regime and the early post-revolutionary state, providing relevant trends that transcended the Mexican revolution. Vaughan questions two relevant assumptions about the Mexican Revolution. First, that the revolution was a colossal rupture with an oppressive and authoritarian dictatorship, and second that education has facilitated social mobility. As a consequence, this book argues that "historical data indicate profound continuities in educational policy, programmatic content, bureaucratic structure, and personnel" (p. 2) and that education has not offered a path out of poverty in the post-revolutionary period. Other relevant continuities include similar modernizing objectives as in India, authoritarianism, and the massification of education. Vaughan identified common goals such as the elimination of precapitalist structures and values, the strengthening of national unity, the preservation of social order, and the elevation of the "moral level" of the Mexican People. The author questions educators' commitment to democracy because of their perceived need to control the insurgent peasantry and the incipient working class, and their support of a strong state that could direct the masses and establish a social order.

In *Twentieth-Century Mexican Education*, Mabry (1985) provides a brief but substantial review of literature on the history of Mexican education. The author argues that the core of 20th Century educational historiography is related to the effect of the Revolution on Mexican society; especially answering whether or not it was a true social change. Mabry identifies the educational promises of the Mexican Revolution: free, universal, democratic, and secular education. Additionally, this source posits that the most important educational goal of post-revolutionary Mexico was to achieve basic education for the masses.

In *Rituals of rule, rituals of resistance* Beezley, Martin, and French (1994) provide a set of anthropological perspectives on the role of ritual in Mexican popular culture, from the colonial period to the first half of the 20th Century. Influenced by Gramscian and Foucauldian perspectives on power, and following Clifford Geertz concept of culture, the authors gather together chapters that analyze how dominion is not only exercised in force but also rests in public ritual. This book argues that ritual contributes to symbolizing power and to constantly recreate hierarchy. The source provides evidence suggesting the rejection of authoritarian messages by "popular classes" and how they have performed spontaneous and planned celebrations on their own to resist dominion. This source belongs to the cultural turn in History, not only because of its explicit focus on webs of meaning, but because the later chapters in this offer a set of regional studies about the state-building phase of post-revolutionary Mexico. Final chapters analyze how the post-revolutionary state adopted and implemented rituals through education (Chapter 11 by Vaughan), popular reactions towards socialist educational reforms (Chapter 12 by Loyo), and popular attitudes towards a shared secularist and developmentalist ideology shared by the revolutionary elite (Chapter 13 by Bantjes).

In *Cultural politics in revolution,* Vaughan (1997) turns her attention to rural schools and how they became a space for convergence for central state policy makers, provincial teachers, and men, women, and children living in the countryside. The author argues that in these schools a common political language of values, rights, identities, and expectations, was forged after the Mexican Revolution. This source can be considered a work of political history, because it approaches the state as the product of a struggle between individuals, political factions, interest groups, and institutions. Vaughan uses a Gramscian approach, based on the concept of

hegemony, to argue that a top-down analysis of modernization is limited. The author proposes the idea of negotiation as an organizing principle helping to better understand the dialogue between state and society that took place in Mexico.

In *Mexican Modernity,* Gallo (2005) argues that the cultural transformation in post-revolutionary Mexico was actually triggered by new media technologies after the armed conflict ended. The author explains the importance of the cultural revolution performed by artists, writers, and architects using cameras, typewriters, radios, other instruments, and buildings to modernize Mexican society. Through an aesthetic analysis, Gallo claims that the technological transformation of media had significant cultural and political repercussions. New media technologies shaped, defined, and determined representation and thus introduced a new perception of reality. This source connects well with perspectives that see the post-revolutionary regime as a modernizing project and it is important to extend the revolution beyond its leaders to include artists. Moreover, this work has a clear emphasis on the relationship between art and culture, which places this study in the cultural trend of historiography.

In T*he Eagle and the Virgin*, Vaughan and Lewis (2006) study how symbols and practices coexisted and intersected "to forge Mexico into one of the strongest cultural nations in the Western Hemisphere" (p. 2). The approach of this source is influenced by Foucauldian perceptions on governmentality and biopolitics. In the first part, the editors offer essays that deal with the aesthetics of nation building (popular arts, music, painting, and architecture). In the second section, chapters focus on projects of behavioral transformation in health, anticlericalism, and education. The third part concentrates on the role of communications for nation building, and a final part looks at social constructions and identities (religious beliefs, gender, and social

class). In the introduction, Vaughan and Lewis identify five dimensions of the nation building process: national identity and memory, contradictory state - society relations, the role of private market development through technologies of transport and communications, new transnational processes of international domination and global interdependence, and the gendered dimensions of nation formation. Relevant chapters for this publication include Bantjes' research about modernization in the state of Veracruz and local reactions towards anticlerical laws, which sheds light to how modernization efforts also came from the southern states and not only from the center of northern regions. Vaughan's chapter on schools in the countryside during the 1930's and the national government visions of modernity is also important. Finally, Lewis' work on the education secretariat as the central modernizing agent of Mexico's indigenous populations is very helpful. This source follows the cultural turn in terms of focusing on nation building in regions of the country and its focus on cultural aspects, in this case the construction of a national culture.

Although most of the scope of *Made in Mexico* by Gauss (2010) goes beyond this research, there are important arguments for this project. This source studies how industrialization changed Mexican society from a predominantly rural and agrarian country to a largely urban and industrial nation. The author explains how in the 1920s and 1930s the authority of rural *hacendados* and the postrevolutionary leaders gave way to a new generation of technocrats who promoted a paternalistic state with a key role in directing economic development. Gauss outlines transitional features of the previous regime, elements sustained in an alliance between the revolutionary victors and the surviving Porfirian business aristocracy. This alliance favored the

hegemonic party system, contributed to managing the diversity of economic interests through state intervention, and enforced a capitalist development ideology.

In *A Century of Childhood* (2011) and *Seen and Heard in Mexico* (2015), Elena Jackson Albarrán argues that after the Mexican Revolution, children became social actors, cultural critics, and subjects of reform in the agenda of the nationalist governments. The author contests the uniform idea of childhood envisioned by the Mexican post-revolutionary leaders. For them, children were a symbol of the strength of the nation, a unifying token for political peace, and the core of religious, moral, health, and educational debates. Jackson Albarrán discusses relevant processes of homogenization and counter narratives of childhood. Furthermore, this source uses the aesthetic realm to explore the relationship between rhetoric and policies which placed children at the center of efforts to create new citizens. According to Jackson Albarrán, one of the main contributions of schools was the construction of a national aesthetic through the implementation of an elaborate art education program. Through the art curriculum, government-funded magazines, and drawing competitions, Mexican children were educated into a uniform set of cultural references and post-revolutionary Mexico managed to leave a permanent imprint on artistic production. Despite their focus on childhood, these sources provide valuable insights on educational policy. This dissertation combines elements from different historiographic trends, it certainly questions the official narrative, sees the post-revolutionary state as a modernizing project, and incorporates elements of culture and citizenship.

The work of Elsie Rockwell deserves attention because it helps to understand the relationship of the state with the subaltern classes, as well as resistance towards state logics of schooling prescribed to the people. A relevant source for this project is Rockwell's *Hacer*

Escuela, Hacer Estado (2007), where the author decenters the state to understand the complex relationship between the Mexican Revolution and education. For Rockwell, there is a necessity to stop privileging the state as a single actor capable of transforming society. Instead, the author poses that educational transformations are the result of complex power games, appropriations, and negotiations that contribute to the creation of a new state. Consequently, Rockwell offers a perspective that privileges the local over the national, which allows her to observe the implementation of educational policy from a different angle.

In *Escuela y Clases Subalternas*, Ezpeleta and Rockwell (1983) offer a Gramscian analysis in which they recognize and theorize the educational interests of the subaltern classes. The authors explain how the school is a space where the interests of the state and the subaltern classes converge. For the subaltern classes education is an objective interest. The school is not just a place to acquire the necessary attributes required by the productive system, it is also an instrument for material survival, an opportunity to transcend exploitation, and a space for the reappropriation of educational contents. Accordingly, the relationship between the state and the subaltern classes is not fixed, on the contrary, it is a relationship that is constantly constructed and negotiated according to concrete circumstances. Rockwell's work includes popular education (2011), indigenous education (Rockwell & Gomes, 2009), and forms of resistance by students and communities (Rockwell, 1983; 2011; 2014).

In *La educación del Pueblo*, Engracia Loyo (2010) describes the process of centralization of education in post-revolutionary Mexico and how the federal government took over with little opposition and no discussion about the autonomy of the states. The author portrays the Mexican state as a "cultural enterprise" and describes the modernization of indigenous populations

through the spread of Spanish language education to indigenous language speakers. Loyo

provides valuable insights about the 1920s and 1930s, especially in terms of indigenous

education, the state-church relations, and the radicalization that led to the socialist turn in the

mid-1930s. In *Popular Reactions to the Educational Reforms of Cardenismo*, Loyo (1994)

further analyzes the circumstances that influenced the movement for socialist educational reform.

Nonetheless, the key part of this chapter is the analysis of the diversity of reactions that the

Mexican state faced during this period. Additionally, Loyo's article *Lectura para el Pueblo*

(1984), is a fundamental contribution for this project, in this source the author details the

editorial work of post-revolutionary Mexico between 1920 and 1940. The authors provide

valuable information about the books, magazines, and booklets published by the Mexican

government. Loyo explains the objectives, concerns and challenges of each administration in

promoting reading materials for different sectors of the Mexican population.

To conclude sources on post-revolutionary Mexico, the work of Aridana Acevedo

Rodrigo deserves attention for two reasons. First, it can help this research to identify important

transitional elements between the Pofirian educational regime and the post-revolutionary

educational policy, thus explaining how the experience of pre-revolutionary schooling was a

crucial factor in local responses to postrevolutionary education. Second, Acevedo has

documented early indigenous responses to postrevolutionaly schooling in Mexican states with a

majority of indigenous populations, mainly Oaxaca and Puebla, in the period that this project is

analyzing.

In *Happy Together?* (2018), Acevedo contends that Spanish-speaking schools of late 19th

Century liberalism are relevant because they were meaningful to speakers of indigenous

languages. Moreover, considerable local efforts (including communities, municipalities, and states) were made to improve these schools and keep them running. The author further argues that the role of these schools cannot be understood based on a "normative and anachronistic criteria," that measures literacy rates but does not consider qualitative changes that are more significant in the Mexican rural context.

Acevedo (2018) identifies a link between the municipalities that were strongholds of liberalism in Puebla and Oaxaca, and how these communities provided significant schooling for the 19th Century Mexican countryside. Contending post-revolutionary studies about national education, the author notes how patriotic festivals were very important for these schools and for their communities, whose members were heavily involved in these and other public events. Acevedo further documents the different uses of schools beyond government purposes. These uses include administration, litigation, and conflict management in defense of the community's interests. The author identifies important trends that transcended the revolution. In comparison to other villages and towns, having a school was considered a marker of status. Along similar lines, a school provided the community with a level of autonomy from upper governmental authorities. Finally, Acevedo documents how schools were opportunities for individual social mobility. Additional discussions that are relevant for this project include how the discourse of modernity, progress, and civilization was present in the countryside since the Porfiriato. In 19th Century Oaxaca and Puebla, patriotic celebrations and having a school demonstrated "a pueblo's capacity for civilization" and their endorsement of national educational policies.

In *Struggles for Citizenship?* (2004) Acevedo identifies four different responses to educational policy in post-revolutionary peasant villages: acceptance, appropriation, resistance,

and opposition. Acevedo's work concentrates on a region known as Sierra Norte de Puebla (Central Mexico). The author discusses peasant responses to schools not as mere reactions to federal policy but as a negotiation of its implementation. In this relevant article Acevedo describes two periods of educational history: Liberal-Patriotic Schooling (1867-1911) and Revolutionary Schooling (1911-1933). For the latter, the secretariat of education's farming and trade program is portrayed as a modernizing attempt to transform peasants who practiced subsistence agriculture into small-proprietary farmers dedicated to commercial production. Acevedo documents examples of defiance to the educational policy in Hueytlalpan, resistance in San Nicolas, appropriation in Capuluaque, and acceptance in La Canada. One contradiction and two trends are identified in the responses to educational policy. The author explains that most villages were used to schools based on a republican conception of citizenship. These institutions were expected to encourage patriotic virtue and promote constitutional rights. However, post-revolutionary schools attempted to educate children on the skills that were traditionally transmitted by their families. Moreover, hygiene and other moralizing campaigns were perceived as intrusions to domestic life. Acevedo rejects that the existence of an agrarian movement was an influential variable in the success of post-revolutionary schools. Instead, the author argues that the availability of land would allow the school to perform its activities and offer good products, thus persuading parents of the advantages of the new school. Similarly, the ethnic composition of the villages does not seem to be a significant factor. Acevedo claims that common aspects in successful post-revolutionary schools in the region include the availability of resources, support of local authorities, a lack of major rivalries and strong interests opposing the school, and the efficiency of teachers.

Sources on Post-Independence India

Modern historical, political, and sociological writing, about both Asia and Europe, was influenced by British imperialism. David Ludden (1993) has analyzed how orientalism, as a body of knowledge, became a component of European political discourse as disputes about colonial India in relation to Britain framed understandings of both Europe and South Asia. Relevant authors such as Hegel, Karl Marx and Max Weber built their work based on orientalist notions about the East. Orientalist ideas helped to legitimate European colonialism and contributed to locate European Liberalism as politically superior. Europe's centrality and superiority were also upheld by economic theory. Authors such as Marx and Weber thought that capitalism revealed India's "stagnant backwardness" and used orientalist notions such as the traditional village economy, eastern despotism, and religious-based social life to explain the lack of progress and the need for British intervention (Ludden, 1993: 263-268).

Indian post-independence historiography aimed to challenge colonialist views and history writing. Modern Indian historiography can be divided into three trajectories: secular nationalist, cultural nationalist, and Marxist. Shortly after Independence in 1947, secular nationalist historians started to work on local archives, producing state-sponsored histories that included regional studies of the freedom struggle. The national movement towards independence was seen as the inevitable result of an innate affection for freedom, contradictions in the movement were overlooked, and most works were directed towards biographies of the main leaders and their writings (Mukherjee, 2011).

Cultural nationalist history can be seen as a reaction towards secularism. Promoters opposed mainstream nationalism and were critical towards modern perceptions of India as a

diverse nation. Authors were dedicated to the promotion Hindu culture and values, revealing a communal bent and affirming that India was primarily a Hindu nation. Subscribers to this trajectory would see India as a victim of foreign invasions that managed to maintain a continuity of history and civilization. Cultural nationalist historians accepted the colonialist division of India's history as Hindu, Muslim, and British periods. This compliance, argues Mukherjee (2011), implies an acknowledgment of the Two-Nation Theory, which suggests the irreconcilable antagonism between the Hindu and Muslim communities. A theory that allowed the Partition of British India, the creation of Pakistan, and later Bangladesh; a religious division that continues to generate violence in South Asia.

Marxist influence became more important after independence and moved the attention towards issues of class conflict, socioeconomic structures, and material life. Indian historians followed Marx's anti-imperialism and anti-capitalism but questioned his Eurocentric presumptions about Asia. Indian Marxist authors studied economic and demographic change under British rule and contributed to refute perceptions of colonialism as beneficial (Mukherjee, 2011). The Subaltern school of history, previously discussed, builds up on the Marxist trajectory. Subaltern historians recognize the centrality of the subordinated groups and seek to correct the "elitist imbalance" of written history (Dube, 1999).

Finally, the Cambridge school of history should also be mentioned. Scholars under this influence changed the focus back to the colonial period and studied indigenous polities, localities, and local interests. Cambridge historians see the expansion of the British empire as a combination of economic interests of the East India Company, other private European enterprises, and also Indian merchants. Consequently, colonialism is a logical result of India's

development (Mukherjee, 2011).

The work of sociologist Krishna Kumar on education is vast and diverse, it includes the educational experience of subaltern groups such as scheduled castes and tribes (Kumar 1983), secularism and Hindu revivalism (Kumar, 1990; 2002a), education reforms (Kumar, 2002; 2003, 2007; 2008), and more recently the impact of neoliberalism on Indian education (Kumar, 2011a; 2011b). In *The Political Agenda of Education*, Krishna Kumar (2005) argues that education in India was shaped by pre-colonial, colonial, and the freedom struggle legacies. While the pre-colonial legacies of education are beyond the scope of this research, it is important to mention that Kumar talks about literacy, literary knowledge, and accounting procedures as necessary and predominant in South Asia's education before the arrival of colonialism. This dissertation understands these pre-colonial legacies not only as part of the history of education in the Subcontinent, but also as precedents of the textbook culture in colonial and post-independence India. The author clarifies that while there was a significant amount of geographical variation in the spread of literacy and schooling facilities, certain pre-colonial teaching practices can be identified. According to Kumar, in those areas with pre-colonial schooling, the village teacher had a substantial amount of autonomy. Teachers had the capacity to select knowledge, they could for example choose the texts they wanted to use, they were guided by the needs of the village, and taught small classes, between 20 and 30 students in average. Kumar shows how teachers became functionaries of the colonial government, a shift that started a process of estrangement between the school and the local community.

When explaining colonial education, Krishna Kumar (2005) distinguishes between the aims of empire and its practical needs. For the author, the education of subordinate officers and

clerks felt under the practical needs of the empire. Kumar argues that there is a widespread "confusion" between the aims and needs of the empire within the Indian educational discourse. According to the author, this confusion is at the base of the popular belief that colonial education aimed at producing office clerks, but Kumar directs our attention to understand that colonial education also produced political leaders, professionals, and intellectuals, not just bureaucrats.

Krishna Kumar's *Political Agenda of Education* (2005) is also a useful source to identify key continuities between colonial and post-independence education. The author tracks down the concept of citizenship concealed within the vision of the educated man during colonial times. Kumar contends common assumptions about the origins and purposes of colonial education. For example, the author questions that the main objective of educational policy was producing colonial bureaucrats. Kumar shifts the focus of educational research towards knowledge production. According to the author, knowledge was performed by the "enlightened outsider" and was picked up uncontended by the educated Indians. Kumar posits that there is a link between the school knowledge selected under colonial rule and present-day curricula and pedagogy. Additionally, Kumar explores the freedom struggle in terms of its educational ideals and how education was a core demand of the independence movement.

Kumar (2005) identified relevant continuities between colonial and post-independence India: a movement towards the emancipation of the masses through education, the perception of teachers as moral authorities, continuing an ancient political function as community gurus, and an elitist sub-system of education. Discontinuities include a high degree of centralization, the subordination of teachers to superior officers, and a textbook culture that allows the teacher to transfer "legitimate truths" to the students with little room for questioning authority.

Kumar's article on post-independence India (1998) is a relevant source for this research. It describes three important trends in Indian education: first, the drastic low number of children who proceed beyond the primary and secondary stages of formal education. Second, the preponderance of higher education in the Indian system, which includes an argument on how the culturally dominant and economically stronger sections of society continue to use public resources to consolidate their hold on the state apparatus. Finally, Kumar talks about an "inherent" divisiveness which protects class interests as the third trend. Furthermore, this source is helpful to identify key elements and priorities in the official discourse of post-independence India. The author refers to the "older terminology of government policy" developed in the 1950s during Jawaharlal Nehru's prime ministership, which used words and concepts such as planning, mixed economy, self-reliance, socialistic pattern, non-alignment, and also involved the belief that India's modernisation could take place without sacrificing "village self-reliance." Key arguments in this article include post-independence India's focus on a strategy to nurture long-term educational opportunities for owners of larger landholdings, at the expense of poor peasants and small landowners. Similarly, Kumar explains how the industrial priorities of the Nehru governments and the three wars fought during the 1960s, shaped development policies, led to the growth of a military-industrial complex, and consequently lowered the priority levels of literacy, rural education, and health. Referring to a class divisiveness, the third trend, the author talks about an Indian practice of private schooling, inspired by the British model, in which norms, rituals, and most importantly English language proficiency, are important elements of the agenda that these schools pursue and also contribute to the making and consolidation of an Indian bourgeois class.

Sanjay Seth is a good example of the new directions that authors have taken to apply more confidently Western theory to the colonial education experience of India (Allender, 2010: 283). In *Subject Lessons*, Seth offers a study of how Western knowledge was disseminated in colonial India. The author reflects on the role of Western education, and how it was received and consumed by the colonized population. Seth explains that this knowledge is modern and Western because it emerged recently and is culturally specific to Europe. The author further notes that once modern western knowledge traveled to the colonies, it was adopted and disseminated through colonial agencies such as armies, railroads, trade, and the colonial government's institutions and practices. Despite the fact that Seth concentrates in a period before the scope of this research, seeing 19th century colonialism as a "pedagogic enterprise," the source is important as fundamental work in the history of education in India and as a useful resource to understand issues of modernity and subjectivity.

Sanjay Seth (2007: 26-31) also questions the popular idea that colonial education only aimed at producing clerks for the British empire. The author explains that posing the question in terms of intentionality is fruitless given the exploitative and oppressive nature of colonialism. Instead, Seth frames the conversation in terms of subjectivity, which involves adjustments in how human subjects inhabit the world. Adapting an argument of Pierre Bourdieu to this discussion, Seth further explains that the "anxiety of cram" and the "instrumental use" that characterized colonial education, are both "failures of knowledge" that can be interpreted as part of subjectivity. Consequently, even if students demonstrated a mastery of skills through examinations, it was still a failure of education because this mastery had been achieved by means that bypassed the transformation of the subject and the relation between subject and knowledge.

Constructing Post-colonial India, by S. Srivastava (1998), is an ethnography of Indian modernity that takes the Doon School, located in the northern city of Dehradun, as a prototype and as a site for the construction of modern citizenship. The author argues that the "Indian public school," which is a model of private education, was one of the most important and comprehensively adapted colonial institutions of British India. Srivastava considers that this institution contributed intellectually and philosophically to the construction of the urban post-colonial Indian identity. Furthermore, Srivastava affirms that there are three major "qualifications" for cultural membership of modern citizenship: secularism, rationality, and metropolitanism.

Religious references and symbols came up in the course of this research. India's independent government adopted Buddhist symbols as emblems of the nation and promoted a secularism that embraced all religions, but at the same time recognized the cultural influence of Hinduism. David Lorenzen and Benjamin Preciado's *Atadura y Liberación* (2003) offers an excellent description of all important religions in India, including both the Vedic and non-Vedic faiths of the Subcontinent. For a comprehensive perspective of Hinduism, Wendy Doniger's *The Hindus* (2009) provides an interesting approach that incorporates the narratives of "alternative peoples," that is women, lower castes, and followers of other religions that have not been included in traditional approaches to the history of Hinduism. For a historical account about the Catholic Church in India and its connections with colonialism, Ambrose Pinto's article (2014) gives an analysis of these topics and about the Jesuit project of education in India. Likewise, a comprehensive overview of Jainism can be found in Emma Salter's *A Brief Introduction to Jainism and Sikhism* (2019), a source that was consulted in this project for better understanding

Jainism's influence on Mahatma Gandhi and for the importance of non-violence (ahimsa) in this faith.

In Indian politics, certain references to ancient times are very important, and the debates about the antiquity of the Indian nation and its historical continuity required this dissertation to include sources that study ancient civilizations and cultures in the Subcontinent. Upinder Singh's *A History of Ancient and Early Medieval India* (2009) is an essential book for anyone interested in the history of South Asia. In this text, Singh argues that while the idea of the Indian subcontinent forming a distinct geographic and cultural unit is a "very old one," the nation-states (India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka) that integrate the region only emerged in recent times. Nevertheless, the author follows this introduction with a political question: has the Subcontinent been a cultural unity? In the book Singh provides evidence to argue that the interactions between units account for the Subcontinent's historical continuity. For Singh, the different geographical zones in today's South Asia have never been isolated units and therefore one can talk about certain continuity. These texts were fundamental not only to contextualize this dissertation but to analyze the selected textbooks in Chapter Four.

For context on modern India, three main sources were key for this dissertation. Ishita Banerjee-Dube's *A History of Modern India* (2015), Barbara Metcalf and Thomas Metcalf's *A Concise History of Modern India* (2012), and Ramachandra Guha's *India after Gandhi* (2019) were the crucial history books that guided the contextualization of post-independence India. These sources eloquently discuss colonialism, the struggle for independence, the Partition of British India, and the history of India as an independent nation. These books include notes on violence, authoritarianism, and the rise of the Hindu right. Paul Brass,' *The Politics of India*

since Independence (1994), and Neil DeVotta and Sumit Ganguly's *Understanding Contemporary India* (2021), which are focused on Indian politics, wrap up this set of contextualizing materials. These sources include relevant topics such as the Indian political system, political parties, language politics, and politics in South India.

The book *Caste in History* (2010) edited by Ishita Banerjee-Dube provides an outstanding perspective on Caste and Politics in India. Relevant chapters that helped this research to better understand caste politics include E. Zelliot's "Gandhi and Ambedkar," R. Kothari's, "Rise of the Dalits and the renewed debate on caste," A. Varshney's, "Is India becoming more Democratic?," and K. Ilaiah's, "Childhood Formations." These sources are part of this dissertation's effort to contextualize comparative research and to decolonize the field.

As part of the contextualizing strategy of this research, attention was placed to the development of Hindu nationalism in India. The rise of the Hindu right is a topic that has been persuasively researched by Thomas Blom Hansen. His book *The Saffron Wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in Modern India* (1999) is fundamental to understanding the history and politics in India after Independence. Ramachandra Guha's chapter on the "The rise of the "BJP system" in *India after Gandhi* (2019), also complemented this research, and helped to solidify this project's understanding of politics in post-independence India.

Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi have rightfully received most of the scholarly attention when discussing Indian leaders of the 20th Century. However, this dissertation revealed that other independence leaders played an important role in the establishment of a national education system. This dissertation explored the influence of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958) and Humayun Kabir. Therefore, the biographic works of these leaders by Syeda Saiyidain

Hameed (1998), Irfan S. Habib (2015), Mahmud Shah Qureshi (2014), and Azad's own work *India wins Freedom* (2003) became important references for this project. These leaders fought for independence, were involved in politics through the Congress Party, and served as ministers of education. Azad's perception of literacy, linked to democracy, was truly relevant. Azad perceived education as essential for performing citizen duties and considered mass education as a core component of equity and the future of Indian democracy. Similarly, Kabir worked as an international agent of the Indian nation, he was one of the co-drafters of UNESCO's *The Race Question*, the first resolution on racism after WWII, and collaborated with this multilateral agency in other projects.

As this research advanced, the analysis of textbooks showed the importance of maps as logos of the nation. Consequently, this dissertation conducted a literature review on modern maps. The term "map" was used for the modern graphic representations of territory. For premodern representations, the concepts of "spatial understandings" and "spatial understandings of the human world" were used. This is a terminology was developed by Barbara E. Mundy (1996), who followed the work of Harley and Woodward, explaining that "Maps are graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the human world" (in Mundy, 1996: 235). Additionally, it is important to mention that Mundy (2010: 110) acknowledges that "maps" rely on technologies and visual conventions rooted in Western tradition and recognizes that the bringing of geography's concerns to non-Western contexts is problematic.

According to Benedict Anderson, the map is a colonial institution of power that became possible due to the advancement of capitalism and the development of print technologies. In

Imagined Communities (1991/2006), the author argues that maps are instruments that helped European powers to legitimize colonial rule and became the logotypes of the empire's territorial extension. The parallel development of modern maps and colonialism occurred at different points in Mexico and India but studying these two countries showed that the global history of modern maps started during the 16th Century in the Spanish Empire, continued through the explorations of other European powers, and was cemented by British colonizers in India.

While we can agree that modern cartography is a modern institution, it is important to acknowledge that in both Mexico and India we can find documents containing spatial understandings of the human world before the arrival of European colonialism. In Asia, indigenous understandings of space included a blend of religious and worldly notions, according to the fascinating work of Winichakul Thongchai, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (1994). More specifically, many religious texts written in Sanskrit contain pre-colonial conceptions of space in South Asia. See for example Christopher Minkowski's *Where the Black Antelope Roam: Dharma and Human Geography in India* (2010) and Kim Plofker's *Humans, Demons, Gods, and Their Worlds: The Sacred and Scientific Cosmologies of India* (2010).

The presence of maps in the expansion of European colonial power is undeniable. The cartographies commissioned by different empires are evidence of the European interest in colonizing Asia. Historians of India tend to focus on British maps from the 18th Century as the starting point of cartographic development in South Asia, see for example Banerjee-Dube (2015: 58 & 77), Ian J. Barrow's, *Making History, Drawing Territory: British Mapping in India* (2003), and David Ludden's, *Orientalist Empiricism: Transformations of Colonial Knowledge* (1993). British surveyor James Rennell, who is considered the pioneer cartographer of India, and his

work on South Asia has received the most attention (Withers, 2007). However, a closer look at other European sources conducted by this dissertation showed that maps were produced by other colonial powers before the British cartographies started. Relevant works include the 1733 map by Johann Baptist Homann, imperial geographer of Charles VI, Holy Roman Emperor, and the maps by Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville, secretary of the Duke of Orleans.

Map-making as a tool of conquest is not unique to the British Empire. Maps can be now studied as artifacts that became tools for the development of national power and a national ideology. As national institutions of power, maps helped to legitimize national rule by becoming logotypes of the nation and its territories, and by establishing a visual way of thinking about it (Anderson, 2006). Similarly, modern maps are seen as useful artifacts to establish boundaries with other nations, helping to make nation-states appear as objective realities, and to provide the nation's territory with an emotional value to the people that inhabit it (Said, 1979). The two conditions proposed by Anderson (2006) for the development of modern maps, the expansion of capitalism and the development of printing technologies, were identified in the political systems of both post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India.

A Theoretical Framework for an Atypical Comparison

After moments of social transformation, Mexico and India established modern nation-states with national systems of education. This happened at different times of the 20th Century and in two distant locations. The following chapters address how schooling fits into the larger political projects of post-revolutionary Mexico and post-Independence India. For Comparative and International education, this research provides a new approach to analyzing two seemingly disparate time-spaces and advances the decolonization of the field. For scholarly areas such as

the History of Education and Political Studies, this dissertation explores the political nature of education. The first step is to upset traditional understandings of time and space and disrupt the idea that post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India are time-spaces that cannot be compared because of their physical and chronological separations.

CHAPTER TWO

(UP) SETTING THE COMPARISON

This chapter interweaves history, educational law, and institutional structures as analytic

topics that intersect, overlap, and change over time, and thus bringing context to the front-end of

research. This entanglement of history, law, and institutions helps us to understand the role of

education in post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independent India. First, the chapter discusses

the theoretical framework that allows me to compare post-revolutionary Mexico and post-

independence India, and what this comparison means for this research. The second part of this

chapter, which is inspired by the concepts of hegemony and governmentality, analyzes modern

political authority, national ideology, and processes of modernization of the populations of post-

revolutionary Mexico and post-Independence India. The final section of this chapter brings back

context to the front-end of this dissertation by concentrating on educational law and institutions.

Mexico-India, Parallel Winds[1]

The Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) and the Indian Independence Movement (1905-

1947) are exceptional moments of social transformation in human history in terms of their

magnitude and political symbolism. This research focuses on these periods of nation building

and reconstruction. For Mexico, this project analyzes the early "revolutionary governments," a

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[1] The title for this section was inspired by the 2002 exhibition "India México: vientos paralelos" which displayed the works of photographers Graciela Iturbide (Mexico), Raghu Rai (India), and Sebastião Salgado (Brazil). A book about this exhibition can be found as Iturbide, G., Rao, R., & Salgado, S. (2002) India, México: vientos paralelos. Océano.

period that started with the administration of Álvaro Obregón on November 1, 1920 and ended

with the election of Lázaro Cárdenas on December 1, 1934. For India, the comparison involves a

period from the time of the Declaration of Independence (August 15, 1947), to the end of

Jawaharlal Nehru's administration; Nehru died in office on May 27, 1964.

Despite their geographical distance and the temporal dissociation, postrevolutionary

Mexico and post-independence India are suitable for comparison because they both involved the

reconfiguration of extensive territories and large societies. Eventually, Mexico would become

the most stable regime in Latin America, often labeled as the "perfect dictatorship," and later on

the fifth largest "imperfect democracy" (Hamilton, 2011). Similarly, India went from a British

colony to be the "largest democracy in the world". Nowadays, Mexico is the 13th largest country

by area and India occupies the 7th place. In terms of population, Mexico is the 10th largest

country in the world, while India has become the second most populated country on earth and is

projected to reach the first place. These countries' respective moments of social transformation

affected and continue to determine the lives of a significant part of the human population and

influenced other revolutionary processes in the world.

Assembling a comparison that brings these two time-spaces together is politically

meaningful because these movements fought against injustice and in the name of a more

equitable world. Post-revolutionary Mexico involved the end of the Porfirio Diaz dictatorship,

also known as the *Porfiriato*, a regime that is considered a neocolonialist oligarchy (Mabry,

1985). Post-independence India entailed the end of British colonialism in the Subcontinent.

Similarly, The Mexican Revolution was the first social revolutionary movement of the 20th

Century, and the Indian Independence struggle epitomizes the political decolonization of Asia

and Africa. These movements encompass ideals of autonomy, democracy, equality, and social justice. The Mexican Revolution demonstrated that modern nation-states cannot be constructed by excluding the popular masses and only benefiting a small minority. India's independence symbolizes the actual acceptance that the people of Asia and Africa have the right to sovereignty that European colonizers historically denied.

Mexico and India are relevant because of their magnitude, both in terms of population and territory. Moreover, the political implications of the Mexican Revolution and the Indian Independence Movement are important because they transformed political relations in two post-colonial societies, not only directly impacting a significant number of people, but inspiring other transformative movements. The parallel winds that flew through Mexico and India involved social justice and democratic values for a significant number of people. The regimes that emerged from these movements viewed education as a central component of nation building and state consolidation. A comparison of these countries is not only pertinent, but while challenging, it can help to expand our understanding of education in the world.

Contextualization as a Comparison Strategy

Rendering suitable units of comparison is a major concern for scholars from all comparative fields. Nowadays, comparable categories often refer to the use of quantitative data. Favored units include territory (area), population, age structure, poverty rates, unemployment rates, gross domestic products, inflation, and trade deficits. In education, the units we talk about are literacy, enrollment rates, completion rates, percentages of expenditure, test scores, and international ranks (World Bank, n.d.).

This project contends the prevalent assumption that these quantitative categories are enough to understand and address education. Can these units of comparison help us to better understand the role of education during moments of social transformation? Noah Sobe (2018) asserts that big data analysis has replaced reflexivity and critique. This research is based on the idea that rendering suitable units of comparison should not avoid reflexivity and critical analysis. Thoughtless and uncritical research fails to understand complex social phenomena, including educational phenomena.

In Comparative Education, the need to address a "comparable category" is a common and recurring concern among scholars. For example, Robert Dale (2005) has written extensively about the need to look for proper objects of comparison and to cast them in "comparable formats." In order to conduct an educational comparison of post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India, we need to find those comparable formats. However, this project does not follow traditional approaches to comparative education, instead we need to up-set orthodox comparable categories.

Up-setting the comparison implies daring to imagine research beyond quantitative data analysis. This research suggests setting aside traditional conceptions of space and time and bringing context to the front-end of research to better understand the political role of education. Following Sobe and Kowalczyk (2012; 2013), contextualizing entails paying more attention to the background of beliefs and practices in which educational phenomena occurs and treating this background as an ever-changing process. Consequently, contextualizing is to be practiced across the entire research project, not only at the beginning of the written text and contained within a single section (Sobe & Kowalczyk, 2012; 2013). I therefore propose using the contextualizing

approach developed by Sobe and Kowalczyk (2012; 2013), in this chapter interweaves history, law, and institutions, bringing context to the front-end of research.

Similarly, the work of Antonio Novoa and Tali Yariv-Mashal (2003) has inspired this research and helps to up-set the comparison. The authors favor the adoption of new conceptions of space and time, and space-time relationships in comparative education. Novoa and Yariv-Mashal start from the argument that a physical definition of space and a chronological definition of time are no longer sufficient. Consequently, they invite researchers to explore new understandings by multiplying space(s) and unfolding time(s).

This dissertation welcomed and undertook Novoa and Yariv-Mashal's invitation. The comparison of post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India upsets traditional understandings of time and space and disrupts the idea that these time-spaces cannot be compared because of their physical and chronological separations. Contrary to that orthodox approach to comparison, this research follows Novoa and Yariv-Mashal's suggestions to reconcile history and governance by historicising comparative approaches. In other words, contextualizing concepts and avoiding the circulation of ideas that lack social roots or structural locations are core components of this research.

My approach to a contextualizing comparison comes via Antonio Gramsci's notion of hegemony and Michel Foucault's concept of governmentality. The work of these authors has allowed me to identify comparable formats that help me to contextualize and compare post-revolutionary Mexico and post-Independence India. These concepts are modern political authority, national ideology, and processes of modernization.

Hegemony and Governmentality in Comparative Education Research

Demands for the expansion of schooling fueled both the Mexican Revolution (1910-20) and the Indian Independence Movement (1905-47). The national governments established after these revolutionary processes worked to reassert their political authority through education. The expansion of public schooling was both the fulfillment of a demand for equality and social justice, and also a way to consolidate the modern nation-state. This consolidation implied the acceptance, by both consent and discipline, of a secularized version of authority.

During these years of state-consolidation, educational power in both regimes was prominently national. As Robert Dale (2005) explains, at this point in time the power to make educational decisions, the ability to set the agenda and the capacity to establish "the rules of the game," were all domestic. Consequently, we can take Mexico and India as national units that are suitable for comparison, while we continue to pay close attention to how international trends were interpreted and executed as domestic policies.

This dissertation considers Antonio Gramsci's (1971; 2007) concept of hegemony as a useful device to understand how this educational power was achieved at the national level. For Gramsci (1971), hegemony is a social function of power that explains why the majority of the population gives its consent "to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group" (p. 12). Furthermore, this consensus has three characteristics: it is historical, it is based on the prestige of the dominant group, and it is determined by this group's position in the process of production (Gramsci, 1971; 2007). Applying the concept of hegemony to Mexico and India, I can argue that post-revolutionary and post-independence governments respectively

were successful at gaining the national consent to make decisions, set the agenda, and establish the rules of the educational "game."

Gramsci's concept of hegemony has allowed me to identify three objects that are appropriate for an entangled comparison and a contextualizing approach: modern political authority, national ideology, and processes of modernization of the population. These three elements are comparable formats because they transcend the differences of time and space between post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India. That is, hegemony as a concept makes possible a comparison project that examines how two distinct time-spaces worked towards the construction of a modern political authority, the diffusion of a national ideology, and the modernization of their populations.

Modern Political Authority

Political authority has been defined as the capacity to impose duties, as the legitimate right to rule, and as justified coercion (Christiano, 2020). Modern political authority opposes the religious and traditional legitimacy of power. It considers man as a rational being, emphasizes his individual agency, and regards the state as a product of reason (Bobbio, 1979; Weber & Knight, 1927; Weber, 1968; Ferrarotti, 1985; Meyer, & Jepperson, 2000; Ramirez & Boli, 1982; Eisenstadt, 2000). Post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India consolidated modern political authority in their respective territories by promoting the legal exercise of discipline (Gramsci, 1971; 2007), by substantiating their commands and rules on the prominence of a rational law, by developing expert officialdoms (Weber & Knight, 1927; Weber & Roth, 1968),

and by adhering to a perception of the population as a resource for state power and wealth[2] (Foucault, 1991; Gordon, 1991).

After the Mexican Revolution, a new group of middle class, northern revolutionaries, known as the Sonorenses, came to power and consolidated modern political authority in Mexico. The Sonorenses incorporated previously marginalized rebel forces and established an alliance with popular sectors of society. Later on, in 1929, this new elite organized all political groups into a hegemonic party regime (Beezley & MacLachlan, 2016: 27-35; Garciadiego & Kuntz, 2014; Garciadiego, 2019; Hamilton, 2011).

Similarly, the post-independence elite solidified modern political authority in India. Political interests converged around the Indian National Congress (INC), often known as the Congress Party. After the departure of British colonial authorities and the Partition of India, this organization presented itself as the party that brought independence to the country (Metcalf & Metcalf, 2012: 234). Since its colonial origins, the Congress was composed by an urban elite of professionals and landed gentry, most of them high caste Hindus (Banerjee-Dube, 2015; Metcalf & Metcalf, 2012). It was only after the 1920s that the Congress acquired a popular base thanks to the mass mobilization strategies of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (Brass, 1994). The Congress consciously worked towards establishing itself as a "national" organization, incorporating contending groups and ideologies, and seeking to shelter all political fractions aiming at being perceived as an "[...]all-encompassing consolidated identity representing Indian interests" (Banerjee-Dube, 2015: 347).

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[2] The main arguments proposed by these authors are further discussed in Chapter One of this comparison.

Following Gramsci, the hegemony of the Sonorense Revolutionaries and the Congress Party members was determined by their historical relevance and the prestige that the general opinion granted them. These were the political groups who emerged victorious from the transformational processes taking place in each country. Consequently, the Mexican and Indian leaders acquired the necessary power to become the dominant group and thus exercise political authority in the years following the Revolution and Independence, including educational practice, politics of education, and educational outcomes.

In fact, the elites that emerged after both movements fought to reassert themselves by creating political systems with a hegemonic party. In Mexico, post-revolutionary governments created the National Revolutionary Party (*Partido Nacional Revolucionario* - PNR in Spanish) in 1929. A political organization that was later renamed as the Party of the Institutional Revolution (*Partido Revolucionario Institucional*, PRI in Spanish). In India, post-independence governments continued to be organized around the Congress Party. Both organizations dominated politics during the 20th Century; the PRI continuously ruled Mexico between 1929 and 2000, while the Congress Party ruled India from its first general elections in 1952 until 1977, then in the 1980-89 period, and finally from 1991 to 1995.

The establishment of political parties in both countries confirms the adherence of the Mexican and Indian elites to modern authority. Such organizations can only be possible under a rational state that emphasizes individual agency, and within political systems that reject political violence, traditional authority, and communal agency. The establishment of political systems with a hegemonic party also implied that the power to make educational decisions was monopolized by the Mexican and Indian states, respectively. These political authorities

continued to reassert their power and reduce traditional forms of authority and legitimacy.

Consequently, post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India favored modern

principles such as the legality and rationality of acts (Weber & Knight, 1927; Weber & Roth,

1968).

National Ideology

The concept of ideology has been defined as a comprehensive and consistent set of ideas

that helps a social group to make sense of the world (Jones, 2018). While there are a variety of

definitions (Eagleton, 1994), the concept of *total ideology* provided by R. Geuss (1994), a

program of action aiming at transforming society, is especially relevant to contextualize post-

revolutionary Mexico and post-Independence India and the role of education in these time

spaces.

A program of action to transform society can only be possible once a country has

stabilized. According to Gramsci, after the moment of political leadership has passed, a moment

of cultural leadership can then happen.[3] The moments of political leadership for Mexico and

India correspond to the revolution and the struggle for independence, but once these movements

ended, the Mexican and Indian states transitioned to a moment of cultural leadership in which the

new elite enforced modern conceptions of the world based on nationalism. In other words, in

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[3] Scholars of the second half of the 20th Century have approached Gramsci's work under a new interpretation. In this perspective hegemony becomes a political, intellectual, and moral leadership, a formulation which operates mainly through civil society and through the articulation of class interests (Mouffe, 1979). Gramsci's concept of hegemony transcends political parties and elections by including all institutions of civil society and thus impacting the broader culture. Establishing a hegemony thus includes a moment of political leadership and a moment of cultural leadership. In the latter, there is an intention to form a collective will, and to create and disseminate a new conception of the world (Bobbio, 1979).

both Mexico and India, nationalism became the total ideology endorsed by the state to form a

collective will and disseminate a modern conception of the world.[4]

The new conception of the world advanced in both Mexico and India was composed by

the modern authority of the nation-state and a modernization project for the population. This new

conception of the world was configured in the constitution that each country promulgated and

was successfully advanced through formal education and healthcare. Post-revolutionary Mexico

and post-independence India used public schools to strengthen state power. In order to be

functional, national education systems contributed to solidifying nation-states by perpetuating

the hegemony of the dominant group and securing its domination. This research interprets

Gramsci's notions to mean that one of the main roles of schooling was to ensure the development

and dissemination of a national ideology. Following Gramsci, the dominant group uses the

national ideology to advance its historical significance, status, and economic prominence.

Additionally, education helps to discipline, rationalize, and educate the population in authorized

means of political action.

In the 20th Century, the Mexican and the Indian states developed and disseminated

national ideologies that concealed gender, class, religion, caste, and ethnic differences. These

ideologies were significantly nationalist and worked along similar lines to Europe's "civilizing

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[4] This dissertation finds the dialogue between Gramsci's and Foucault's work as valuable. However, the incommensurability of the concepts of hegemony and governmentality, the fact that these notions cannot be reduced to one, will be acknowledged and practiced in the following chapters. Attached to this discussion, the concept of ideology may be considered by some scholars as incompatible with the work of Foucault, who emphasizes the construction of the truth and the omnipresence of power. For the purposes of this dissertation, the concept of hegemony facilitates the discussion of national ideologies in Mexico and India. Gramsci established that the majority of the population accepts to follow the direction prescribed by the dominant group given its prestige, historical preeminence, and position in the economy. Attached to hegemony there is also the other function of power, dominance which the elite also uses to solidify its power.

mission," helping to legitimize the dominant groups over diverse populations. Furthermore, nation-states greatly benefited from communication technologies to advance their ideologies. The final objective of these policies was transforming traditional behavior into modern forms, especially modern political behavior.

From a subaltern perspective, Supdipta Kaviraj (2010) argues that nationalism is the ideology that explains why diverse groups and individuals considered themselves a single political identity. R. Geuss' (1994) perception of ideology as a program of action aiming at transforming society provided, is especially relevant for this dissertation. Kavraj's and Geuss' perceptions of ideology are important for analyzing post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India because of the diversity of their populations. According to Kaviraj (2010), national ideologies are intractably modern and closely related to narrative. As narratives, national ideologies perform the political function of producing and maintaining cohesion, mobilize the nation to act for itself, and arise out of an aspiration to control the forces of modernity (Kaviraj, 2010).

Post-revolutionary Mexican regimes and post-Independence Indian governments used national narratives as discourses (as discussed by Fairclough & Wodak, 1997) to maintain cohesion and mobilize the population. In post-revolutionary Mexico, the national ideology created by the revolutionaries was disseminated by funding national aesthetics and encouraging a cultural nationalism. Researchers have focused on the study of recognizable symbols, practices, memories, discourses, places, and "utopian projections" that have been created, disseminated, celebrated, and appropriated into the national identity. These elements coexisted and intersected during the years of state reconstruction "to forge one of the strongest cultural nations in the

Western Hemisphere" (Vaughan & Lewis, 2006: 2). Post-revolutionary Mexico used the Secretariat of Public Education (in Spanish Secretaría de Educación Pública, SEP) to slowly make the Federal Government the ruling entity of a cultural project; this was a total ideology which sought to secure the collective "improvement" of Mexicans in physical, emotional, and cognitive terms (Aboites & Loyo, 2010).

In India, researchers have focused and advanced Benedict Anderson's argument that nations are imagined into existence and shaped by institutions (Anderson, 2006). Indian national ideology was propelled by anti-colonialist movements and was finally strengthened by the radical nationalism of 20th century leaders (Kaviraj, 2010). Authors have reflected on two conflicting paradoxes, the objective modernity versus the subjective antiquity of a nation, and nationalism as a discourse versus nationalism as a reality (Anderson, 2006). First, the recent need to create a nation, what Anderson calls its objective modernity, competes with the need to present it as a long and unbroken reality, its subjective antiquity. Second, the tension of defining nationalism as a discourse, located at the level of ideas and consciousness, versus the need to make the nation a concrete reality and framing it within institutions and social practices (Banerjee-Dube, 2015: 179-180). Subaltern authors pose that nationalism is not a single and continuous narrative; they perceive it as a diversely articulated resistance to both colonialism and colonization. Subaltern scholars try to correct history's "elitist imbalance" and consequently center on the "worlds" of the peasants, tribals, and other members of rural society, as opposed to the ideology of the Indian elite; thus, arguing that it possible for history to explore subaltern nationalisms (Banerjee-Dube, 2015: 209-211; Dube, 1999).

Partha Chatterjee (2014) reminds us that the "Indian ideology" has been consistently criticized since its birth. The author agrees that there is an "official" Indian ideology that exhorts the virtues of the Indian nation, its leaders, and achievements. This national ideology has been effective in generating consent within a complexly structured country. However, it has been widely criticized by Indian intellectuals for its repressive nature, for its patriarchal foundations by the women's movements, and for its discriminatory character, expressed in religion-based personal laws. Furthermore, Chartterjee argues that we cannot restrict the study of the Indian national ideology to the world of English-language writings. The primary source of political information are the materials circulating in all of the languages spoken in India. Consequently, there is an ideology of the vernaculars, which may not be opposed to the dominant nationalist ideology, but it has been constituted differently in each language region, shaped by its own linguistic traditions and local politics (Chatterjee, 2014: 184).

In contrast with Mexico, education in post-independence India was decentralized and directly linked to economic planning. In fact, the Indian Constitution set both economic planning and higher education in the concurrent list of responsibilities between the states and the central government. Modern political authority was then shared between the central government and the planning agencies of the early years of the Indian nation-state. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958), former independence leader and an Islamic scholar, became the first minister of education, serving for more than a decade between 1947 and 1958 (Hameed, 1998; Habib, 2015). Additionally, as part of the central authority, we need to consider the influence of planning commissions in educational policy.

Colonial authorities kept the Indian economy in a precarious state, which included severe levels of poverty and the lack of governmental funds. After independence, the Indian economy was organized as an import-substitution model led by the state. Inspired by the Soviet Union and by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's socialist ideology, planning became the central instrument that the post-colonial elite used to achieve development. Expert officialdom and the legality of acts in education, which are markers of modern authority, can be found in the planning commissions that were created in the early years of the Indian state. Economic planning was seen as the only rational, scientific, and legitimate instrument to address the demands that arose during the struggle for independence. In this context, post-independence leaders, most prominently Nehru, fixed education as an element of development, and consequently education was attached to economic planning (Ayyar, 2017; Biwas & Agrawal 1986: 693; Chatterjee & Menon, 2010).

Through the establishment of national commissions, the central government exercised modern political authority. Following the Indian constitution's mandate which set elementary education as a state responsibility, a national commission for elementary education was not established. The University Education Commission headed by Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan was the first national commission of India, installed in 1949. The Secondary Education Commission headed by A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar in 1953 followed.

Other planning institutions and documents had some educational responsibilities. The first National Planning Commission (1951) included educational provisions in its budget projections. Similarly, Chapter XXXIII of the First Five-Year Plan (1951-56) was dedicated to education. In this document, the planning commission reinforced the Indian states' responsibility

for primary education. The plan recognized the urgency of improving schooling at all levels but justified the central government's attention to higher education on the lack of resources. Members of the Five-Year Plan Commission argued that to achieve better basic education, it was necessary to produce better teachers, and they required universities and training colleges (Ayyar 2017; Biwas & Agrawal 1986: 693; Government of India, 2015).

At different points of the 20th Century, the emergence of the modern nation-state came with the creation of a national ideology that could bring together divergent groups and individuals into a single political entity (Kaviraj, 2010). The national ideologies of post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India are discursive (Banerjee-Dube, 2015, pp. 179-180), narrative (Kaviraj, 2010), and totalizing (Geuss, 1994). In other words, a national ideology is abstract, presents a way to understand the nation as a continuous reality, and aims at transforming society. While the Mexican and the Indian nations were imagined into existence (Anderson, 2006), they continue to shape institutions, frame situations, and forge social structures (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

Education is consequently an ideal field for the spread of national ideologies because it contributes to both their subjective antiquity and objective modernity of the nation (Anderson, 2006). That is, education affects people at both abstract and material levels. Schooling helps to disseminate national ideologies that work as discourses that influence the behavior of people and make use of the legal exercise of state discipline (Gramsci, 1971; 2007), reorienting behavior towards modernity. At the same time, schools are part of the concrete reality of the nation. They are physical spaces that allow the nation to act and mobilize for itself and to transform society (Geuss, 1994).

Aesthetics in Mexico

Post-revolutionary governments in Mexico managed to effectively mobilize an array of cultural talent, genres, and symbolism in the service of a national consciousness. This movement involved a political effort to mold a national "sentiment" that could unite a diverse and divided population, defined as a set of discourses that generated an "essential" Mexican identity, sometimes known as "Mexicanidad" (Hershfield, 2011; Gauss, 2010). Public and private efforts encouraged a Mexican identity that contributed to strengthening the national ideology of the post-revolutionary regime (Beezley, 2011; Vaughan & Lewis, 2006). The government's efforts included mural painting, architecture, monuments, and an art education curriculum. Similarly, calendar painting, beauty contests, and a film industry were salient private enterprises.

Mexican muralism is probably the best-known project of post-revolutionary aesthetics. Even today, the work of muralists illustrates the covers and pages of the free textbooks for primary education. This artistic renaissance started during the 1920s and was funded by the federal government, originally sponsored by Jose Vasconcelos through the Secretariat of Public Education. The three great muralists: Diego Rivera, Jose C. Orozco, and David A. Siqueiros, received governmental support and produced murals which deployed nationalist, socialist, and indigenist values (Raby & Donís 1989; Rochfort 2006; Aboites & Loyo 2010).

For some authors, the role of Vasconcelos and the muralists has been greatly overestimated, and attention should be placed on more accessible forms of art. For example, Ruben Gallo (2005) argues that after the Revolution, a cultural transformation was triggered not only by muralism, but by new media technologies. The author considers that most of the Mexican population had more frequent, or even daily, interactions with these technologies. Gallo

explores the importance of the cultural revolution performed by less known artists, writers, and architects using cameras, typewriters, radios, other instruments, and buildings to modernize Mexican society.

Architecture deserves scholarly attention as part of post-revolutionary aesthetics and as the materialization of Mexico's national ideology. The bureaucratic expansion of the state required the construction of buildings and monuments that expressed the aesthetic ideas of the dominant group, the revolutionary elite. Consequently, architectural innovations and monuments are important when discussing modern authority in Mexico, since buildings and memorials were more generally available to the view of the public (Beezley, 2011).

Similarly, postrevolutionary governments produced documentaries and films to promote themselves, encourage nationalism, and praise Mexico to foreign audiences (Aboites & Loyo, 2010). Those efforts go beyond public institutions and include the film industry, especially during the so-called "Golden Age" of Mexican cinema (1930-55). Along similar lines, during the 1930's printing companies undertook the production of calendars with nationalistic motifs. These calendars were widely distributed and even today can be purchased as souvenirs in downtown Mexico City. These companies hired painters to produce images of folkloric figures, especially indigenous women, charro horsemen, revolutionaries, and landscapes (Beezley, 2011).

In the middle of this post-revolutionary art, an art education program emerged in public schools. Jackson Albarrán (2015) argues that Mexican schools contributed to the construction of a national aesthetic and a national culture through an elaborated art education program. This program was led by painter, filmmaker, and civil servant Adolfo Best Maugard, chief of SEP's artistic education department between 1921 and 1924. Maugard implemented in public schools

an indigenous motif-based curriculum called *método de dibujo* (drawing method). A program that relied on popular tradition and rejected European styles for inspiration. The nationalist method for drawing was later promoted by the children's art magazine *Pulgarcito*, published between 1925 and 1932, and celebrated in national and international drawing competitions. Jackson Albarrán (2015) argues that Mexican children were educated into a uniform set of cultural references required by the nation-state to be Mexican. Maugard's drawing method, the government funded Pulgarcito magazine, and the drawing competitions, managed to leave a permanent imprint on artistic production.

Aesthetics in post-independence India were important as well. While this area of Indian national ideology requires further examination, architecture and cinema were prominent industries in the service of a national consciousness. As a result of Partition, independent India lost Lahore, the capital of the Punjab Province, to Pakistan. Consequently, a new capital was required, and Prime Minister Nehru took the opportunity to make the new city a symbol of the nation. According to Metcalf and Metcalf (2012), Nehru rejected colonial and traditional South Asian styles, and commissioned Swiss French architect LeCorbusier to design a modernist city, Chandigarh. Similarly, post-independence ideals were reflected by Indian cinema in the 1950s, an industry that included film music that was further disseminated by radio stations throughout the country.

Modernizing the Population

Following the modern bases of the state described by Gramsci (1971; 2007), Max Weber (& Knight, 1927; Weber & Roth, 1968), and Foucault (1991; Gordon, 1991), it could be argued that education plays a role in rationalizing the population, in other words, that schooling has the

responsibility of producing rational beings. Modernizing the population involved a complex braid of processes. The authors considered for this project helped me to contextualize post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India by bringing to the discussion aspects of law, institutions, and policy. Similarly, these authors are significant because they explain the nation-state in terms of modernity. For both post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India, relevant modernizing processes include the legal exercise of discipline by the state (Gramsci, 1971; 2007), the prominence of a rational law in order to issue commands and enact rules (Weber & Knight, 1927; Weber & Roth, 1968), and a modern governmentality that sees the population as a resource for state power and wealth (Foucault, 1991; Gordon, 1991).

Gramsci's perception of power is not limited to hegemony, it includes domination as a second action for which power manifests itself, and it is defined as the legal exercise of discipline (Gramsci, 1971; 2007). Gramsci's approach to power is distinctly modern because it is legitimized by legality rather than religion or tradition. In the 20th Century, the study of the relationship between power and modernity can be traced back to the work of Max Weber (Weber & Knight, 1927; Weber & Roth, 1968). Weber argued that the modern state has two bases, an expert officialdom and a rational law. Weber (& Roth, 1968) explains that rationality is based on the belief in the legality of the enacted rules and the right of those with authority to issue commands. Both Gramsci and Weber agree that a modern state is legitimized by a rational legality. Therefore, a first step towards modernizing the population is to establish a political constitution. The Mexican Constitution of 1917 and the Indian Constitution of 1950 are rational laws that limit traditional authority, follow a secular power, give the state the authority to issue commands, and consequently the power to legally discipline the population.

This dissertation considers post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India as attempts to solidify the bases of modernity, understood not as a homogenizing unique program, but as a multiplicity of steadily evolving projects (as defined by Eisenstadt, 2000; 2002). Mexico and India took elements of European modernity as a reference and implemented them in their territories. While previous regimes in Mexico and India had exercised modern domination over their respective populations, the Porfirio Diaz dictatorship and the British colonial government had lost their legality, mostly because of the high levels of inequality in both societies. Furthermore, the revolutionaries in Mexico and the nationalists in India successfully questioned the legitimacy and rationality of these regimes. The authority to issue commands had been lost and was disputed by the revolutionary groups and the organizations seeking independence. As modern states, post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India focused their attention on their constitutions. Following Western modernity, the constitutions tried to establish the legality of the regimes and the right of the new elites to issue commands.

The study of a modern state would be incomplete without discussing the work of Michel Foucault. According to the author, the process of modernity is a refinement of the machinery of power. In economics, modernity implies a higher value of property relations and an increase of production. In politics, the refinement comes from stricter methods of surveillance and a tighter partitioning of the population. In terms of knowledge, the process of modernity brings more efficient techniques of locating and obtaining information (Foucault, 1995: 77).

Foucault's concept of governmentality, a system of thinking about the nature of the practice of government, is very useful for understanding modernity and it has clear theoretical links with Gramsci's concerns for discipline and hegemony as a form of consent, and with

Weber's rational law and expert officialdom. Foucault and Gramsci share an approach to the exercise of discipline of populations. Likewise, Foucault and Weber share a concern for distancing the state from its religious bases. Foucault understood government in a wide sense as "a form of activity aiming to shape, guide or affect the conduct of some person or persons," in other words "the conduct of conduct." In a narrow sense, the government is seen as a form of control over interpersonal relations, relations within social institutions and communities, and relations related to the exercise of political sovereignty (Gordon, 1991, p.2). Foucault's concept of governmentality is helpful for understanding the educational projects of post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India, especially the author's claim that modern states perceive their populations as a resource for state power and wealth (Foucault, 1991).

Modernizing the Mexican Population

In Mexico, before the Revolution, the Porfirian elite tried to influence the behavior of the population, but they were less successful than subsequent governments if we consider the expansion of public education in Mexico. The fact that post-revolutionary governments more forcefully perceived the Mexican population as a source of power may help to explain the difference in success. According to Vaughan and Lewis (2006), the dictatorship felt the need to "catch up" with modernity, but they had their faith set in foreign capital and technology. Additionally, their perception of modernity was inspired by evolutionary theories of racial superiority. According to Vaughan and Lewis (2006: 9), the Porfirian elite hoped to "whiten" the country by encouraging European migration. It is possible to say then that the slavish dependence and racism of the Porfirian elite restricted, or at least delayed, the state's influence on behavior.

A second reason that may help to explain the success of the post-revolutionary governments in influencing behavior was their access to modern technologies. Post-revolutionary governments in Mexico benefited from having more access to mass communications technologies. Amongst others, road building, the expansion of the radio industry, the development of filmmaking, and other forms of material culture contributed to the creation and dissemination of a national ideology that reshaped the conduct of Mexicans. Furthermore, following Ruben Gallo (2005), these technologies made the nation an objective political unit within the Mexican territory, making the nation a concrete reality in places and communities that were located far from the centers of power.[5]

We can understand the success of post-revolutionary governments in terms of modernity. After the Mexican Revolution, administrations exercised a governmentality that saw the Mexican population as a resource rather than a burden. Similarly, communications and other technologies of the 20th Century allowed stricter methods of surveillance. These two characteristics, the perception of the population as a source of state power and the stricter surveillance, have been discussed as a refinement of the machinery of power, which is typical of the process of Modernity according to Foucault (1991; 1995: 77).

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[5] Many scholars have written about the role of Mexican Muralism in the dissemination of a national ideology, but more recent scholarship has analyzed the contributions of forms of art and industries that were more accessible to the people. In *Mexican Modernity,* Gallo (2005) argues that after the armed conflict ended, the cultural transformation was triggered by new media technologies. Gallo explores the importance of the cultural revolution performed by artists, writers, and architects using cameras, typewriters, radios, other instruments, and buildings to modernize Mexican society. Other important fields and industries for the expansion of modernity include road construction (Waters, 2006); the development of public and private radio (Hayes, 2006); the film industry (Hershfield, 2006); consumption and material culture (Bunker & Macias-Gonzalez, 2011); calendar painting and beauty contests (Beezley, 2011).

The will to modernize the population transitioned to the post-revolutionary state and can be found in the appreciation that some revolutionaries had for pragmatic values in the United States. Historians such as Vaughan and Lewis (2006) discuss an admiration for the pragmatism of North American societies among prominent Sonorenses who later became presidents. Álvaro Obregón (1920-24) and Plutarco Elías Calles (1924-28), are considered "Anglophiles hoping to pragmatize Mexican culture along the lines of that of the United States" (Vaughan, 1987, p. 172). The hope to make Mexico more pragmatic is evidence of the elite's determination to modify the behavior of Mexicans.

The racism that characterized the Porfirian elite continued into post-revolutionary Mexico, but the new elite hoped to modernize the population rather than "whiten" it. The dominant group persisted in considering some sectors of the Mexican population as backward (Vaughan, 1987), and thus conducted projects to shape their conduct. In order to "improve" the nation, the post-revolutionary state decided to incorporate the people "into a unified, literate, Spanish-speaking nation, with a modern, secular, standardized education based on Western civilization at large, and Hispanic culture in particular" (Saavedra, 2009, in Beezley, 2011: 420), in other words, "improving" the nation meant to modernize it into a nationally ideology.

The efforts to modernize the Mexican population included projects that transformed the people through healthcare, secularized religious beliefs, and education. Two examples of modernization efforts are sanitation and religious reform. In post-revolutionary Mexico, sanitation became a marker of modernity and evidence of the Western influence on Mexican society. The dominant group not only sought inspiration but also legitimation in the United States. Sanitation projects were part of a larger goal of creating new men, women, and children.

Mexican reformers employed cultural and educational strategies to create physically sound worker-citizens in the formation of a revolutionary, but capitalist, society (Pierce, 2011).

Post-revolutionary governments encouraged "healthy behaviors" that included health awareness and disease prevention campaigns inspired by North American and European programs. Mexican physicians were sent to medical schools in North America to modernize their knowledge of public health administration (Soto Laveaga & Agostini, 2011: 568). The needs for inspiration and legitimation are evidence of how the Mexican elite took elements of European modernity as a reference and then translated them into domestic policies. "Reformers emphasized that improving popular health by inculcating the values of personal hygiene could equalize social status and thereby promote the economic development that Mexicans craved" (Bliss, 2006: 199). These efforts would not only prevent diseases but were also used to reshape the conduct of Mexicans.[6]

Reshaping conduct included efforts to distance the government from its religious justifications and theological foundations (Foucault, 1991; Gordon, 1991). Post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India followed this modernizing tendency by radicalizing previously initiated projects of laicism and secularism. The separation between the state and religion was not new to these countries, but the difference with previous regimes lies in the success that these governments achieved in setting a modern governmentality.

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[6] For more information about sanitation and healthcare in post-revolutionary Mexico see Bliss (2006) and Soto & Agostini (2011). According to these authors, post-revolutionary governments in Mexico aimed to protect the public's health based on the 1917 Constitution and through sanitation campaigns. Article 73 of the Constitution provided the necessary legality of healthcare acts. In this way, the Federal government managed to mobilize public and private actors, physicians, nurses, social workers, and educators joined legislators, activists, and politicians to find ways to improve the collective well-being. Three main maladies or "social diseases" were identified: tuberculosis, syphilis, and alcoholism.

Post-revolutionary governments in Mexico took the principle of laicism beyond any other previous regime, declaring Mexico a laic state. The political rights of the Mexican clergy were legally limited by the 1917 Constitution, and the intervention of the Catholic Church in public and private education was prohibited (Blancarte, 2019; Gómez Navas, 2011). Scholars even consider the post-revolutionary governments "anti-clerical" and "anti-religious" (Garciadiego & Kuntz, 2014: 585). This radical tendency against the Catholic Church continued until the end of the *Cristero Wars* of 1926-29 and 1932-38, a set of violent conflicts between the Federal government and Catholic groups in central Mexico.[7]

These two examples demonstrate Foucault's distinction between wide and narrow government. Sanitization projects in post-revolutionary Mexico are evidence of activities that aimed at shaping and guiding the hygienic conduct of Mexicans, which is part of Foucault's wide sense of government. Similarly, the rise of radical laicism proves how the post-revolutionary state took control over interpersonal relations of Mexicans, in this case limiting the relationship of individuals and communities with the Catholic church, Foucault's narrow sense of government. In other words, the sanitization campaigns and laicism that characterized post-revolutionary Mexico are evidence of the existence of both the narrow and the wide sense of modern government in Mexico. They prove the reality of a governmentality (Foucault, 1991) in Mexico and schooling was used to advance it.

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[7] The first part of the conflict took place between 1926 and 1929, and it is sometimes regarded as the *First Cristero War*. Consequently, the events that happened between 1932 and 1938 are known as the *Second Cristero War*. These were a set of violent conflicts between the Federal government and Catholic groups in central Mexico. For more information about the *Cristero Wars* see Beezley and MacLachlan (2016, pp. 43-63) and Jean Meyer (2006).

The separation of the state from religion, and the perception of the population as a resource for state power were actively promoted by post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India. Educational policies in both time-spaces are key for advancing these modernizing processes. Indeed, political authority, national ideology, and modernizing projects for the population converged in the educational field. The process of modernization in Mexico included the use of schools as a way to improve the health and character of the population (Vaughan, 1997: 11). In post-revolutionary Mexico, schools became an extension of the state, the institution that framed and shaped the behavior of Mexicans. As a consequence, children evolved into relevant subjects of the post-revolutionary state and further promoted the modernization of the rest of the population.

Elena Jackson Albarrán (2011; 2015) has demonstrated how children became social actors, cultural critics, and subjects of reform in the agenda of post-revolutionary Mexico. Leaders and reformers started to see children as a symbol of the strength of the nation, a unifying token for political peace, and the core of religious, moral, and health debates. As a consequence, Mexican children were placed at the center of efforts to create new citizens, modern subjects educated into a uniform set of cultural references required by the nation-state to be Mexican (Jackson Albarrán, 2015). Through schooling, Mexican children and their parents established modern relationships with the post-revolutionary state. The post-revolutionary dominant group used their political authority to advance a national ideology through public schools. Modern political behavior was expanded through disease prevention campaigns, educational magazines, and aesthetics contests.

While children were uniquely fit to create a new type of Mexican citizen, they were not the only group susceptible to be civilized. Through the Secretariat of Public Education, post-revolutionary regimes tried to "incorporate" the indigenous peoples in the country. This mission was assigned to the Department of Indigenous Culture. According to Moisés Sáenz (1982: 166), a high-level SEP-official during the 1920s who was a disciple of John Dewey and eventually became the secretary of education for a brief period in 1928 (August-November), the "civilizing" project involved opening schools in indigenous communities, teaching them Spanish, connecting them with the rest of the country, and improving their economic conditions. This ideology characterized the educational policy of the post-revolutionary state for the next two decades. The Secretariat of Education launched several projects aimed at "incorporating" indigenous peoples, such as the network of rural schools, the "Missionaries of Indigenous Culture and Public Education," and the "House of the Indigenous Student" (Lewis, 2006).[8]

A common element between post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India is that both had a westernized elite class, anglophile in fact, that sought inspiration and legitimacy from Western modernity, while considering sectors of their society as backward and susceptible to being "civilized" through education and development.

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[8] In 1922, the first secretary of education, José Vasconcelos started to build a network of rural schools. During Vasconcelos' administration, recently graduated teachers were sent to rural and indigenous areas to study the conditions of these communities and promote literacy campaigns. These educators were known as "Missionaries of Indigenous Culture and Public Education" and the literacy campaigns they conducted became known as "Cultural Missions". In 1926, the secretariat opened the Casa del Estudiante Indígena (the House of the Indigenous Student), a boarding school for indigenous boys that emulated schools in the United States and Canada. After completing the program, graduates were supposed to return to their communities in order to spread civilization and modernity (Lewis, 2006). For more information about these projects and educational initiatives that targeted indigenous peoples in Mexico see Ezpeleta & Rockwell (1983); Rockwell & Gomes (2009); and Loyo (1984; 2010).

Modernizing the Indian Population

In contrast with scholars who study Mexico, who see science and technology in terms of modernity and the nation-state, researchers working on India typically think about those fields in terms of modernity and colonialism (e.g., Arnold, 2004; Prakash, 1999; Nandy, 1987: 87). David Arnold (2004) argues that science goes hand in hand with technology and medicine, and that the histories of these fields are inseparable from South Asia's history of colonialism. Colonial education played a role in the diffusion of modern values and in the expansion of Western science as a criterion for progress. Despite the existence of pre-colonial scientific traditions in the subcontinent (Arnold, 2004), for the British and then for the Indian Anglophile elite, science became a sign of modernity and progress (Prakash, 1999).

In South Asia, Western education served as a tool to assert European superiority and to secure British colonial hegemony (Kumar, 1997: 113). In addition, colonial education contributed to the formation of an English-speaking educated elite, a sector that straddled between tradition and modernity (Prakash, 1999: 7). Before independence, the Indian elite assimilated to the authority of reason and the superiority of Western science through the expansion of colonial education. The internalized discourse of European superiority implied the acceptance of a "civilizational decline" of Indian society. As a response, the nationalist discourse marked the Indian private sphere as superior to the Western private domain, but the nationalists accepted that, in terms of the public sphere, India was in a situation of social decline (Chatterjee, 1993). Western knowledge, in the form of science and technology, was thus adopted as a means of correcting this impression. Consequently, Western science and technology continue to be considered tools for social improvement and progress.

The efforts to modernize the Indian population also included visionary national projects, similar to those in post-revolutionary Mexico. However, in India, the focus has largely been on secularization and economic development. While in Mexico the establishment of a laic state took the form of anti-clericalism, according to Metcalf and Metcalf (2012: 233), Indian secularism attempted to engage and sustain all of India's religions.

Secularism spread in South Asia through colonial educational institutions. It originated in the conception of India as a multiplicity of cultures, as well as in the social construction of conflicting communal identities, and in the policy of "religious neutrality" exercised by the colonial State, particularly after the Revolt of 1857 (Ghosh, 1991). It must be recognized, however, that not all educational projects of the Indian elite upheld the secularism that British institutions sought to implement in the colony. Indeed, Muslim and Hindu religious instruction was a central component of indigenous projects of education such as Aligarh College (1857) and Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College (1886), both established after the revolt and during the direct rule of the British crown (Lelyveld, 1978; Pandey, 1972). These educational institutions are evidence of the importance of faith for Indian society, of their lack of interest in a Christian-Protestant moral reform, and their opposition to a secular vision of education.

During the struggle for independence, the importance of faith played a major role in political identity. Despite their claims as a secular organization, the Congress was perceived as a Hindu organization by Indian Muslims. Religious communal identity slowly became a major political issue. The most important organization that fought for the recognition of the Muslim community was created in 1906 as the All India Muslim League. However, it is until the 1940's when the League's popularity massively increases and the demand for a Muslim home solidifies

(Banerjee-Dube, 2015; Metcalf & Metcalf, 2012). The underestimation of Congress' leaders of the League during the 1920s and 1930s, the political ambition of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the League's leading figure, and the British colonial policy to promote animosity between Hindus and Muslims, all led to the violent Partition of British India and the creation of Pakistan (Guha, 2019).

Post-independence Indian secularism is marked by the trauma of Partition and by the murder of Gandhi. Nehru's determination that India should be a secular state was strengthened during the 1940s and 1950s, but it was confirmed after Gandhi's assassination by a Hindu extremist. While scholars recognize the existence of a major political tradition that draws ideas and symbols from Hinduism, these organizations and their political agendas experienced a setback right after independence when a member of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS - the National Association of Volunteers), a Hindu-paramilitary organization founded in 1925, murdered Gandhi on January 30, 1948 (Brass, 1994; Hansen, 2001; Metcalf & Metcalf, 2012).

As Prime Minister, and dominant political figure, Nehru took symbolic measures to assert secularism in India. Instead of promoting a Hindu emblem, the adoption of the lion capital of Buddhist-converted emperor Ashoka as the central icon of India's government became one of the most prominent secular gestures of post-independence India.[9] Nehru's secular idealism can also be observed in the state's aesthetics. In terms of architecture, the construction of Chandigarh as the new modernist capital of post-partition Punjab, became a symbol of freedom and faith in the future. Similarly, Nehruvian idealism can be seen in the popular Indian films of the 1950s. In

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[9] An illustration of this icon is provided in Chapter Four. The depiction belongs to Romila Thapar's *Ancient India: A Textbook of History for Middle Schools* (1966), p. 77, and it refers to the four-lion capital from Ashoka's pillar at Sarnath, in today's Uttar Pradesh, India.

these well accepted movies, modern Indians are depicted in heroic terms when they place the nation before themselves (Metcalf & Metcalf, 2012).

In post-independence India, and after the trauma of the Partition, secularism was enforced in public institutions. Leaders of the Congress Party, particularly Nehru, were committed to a state policy of religious neutrality in education. The first institution created after independence to oversee education, the University Education Commission (1948-49) chaired by S. Radhakrishnan and also known as the Radhakrishnan Commission, dismissed the teaching of any religion in state-controlled institutions. Nevertheless, subsequent educational commissions and reports expressed the concerns of central authorities for the religious indoctrination of students in the decentralized basic education system. The reports do not provide details about the challenges of implementing religious neutrality, but most of the sources reviewed for this dissertation mentioned this preoccupation.[10]

The second trend that shaped the educational policy of post-independence India was a tendency to treat education as an instrument for economic growth (Tilak & Varghese, 1991). After 1947, the Congress Party determined that modern science, Western technology, and industrialization would be the foundations of a democratic, modern, and secular nation (González, 2008: 186). On the economic domain, Indian leaders were looking at the Soviet Union as a source of inspiration on how to industrialize a country that is primarily agrarian and

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[10] The rise of religious radicalism in India and its political development are topics that fall out of the scope of this dissertation, but these issues deserve attention from an educational lens. In this and the following chapters, the analysis of Indian secularism includes some remarks about how the Indian state not only used symbols with a religious origin but allowed and sometimes supported projects with a religious side. These projects can be seen as precedents of the rise of the Hindu right as most of them are related to Hindi, Sanskrit, and Hinduism. For more information on the Hindu right see The Saffron Wave.

with high levels of poverty.[11] As India's first Prime Minister, Nehru continued to be committed to science, secularism, socialism, and a vision of education as a tool for social transformation. As an instrument for both social change and economic growth, education entered the scope of national economic planning.

In this context, Indian higher education received more attention than basic education. The University Education Commission was designed to exclusively focus on those institutions because higher education was considered to be essential for meeting the demands of technical and scientific human resources for the socioeconomic development of the country (Kumar, 1998: 1393; Ghosh, 1991: 143; Ghosh, 2000: 178). According to Ayyar (2018: 17), apart from the imperative of producing manpower, the centralization of higher education in independent India can be explained by the combination of the influence of the Radhakrishnan Commission and the proximity of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to Nehru, whose ideology favored an inclusive educational system.[12] Basic education in India, on the other hand, was decentralized and the states were made responsible for providing it. A major difference between post-independence India and post-revolutionary Mexico is that in Mexico, it was basic education that was centralized but in India, it was reversed. In India, disciplining the population into having a single

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[11] There is more to say about how India's mixed economy was inspired by economic planning in the Soviet Union, but this topic falls out of the scope of this dissertation. For more information about the post-independence Indian economy see Frankel (2005).

[12] Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958) was a leader of the Independence Movement, an Islamic scholar, and the first minister for education, science and culture in post-independence India. Azad's work and influence has been eclipsed by Nehru's prominence, but he served for more than a decade, between 1947 and 1958, as education minister. The connection that he established between democracy and literacy is important. He saw basic education as essential for performing citizen duties. Mass education and adult literacy were core components of equity and the future of Indian democracy. Conscious about class and caste differences, Azad considered the need for an inclusive and just educational system (Hameed, 1998; Habib, 2015).

national identity through higher education was connected to economic growth and industrialization plans, which made it of more importance.

Additionally, the focus on higher education in post-independence India also follows a governmentality that perceived the population as a source of state power and wealth. Not only were higher education graduates essential for development; they were essential for carrying out the visionary national project of the Congress Party. This was a modern narrative of a democratic and secular nation sustained in modern science, Western technology, and industrialization (González, 2008: 186). In this modern narrative, secularism in education became a key element to maintaining cohesion and to mobilize the nation to act for itself (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Kaviraj, 2010).

Educational Laws and Political Influences

This final section analyzes the legal principles and institutions that shaped education in post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India. Following the modern perception of power described by Gramsci (1971; 2007) and Weber (& Knight, 1927; Weber & Roth, 1968), both regimes favored the legality and rationality of their official acts and the development of expert officialdom. Educational laws and institutions are here understood as important elements for the refinement of the machinery of power, as explained by Foucault (1995), that is as tools for the surveillance and regulation of the population.

Educational Law

The educational discourses of the Mexican and the Indian States are the result of the violent processes that these societies experienced, and these discourses can be observed in the legal instruments that were established to rule formal education in each country. The most

important legal document is each country's political constitution. Both societies created modern nation-states and their constitutions included guidelines for educational structures. The Constitutions of Mexico and India are comprehensive documents, but India's original version included 315 articles, while the Mexican constitution only has 136. Both documents established a set of principles and institutions that continue to rule these countries up to the present day.

Similarly, both constitutions grant individual and collective rights, although under very different circumstances (Banerjee-Dube, 2015). For example, while the Indian Constitution of 1950 provided true universal franchise by giving women political rights, which was a major break with European colonialism and a significant step for India and other processes of decolonization in Asia and Africa, the Mexican Constitution of 1917, by contrast, only provided franchise for men; Mexican women were not able to be elected until 1937, when a constitutional reform was implemented, and were only able to vote until 1953, three years after Indian women.

Mexico's Constitution was crafted by a Constituent Assembly composed of the victorious revolutionary groups after the defeat of Victoriano Huerta, a coup president, and in the middle of the violent conflict. The Mexican Constitution was promulgated on February 5th, 1917. In contrast, the Constitution of India was discussed by a Constituent Assembly after Independence and over a longer period of time, between 1947 and 1949. It only came into effect until January 26th, 1950. Articles 41 and 45 of the 1950 Constitution of India (*भारतीय संविधान*) and articles 3 and 31 of the Mexican Constitution of 1917 (*Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos*) established the right to education. However, an important difference is that the Indian state's responsibility to provide free, basic education was limited by its financial ability to guarantee this right. Article 41 of the Indian Constitution states that "The State shall, within the

limits of its economic capacity and development," make effective provisions for securing the right to education. Similarly, Article 45 gives the new state a grace period of 10 years to grant education for all children, and subtly sets the bar low by only compelling the Indian state to "endeavour to provide," instead of clearly setting a mandate (Matthey-Prakash, 2019: 67; Ayyar, 2018: 17-20). The Mexican constitution did not mandate the Mexican state to secure any kind of education; it does not provide any grace period or goals, and consequently, during the initial years of the post-revolutionary state, Mexico's governments were not held accountable by the constitution to provide education.

The position of articles about education within the constitutional framework is also revealing. Article 3 of the Mexican Constitution belongs to "Title One on Individual Guarantees" and article 31 was positioned right after the section on individual rights in "Title Two on Mexicans," which lays down the rights and responsibilities of Mexican nationals. Identifying education as a guarantee and as a responsibility not only sets it as an individual right but also reflects how much the constituent assembly prioritized education. In contrast, Articles 41 and 45 of the Indian Constitution were positioned later in the document in Part IV, making education part of the "Directive Principles of State Policy," in other words as a socio-economic right. This suggests that the Indian government prioritized education differently within its constitution, defining it as a directive principle and not necessarily a right (Matthey-Prakash, 2019: 68; Ayyar, 2018: 17-20).

The constitutions of post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India are the rational laws described by Gramsci, Weber, and Foucault. These documents legitimized power in these countries and produced new relationships between individuals, communities, and the state.

The constitutions are thus part of the process of establishing a political hegemony and a governmentality. These rational laws legalized the exercise of discipline over the Mexican and Indian populations and the right of the elites to regulate their conduct. The constitutional articles that regulate education are not only foundational for the educational systems of Mexico and India but grant the nation-state the right and power to make educational decisions.

Political Influences on Education

The transformational movements that experienced Mexico and India directly influenced educational law and policy. During the drafting of the Mexican Constitution, the principles of freedom of teaching, free-of-charge schooling, and the compulsory nature of public education were proposed and promoted by the revolutionary group led by Venustiano Carranza. However, it must be recognized that this political project followed the demands of different revolutionary groups and should be understood within a larger plan for land and labor reforms. Consequently, adhering to revolutionary demands, the carrancistas designed a draft constitution that sought to include as many demands as possible (Gómez Navas, 2011: 141).

The Mexican Constituent Assembly readily accepted all educational principles proposed by the carrancistas except for laicism, that is, the separation of the Mexican state and the Catholic Church. Mexican revolutionaries were the heirs to 19th Century liberalism and the Reform Laws (1855-63) that originally separated the state from the church (Blancarte, 2019: 83), but they took their modernizing commitment to reduce the religious bases of power farther than previous administrations. Laicism endured the Mexican Revolution and withstood the simultaneous collapse and reconstruction of the Mexican state apparatus. Laicism in Mexico can thus be seen as a transitional educational pattern.

Indeed, the only controversy during the discussions of the educational principles was the opposition of the more conservative revolutionary groups to laicism. These conservative groups questioned the draft, claiming that the freedoms to learn and to teach included religious education (Gómez Navas, 2011: 145-146). However, the laicism that characterized the revolutionary movement prevailed and turned into open anti-clerical positions and policies. This educational debate and other discussions show that different groups perceived the Catholic Church as an enemy of the Revolution, and they converged in marginalizing this institution and its members from politics (Blancarte, 2019: 83). José María Truchuelo Ruiz, secretary of the Mexican Constituent Assembly, reminded representatives that "the Revolution was made to bring down the three enemies of the people: praetorianism, the aristocracy and the clergy" (Gómez Navas, 2011: 146-147). Furthermore, the drafting commission claimed that "the Catholic Church is the most cruel and tenacious enemy of our liberties; its doctrine has been and is to defend the interests of the Church, before the interests of the fatherland" (Gómez Navas, 2011: 142). From this perspective we can see how laicism in Mexico was a question of power. The central educational issue discussed by the assembly was how to effectively assert the hegemony of the revolutionary elite and strengthen the state through laic education. Ultimately, Article 3 not only established the laical nature of public education in Mexico, but it prohibited religious corporations and ministers of any cult from establishing and directing primary schools. Moreover, it made private primary schools subject to official surveillance.

India's constitution was similarly subjected to the demands of independence leaders. India's educational law is the result of the political demands made during the long process of independence. The British justified their colonial rule by claiming that western education would

contribute to the improvement of India. However, by the latter 19th Century, there was an extended complaint that colonial authorities were not doing enough to promote education in the colony. Educational reforms made in 1904 under the Indian Universities Act, promoted by Viceroy George N. Curzon, were considered by nationalist leaders as part of the British efforts to restrict access to western education and to reaffirm colonial control over India.

In fact, Lord Curzon's unpopular decision to divide the Bengal province, an event known as the Partition of Bengal of 1905, further solidified the beliefs of Indian leaders, sparking the most impactful social movement in the colony of the time, the Swadeshi Movement. This movement introduced new forms of protests, most prominently the boycott of British goods and institutions, including educational institutions. The Swadeshi Movement gave way to the development of national education and the emergence of a set of alternative schools.

The transition from anti-colonialism to Nationalism was marked by the end of rational utilitarian justifications of British rule (Kaviraj, 2010). During the fight for independence, Indian nationalists addressed two broad categories: modernity and alienation. Nationalist leaders argued that western education failed to produce the modern subjects that India needed—young men who could think for themselves and were prepared for a variety of tasks. Consequently, education was not the "instrument for modernity" that the British promised; not only was colonial education insufficient, in that it did not reach large swaths of the population, but it also failed to perform its modernizing role in society. The second category of educational criticisms were related to the negative effect that western education had on the Indians' sense of their own culture. According to the nationalists, since education was rooted in a foreign culture, controlled by a foreign ruler,

and was not adapted to the Indian character, western education alienated Indians from their own traditions (Seth, 2007).

As a result of nationalist demands, education received more attention from colonial authorities after 1919, around the same time that Mexico started to implement the right to education. This period corresponds with relevant political reforms of the last phase of British colonialism, especially the Montford Reforms (1919), the Hartog Committee (1927), and the Government of India Act of 1935. In fact, the latter has a significant degree of continuity with the Constitution of India, including the adoption of a federalized system of government (Brass, 1994; Ayyar, 2018; Matthey-Prakash, 2019). Provincial education ministers passed bills rendering elementary education free and compulsory. However, because there was no central authority, progress towards literacy was slow, and insufficient resources prevented the spread of elementary education for the majority of the population (Venkatanarayanan, 2013; Rao, 2014).

Relevant figures that influenced the field of education in India include J.G. Phule, G. P. Gokhale, Rabindranath Tagore, and many others (Kumar, 2005). Gandhi was definitely an influential personality in terms of the relationship between education and the independence movement. Gandhi considered liberation to be more important than independence. Consequently, education's main objectives included the freedom from all forms of servitude and domination, as well as one's own ethical and spiritual liberation. Gandhi's educational model aimed at ensuring that liberation was sustainable, work-oriented, and non-violent. Gandhi expressed his educational thought in the Wardha Scheme of Education. The scheme included three principles: (1) Free and compulsory education at the national level for seven years; (2) the mother tongue as the medium

of instruction; and (3) education centered around some productive form of manual work (Allen, 2007; Ramanathan, 1962; Rao, 2014; Venkatanarayanan, 2013).

According to Krishna Kumar (1991), the Indian freedom struggle created other relevant legacies in the domain of educational equality. Kumar discusses Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar's efforts to bring the causes of the oppressed castes into the larger struggle for India's independence. In contrast with other nationalist discourses, Ambedkar perceived Western education, not as an alienating force, but as a means of intellectual liberation against caste oppression. Ambedkar's legacy was institutionalized as a policy of positive discrimination for the lowest-ranking castes and tribes in 1943.

However, the visions of Ambedkar and Gandhi were overshadowed by the ideas of Jawaharlal Nehru. Nehru was a nationalist, a socialist, a leader committed to secularism, and a devotee of scientific humanism (Gosh 1991: 107). Supported by his position as Prime Minister and dominant political figure, Nehru favored the decentralization of basic education, the emphasis on higher education, and the expansion of Western education in independent India. As we can see, in both post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India politics directly influenced educational law and policy.

The State's Responsibility on Education

According to Matthey-Prakash (2019: 72), the state's responsibility to the people's welfare had gained global popularity in the decades leading up to the independence of India in 1947. The author references Germany's Weimar Constitution (1919) as a significant influence on the increased importance of state responsibility, but as we have seen, these principles had been established before. In India, the provision of compulsory elementary education as a state

responsibility can be traced back to the political leadership of social reformer Gopal Krishna

Gokhale, who introduced the principle to the Imperial Legislative Council in the Primary

Education Bill of 1911 (Kumar, 2005). Similarly, two years before Weimar, the Mexican

Constitution of 1917 mandated the state to provide welfare provisions. In Mexico, the

introduction of welfare provisions was the result of the demands of different revolutionary

groups in response to the massive inequality generated during the Porfiriato dictatorship. The

Mexican Constitution of 1917 shows how these ideas about welfare and about the role of the

state were circulating globally, even before World War I (WWI). These demands from both

Mexican revolutionaries and Indian nationalists can be studied as part of a larger need to limit

the pervasive effects of industrialization and capitalism; and also as national narratives'

aspiration to control the forces of modernity (Kaviraj, 2010).

When examined in the context of their respective historical moments, the educational

policies that emerged reflected global trends surrounding the state's responsibility to its

population. Each political system interpreted the trends differently, according to their respective

notions of socialism, liberalism, and nationalism. Javier Garciadiego (2019: 251) reminds us that

the Mexican Constitution of 1917 was drafted between WWI and the Russian Revolution.

Consequently, the document reflects both the international concerns of its time, such as the

decadence of oligarchies and the crisis of the liberal state, as well as Mexico's complexity as an

individual country. The product was a realist document that constituted a statist country,

authoritarian and interventionist in the economy, education, and religion.

The principles of free and compulsory education that were later framed in the Universal

Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and India's Constitution (1950) seem to be a continuation

of the ideals laid out in Mexico's constitution. The state's welfare responsibility manifested into the inclusion of social and political rights in India's constitution. However, the constituent assembly, concerned with budgetary allocations, decided against making socio-political rights justiciable. Consequently, education was drafted as a directive principle and thus it was not subject to enforcement by high tribunals and India's Supreme Court. Nevertheless, we can establish an ideological continuation about the responsibility of the state to provide education between post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India.

Relevant Institutions

India established a parliamentary democracy with a bicameral system, the Rajya Sabha or Council of States as the upper house, and the Lok Sabha or House of the People as the lower house. The leader of the majority party in the Lok Sabha was to become the Prime Minister for five years, and a president with limited power would be the head of state, selected by an electoral college with representatives from both houses.

India inherited the "unitary central apparatus" of British India conformed by the civil bureaucracy, the army, and police forces, a system which was further strengthened by a charismatic leadership, a mass party, and functioning legislatures, executives, and courts (Banerjee-Dube, 2015). These set of advantages can be considered as elements that transitioned from the colonial regime to the independent nation-state.

In contrast, Mexico had to reconfigure itself, the Porfirian bureaucracy, army, and police forces did not transitioned as smoothly as in India. The 1917 Constitution raised a national reorganization (Garciadiego & Kuntz, 2014: 562), but most importantly, the Revolution lasted for more than ten years, devastating the country's economy and political relations. In contrast

with India, Mexico established a presidential democracy. While the constitution established a federal republic with a judiciary branch and a bicameral legislature, in practice, the Mexican president held extensive formal and informal powers. Furthermore, Mexico lacked the charismatic leadership of a single political figure such as Nehru. The revolutionary forces fought against each other and by 1923, the initial leaders of the Revolution: Madero, Zapata, Villa, and Carranza, had been assassinated. Institutions started to work after 1920, during the Alvaro Obregón administration (1920-24), three years after the new constitution came into force, but the hegemonic party that would unify all revolutionary forces was only created until 1929. While Plutarco Elías Calles became the dominant political figure for a decade, first as president (1924-28) and then as *el Jefe Máximo* (the maximum leader), between 1928 and 1934, the principle of no-reelection prevented him from staying in power and allowed the rise of other politicians.

Up-Setting the Comparison

The importance of comparing education in Mexico and India has been explored in this chapter. The methodological question that guided this chapter asked: how to conduct an educational comparison of distinct time-spaces such as post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India? To conduct this comparison, this research upset traditional comparative education approaches and put aside traditional conceptions of time and space, bringing the context to the front-end of research. The concepts of hegemony and governmentality helped to identify three "proper" objects of comparison that transcend time and space: political authority, national ideology, and processes of modernization. This chapter also explored education as a complex ensemble of practices, institutions, and individuals. By interweaving history, law, and institutional analysis this chapter contextualized educational research.

The comparison of geographically distanced and the temporally dissociate elements, such as Mexico and India, can be achieved by transcending a chronological perception of time and a physical definition of space. Instead, this chapter analyzed post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India as multiple modernities occurring in post-colonial societies.

The concepts of hegemony and governmentality, and its combination as hegemonic governmentalities, helped to better understand the construction of political authorities in post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India beyond time and space. A modern political authority involved the legitimate right to rule, the capacity to impose duties, and justified the use of coercion. It also opposed traditional and religious legitimacy, considered men as rational and emphasized individuality. In this context, the power to make educational decisions became monopolized by the nation-state because schools teach students about the legitimacy of rule, about their current and futures duties, and about legitimate violence.

This chapter discussed education as an ideal field for the spread of national ideologies in post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India. As a set of ideas that helped students and their families to make sense of the world, national ideologies in each country began by spreading the notion that Mexico and India were ancient nations with a continuous history. Education contributed to promote the subjective antiquity and objective modernity of Mexico and India as nations. Furthermore, education is key because it affects people at both the abstract and the material levels. Schools are part of the concrete reality of the nation, allowing students to experience it every day. Because of this double quality, schooling helped to disseminate national ideologies that influenced people's behavior, thus making use of the legal exercise of state discipline and reorienting the population towards modernity.

Education also helps with the political side of national ideologies. Schools are physical spaces that allow the nation to act and mobilize itself to transform society. A national ideology further helps to promote the status of the ruling elite by advancing its historical significance and their economic dominance through education. In this chapter, nationalism was also understood and explained as an ideology that allowed individuals and groups in Mexico and India to consider themselves as a single entity. Consequently, a strong national ideology maintains cohesion and mobilizes the population. National education systems were thus helpful for post-revolutionary and post-independence regimes because they helped to maintain cohesion amongst diverse populations and to mobilize the people along the interests of national leaders.

In this chapter, the role of schooling to modernize the population was explored. Producing rational beings is a commonly accepted function of schools, but this chapter stressed the importance of the legal exercise of discipline by state authorities. The political constitutions of each country were analyzed and compared in this chapter. As rational and modernizing documents, Mexico's and India's constitutions were foundational to the educational systems that emerged after the Mexican Revolution and the Indian Independence Movement. Likewise, the institutions and individuals who were important during those early years were also assembled in this comparison, and further analyzed in the following chapters.

Finally, this chapter discussed the multiple meanings of modernizing the population. Producing modern subjects of the nation is a braid of complex processes that, amongst others, required the prominence of a rational law above any religious or traditional mandates. This rational legality is the source of legitimized power. It entails the legal exercise of discipline by state authorities, which includes the development of a solid expert officialdom or bureaucracy.

Modernizing the population also called for establishment of new relations between the state and society. For some scholars, this meant a restructuring of center-periphery relations. In terms of knowledge, modernizing the population involved more efficient techniques to locate and obtain information, amongst them the expansion of textbooks and new communication technologies. All these complex processes contributed and were involved generating rational beings and schooling was at the center of the efforts to modernize the population.

CHAPTER THREE

ASSEMBLING TEXTBOOKS

This project is inspired by an entangled historical approach (Sobe, 2013). As such, multiple, heterogeneous, and contingent elements are brought into the discussion. This chapter stresses the relationality (Amin, 2016; Goodwin, 2013; Mayhew, 2015) between discourses, practices, and policies that come together in post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India (Sobe & Kowalczyk, 2013:11). Accordingly, I am interested in the crisscrossing between textbooks and contexts, and the epistemological structures that made them possible (Sobe & Kowalczyk, 2012: 65).

Textbooks constitute an entry point for the analysis of the interplay between knowledge and power. This chapter approaches textbooks as mouthpieces for the governmentalities of post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India. Textbooks are analyzed as "acts of knowledge," in other words, as educational discourses that establish forms of social practice and as resources that reflect discursive strategies with respect to power (Brehm & Silova, 2016). Textbooks are seen as educational strategies that constantly situate and re-situate populations in particular scales of regulation (Ong, 2006; Sobe & Kowalczyk, 2013).

The first section of this chapter discusses post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India as transitologies, underlying discursive elements and practices that went beyond previous regimes and contextualized subsequent textbook projects. The second section explores the relevance of state institutions which conducted editorial policies in each country.

The use of textbooks as modernizing artifacts is also examined in this chapter. Finally, specific editorial projects that are relevant to this research are analyzed in the final section.

<div align="center">Post-Revolutionary Mexico and Post-Independence India as Transitologies</div>

The orthodox reading of Mexican History and the secular-nationalist approach to India, both historiographic schools discussed in the first chapter, argued that the educational systems following the Mexican Revolution and the Indian Independence struggle were profoundly different from the previous regimes. However, more recent scholarship has identified continuities between preceding and succeeding political systems. Orthodox and secular-nationalist historians of education have argued that educational systems in Mexico and India were radically transformed by revolutionary and independent governments, but contrary to that expectation, contemporary studies[1] have identified certain continuities between pre- and post-transformational regimes. Educational continuities between regimes help to better understand the editorial projects of post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India.

Acknowledging the endurance of those continuities and recognizing that post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India are at the same time important moments of educational metamorphosis could seem contradictory. To further understand the interaction between permanence and change, I propose to use an analytical device that can help to harmonize these seemingly contradictions. These time-spaces can be examined by using Robert Cowen's concept of transitology. Transitologies are defined by Cowen (2000) as simultaneous collapses and reconstructions of state apparatuses, economic stratification systems, and political

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[1] In terms of Mexico, these contemporary studies include Benjamin (1985), Jackson Albarrán (2015), Acevedo Rodrigo (2004; 2018), and Vaughan (1982). For India, it is possible to review Allender (2009), Banerjee-Dube (2015), and Kumar (1998; 2005).

visions of the future. Discussing post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India as transitologies allows us to assemble textbooks as educational strategies that intend to solve political challenges of their respective moments of state consolidation and social transformation (Ong, 2006; Sobe & Kowalczyk, 2013).

Educational historians of Mexico have discussed how authoritarianism, the lack of social mobility, a modernizing aspiration, and the expansion of capitalism are aspects that transitioned from the neocolonialist dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz to the post-revolutionary state (Gauss, 2010; Gallo, 2005; Solana, Cardiel, & Bolaños, 2014; Vaughan, 1982; Vaughan, 1997). Educational historians of India analyze the lack of social mobility as well, but consider the dissemination of Western knowledge, the perception of education as a form of emancipation, citizenship, and the preponderance of higher education as important transitional elements (Kumar, 1991; 1998; Seth, 2007).

Post-revolutionary Mexico and the colonial authorities of British India have in common the expectation that people could be schooled into modernity.[2] In South Asia, textbooks were used as modernizing tools to expand Western knowledge.[3] Among other political purposes, there is a popular notion that colonial education only aimed at producing clerks for the British Empire. This popular notion has been questioned by Krishna Kumar (2005) and Sanjay Seth (2007), these

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[2] Pre-colonial legacies of education are also important but fall out of the scope of this dissertation. Literacy, literary knowledge, and accounting procedures, which were predominant in South Asia's pre-colonial education, are precedents of the textbook culture in post-independence India.

[3] Textbooks were not only essential for passing colonial examinations, but these sources were also used for other purposes as well. For instance, in the second half of the 19th Century, textbooks helped to address concerns about the moral crisis that Western educated Indians were experiencing (Seth, 2007). In the context of the 1857 Revolt, the end of the East India Company rule, and the consequent Direct Rule of the British Crown, these textbooks should be analyzed as part of the reaction of Indian society towards colonial presence and the assimilation of colonial education.

perceptions are discussed in Chapter One, but what remains important for this dissertation is the use of textbooks for educational and political purposes by colonial authorities. Even after independence, decisions taken during the colonial period have remained in effect in educational practices. A set of policy resolutions taken by colonial authorities strengthened the importance of textbooks in South Asia. Among others, the use of English as a medium of instruction, the grant-in-aid system for funding education, and the centralization of examinations generated what authors call a "textbook culture" (Guichard, 2010; Kumar, 1986; 1988; Seth, 2007).

Apart from the sources written in English, textbook materials produced in vernacular languages also contributed to the exposure of Indian intellectuals to a modern thinking of the past. For example, in Bengal, two varieties of vernacular writing on the history of British rule have been identified: historical literature in Bangla written for adults and manuals used for teaching at schools. Both varieties of vernacular writing and the English texts authored by British historians contributed to spread a post-Enlightenment and rationalist approach to history, a tendency that has transitioned into the post-independence state (Seth, 2007; Guha, 1998). Consequently, it is possible to say that even the sources written in vernacular languages contributed to the expansion of Western knowledge and rationality in South Asia.

The textbook culture has been defined as a system in which teaching is based on state-prescribed textbooks and thus evaluations are based on the content reproduced by those sources. Under this system, teachers do not have the freedom to choose the content of their lessons and the only resources that schools have are the prescribed textbooks (Kumar 1986; 2005; Guichard, 2010). Additionally, textbooks have been seen as tools for reading and memorizing without truly understanding the content, a phenomenon described by Sanjay Seth (2007: 17-45) as the "anxiety

of cram." This anxiety is a result of the textbook culture in India, it reflects the importance of textbooks for learning and securing a job within government institutions.

Besides the continuities discussed by historians, other important elements have been identified by this dissertation and must be highlighted when discussing textbooks. Continuities in Mexico and India involve the bureaucracy, the law, and the prevalence of the capitalist model. Mexico's bureaucratic steadiness facilitated the endurance of textbooks used in the previous regime. Despite the Mexican Revolution, there was an overlap of public officials between the Porfirian regime and the postrevolutionary bureaucracy at all levels. In fact, some Porfirian bureaucrats became close collaborators of the first secretary of education, José Vasconcelos. At the top of the federal government, bureaucrats shared values from the old texts and had a reluctant perspective of the revolution. At the lower levels, teachers and inspectors preferred to work with the textbooks that they were the most familiar with (Quintanilla & Vaughan, 2003; Vaughan, 1982: 216), a context that discouraged the publication of new books for post-revolutionary schools.

In post-independence India, there was also an overlap of public officials between the colonial administration and the independent government. Nonetheless, the most evident continuity occurred at the legal level. The significant overlap between the Government of India Act of 1935 and the Constitution of India has been well established by historians and constitutionalist researchers (Brass, 1994; Ayyar, 2018; Matthey-Prakash, 2019). This legal continuity is part of a context which favored the prevalence of the "textbook culture", the use of English as a medium of instruction, and a focus on higher education.

Expansion of Capitalism and Textbooks

The nation-state has been studied as a cultural and educative institution that modernizes the morality and behavior of the masses in order to make them fit the needs of its productive apparatus (Gramsci, 1971; 2007). After the Mexican Revolution and Indian Independence, the new elites did not question the continuity or the viability of capitalism. While the economies of both countries were mixed, with the state as a central agent, Mexico and India remained capitalist countries. In order to satisfy its expansion and secure the masses' consent and collaboration, post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India spread national ideologies that promised development for their respective populations, within capitalism.

The continuity of capitalism can be found in the nationalist and developmentalist ideologies of post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India. These ideologies concealed exploitative notions of the environment, promoting the perception that nature existed to serve the economic development of the nation. Consequently, the constitutions of both countries further incorporated to capitalism new territories and the natural resources contained within them. While researchers have focused on the study of recognizable symbols, practices, and discourses that were created and disseminated as national, I propose that exploitative notions of the environment are relevant to evaluate the longer-term cost of a modernizing and developmentalist education.

The exploitative notion of the environment that originated in the 19th Century transitioned from previous regimes and despite the territorial and temporal distance, it could be found in textbooks used in both countries. The perception that nature exists to be exploited for economic gain is not only an important similarity between the educational thought of the Porfirian and the

British colonial authorities, but also a continuity between their subsequent systems, post-revolutionary Mexico and post-Independence India. As renowned historian Mary Kay Vaughan (1982: 84-85) once wrote about Mexico, which is an argument that applies to India as well, all these regimes followed a modern governmentality that had a similar goal: the elimination of pre-capitalist structures and values in order to allow for a greater development of the nation's productive forces within a capitalist dependent framework.

The interaction between permanence and change in Mexico and India can be understood as simultaneous collapses and reconstructions of capitalist state apparatuses. Textbooks were part of the transitologies between different regimes as key elements of educational strategies. I therefore read textbooks and other editorial projects of these regimes as tools for state consolidation and social transformation.

Relevant Institutions and Textbooks

To fully understand the role that education played during moments of social transformation and how textbooks contributed to this role, it is important to identify the institutions that reconstructed the state apparatuses in Mexico and India. These institutions exercised a modern political authority, advanced a national ideology (Gramsci, 1971; 2007), and contributed to modernizing the population (Foucault 1991; Gordon, 1991). As modern and modernizing agents, these institutions were composed of official experts who based their acts on the rationality of law (Weber & Knight, 1927; Weber & Roth, 1968). These organizations acted as entities of cultural leadership, promoted a nationalist conception of the world, and helped to transform traditional conduct into modern political behavior (Bobbio, 1979; Mouffe, 1979; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

The Secretariat of Public Education in Mexico

In Mexico, the creation of the Secretariat of Public Education (Secretaría de Educación Pública - SEP) in 1921 was the first step in a larger project of modernization and state consolidation. The Secretariat became the central institution in terms of textbook policies. The establishment of SEP and the framing of its responsibilities was an act of modern political authority because, rather than following any antiquated power structure, it followed the legality established in the 1917 Constitution and further expanded expert officialdom in education. Through the secretariat, post-revolutionary administrations embraced the moment of cultural leadership that succeeded the revolution and created a new conception of the world. This conception was a nationalist state ideology discursively influenced by revolutionary values such as equality and social justice (Garciadiego, 2015; Iturriaga 2014; Loyo 1984; Quintanilla & Vaughan, 2003; Villa Lever, 2009).

The Secretariat of Public Education concentrated on three axes of action: instruction, the creation and dissemination of national art and culture, and the expansion of a national system of libraries (Garciadiego, 2015; Iturriaga 2014; Loyo 1984; Quintanilla & Vaughan, 2003; Villa Lever, 2009). Mexico's policies in terms of textbooks were aligned with the three axes of action developed by educational authorities. Textbooks supported instruction, promoted the expansion of nationalism and a national identity, and were present in the libraries as artifacts that facilitated knowledge. We can then establish a relationship between textbooks and the three objects identified in Chapter Two to conduct a comparison between India and Mexico: modern political authority, national ideology, and processes of modernization of the population. In other words,

textbooks were artifacts that supported the establishment of a political hegemony and a governmentality in Mexico.

At this point in time, in the first half of the 20th Century, the power to make educational decisions, the ability to set the agenda and the capacity to establish "the rules of the game," were all domestic (Dale, 2005), and the Mexican constitution legalized this power by granting SEP a national reach. In contrast with previous institutions, the new secretariat had the constitutional capacity to establish schools beyond the Federal District, the official denomination of the capital city, in all states. As an institution with a national scope, the secretariat became the core of the centralization process of Mexican Education. Centralization is a relevant characteristic of post-revolutionary schooling in Mexico and a major difference with India.

Historians of education considered that the civil servants working in the secretariat had a strong social commitment. It is also argued that this social responsibility included arts and culture as a central element of education. However, I believe that the social commitment to education of the early post-revolutionary epoch was informed by a modern perception of the population among educational authorities. In other words, post-revolutionary regimes saw the Mexican people as a resource for state power and wealth. Consequently, SEP is not committed to social justice, but to the hegemony of the post-revolutionary group and the economic system that they developed. The secretariat's axes of action support the political and economic systems.

The first secretary of public education, José Vasconcelos, has received the most attention from historians (Garciadiego, 2015; Iturriaga, 2014; Matute, 2014; Mejía Zúñiga, 2014), and is still celebrated as one of the most important intellectuals of his time and a key figure for Mexican education. However, Vasconcelos only stayed in office for three years, becoming an

isolated political figure after a failed presidential campaign and his subsequent radicalization

towards fascism (Martin Moreno, 2018; 2019).

Nonetheless, Vasconcelos' commitment to popular education seeped into all subsequent

administrations. Inspired by the public libraries he visited during his exile in the United States

(Garciadiego, 2015), and by the educational work carried out in Russia after the revolution,

Vasconcelos' editorial actions not only concentrated on teaching the entire population to read

and write, but simultaneously promoted publications to provide the people with something to

read. For Loyo (1984) this commitment was consistent with Vasconcelos' aspiration to make the

benefits of culture available for the people and cease to be a privilege of the elite. The influence

of Vasconcelos in the social imaginary, academia, and educational policy is undeniable. Even

today, Vasconcelos' legacy is discussed as foundational for public education in Mexico and

sometimes portrayed as heroic.[4]

Mexico and the World Stage of Education

Post-revolutionary governments in Mexico used international stages to advance their

political agendas. World Fairs and the International Yearbook of Education provided Mexican

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[4] Despite his radicalization towards fascism and the growing criticism of the racism in the educational policies he implemented, José Vasconcelos continues to be an inspirational figure for Mexicans; especially male supporters. Leaders in non-governmental organizations and politicians constantly quote Vasconcelos in his speeches and writing. The fascination for Vasconcelos continues at the institutional level. To celebrate its hundredth anniversary, the Secretariat of Public Education organized in October 2021 a roundtable cycle about the institution's foundation. Three of the five roundtables discussed Vasconcelos' work. The inaugural session was completely dedicated to the first secretary and his legacy, entitled "José Vasconcelos and the National Project". The following two sessions focused on two relevant campaigns started by Vasconcelos, the first entitled "The Cultural Missions and the Crusade against Illiteracy" and the second entitled "Books, Reders, Libraries, and the SEP's Beginnings". The fourth roundtable session concentrated on muralism and the last one discussed the role of teachers. In the United States the fascination for Vasconcelos can also be observed in academia, where graduate students write about him and organize seminars on his legacy. Just as an example, the University of Chicago's Latin America History Workshop and the Katz Center for Mexican Studies, each organized an event related to José Vasconcelos in 2021.

governments with opportunities to exhibit their educational accomplishments. According to Noah Sobe (2013), world fairs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries played an important role in the rise of data in education. According to the author, these exhibits were carefully executed presentations of a country's education system. Tenorio Trillo (1996) argues that world fairs were the embodiment of nationalistic interests in an international cosmopolitanism.[5] The author explains that, for the empires, universal exhibitions were settings for the display of power and cultural superiority. In contrast, for poor countries such as Mexico, the world fairs were opportunities to be part of modern values, beliefs, and concerns.

According to Tenorio Trillo (1996: 2), Mexican elites learned "universal truths" in world fairs and used these events to consolidate their national and international status. For the 1922 Rio De Janeiro Fair, Mexico was interested in presenting itself as a stable and modern country. President Obregón commissioned José Vasconcelos and a military delegation to attend the event in Brazil and give the impression of stability and political unity (Tenorio Trillo, 1996: 204). It is important to notice that at this point, foreign governments were still reluctant to recognize post-revolutionary administration. Overseas states opposed the dispositions of the 1917 Constitution against foreign ownership of land and natural resources, especially oil. For Obregón, the recognition of the United States was essential. The 1922 World Fair was a good opportunity to lobby in favor of support for his government.

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[5] World fairs were not the only expression of cosmopolitanism that countries had access to during the first half of the 20th Century. Other internationalisms, sometimes competing against each other, were present as well. International collaborations and solidarities between left-wing and right-wing movements need to be considered but fall out of the scope of this dissertation. Nevertheless, this dissertation addresses cosmopolitanism in Mexican and Indian textbooks in Chapter Four. An excellent example of other internationalisms at the time is provided by Daniel Kent Carrasco (2019) where he explores the work of Marxist revolutionary Narendra Nath Bhattacharya, better known as M. N. Roy, in Mexico.

The Mexican government prepared two objects as symbols of post-revolutionary Mexico, a statue of the last Mexica emperor Cuauhtemoc and the Mexican pavilion at Rio de Janeiro. President Obregón himself commissioned the statue, a bronze replica of the Cuauhtemoc monument in Mexico City. This 1880s Roman-style Cuauhtemoc was seen as a relic of the Porfiriato by secretary of education Vasconcelos, who instead supported the construction of a pavilion that would represent the real essence of Mexico. For Vasconcelos, Mexico's essence was the synthesis of the Spanish spiritual legacy and the Indigenous influence, as exemplified in Mexican baroque architecture. Consequently, architects Carlos Obregón Santacilia and Carlos Tarditti designed a colonial baroque pavilion that was decorated with mural paintings by artists Roberto Montenegro and Gabriel Fernandez Ledesma (Tenorio Trillo, 1996: 205). These monuments, a Roman-style replica and a pavilion building inspired by colonial architecture, not only reflected Vasconcelos' preference for Spanish culture, sometimes described as Hispanismo, but it reflected the post-revolutionary elite's modern values.

A decade later, the Mexican government engaged in comparison exercises published by international organizations. In 1933 the International Bureau of Education (IBE or Bureau International d'Éducation), a non-governmental organization based in Switzerland that promoted international cooperation in education, started to publish an International Yearbook of Education. Following Sobe's argument about the rise of data in education, I understand these annual compilations of information as a step forward in the development and professionalization of educational research. The yearbooks not only include quantitative data provided by the ministries of education of several countries, the publications include summaries of the annual progress achieved by each country.

The early publications of the yearbook are useful to understand how Mexico presented itself on the world stage. The yearbooks in the early 1930s portrayed Mexico as a country that was working towards solving its educational problems. In the 1933 report (IBE, 1933: 329) the use of puppets and the children's theater in Mexico were featured in the communications that the organization sent to all countries about "interesting initiatives" in the field of education.

A year later, in 1934, the Mexican government discussed national integration and the rehabilitation of the "peasant masses" as fundamental objectives in education. Public education was considered to be the solution for social and economic problems. The yearbook shows that education was expected to integrate into a single nationality a diverse population. Likewise, schooling was supposed to develop the economic capacities of the rural masses. The 1934 report emphasized the role of cultural missions to improve the living conditions of communities and the Mexican government talked enthusiastically about the increasing number of rural schools and teacher colleges (IBE, 1934: 297). The 1935 yearbook discussed similar achievements as previous editions and included a note about the influence of action pedagogy in primary schooling, explaining that urban primary schools should follow "the principle of action" (IBE, 1935: 278-279).

Post-revolutionary governments in Mexico used international forums and comparative exercises to legitimize their rule and as opportunities to exhibit their ideology and educational accomplishments. In world's fairs, the Mexican government used revolutionary aesthetics and a nationalist ideology. In the IBE's international yearbooks of education, the emphasis was made in quantitative data and concrete policies. A couple of decades later, post-independence India

will need to promote itself on the international stage but will use post World War II multilateral organizations for achieving those purposes.

Planning Commissions in India

In the same way that post-revolutionary administrations in Mexico followed the 1917 Constitution, post-independence administrations in India created modern institutions based on constitutional legality. Following the Indian Constitution of 1950, the states were granted the general responsibility for education, and the central government was expected to support the states' work. Modern political authority was exercised by the central government through the expert officialdom in the ministry of education, but more importantly through the experts in the national planning agencies. Planning was the key instrument that the post-colonial elite in India used to achieve development. The Indian national ideology and its post-independence political leaders, most prominently Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, saw economic planning as the only rational, scientific, and legitimate instrument to address the demands that arose during the struggle for independence.

Consequently, education in India was attached to economic planning through the University Education Commission, headed by Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (1949), the National Planning Commission (1951), the Secondary Education Commission headed by Dr. A. Lakshmanswami Mudaliar (1953), and the documents that these institutions submitted. Through this set of planning institutions and in alignment with independence values, post-independence administrations used their political capital to create a developmentalist state ideology that was nominally nationalist and equalitarian. In contrast with colonial institutions, these commissions understood and promoted education as a central element of development. Following a modern

perception of the population as a resource for state power and wealth, the central government concentrated on higher education, first by reinstating the colonial University Grants Commission (1949) and then by solidifying the commission's status through the University Grants Commission Act of 1956 (Ayyar, 2018; Biwas & Agrawal 1986; Chatterjee & Menon, 2010).

Since education was the concern of India's 14 states, according to the States Reorganisation Act of 1956, the central government only promoted a few national policies, including provisions for teachers and financial assistance for educational institutions. A couple of years later, in 1958, a special model to upgrade pay scales of primary and secondary teachers was introduced, a national award for teachers was created, and a system of scholarships for the children of teachers became available. Financial assistance and loans to institutions engaged in experimental work in education were also offered by the central government. As early as 1954, the central government began to organize award competitions for authors and publishers of books for children, "neo-literates," and the general public. Training programs for authors and a limited distribution of the winning titles complemented the award policy. In the same year, the Government of India established the Central Bureau of Textbook Research, an institution created to help state authorities to identify common defects in textbooks through scholarly research (CBT, n.d.; NCERT, 1961).

Textbooks and the University Education Commission

The University Education Commission, the first appointed educational commission of post-independence India, included a severe evaluation of the textbooks and the publishing industry. This commission was appointed in November 1948 by the Government of India to report and suggest improvements on the state of higher education. The Commission was chaired

by Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics at the University of Oxford.

In its report, the commission presented a very negative approach to textbooks, posing that "One of the evils of the present method of instruction is that it is focussed too much on textbooks" (Ministry of Education, 1962: 92). Along the lines of the previously described textbook culture (Kumar, 1986) and the anxiety of cramming (Seth, 2007), chapter iv of the report argues that instruction in India was based on a method in which the teacher only reads from the book line by line. In order to succeed in examinations, students would cram up the detailed summaries that teachers made out of history, math, and science textbooks. The commission's report claimed that, as a result of this system, students were not interested in learning the subject and were prevented from developing their own judgment. Additionally, the system was reported to be economically unfair for poor students and advantageous for publishers and authors, who according to the commission's report were the only beneficiaries of the status quo.

Consequently, the University Education Commission recommended "that there be no prescribed textbooks for any courses of study" (Ministry of Education, 1962: 101). The recommendation provided by the commission further solidified a decentralized schooling system and prevented the central government to recommend or edit textbooks with a national reach. As a consequence, there were only limited efforts of the central government to produce national textbooks, and state publications in vernacular languages proliferated during this period.

Textbooks and the First Five Year Plan

A couple of years after the report of the University Education Commission was published, India's first Five Year Plan was launched in July 1951, and it included educational guidelines for the country despite the fact that it was mainly an economic policy document for the deployment of a mixed economy within capitalism. The plan outlined the role of the central government and scaled down the negative perception of textbooks promoted by the Radhakrishnan Commission. Following the Indian Constitution, which established that while education is primarily the concern of the states, the plan emphasized that the central government had to concur to guarantee access to this right. The plan further explained the role of the Central Government as a responsibility to help, coordinate, and guide the work of states. However, the plan conceded that due to a lack of funds, the center had not been able to advance in its educational role.

Chapter 33 of the Five-Year Plan is entirely dedicated to the importance and the role of education in the planned development of the Indian nation. In an assessment of the status of education, the plan considered that the general neglect of the study of "our own culture" was a feature that deserved special attention. The plan established that the education system should contribute to building up "the cultural and political identity of the nation." Accordingly, this chapter of the Five-Year Plan suggested that textbooks could be tools to address the need to strengthen civic loyalties and to prepare the population for a democratic citizenship (Government of India, 2015). Consequently, it could be argued that the first Five Year Plan made heavy reliance on the use of textbooks for a capitalist development, the development of a national culture, and the consolidation of modern citizenry.

Textbooks and the Secondary Education Commission

Six years after independence, despite the provisions in the Constitution that favored the states over the central government, and notwithstanding the predominance of higher education for economic planning, the central government saw the need to intervene in secondary education. Four years after the creation of the first education commission of independent India and only one year after the publication of the first Five Year Plan, the central government appointed a Secondary Education Commission under the chairmanship of Dr. Arcot Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, at the time Vice-Chancellor of Madras University.

In the September of 1952 report, the Commission recognized that while secondary education was mainly the concern of the states, the central government had to intervene given the impact of secondary education in the country as a whole and considering the necessity to improve the standards in the fields of "culture and technical efficiency." Following the trend established in the first Five Year Plan, this commission considered that the aim of secondary education was to train the youth to be "good citizens," which according to the report meant to participate in the social reconstruction and economic development of India (Ministry of Education, 1953: 5).

In this report, the Secondary Education Commission exposed the role of secondary schooling in addressing "All India problems", especially the functioning of democracy and the strengthening of national cohesion. In this context, the commission argued that textbooks required the attention of all educational authorities, and that the central government should assume a greater responsibility in education, for instance, in the production and selection of better textbooks. According to the report, individuals needed to be equipped with the knowledge,

skills, and aptitudes to act as responsible and cooperative citizens. The commission's report further discussed a situation where "provincialism, regionalism, and other sectional differences" had accentuated. Education should therefore succeed in effectively keeping in check these tendencies, otherwise freedom, national unity, and progress would be at risk (Ministry of Education, 1953: 5).

In the curriculum chapter, the commission's report dedicated a section to discussing textbooks in post-independence India. This section examined the "defects in the existing system," set standards for the production of new textbooks, reviewed the role of publishers, and suggested the constitution of a "High-Power Committee." The report argued that before the transition to vernacular instruction, textbook authors were from all parts of India, they had to compete with similar publications from all over the world, and prestigious scholars were more involved in publishing. However, after the transition to vernacular languages as a medium of instruction, the possibility of publishing on an all-India basis was no longer available and the authors were constrained to their regions. A context with limited competition and the need to prescribe a specific source, both led to arbitrary selections and to a deterioration in the standard of quality (Ministry of Education, 1953: 77).

The Secondary Education Commission reported on three concerning issues around textbooks: their poor quality, malfeasance in the approval of official books, and indoctrination. Dissatisfied with the poor quality of paper, printing, and illustrations, members of the commission considered that having left the production of textbooks in the hands of commercial publishers was a failure. Malfeasance was reported in some states when only one textbook was prescribed, leading to large profits for publishers and undue influences on the officials involved

in the selection. The commission also accounted for the use of books with offensive content for religious or social communities, and textbooks that tried to indoctrinate students with particular political or religious ideologies (Ministry of Education, 1953: 78-79).

In that adverse context, the Secondary Education Commission called for the earnest attention of state governments and justified the intervention of the central government in the question of producing proper textbooks for schools. Members of the commission were convinced that unless education departments would take a direct interest, this situation would not improve, and further suggested that some of the textbooks should be published directly by "Textbook Committees." Furthermore, the commission recommended the constitution of a "High-Power Committee" as an independent body that would enforce the general principles laid out in the report (Ministry of Education, 1953: 79-80).

Additionally, the commission gave recommendations to address the most pressing issues. In terms of quality, the commission recommended that the high-power textbook committee should set clear criteria for the type of paper, illustrations, printing, and format of the desired editions. To prevent malfeasance, single textbooks should not be prescribed for every subject of study, instead a reasonable number of books should be recommended leaving the final choice to the schools. In the case of language instruction, the commission recommended the prescription of specific textbooks for each class, thus promoting the standardization of vernacular languages. Finally, to address indoctrination, the commission posited that prescribed textbooks for schools and books for general study should not contain offensive passages or statements and may not indoctrinate the minds of students with political or religious ideologies.

The revision of reports submitted by planning commissions in India further shows the connections between textbooks and the three objects identified in chapter 2 to conduct a comparison between India and Mexico: modern political authority, national ideology, and processes of modernization of the population. Textbooks can then be analyzed as artifacts that supported the establishment of a political hegemony and a governmentality in India.

Major Differences between Post-Revolutionary Mexico and Post-Independence India

The previous paragraphs have briefly described relevant institutions that consolidated the state in post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India. Both regimes benefited from the moments of cultural leadership to advance their educational plans. They subscribed to nationalist and developmentalist ideologies, and thus followed a modern perception of the population as a resource for state power and wealth. However, there are three major differences in focus. First, Mexico concentrated on basic education and alphabetization campaigns while India focused on higher education. These divergent targets of attention will influence subsequent educational policies and the use of textbooks. Second, Indian planning documents support the importance of citizenship to participate in electoral democracy and national reconstruction, but most importantly, economic development. Development is also important in the post-revolutionary Mexican ideology, but not in terms of democratic participation. Third, Mexico's centralization of education contrasts with India's decentralization, but as we have seen with the planning commissions' documents, the central government still had to intervene, especially given the decline of quality in education, expressed in the low quality of textbooks after independence.

Textbooks can now be brought into the discussion as one more element in the context of these divergent discourses, practices, and policies. Based on Cowen's transitology theory, textbook policies and the textbooks themselves acted as mouthpieces of the governmentalities established in both Mexico and India. Textbooks supported the reconstruction of the state's apparatuses, the expansion of capitalism, and the advancement of nationalist political visions of the future. Similarly, textbooks helped to establish forms of social practices and resituated populations in particular scales of regulation. As previously discussed, following Gramsci and Foucault, textbooks expanded modern political authority, national ideologies, and the modernization of peoples and communities in Mexico and India.

Modernizing Populations through Textbooks

The Porfirian dictatorship and the post-revolutionary regimes in Mexico both considered the illiterate population as a "burden." However, the Porfirian government was not as successful as the post-revolutionary administrations in schooling the population into modern citizenry. After the revolution, Mexican authorities decided that providing the people with basic education would contribute to national development, thus seeing the people as a resource for state wealth.

Under this modern governmentality, teaching how to read and write was essential to establishing effective channels of communication with the population and to imposing upon them modern values. As previously argued in Chapter Two, schooling was expected to "civilize" Mexicans into citizens (Acevedo, 2012), in other words to produce rational and national beings, and textbooks reflected these expectations. Moisés Sáenz (1982: 100), a high-ranking officer in the Secretariat of Public Education during the 1920s, who later became Secretariat for a short period between August and November 1928, argued that "civilizing" meant to organize the

country, elevate wellbeing, improve the economic status of workers, and "incorporating the Indian" to the country. The writings of Sáenz support the arguments made by some historians about a tendency within the SEP that sought to expand a cultural project that was modernizing and nationalist (Loyo, 1984: 299-307); which I perceive as proof of a steadily evolving modernity in Mexico, as described by Eisenstadt (2000; 2002).

Historians have documented the need to provide the people with reading materials as part of the literacy campaigns that started during Vasconcelos' time, but the efforts to produce those school materials are now seen as limited (Loyo, 1984; Garciadiego, 2015; Martinez Moctezuma, 2002; Matute, 2014; Vaughan, 1982). While producing textbooks for schools was not a priority during the initial years of the post-revolutionary state, governments did undertake the responsibility of making books accessible to the population as part of their policies.

As rector of the National University, José Vasconcelos had secured the national printing house (*talleres nacionales*) for his literacy projects. Subsequently, as the first secretary of education, Vasconcelos created an editorial department within the Secretariat. These books became important for the efforts by educators and SEP officials in modernizing the population through the expansion of literacy. Inspired by the European missionaries who spread Catholicism in Mexico, what is known as the "spiritual conquest," secretary Vasconcelos devoted national efforts to the "Cultural Missions." These were literacy campaigns focused on rural areas of the country. These crusades effectively expanded the use of Spanish as the official language of the nation and promoted a national culture, a culture that is sometimes identified by scholars as "Mexicanidad," The publishing efforts were consequently aligned to support the literacy campaigns and the expansion of a national language and culture (Garciadiego, 2015; Loyo, 1984;

Martinez Moctezuma, 2002; Solana, Cardiel Reyes, & Bolaños Martinez, 2014; Quintanilla & Vaughan, 2003; Villa Lever, 2009; Vaughan 1982; 1997; 2006).

The importance of literacy within a modern governmentality created an adverse context for the illiterate populations in both Mexico and India. Mexican revolutionaries and nationalist leaders of India shared a perception of illiteracy as a burden, once described by Gandhi as a national shame. Post-independence leaders of India considered that the population could be schooled into citizenship and linked schooling to modern political behavior. India's first minister of education, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad wrote about the connections between democracy and literacy. Conscious about class and caste differences, Azad acknowledged the need for an inclusive educational system and regarded basic education as essential for performing citizen duties. Consequently, mass education and adult literacy were seen by Azad as core components of equity and the future of Indian democracy (Hameed, 1998; Habib, 2015). The 1953 report of the Secondary Education Commission (Ministry of Education, 1953) confirms this modernizing trend when it establishes that a functioning democracy requires "...that every individual is equipped with the necessary knowledge, skill, and aptitudes to discharge his duties as a responsible and cooperative citizen" (p. 5).

The same leaders that lamented the state of education in India and its importance for democracy, also decided to set basic schooling as a state responsibility. Nehru and other post-independence leaders, just like the Mexican post-revolutionaries, considered that providing the people with education would contribute to national development. However, contrary to the Mexican federal authorities who worked on literacy campaigns and opening schools, Indian leaders focused the efforts of the central government on higher education. In the First Five Year

Plan, the Planning Commission accepted that working on education was an urgent matter but

justified the focus on higher education on the lack of resources[6]. Commissioners argued that

better basic education depended on better teachers, who subsequently required universities and

training colleges (Government of India, 2015). This logic explains why the Indian state did not

immediately undertake editorial projects for printing national textbooks. Basic education was the

concern of the states and textbooks for basic education became their responsibility, while the

central government prioritized university education.

Language Politics and Textbooks

A second reason for the lack of a national editorial policy in India could be found in the

linguistic diversity of the country and its post-independence *language politics*. A national

textbook project would have been extremely difficult to establish because of both the

controversy of setting Hindi as a national language and the reconfiguration of the Indian states

along linguistic borders. Originally, the constituent assembly proposed to make Hindi, in the

Devanagari script, the official language of independent India, but non-Hindi speakers opposed

the subordination of their own languages and cultures; they argued that the preference for Hindi

would be a disadvantage in the competition for government jobs. A fifteen-year transition period

was established, but at its end in 1965 massive anti-Hindi movements erupted.

Demands for the linguistic reorganization of the old colonial provinces emerged and

gained popularity, encouraging a new trend of linguistic or language politics. At first, Nehru was

reluctant to state reconfiguration on the basis of language, but these movements were strong and

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[6] When talking about the lack of resources for education in post-independence India, it is necessary to consider the impact of colonialism and the inequalities it created. Colonial authorities kept the Indian economy in a precarious state and created a context with sever levels of poverty. The conditions in which India becomes independent help to explain why education was decentralized and higher education became a priority.

popular. The Nehru government thus avoided direct confrontations, acting instead as a mediator until agreements were reached and new states were created along linguistic borders. Over the years, English was kept for interregional communication, broadening the gap between the English-speaking elite and those who speak vernacular languages. In practice, English has been the language of India's nation-building process and an important medium of instruction (Brass, 1994; Guha, 2019: 177-197; Kaviraj, 2010: 155-160; Metcalf & Metcalf, 2012).

The documents of the planning commissions registered a concern amongst central authorities about national unity in the context of the vernacularization of education and the reconfiguration of the Indian states along linguistic lines. The first Indian Year Book of Education (NCERT, 1961) recorded an attempt to promote "Inter-State Understanding." The central government created a camping program to bring together students from different states. The objective was to promote national unity by holding regional and national rallies during Republic Day, which honors the date on which the Indian Constitution came into effect on January 26, 1950.

In contrast with the language politics of post-independence India, there was no discussion about the role of Spanish in Mexico. According to the 1921 Census, only 12% of the Mexican population spoke a native language, but the same census reported that 29.16% of the population was part of the "indigenous race" (INEGI, n.d.). Despite these significant numbers, the work of historians and the Discussion Journals of the Constituent Assembly (Secretaría de Cultura, 2016) do not record any debate about the official language of the nation or the recognition of indigenous languages. The 1917 Constitution, the rational legality that legitimizes the post-revolutionary state, had no provisions to address the linguistic diversity of the country. The

language hegemony of Spanish was not discussed, and this colonial heritage was generally assumed as the medium of instruction without any question.

Years later, through the 1920s and early 1930s, post-revolutionary governments believed that indigenous peoples had to be incorporated to the broader Mexican nation by renouncing their cultures and languages. In the words of high-ranking officer and education secretary Moisés Sáenz (1982): "Before the primitive Indian, the primary task is acculturation; for the peasant people it must be of cultural diffusion" (p. 92). Sáenz further explained that Castellanization is the fundamental principle and first obligation of schooling in those communities that still did not speak Spanish (p. 95).

A de facto national language supported schooling's responsibility to produce rational and national citizens. As discussed in Chapter Two, governmentality perceives the population as a resource for state power and wealth (Foucault, 1991; Gordon, 1991). Schooling in post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India assumed the role of a modernizing agent of the population. For a modern governmentality, the high levels of illiteracy in Mexico and India were a sign of backwardness and the educational strategies deployed in each country intended to address this burden. Despite their divergent focus on basic and higher education, in both countries we observe the same two rationales for investing in schooling: to contribute to national development and to promote modern citizenship. These two objectives helped to strengthen state power and wealth by providing the legitimation that both regimes required. In the words of Gramsci (1971), the majority of the population gave its consent to the direction imposed on social life by new dominant elites because of the promises of development and democracy. Development was promoted as social mobility and citizenship as electoral participation. The

textbooks and other publications that national governments in post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India undertook contributed to produce the rational beings that each state required to be legitimized.

Editorial Projects in Post-Revolutionary Mexico and Post-Independence India

In the early years after the Revolution and the Independence movement, neither government established a national textbook policy. However, there were some projects that included the production or the promotion of books for specific sectors of society, such as children and recently literate adults. In Mexico, popular books taught during the Porfirian dictatorship continued to be used after the Revolution, the post-revolutionary regime printed Western classics and specific titles for the rural population. In India, after the vernacularization of instruction, a decline in the quality of textbooks led the central government to establish a system of award competitions for authors and publishers, while other relevant projects included a Sanskrit dictionary, texts about Gandhian philosophy, and a publication to support a camping program aiming at generating "inter-state" understanding.

Books that Transitioned from the Porfiriato to Post-Revolutionary Mexico

Before the Mexican Revolution, historians of education report a tendency to emphasize the disciplinarian and controlling function of schooling amongst middle class educators. According to Quintanilla and Vaughan (2003: 91-108) Porfirian intellectuals and bureaucrats favored schooling legislation that would integrate a heterogeneous society, increase productivity, and transform behavior. After the revolution, former Porfirian bureaucrats became close collaborators of secretary Vasconcelos, and many of them continued the disciplinarian tendency that originated during the dictatorship (Vaughan, 1982: 215-18).

Textbooks used in the early years of the post-revolutionary state reflect this authoritarian tendency. Contrary to the rewriting of History that one would expect after such an important event as the Mexican Revolution, Justo Sierra's *Historia Patria* (Fatherland History), first published in 1895, during the Porfirio Diaz dictatorship and fifteen years before the Mexican Revolution, continued to be the most important history text used in schools and the only textbook published by the Secretariat of Public Education in the early 1920s (Loyo, 1984; Vaughan, 1982; Quintanilla & Vaughan, 2003). This project considers the endurance of *Historia Patria* as indicative of a trend of books that transcended the collapse of the Porfirian regime because of their prestige.

The use of *Historia Patria* after the Revolution, despite being written by a prominent Porfirian politician, made this book an appropriate source to be considered for further analysis in Chapter Four of this research. Vaughan (1982: 15) explains its popularity as a consequence of the authoritarianism that transitioned from the dictatorship to the post-revolutionary regime. For the author, the textbooks that were used during the 1920s helped to introduce a paternalistic government that undermined democracy and favored a "benevolent authoritarianism". As discussed in Chapter One, Vaughan writes from a revisionist perspective of Mexican History. For Vaughan and other revisionist historians, the Mexican Revolution was only a change in leadership rather than a true transformation. Following Vaughan's logic, textbooks such as *Historia Patria* continued to be used because they reflect authoritarian political values which were useful for the post-revolutionary regimes.

The continuity of books with conservative values supports the idea of a simultaneous collapse and reconstruction of the Mexican state. Books that continued to be widely used include

the works of prominent Porfirian educators such as pedagogue Enrique Rebsamen, who wrote the *Guía Metodológica para la Enseñanza de la Historia* (Methodological Guide for the Teaching of History) and *La Patria Mexicana* (The Mexican Fatherland). *Elementos de Historia Nacional* (Elements of National History) by Gregorio Torres Quintero (Martinez Moctezuma, 2002; Vaughan, 1982) and Daniel Delgadillo's *Adelante* (Ahead) were also popular titles that educators used before and after the Revolution (Quintanilla & Vaughan, 2003). Together with Justo Sierra's *Historia Patria*, the use of these books accounts for the construction of a political hegemony, the lack of social mobility, modernization, economic stratification, expanding the dependent capitalist model, and contributing to political visions of the future. In this way, the educational principles that originated during the Díaz dictatorship persisted through the Revolution, and into the post-revolutionary state.

Similarly, textbooks that were not written by Porfirian bureaucrats, but included similar educational values, continued to be used. Historians have documented the use of Jose Maria Bonilla 's *Evolución del Pueblo Mexicano* (Evolution of the Mexican People), Longinos Cadena's *Elementos de Historia General y de Historia Patria*, and Rafael Aguirre Cinta's *Historia General de México* (Vaughan, 1982: 216-217; Quintanilla & Vaughan, 2003: 91-106).

The authoritarian nature of the Porfirian dictatorship in Mexico and the British rule in India motivated the Mexican Revolution and the Indian Independence Movement. Nevertheless, the regimes that emerged from these movements continued to be authoritarian. In India, the decentralization of education and the use of vernacular languages as the media of instruction in the states influenced the transition of colonial books into post-independence. However, through the continuity of expert officialdom, educational law, and the use of textbooks from previous

regimes, authoritarianism transitioned into the new regimes and thus contributed to constructing hegemonies in both countries. In other words, despite the democratic values of these 20th Century revolutionary movements, authoritarianism simultaneously collapsed and was reconstructed in both Mexico and India.

Western Classics in Post-Revolutionary Mexico

Top educators in Mexico were more interested in "civilizing" the country by the production and dissemination of European classics. Consequently, school textbooks were not revised, renewed or reissued (Dussel & Ydesen, 2016: 236; Quintanilla & Vaughan, 2003: 91; Vaughan, 1982: 215-238; Villa Lever, 2009: 35). Nonetheless, the Mexican state assumed the responsibility of editing reading-texts so these materials could be offered to the public at a low price. Secretary Vasconcelos considered books effective "vehicles of civilization," and consequently fomented the perception that the Mexican state had the responsibility to promote public policies to secure their availability. Vasconcelos established a publishing house within the secretariat of education that would print classical texts for school children and the general public (Dussel & Ydesen, 2016; Loyo, 1984). As secretary of education, Vasconcelos concentrated on producing works of "general culture," but SEP went further ahead and edited titles to support literacy campaigns.

Materials edited by the early post-revolutionary state included Western classics such as the Iliad, the Odyssey, the Tragedies of Aeschylus and Sophocles, Plato's Dialogues, the Divine Comedy, and Don Quixote (Corona & De Santiago, 2011; Loyo, 1984; Martinez Moctezuma, 2002). More recent authors included works of Romain Rolland and Rabindranath Tagore. This policy of giving the classics to the people was severely criticized. Martinez Moctezuma (2002)

documents the opposition of rural teachers who considered these readings inappropriate for their students and requested syllabaries and reading texts instead. Textbooks that were produced to support the "cultural missions" originally created by Vasconcelos include the *Libro Nacional de Lectura* (National Reading Book)*, Lecturas Clásicas para Niños* (Classic Readings for Children)*, El Niño campesino* (The Peasant Child), and *El Silabario* (Syllabary) by Ignacio Ramirez.[7] The use of *Lecturas Clásicas para Niños* in the literacy campaigns and its content, which includes classic texts from both the West and the East, made this book an appropriate source to be considered in Chapter Four of this research.

Modernizing the Rural Life in Post-Revolutionary Mexico

After the initial focus on literacy campaigns by the Álvaro Obregón administration (1920-1924), the Plutarco Elias Calles government (1924-1928) scaled down SEP's editorial projects, considering it an imposition. Classical works promoted by Vasconcelos were replaced by books perceived to be more "useful" (Dussel & Ydesen, 2016) and by a pragmatic approach which favored instructional brochures (Loyo, 1984: 312). For example, instead of promoting classic texts, the Calles administration allowed the circulation of *Corazón* (Heart) by Edmundo D'Amicis, valued for its patriotism and abnegation (Dussel & Ydesen, 2016).

Post-revolutionary governments turned their attention to rural life and the books that were published during this time reflect this concern. Titles specifically designed for giving an account of the condition in rural Mexico include of *El Libro del Campesino* (The Book of peasant), *Vidas Campesinas* (Peasant Lives)*, El Sembrador* (The Sower)*, and the popular *Fermín* written by

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[7] Corona and De Santiago (2011) offers a comprehensive list of children's books bought and produced by post-revolutionary governments in Mexico.

Manuel Velázquez Andrade and illustrated by renowned muralist Diego Rivera. Because of its popularity and focus on rural life, *Fermín* is considered as a source for chapter 4 of this dissertation. These books sought to represent the experiences, interests, and needs of peasants. At the same time, these publications contributed to the spread of modernity by discussing the benefits of a healthy and hygienic life, consolidating the national culture by exalting values such as cooperation, diligence, and honesty, and denouncing the exploitation of peasants and their misery (Martinez Moctezuma, 2002).

I understand these textbooks as part of the post-revolutionary's governmentality. As a modern and a modernizing state, post-revolutionary Mexico saw the population as a resource for development, but plagued with "social diseases," for instance tuberculosis, syphilis, and alcoholism. Inspired by health awareness campaigns and disease prevention in North America and Europe, Mexican reformers saw the need to improve popular health by inculcating modern values of personal hygiene. According to Bliss (2006), healthy and hygienic behavior was expected to improve social status and promote economic development. Following Bliss' argument and taking it to the educational field, healthy and hygienic behavior in these books can be seen as part of the modernization efforts of the state and in coordination with schooling. I believe that the interactions between education and public health during this period require more scholarly attention and can be further studied.

Award Competitions in Post-Independence India

Similarly, to Mexico's post-revolutionary authorities, the central government of India perceived the need to promote "appropriate literature for children," "neo-literates," and the general public. The production of books for children took a national approach when the Ministry

of Education organized an annual prize competition in 1954. The objective of this contest was to encourage authors and publishers to produce suitable literature for children, stimulate production, and increase quality. Following the language politics of the time, the publications were requested to be in the modern Indian languages. Apart from the prizes awarded to authors and publishers, the Indian government purchased 2,000 copies of each winning book for distribution in school libraries, other educational institutions, and children's centers[8]. A complementary program called *Sahitya Rachanalayas* was created to train authors on writing children's books. This program emphasized the production of good quality and affordable publications. Additionally, the central government provided assistance to the Delhi-based Children's Book Trust (CBT), a low-cost publisher founded in 1957 by cartoonist Keshav Shankar Pillai, popularly known as Shankar (CBT, n.d.; NCERT, 1961).

The central government established three policies to produce reading materials for "neo-literates": the production of pamphlets, a training program of authors, and an award system. In 1950 the Idara-e-Talimo-Taraqi, an agency associated with Jamia Millia Islamia in New Delhi, started to publish pamphlets in Hindi. During the next five years this agency printed 181 pamphlets, each with 10,000 copies to be distributed around the country. Similarly, in 1953 and with the assistance of the Ford Foundation, four multilingual literary workshops for writers, later named *Sahitya Rachanalayas*, were conducted. Awards for authors of the best books were granted in 1954. A total of seven competitions were held and 230 prizes were given, including the purchase of 1,500 copies of each prize book.

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[8] A comprehensive list of awarded books by language can be found at the National Academy of Letters (Sahitya Akademy, 2020).

In terms of vernacular languages, the efforts of the Ministry of Education concentrated in Northern languages, especially Hindi. In 1952, the central government funded a Hindi encyclopaedia, called ज्ञान सरोवर (Gyaan Sarovar - Lake of Knowledge), designed for people who had recently acquired literacy (NCERT, 1961; MESR, 1952). Given the diversity of topics discussed in this text and the fact that it was produced in a vernacular language, Gyaan Sarovar is considered for further analysis in Chapter Four. In 1958, the Ministry of Education in cooperation with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) created a scheme for awarding prizes to books targeting adult readers. In the first competition, four authors of books written in Hindi and two authors of Bengali publications were awarded. Between 1957 and 1961, the central government published over 20 texts in various Indian languages (NCERT, 1961).

Other Textbook Policies in India

Three relevant projects that involved the production of books by the central government of India deserved attention: a Sanskrit dictionary, Gandhian philosophy books, and a camping program to promote "inter-state understanding. Arguing that "Sanskrit holds a unique position in the cultural life of the country and is a potent force for its emotional integration," the central government funded and promoted this ancient language (NCERT, 1961). Authorities further claimed that Sanskrit was not only a common heritage for a "large section of the nation," but could also expose people to "some of the finest literature in the world." A Sanskrit Commission was thus appointed under the chairmanship of Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji and later a Central Sanskrit Board was set up to advise the government on the propagation and development of Sanskrit. Other relevant programs include the grant-in-aid scheme for voluntary Sanskrit

organizations, scholarships for students, and assistance to the Deccan College of Post-Graduate and Research Institute, located in Poona, for the preparation of a Sanskrit Dictionary.

Even though Indian secularism of the Nehru era attempted to engage and sustain all of India's religions (Metcalf & Metcalf, 2012: 233) and the central government perceived this project as a cultural source of unity, according to the 1961 Indian Yearbook of Education (NCERT, 1961: 61). The connection between Sanskrit and religious texts, mainly Hindu scriptures, cannot be denied or overlooked. State support of Sanskrit can be therefore considered a precedent of the rise of the Hindu right in India and the support of Sanskrit and Hindi by central authorities deserves more scholarly attention, especially from a pedagogical approach.

Gandhian philosophy received some attention by the central government as well. In 1955 the Ministry of Education appointed a committee to submit proposals for the promotion of Gandhian teachings. In January 1957, the committee delivered its recommendations, concluding that suitable publications should be used to expand Gandhi's thought, especially his views on education. As a response, the Ministry of Education brought out two books: *Gandhiji's Experiments in Education* and *Gandhiji's Thoughts on Education*. Additionally, UNESCO's *All men are brothers: life and thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi as told in his own words*, published in 1958, was distributed to all secondary schools in India (NCERT, 1961). Considering its international reach and the collaboration with UNESCO, *All men are brothers* is one of the books studied in Chapter Four of this project. The promotion of Gandhian thought and the work with UNESCO is important because it helped to solidify Gandhi's status in the world and to diversify the approaches of peace (Bajaj, 2011). Gandhi was the first to differentiate between physical and structural violence (Allen, 2007), and he challenged certain aspects of western

modernity often overlooked by scholars such as the role of science and technology in allowing domination and the state of permanent war in the world economy.

Finally, in order to promote "Inter-State Understanding," the central government created a camping program to bring together students from different states. The idea was to hold regional and national rallies during Republic Day, January 26. As part of this program, a book entitled "Guide to West Bengal and Assam" was produced and distributed to all secondary schools, and was part of this program (NCERT, 1961). This editorial project should be understood as part of the response of the central government to the language politics and state reorganization of the post-independence period. Acting as a mediator in negotiations for creating new states along linguistic lines, the Nehru administration used this program to generate national unity amongst students.

National Textbook Policies in Mexico and India

Post-independence India inherited the textbook culture, rationalist approach, and the focus in English that characterized colonial rule. History books have been the center of public debate after independence, which I understand as a continuation of earlier debates on writing and rewriting history. In a study for UNESCO submitted in 1961, renowned historian Romila Thapar wrote that the history books circulating in the Indian market were poor in quality, reproduced communal and colonial stereotypes, and presented unprofessional ideas and arguments. Thapar has described this context as characterized by a strong sense of nationalism, an enthusiasm for nation building, and the willingness to implement new ideas. Thapar's critiques fused with a demand for the professionalization of history and a wider movement towards the standardization of education. In that year, the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT)

was established to direct textbook production and produce model textbooks for the entire country. A similar process was expected to be carried out by the states through local State Councils of Educational Research and Training (SCERT). As a result, Thapar and other relevant historians were commissioned to write history books for different school levels (Bhattacharya, 2009; Guha, 1998; Seth, 2007; Thapar, 2005; 2009).

Post-independence India and post-revolutionary Mexico converge temporarily in a national textbook policy. In Mexico, a comprehensive revision of textbooks and curriculum took place in 1944, but free-unique-obligatory textbooks designed, printed, and widely distributed by the Mexican state were only possible after 1959, when the Mexican government created the National Commission of Free Textbooks (CONALITEG). Similarly, only a couple of years after the creation of CONALITEG, the Indian government established the NCERT in 1961. In addition to local needs, the implementation of national textbooks policies is part of an international trend that was translated and adapted to the Mexican and Indian contexts. This trend started as early as 1924 but strengthened with the impact of UNESCO's calls to improve textbooks and promote periodic revisions (Bhattacharya, 2009; Dussel & Ydesen 2016: 236; Quintanilla & Vaughan 2003: 91; Thapar, 2005; 2009; Vaughan 1982: 215-238; Vaughan 1997: 6, 190; Villa Lever 2009: 35).

Assembling Textbooks from Post-Revolutionary Mexico and Post-Independence India

Inspired by the works of Sobe (2013; 2018; Sobe & Kowalczyk, 2012; 2013), and Silova (2013; Meade & Silova, 2013; Brehm & Silova, 2016), in this chapter I took an entangled historical approach to bring together textbooks and the contexts that made them possible as heterogeneous and contingent elements. I understand textbooks as entry points for the analysis of

the interplay between knowledge and power. Consequently, this chapter analyzed textbooks as mouthpieces for the governmentalities of post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India.

In the first section, this chapter discussed how elements of the regimes that preceded post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India transitioned to the new political systems. Scholars have clearly identified legal, economic, and bureaucratic elements, but underlying educational principles and practices also managed to survive the previous regimes. In both Mexico and India Western knowledge, textbooks, and a national language were central aspects that transitioned from one regime to the other.

Chapter Three has argued that these transitional elements can be understood in terms of Foucault's concept of governmentality. According to Foucault (et al, 1991), the kind of rationality that is intrinsic to the modern art of government, historically developed in the West and steadily became preeminent over all other forms of power in the world. Consequently, textbooks are evidence of the expansion of multiple modernities, beyond the West, because these artifacts facilitated the acquisition of information, Western knowledge, and were written in colonial languages.

The continuation and expansion of capitalism came up as important in this chapter. Post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India sought to eliminate pre-capitalist structures and values of previous regimes. The national ideologies of these new regimes included the promise of development as a way to legitimize the power of the ruling elites and the economic system that was established. However, these ideologies concealed exploitative notions of the environment and the people, which these regimes saw as necessary resources for further

capitalist expansion. This perception of the people as a resource and its connection to capitalism are essential parts of the concept of governmentality. As Foucault (et al, 1991) explained, governmentality is a concrete form of power that has the population as its fundamental target and the political economy as its main mode of knowledge. As a result of this context, where the economy and education have to be aligned, post-revolutionary and post-independence regimes used education and textbook policies to regulate the behavior of the population for economic and political purposes.

The second section of this chapter explored the relationship between the legal frameworks and educational institutions which conducted editorial policies in each country. Despite the political use of international forums by these regimes, this analysis showed how the power to make educational decisions in post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India was domestic and substantiated in the legality of each country's constitution. Moreover, it is important to notice that these constitutions were a key component of the modern exercise of power, which according to Weber (Weber & Knight, 1927; Weber & Roth, 1968) is based on the rationality laws. The prominence of the Mexican and Indian constitutions, and consequently the educational policies that emanated from them, are thus evidence of the consecration of the bases of modernity in these two time-spaces.

The use of textbooks as modernizing artifacts was also examined in this chapter. Illiteracy was a major preoccupation for both post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India. From a paternalistic perspective, and a sense of cultural superiority, leaders in both countries saw the illiterate masses as unfit to be part of a modern nation. There were two main

reasons to include the people through education and literacy campaigns, to make them fit for modern citizenship and to incorporate them into the capitalist system.

Through the continuity of bureaucrats, the legal framework, and institutions with a national reach, conservative and authoritarian values transitioned to the new regimes. As a consequence, it is expected that textbooks supported some of the tendencies started by previous regimes. National ideologies and modernization projects, two of the identified objects appropriate for a comparison, emerged from the analysis of the content of a selection of books and the findings will be presented in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

ASSEMBLING CONTENT

In this chapter I have turned my attention to the books produced and distributed during the early years of the post-revolutionary state in Mexico and the Indian nation-state after independence. My intention is to create a space to discuss relevant aspects of the content of these sources, thus allowing for the crisscrossing of textbooks, Contexts, and the epistemological structures that made them possible (Sobe & Kowalczyk, 2012: 65). This chapter understands the creation and distribution of textbooks as discursive practices performed by the Indian and Mexican nation-states. Additionally, inspired by the visual turn explored by historians of education (Dussel, 2013: 32), these sources were analyzed as "complex iconic productions." In my study I have included images within these textbooks as they are important to construct a narrative about the nation. Consequently, attention was placed to image-making, which revealed patterns of western-authorized orthodoxy, stigmatizing stereotypes, and otherness contained in these textbooks (Allender, 2017).

Based on availability, relevance, and distribution, six sources were selected as constructs of particular discourses about the nation, modernity, and schooling (Brehm & Silova 2016; Meade & Silova, 2013). From Mexico I chose *Historia Patria* (Fatherland History) by Justo Sierra (1922), *Lecturas Clásicas para Niños* (Classic Readings for Children) by Gabriela Mistral *et al* (1924), and *Fermín* by Manuel Velazquez Andrade, illustrated by Diego Rivera (1928). From India, *Gyan Sarovar* (Lake of Knowledge), authored by the Education and Scientific

Research Ministry (1952), *All Men are Brothers*: Life and Thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi,

published by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (1958), and

Ancient India: A Textbook of History for Middle Schools (1966), by Romila Thapar.

As expressed in Chapter One, theoretical trends of multiple modernities, transitologies,

hegemony, and governmentality have emerged from the analysis of these books. This chapter

will look into issues of modernization, the reconstruction of state apparatuses, and national

ideologies as they were prescribed, imposed or disseminated to student populations. After

discussing why governments got involved in the production of textbooks, the chapter is

organized in two major sections: national ideology and processes of modernization.

Selected Textbooks: Intellectuals, Scholars, Artists, and Civil Servants

The books selected for this chapter were written by a combination of well-known

intellectuals, scholars, and artists who collaborated with their respective governments or became

civil servants themselves at some point. *Historia Patria* (Fatherland History) was written by

intellectual and prominent Porfirian politician, Justo Sierra Méndez (1848-1912). Sierra was

originally trained as a lawyer, but he wrote about history, political theory, and literature. As a

politician, Sierra was a representative in the Chamber of Deputies and then became minister of

the Supreme Court of Justice between 1894 and 1900. In the executive branch of government,

Sierra served as Secretary of Public Instruction and Fine Arts from 1905 until the end of the

Porfirio Díaz dictatorship in 1911. Historia Patria was first published in 1895, right in the middle

of the Porfiriato and fifteen years before the Mexican Revolution. Nevertheless, this source

continued to be the most important history text used in schools after the revolution. According to

Mexican and US historians, such as Loyo (1980) and Vaughan (1982: 15), the endurance and

prestige of *Historia Patria* is a result of its didactic character, nationalist purposes, and usefulness as a tool to introduce a "benevolent authoritarianism."

Under the leadership of José Vasconcelos, the Secretariat of Public Education (SEP) reprinted *Historia Patria* in 1922, issuing 10,000 copies. This edition has 138 pages and is organized in two major sections, books 1 and 2, with eight and six chapters respectively. Each chapter includes a number of black and white illustrations, a summary, and a questionnaire at the end of each lesson. The Secretariat added guidelines for teachers at the beginning of each book and established that this source must be read first and then explained to students. The main intention of educational authorities was to provide a textbook that was well documented with facts, a book that could be explained by teachers, and at the same time could not be reduced to the "dry catechism" that only bores children (Sierra, 1922: 68) typical of traditional instruction.

The second source, *Lecturas Clásicas* para Niños (Classic Readings for Children) is a collaborative text. While the Secretariat of Public Education is the institutional author, the book was adapted by internationally renowned writers and intellectuals. Chilean poet and diplomat Gabriela Mistral (1889-1957), who became the first Latin American author to receive a Nobel Prize in Literature in 1945, is the first author credited in this source. Mexican participants include diplomat Palma Guillén y Sánchez[1] (1898-1975), writer and poet Salvador Novo[2] (1904-

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[1] In 1946 Palma Guillén married Luis Nicolau d'Olwer, a Catalan politician and ambassador of the Spanish Republic in Mexico. Consequently, she is also registered as Palma Guillén de Nicolau in some sources. Guillén was designated by the Mexican government as liaison of Gabriela Mistral; this responsibility allowed a close friendship and a professional collaboration among Guillén and Mistral that continued for decades (Sánchez Rebolledo, 2018; Biblioteca Nacional, 2011). These personal and professional connections illustrate international networks of collaboration within the Spanish speaking countries and is part of the history of the Spanish republican exile in Mexico.

[2] Salvador Novo was one the first Mexican intellectuals to be openly homosexual. In his autobiography, *La Estatua de Sal,* written in 1945 (published in English as Pillar of Salt: An Autobiography), Novo openly discusses his sexual orientation. Due to Mexico's conservatism and the author's concerns about its possible impact on his

1974), and poet-diplomat José Gorostiza Alcalá (1901-1973). Both Mistral and Guillén were

trained as teachers and had a background in education policy and literature. Mistral and Guillén

had previously collaborated with the SEP in the creation of *Lecturas para Mujeres* (Readings for

Women) in 1923. Novo and Gorostiza not only shared an artistic background, they both served

in the post-revolutionary Mexican bureaucracy, including positions at the Secretariat of Public

Education. *Lecturas Clásicas* was illustrated by painters Gabriel Fernández Ledesma and

Roberto Montenegro, who had decorated the interior of the Mexican pavilion of the 1922 World

Fair at Rio de Janeiro. Additionally, the textbook included an introductory section titled

"Reasons for the Publication of this Book" written by under-secretary of education Bernardo J.

Gastélum,[3] and a prologue by secretary Vasconcelos himself. Half of the authors of *Lecturas*

Clásicas, Salvador Novo, José Gorostiza, and Bernardo Gastélum belonged to *Los*

Contemporáneos, a group of young intellectuals who followed modernism. Similarly, Novo,

Gastélum, Montenegro, and Vasconcelos shared the experience of having lived in the United

States, most of them as refugees from the Mexican Revolution,[4] and this background is reflected

in the comparisons between Spanish and English languages made in this book.

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career, *La Estatua de Sal* was only published until 1998, many years after the author's death. In these memoirs, Novo describes his connections with Dominican writer and intellectual Pedro Henríquez Ureña, who secured jobs and assignments for Novo between 1921 and 1925. Henríquez Ureña was part of a group of intellectuals and artists close to secretary of education José Vasconcelos. As such, Henríquez Ureña attended the 1922 Rio de Janeiro World Fair as a member of the Mexican delegation led by Vasconcelos. While Novo (2017) does not make any references to *Lecturas Clásicas para Niños* in his autobiography, it appears that his contribution to this textbook was part of the assignments that Henríquez Ureña facilitated for him.

[3] Bernardo J. Gastélum was a writer and physician with a specialization in gynecology from Columbia University in New York. Gastélum served as Secretary of Public Education for a brief period in 1924 when Vasconcelos left the post. After working at SEP, Gastélum became the Chief of Mexico's Health Department, leading the institution between 1925 and 1929 (González Serrano, 2018).

[4] As a result of the Revolution, conservatives who supported Díaz and upper middle class liberals left Mexico for the United States. According to Aaron E. Sanchez (2021, pp.12-18), between 1900 and 1910 around 25,000 upper-class political refugees crossed the border. A second wave composed of less privileged people and

In 1924 the Secretariat of Public Education printed 50, 000 copies of *Lecturas Clásicas*, the following year a second volume was produced but this edition only had 5,000 copies. Almost half a century later, in 1971, a third reprint of *Lecturas Clásicas* was produced by the Mexican Government (Matute, 2014). Volume I, considered for this study, has 334 pages, 13 chapters, and can be divided into two major sections: East and West. The Eastern section contains chapters from India, Middle East, and Japan. The Western section includes Greek classics and extracts from the Christian bible. The Secretariat included an appendix for teachers at the end of the Eastern section, which briefly describes the texts and contains a small bibliography. As a consequence of the lack of translations in Spanish, the secretariat had to provide teachers with the necessary materials so children could access classical texts through this publication. The main intention of educational authorities was to give direct access to students, avoiding adaptations for children and arguing that they had the capacity to understand these readings regardless of their age.

The third textbook considered for this chapter is *Fermín,* written by Manuel Velázquez Andrade and illustrated by Diego Rivera (1928). During the 1920s, Velázquez Andrade wrote about schooling and rural education, but *Fermín* is certainly his most popular work[5]. Diego Rivera (1886–1957) is one of the most celebrated Mexican painters, internationally known and a

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migrant workers took place in the 1920s. A total of 1.5 million Mexicans moved north into the Southwest region of the US as a result of the Revolution. Novo, Gastélum, Montenegro, and Vasconcelos belonged to privileged families. It appears that the authors of *Lecturas Clásicas* were part of the first wave described by Sanchez and then converged at the Secretariat of Public Education after returning to Mexico. For a historico-political perspective and more information about Mexican migration to the United States see Hamilton (2011, p. 218 – 254) and Beezley & MacLachlan (2016, pp. 164-186).

[5] Relevant books written by Velázquez Andrade include *Cómo debe ser la Escuela Mexicana* (1924), *La Delincuencia Juvenil: Ensayo* (1932), *Remembranzas de Colima*, 1895-1901 (1949), and *La Enseñanza Rural: su manifiesto decaimiento, reformas que require* (1952).

key figure of Mexican Muralism. Despite being a member of the communist party, Rivera closely collaborated with post-revolutionary governments, and his art became central to illustrate Mexico's history and the ideals of the Mexican Revolution.

Fermín was originally printed by SEP's Department of Rural Teaching and accompanied by *Fermín Lee*, a 25-page long booklet designed to teach children from rural schools to read. For the purposes of this chapter, the 1933 second edition of *Fermín* was considered. This second reprint did not include the reading booklet *Fermín lee,* but it is important because of the large number of copies that were produced. A total of 400,000 copies of *Fermín* were distributed around the country. This edition has 67 pages, it is organized in three major sections that roughly follow the development of the Mexican Revolution. Each section has a different number of chapters, and each chapter includes a number of black and white illustrations by Rivera. The book includes an introduction by Velázquez Andrade titled "By way of methodological plan". Instead of providing guidelines for teachers, this section is a nationalist essay that prides itself for being an original work, as opposed to translations of foreign texts and literature compilations. Historians agree that *Fermín* is part of the efforts by the government of President Plutarco Elias Calles (1924-28) to produce materials for peasants and rural schools. It is worth mentioning that the original publication of this book coincides with a land reform implemented in Mexico by the Calles administration (Corona & de Santiago, 2011: 24-33; Loyo 1984; Quintanilla & Vaughan, 2003: 91-95).

From India, I selected *Gyan Sarovar* (Lake of Knowledge), authored by the Education and Scientific Research Ministry (1952) and prefaced by educator and politician Humayun

Kabir.[6] Kabir closely collaborated with the first Minister of Education, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, as advisor between 1947 and 1958, and then became education minister himself in 1963. In the prologue, Kabir (MESR, 1952: 5-6) justifies the need to produce books for "neo-literates" as an instrument to strengthen the country and as a way for improving the social and economic conditions of people. *Gyan Sarovar* was written in Hindi, a project designed for those who had recently acquired literacy and as part of the efforts of the central government to promote the vernacular languages and support basic education (NCERT, 1961). The Education and Scientific Research Ministry published two versions of *Gyan Sarovar*, the first in 1955 and the second in 1957. Each version of *Gyan Sarovar* consisted of ten thousand copies, consequently a total of 20,000 books were printed. *Gyan Sarovar* has 32 entries, organized in 12 sections. The source can be divided into two major parts. The first part, chapters 1 to 16, includes topics related to history, geography, and literature. The second part, chapters 17 to 32, refers to biology, agriculture, health sciences, and technology. Most chapters include black and white drawings, maps, and portrays; the difference amongst the illustrations can be significant, going from simple diagrams to complex portrays and scenes.

The second Indian source considered for this chapter, *All Men are Brothers*, is a compilation of Mohandas K. Gandhi's writings. Indian authorities enthusiastically supported the publication and participated in its drafting. Intellectual and politician K. R. Kripalani, compiled and edited the text. At the time of the publication, Kripalani was the secretary of the Sahitya

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[6] Before India became independent, Humayun Kabir was involved in politics through the Congress Party. He first collaborated with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad during his presidency of the Congress between 1940 and 1945. Kabir had also an international presence, he was a co-drafter of UNESCO's *The Race Question*, the first resolution on racism after WWII (UNESCO, 1950). The collaboration between Indian authorities and international organizations such as UNESCO allowed for the publication of works such as *All Men are Brothers*.

Akademi, India's National Academy of letters[7]. As an author, Kripalani wrote about Gandhi,

Tagore, and about Indian literature. The introduction of *All Men are Brothers* was written by

influential politician S. Radhakrishnan, chair of the University Education Commission, professor

of Eastern Religions at University of Oxford, and the second president of India (1962-67). *All*

Men are Brothers is the result of a resolution by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and

Cultural Organization (UNESCO). During the 1956 Session of the General Conference, held in

New Delhi, the Director-General was authorized to issue "a book containing selections from

Gandhi's thoughts, preceded by a study on his personality" (UNESCO, 1956: 35). This book was

meant to honor Gandhi's contributions to peace, the project was proposed by the Uruguayan

delegation and approved unanimously as a token of gratitude to India for hosting the session

(UNESCO, 1956: 89). *All Men are Brothers* contains twelve chapters, all based on Gandhi's

writings and related to a wide variety of topics. At the end of the book a glossary of terms, a list

of sources, and a selected bibliography in English, French, and Spanish are included. *All Men are*

Brothers is 196 pages long and is mostly text except for nine photographs of Gandhi included in

the book.

Finally, the third Indian source considered for this chapter is *Ancient India: A Textbook of*

History for Middle Schools (1966), by Romila Thapar. Thapar was a young historian who wrote

a critique on the state of history books circulating in the Indian market after the decentralization

process started after independence. In this 1961 report, prepared for UNESCO, Thapar expressed

concerns for the poor quality of textbooks and how these materials reproduced communal and

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[7] K. R. Kripalani was an active member of the Congress Party, he led the Sahitya Akademi from its creation 1954 until 1971.

colonial stereotypes. As a result, education minister M. C. Chagla requested Thapar to join a project for writing nation-wide history textbooks (Bhattacharya, 2009; Thapar, 2009). The National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) commissioned Thapar and other historians to write history textbooks during the second half of the 1960s. However, the author was not entirely free to edit this book. Thapar had to discuss the drafts with members of the Editorial Board, integrated by Thapar herself and older male historians such as S. Gopal, S. Nurul Hasan, and Satish Chandra. Ancient India is 151 pages long and contains nine chapters. A few maps and illustrations of archeological sites and objects are included but the book is mostly text. At the end of each chapter, the author included "exercises" for students. These exercises are a combination of summaries, glossaries, and questions on the previous lesson.

As we can see, the authors of these six sources are nationally and internationally relevant. Intellectuals, academics, and artists converged in these textbook projects, showing networks and collaborations between those fields and the nation state. This project is influenced by Antonio Gramsci's ideas on education and hegemony. As such, the sources and authors in this chapter were analyzed along Gramscian lines. First, the books in this chapter belong to the moment of cultural leadership, which is a time when the dominant elite seeks to form a collective will and disseminate new conceptions of the world (Bobbio 1979). Second, the authors fulfill the role of organic intellectuals, thinking and organizing elements to spreading ideas and aspirations (Gramsci, 2007; Gramsci, Hoare, & Nowell-Smith, 1971). The authors of these texts were thus providing the population with elements to spread national ideologies and modern values.

Producing Books as a Modern Necessity

Producing books is a shared necessity between post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India. Three of the books selected for this study, *Lecturas Clásicas para Niños*, *Gyan Sarovar*, and *Ancient India*, documented and discussed the lack of appropriate educational resources as a major issue for the authorities in both countries. These books described the low number and the poor quality of available materials for children. Furthermore, an analysis of the books considered for this chapter, together with the discussion about availability and quality, revealed the utility of these materials for advancing a national ideology and for modernizing a population.

The period in which textbooks receive considerable attention and public funds, is part of the moment of cultural leadership of post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India respectively. As described by Bobbio (1979) and discussed in Chapter One of this project, this moment occurs when the dominant group moves from political disputes and turns their attention to cultural projects. By 1924 and 1952, when *Lecturas Clásicas para Niños* and *Gyan Sarovar* were first published in Mexico and India respectively, the moments of political leadership and turmoil were slowly transforming into moments of cultural leadership. Following Bobbio's interpretation of Gramsci's work, I see these textbooks as evidence of the intention to form a collective will, as well as part of the efforts of both nation-states to create and disseminate a nationalist conception of the world. Consequently, the Indian and Mexican governments required all kinds of communication technologies, including textbooks, to help them to achieve the spread of nationalism in their respective territories.

Books can be considered both a modern necessity and a modernizing tool. As modern artifacts, books support the refinement of the machinery of power, a topic extensively analyzed by Foucault (1995: 77), allowing readers to locate and obtain information more efficiently. As national artifacts, textbooks sanctioned by the government help them to influence the population's knowledge and behavior. Additionally, books help the subjects of the nation to acquire some of the information that they require to be part of the state and participate as a member. Textbooks are modernizing artifacts because they transform the readers into new subjects. Following Sanjay Seth (2007: 4), new knowledge does not merely "stuff" people's heads with new ideas, they transform people by repositioning them in different ways, thus constructing "new knowers." Consequently, the production and distribution of textbooks is both a necessity and an instrument that fits into the nationalist and modernizing projects of both post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India.

Availability of appropriate books was a challenge for both regimes, but this issue cannot be understood separated from language. In *Lecturas Clásicas para Niños*, José Vasconcelos (1924: ix), the first secretary of education and editor of textbooks during the early 1920s, wrote about the difficulty of finding books in Spanish. He went as far as arguing that it was necessary to learn more languages because only speaking Spanish was not enough. Vasconcelos argued that "A man who only speaks Spanish cannot find out about all human culture" (p. ix). He considered it essential to write, edit, and translate books for the Mexican population. Many years later, in *Gyan Sarovar* (1952), Humayun Kabir provided a similar argument and wrote that producing books for people who recently became literate was a responsibility of independent India: "As soon as our own government was formed in the country, one of the tasks that went to

its attention was that such books should be written for new and less educated people". Written in Hindi, *Gyan Sarovar* was part of the efforts of the Ministry of Education to engage in the vernacular languages, especially Hindi. In *Ancient India*, Romila Thapar (1966) connected language diversity and history, inviting students to explore the past as a way to know themselves: "You will also come to know why you are speaking the language which you speak" (p. 11). In a multilingual India, Thapar's invitation to learn about ancient history is a clear recognition of the linguistic diversity and increasing relevance of vernacular languages. Furthermore, it is a reflection of the language politics that have characterized India since independence.

As previously mentioned, in Chapter Three, there was no discussion about Spanish being the national language in Mexico. The campaigns that the Mexican state conducted to integrate the indigenous populations were based on the idea that students from these communities must learn Spanish. In contrast, the adoption of a national language in India generated an ardent debate. Over the years there has been considerable opposition to Hindi becoming India's national language, as originally established by the drafters of the Indian Constitution. Consequently, English was kept and continues to be the de facto official language. Collectively, these books are testimonies of the need for an official language to communicate with the population. At the same time the books considered for this chapter represent the challenges and the responses of each regime to the linguistic diversity of their countries. While post-revolutionary Mexico neglected the indigenous minorities, and bluntly ignored afro-descendants, in post-independence India no vernacular language was set as the official language of the nation. In both countries, a colonial language became the *de facto* medium of communication for the state, which explains why many

of the produced and sponsored books, including most of the selected sources for this analysis, were written in Spanish and English.

Lecturas Clásicas para Niños and *Gyan Sarovar* best illustrate the modern need to provide people with artifacts to locate information. In *Lecturas Clásicas* Vasconcelos wrote that books grant access to "all human culture." A similar perception was advanced by Kabir (1952, p. six) when he argued that the role of *Gyan Sarovar* was to conflate "the new economic and political ideas that are being created in the world," including science and technology. Based on these accounts it is evident that both prominent civil servants were thinking about books in modern terms, as tools to efficiently facilitate information to the population.

The poor quality of books for children and students was also a common concern for both regimes. In *Lecturas Clásicas para Niños*, under-secretary of education Bernardo J. Gastelum (1924) argued that textbooks were not good enough for children and that they should have access to classic literature since "[current] Reading books for Schools are works that lack inspiration" (p. 6), meaning that adaptations discouraged students' potential for development and that children had the capacity to directly engage with original texts. In the same publication, Vasconcelos (1924: X) was more emphatic and wrote that the possibility for "returning" to the original classics was not the only reason for the Secretariat of Public Education to produce more appropriate textbooks, but moreover the mediocrity of available texts called for their intervention.

As discussed in Chapter Three, Indian sources documented a decline in the quality of textbooks after independence and as the result of the vernacularization of education. The Secondary Education Commission, established in 1952, reported on the poor quality of

textbooks, the malfeasance in their selection, and expressed concerns about the possible

indoctrination of students (Ministry of Education, 1953: 77-79). Members of the commission

manifested their dissatisfaction with the quality of paper, printing, and illustrations. Similarly,

the commission warned that educational authorities in some states unjustifiably favored some

authors and printing houses. Additionally, the report briefly mentions that some of the state-

prescribed books "[...]have tried to indoctrinate the minds of the young students with particular

political or religious ideologies" (Ministry of Education, 1953: 79), which appears to be coded

language warning about the rise of the Hindu right, but unfortunately no further specification is

offered by the commission.

The incapacity of the market to respond to the state's need to produce books was

observed in both post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India. In *Lecturas Clásicas*

para Niños, José Vasconcelos provided a clear description of the conditions of the market after

the Revolution and the opposition he faced while trying to publish this and other books.

Vasconcelos documented the hostility of publishers, educators, and newspapers to the editorial

projects of the Secretariat of Public Education. These groups argued that the new books would

ruin the private industry through "unfair competition." According to Vasconcelos, his opponents

considered that "Children must not read the classics [...] because these are not within the reach of

their little intelligences." This quote shows how Vasconcelos was more interested in supporting

children's access to the classics, and by doing so securing their political agency under the new

regime, rather than ruining private publishers. Vasconcelos assured the editorial projects of the

Secretariat of Education would in fact help the private industry, "[...] all those who have learned

to read thanks to the millions of books distributed by the government, will have to become

clients of the publishers because they have to keep reading." Consequently, producing and distributing books was a responsibility of the nation-state because the market was not enough.

A similar discussion about the incapacity of the market to produce the necessary materials can be found in post-independence India; not in the textbooks analyzed in this chapter but in the sources discussed in Chapter Three of this project. The Secondary Education Commission (Ministry of Education, 1953: 77-79) reported that after the transition to vernacular languages as the media of instruction, the possibility of publishing textbooks on an all-India basis was no longer available. As a consequence, authors and publishers were constrained to their states or regions. These circumstances limited competition and led to both arbitrary selections and a deterioration in the standard of quality. In that adverse context, the Secondary Education Commission justified the intervention of the central government to produce proper textbooks for schools.

In a 1961 report for UNESCO, Thapar (2005; 2009) wrote that the history books circulating in the Indian market were poor in quality, reproduced communal and colonial stereotypes, and presented unprofessional arguments. As a result, Thapar and other relevant historians were commissioned by the central government to write history books for different school levels (Bhattacharya, 2009; Guha, 1998), thus solidifying governmental responsibility and the role of the state for producing textbooks as opposed to the market. *Ancient India* (1966) is the direct result of the documented decline in the quality of textbooks produced by the vernacularization of education in India. The report of the Secondary Education Commission (1964-66) propelled the intervention of the Indian central government and the edition of titles such as the one produced by Thapar.

Thapar further justified state intervention in editorial projects in terms of nationalism and modernization. When the author accused vernacular materials of reproducing communal and colonial stereotypes, Thapar acted in favor of the central government and further solidified its modern political authority. By promising to produce a textbook that will remove the stereotypes that justified British rule, Thapar worked in favor of a national ideology. Moreover, Thapar's appeal to the professionalization of historical work was part of the refinement of social sciences that is typical of modernization and also contributed to the establishment of a state expert officialdom through the development of historical work.

The need to produce modern books in both Mexico and India originated in the lack of appropriate quality sources. The unavailability of textbooks was not just a low production issue, it was a braid of complex elements including: the need for materials that recognized the political agency of children, textbooks written in the official or dominant national languages, the need to provide people with modern artifacts to locate information efficiently, and the incapacity of the market to provide suitable texts. However, textbooks also supported the spread of national ideologies in post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India. In other words, denouncing the low quality of available materials, allowed both regimes to produce books that were not only a modern necessity, but became useful as artifacts to advance nationalism.

The Diffusion of a National Ideology

This research follows Antonio Gramsci's notions of schooling as a way for the dominant group to ensure the development and dissemination of a national ideology that promotes their

historical significance, status, and economic prominence.[8] The analysis of the sources shows that textbooks helped to spread nationalism in Mexico and India by advancing the conception of the nation as a cultural unit. In Mexico, the opposition to imitating foreign materials also contributed to solidifying Mexican nationalism. In India, setting literacy as a source for the strength of the nation was partly responsible for the advancement of Indian nationalism. Additionally, 20th Century nationalisms in Mexico and India are both anti-colonialist and cosmopolitan and the sources reflect these characteristics.

The Nation as a Cultural Unit

The six texts considered for this chapter assume that Mexico and India are cultural units despite the ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity of their populations. In fact, the selection of books follows two of the paradoxes of nationalism proposed by Benedict Anderson (2006): the objective modernity of the nation versus their subjective antiquity, and the formal universality of nationality as a sociocultural concept versus the irremediable particularity of its concrete manifestations. These paradoxes help to identify how the textbooks supported the perception that the nation is an ancient cultural entity.

Out of the six sources selected to be analyzed in this chapter, the only text that included a discussion about the nation being a cultural unit is Romila Thapar's *Ancient India*. In the preface the author briefly argued that Indian culture has evolved through time and geography, "The history of the Indian people, in all its aspects, will be surveyed, and attention will be drawn to the oneness of India and the evolution of an Indian culture which transcends different religions and

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[8] A discussion of these arguments can be found in chapter 2 of this dissertation. These ideas are based on the work of Gramsci (1971; 2007), Mouffe (1979), and Bobbio (1979).

regions." In this brief quote, Thapar addressed the subjective antiquity of the Indian Nation and the formal universality of the Indian nationality. The Indian nation is not just advanced by Thapar as a single cultural entity, but as one that transcends time, religions, and regional differences. Thapar's argument had a nationalist origin. The idea that the Subcontinent was not a nation, but a land divided by religion, caste, and language, was used to legitimize British rule and later, while the causes of the Partition of Colonial India are complex and remain controversial, the very same idea was used to divide the Subcontinent and contributed to its partition along religious differences (Guha, 2019: XIX-XXIV). Even today, history books about India, regardless of the historical period that they study, include discussions supporting the argument that the Subcontinent can be considered a national unit, usually leaning towards the acceptance of shared cultural elements that have transcended time (e.g., Banerjee-Dube, 2015; Singh, 2009; Guha, 2019).

Similarly, the Indian encyclopaedia produced for people who recently learned to read and write, *Gyan Sarovar* (1952), accounted for the subjective antiquity of India and went back to ancient times, dedicating an entry to teach the "History of Man" and the "Rise of Civilization." Thapar's *Ancient India* (1966) also went back to the early times of humanity but offered a more professional perspective. As a trained historian, Thapar started her book during prehistoric times, describing nomadic life. In *Ancient India* Thapar talked about the stone age, "Settled Life," and then outlined how "Man takes to City Life." It is worth noticing that these chapters mentioned the diversification of professions and the development of technology as part of the urbanization process.

Following a common scholarly trend in the study of South Asia's ancient history, the first important culture presented by Thapar is the Harappan Civilization (2600-1900 BCE), which settled in a large region that extends beyond India's national borders and included areas of today's Afghanistan and Pakistan. Despite their geographic and temporal distance, both Mexico and India avoided any reference to historical connections with other contemporary nation-states during ancient times, thus leaving the subjective antiquity of each country confined within modern national borders.

Regardless of the discussion about the Harappan Civilization, the first complete chapter in *Ancient India* is dedicated to the lndo-Aryans of the "Vedic Age," the people who composed the Vedas, their sacred literature and the earliest Hindu scriptures recorded.[9] *Gyan Sarovar* also includes some references to Hinduism. This textbook contains an entry about the God Krishna (pp. 75-80) and a discussion about the importance of the Puranas (pp. 101-106); a genre of literature that covers diverse topics, includes traditional lore, and depicts major Hindu Gods. The influence of Hinduism in these textbooks can be associated with the type of secularism that characterized the early days of India as an independent nation. Instead of imposing a "wall" between church and state, Indian secularism attempted to engage and sustain all of India's religions (Metcalf & Metcalf, 2012: 233). For example, instead of promoting a Hindu emblem, the Nehru administration adopted the four-lion capital of Buddhist-converted emperor Ashoka as the central icon of India's independent government. Romila Thapar's *Ancient India* (1966: 76-

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[9] For a discussion about the Vedas, and religions in India in general, it is possible to read David Lorenzen and Benjamin Preciado's *Atadura y Liberación* (2003, p.24). For a comprehensive perspective of Hinduism, see Wendy Doniger's *The Hindus* (2009), which offers an interesting research approach that incorporates the narratives of "alternative peoples" such as women, lower castes, members of other religions, and cultures that have not been traditionally included in the history of Hinduism.

77) provided visual evidence of this secularized icon of Buddhist origin. Figure 2 offers a depiction of the four-lion capital from Ashoka's pillar at Sarnath. Thapar enthusiastically described the pillar as an example of Mauryan art, further documenting the claim that after independence the design of the four lions was taken as "the national emblem of India."

Figure 2. The Four-Lion Capital as an emblem of the Indian Nation

The four-lion capital from Ashoka's pillar at Sarnath
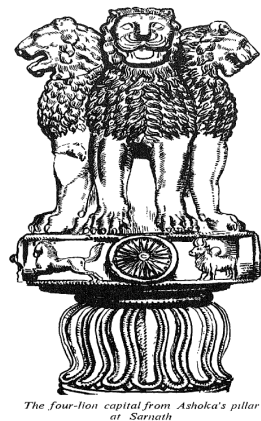
Despite the attention to Buddhism, the prominence of Hinduism in the Indian textbooks considered for this chapter is undeniable. References and editorial projects related to Hinduism, such as the Sanskrit dictionary discussed in Chapter Three, were regarded by the central government as sources of unity (NCERT, 1961: 61). The religions originated in the Subcontinent were considered by nationalist leaders as part of India's cultural heritage. Taking into account the secularist discourse of the Nehru years and the openness of the central government to classic Sanskrit literature, it is possible to argue that the Hindu influence in *Gyan Sarovar* and *Ancient India* secured the support of the state as cultural sources of national unity. In other words, the influence of Hinduism was allowed in state-sponsored editorial projects, not just as part of the central government's attempts to engage with all of India's religions, but Hinduism was understood as part of the unavoidable cultural roots of the Indian Nation. Looking back, the

influence of Hinduism in these textbooks can now be analyzed as a precedent of the rise of the Hindu right in India.

In the Mexican case, we can take *Historia Patria* (1922) as evidence of the subjective antiquity of the Mexican Nation. The book goes back to the arrival of humans from today's US South-West and Northern Mexico to the Central and Southern regions of the country. Discussing the arrival of humanity to the Valley of Mexico, where today's Mexico City lies, Justo Sierra wrote: "Well, the mountains had not yet formed surrounding our valleys [...] when there were already men who, poorly dressed in the skins of beasts, took shelter in the forests" (p. 13). This description illustrates the subjective antiquity of the Mexican Nation by combining the formation of the territory with the arrival of humans to this land. Furthermore, Sierra's emphasis on Central Mexico reflects the centralism that has characterized the Mexican nation-state. While Sierra (1922) mentioned the Mayan Civilization, whose origins are now dated as far as 2000 BCE, he focused on the Toltec and Mexica cultures, which belong to the Classic and Postclassic periods of Mesoamerica, 150-900 CE and 900-1521 CE respectively, and better fit its centralist narrative because these groups were established in central Mexico. In contrast, the Mayas were based in the Yucatan peninsula and beyond national borders into Guatemala, Belice, and parts of Honduras and El Savador; a geographical extension that is evaded by Justo Sierra in *Historia Patria*.

The subjective antiquity of the Mexican nation is further advanced by Sierra when the author referred to Mexico as a country even before its independence, starting from the colonial period: "As expected there were good and bad viceroys; many of them became rich in Mexico" (p. 54). It may seem contradictory that Sierra set the origins of the Mexican Nation in ancient

times, but only used the word "Mexico" after colonialism was established. This is explained by the fact that Mexican modernity is based in the colonial roots of the nation, which favors European-Hispanic cultural heritage over the pre-colonial civilizations and indigenous peoples. Most importantly, under Sierra's perception, the Spanish language, a product of European colonialism, gave the nation a strong common cultural element.

Mexico's formal universality as a sociocultural concept was observed in the three textbooks considered for this study. These sources were produced for students and appealed to them as part of the Mexican Nation and as a homogeneous people. In *Lecturas Clásicas para Niños*, when comparing educational systems, Vasconcelos (1924) asked "Why should the Mexican child crammed with texts that lack, however, that amenity of literary information that an English-speaking child acquires from the third year of his teaching?" (p. x). Moreover, *Fermín*'s subtitle is "A Mexican Reading Book," and the book claims to be a "biography" of "thousands of Mexican children" (p. v). For the authors of these books and for educational authorities, all Mexican students are subjects of the Mexican nation.

Despite regional, linguistic, religious, and caste differences, *Gayan Sarovan* (1952) pigeonholed all folk songs into the single category of "भारत" (India) and claimed that these stories "are the true mirror of the life of the country" (p. 152). Similarly, *All Men are Brothers* (1958), thought as a text that represented the leadership of India in the world, argued that "Gandhi's life was rooted in India's religious tradition" (p. xiii), which assumes the existence of a homogeneous heritage, presumably Hindu, and overlooked other traditions that influenced

Gandhi[10]. Finally, *Ancient India* (1966) is the most explicit text about the country being a national unit and talked about the Indian population as a homogeneity: "The history of the Indian people, in all its aspects, will be surveyed, and attention will be drawn to the oneness of India and the evolution of an Indian culture which transcends different religions and regions" (p. 7).

As theorized by Anderson (2006), the textbooks show how under the umbrella of the nation, diverse groups and individuals were considered to belong to a single political identity. This is the case of Mexico, a country that neglected discussions on diversity and whose elite based their modernization projects on the country's colonial past and European roots, most prominently the hegemony of the Spanish language. The diversity of the Mexican population can be explored in linguistic terms. According to the 1921 Census, when these textbooks were published by the Secretariat of Education, 12% of the Mexican population spoke a "native language" and nine years later the number increased to 16% based on data of the 1930 census[11]. These numbers only show a partial side of the diversity of the Mexican population. For example, a group that has been historically ignored is the afrodescendant populations and communities in the country.

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[10] Buddhism and Jainism, religions that originated in the Subcontinent, heavily influenced Gandhi. Furthermore, the importance of Islam and Christianity in South Asia has been discussed as significant by biographers of Gandhi and historians of the Subcontinent.

[11] There are significant differences between the 1921 and the 1930 census, which accounts for the increase of indigenous-language speakers between the two censuses. The 1921 only reports speakers of a "native language", while the 1930 reports several groups: those who only speak an "Indigenous Dialect" and people who speak Spanish and one, two or three "Indigenous Dialects". Population Censuses can be found at the website of the National Institute of Geography and Statistics (INEGI): https://www.inegi.org.mx/datos/?ps=Programas

Opposition to Imitation in Mexico

There are two other ways in which nationalism was expressed in the sources considered for this chapter. In Mexico as a rejection of uncontextualized imitation of educational materials. In India, as part of the advancement of literacy and as a tool to strengthen the nation. In the "reasons" for the publication of *Lecturas Clásicas para Niños* (1924: v-vi), under-secretary of Public Education, Bernardo J. Gastelum questioned the "slavish imitation of Saxon methods." Gastelum argued that children had the potential to acquire knowledge, but the books published at his time were formed by diluted readings that infantilized readers and suffocated their spontaneity. According to Gastelum (1924: vi), the origin of this practice can be found in those countries whose "[...] language is written in one way and pronounced in another," while "The Spanish language is usually pronounced as it is written." Consequently, the secretariat decided that Mexican children must read editions that take into account the language differences between English and Spanish speakers. By questioning imitation and labeling it as "slavish," Gastelum not only made the case in favor of textbooks that are appropriate for Spanish speaking readers but reaffirmed the right of the Mexican nation-state to produce the materials that would satisfy its national agenda.

The production and distribution of *Lecturas Clásicas para Niños* contributed to the modern practice of making children relevant subjects of the post-revolutionary state. Gastelum's defense of the capacity of children to understand original classic texts of world literature served two purposes. It solidified the position of Mexican children as social actors and it prepared them

to become cultural critics.[12] The brief introduction to *Lecturas Clásicas para Niños* by under-secretary Gastelum sealed this policy, but the preface by secretary Vasconcelos truly illustrates the change in the perception of the political role of children. Vasconcelos argued that in the past children were not considered intelligent enough, but *Lecturas Clásicas para Niños* sees them as competent. Vasconcelos (1924: xii-xiii) wrote that children were "awake" and not yet "dull by vices and appetites." In Vasconcelos' preface, children are "geniuses" that only become fools when they reach sixteen years of age.

The rejection of imitating materials is also present in *Fermín* (1928). The author, Velázquez Andrade, is proud of the fact that the book is not a translation or a hybrid of several texts: "It is not a book of moral readings, of scientific fragments, of false stories, of feigned or imaginary events" (p. v). *Fermín* also supported the importance of children for the post-revolutionary state. As a child, the main character manages to attend school and continues his education by reading history books, newspapers, and political brochures. Fermín grew up to become a politician, representing peasants and participating in the constituent assembly that wrote the 1917 Constitution. *Fermín* established a modern roadmap for the political participation of Mexican Children, schooling and reading the classics during their underage years, and representative democracy as grown-up citizens. The position of Mexican children as social actors and subjects of reform is thus strengthened in this textbook. Children were subject to reform through schooling and reading. Specifically, through the use of the books produced by the state.

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[12] Jackson Albarrán (2011; 2015) has demonstrated how children became social actors, cultural critics, and subjects of reform in the agenda of post-revolutionary Mexico.

This schooling and reading would allow them to participate in future political action through the representative democracy sustained in the 1917 Constitution.

Literacy as a Strength of the Nation

The second way in which nationalism was expressed in the sources considered for this chapter is related to the advancement of literacy. The capacity to read was considered a tool to strengthen the nation in both Mexico and India. Literacy was very important for the post-revolutionary regimes in Mexico, the publishing efforts of the Secretariat of Education were aligned to support national literacy campaigns and the "cultural missions" started by secretary Vasconcelos. Together, these efforts contributed to the expansion of a national language and culture. Nonetheless, the analyzed textbooks only provided indirect references to the literacy campaigns. The revision of the three Mexican sources revealed that the authors concentrated on the importance of books. Justo Sierra's *Historia Patria*, SEP's *Lecturas Clásicas para Niños,* and Velázquez Andrade's *Fermín* focussed on discussing or portraying the importance of quality books for national unity, social progress, and as markers of civilization.[13]

The only references to the importance of literacy in the Mexican texts selected for this chapter can be found in *Fermín.* Reading and writing are present three times in this book. First, when the main character laments that he cannot communicate with his revolutionary father for not knowing how to write (see Figure 3, p. 36). Figure 3 not only reflected the importance of

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[13] The importance of literacy campaigns has been widely discussed by historians of Mexico. Important work has been done on the network of rural schools and the "Cultural Missions" developed within the Secretariat of Public Education. The literacy campaigns started by secretary Vasconcelos have received considerable attention, see Beezley (2011, p. 421); Garciadiego (2015); Lewis (2006, p. 180); Loyo (1984); Martinez Moctezuma (2002); Solana, Cardiel Reyes, & Bolaños Martinez (2014); Quintanilla & Vaughan (2003); Villa Lever (2009); and Vaughan (1982; 1997; 2006). Inspired by 16th Century Spanish missionaries, these educational projects expanded the use of Spanish and promoted a national culture known as "Mexicanidad."

literacy for the post-revolutionary regimen, but it also showed a gender difference. Fermín's mother is always working in the background, excluded from the literacy dreams of the son. A second time when the importance of literacy is depicted occurs when Fermín manages to attend school and becomes literate, presumably as a result of the Mexican Revolution (pp. 68 & 74). Finally, a third time happens when Fermín's mother, mostly portrayed as a secondary character and in the background of Diego Rivera's illustrations, is drawn by the famous muralist to be reading (see Figure 4), although no comment about this scene is made by the author of the book. This source is consequently presenting the importance of literacy, but the emphasis is placed on this ability being a result of the social justice brought by the Mexican Revolution, helping to solidify the hegemony of postrevolutionary regimes.

Figure 3. Fermin thinks about the importance of reading and writing

Figure 4. Fermín's mother reading in the background

Two of the Indian textbooks reflected on the importance of literacy from a nationalist

approach. Within the Indian selection, *Gyan Sarovar* (1952), a reading book specifically edited

for "neo-literates," is the most prominent source in terms of literacy. In the preface, writer and

future minister of education, Humayun Kabir[14] argued that the increasing number of literate

people demanded the production of quality books, considering this a challenge for the strength of

the nation. This research takes this source as evidence of two international trends that were

adapted as a national policy by the post-independence Indian state. The conception of the

population as a resource for state power and wealth, and the human capital theory arguments that

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[14] Kabir was a co-drafter of UNESCO's *The Race Question*, the first resolution on racism after WWII (UNESCO, 1950). Interestingly enough, Humayun Kabir closely collaborated with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. First during Azad's presidency of the Congress Party, and later as advisor in the Education Ministry. Before Azad's death in 1958, Kabir suggested that he write his memoirs. Kabir was particularly interested in the transfer of power from the British to the Indians. Azad's memories were dictated in Urdu to Kabir, who edited an English version and, after Azad's approval, were published as *India wins Freedom* in 1959. In 1963 Kabir became education minister (Qureshi, 2014; Azad, 2003).

started to develop in the 1960s. Evidence of these trends can be observed in what Kabir wrote about the new books, by reading *Gyan Sarovar* the "people will be able to improve their social and economic condition, increase their intellect and the value of science, and develop scientific attitude in them" (p. five). Considering the importance of vernacular languages and language politics of the time, it should not be overlooked that *Gyan Sarovar* was written in Hindi and printed in the devanagari script.

A direct connection between democracy and literacy is also presented in *Gyan Sarovar*. India's first education minister, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, saw basic education as essential for performing citizen duties. Mass education and adult literacy were thus core components of equity and the future of Indian democracy (Hameed, 1998; Habib, 2015). *Gyan Sarovar* followed this connection. In terms of the Mexican sources, only in *Fermín* we can find a similar link between literacy and civism, in the preface Velázquez Andrade (1928) wrote that after mastering the "mechanism of reading," the students who read this book will integrate to their civic conscience "[...] the life and sacrifices of some not distant ancestors; but not with fictions, but with a period of national life itself" (p. v). Despite the element of sacrifice, Velázquez Andrade established a connection between literacy and civic responsibility.

The presence of literacy in vernacular languages and scripts prior to European colonization was a source of pride for Indian nationalism. Romila Thapar's introduction to *Ancient India* spent considerable space discussing the ancient scripts of the subcontinent, conveying the idea that the Indian nation has been literate since ancient times. Page 12 presented a chart with some of the "Indian scripts." Discussing manuscripts as "ancient books," Thapar (1966) explained that some of them were written in languages that are no longer used in

everyday life, such as Pali and Prakrit; other were written in languages that are still studied and used in religious practices, for example Sanskrit and Arabic; and finally, Thapar talked about Tamil as an example of a language that is still spoken and has literature that can be traced back to "earlier times" (p. 13).

Thapar helps to establish the antiquity of the Indian nation by finding connections between ancient and modern languages and scripts. Thapar (1966) informs the reader of *Ancient India* about a cultural continuity from ancient times: "You will also come to know why you are speaking the language which you speak" (p. 11). The survival of ancient scripts, which resemble the ones used in modern vernacular languages, allows speakers to read ancient texts. Even though modern speakers of vernacular languages may not be able to understand this information, the cultural continuity through language has been established by nationalist historians such as Thapar. Finally, the author provided one more argument in favor of the cultural unity of the Indian nation. In this case, Thapar made a territorial claim about ancient scripts covering the totality of the national territory. Thapar (1966) argued that "Many such inscriptions have been found all over India" (p. 13), failing to recognize that these inscriptions go beyond the national borders, and advancing the idea that literacy is a skill shared by Indian people since ancient times.

Literacy is indirectly mentioned in *All Men Are Brothers* (UNESCO, 1958). Gandhi advocated in favor of a "all-rounded" and vocational education, characteristics that are reflected in Chapter 8 on education. By all-round, Gandhi meant an education that does not distinguish between the body, the mind, and the soul. Consequently, for Gandhi (UNESCO, 1958) "Literacy is not the end of education nor even the beginning. It is only one of the means whereby man and

woman can be educated. Literacy in itself is no education" (p. 151). Under Gandhi's educational philosophy, teaching a useful handicraft was important for the development of children and for an independent nation. Gandhi (UNESCO, 1958) explained that development of the mind and the soul was possible through handicraft making, but that it must be supported by science: "Only every handicraft has to be taught not merely mechanically as is done today but scientifically, i.e., the child should know the why and the wherefore of every process" (p. 152). Even within Gandhi's all-rounded and vocational-based model of education, science has a special place and cannot be separated from literacy, both contributing to solidify the strength of the Indian nation.

Twentieth Century nationalisms in Mexico and India are both anti-colonialist and cosmopolitan. The textbooks included in this chapter reflected an opposition to foreign invasion and in favor of autonomy. Similarly, the sources display a vision of the world, and each nation fits into that view. These discussions are important to further understand nationalism in post-colonial societies and the differences that it may entail with nationalisms in Europe and the United States.

Anti-Colonialism in the Selected Textbooks

Historia Patria was first published in 1895, during the Porfirio Diaz dictatorship and fifteen years before the Mexican Revolution. The book was authored by Justo Sierra, a prominent member of the Porfirian elite. Since Sierra was the secretary of Public Instruction and Fine Arts during the later years of the dictatorship, the title of the book is not surprisingly nationalistic. It aims at explaining the history of the Mexican nation, using "fatherland" as a way to convey a more emotional tone. The book is dedicated to the author's children and to all Mexican children. The paternalistic and nationalist tone is evident in the emotional dedication:

"The love of the Fatherland contains all the human loves. That love is first felt and explained later" (Sierra, 1922: 5), by writing this history book, Sierra aimed to explain that love for the fatherland.

In *Historia Patria*, Sierra discussed foreign interventions in Mexico, starting with the Spanish Conquest. His description is mainly factual and composed. Spanish conqueror Hernan Cortez is even depicted in heroic terms. In contrast, the Mexican American War (1846-48) and the French Intervention (1961-67) are both characterized as unjust. Sierra tried to make sense of the traumatic events that his generation experienced, particularly the loss of half of the national territory to the United States: "The American people had committed a great crime, we had received a great lesson; Would we renounce the civil wars that weakened us and sapped our energy and dissolved our patriotism?" (Sierra, 1922: 111). The author blamed the lack of unity and the constant civil unrest for the loss of territory to the United States. This interpretation not only favored a strong national ideology and justified Sierra's emotional tone, but it also legitimized the Porfirian dictatorship, which has been described by historians as the first and longest period of relative peace, political stability, and dynamic economic development in Mexico since independence in 1821 (Tenorio-Trillo, 1996: xii), a period labeled as the *Pax Porfiriana* by some authors such as Vaughan and Lewis (2006).

The fact that post-revolutionary governments reprinted this text can be interpreted as evidence of the simultaneous collapse and reconstruction of a nationalist ideology as well as the authoritarian nature of the Mexican state. The Secretariat of Public Education printed *Historia Patria* despite the fact that the book was written by a member of the previous elite and regardless of being used during the dictatorship. It should not be overlooked that the author wrote and

published this work during the Díaz dictatorship. Sierra encouraged the centralization of power by contrasting the political instability of the 19th Century with the relative stability of the Porfirian period. This becomes clear when we consider that half the book, the second part, described in detail and at length the internal confrontations experienced between 1808 and 1876. The powerful contrast between violence and peace comes right at the end, when in the closing note of the textbook, Sierra (1922) praised the dictatorship for the prosperity and peace achieved after Porfirio Díaz became president in 1876:

> An era of material improvements and peace then began for the Republic, which if it is not seriously interrupted and if its rulers know how to understand the aspirations of the people, it will not only give prosperity forever, but something that is worth more, holy freedom.

Even after the Revolution, this book continued to be useful for promoting national unity, which is a strong topic presented by Sierra and a concern that other countries had at the time[15]. The need for national unity and the threat of foreign invasions continued to be present. For example, Velázquez Andrade's *Fermín* (1928: 49), described the 1914 occupation of the Veracruz Port by the United States as an "usurpation" to seize Mexico's wealth and oil. In Figure 5, from page 51 of the book, Diego Rivera depicted a violent invasion of Mexican territory by the US army. We can observe the US army killing Mexican soldiers, women, and children, and in the background, we can see the oil wells that motivate the invasion and murders.

As a consequence of the threat that foreign invasions posed, post-revolutionary leaders considered necessary and justifiable the concentration of power. Thus, authoritarianism in

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[15] An example of national unity being an international concern shared by many countries can be found in an address given at the Guildford Educational Conference, on October 20, 1900, by the famous comparativist of education M. E. Sadler, who wrote that in England "what we want is not a cut-and-dried uniform system, but variety inspired by a sense of national unity" (Bereday, 1964).

Mexico became institutionalized in a presidential system, a hegemonic party, and a nationalist rhetoric. Justo Sierra's *Historia Patria* and Velázquez Andrade's *Fermín* fit well into this larger project of establishing a new hegemony by making the case for national unity against possible foreign invasions and by setting the tone for a new, post-revolutionary peace.

Figure 5. Foreign invasion seeking to take over Mexico's oil
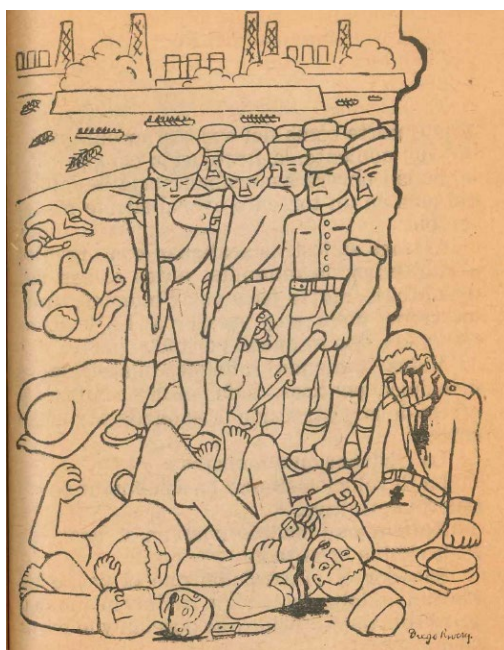
Considering *Historia Patria*, and the arguments made by Supdipta Kaviraj (2010), discussed in Chapter Two, Sierra's textbook supports the argument that both Mexican and Indian nationalisms have their origins in the events experienced during the 19th Century. These nationalisms propelled anti-colonialist movements such as the Mexican Revolution and the Indian Independence struggle. In the selected textbooks it is possible to observe this anti-colonial feeling.

Anti-colonialism in Sierra's work can be observed in his discussion about the US-Mexico War and also in the lines that the author wrote about the ruling couple imposed by France as

Mexico's emperors between 1864 and 1867. Austrian archduke Maximilian of Habsburg and wife Charlotte of Belgium are described by Sierra (1922: 134) as ambitious and inadequate for Mexico: "This unhappy prince was an artist, born to rule an Italian country in peace; his wife, with a noble heart and immense ambition, decided for him to wear an imperial crown, which was that of death." As expected, the French intervention in Mexico further consolidated nationalist feelings and anti-foreign sentiments that transcended the 19th Century.

Similar anti-foreign sentiments can be observed in *Fermín*. Velázquez Andrade (1928) listed foreigners as one of the enemies of the people "Those interested in not giving in, rich egotists, foreigners, clergy, dissatisfied military and politicians friends of the fallen dictatorship, made every effort to end the government and annihilate the peasant and worker movement" (p. 37). *Fermín* also reflected the anti-foreign sentiment that was started by Sierra in *Historia Patria*. Velázquez Andrade documents make some references to the US military intervention that took place during the Revolution. Following the book's timeline, without mentioning them explicitly, the author referred to the role that the US ambassador Henry Lane Wilson played in supporting the military coup against the first government emanated from the revolutionary movement, and the assassination of the first democratically elected president Francisco I. Madero in 1913.

The third part of *Fermín* narrated the events between 1914 and 1917, the years before the drafting of the new Constitution, Velázquez Andrade (1928) described a foreign invasion which according to the author had the purpose of dispossessing Mexicans from valuable natural resources, particularly oil. Velázquez Andrade argues in favor of maintaining national unity by

including religious and political leaders to face foreign threats: "The Mayordomo,[16] the Priest and the Political Prefect asked all the workers to enlist in the troops that [fighting] the Usurpation would need and that they had to fight against the strangers, those who, according to what they said, came for the wealth and the oil, and to put the revolutionaries at peace" (p. 49). Once again, we observe a nationalism that is anti-colonial and not necessarily considers itself superior to other nations.

In addition to being anti-colonial, *Fermín* also promoted national unity and is a good example of how children became central to the agenda of the nation-state in Mexico. Velázquez Andrade's opening phrase claims that "Fermin is a Mexican reading book, made for Mexican children." This nationalistic approach not only confirms the argument made by Elena Jackson Albarran (2015), that children became important for the plans of revolutionary nationalist governments in Mexico, it also confirms Kaviraj's (2010) assertion that national ideologies are narratives that help to promote national unity and social cohesion. As a source that was thought for children who live in the countryside, but widely distributed in the entire country, the author accepts that "FERMIN is the biography of thousands of Mexican children whose existence we ignore or are not known." As is evident from this quote, the Mexican people are embodied in the main character of the book. Fermín's biography reflected the history of the country and the struggles before, during, and after the Revolution. Mexican readers would establish an emotional

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[16] According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, a *mayordomo* is a person in charge of a group or project. It could be the manager of a hacienda, ranch, or estate. In Mexico a mayordomo could be a religious figure, in charge for example of the local religious celebrations, or the person who supervises other peasants. For more information on the word see https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/mayordomo

connection between the book and the experiences they lived in as a consequence of the revolution.

Over the years, anti-colonialism influenced each country's foreign policies. In Mexico the Estrada Doctrine, based on the principle of non-intervention, dominated foreign relations from the 1930s to the rest of the 20th Century. This doctrine allowed Mexico to maintain relations with communist countries such as Cuba and the USSR, and to mediate peace agreements in Latin America. In India, the influence of anti-colonial nationalism can be observed in the Non-Aligned movement. Promoted by Prime Minister Nehru and other political figures such as Yugoslavia's Josip Broz Tito, and Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser, this movement sought to create an alternative between the capitalist and the communists' blocs.

The anti-colonial sentiment was also present in the Indian textbooks. Thapar's *Ancient India* was an anti-colonialist source because it provided a historical narrative that attenuates two colonial arguments that legitimized British colonialism in the Subcontinent. First, in contrast with the perception of chaos and decline that the British claimed to have found before the establishment of their rule, Thapar presented a coherent and progressive narrative that began in ancient times, well before the arrival of the East India Company. Secondly, as opposed to the argument that India is not a nation, but a collection of religious communities, castes, and ethnicities, only held by British rule, *Ancient India* presented and discussed a distinct geographic and cultural unit. Thapar studied India as a nation contained in a territory, thus contributing to the logoization of the national map, and the idea that while Indians as a diverse people, nonetheless share cultural elements and have a common history.

An excellent example of how *Ancient India* advanced a national narrative and attenuated colonialist arguments can be found in the introduction, when the Thapar (1966) justified the study of history to understand the present by arguing that "You will come to know the kings and statesmen who ruled and the people who made the story possible" (p. 11). From these couple of sentences, we can observe the objective modernity of the Indian nation created by Thapar, in this case the present language diversity, versus its subjective antiquity, the existence of the nation since ancient times. Moreover, we can see how the Indian population shared a past. According to Thapar, common kings and statesmen configured a nation with a single "story."

All Men are Brothers was also an anti-colonial textbook. The selection of Gandhi's writings discussed *swaraj* (self-rule), the boycott of foreign products and institutions or *swadeshi* (own country), and the imposition of the English language. *All Men are Brothers* enforced the idea that Gandhi's mission in life was the freedom of his country. However, the selection of Gandhi's writings edited by Kripalani does not seek to antagonize other nations, including former colonizers, in the words of Gandhi: "It is not nationalism that is the evil, it is narrowness, selfishness, exclusiveness which is the bane of modern nations which is evil" (p. 119). The selection offered a cosmopolitan perception of Gandhi's nationalism: "We want freedom for our country, but not at the expense or exploitation of others, not so as to degrade other countries. [...] I want the freedom of my country so that other countries may learn something from my free country" (p. 121). In other words, within this selection, Gandhian thought identified exploitation as the central element of colonialism to attack, which allowed for a cosmopolitan nationalism. Despite the importance of anti-colonialism, the Mexican and Indian sources show a balance between nationalism and cosmopolitanism. Both regimes tried to be universal and appeal to a

common humanity. Post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India are examples of how states balanced humanitarian universalisms with the demands of nation building.[17]

Cosmopolitan Education in Mexican and Indian Textbooks

Cosmopolitanism in both post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India emerged from the need to access relevant knowledge, it was promoted by state authorities through their editorial projects and reflected a humanitarian universalism in these countries[18]. Following Noah Sobe (2012), I understand cosmopolitanism as a vision of the world and how one fits into that cosmos beyond one's immediate local conditions. The textbooks selected for this chapter, especially three of them *Lecturas Clásicas para Niños*, *Gyan Sarovar*, and *All Men are Brothers*, reflect cosmopolitan attitudes in Mexico and India. Considering Sobe's (2012) argument that schools are key sites for individuals to experience cosmopolitanism; "sites where cosmopolitan stances, dispositions and habits might be learned" (p. 267), the selected sources for this chapter represent written testimonies of how cosmopolitanism manifested in the 20th Century and corroborate the role of schools as spaces where students experience cosmopolitan dispositions mandated by the nation-state.

Sobe (2012: 268) maintains that cosmopolitanism can take a "vernacular" form and have distinctive manifestations in different settings. In this case, the selected textbooks offer a vision of the world enunciated from post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India.

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[17] According to Noah Sobe (2012, p. 267), during the 2000s, philosophers of education discussed how to balance "ethical and humanitarian universalisms with the demands of culture, identity, and group membership". Sobe takes a historical and sociological approach to concentrate on the different ways in which cosmopolitan education has manifested itself as a social project in various cultural settings at different historical moments.

[18] In the first half of the 20th Century different forms of internationalism emerged as networks of collaboration and solidarity from different parts of the political spectrum. This dissertation concentrates on the cosmopolitanism that was identified in the selection of textbooks. Consequently, other left and right-wing transnational movements fall out of the scope of this dissertation but deserve to be explored independently.

Furthermore, these sources offered ideas about how these regimes perceive their "being-in-the-world" as a form of political action. Both regimes expressed concerns about the lack of reading materials for their populations in local languages. While post-revolutionary officials in Mexico expressed a vernacular cosmopolitanism that can be labeled as orthodox, post-independence civil servants in India display a vernacular cosmopolitanism that can be understood as influenced by human capital theory.

In *Lecturas Clásicas para Niños*, secretary of public education José Vasconcelos discussed the difficulty of finding translations of classic books in Spanish and expressed a strong preoccupation with giving children access to all human knowledge. In the prologue, Vasconcelos (Mistral et al, 1924) wrote "A man who only speaks Spanish cannot find out about all human culture" (p. IX). This quote and the content of *Lecturas Clásicas* shows how cosmopolitanism in post-revolutionary Mexico emerged from the need to provide students with reading materials in Spanish and from a specific concern with the limits of local book production. Furthermore, in the vision of the world that emanated from the post-revolutionary regime and its intellectuals, access to all human knowledge is important for being part of the 20th Century world. The collective experiences of the authors abroad, most of them having lived in the United States, and their intellectual interests are clear influences of Mexican cosmopolitanism. Vasconcelos' (1923) ideas on the role of Latin America as the only possible region where the unity of the East and the West could be achieved is an important motivator for the production of this book and the selection of texts.

In *Gyan Sarovar,* Humayun Kabir expressed similar concerns and argued that publishing this encyclopaedia will not only increase people's knowledge but contribute to making them

better citizens of a new India. In the preface, Kabir explained how *Gayan Sarovar* will help to "Start conflating the new economic and political ideas that are being created in the world and also the everyday innovations in science and technology. Therefore, cosmopolitanism in post-independence India emerged from the need to provide people who recently became literate reading materials in Hindi and from a concern with the limits of local book production.

In both Mexico and India, high level bureaucrats were burdened with providing adequate reading materials, but the key issue in terms of cosmopolitanism is how textbooks are perceived as technologies that allow access to relevant knowledge created elsewhere in the world. In Mexico the emphasis was classic texts. I have labeled this interest as orthodox because it emerged from an appreciation of humanity's cultural heritage. In contrast, the focus in India was innovation, the main concern of Indian authorities was providing access to scientific and technological advances. Kabir's preface shows elements of a basic premise of human capital theory, that investing in people will increase the economic productivity of the nation. Regardless of the differences, both regimes come together in the need to access human knowledge produced in other parts of the world and how textbooks are artifacts that facilitate access to relevant information.

An analysis of the content of *Lecturas Clásicas para Niños* and *Gyan Sarovar* revealed a second important trend, that the vernacular cosmopolitanisms in post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India exhibited a humanitarian universalism. Mexico and India concurred in the idea that we all share a common humanity. These countries not only take Western nations into consideration to formulate their vernacular notions of cosmopolitanism. Based on that humanitarian universalism, other post-colonial countries are considered as well. Textbooks in

both Mexico and India, despite their time and geographic differences, included sections about other developing countries. The first part of *Lecturas Clásicas para Niños* is entirely dedicated to the "East," including works from today's India, Middle East, and Japan. *Gyan Sarovar* contains a section titled "Our Neighbors," with chapters on China, Indonesia, and Nepal. These sections are evidence of the presence of a humanitarian universalism in both countries.

It could be argued that this universalism is part of an early 20th Century need to understand the other. This was an international trend explored by the comparative education field. As Novoa and Yariv-Mashal (2003) explain, World War I inspired an urgent sense of the necessity for international cooperation and mutual responsibility. The authors make clear that there was a desire to understand the "other," meaning getting to know other powers and other countries. As a result, an interest in different forms of knowledge production, schooling and education emerged. Given the time of its publication, the early 1920s, and its content, *Lecturas Clásicas para Niños* fall under this desire to understand the "other."

In post-revolutionary Mexico, *Lecturas Clásicas para Niños* included sections from Hindu religious texts such as the Vedas, the Upanishads, and the Ramayana. Buddhism was also included through one chapter about "The Legend of Buddha," characterized by a fabled and mythical story-telling style, and a second chapter about "The Life of Buddha," which took a more secular and explanatory tone. The inclusion of the Panchatantra, a collection of popular folk tales compiled between the fifth and sixth centuries, is a surprising addition to the textbook since it is considered to be part of popular culture rather than high culture.[19] Additionally, twelve

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[19] The Panchatantra was probably known, listened, and enjoyed by common people as opposed to other texts that were reserved for the Brahmins (Singh, 2009, p. 30), who occupied the top of caste hierarchy and monopolized religious texts. The Panchatantra is an example of a nidarshana, a text which shows what should and should not be done. Most of the tales in this compilation are amusing, satirical, and animals play an important role in

stories written by Nobel Prize laureate Rabindranath Tagore were included in *Lecturas Clásicas para Niños*.

A total of 88 pages in *Lecturas Clásicas para Niños* are dedicated to South Asian classics. The appendix for teachers in pages 183 to 185 further explained the Vedas, Ramayan, the Buddhist doctrine, and the Panchatantra. Additionally, the only clarification about foreign languages referred to names and places in Sanskrit. On the top of it, five out of the six sources provided in the brief bibliography refer to texts from South Asia. The importance of India for the authors of *Lecturas Clásicas* is undeniable.

The first part of *Lecturas Clásicas para Niños*, which refers to Eastern classics, included more folklore stories. Three tales come from the *One Thousand and One Nights*, the collection of Middle Eastern stories sometimes known as the Arabian Nights. Three folktales from Japan were included, collected in the textbook as "Legends of the Far East." However, the appendix for teachers did not provide more context for these readings and the bibliography only mentioned the 1904 book "Kwaidan: Stories and Studies of Strange Things" written by Greek-Irish author Lafcadio Hearn.

All evidence suggests that secretary Vasconcelos' interest on South-Asian religions and philosophies deeply impacted the creation of *Lecturas Clásicas para Niños* and that he was actively involved in writing and editing this book.[20] In the introduction of *Estudios Indostánicos*

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the stories (Singh, 2009, p. 538). The Panchatantra tales were translated to Arabic and Persian during the Mughal Empire as part of their policy of religious tolerance and patronage to Hindu scholars (Doniger, 2009, p. 549).

[20] The first source provided in the bibliography of *Lecturas Clásicas para Niños* is Vanconcelos' own book about South Asian religions and philosophies: *Estudios Indostánicos* (Hindustani Studies). Vasconcelos started to work on this book during his exile in the United States. The final edition was based on the notes taken by the author from a multitude of religious texts that he found in US American libraries.

(Hindustani Studies), a book dedicated to Indian texts, Vasconcelos (1923) wrote that his "taste" for these sources was born during his meetings with intellectuals Antonio Caso, Pedro Henríquez Ureña, and Alfonso Reyes; a group that would get together "to discuss on all matters that directly affect the spirit" (p. 14). These meetings and the inclusion of Asian texts is evidence of the humanitarian universalism of the Mexican post-revolutionary intellectuals, which contrasts significantly with the Francophilia of the Porfirian elite.

Laura Torres-Rodríguez (2015) has seriously studied the influence of Indian political thought on Vasconcelos. Torres-Rodríguez proposes that Vasconcelos uses the stereotypes of India found in European and North American Orientalism to construct forms of cultural self-representation for Mexico. However, Vasconcelos went beyond Euro-centric perceptions and also adopted the view of colonialism promoted by Indian intellectuals. Torres-Rodríguez argues that Vasconcelos transplanted nationalist discourses of spiritual and racial exceptionalism set forth by Indian elites to construct a modernizing cultural program in Mexico.

The actual reason for the inclusion of South-Asian texts in *Lecturas Clásicas para Niños* is uncertain, but there is evidence that suggest that the interest of Secretary Vasconcelos in the religions and philosophies of the Subcontinent played a key role. This interest has a complex origin, a combination between mysticism and humanitarian universalism. Vasconcelos believed that humanity was experiencing a spiritual "Renaissance," but this revival was not complete until all major religions merged their creeds into a single "Human Religion." Vasconcelos (1923) further considered that the unity of the East and the West could only be achieved in Latin America. Consequently, his studies were guided by a search of "a philosophy that is no longer an expression of a single race, nor a work of a single era, but a summary and Triumph of All

Human Experience: A World Philosophy" (p. 15). This quote throws light on Vasconcelos'

intentions for including South Asian texts in *Lecturas Clásicas para Niños*, but it also speaks of

his humanitarian universalism and how it influenced cosmopolitanism in Mexico.

Regardless of the reasons for including South Asian classic texts in Mexican post-

revolutionary textbooks, in both Mexico and India there is an appreciation for the cultural

heritage of humanity balanced with nationalism in each country. Cosmopolitan dispositions were

also found in Velázquez Andrade's *Fermín* (1928: 84). Despite the nationalist and anti-colonial

tone of the book, the main character advocates for a schooling that is based in the "love thy

neighbor and respect for human life. An intense devotion to justice, liberty and universal

brotherhood." Along similar lines, *All Men are Brothers* showed how it is possible to appreciate

other cultures and still be a nationalist. In the words of Gandhi (UNESCO, 1958),

> I would have our young men and women with literary tastes to learn as much of English and other world-languages as they like, and then expect them to give the benefits of their learning to India [...]. But I would not have a single Indian to forget, neglect or be ashamed of his mother tongue. (p. 156)

At different points of time, the authors and editors of the selected books balanced a national

ideology with cosmopolitanism.

However, it must be acknowledged that the selected textbooks from India belong to a

different period, the 1960s and the construction of the other. This post-World War II and post-

colonial period witnessed a renewal of comparative approaches in education. The need to

construct the "other," was substituted by the dissemination of international development policies.

The sources from India belong to a time when education was considered a main source of social

and economic progress. During this time, the work of international agencies, such as UNESCO,

and the influence of a more "scientific approach", are part of the context in which the Indian sources emerged (Novoa & Yariv-Mashal, 2003).

In terms of the Indian sources, *Gyan Sarovar* and *All Men are Brothers* both displayed a cosmopolitan disposition. *Gyan Sarovar* compelled the readers to think about the world beyond national boundaries. It included chapters that expressed how readers had a place in the world beyond their immediate local conditions. These chapters are titled "Our Earth," "Our World," and the "History of Man." Later in the book, a section about world literature was included. While the textbook concentrated on Hindi literature, an English literature stream was incorporated, and British authors were introduced and discussed in this part of the encyclopedia.

All Men are Brothers was the result of diplomatic relations. A token of gratitude to India by UNESCO members for having hosted the ninth session of the general conference in 1956. Indian authorities actively supported the publication as a tool to strengthen the status of India in the world. Very important figures of the Indian government were involved in the creation of the book. To begin with, the selection of Gandhi's writings was made with the assistance of intellectual and politician K. R. Kripalani, an active member of the Congress Party and secretary of the Sahitya Akademi. Furthermore, the introduction was written by the influential S. Radhakrishnan, chair of the University Education Commission. The book intended to appeal to an international audience, illustrating and promoting different aspects of Gandhi's personality and thought. In the introduction, Radhakrishnan wrote that Gandhi's philosophy could help further friendship and understanding between peoples. International peace is a central issue of the book, chapter VI is entirely dedicated to this topic, which includes 23 quotes from Gandhi's writings.

Likewise, this book was seen as a resource to further the status of India as a nation in the world. Based on Gandhi's reputation and charisma, the authorities edited a text that favored a perception of Gandhi as a philosopher and practitioner of ahimsa (non-violence). For the Indian authorities, Gandhian thought was relevant for the entire humanity. This book can be seen as a token of India's cosmopolitanism because it shows the vision of the world that Indian authorities had and how India fitted into that cosmos. For the Indian elite the world was in need of non-violence and India could play the role of a non-violent guru. This book fitted well into India's foreign relations doctrine in the context of the Cold War. The Non-Aligned Movement was the center of Indian foreign relations, promoted by Prime Minister Nehru and other leaders as a way to generate an alternative between capitalism and communism.

The other important aspect of *All Men are Brothers* is its appeal to Humanitarian universalism. Through Gandhi's writings, which are rooted on Hindu philosophy, Indian authorities explored the idea that we all share a common humanity. The selection of Gandhi's texts referred to humankind as a single family: "The golden way is to be friends with the world and to regard the whole human family as one" (UNESCO, 1958: 120). The idea that India's liberation was meaningful for all humanity was promoted a few times in this book: "My mission is not merely brotherhood of Indian humanity. My mission is not merely freedom of India, [...] But through realization of freedom of India I hope to realize and carry on the mission the brotherhood of man" (UNESCO, 1958: 119). It should not be forgotten that while these are Gandhi's words, the references have been selected and taken out of context, reorganized thematically by Indian authorities. This appeal to a common humanity is not just Gandhi's but an act of the state and how its organic intellectuals saw India's role in the world.

It must be noted that chapter VI of *All Men are Brothers* is entirely dedicated to international peace. In the first reference, Gandhi is quoted saying: "I do not believe that an individual may gain spiritually and those that surround him suffer. I believe in *advaita*. I believe in the essential unity of man and for that matter of all that lives." The first reference selected by Kripalani for this chapter not only reflects a humanitarian universalism in India, but also reveals how Gandhian thought is rooted in Hinduism. Moreover, this quote also illustrates how cosmopolitanism can take a vernacular form and have distinctive manifestations in different settings (Sobe, 2012: 268). In India, this universalism is influenced by Gandhi and Hindu Philosophy. Gandhi's subscription to a*dvaita vedanta* is very important. Advaita is a Hindu school of philosophy that is non-dual, which means that there is no duality between God, as the absolute reality, and the individual souls of people (Lorenzen & Preciado, 2003: 165-180). For Gandhi, our common humanity comes from this religious justification. This influence is important given current debates on the Christian influence of Human Rights and the calls towards decolonizing them. The influence of a non-western philosophy must be noted and discussed within Gandhian thought. Most importantly, this Hindu influence needs to be contrasted with the rise of the Hindu right in India, and the discriminatory policies and practices of the current government, most prominently against the Muslim community.

Cosmopolitanism was introduced to education in both Mexico and India by state authorities, many of them cosmopolitan intellectuals. Governmental intervention was shaped by a lack of appropriate reading materials that would grant access to knowledge created elsewhere in the world. The selected textbooks show that in Mexico, an appreciation for the cultural heritage of humanity was important, while in India an appreciation for science and technology

was imperative. A humanitarian universalism, the existence of a common humanity, was observed in both countries. However, in India this appreciation is rooted in Gandhi and Hinduism, while in Mexico a desire for understanding the other was more important.

The Importance of Maps

A key feature identified in some of the books considered for this chapter is the inclusion of modern maps. According to Benedict Anderson (2006) the map is a colonial institution of power that became possible due to the advancement of capitalism and the development of print technologies. Maps helped European powers to legitimize colonial rule and also became the logotypes of the empire's territorial extension (Anderson 2006: 241-255). The parallel development of both modern maps and colonialism occurred at different points in Mexico and India but studying these two countries together showed that the global history of modern maps started during the 16th Century in the Spanish Empire, continued through the explorations of other European powers, and was cemented by British colonizers in India. This global history of colonialism, which was later reconfigured for national purposes, resulted in the inclusion of maps in the textbooks analyzed in this chapter. Consequently, it is worth exploring the pre-colonial antecedents and colonial roots of map-making in Mexico and India.

While modern cartography is a colonial institution (Anderson, 2006: 142), it is important to acknowledge that in both Mexico and India we can find documents containing *spatial understandings of the human world* before the arrival of European colonialism.[21] In Asia,

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[21] In this research the term "map" will only refer to modern graphic representations of territory. For premodern or pre-colonial representations, I will use "spatial understandings" and "spatial understandings of the human world". This terminology comes from the work of Barbara E. Mundy (1996, p. xii), whose early work follows a broad definition of the term "map" provided by Harley and Woodward: "Maps are graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the human world" (in Mundy, 1996, p. 235). This broad conceptualization of "maps" allowed Mundy to talk about "Mesoamerican

indigenous understandings of space include a blend of religious and worldly notions (Thongchai, 1994). More specifically, many religious texts written in Sanskrit contain pre-colonial conceptions of space in South Asia (see Minkowski, 2010; Plofker, 2010). Meanwhile, records in Mexico were pictographic and focused on communities rather than topography up until the fall of the Mexica empire and during the early times of Spanish colonial rule (see Mundy, 1996; 2010; 2011).

Right after the fall of the Mexica empire in 1523, Spanish colonizers produced maps of the conquered territories. The 1524 *Cortés Map of Tenochtitlan*, also known as the *Nuremberg Map* after the city of its original publication, is one of the first known European maps of today's Mexico. Graphic representations such as codices and the maps created during the early decades of Spanish colonialism were collaborations between colonizers, indigenous authorities, Catholic priests, and autochthonous artists. These cartographic efforts were solidified by the 1577 *Relación Geográfica Questionnaire*, which asked subjects of the Spanish Empire to provide information about local geography and explicitly requested the submission of maps to the Spanish crown (Mundy, 1996). As such, colonialism clearly fomented the creation of maps, which led to ease of conquest and tax collection.

Similarly, maps are present in the expansion of European colonial power in Asia. The cartographies commissioned by different empires are evidence of European interest in colonizing the region. Historians of India tend to focus on British maps from the 18th Century as the starting

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cartographies" and "indigenous maps" even before the arrival of colonialism in the continent. Nevertheless, in a later text Mundy (2010, p. 110) acknowledges that "maps" rely on technologies and visual conventions rooted in Western tradition and recognizes that the bringing of geography's concerns to the New World's cultural products is problematic.

point of cartographic development in South Asia (see Banerjee-Dube, 2015: 58 & 77; Barrow, 2003; Ludden, 1993), but a closer look at other European sources showed that maps were produced by other colonial powers before the British projects started. Relevant works include the 1733 map by Johann Baptist Homann, imperial geographer of Charles VI, Holy Roman Emperor (Homann Erben, 1733), and the maps by Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville, secretary of the Duke of Orleans (D'Anville, 1752). A central figure for sources written in English is the British surveyor James Rennell, who is considered the pioneer cartographer of India, and whose work on South Asia has received the most attention[22]. While Rennell's work is important, map-making as a colonial tool is not unique to the British Empire.

Maps are now studied as artifacts that legitimized colonial rule and, in the 20th Century, these became tools for the development of national power and a national ideology. As national institutions of power, maps help to legitimize national rule by becoming logotypes of the nation and its territories, and by establishing a visual way of thinking about the nation (Anderson, 2006). Similarly, these maps become useful artifacts to make boundaries with other nations visible, helping to make them appear as objective realities, and to provide the nation's territory with an emotional value to the people that inhabit it (Said, 1979).

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[22] Rennell has been celebrated as the "father of Indian geography" and is considered "the first great English geographer" (Withers, 2007). The works produced by Rennell show the military expansion and political centralization implicated by colonial knowledge (Ludden, 1993, p. 253). Rennell joined the British Royal Navy in 1756, developing his cartographic skills in the Philippines. In 1763 Rennell was hired to survey routes from Calcutta into the Bay of Bengal. The following year, Rennell became Surveyor General of Bengal. After leaving India in 1777, Rennell published a comprehensive *Map of Hindoostan*, a work that the author accompanied with an account of his experiences: *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan or the Mogul Empire*, which appeared in three editions (1783, 1788, and 1793). Other relevant works authored by Renell include *A Bengal Atlas* (1780), *Map from the Proceedings of the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa* (1790), and *The Geographical System of Herodotus* (1800).

The two conditions proposed by Anderson (2006) for the development of modern maps, the expansion of capitalism and the development of printing technologies, are present in the political systems of post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India. These regimes experienced better conditions for expanding their textbook projects. As previously discussed in Chapter Two, by using new communication technologies these governments continued the expansion of capitalism. New markets and new zones of exploitation were added to a national economy, allowing the promotion of a national culture. Consequently, the reduction of costs and an increased distribution of textbooks – and therefore the maps they contained – was possible in this context.

The textbooks considered for this chapter contribute to the legitimization of national rule in Mexico and India through a purposeful use of modern cartographies. Three of the selected textbooks include modern maps: *Historia Patria* (1922), *Ancient India* (1966), and *Gyan Sarovar* (1952). These cartographies are directly linked with the teaching of history and the subjective antiquity of the nation that regimes in both countries are trying to establish with these texts. Making borders appear as objective realities is the most evident characteristic of the Mexican maps. Figure 6 shows two of the maps included in Justo Sierra's *Historia Patria*. These maps make boundaries with other nations very clear. Both cartographies clearly delineate the borders with Guatemala and the United States; today's Belice is only shown in the second map as British Honduras.[23] Likewise, the maps show the borders of Mexican states and territories, but the first one includes state capitals and major topographic features such as rivers and mountains. The

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[23] At the time, Belice was still a European colony. The country only achieved full independence in 1981.

second map, in color, is the back cover of the book and it further helps the reader to clearly distinguish the territory of each Mexican state. Considering that topographic features are less emphasized than national and state borders, it is possible to argue that these maps worked as logotypes of the Mexican nation. In other words, these cartographies functioned as tools to teach students about the national territory, making its borders appear as objective realities, and providing the readers with a visual representation of the nation.

Figure 6. Maps of the Mexican Republic in Historia Patria

The maps from India are not focused on the national borders, but these sources helped to accomplish other purposes, including imagining the nation, setting other kinds of boundaries, and promoting the acquisition of emotional value towards the nation. As one of the institutions of colonial power, maps allow us to imagine the nation into existence. This is possible by becoming the model for reality and the way we think about the nation (Anderson, 2006). Since the maps in Romila Thapar's *Ancient India* (1966) concentrate on the larger kingdoms that existed in the past, these cartographies do not show contemporary political borders, but they are very useful to set in students' consciousnesses the continuity of the Indian nation and its territory. The historical maps of India are placed next to each other in Figure 7. Together these maps

contributed to generating the sense that India is an ancient nation that has existed for millennia. Only the rivers in the north and the oceans in the other cardinal points are presented as natural borders. Little to no disruption can be observed to the integrity of the Indian territory based on these maps.

Figure 7. Maps in Ancient India
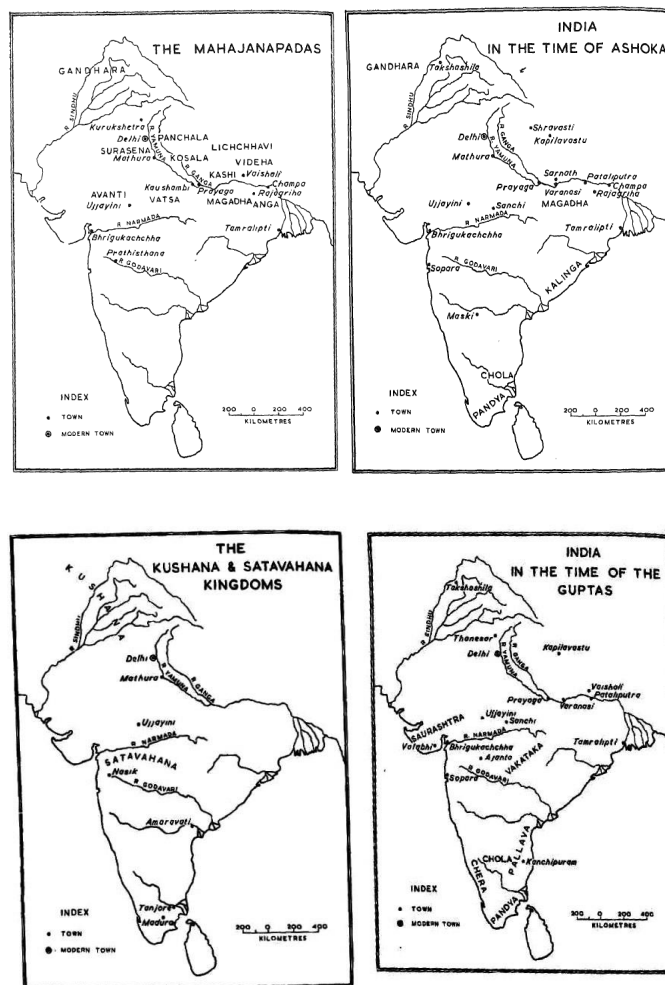
Two maps that concentrate on South India are also included in this book. This focus on South India can be understood within the language politics of the time when *Ancient India* was written and in terms of the author's emphasis on the diversity of languages in the country.

Nevertheless, even today academic research tends to concentrate on the north of the country, especially accounts that have a national approach. By including maps of South Indian history, Thapar is trying to address that imbalance. Figure 8 shows the maps in the book that focus on South Indian kingdoms and empires, as in the previous illustrations the borders of these polities are not shown and only major rivers and oceans function as natural borders.

Figure 8. Maps of South India in Ancient India
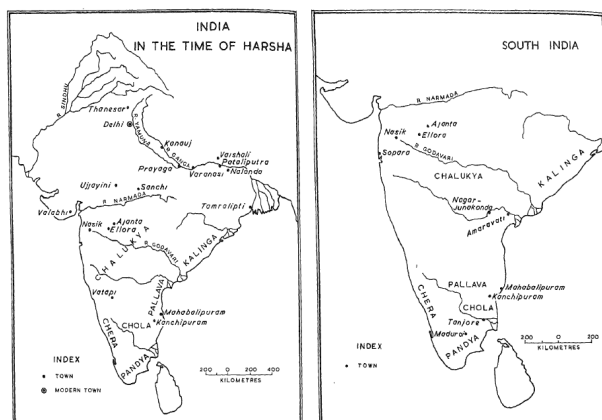
Geographic boundaries also come with social, ethnic, and cultural limits, thus contributing to produce a sense of identity (Said, 1979). One example of how maps can help to set other kinds of boundaries can be seen in the cartography that illustrates the story of Islamic prophet Muhammad in *Gyan Sarovar* (1952: 82). This entry of the Hindi encyclopaedia is part of a section on "Great Men of the World," which includes a Hindu deity, Sri Krishna, and a secular figure, Mohandas K. Gandhi, who is identified in the book as *Bapu* (father), meaning the father of the nation. The inclusion of religious figures is not surprising considering the central government's version of secularism, a rather welcoming approach instead of the classical "wall" against religion that is common in other countries. It is remarkable that the prophet was included

in this section, and the map helps to identify holy sites of Islam, but it also reaffirms the status of Islam as a foreign religion.

Figure 9. Map in Gyan Sarovar flagging Medina and Mecca

First, Figure 9 provides context to a figure and events that take place outside of India. However, this is the only map included in this section, indirectly reinforcing the foreign origin of Islam. The map included some modern borders, but there was no consistency on naming places. Iran and Abyssinia are labelled in the design, and India is marked as Bharat. Africa and the Roman Empire are also tagged. The Arabian Peninsula is identified as Arabia and the only two cities included in the map are Mecca and Medina.

Objective space comes with an "imaginative" or "figurative" value, consequently space acquires an emotional and even a rational sense (Said, 1979). The maps included in these textbooks help the state to create an emotional link between the people and the nation. Figure 10, the first map included in Justo Sierra's *Historia Patria* (1922), deployed two nationalist features that help with this emotional objective. First, it showed Mexico in 1828, before the 1847 war with the United States and still deploying the large territories lost as a result of the war. In this map we can see the extension of the then Mexican states of Tejas, Nuevo México, and Alta

California. The inclusion of this map can be seen as an emphasis of the great loss of territories after the war. In fact, the map showed how widespread the northern states were compared to the southern ones. The second nationalist feature is the author's use of "United States of the North," instead of "United States of America." Even today there is a tendency in Latin American countries, and in Spanish, to talk about the continent as "America," in singular, and there is a discussion about why the same term only refers to one country in the English language. The map in this textbook documented this debate in the late 19th Century and early 20th Century.

Figure 10. Map of Mexico in 1828 included in Historia Patria
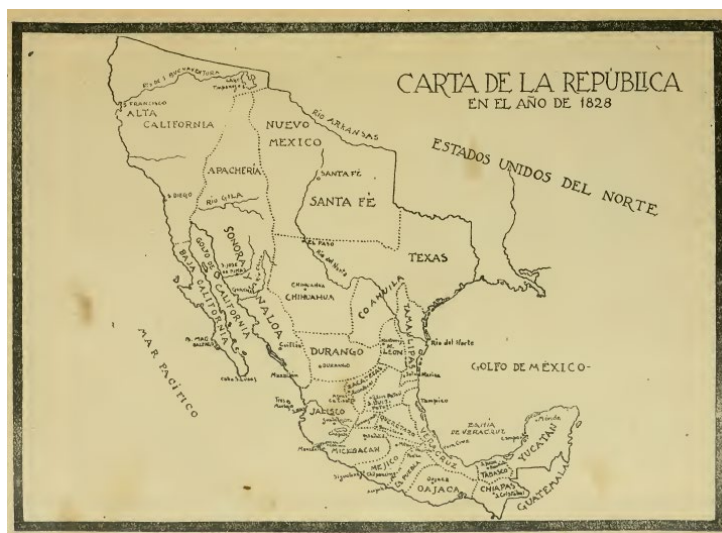
Three more aspects are worth noticing in this map. First, the inclusion of rivers in the north, which was a major issue during the independence of Texas and an important discussion amid territorial negotiations with the United States after the Mexican American war. The rivers marked the official limits of the Mexican states. As visible in the Texas-Tamaulipas border, Mexican authorities and historians have discussed the true extension of these states and how these borders were not observed during the negotiations with Texas and the United States. The

second important point to notice is the inclusion of the "Apacheria," a term used to denote the region inhabited by the Apache People, which is the only indigenous territory recognized in this map. Finally, we can see three northern cities featured in this map, these are now important urban centers in the United States: Santa Fé, San Diego, and San Francisco.

As we can see from this brief analysis of the maps included in the selected textbooks, there is a direct link between modern maps and colonialisms. Cartography played an important role in the conquest and government of colonial territories. More recently, in both post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India, maps became logotypes of the nation. When included in textbooks, such as the ones analyzed in this chapter, the maps help to reposition students towards Western and modern knowledge. Maps gave the students a visual way to think about the nation, consolidated the existence of ancient and continuous nations, made them conscious of borders, and provided a sense of identity by framing cultural differences within the national territory. All these underlying discourses and narratives embedded with maps contributed to establish an emotional connection with their respective countries.

Modernization of the Population

Modern nation-states seek to discipline and rationalize the population through healthcare, religious reform, and schooling.[24] In this section I turn my attention to state efforts to modernize the Mexican and Indian populations based on the textbooks that were selected for this chapter. An analysis of these sources revealed the advancement of modern ideas about schooling and the promotion of secularized religious beliefs.

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[24] See Chapter Two of this dissertation, Foucault (1991; 1995), and Gordon (1991).

Schooling and Language

Demands for the expansion of schooling fueled both the Mexican Revolution (1910-20) and the Indian Independence Movement (1905-47). The meanings of schooling included a perception of education as a marker of progress and civilization, and as an aspiration for the masses. In Mexico, the racism that characterized the Porfirian elite persisted in the post-revolutionary era. The dominant group, the postrevolutionary elite, continued to consider some sectors of the Mexican population as backward (Vaughan, 1982) and thus set out educational projects to shape their conduct. The post-revolutionary state decided to incorporate all people, including indigenous and afrodescendant communities, "into a unified, literate, Spanish-speaking nation, with a modern, secular, standardized education based on Western civilization at large, and Hispanic culture in particular" (Saavedra, 2009 in Beezley, 2011: 420). The analyzed textbooks demonstrate the veracity of the previous argument.

Velázquez Andrade's *Fermín* (1928) reflected the importance of schooling as a motivator for revolting. The book presented formal education as a victory of the Revolution and introduced schooling as a form of social mobility. While discussing the hardships that Fermín's father endured as a revolutionary, Velázquez Andrade also explained the aspirations that this character had for the future, once the revolution ended. Based on Fermín's narration of the Mexican Revolution, those who participated in the struggle wanted to return home, but under better conditions for them and their families. Illustrated by Fermín's father as a character, revolutionary peasants strived for owning a piece of land, raising farm animals to further support their families, and providing goods for their wives and children: "His wife would have a nice shawl, colorful skirt, and shoes. Fermín would dress like a Mayordomo's son. He would go to school in the

nearby town. He would no longer need to go here and there in search of work" (Velázquez Andrade, 1928: 28). Schooling is here presented as a demand of the revolutionaries, something that was denied to them during the dictatorship, and as part of the aspirations of the Mexican people.

The idea that schooling was a demand of the peasants who participated in the revolution is further emphasized by the portrayal of Fermín's father as a revolutionary, drawn by Diego Rivera. Figure 11 shows a revolutionary that resembles Emiliano Zapata, whose army was composed of peasants from Southern Mexico who demanded a comprehensive land reform. Over the years, the large hat, the crossed bandoliers, and the horse have become iconic items that are part of most depictions of Zapata. Even today, students in primary schools, dress using these same elements to commemorate the anniversary of the Revolution on November 20. In Rivera's illustration, Fermín's father dreams about a house, land, and farm animals, but the painter also portrayed a school as a dream. We can see Fermín and his mother well clothed standing in front of the school. This image suggested that Fermín's father supported the revolution hoping that his son could attend school, solidifying the idea that formal education was a demand of the Mexican Revolution.

Schooling is presented in *Fermín*, in both text and image, as an aspiration of the masses. Nevertheless, it cannot be forgotten that this textbook was part of the post-revolutionary state's efforts to modernize the population. Consequently, this source works in two levels, on the one hand it documents education as a demand, and on the other hand it also promotes the idea that schooling is something that the population should seek. By advancing the idea that rural life in Mexico must change, Velázquez Andrade unintentionally reflected the post-revolutionary elite's

disdain for certain sectors of Mexican society, in this case rural communities. Furthermore, as a book, *Fermín* presents schooling as something that is not only acceptable, but desirable for the masses as the path to promote those necessary changes. The textbook promotes schooling by linking education to a perceived better life and by cementing it on the popularity of revolutionary hero and martyr Emiliano Zapata.

Figure 11. Fermín's Father as a Revolutionary
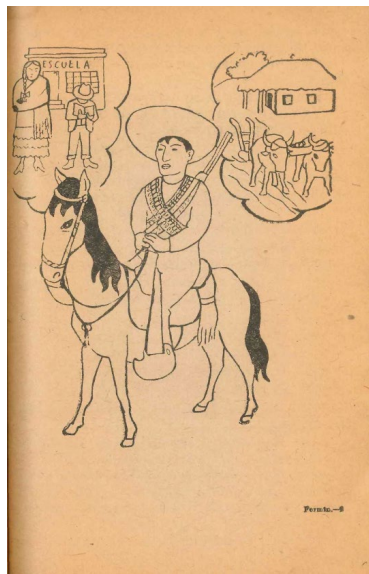
As the story advances, once the Revolution triumphed, Velázquez Andrade enlisted the benefits that the movement brought for Mexican peasants. These advantages can be organized in three intertwined areas: labor, schooling, and the rise of an electoral democracy. The author talked about better wages and working conditions, but also included the fact that "The rural school begins to instruct the children of the workers!" and also that political power is now disputed "In electoral struggles, [where] opposing parties request the vote of peasants" (Velázquez Andrade, 1928: 72-73). Velázquez Andrade's *Fermín* thus presented formal

education as a victory of the Revolution and established a relationship between schooling and the rise of an electoral democracy in Mexico.

As a result of this favorable context Fermín, the main character in the book, managed to finish elementary school and continues to learn on his own, teaching himself with the help of written materials: "but he [Fermín] has continued to instruct himself by reading history books, newspapers, and brochures on political and social issues. He has a small Library" (Velázquez Andrade, 1928: 74). Fermín educational quest and access to reading materials is presented as only possible under the post-revolutionary regime. By reading and by creating a library, Fermín is used as a moralizing character that shows the reader how to behave, thus contributing to the modernization of the rural population. Based on Fermín as a character, the rural population should now rely on reading materials in Spanish, knowledge that is available in modern artifacts such as books, newspapers, and brochures. Books are then learning technologies that are sanctioned by the Mexican government to influence the population's knowledge and behavior.

In fact, Fermín becomes an active advocate of education and technology, the author writes that: "He loves the school and always tells his friends to send their children to be instructed. During the idle hours, he rests and has fun listening to his victrola." (Velázquez Andrade, 1928: 74). By including the role of Fermín as a supporter of schooling, this textbook inadvertently documented the resistance of parents to send children to schools. In the story, Fermín became a member of the 1917 Constituent Assembly. and his enthusiasm is taken to the debate on article 3 of the Mexican Constitution. Through Fermín, the post-revolutionary regime favors a unified, literate, and Spanish-speaking national system of education, in the constituent debates the character demands other representatives:

I ask you, comrades, that there must be a single national education that encompasses Indians and Mestizos, rich and poor, Catholics and Protestants. May all Mexicans have the same facility to learn, educate and prepare for the fight for life. I ask you, comrades, more schools for us, those of us who live in the countryside. (Velázquez Andrade, 1928: 83)

The previous quote shows how the main character of the textbook favors a modern, secular, and standardized education in Mexico. A national education that transcends social class, ethnicity and most importantly the urban-rural divide in the country.

## Mexican Laicism in the Selected Textbooks

Historia Patria

Justo Sierra recognized the relevant role that the Catholic Church has played in Mexico's History and political system. Religious buildings and portraits of members of the Church, including both writers and independence fighters, are included in this textbook. Buildings are depicted in the book as a means to explain the oppression exercised by the Church during the Colonial period. Figure 12 shows the illustrations provided in *Historia Patria*. Splendid Dominican and Franciscan convents (pp. 56 and 57), and the lavish Metropolitan Cathedral in Mexico City (p. 58) are not just examples of religious monuments, but serve to further separate the readers, mainly teachers and students, from the influence of the Mexican Catholic Church.

While Sierra recognizes the role of missionaries in "saving" and protecting indigenous communities from Spaniard abuse, the author established that this defense was partly done so indigenous peoples could build the many churches that we now find in the country. The exploitation exercised by the Catholic Church is suggested by Sierra when he wrote that priests baptized indigenous people to free them from slavery, but "[...] then to build them, without retribution, churches and convents" (Sierra, 1922: 51). This critical approach to the role of the

Church during colonialism goes well with the anti-clericalism of the postrevolutionary regimes; and it could further explain why this source was still useful despite its Porfirian origins.

Figure 12. Religious buildings depicted in Historia Patria
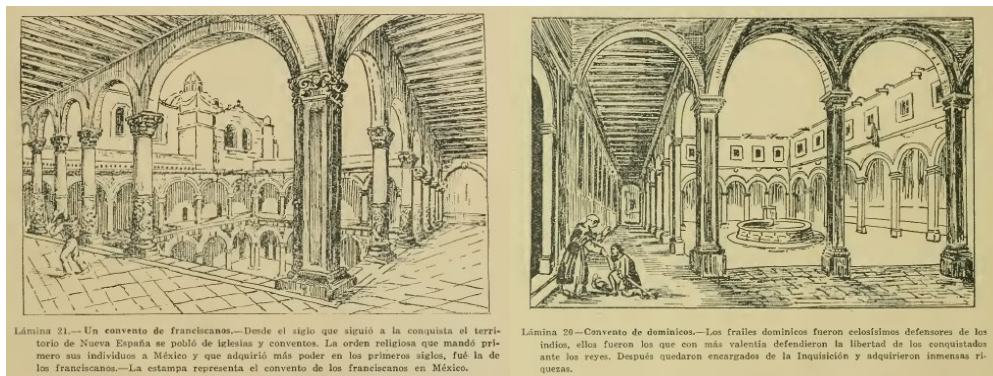
The Author clearly explained that in the long run the Catholic Church caused serious "evils" for the indigenous peoples by considering them as their own, isolating them, and treating them as children (Sierra, 1922: 57). This is clearly a modern perception of the people, pushing for a secular and autonomous agency. Likewise, Sierra tried to unify the population and advocated for perceiving indigenous peoples as part of the nation, as human resources to be integrated, and not as children for whom the Church had to act as a guardian. Following a

common trend in pre- and post-postrevolutionary Mexico, Sierra and the other authors of the selected textbooks ignored Afrodescendant communities.

Sierra also included portraits of relevant members of the Church that had an artistic or political role in Mexican history. Missionary Fray Pedro de Gante, poet Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, and independence leaders such as priests Miguel Hidalgo and José María Morelos are depicted in this source. Sierra provided two illustrations of cities where the power of the Church is evident in the space they occupy within the scene. In Figure 13, a landscape view of Puebla city (p. 132), the most distinguishable features are the many churches in the city and the main cathedral. In Figure 14, a 1628 map-diagram of Mexico City (p. 54), most features depicted in the field are owned by the Catholic Church; to begin with, the different neighborhoods are marked by churches. Six hospitals, also associated with Catholic institutions, are marked in the diagram. Moreover, it is worth noticing that this scene included four education buildings, all of them attached to Catholicism: Colegio de Santos, Colegio de San Juan de Letrán, Colegio de Cristo, and Colegio de las Niñas.

Figure 13. Puebla City during the French Intervention

Lámina 22.—Puebla.—Vista de la ciudad en que se han librado combates decisivos en tiempo de la intervención.
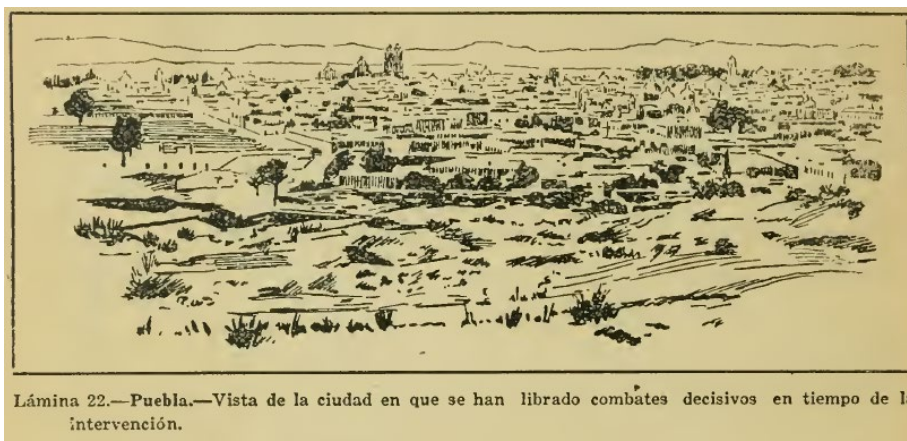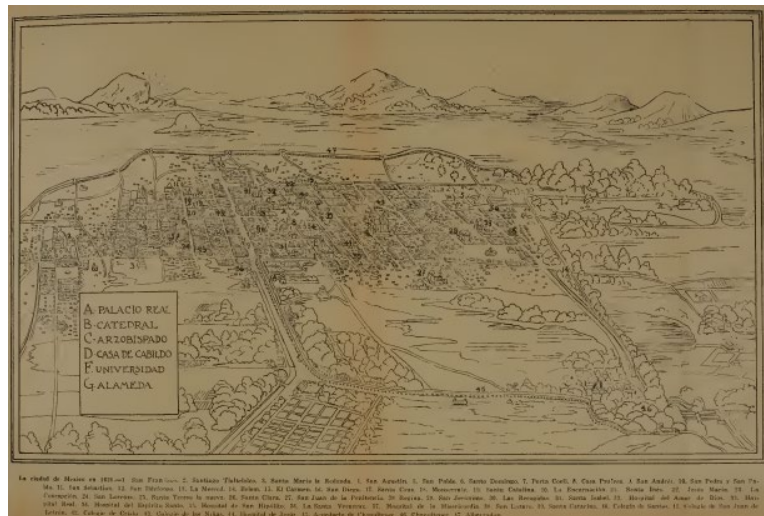
Figure 14. Mexico City in 1628

Sierra (1922: 101-103) discussed the Catholic Church clearly not just as influential but immensely wealthy. The author explains that this wealth was stagnant, "dead," and out of circulation, impeding social progress. Consequently, Mexican reformists wanted the wealth of the clergy to circulate, but the Church promoted civil wars to defend its wealth. It was until a set of reforms, La Reforma (the reformation), promoted by liberal governments, promoted the separation of State and Church and allowed the government to confiscate and circulate the Church's possessions.

It is possible to say that the anticlerical arguments in Sierra's *Historia Patria*, fitted well with the laicism proclaimed in the 1917 Mexican constitution and the anti-clericalism of post-revolutionary governments. I understand this opposition against the Catholic Church, not just as a power struggle, but as a modernizing process that sought to remove pre-modern authorities, in this case religious leadership, and allow secular authorities to increase their power. As previously discussed by several authors (Bobbio, 1979; Weber & Knight, 1927; Weber, 1968; Ferrarotti, 1985; Meyer & Jepperson, 2000; Ramirez & Boli, 1982; Eisenstadt, 2000), modern political

authority opposes religious and traditional legitimacy. Historia Patria then helps to further the political authority of post-revolutionary governments by placing the state at the center of power and removing the legitimacy of the Church. Furthermore, and following Gramsci's notion of hegemony (1971), the post-revolutionary intellectuals are thus using textbooks to advance the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant group.

Lecturas Clásicas

The approach of Lecturas Clásicas is relevant to understanding laicism in Mexico. By including extracts from the bible, the text consolidated the Christian bases of Western modernity in Mexico and helped to construct a secularized version of religion in the country. The Western section of the book is divided into two parts: "Greece" and "The Hebrews." Since the second subsection includes passages from the bible, associating the title with a culture allowed the authors to move away from religion and still benefit from specific values contained in the stories, thus providing a more secularized version of these texts. The Hebrews subsection is further divided into three parts: the Old Testament, the New Testament, and the Parables of Jesus. The Old Testament provided six stories, mostly telling moralizing lessons about generosity and self-sacrifice.[25] The New Testament included seven stories, also moralizing stories but these also teach the importance of hard work. The texts from the New Testament are divided into two parts, the story about Jesus' birth and a subsection on Herod. The third part, the last subsection of the book, included five of the Parables of Jesus.[26]

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[25] The stories included in this section are Isaac and Rebecca, Jacob and Rachel, the Story of Joseph, Moses, Samson and Delilah, and Ruth.

[26] The parables considered in this section are: The Parable of the Prodigal Son, The Parable of the Sower, The Parable of the Mustard Seed, The Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, and The Parable of the Talents.

Figure 15 shows the color illustration of the Hebrew literature by prominent artist Roberto Montenegro, who decorated the interior of the Mexican pavilion of the 1922 World Fair at Rio de Janeiro. The image includes a cross and depicts two women, each one with a lamp. The illustration refers to the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins. A story where wise women are more prepared to wait for their husband by bringing extra oil for their lamps. This allowed them to stay up longer than the foolish women, who ended up missing the husband after going to buy more oil. This story warns the reader on being prepared for uncertainty. While all texts are illustrated, only one of the stories is accompanied with a colored image, which can be interpreted as the lesson that the editors and illustrators want to highlight.

Figure 15. Main illustration of section "The Hebrews"
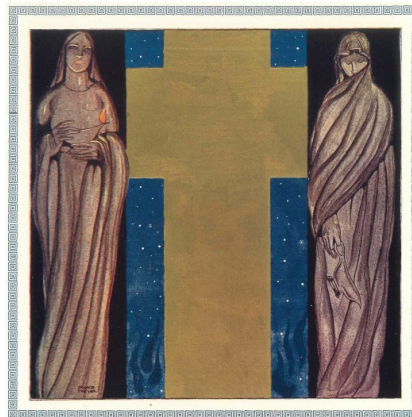
An analysis of the texts identified three common topics emerging from these collective stories: preparedness for the future, self-sacrifice, and ideas about leadership. The perception that one should be prepared for an adverse future is present in two stories, the Story of Joseph and the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins. In the Story of Joseph, the main character warns the pharaoh about a future crop famine that would last for seven years, followed by seven years of a bountiful harvest. In the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, the wise virgins prepared

themselves to wait for their husband by bringing extra oil to light their lamps. Being prepared

was a key topic of these stories, the authors of the book were calling for the readers, children and

teachers, to be prepared and it can be argued to be ready for sacrificing in the name of the nation.

The topic of self-sacrifice for the family, a master or one's people is present in many of

the stories. This includes Isaac's servant Eliezer, who despite his age goes to Mesopotamia to

find a wife for Isaac; Jacob's 21 years of labor to Rachel's father in order to marry her; Joseph's

work in Egypt as a servant; Samson's surrender to save his people; Ruth's religious conversion;

and the three servants' hard work in favor of their master in the parable of the talents. The idea

that one has to sacrifice for an authority figure, or a group is constantly present in the texts. This

form of sacrifice goes along with the sacrifices that were made during the Mexican revolution

and to favor the nation.

Power in the stories is depicted as patriarchal. Fathers play an important role in guiding

their children but also demanding their obedience, for example in the stories of Isaac and

Rebecca, Jacon and Rachel, Joseph, and the Parable of the Prodigal Son. Likewise, in these

stories men also exercise authority as masters, demanding submissiveness from their servants,

and punishing them for bad behavior, as portrayed in the same stories previously mentioned and

the Parable of the Talents. As expected, all political figures in these texts are male: the pharaoh

and his minister Joseph, Moses and his laws, Sanson as a great warrior, and Herod. The latter's

power is the only one explained in these stories. Herod's rise to power is described as the result

of his adulation to the Romans and the severe taxes imposed on the Hebrews.

Lecturas Clásicas thus presented a secularized version of values that the authors believed

important for students. Two of the three emerging topics, preparedness for the future and self-

sacrifice, fall under the umbrella of discipline and shifting people's loyalty from the Church's authority to the nation-state. By doing so, this textbook contributed to strengthening the relationship between students, as subjects of the state, and the nation. Moreover, the patriarchal form of leadership went well with the authoritarianism that the post-revolutionary regime is developing and helped to solidify the regime's hegemony.

Fermín

The pragmatic and laic tendencies of the post-revolutionary elite are reflected in Velázquez Andrade's *Fermín* (1928) when the main character demanded more attention for schooling the children of illiterate Mexicans: "Schools should teach our children to love work, the only thing that redeems them from the misery and slavery of the rich. May it be taught and practiced as the only religion" (p. 83). Velázquez Andrade's *Fermín* (1928) advanced the argument that the post-revolutionary regimes in Mexico were already beneficial for the peasant population of the country. According to the text material benefits and the technological modernization of rural life were palpable right after the revolution. Fermín and his family, who are the representation of the Mexican people, now have a furnished house: "FERMIN, his father, and mother now inhabit a small, modest adobe house with a cheerful red roof. Its interior is simple, clean and pleasant. Rustic furniture completes it and makes it comfortable" (p. 66). The emphasis of the author in the humbleness of the house is worth noticing, it contrasts with the illustration provided for this passage of the book, where the family can be observed proudly showing their home to other people. The emphasis of the author on cleanness can be interpreted as part of the post-revolutionary healthcare campaigns. Health related projects were based on modern ideas of sanitation and often mixed with educational projects.

In Figure 16, it is possible to see the material possessions that the family now has as a result of the Revolution: "Fermin has a horse. His mother, a sewing machine, a cotton shawl and cotton satin petticoats" (p. 66). A strong gender difference is evident based on the possessions, the horse as a means for transport and work, while the sewing machine and clothes reaffirms the role of women as cloth makers and the society's emphasis on their appearance and beauty.

Figure 16. *Fermín* and his family's possessions after the Mexican Revolution
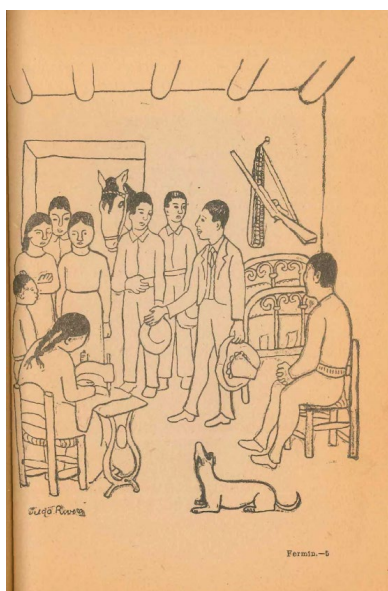
In this depiction by Diego Rivera there are two technologies signaling the gendered division of labor, the father's rifle and the mother's sewing machine. The weapon is a symbol of the revolution and a token of the part that Fermín's father played in fighting it. Over the years, Mexican families have kept these arms as symbols of their participation in the struggle. Figure 16 is one of the few images in which Fermín's mother is placed at the front of the scene, but she is still playing a secondary role and working hard as usually depicted by Rivera. The sewing machine in this illustration becomes a marker of modernity, an artifact which proves that the post-revolutionary regimes have given the rural population access to technologies. Furthermore,

this machine is a technology that stressed gender roles and the most advanced icon that the family possesses.

There is one more reference to technology in the book. In this case Rivera does not provide a drawing, but Velázquez Andrade (1928: 75) wrote a brief story about modern exploration and the nation. In the book, Fermín conducts several trips around his home state in order to study different crops and animal breeding. After these explorations, Fermín brings home some specimens in order to conduct some tests and improve his production: "He has replaced the plow of his ancestors with a modern one. He plans to get a tractor soon. On national holidays he organizes festivities." Here Velázquez Andrade gives a lesson on what peasants should do, not just explore but experiment with modern techniques for improving their crops and stockbreeding. Fermín's scientific enthusiasm is presented as positive and expected from modern peasants. The author then proceeds to link these productive activities and scientific dispositions with the secular Mexican nation. Fermín becomes not only a successful peasant, but he also has the time to organize activities during national holidays, in other words, to celebrate the nation. Since civic festivities were expected to replace religious celebrations, this passage in *Fermín* can be seen as part of the effort to secularize of the population.

Following David Arnold (2004), I understand the celebration of science and technology depicted in *Fermín*, as evidence of how these fields cannot be separated from a history of colonialism and the expansion of Western knowledge in other parts of the world. Post-revolutionary education, through the use of textbooks such as *Fermín*, played a role in the diffusion of modern values and in the expansion of Western science as a criterion for progress. Likewise, the civic performances that the main character of the book organizes in his town, can

be understood as part of the development of national ideologies and the establishment of modern political authorities, thus corroborating the increasing importance of the national flags, anthems, and patriotic festivals.

Indian Secularism in the Selected Textbooks

All Men are Brothers

While in Mexico the establishment of a laic state took the form of anti-clericalism, Indian secularism attempted to engage and sustain all of India's religions (Metcalf & Metcalf, 2012: 233). K. R. Kripalani's selection for *All Men are Brothers* (UNESCO, 1958) reflects the secular vision that is typical of the Nehru years and that was advanced into the world through this editorial collaboration with UNESCO. This secularist approach tries to engage and sustain all of India's religions, it opposed the colonial conception of India as a multiplicity of conflicting communal identities and was marked by the trauma of Partition. Chapter 2 of *All Men are Brothers*, Religion and Truth, included extracts that follow this all-welcoming vision of a secular state, for example Gandhi wrote: "By religion, I do not mean formal religion, or customary religion, but that religion which underlies all religions, which brings us face to face with our Maker" (UNESCO, 1958: 56), this can be considered as part of the new conception of the world that Gandhi and other Indian leaders thought to be more appropriate for independent India and, by including it in this textbook, the rest of the world.[27]

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[27] Gandhi's "religion which underlies all religions" is similar to Vasconcelos' "human religion." After a cursory comparative analysis, while this specific topic deserves a revision that goes beyond the scope of this dissertation, it can be preliminarily agreed that the authors were looking for forms of spirituality that better fit the modern world and the power of the nation-state.

The attempt to include all religions in India is evident in some of the quotes selected by the editor of *All Men are Brothers*. Kripalani (UNESCO, 1958) included a few references to relevant figures from different religions: "Take the great prophets, Zoroaster, Buddha, Jesus, Muhammad - they all stood alone like many others [...]. But they had living faith in themselves and their God, and believing as they did that God was on their side, they never felt lonely" (p. 173). In this case, Gandhi emphasized the importance of faith and the loneliness of leadership, but other references in the book described these leaders as great men, outstanding teachers or *avatars,*[28] being the latter a strong reference to Hinduism.

The approach to religion that *All Men are Brothers* promoted is distinctly modern because it helped to further separate the population from traditional religious beliefs. In the previous quote Gandhi clearly advocates for a less formal and non-customary religion. Gandhi (UNESCO, 1958) went as far as making religion an individual experience: "I have made the world's faith in God my own, and as my faith is ineffaceable, I regard that faith as amounting to experience" (p. 56). This reference not only called for a less collective perception of religion, one that is centered around the individual, it further modernized religion because it favored the Indian elite's determination to modify the behavior of the population by the use of experience as opposed to sacred texts and in contrast with the power of religious authorities.

It is important to register that despite the all-welcoming approach depicted in Kripalani's selection, Hinduism's absolute influence on Gandhi is also undeniable. The use of the word avatar is an evident reference to Hinduism, and while Gandhi recognized having been an

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[28] *Avatar* (अवतार) is a Sanskrit word that means "descent," it refers to the incarnation of a deity on earth. While the concept originated in Hinduism, it can also be found within Buddhism.

agnostic and having developed his thought based on Christianity, in one quote Gandhi accepts

and reinforces his Hindu identity:

> There was a time when I was wavering between Hinduism and Christianity. When I
> recovered my balance of mind, I felt that to me salvation was possible only through the
> Hindu religion and my faith in Hinduism grew deeper and more enlightened. (UNESCO,
> 1958: 26)

This is not only important for a better understanding of Gandhi's leadership, but also a precedent

for the later development of the Hindu right in India and its links with the Indian state.

Based on *All Men are Brothers*, Gandhi saw himself as a traditional Hindu student,

dedicated to learning and respecting his mentor. Discussing his own loathness to sexuality,

Gandhi acknowledged to have taken the vow of *brahmacharya* in 1906, and argued that from

that day, his "open life" and freedom began (UNESCO, 1958: 48). According to Hindu tradition,

life can be traditionally divided into four stages: brahmacharya (student), grihastha

(householder), vanaprastha (forest dweller), and sannyasa (renouncer).[29] The two main duties of

a brahmacharya are to dedicate himself to the constant study of the Veda and to honor his guru[30]

(Lorenzen & Preciado, 2003: 99). Gandhi's brahmacharya vote is very telling about his Hindu

identity and leadership. While it originated in his attitudes towards sexuality, this vote further

reaffirmed the influence of Hinduism on him and consolidated his national leadership by relying

on a religious reference, a Hindu traditional stage of life that Gandhi managed to modernize. As

a modern brahmacharya, Gandhi dedicated his life to the constant study and search for the truth,

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[29] For more information about the four stages of life according to traditional Hindu society see Lorenzen &
Preciado, 2003, pp. 98-102.

[30] *Guru* (गुरु) is a Sanskrit word that depending on the context can mean teacher, mentor, guide or expert.

which included the liberation of India from colonial rule. Similarly, his modern guru is the nation

itself. Gandhi dedicated his time to honor and respect the Indian nation.

The few photographs of Gandhi that are included in *All Men are Brothers* also reaffirm

his Hindu style of leadership. However, in contrast with Gandhi's self-claimed brahmacharya

status, the pictures present him as the guru himself. Figure 17 shows Gandhi teaching, in both we

can see him with minimal but traditional clothing. In the second photograph, Gandhi is advising

Prime Minister Nehru, clearly exercising his duties as a mentor. Considering these and other

images in the book, Gandhi is not presented as a politician, but as a Hindu guru.

Figure 17. Images 1 and 2: Gandhi as a Guru
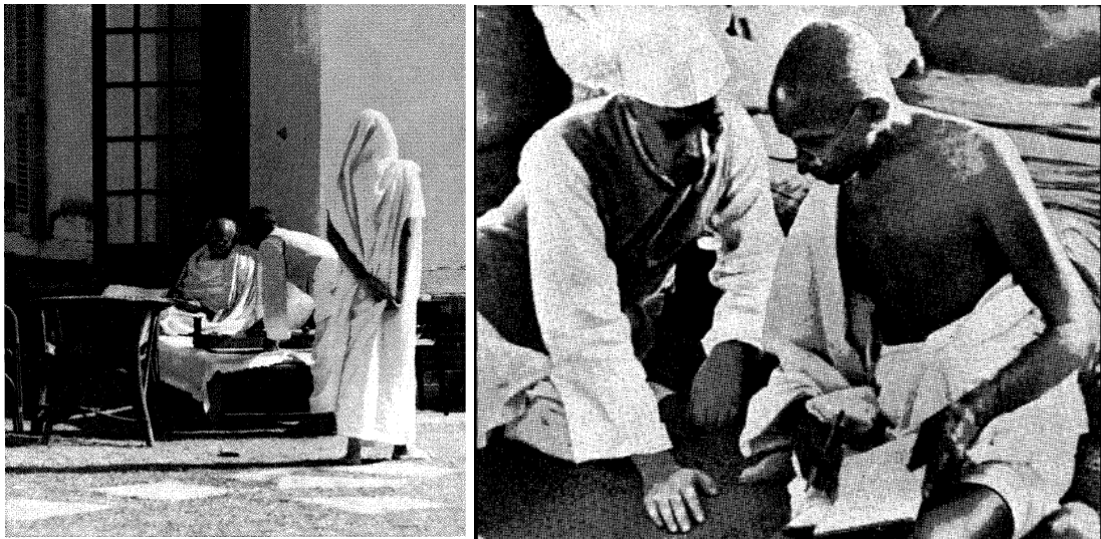
Note. Photo credits: Henri Cartier-Bresson, Magnum (UNESCO, 1958: 80); Information Service
of India, Paris (UNESCO, 1958: 144).

In fact, the photographs show Gandhi as a guru who is closer to the forest dweller stage

of life (vanaprastha) than any other stage. From a religious perspective, Gandhi could not be

considered a traditional grihastha (householder) because his brahmacharya vote prevents him

from fulfilling his duties as a married man. At the same time, since he is still living with his

family, dwelling within a community, and he has not given up all his material possessions,

Gandhi cannot be seen as a sannyasa (renouncer). Images 3 and 4 (see Figure 18) also show

Gandhi with basic traditional clothing and exemplifying a vanaprastha status. In image 3 Gandhi

is photographed with a stick as a cane, which reminds us of his march campaigns to free India,

but it is also a reference to a forest wandered. In image 4, taken in London, Gandhi's clothing

and attitude contrasts with the Western clothes of Londoners. Here Gandhi is planting a tree, one

more forestall reference, as a way to commemorate his stay in Kingsley Hall.

Figure 18. Images 3 and 4: Gandhi as a Vanaprastha

Note. Photo credits: Photo Keystone (UNESCO, 1958: 64); Photo Keystone (UNESCO, 1958: 48).

In *All Men are Brothers* there is an interesting contrast between a positive perspective of

science and a negative perception of technology. Gandhi praised science when he wrote, "I value

education in the different sciences. Our children cannot have too much chemistry and physics"

(p. 158). Furthermore, Gandhi sees science as a source for the strength of the nation, especially

scientific research: "Under it [Gandhi's scheme of higher education] we should have an army of

chemists, engineers and other experts who will be real servants of the nation, and answer the varied and growing requirements of a people who are becoming increasingly conscious of their rights and wants." This selection of Gandhian thought fits well with the developmentalist ideology of the Nehru years and their emphasis on higher education.

In contrast, Chapter 8 of *All Men are Brothers*, titled Man and Machine, presented a strong opposition to certain aspects of technological development. Gandhi (1950: 124) questioned the modern "mania" with mass production, labeling it as responsible for the world crisis. Gandhi was concerned with the displacement of workers in favor of machines: "Machinery has its place; it has come to stay. But it must not be allowed to displace necessary human labour" (p. 125). In the chapter, a more conciliatory quote is provided, Gandhi objected to the "craze for machinery," not machinery itself. For him, machinery contributes to the concentration of wealth in a few hands, "The impetus behind it all [the craze for machinery] is not the philanthropy to save labour, but greed. It is against this constitution of things that I am fighting with all my might."

All Men are Brothers advanced a positive perspective of sciences, but the secular approach to religion that the book promoted was more effective for modernizing the population. *All Men are Brothers* is evidence of the secular vision that was typical of the early post-independence years. This approach to religion was distinctly modern because it contributed to removing a traditional religious practice, thus separating the population from premodern authority and legitimacy. Using Gandhi's writings, the book advocated in favor of a less formal and non-customary religious practice that was centered around the individual. However, it is

important to document that despite the all-welcoming approach depicted in Kripalani's selection of Gandhi's texts, the influence of Hinduism on Gandhiand thought is undeniable.

Assembling the Content of the Analyzed Textbooks

When I first engaged with textbooks published in the early years of post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India, I quickly realized that I had to dedicate some time to write about how the contents of these books advanced national ideologies and processes of modernization. An entire research project can be dedicated to exploring how these textbooks are related to hegemony and governmentality, but for dissertation the value comes from analyzing how these sources repositioned the readers to new forms of knowledge, as discussed by Sanjay Seth (2007). In other words, we know that textbooks offered students in post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India the possibility, maybe for the very first time, to engage with reason and Western knowledge. However, we do not always know how this happens and what are the political implications of this transformative engagement. In this chapter, I have offered some arguments that addressed that question. After analyzing the content of the selected textbooks, I have provided arguments that try to explain the specific ways in which national ideologies and modernities expanded in Mexico and India.

The authors and editors of the selected textbooks had both an intellectual and a political background. Following Gramsci (1971: 3-14), their function was then to direct ideas and aspirations of the ruling class, to which they organically belonged, into the population. These intellectuals can also be considered as "organic" because of the work and functions that they performed for the state, closely collaborating in projects funded by the government and some of them holding bureaucratic positions. Furthermore, in the selected textbooks different fields

within Western knowledge converged. Intellectuals, scholars, artists, and scientists got together to spread national ideologies and modern values via these sources.

A note on international collaborations in the production of the selected books is necessary. The analysis of these books showed that ideas and experiences flow in complex channels, and not just in the traditional core-periphery dichotomy. The following examples reflect that complexity. Chilean author Gabriela Mistral's collaboration with the Mexican government is evidence of Latin America and the large Spanish speaking world working together. Mexican authors with a history of migration to the United States, as either refugees or as students, returning to Mexico to implement editorial projects was important. Artists with international presence such as Diego Rivera, but also Gabriel Fernández Ledesma and Roberto Montenegro, who worked nationally and internationally, for example in World Fairs, engaged in projects of state consolidation in Mexico. Latin American intellectuals such as Pedro Henríquez Ureña and Vasconcelos made a well-received regional impact, traveling around the continent to spread their ideas. In terms of India, collaborations between the government and UNESCO, hosting an international meeting and editing books, also appeared as important in this chapter. India's cultural capital was present in textbooks in both countries, the Subcontinent's classical literature and world renown authors such as Tagore and Gandhi consolidated India's position in the world. Finally, the incorporation of Romila Thapar, and other professional historians, to all-India projects of history teaching sealed the deal with the specialization process and the refinement of government.

In this chapter, I discussed how textbooks are a modern necessity. These artifacts support the refinement of the state machinery of power by facilitating information. The analyzed

textbooks gave the readers access to Western knowledge, maps that became visual representations of the nation, and favored the consolidation of a national language, which happened to be a colonial language in both Mexico and India.

Similarly, the lack of quality books and textbooks in both countries mobilized their governments to create editorial projects. Given the importance of books and the incapacity of the market to produce what the new regimes in post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India needed public funds and efforts were then allocated to fulfill this need. This is part of the context and the epistemological structures that made the analyzed textbooks possible.

An exploration of the context of the six sources, three from each time-space considered in this project, allowed me to identify trends that consolidated a national ideology. First, how textbooks presented the nation as an ancient cultural unit. An idea that conveys Benedict Anderson's arguments (2006) about the nation being a modern entity that presents itself as subjectively ancient, and as a universal socio-cultural concept that at the same time has concrete manifestations. Nationalism in the textbooks was present as a rejection of materials that are not contextualized for the specific country, as a refusal to imitate foreign methods of instruction, and as the perception that high levels of literacy strengthen the nation. On top of these previous trends, the use of modern maps is key for giving those who read and studied these textbooks a way to think about their nation, a sense of national identity, and an emotional connection to a territory.

However, the textbooks also contained vernacular cosmopolitanisms. These cosmopolitanisms emerged from the needs to access the cultural heritage of humanity and the scientific-technological innovations created elsewhere. Additionally, governments used these

textbooks to position themselves internationally. Despite nationalism, cosmopolitanism in the selected textbooks reflected notions of a humanitarian universalism in both post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India.

As previously discussed in Chapter Two, the efforts to modernize the Indian population included visionary national projects, similar to those in post-revolutionary Mexico. The textbooks support the evidence that in India, the focus has largely been on secularization and economic development. While in Mexico the establishment of a laic state that took the form of anti-clericalism is central for modernization. As a result, Mexican laicism and Indian secularism contained in the textbooks shows how the regimes tried to separate the population from religion, or at least a traditional approach to religion, and redirect them to reason, science, and technology, solidifying modernizing projects and the modern political authorities of the Mexican and Indian elites.

CHAPTER FIVE

ASSEMBLING ARCHIVES

This chapter turns its attention to how students and their parents reacted to the

educational discourses imposed upon them. Including these voices is necessary to provide a more

comprehensive representation of modern education in both Mexico and India. The focus of this

chapter are the oral histories contained in materials retrieved from the Historical Archive of

Iztapalapa (Archivo Histórico de Iztapalapa - AHI) in Mexico City and the Oral History Project

of the India Association of Minnesota (IAM) in the United States. Since previous chapters

discussed educational law, institutions, and textbooks, in this chapter special consideration was

placed on accounts by students and parents, as opposed to teachers and other state authorities.

The first part of this chapter describes the archives that were accessed for this research.

This characterization helps to contextualize the materials that were considered for this chapter.

After characterizing the archives, a section on the impact of the Mexican Revolution and the

Indian Independence movement on students will be presented. In the next section, I will discuss

how the schooling projects in each country were taken. In Mexico, the chapter concentrates on

the roles of the Catholic Church, community leaders, and the post-revolutionary state. In India,

the focus will be the emergence of English's hegemony as the preferred language, the role of

parents and their attitudes towards schooling, and the role of the Catholic Church in India.

The Archives

It was essential for this project to investigate how the people, particularly students and their parents, perceived the educational projects that their respective governments imposed upon them. Including these perspectives was important to give a more comprehensive representation of education. Furthermore, certain aspects such as the complexity of the educational process and the role of parents and community leaders in schooling, only emerged by following the interest for including people's voices.

Finding the voices of students and parents was very challenging, and the COVID-19 pandemic made it even more difficult. How students experienced schooling was not necessarily written or shared beyond family members. Moreover, scholarly attention has mostly been placed on the nation as the unit of analysis in the history of Mexican education, as opposed to communities or families. The COVID-19 pandemic restricted travel and access to archives. However, right before the pandemic, I was lucky enough and managed to travel to Mexico City and visited the Historical Archive of Iztapalapa where I located the oral histories that informed this chapter. In contrast, a local archive from India was not accessible given the circumstances, but the Oral History Project of the India Association of Minnesota (IAM), while focused on immigrants who moved to the United States, was useful to identify oral histories that contain information about the educational experiences of people who lived in India shortly before and after independence. The oral history project was supported by the Minnesota Historical Society, and it is now part of their online collection. Next, I will describe the historical archive and the oral history project as a way to contextualize the oral histories.

The Archivo Histórico de Iztapalapa

The Historical Archive of Iztapalapa is the first source of oral histories considered for this chapter. This research takes Iztapalapa[1] as a medium that provides insights to understand the implementation of modernization projects in Mexico, in this case educational projects. Iztapalapa is now one of the sixteen *Alcaldías*, administrative subdivisions, of Mexico City. The region has prehispanic roots, prominently in the late post-classic period. The towns and villages in today's Iztapalapa have a history that is linked to the *Culhuacán* dominion, a pre-Columbian polity that greatly asserted their Toltec lineage and culture. When the region became subjected to Mexica rule during the first half of the 15th century, this ancestry allowed local elites to establish matrimonial alliances with the Mexica nobility. During colonialism some parts became attached to the *Mexico City Cabildo* and others fell under different forms of administration and rule. After independence, the region continued to be divided and some communities remained within the Federal District, the official Mexican capital. The contemporary territory of Iztapalapa began to take its current shape after the Revolution. In 1928, Iztapalapa became one of the twelve administrative units subordinated to the central authority of Mexico City. Today's Iztapalapa is the largest municipality in Mexico, with more than two million inhabitants and a predominantly urbanized territory. This brief history is significant because it will be reflected in the oral histories in this chapter, helping to better understand the complexity of the educational phenomena in the 20th Century.

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[1] Iztapalapa is the modern version of Ixtapalapa, a Nahuatl denomination which means "on the slab in the water," referring to the lacustrine nature of the region. In this chapter I will refer to the modern administrative subdivision, called *Alcaldía* in Spanish, as Iztapalapa, and to the community with pre-columbian history as Ixtapalapa.

The Historical Archive of Iztapalapa was only opened in 2010. It is a small but independent building housed in the town hall area. The sources in the Historical Archive cover the revolutionary and post-revolutionary period in the region. Its records can be divided into two main groups, a set of materials from Mexico's General Archive of the Nation and its exclusive collection. The archive's exclusive collection includes all kinds of materials such as more than 900 photographs, 200 plans, 700 books, 50 professional theses, 300 magazines, 40 documentary videos, and thousands of journalistic notes, triptychs, flyers, posters, booklets, and family files donated by members of the community.[2]

The Historical Archive of Iztapalapa is a public history institution.[3] The work conducted by the archive not only involves collaborations between historians and members of the community, but it also strongly depends on the participation of the public. In contrast with academic institutions which target researchers and students, the main audience of the archive's activities is the people of Iztapalapa. The past that is recorded in the archive is not dictated by academic trends but determined by what its leadership and the people perceive to be of value. Moreover, the work of the archive includes presentations and workshops open to the public for which academic credentials are not necessary.

Within the exclusive collection, a few oral histories from various documents were found in the archive. The oral histories considered for this chapter come from two kinds of sources: public history publications and community efforts to record the past. As a public history

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[2] For a comprehensive history of the Historical Archive of Iztapalapa see Villasana and Gómez (2020) and Ramírez (2019).

[3] A comprehensive study on public history is offered by David Dean (2018).

institution, the archive has been involved in collecting publications that heavily rely on the

submission of photographs and written memories by Iztapalapa inhabitants. While there is

governmental and academic support, mainly from the local government and the Metropolitan

Autonomous University (UAM), a relevant public university in the city with a campus in

Iztapalapa (UAM-I), the submissions of members of the community are the core of these

publications.

The second kind of sources come from collective memories compiled in booklets edited

by local "cultural groups." These groups are local associations that seek to record their

community's past. Members of the cultural groups see themselves as the original inhabitants of

the area and hold a strong sense of identity based on the villages and towns in which they were

born. I understand the work of these groups as projects of collective memory because they try to

capture knowledge about past events that is shared by the community, usually elders. While the

work of these groups is based on what individuals can remember, their continuous efforts to

assemble and publish these memories in a systematic way transforms their work into collective

memory. Through the work of these cultural groups, memories can be attributed to a social group

that shares a set of cultural tools, which according to researchers Wertsch and Roediger (2008),

makes their remembering collective memory.[4]

The work of cultural groups such as the *Grupo Cultural Ollin* (ollin means movement in

Nahuatl) and *Grupo Cultural Noche Victoriosa* (victorious night in Spanish) cannot be

underestimated and must be recognized. It is worth noticing that the names of these groups

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[4] Apart from Wertsch and Roediger (2008), other works on collective memory reviewed for this chapter include Roediger and Abel (2015) and Roediger and DeSoto (2016).

represent a contemporary form of resistance towards colonialism. These are Spanish speaking communities, but the first group took a Nahuatl word for their name, *ollin,* which means movement and is a concept represented in pre-columbian buildings, ceramic pieces, and codices. The *victorious night refers* to the victory of the Mexica resistance led by Cuitlahuac, lord of Iztapalapa and the second-last Mexica emperor, over the forces commanded by the Spaniards in June 30, 1520. This event was previously known as *La Noche Triste* (literally the sad night) or *the night of sorrows*, but it has now been reclaimed. It has been renamed "victorious" to express that the event was only sad for the conquering forces. The battle is now reinterpreted as part of the history of indigenous resistance against colonialism.[5]

These and other local organizations have played an important role in preserving the history of their own communities. This work of collective memory making resembles Nahuatl lyrical compositions and pre-colombian oral performance traditions, reflecting the importance of capturing collective memories for posterity. According to Jorge Klor de Alba (in León Portilla, 2006), the process of preserving collective memories is part of a Mesoamerican tradition that predates European colonization; it continued during colonial times and was preserved in post-colonial Mexico. Klor de Alba identified the importance of capturing collective memories in the 16th Century sources that recorded the indigenous perspective of the fall of Tenochtitlan and the collapse of the Mexica Empire. I understand the work of the cultural groups and the oral histories as part of this long Mesoamerican oral tradition to preserve collective memory.

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[5] An indigenous account of *La Noche Triste* can be found in Miguel León Portilla's chapter 10: The Night of Sorrows (2006, pp. 83-90).

One major topic that emerged from the oral histories in Iztapalapa was the depletion of the land and the lakes in this area. Most oral histories talked about the environment and discussed how much it has changed over the decades. The people remembered the land and the water with such nostalgia that it seemed inexcusable not to include this topic in this chapter. The oral histories described peasant life in villages surrounded by arable lands and small towns, all of them located in a lacustrine scenery. Contemporary water scarcity in this area of Mexico City seems ironic since the lakes, lagoons, waterholes, streams, and rivers that played such an important role in the lives of these communities have now disappeared. I understand the importance given to the land and the lakes as part of the collective memory making of these communities, as a shared effort to make sure that the landscape is not forgotten.

The importance that the people from Iztapalapa gave to the land and the lakes contrasts with the developmentalist ideology that characterized post-revolutionary governments in Mexico. Mexican nationalism concealed exploitative notions of the environment. Under these notions, natural resources existed to be exploited in the name of the development of the nation. These beliefs and ideas allowed the depletion of the land and the lakes of the Valley of Mexico. In the case of Iztapalpa, the lacustrine scenery has been replaced by peripheral neighborhoods. These testimonies further show how the Valley of Mexico was incorporated into the country's post-revolutionary economy. Under the capitalist dependent economic system, the Iztapalapa land and its people became sources of labor and natural resources to supply the economy.

The Historical Archive of Iztapalapa is a valuable source for this research, the oral histories found within the materials provided insights to understand the implementation of educational projects in Iztapalapa. The two main sets of sources that are relevant for this research

are the public history publications and the booklets edited by cultural groups to record their communities' past. Within the two sets, a few texts mention and reflect on the participants' educational experiences before, during, and shortly after the Mexican Revolution. The oral histories that were considered for this chapter come from conversations with people who were students in the early decades of the 20th Century. These oral histories were also useful to see perspectives of the Mexican Revolution in the Iztapalapa area. The work of cultural groups in preserving these perspectives cannot be underestimated and must be recognized. In contrast with the written sources found in the Iztapalapa archive, the oral histories from India come from an online source that can be considered a project of diasporic memory.

The India Association of Minnesota Oral History Project

The oral histories from India that inform this chapter are part of the Oral History Project of the India Association of Minnesota (IAM), a non-profit organization created in 1973 to build a community for the "Asian Indians" that live in the state of Minnesota in the United States. Their mission includes promoting an understanding between people of South Asian descent and the larger Minnesotan society through cultural, charitable, and networking events. Additionally, the association intends to work as an umbrella organization for the regional associations within the state (IAM, 2021).

The Oral History Project of the IAM emerged in 1992 to preserve the history of South Asian migrants in Minnesota. The objective of the project was to capture the stories of people with "Asian Indian heritage" to celebrate their accomplishments and document their struggles. According to the lead researcher, Polly Sonifer, they made an effort to ensure a broad representation in terms of religion, gender, language, occupation, and age at immigration. The

researchers have placed an emphasis in comparing values and attitudes in India versus the United States. The interviews were conducted at the homes or businesses of the participants and the conversations lasted for about two hours. The conversations were transcribed from audiotapes and participants were able to edit the transcripts before their public release. These materials are now accessible online, making this an electronic archive. In contrast with the sources from Iztapalpa's Historical Archive, which are printed and cannot be accessed remotely, these oral histories are available through the online collection of the Minnesota Historical Society.

This project can also be considered a work of public history because not only it involves collaborations between historians and members of the South Asian community, but it relies upon the participation of the public since oral histories are the main sources that feed this project. Similarly, while this project has the support of the Minnesota Historical Society, the key difference between mainstream academic history and public history is still present, the main audience is not academia but the public. People of South Asian descent and the larger Minnesotan society are the target audience of this project. It can further be argued that the research conducted for this project was not mainly determined by academic interests, but what the association and the project itself perceived to be of value for the Minnesotan public, that is recording the stories, accomplishments, and struggles of South Asians in the state.

The oral histories in this project are also a work of collective memory and furthermore represent a form of diasporic memory. Remembrance becomes collective memory when these accounts can be attributed to a social group that has a common culture (Wertsch & Roediger, 2008). The oral history project does achieve this purpose, it captures knowledge about past events that is shared by a community that has a common culture, people of South Asian descent

who migrated to the United States and live in Minnesota. Further, it would be possible to say that this is a work of collective memory around the process of migration, which is the worth preserving past event shared by members of this community.

The oral histories in this project are diasporic because the participants tell a shared history of displacement, adaptation, and resistance. Moreover, as it is the case with the people who participated in this project, the term diaspora includes situations that are not associated with forced dispersals or a desire to return (Agnew, 2005). In fact, the oral histories in this project reflect a transnational sense of self and community that transcends national boundaries which is typical of diasporas. The mission of the India Association of Minnesota, promoting an understanding between people South Asian descent and the larger society, and the emphasis of the oral history project in comparing values and attitudes, can be both understood as efforts to identify a transnational sense of self and community, and to understand ethnicity beyond the borders of nation-states, which according to Agnew (2005) characterize diasporas.

The Oral History Project consisted in three parts. The first phase started in June 1993 and ended in January 1995. This first stage contains 17 interviews, recorded in 32 hours of sound cassette, and 467 pages of transcript. Most of the participants of this first period live in the "Twin Cities," the metropolitan area of Minneapolis and Saint Paul. Most of them arrived in the United States as graduate students who stayed in the country after accepting jobs in the area (Sonifer, 1995). Phase two of this oral history project took place between March 1997 and April 1998. The second stage contains 15 interviews, recorded in 30 hours of sound cassette, and documented in 478 pages of transcript. This stage focuses on the children of the participants of phase 1, exploring their development in the United States. The participants in phase 2 were born in

Minnesota or arrived when they were very young. Consequently, these stories were less relevant for this chapter since the interviewees had little or no educational experience in India (IAM, 1999). Finally, phase three of this oral history project was conducted between 1998 and 2001. It includes nine interviews, 32 hours of sound cassette recording, and 467 transcribed pages. This last stage documents the experiences of people whose stories somehow fall out of the profile delineated in phase one. The participants were born in other colonies of the former British Empire, not just in India, and this phase includes people who arrived in the United States through other means such as sponsorship, adoption, or short-term employment. This phase also incorporates participants who live outside of the Twin Cities (IAM, 2001).

Within the three phases of the India Association of Minnesota Oral History Project, a few accounts reflect on the participants' educational experiences while they lived in India. The oral histories that were considered for this chapter come from interviewees who were students shortly before and after India became independent. The oral histories of the moments leading to the decolonization of the Subcontinent were very useful to see perspectives of the Independence Movement. The work of the association and the researchers involved in the project cannot be underestimated and must be recognized. This association plays an important role in preserving the history of the people of South Asian descent who migrated to this region of the United States.

The differences between Iztapalapa's Historical Archive and the Oral History Project are significant. In order to distinguish between the two institutions, I will refer to the Historical Archive of Iztapalapa as the "archive" and to the Oral History Project of the India Association of Minnesota as the "project." The archive is a recently created governmental institution that relies on the contributions of civil society organizations and the public in general. The archive's

collection was mostly donated by members of the community. This is a traditional archive in the sense that its materials are printed, and it only started to offer online activities in 2021, as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic. The texts that contain the oral histories date back from the early 2000s to the mid-2010s. Members of local cultural groups and few scholars compiled and edited the texts out of conversations they had with the elders in their communities. As a consequence, the accounts are not standardized, nor were they documented in conventional academic methods.

The oral histories from the archive include little to no information about how, when or where these conversations took place. It is therefore difficult to establish how the oral histories were recorded, by who or what criteria was followed. Transcriptions of these conversations are not available, and these sources are not posted online. While it is possible that other institutions and people have copies, these materials are first and foremost accessible in person at the archive's location.

Despite the challenges to locate and contextualize these oral histories, including them is necessary if we want to have a more comprehensive representation of education. These oral histories capture collective knowledge about the schooling process shared by communities in Mexico and India. By ignoring how these communities experienced the educational process, we will only favor mainstream academia and official narratives; and in not doing so, a history based on sources written by those in power, results in a history that is incomplete. Moreover, including these voices involves one step towards epistemological justice.

In contrast with the Mexican archive, the Oral History Project is a more concrete and scholarly effort led by a non-profit organization. As previously mentioned, the project had the specific task to document the experiences of a specific group, people of South Asian descent in

Minnesota. Interviewers designed a questionnaire for the participants that produced a set of standardized oral histories. These accounts were documented in academically standard methods that consisted of transcriptions and audio recordings. The transcripts and their preservation allowed the Minnesota Historical Society to turn this project into an electronic archive accessible online.

Despite the differences, both the archive and the project are the result of the work of civil society to record the past and make it accessible to the public. Moreover, the oral histories from both countries are part of public history efforts and collective memory making. A significant similarity shared by the oral histories in both the archive and the project is the inclusion of references to the moments of social transformation from which the contemporary political systems of Mexico and India emerged: the Mexican Revolution and the Indian Independence Movement.

Moments of Social Transformation as perceived within the Oral Histories

This dissertation proposed to assemble a comparison between the Indian and Mexican time-spaces after they experienced moments of social transformation, such as the Indian Independence Movement (1905-1947) and the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920). The oral histories briefly talk about these events beyond the nationalist narratives and historical approaches that I discussed in previous chapters. While the information about these crises is limited, a few accounts managed to capture knowledge that is shared by communities. Consequently, these are sources of collective memory that deserve attention.

The Mexican Revolution

Three oral histories from the archive in Iztapalapa briefly mention the impact of the Mexican Revolution in the region. Through the memories of Celia Acevedo Buendía, Santiago Corona Robles, and Juvencio Leyte Serrano, who experienced the movement as children, we can analyze the impact of this historical event and the perspectives shared by these communities. The oral histories discuss three main issues: insecurity, political divisions, and acts of violence. The ways in which these communities experienced the Revolution are hardly included in orthodox or revisionist historical research in Mexico. The fact that after many decades people still remember the challenges that they and their families faced, talks significantly about the severity of the situation and adds to the complexity of the revolutionary process.

The Mexican Revolution caused food insecurity and compromised public safety. People who were children at the time remember a general hunger experienced by their families. Celia Acevedo Buendía, who wrote her oral history in 2006 at 88 years old and whose text is recorded in a booklet published by the Grupo Cultural Ollin[6] (GCO, 2006, Primer Lugar section), remembered that during those days' harvests were not enough because most fields were either destroyed or abandoned. According to Acevedo Buendía, the Revolution also disrupted transportation and commerce. Economic activities were interrupted by the fighting, making commuting a dangerous journey. According to this account, the level of insecurity allowed the

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[6] Celia Acevedo Buendía submitted her text to the *Second Competition of Oral History and Historical Photography of the Santa María Aztahuacán Pueblo*, a community contest promoted by the Grupo Cultural Ollin and *Alcaldía*'s Secretariat of Culture. The booklet that contains the texts and pictures that were awarded in 2006 is organized around the winning categories and does not include page numbers.

Mexican army to enforce harsh curfews on these communities; regulations that can be seen as the expansion of the state's apparatuses of security.

Divergent political allegiances across communities are mentioned in Acevedo Buendía's memory, who recalled that some people supported the forces of Emiliano Zapata and others those of Venustiano Carranza (GCO, 2006, Primer Lugar section). Alongside the activities of the Mexican army, the conflicting loyalties contributed to the context of instability and insecurity among the villages and towns in the region. Although brief, the political rivalries of the revolutionary groups played at the local level show how those groups were fighting to secure the consent to rule of the population, in other words, these groups were fighting to become hegemonic.

The insecure and unstable context created by the Mexican Revolution also promoted local disputes over land. Land reforms were part of the demands of some revolutionary groups, especially the Zapatistas, the oral histories in Iztapalapa show how the revolutionary process exacerbated conflicts around land. Families in the area had to leave their homes, seeking refuge in larger towns, because of their opposing political ideology. As a result, people abandoned their fields, which further aggravated land disputes among families and communities (GCO, 2006, Primer Lugar section; Rojas Vargas, 2008: 72). For example, Santiago Corona Robles, interviewed in 2002 at 96[7] (UAM-I & Gobierno D.F., 2002: 105-106), told the story of a violent land dispute that took place in 1922 between the Acahualtepec and Aztahuacán communities.

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[7] Santiago Corona Robles was interviewed in 2002 and his oral history is recorded as a set of "testimonies" in a book, the *Second Contest Iztapalapa in my Heart* (UAM-I & Gobierno D.F., 2002), published by the Mexico City Government and the Metropolitan Autonomous University - Iztapalapa. The testimonies belong to a section presented as a chronicle of the Santiago Acahualtepec pueblo. The text includes traditions, legends, and myths, as well as the photography contest section.

Land reforms enforced by post-revolutionary governments, which were part of the nationalist narrative in the textbooks analyzed in Chapter Four, are briefly discussed in the oral histories. Land reforms implemented in the area can be understood as part of the expansion of state power and as part of the process of transforming justice into a modern administrative state, which is one of the rationalities that according to Foucault (1991) are intrinsic to the modern "art of government." Other sources found in this archive confirm that land distribution in Iztapalapa started as early as 1916. Through land reform, the post-revolutionary state settled a 25-year dispute between the Fragoso family and the peasants they snatched the land from at the end of the 19th Century (Rojas Vargas, 2008: 74; GCNV, 2017: 29; UAM-I & Gobierno D.F., 2002: 106). This case is relevant because it exemplifies the advance of modern political authority. It shows how respect for the legality of acts of post-revolutionary governments in the Iztapalapa area increased.

While the post-revolutionary state is trying to assert the legality of its acts, at the same time, acts of physical violence were happening. This continuous violence witnessed by children is another topic that was present in the oral histories. Apart from the fear that the army's presence generated, the deadly aftermath of the Mexican Revolution lingered for many years later. Juvencio Leyte Serrano, who wrote his life-story in 2008 at 78[8] (GCO, 2008: 28), reports that many years after the Revolution, when the inhabitants started to build new houses in places beyond the traditional limits of their villages, human remains of people who were killed during

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[8] Juvencio Leyte Serrano submitted his text as a memoir to the *Third Competition of Oral History and Historical Photography of the Santa María Aztahuacán Pueblo*, a community contest promoted by the Grupo Cultural Ollin and the local Secretariat of Culture. The booklet is also organized around the winning categories and in contrast with previous versions this source includes page numbers.

revolutionary times were found in his community. Testimonies of extrajudicial killings and illegal graves add one more layer of the level of violence of the Mexican Revolution. This is a topic that still needs to be explored in terms of the history of Iztapalapa and Mexico City at large, especially during this otherwise celebrated time by nationalist historians.

As in the Mexican case, the oral histories from India also captured knowledge about past events shared by the community. The oral histories compiled by the India Association of Minnesota (IAM) are sources of collective memory that discuss the impact of the Indian Independence Movement. The disruption to daily life, violence, and the advance of a modern political authority are all discussed in the memories of people who experienced this historical event as children and still remembered it many decades later.

The Indian Independence Movement

The Indian Independence Movement is scarcely accounted for in the Oral History Project of the IAM. Only two oral histories in the project talk about this event. Through the memories of Aparna Ganguli and Indru Advani, who experienced the movement as children, we can analyze the impact of this historical event. This small number of recollections is not surprising. The participants of the oral history project were very young and some of them were not even born at the time of Indian independence. Nevertheless, these two contributions allow us to examine relevant glimpses of this movement.

While the Oral History Project focuses on migration stories, which can thus be considered a source of diasporic memory, political participation and resistance are still present in a couple of memories. Aparna Ganguli, born in Calcutta in 1942 and interviewed at 53, remembered that her maternal uncles sympathized with nationalists and were "inclined toward

Indian patriotism" (Sonifer & Ganguli, 1995: 1). I take this inclination to mean that Ganguli's family supported the independence movement. Ganguli does not elaborate on the specifics of this support, but this recollection is important because it stayed with the participant after five decades and indirectly recorded the involvement of communist groups in the independence struggle. After independence, Ganguili's uncles, those who were inclined towards patriotism, joined the Communist Party (Sonifer & Ganguli, 1995: 1-2). This political organization became important at both the state and national levels. In West Bengal, the Communist Party has ruled the state at different periods of time and remains a relevant force in the Indian Parliament. Ganguli's oral history shows the political transition from sympathizing with nationalism to becoming members of a modern political organization, such as a political party. I understand this transition as part of the process of establishing a modern political authority in India, in this case, civic participation through political parties.

Similar accounts of political support of the Independence Movement can also be seen in the oral history of Indru Advani, interviewed in 1995 at 65. Advani's oral history includes the most detailed account of the Indian Independence movement found within this project. The turbulence of the later years of the British Raj is remembered by Advani as a period characterized by violence and resistance, "Often there would be some riots and shootings and tear gas" (Sonifer & Advani, 1995: 2). These forms of state violence occurred as a response of British authorities to the campaigns promoted by nationalist leaders and to contain the movement. The participant is well aware of the violent response of the British Raj, he attributes colonial authorities with firing and gassing protesters.

Resistance to British colonialism was not only exercised by adults, but by children as well. Advanis' oral history includes a reference to Mahatma Gandhi's famous Quit India speech and tells a fascinating story of resistance exercised by children: "that time, as a child, and full of vigor for the freedom movement, we used to take a charcoal and sneak out in the evening hours. Wherever we would see a wall we would write "quit India," "quit India," "quit India" (Sonifer & Advani 1995: 2). Advani considered this form of political graffiti his contribution to the independence movement, and further reflected on the possible consequences: "If my father would have seen me, he would have pulled me by my ears and locked me up inside the house" (Sonifer & Advani, 1995: 2). The fact that Advani, as a child, went ahead against his father represents a defiance to both parental and colonial authorities. Sneaking out of home to write nationalist slogans is not only an act that goes against family hierarchy. It is also a form of resistance against his own father as an agent of colonialism. Advani's father worked for the Burmah Shell Oil company, a British enterprise. This professional activity places Advani's father as part of the colonial apparatus. Consequently, by defying his father as a child, Advani is also resisting colonialism.

Advani started college in Jodhpur, India in 1946, a year before Independence was finally achieved. The participant talked about the influence of World War II on the consolidation of Independence: "In 1946 the independence movement gained momentum. The leaders who were fighting for independence, the Congress party leaders, had been jailed during the war period" (Sonifer & Advani, 1995: 2). As a result, Advani thought about independence as both the result of the momentum gained by the Quit India Movement and as a political agreement with the British: "They were released [the independence leaders], and apparently the British government

had reached an agreement to allow Indians to declare independence" (Sonifer & Advani, 1995: 2). This perception of independence seems to be informed by a secular-nationalist discourse, which emphasizes resistance and the Quit India movement, as well as a colonialist perspective of history, which underplays the importance of the independence movement and understand decolonization as being granted by British authorities, mainly influenced by events in Europe, most prominently WWII and political change in England; the advent to government of the Labour Party with Clement Attlee as Prime Minister.

Advani fondly remembered the ceremony and the rise of the Indian flag that marked the official arrival of independence. As a symbol of national aesthetics, the rise of the Indian flag and new civil commemorations epitomized the emergence of the Indian Nation State. "Tryst with Destiny" the famous English-language speech delivered by Jawaharlal Nehru, as India's first Prime Minister, on the eve of Independence, towards midnight on 14 August 1947, can be supplemented with the memories of Advani. Independence celebrations took place at the participant's college and Advani remembered them affectionately:

> It was the proudest moment of my life! Singing, as I always had a good voice, singing and leading the national anthem. The national anthem of India was adopted at that time. So those are some fond memories, and I have never forgotten them. (Sonifer & Advani, 1995: 2)

The flag and the secular ceremonies can be taken as part of the development of the Indian national ideology and aesthetics, symbols and rituals thought to help in generating unity among the diversity in the Subcontinent.

Important similarities between the oral histories from both countries were identified in this research. These similarities are relevant to the end goal of comparing these two countries and understanding how political hegemonies and governmentalities expanded in the 20th Century.

These accounts can be considered sources of collective memory because they recorded knowledge shared by the analyzed communities about historical events. These oral histories show how the Mexican Revolution, and the Indian Independence Movement impacted the lives of people at the time, disrupting activities such as agriculture, commerce, and transportation. Insecurity and physical violence are also shared topics between Mexico and India. Furthermore, the glimpses about the advance of modernity revealed within these oral histories are especially important and were present in both countries.

The enactment of land reforms in Mexico and the emergence of political parties in India demonstrate how modernization took place in developing countries. As discussed in Chapter One, post-independence India and post-revolutionary Mexico both encouraged modern bureaucracy and rationality. Land reforms and political parties fall under the belief in the legality of enacted rules and in the acceptance of the authority of those who issue legal commands, as explained by Max Weber (1968: 212-215). I therefore understand these two issues as early examples of the advancement of a modern political authority.

Schooling in Iztapalapa

The oral histories from Iztapalapa, supported by scholarly sources from the Historical Archive, describe and helped to understand how schooling occurred in this area. Three main actors can be distinguished in this process, the Catholic Church, community leaders, and the Mexican State. This was a slow and fragmented process that was impacted by the Mexican Revolution and the educational projects of post-revolutionary governments. Equally important, the oral histories tell the story of how the hegemony of the post-revolutionary state and its governmentality were built and unfolded in Iztapalapa through educational projects.

The Educational Role of the Catholic Church in Iztapalapa

Post-revolutionary governments are seen by scholars as anti-clerical. The 1917 Constitution not only endorsed a secular state, but defined education as laic and prohibited the direct involvement of religious corporations in primary education. In fact, violent conflicts, such as the Cristero Wars, erupted as a result of post-revolutionary anticlericalism. However, the sources from the Iztapalapa archive document the importance of the Catholic Church in promoting literacy before and after the Mexican Revolution. As part of the expansion of the nation-state and its governmentality, revolutionary and post-revolutionary governments slowly replaced this religious institution and established modern schools. The literacy work of the Catholic Church in the Iztapalapa area is explained by Santiago Corona Robles, who never attended school but remembered that he became literate due to the work of Catholic catechists. These volunteers would teach children to read and write so they could study the catechism in preparation for their first communion (UAM-I & Gobierno D.F., 2002: 105).

The oral histories further explained how the Church supported education by providing spaces for schooling activities to take place. Some of these locations functioned as initial educational institutions, allowing children to study the initial years so they could move forward to other institutions. Benjamín Sánchez, from Santiago Acahualtepec and interviewed[9] at 79 in the year 2000, remembered that "there were two schools in town, and the first was attached to the wall of the church on the east side [of the religious building]; over there they taught *parbulito* and primary school. It was there I learned until the third grade of primary school" (Rosas

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[9] Benjamín Sánchez was interviewed by local chronist Calixto Rosas Vázquez (2001) for a booklet that sought to make widely known the histories of the Santiago Acahualtepec town and people.

Vázquez, 2001: 9). Similarly, Agustín Rojas Vargas[10] (UAM-I & Gobierno D.F., 2002: 179) recounts that his father, Agustín Rojas Torales born in 1903 in Culhuacán, attended a school that was located behind the Parish of Saint Luke the Evangelist in Ixtapalapa shortly after 1910. Since the public school located in Culhuacán only taught until the third grade, those who wished to continue with their studies had to attend the school at the parish. Researchers Leonor Fuentes Gutiérrez and Fidela Rodríguez Frías (2003: 29) confirm these testimonies and the educational role of the Catholic Church before the Mexican Revolution. The authors further explain that during this time private teachers attached to the Church would instruct children for the initial years of primary school before the students would complete their education in the official government school.

The Catholic church continued to play an important role in education after the Mexican Revolution. According to photographic evidence provided by Martha Espinoza Castillo (GCO, 2013: 98) for a book promoted by the Grupo Cultural Ollin about the historical memory of the people of Santa María Aztahuacán,[11] educational activities continued to take place on the premises of local churches. Nevertheless, in the years following the Revolution, governmental locations started to host educational activities as well, slowly replacing the Catholic Church. The power to make educational decisions was later monopolized by the Mexican state. This is the case of the local court building in Aztahuacán, which started to host the school in 1931. The use

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[10] Agustín Rojas Vargas was interviewed in 2002 as part of the "testimonies" in the book *Second Contest Iztapalapa in my Heart* (UAM-I & Gobierno D.F., 2002) about the history of Santiago Acahualtepec.

[11] The book *Aztahuacan en Fotografia. Recuerdos, Cultura e Historia* - Aztahuacan in Photography, Memories, Culture and History (GCO, 2013) contains pictures that were part of family albums, only made public in the early 2000's through these projects of collective memory and public history. This book was promoted by the Grupo Cultural Ollin and focuses on representative places, festivities, and daily life.

of the court as an educational building is confirmed by Celia Acevedo Buendía (GCO, 2006, Primer Lugar section), who adds that when the justice building became insufficient to accommodate the rising number of students, some of them were taken back to the local church's atrium. Since religious authorities had to be involved in authorizing this return, this process illustrates the inconsistency of expanding formal schooling in the area.

The growing expansion of the post-revolutionary state in educational activities and the replacement of the Catholic Church faced opposition by communities and religious leaders. A dispute between the Ixtapalapa community, local authorities, and the federal government revealed local resistance to the nationalization of religious buildings and their use for educational purposes. The opposition of the community and religious authorities was documented since 1923, and it went as far as becoming a written petition addressed to the federal government. In this formal petition, the community asked the federal government to evict students at the Enrique Laubscher School from the local church's premises (Fuentes Gutiérrez & Rodríguez Frías, 2003: 29). This controversy shows how the post-revolutionary state, and the Catholic Church were fighting for a specific asset, but it can be understood as an episode in which the Mexican state is trying to strengthen its hegemony in the area by securing educational activities and by substituting the Church.

This dispute ended with the expropriation of the "annexes of the Parish of Ixtapalapa," which were granted to the Enrique Laubscher School in 1927 (GCNV, 2017: 39-40). It is important to consider that this expropriation of assets of the local Catholic Church occurred after the promulgation of the 1917 Constitution and right in the middle of the first *Cristero War* (1926-29), a movement that erupted to oppose the anticlerical policies of the Mexican

government[12], and as part of the federal government's response to this rebelion. In fact, the expropriation of the building's premises in Ixtapalapa was not final until 1929, when federal authorities gave the local government the right of usufruct the land that once belonged to the parish and reserved its legal property for the Mexican State (Fuentes Gutiérrez & Rodríguez Frías, 2003: 29). The triumph of the post-revolutionary state over the local Catholic Church can be understood as the solidification of its hegemony in the area. Furthermore, the respect by the community and catholic authorities of the expropriation, as a legal act enacted by the Mexican state sustained in the 1917 Constitution, can be seen as the establishment of a modern bureaucracy and rationality.

The Educational Role of Community Leaders

In Iztapalapa, educational activities not only took place in churches' premises, schooling often took place in the residencies of community leaders. Benjamín Sánchez (Rosas Vázquez, 2001) and Humberto Salvador Castillo Castillo[13] (UAM-I & Gobierno D.F., 2002: 111) from Santiago Acahualtepec, both mentioned that there was a school at the home of Doña Serapia Sánchez. Benjamín Sánchez remembered that "there many children attended because it was a very large room, but it never had the sixth grade, that is, that grade was never offered" (p. 9). The use of Serapia Sánchez's home is confirmed by. Similarly, in Santa María Aztahuacán, Juvencio

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[12] The *Cristero Wars* took place between 1926-29 and 1932-38. These were a set of violent conflicts between the Federal government and Catholic groups in central Mexico. For more information about these conflicts see Beezley and MacLachlan (2016, pp. 43-63) and Jean Meyer (2006).

[13] Humberto Salvador Castillo Castillo was interviewed in 2002 as part of the "testimonies" in the book *Second Contest Iztapalapa in my Heart* (UAM-I & Gobierno D.F., 2002) a book about the history of Santiago Acahualtepec published by the Metropolitan Autonomous University - Iztapalapa (UAM-I) and the Mexico City Government.

Leyte Serrano (GCO, 2008: 28) talks about being schooled for two years in the house of Don Carlos and Doña Rebeca Acevedo.

The constant relocation of educational activities led prominent members of the community to donate pieces of land for building a school. For example, Castillo Castillo (UAM-I & Gobierno D.F., 2002: 111) explained that the local school was constantly relocated as recently as 1947, when it was placed in the town's square. According to this oral history, an exclusive building was only possible until his father, Rosendo Castillo Sánchez, donated a piece of land for the concrete purpose of building a school.

The active participation of members of the community in the educational process is very important for the history of Mexican education. Either by hosting a school or by donating land for the construction of one, this patronage shows a more complex educational process than the general descriptions we have seen in orthodox historical narratives, which focus on the efforts of the Secretariat of Public Education (Secretaría de Educación Pública - SEP) and its first secretary José Vasconcelos.[14]

The Educational Role of the Mexican State in Iztapalapa

The development of schooling was a fragmented process in the Iztapalapa region. Apart from religious authorities and leaders of the communities, the Mexican state participated by opening schools via the federal government. While the first modern school was established in Culhacán towards the end of the 19th Century (Ramirez Gonzalez, 2012: 95-99), during the Porfirio Díaz dictatorship, this process was interrupted and only continued until 1914. The exact

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[14] The emphasis on the role of the community in educational projects has been explored by more recent works of educational historians. This includes, but is not limited to, Elsie Rockwell (1983; 2007; 2011; 2014) and Aridna Acevedo Rodrigo (2004, 2012, 2018).

date of the establishment of the first school is unknown, but early 20th Century sources in the

Historical Archive of Iztapalapa registered its importance. Among those relevant sources there is

a certificate of student Agustín Rojas from the year 1900, a diploma signed by President Porfirio

Díaz and by the secretary of instruction Justo Sierra (Rojas Vargas, 2008, n.p.); the latter was the

author of *Historia Patria*, one of the books analyzed in chapter 4 of this dissertation. This school

was later named Gustavo A. Madero, a participant of the Revolution and the brother of President

Francisco I. Madero, both assassinated during the 1911 military coup led by Victoriano Huerta.

Today the school building is preserved as a historical monument and still functions as a primary

school.

According to the work of the Grupo Cultural Noche Victoriosa (GCNV, 2017: 39), which

compiled a Graphic Memory of the Pueblo of Ixtapalapa[15], the second school in the area was

inaugurated on February 12, 1914; still during the revolutionary period, after the 1913 Coup and

in the middle of the Victoriano Huerta dictatorship (February 1913-July 1914). As previously

mentioned, scholarly sources reported that the government expropriated the classrooms from the

Saint Luke Parish (Fuentes Gutiérrez & Rodríguez Frías, 2003: 29). This school was named after

the German pedagogue Enrique Laubscher, a disciple of Friedrich Fröbel, who had an influential

career in Mexico (Larios Guzmán, Hernández Orozco, & Coronado Rodarte, 2013). The name of

this institution, honoring the work of Laubscher in Mexico, is evidence of the importance of

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[15] This graphic memory is a work of public history that was assembled by the Grupo Cultural Noche Victoriosa (victorious night), as part of their endeavors in collecting old photographs and news articles. This source (GCNV, 2017) was elaborated in collaboration with the Historical Archive of Iztapalapa and members of the community. Each section is accompanied by an introduction which contextualizes the photographs and provides some references. This source includes a section on education, titled *Nuestras primeras letras* (our first letters), which argues that the people's collective memory is full of memories from the Enrique Laubscher School.

transnational collaborations. It is possible to argue that this was the most ambitious educational project in the area because of its magnitude and wide reach. The Enrique Laubscher primary was not just a school, it was part of a broader project of education. It included all elementary grades and was part of a cultural center. The *Centro Cultural Número 2,* which offered art and craft workshops (GCNV, 2017: 39).

The third school in the region, the first of the post-revolutionary governments, was opened on December 19th, 1928. It was named after President Plutarco Elias Calles (1924-1928), who founded the National Revolutionary Party and remained in power behind-the-scenes as the *jefe máximo* (maximum chief) until 1934. However, this school was just an annex of the Enrique Laubscher Center. This extension became an opportunity for the Mexican Nation-State to celebrate its hegemony and perform a civic ritual. According to a national newspaper article (GCNV, 2017: 45), the inauguration was headed by President Emilo Portes Gil, who was accompanied by federal and local authorities. The event included national aesthetics in the form of art performances by students such as poetry reading and folklore dances. Music was conducted by the marching band of the *Escuela Industrial de la Beneficencia* (Industrial School of Public Welfare) and the orchestra of the Department of Transportation.

The event concluded with a revealing speech by president Portes Gill, who declared that his government would continue to expand education, "trying to snatch the peoples of the country out of ignorance." This speech reflects the perception of federal authorities that schools should produce modern and rational beings. It further echoes the missionary nature of educational projects started by Vasconcelos in the SEP. In the same speech Portes Gill further hoped that parents would make considerable efforts to preserve the construction and make each school

building a home for their children, "who will become the citizens of tomorrow." This last part of the speech indicates that federal authorities had plans for building a modern citizenry.

In both Mexico and India, the focus on citizenship reflects the discursive deployment of a modern political authority constructed around the rights of individuals. Both countries shared a perception of citizenry that meant participating in social reconstruction and national development. Consequently, the emphasis of Portes Gill in children becoming the citizens of future Mexico, was not necessarily about democratic values, but their involvement in the capitalist economy and state-sanctioned ways of political participation: corporatism and the organizations that were controlled under the umbrella of the hegemonic party. Moreover, the Portes Gill discourse in Iztapalapa, illustrates the argument of Elena Jackson Albarrán (2011; 2015) that after the Mexican Revolution, children became social actors and subjects of reform in the agenda of the nationalist governments; an example of the post-revolutionary rhetoric and policies which placed children at the center of efforts to create new citizens.

Schools in Iztapalapa started to get their modern shape by the late 1930s. An account by Remigio Torres Solano[16] (Herazo Gonzalez & Moreno Luna, 2014: 144), born in Santa Martha Acatitla in 1930 and interviewed in 2014 at 84, described in detail the *Estado de Morelos* School, which he attended around the time these institutions became more established. According to Torres Solano's description, at this point, his school has acquired an independent building with a patio and some fields in the backyard. The number of classrooms has grown to offer more grades and the number of students has increased as well. We can see from this description that the

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[16] Remigio Torres Solano's oral history was included in the book Sentido de Comunidad en un pueblo originario: Santa Martha Acatitla (Sense of Community in an original pueblo), a scholarly work of social psychology promoted by researchers of the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM).

school was not itinerant anymore. The church premises and private homes were no longer used as educational centers. In this and other communities, the post-revolutionary state has effectively replaced the Catholic church in its educational mission and managed to establish schools as we understand them today.

This process of state expansion and hegemony consolidation, includes the exercise of violence against the people of Iztapalapa. The oral histories show that formal education was not openly embraced by the communities and it motivated local authorities to force children and threaten parents in order to make schooling possible. First of all, interviewers talk about schooling as a governmental project, for example María Concepción Rivera Flores[17] (Rosas Vázquez, 2001), from Santiago Acahualtepec born in 1928 and interviewed in 2001 at 73, recalled that "When I was about 8 years old, which would be around 1936 and it was the time here in the town of Subdelegate Rosendo Castillo, the government wanted us all to go to school" (p. 9). Attending school was an imposition of authorities on these communities, executed by local representatives. Even after many decades, Benjamín Sánchez (Rosas Vázquez, 2001) remembered how violent the process was: "when we were little they used to go and take us out of our homes to attend school, because at that time we were only a few children" (p. 9). The element of menace was not only present in children but included the parents. In an interview, the son of former Subdelegate, Rosendo Castillo Sánchez, recalled that his father would go house by house inviting parents to send their children to school so they could learn how to read and write,

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[17] María Concepción Rivera Flores was interviewed by local chronist Calixto Rosas Vázquez (2001) for the booklet Santiago Acahualtepec oral histories.

"and even threatened to imprison them if they did not, but he was not very successful" (UAM-I & Gobierno D.F., 2002: 111).

In Iztapalapa, establishing modern schools was a long process that started at the end of the 19th Century, before the Mexican Revolution, and continued during the first half of the 20th Century. The oral histories showed that not only the government was important, but other agents such as the Catholic Church and community leaders were key for the development of educational institutions in the area. Literacy campaigns in Iztapalapa were started by the Church as part of their religious mission. In the early decades of the 20th Century, these literacy campaigns became educational projects that coexisted and complemented state institutions, given that schools opened by the federal government were not enough. However, the oral histories also showed how the Catholic Church was slowly replaced by the state, which established its hegemony and followed a modern governmental rationality. Following nationalist rhetoric which placed children at the center of the efforts to create modern citizens, revolutionary and post-revolutionary governments paid more attention to schools. As part of the consolidation of the state, the power to make educational decisions was then monopolized by post-revolutionary authorities. Finally, it cannot be overlooked that schooling the people of Iztapalapa was a violent process. Even after many decades, people remembered that local authorities had to find the children and threaten their parents with jail if they did not send them to school to be instructed.

Schooling in India

The oral histories from India, supported by scholarly sources, helped to describe and understand how schooling occurred in the Subcontinent. Based on the accounts in the oral history project, three main influences can be distinguished in this process, India's

multilingualism and the post-independence language politics, parents, and the Catholic Church. This was also a slow and fragmented process that was impacted by the Indian Independence Movement and the educational projects of post-independence governments. Equally important, the oral histories tell the story of how English started to become the dominant language of the post-independence period. Similarly, the active role of Indian parents in education, substituting the state, is accounted for in these testimonies. How Western education was expected to serve other non-educational purposes is also part of these stories. Furthermore, the role of Catholic schools in serving different groups of Indian society was present in the oral histories.

A Multilingual Society and the Emergence of English's Hegemony

The development of a linguistically diverse educational system in post-independence India is one of the major differences with post-revolutionary Mexico. Following the 1950 Constitution, Indian states were granted the general responsibility for education. As previously discussed, the linguistic diversity of India generated the language-based politics that characterized the post-independence period, resulting in the creation of new states along linguistic lines and education systems to pair them. In contrast, the linguistic diversity in Mexico faced a centralized project of education that favored Spanish and Hispanic culture at large, not only neglecting the indigenous languages, but seeking its eradication. The communities that are part of the Iztapalapa archive are not indigenous and it is not surprising that the oral histories from that archive support the language hegemony of Spanish. These accounts assume the Spanish language as the medium of instruction without any question.

In contrast to the Mexican testimonies, the language diversity of India and the emergence of official languages after independence were both documented by the Oral History Project of

the India Association of Minnesota and will be used to demonstrate how schooling developed.

The oral histories in this project talked about the importance of various languages, including

Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, and Kutchi, reflecting the linguistic diversity of South Asia in the years

leading to independence. Furthermore, the oral histories reflect how the situation changed after

the Partition of British India, and how Hindi and English emerged as official languages in

independent India. Two of the participants of this project remembered the place of Urdu in

education before independence.

Kusum Saxena, born in 1933 in a Hindi-speaking family and interviewed in 1994 at 61,

remembered the importance of Urdu before the partition of British India:

> even though we spoke Hindi at home, he [Saxena's father] taught me Urdu, which is a
> language prevalent, especially at that time, in the north part of India. In my father's
> family, they all knew English. He taught me, he would give me lessons at home like
> school. (Sonifer & Saxena, 1995: 9)

Saxena's memories reflect the importance and interactions of elite languages. Urdu was the

language of the Mughal ruling class and even today is important in regions and cities with a large

Muslim population, some of which were strongholds or capital cities of past Islamic polities.[18]

Similarly, since English was the language of the British Empire, Saxena's account also reflected

the importance of speaking the language of those who were the rulers of India at the time.

Together, these oral histories strengthened the idea that language skills were a source of power

and status.

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[18] Urdu is an Indo-Aryan language that today is spoken by more than 100 million people, most of them concentrated in Pakistan and India. In India, Urdu is now spoken by more than 50 million people (Census, 2011). After Partition, Urdu and English became the two official languages of Pakistan.

Abul Hasan Siddiqui was born in 1924, in Hyderabad, the capital of the largest Princely State at the time of Independence. Interviewed in 1995 at 74, Siddiqui also remembered and talked about the importance of Urdu, but his testimony is important for two more reasons, first because it provides a perspective of the educational landscape in a princely state. Second, because this princely state was located in South India where most people speak Dravidian languages and Urdu, which is an Indo-Aryan language, is only found in certain areas.

According to Siddiqui's oral history, before independence Urdu was the medium of instruction from basic to higher education in the princely state of Hyderabad. In the case of Siddiqui, his studies at the local medical school were conducted in Urdu. While the majority of the people in the region spoke Telugu,[19] Urdu was taken as the official language for education since it was the language of the Hyderabadi nobility. The testimony of Siddiqui reflects the preeminence of the language spoken by the local elite in princely states, as opposed to the languages spoken by the majority of the people. After Independence, when the territory of Hyderabad was incorporated into the Indian Union, Telugu became the medium of instruction. The incorporation of this language to formal education was part of the linguistic politics of the post-independence period, and it involved peasant revolts and the leadership of the local communist party.

The increasing preponderance of Hindi is documented in this archive. When Kusum Saxena's family moved to Pune, in a Marathi speaking region, Saxena was sent away to receive an education in Hindi, her mother tongue:

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[19] Telugu is a Dravidian language that today is spoken by more than 82 million people (Census, 2011), most of them concentrated in South India, predominantly in the Indian states of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana; states that have adopted Telugu as their official language.

> and I was send to New Delhi to live with my mother's older sister, my aunt, so that I could get an education in a Hindi-speaking institution because in Pune, the medium of instructions in school was Marathi, which was not my original language. (Sonifer & Saxena, 1995: 1)

Saxena's testimony about the increasing importance of Hindi is shared by Indru Advani, who noticed the continuation of this trend after independence: "I think people that grew up in post independent India, especially the northern part of India, are very Hindized, even though their ties are with other states" (Sonifer & Advani, 1995: 21). These two oral histories, from different parts of the country, both north and south India, can be understood along the lines of the initial effort to make Hindi in the Devanagari script a national language. A project that failed due to the opposition of non-Hindi speakers and the anti-Hindi movements that erupted in 1965 when the fifteen-year transition period to adopt Hindi ended.

From a different part of the country, West Bengal, there is an account about how the initial enthusiasm for local languages was fed by nationalism and the Independence movement, and how it declined after independence. Aparna Ganguli remembered that the enthusiasm for local languages during the initial years after Independence was short-lived: "When I was growing up, going to English school was not that fashionable, because still the British had just left. It was a pride not to go to English school. We wanted to learn in our own language" (Sonifer & Ganguli, 1995: 3). According to this participant, only for a little while schools in West Bengal that had English as a medium of instruction were less popular than those that taught in Bengali[20],

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[20] Bengali, also identified as Bangla, is an Indo-Aryan language that today is spoken by more than 250 million people, most of them concentrated in Bangladesh and India. In India, the Bengali language is now spoken by more than 97 million people (Census, 2011), most of them located in the state known as West Bengal. After the Partition of British India, the former East Bengal Province, today's Bangladesh, was granted to Pakistan due to the majority Muslim population. The central government of Pakistan tried to impose Urdu in the region, sparking the

the local language: "Just right after they left [the British], I think it was important to come back to our own language system and there was all the translation of the books. But I don't think it worked" (Sonifer & Ganguli, 1995: 3). Ganguli may be referring to the process of decentralization and vernacularization of education, discussed in Chapter Three of this dissertation. At the same time, when the participant considered that those policies failed, the testimony echoes the preoccupations for the quality of education during the early 1950s and 1960s, when the first Five Year Plan and reports by relevant planning commissions, such as the University Education Commission and Secondary Education Commission, severely questioned the quality of vernacular education.

The end of the Independence Movement and its impetus favored the emergence of English as a de facto national language. In Ganguli's oral history we can observe how the nationalism of the early years after independence winded down over the years. After Ganguli described the enthusiasm for learning in Bengali, she adds that the situation has completely changed: "But now, it is the reverse. Now, all my brothers' and sisters' children prefer to go to English medium school. After the British left, English is more important now" (Sonifer & Ganguli, 1995: 3). This testimony confirms the argument that English has become the language of India's nation-building process and the most important medium of instruction in the country (Brass, 1994; Guha, 2019: 177-197; Kaviraj, 2010: 155-160; Metcalf & Metcalf, 2012).

An important contribution about a language spoken by a small minority was identified in the oral history of one of the participants of the IAM project. After independence, not all the

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Bengali language movement and the eventual independence of Bangladesh in 1971. Since then, Bengali has become the official language of the country.

vernacular languages received the same level of attention and were placed as the preferred medium of instruction. Ram Gada was born in Gujarat in 1940 in a Kutchi speaking family. Kutchi is an Indo-Aryan language considered a dialect of Sindhi and heavily influenced by Gujarati (Omniglot, 2021; Savla, 1977). Nowadays Kutchi is spoken by a minority divided between India and Pakistan. Interviewed Gada remembers that while Kutchi was spoken by his family at home, he had to learn Gujarati at school (Sonifer & Gada, 1995: 2), his mother tongue never received the attention that other vernacular languages obtained.

Despite the differences between North and South India, between princely states and British administered areas, and the differences between the languages spoken by the majority in the region and those spoken by minorities, there is a common element that can be distinguished in all these oral histories, which is the linguistic complexity of South Asia and the multilingual nature of India society. Similarly, the rising importance of English is present in these oral histories.

The oral histories from India mention the importance of English as a medium of instruction, but a more complex picture of the use of English in India comes up from these sources. Three aspects appeared in the oral histories. First, English helped to navigate communal tensions, second that English is associated with the textbook culture that continues to characterize Indian education, and third, that most participants in the IAM project attended schools where English was the medium of instruction. In previous chapters the increasing importance of English in post-independence India and its status as the de facto language has been explained. One of the oral histories in the IAM project illustrates how English helped the western educated elite to navigate tensions between different religious communities.

Abul Hasan Siddiqui explained that speaking English allowed him to navigate the animosity between Hindus and Muslims (Sonifer & Siddiqui 1995: 28). Siddiqui's oral history talked about the antagonism between Hindus and Muslims and how this religious tension was used by the British to legitimize their rule in the Subcontinent, "it was divide and rule" added Siddiqui. In the 20th Century, communal tension and physical violence in South Asia cannot be separated from the colonial interest in perpetuating religious animosity and in terms of the rise of political organizations such as the Muslim League. Both elements contributed to propelling the Partition of British India. Based on Siddiqui's testimony, we can see how English-speaking Indians distanced themselves from religious-based animosities. This account further confirms the replacement of a traditional and religious political authority by a secular and modern political authority. Through the use of English language, the western educated Indians modified their behavior into a secular approach that helped them to secure jobs and conduct their work beyond religious divisions.

The lack of quality books in post-Independence India, which justified the editorial projects of the central government discussed in chapter 4, is not addressed in these oral histories. However, the textbook culture that characterized education in Colonial and Independent India is in fact documented in the testimonies recorded in the IAM project. As previously discussed, this culture has been defined as a system in which teaching is based on state-prescribed textbooks and evaluations are based on the content reproduced by those sources (Kumar 1986; 2005; Guichard, 2010; Seth 2007: 17-45).

The textbook culture in India and their importance as artifacts that facilitated information is indeed discussed in the oral histories. Abul Hasan Siddiqui remembered that in the years

leading to independence, the use of history books written by British authors were used in his formal education as a doctor: "in pre-meds, in English we used to have Macaulay's History of England in prose" (Sonifer & Siddiqui, 1995: 28). While Siddiqui was studying in Urdu, history was taught based on Western sources.

Similarly, Tresa Jose from Kerala, born in 1946 and interviewed in 1995 at 49, remembered the importance of textbooks and recalled the enthusiasm of students for learning from them after independence: "Perhaps it has changed now, but when I was in India, mostly we used a textbook, and the kids are eager to learn" (Sonifer, Nedumkallel & Athickal, 1995: 10). In her account, Jose contrasts lessons delivered by teachers in the United States, with textbooks as the main sources of knowledge back in India. The importance of the textbook culture that the oral histories reflect can be interpreted as twofold, first as part of the rationalization process of the population through the use of books as modern artifacts to locate information. Second, as part of the refinement of the machinery of the state, a process in which textbooks help to spread the knowledge that is sanctioned by state authorities.

As a work of diasporic memory, the researchers of the IAM project were very interested in the challenges that Indian migrants experienced when they moved to the United States. This included language challenges and consequently they asked participants if they had a hard time getting used to living in an English-speaking country. As expected, but to the surprise of the interviewers, the participants identified a vernacular language as their mother tongue, but most of them felt comfortable with the language since they learned English at home and at school. Consequently, most of the participants reported little difficulty when moving to Minnesota.

Indru Advani, born in 1930 and interviewed in 1994 at 64, attended a religious school in which the medium of instruction was English: "It was a Catholic school run by the nuns" (Sonifer & Advani, 1995: 1). A similar response was provided by Kusum Saxena, born in 1933 and interviewed in 1994 at 61. When asked if communicating was a challenge once she arrived to the United States, Saxena responded: "Oh, I had no problem with English, because we grew up studying English," Saxena goes even further and asserts that grammatically speaking: "I thought we spoke better English than most of the other people here" (Sonifer & Saxena 1995: 4). Another participant who mentioned an Englished based education was Vimla Patel, who was born in 1936 and was interviewed in 1994 at 58. Patel mentioned that the school she attended had English as the medium of instruction and recalled that if students wanted to talk to a professor, they had to speak in English. Patel remembered some insecurity from the students: "but we would try to avoid going to professors there. We wouldn't like to speak in English because it wasn't very good. But at least we could read and write" (Sonifer & Vilma, 1995: 2). The experience of attending schools where English was the main language prepared these participants for their lives in the United States.

The oral histories also exposed social class and caste differences when learning English. While most participants learned English at home and school from an early age, for the less privileged people, exposure to English would come later in life, during high school or even until they reached college education. This was the case of M. J. Abhishaker, born in 1937 and interviewed in 1995 at 58, remembered that he learned English from his British teachers, who lectured in that language in his high school (Sonifer & Abhishaker, 1995: 3). Ram Gada, born in 1940 and interviewed in 1994 at 54, learned English later than most participants in this archive:

"I learned in English medium in India after high school." As opposed to other migrants, Gada expressed a little difficulty in speaking when he arrived in the United States: "conversation language was a little problem in the beginning because of pronunciation and understanding slang and everything. But, as the time went by, this improved" (Sonifer & Gada, 1995: 6). Along similar lines, Tresa Jose explained that it was as an undergraduate student that she learned the language, "In my four years of college, I was very much exposed to English" (Sonifer, Nedumkallel & Athickal, 1995: 6). As expressed in many of the oral histories, the schools who offered English education were religious schools, particularly those associated with the Catholic Church.

The importance parents gave to education made a significant difference in acquiring English language skills. For example, Ranee Ramaswamy, born in Kerala in 1953 and interviewed in 1994 at 41, recalled the importance of speaking English for her father and explained that this encouraged him to send her to a religious school:

> My father always thought that I should be able to speak English very well, and they wanted me to be well-versed in all kinds of arts. So, I went to a Catholic girls school and then went to college to study arts and drawing as my ancillary, my main subject. (Sonifer & Ramaswamy, 1995: 2)

Most of the interviewees in the project had fathers who were involved in the Colonial State, they admired British culture, and had a positive attitude towards Western education in English.

The Educational Role of Indian Parents

Most of the participants interviewed for the IAM project were the children of fathers working for British institutions. Based on the oral histories, the parents of the oral history project participants can be loosely described as politically neutral towards British colonialism, they

assumed an impartial position during the Independence Movement, and some of them admired British culture.

Indru Advani's father was a manager in the Burmah Shell Oil company, a British owned enterprise (Sonifer & Advani, 1995: 1). The father of Kusum Saxena was a "government officer" at the Defense Department (Sonifer & Saxena, 1995: 8). M. J. Abhishaker's father was a Methodist minister and his mother a nurse (Sonifer & Abhishaker, 1995: 8). The father of Aparna Ganguli was a mining engineer (Sonifer & Ganguli, 1995: 1). Ranee Ramaswamy's father was a professor and a scientist (Sonifer & Ramaswamy, 1995: 1). While Abul Hasan Siddiqui's uncle was not part of the British bureaucracy, he was a high-ranking civil servant of the Princely State of Hyderabad, the secretary of labor reforms (Sonifer & Siddiqui, 1995: 28). The participants were mostly English speakers and received an English based education. Most of their parents were indeed experts in strategic areas of the British colonial apparatus: fossil fuels extraction, defense, health, and religion. Western knowledge and power were the bases of these professions.

The oral histories mostly describe a level of political neutrality towards colonialism and portray an impartial position towards the Independence Movement. The neutral position taken by Indians working for British institutions is registered in one of the interviews. Indru Advani explained that his father remained impartial during the Quit India Movement:

> Often there would be some riots and shootings and tear gas. So my father would always keep us away from that. My father was not involved in that because it would have been a conflict of interest because he worked for a British company. (Sonifer & Advani, 1995: 3)

This neutrality is important because it had a direct impact on parents' attitudes towards learning English and Western education. In other words, the professional relationship of these parents with the British Raj framed their inclinations towards Western knowledge and schooling.

Despite their neutrality, these professionals further benefited from India becoming independent. The oral histories in the archive documented how the English-speaking elite improved their careers as a result of the departure of European leadership in the government and key industries. Advani remembered that British companies stayed in India after independence and that British managers were replaced by Indian civil servants: "If he would have been an employee of the British government, he would have become an employee of the Indian government" (Sonifer & Advani, 1995: 3). In fact, the independent government of India kept control of these organizations and oversaw that there was no retaliation against the Indians who had worked for the British government. Aparna Ganguli confirms that independence benefited the English-speaking professionals, when asked if the British departure affected her family, Ganguli remembered that this event advanced her father's career as a mining engineer: "It went better because he got promoted and became Chief Engineer. So, it didn't affect him that much" (Sonifer & Ganguli, 1995: 2). These testimonies also confirm the overlap of public officials between the colonial administration and the independent government and allow us to see that the same situation also occurred in the private sector. Officials overlapping between colonial and independent administration further support the perspective of transformational movements as transitions, as simultaneous collapses and reconstructions of state apparatus.

Apart from the political neutrality, a sense of admiration towards British culture was identified in a couple of oral histories. I believe that neutrality and admiration had a direct

influence in the parents' attitudes towards learning English and Western education. This admiration was probably rooted in what scholars have interpreted as Western conceptions of backwardness intertwined with representations that reified Europe as a superior civilization, which was then internalized as a discourse around "civilizational decline" within Indian society (Chatterjee, 1993; Dube, 2009; Dube & Banerjee-Dube, 2006).

A nostalgia for the British Raj is expressed in Abul Hasan Siddiqui's testimony, a favorable declaration for colonialism: "I do feel we are better off under British rule. They gave us good systems for education, transport, postal, currency." Siddiqui goes as far to justify the power imbalance in the next line: "Although they oppressed the Indians, on the whole, they were good" (Sonifer & Siddiqui, 1995: 28). Nationalist historians and politicians have questioned and refuted similar perceptions, but it must be accepted that these ideas are still circulating in South Asia, Europe, and the world at large. This specific oral history is an example of how Western education served as a domination tool to reassert European superiority and to secure British colonial hegemony, as explained by scholars Deepak Kumar (1997), Sanjay Seth (2007), and others.

A fondness for British culture and the genuineness of friendship between British colonizers and Indians are discussed in the oral history project. Describing his father, M. H. Abhishaker said that "He admired the British. He had British friends. He played tennis with them," which describes a close relationship with the colonizers, but one that is more complex. A hierarchy between Indians and British was evident despite collaboration: "Although he was always a second-class citizen, so to speak, in their society." Abhishaker explained the acceptance of this contradiction as gratitude, since his father came from a rural background, he

felt obliged to the Europeans: "He was literally plucked out of a village and sent to a boarding school himself to get an education, so he was indebted, he appreciated them, for whatever reason." Abhishaker further elaborated on these unequal relationships and concluded that these men were not his father's real friends: "we had some friends who were English, and you couldn't have any English friends when you were in India – not real friends, No. They can be your acquaintances, they can have you in for party, but you couldn't really be friends to them." Abhishaker ends up describing these seemingly friendly relations as a confrontation: "The Raj versus the native people, some of that was true even then" (Sonifer & Abhishaker, 1995: 23).

Evidence of how new knowledge not only loads people's minds with new ideas, but transforms them as new knowers (Seth, 2007), was found in the oral histories as participants perceived themselves as culturally different from the rest of the population. Aparna Ganguli described her family as Westernized, especially her father: "If you could see him, you would know that he had a lot of British influence. We were a little bit western in our family that way because he loved British culture" (Sonifer & Ganguli, 1995: 1). I understand this admiration for British culture in accordance with the political neutrality displayed by these parents, and both as part of the ideological hegemony of the colonial state. As described by Antonio Gramsci (1971; 2007), hegemony relies on prestige. The dominant group, in this case the British, used their position in the economy to further solidify its social status, promoting the superiority of their culture. In this context, the parents' relationship with colonial institutions, their construction as new knowers, their admiration for British culture, and their political neutrality, all contributed to shaping parents' attitudes towards Western education.

Parents Attitudes towards Schooling

Attached to the differences in educational level and social class, there is a major divergence in terms of the role of parents in schooling children and their perceptions on the importance of formal education between the Mexican and the Indian oral histories. In short, Mexican parents were portrayed as unenthusiastic, reluctant or even opposing schooling. Indian parents in contrast were described as actively involved and advocating in favor of Western education. The reluctance of parents towards schooling is recorded in one of the oral histories from Iztapalapa. We know that local authorities went looking for children in their homes and threatened their parents with imprisonment if they did not comply to send them to school. Santiago Corona Robles, who explained the hesitancy of his parents in terms of a perceived lack of relevance of the knowledge provided by the local school. According to Corona Robles, what students learned was irrelevant for their lives. Corona Roble's father would argue that before attending school and learning to read, his son had to learn how to work so he could eventually support an entire family (UAM-I & Gobierno D.F., 2002: 105). The relevance of literacy is not questioned in the oral histories from India, even among those who came from a rural or peasant background.

The oral histories from India reveal a more active role of parents in the formal education of their children, sometimes acting as teachers themselves. Since the school was far from their home, Kusum Saxena's parents were also their children's teachers: "He [Saxena's father] would teach my sister and me Urdu, English, math, history, and geography. My mother taught me Hindi. Up till eighth grade, my education was at home by my parents" (Sonifer & Saxena, 1995: 9). The parents' involvement could have been stimulated by precarious state of education in

India. Furthermore, it is worth noticing that instead of the teachers, as it happened in Mexico, it is the parents who are acting as modernizing agents of their children, thus helping to produce rational, English-speaking, and Western educated subjects.

Saxena's account also shows the importance of modern subjects such as Mathematics, History, and Geography, fields that were essential for conquering and ruling the territory and their inhabitants and continue to be taught as part of national curriculums today. These subjects are also part of the complex of "savoirs," which according to Foucault are the result of the development in the West of a governmentality. The gender differences between the subjects and abilities taught by either parent is also evident in these memories. The modern subjects were taught by the father, while the mother focused on arts and domestic skills: "My mother taught me Hindi, gave me lessons in music, in singing, and taught me how to play the harmonium, which is a very common instrument, and all the household work -- sewing, embroidery, knitting, and little bit of cooking" (Sonifer & Saxena, 1995: 9). Finally, the level of formality in this oral history must be underlined. Saxena's parents not only followed a curriculum, but they also went as far as purchasing and using textbooks; something that reflects the importance of the textbook culture in India.

In her oral history, Tresa Jose compares the involvement of parents between India and the United States. Jose confirmed the importance of education in post-Independence India and the active parental engagement: "The parents involved a lot more than many of the parents here [in the United States]. Education is the number one priority for our children in India" (Sonifer, Nedumkallel & Athickal, 1995: 10). The active role of parents is further reinforced by Jose when she explained that in India "the parents do spend time day after day making sure they do their

homework." The active participation of these parents can be explained, and contrasted, with the

oversight of basic education by both the colonial and independent governments in India. As

described in Chapters Two and Three, national authorities concentrated their efforts on higher

education, giving the states the responsibility for elementary and secondary schooling. The

attention to higher education resulted in low quality basic schooling, which was severely

criticized in the reports of the University Education Commission (1949), the National Planning

Commission (1951), and the Secondary Education Commission (1953). As a result of receiving

less attention from authorities, parents had to advocate for their children, these testimonies

reflect that need and the specific actions taken by parents at the time.

A note must be made about the importance that the Indian participants and their parents

placed on Western education. For Tresa Jose, education was so important that it called for the

active involvement of parents, and it was "the number one priority" for Indian children (Sonifer,

Nedumkallel & Athickal, 1995: 10). This perception of the importance of education and the

families' enthusiasm runs through these interviews. This includes Mahendra Nath (Sonifer &

Nath, 1995), born in Delhi in 1940 and interviewed in 1994 at 54, who summarized the relevance

of schooling for the post-independence generation as follows:

> we place a lot of emphasis on education because I think that lends itself to betterment of
> life and better quality of life later on. You meet the right kind of people if you are in that
> kind of environment, plus economically you are better off. Socially one is better off
> because you would meet better people. (p. 7)

Nath's observations explained that the active role of parents was a result of the

expectations that these families had on education as a tool for melioristic purposes, social

mobility, and networking. From the oral histories it is clear that these parents used any resource

at their disposal to ensure that their children spoke English and received a Western education, even if this was provided by schools attached to Catholicism, a different religion from their own.

The Educational Role of Catholic Schools in India

The presence of the Catholic Church in educational activities is a common element between post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India. In both countries the presence of Catholicism is related to colonialism and the religious mission of Catholic orders. In India, Catholic education arrived in the 16th Century attached to the Portuguese colonial projects, it later expanded and developed in other areas of the Subcontinent[21] (Pinto, 2014). The oral histories in the IAM project also describe the involvement of the Catholic Church in schooling in India. Despite the religious diversity of the Subcontinent, different sectors of Indian society attended schools that were associated with the Catholic Church. Based on the oral histories, this included students from families involved in colonial institutions, students from minority groups such as Dalits, Adivasis,[22] and Catholic families.

Indru Advani attended a religious school in which the medium of instruction was English: "I moved in Punjab and I started my elementary school virtually there in an English school. It was Catholic school run by the nuns" (Sonifer & Advani 1995: 1). Advani's education reflects the key role played by the Catholic church to educate the children of Indians involved with British institutions. The participant further explained that people associated these

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[21] For more information about the Catholic Church in India and its connections with colonialism see Ambrose Pinto SJ (2014), who analyzes the Jesuit project of education in India.

[22] Adivasi is a term that is used in India to collectively name various ethnic groups considered to be indigenous of the Subcontinent. Adivasi is also used to identify tribalistic groups in India and Bangladesh. Some of these groups are officially recognized as "Scheduled Tribes" by Indian authorities.

institutions to members who were following monastic vows: "Such schools were called and are still called Convent Schools. I don't know how the name came about. Perhaps, the British termed it "convent of the nuns. Most of these were run by Catholic nuns" (Sonifer & Advani, 1995: 1). In South India, the situation was similar. Ranee Ramaswamy also attended a school associated with the Catholic Church: "I went to one of the best schools in Madras which was a Catholic convent school run by European nuns" (Sonifer & Ramaswamy, 1995: 2). Gender must be noted and highlighted, most of the oral histories recall that these institutions were managed by nuns, female members of the Catholic Church.

M.J. Abhishaker's account illustrates the role of religious institutions in the education of oppressed minorities in India: Dalits and Adivasis. Abhishaker remebered attending for some time a "Christian" boarding school aimed for the Dalit population. He believed that people had converted out of need: "I think because of economic conditions they became converts to Christianity" (Sonifer & Abhishaker, 1995: 8). Religious conversions took place in waves during the 20th Century. One of the main objectives of conversion was to break away from the oppression of Hinduism. Nonetheless, Dalit leaders, especially B.R. Ambedkar, favored conversions to a South Asian religion such as Buddhism.

Abhishaker also reported on the work of Christian missionaries with the Adivasi population in rural areas. The interviewee described the austerity of the villages and the work of missionaries such as his parents: "My dad's work was among these people who were not literate, who did not have any economic activity [...] so that was quite different living among the tribal people, learning their language and surviving there" (Sonifer & Abhishaker, 1995: 29). According to the account, education was central in this missionary work: "My dad ran a school

as part of the small mission that he had, and my mother helped with the school." Abhishaker remembers how important it was to speak the local language to accomplish the objectives of the mission: "But the tribal language was the Gond language. So we picked up their language and their children came to school" (Sonifer & Abhishaker, 1995: 29). It is unavoidable to reflect on these educational projects as part of the civilizing mission that the British empire used to justify colonization. In this case the mission was conducted by English-Speaking Indians; just as it happened in Mexico with the "cultural missions" and the promotion of Spanish.

The oral histories of two Catholic nuns, Sister Tresa Jose Athickal and Sister Jancy Nedumkallel, reflect the relationship between Catholic families and religious schools. These two members of the consecrated life, Jose Athickal and Jancy, arrived in Minnesota during the early 1970s. They were part of a group invited to work as teachers for a parish school in Minneapolis. This school belonged to the Servants of Mary, a Catholic institute of women founded in Spain, in 1851, that had connections in South India.

Sister Tresa Jose Athickal came from a Catholic family in Kerala:

I went to my home parish school, and from first grade on, I had Franciscan sisters teaching me. From childhood on, I was very close to the sisters, because the convent was next to my house. [...] My parents and my family were always close to the church and the convent. (Sonifer, Nedumkallel & Athickal, 1995: 1)

Sister Jancy Nedumkallel, also born in Kerala and in a Catholic family, confirmed the importance of these institutions for Catholic families in South India: "I studied in a convent school. Sisters taught me grades 1-11" (Sonifer, Nedumkallel & Athickal, 1995: 2). Both sisters felt inspired by the nuns who were their teachers, sister Tresa Jose said: "I was always attracted to the life of the sisters because they were all good teachers for me," while sister Jancy mentioned that the nuns' "Christian living was a real good example for me" (Sonifer,

Nedumkallel & Athickal, 1995: 2). Both Jose and Nedumkallel went on to obtain teaching

degrees and took monastic vows, which led them to migrate to the United States as teachers in a

religious school.

The oral histories from India showed that parents were the most important agents in terms

of promoting schooling and Western education. The resolve of these parents compensated for the

lack of schooling opportunities, the focus of the central government for higher education, and the

low quality of post-independence schooling. The oral histories also showed how schools attached

to the Catholic Church were key for obtaining a Western education and effectively learning

English. These schools were also relevant for minorities such as Dalits, Adivasis, and Catholics

in India to access a Western education in English since other educational opportunities were

scarce. It is clear that Western education was very important for the participants of the oral

history project and their families, for otherwise they would not have access to colonial and state

institutions to keep their social and economic status. Based on their oral histories, this research

briefly identified expectations such as personal amelioration motifs, social mobility, and

networking, but further research is necessary to understand other non-educational purposes

expected from education.

Emerging Topics

While this chapter focuses on the responses of students and parents to the educational

discourses of the nation-state, I approached these oral histories with an open mind, allowing

them to reveal unexpected topics. Schooling in rural areas, social expectations for the schooling

of girls, and education in Princely States were the topics that emerged from the analysis of the

oral histories. In these memories we can observe some important trends, such as how students

from rural areas migrated to continue their education, the role of non-state actors in supporting

the less privileged students, the prevalence of caste hierarchies in post-independence schools,

gender-based differences among the participants, and the patronage of education by Indian

princes.

Schooling in Rural Areas

Location, the rural-urban dichotomy, is a major difference between the accounts from

Mexico and India. Most of the Indian participants of the oral history project came from urban

settings, in contrast with the rural origins and memories of the people from Iztapalapa. A couple

of oral histories in the IAM project include glimpses of the educational situation in small

villages. These oral histories discuss how students had to leave their homes if they wanted to

continue studying and how caste relations were present in schools.

Ram Gada initially attended schools near his village, a public school until the second

grade and a tuition-free semi-private school from the third to the seventh grades, but then had to

migrate to complete his education. At age 14, Gada had to leave his village and live in a

"dormitory," a boarding house where students could live for a minimum fee while attending the

local high school. Gada considered that he was too young to be away from his family but

explained that he had to leave if he wished to continue his education: "under the financial

circumstances, I had to do that because these kind of hostels, or dormitories, are supported by the

community. This is where the needy students can take advantage of it" (Sonifer & Gada, 1995:

2). This account shows the importance of institutions such as dormitories for out-of-town

students. Moreover, this oral history is exceptional within the oral history project of the IAM, not

only because Gada came from a rural background, but also because his family belonged to a

religious minority, they were Jains.[23] It is worth noting how Indian civil society supported the less privileged students, in this case offering free education in a semi-private school and hosting out-of-town students in community funded dormitories.

Comments on caste and jati are not common in the oral histories of the IAM project. Even though the interviewers were interested in this topic, sometimes asking the participants about their caste and caste relations, references or reflections on caste are not widely discussed by the participants. A brief but significant memory about social dynamics in terms of caste is discussed by Krishnan Namboodri, who was born in Kerala in 1951 within a Malayali Brahmin family. Interviewed in 1998 at 48, Namboodri remembered how separated his family lived from the rest of the village due to their high caste status: "My father used to own most of the land in that area. So I used to be really separated. But of course, then there were some people who used to — some boys who used to play with me." Reflects the physical separation that high caste Hindus traditionally kept from lower caste members to maintain their purity. Additionally, this oral history confirms the relationship between land tenure and high caste.

Namboodri's observations demonstrate how this physical separation was replicated at the local school: "even when I was in school, the other students would not sit really near me, because I was in a small rural school" (Sonifer & Namboodri, 2001: 7). Namboodri's oral history is important because, while brief, it tells the story of how caste differences persisted in educational spaces in rural South India. Despite the legacy of Dalit leaders such as Bhimrao

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[23] Jainism is one of the non-Vedic religions of the Subcontinent. It emerged in the 5th Century BCE and is based on the teachings of Mahavira. Transmigration and Non-violence (*Ahimsa*) are prominent principles of this faith. For a more comprehensive overview of Jainism see Lorenzen and Preciado Solís (2003: 66-73) and Salter (2019: 54-61).

Ramji Ambedkar and the expectation that education would promote an intellectual liberation against caste oppression, caste hierarchies continued after independence.

Girls Education within the Participants of the Oral History Project

The oral histories in the IAM project include the memories of women who migrated to the United States and were students in the years leading to Independence and the early years of independent rule. In these accounts a gender-based difference in terms of schooling has come up in the educational experiences of girls. Marriage and security concerns shaped the female participants' schooling experiences. While marriage was important for both genders, girls' education was shaped by the importance of securing marriage for daughters. Under this logic, formal education was expected to contribute to matrimonial purposes. The oral histories also discuss how some forms of art were relevant for girls' education among these families.

Kusum Saxena considered that her father, who was a government officer in the defense department, and his perception of education played a major role in her schooling. However, the social perception of the education of girls contrasted with her father's desires: "I am the eldest child in a family of four. They were all in favor of some education for girls, but then get the girls married" (Sonifer & Saxena, 1995: 8). This account is a good example of how marriage was a keystone in people's lives, the interviews in this oral history project reflect its social relevance, and how there was a gender difference that marked education. In this memory, the participant further explained that schooling girls was important, but Saxena argues that girls' education was not thought of as a stage to enter into the working force: "Nobody talked about going into professional training and stuff like that." She considers that her education was an exception: "For some reason, and I don't know what that reason was, I never found out, my father, from my very

childhood, said, 'Oh, she'll be a doctor'" (Sonifer & Saxena, 1995: 8). Saxena's father resisted

the opposition of other family members to send his daughter to school. Some relatives would

argue that educating a girl was a misuse of resources: "and my uncles and others would say,

'Why do you want to waste money on her?' He said, 'No, she is my eldest son.' He always

treated me like a son, and he and I were very, very close." Here we can clearly notice a gender

difference, formal education was primarily for men.

Likewise, Ranee Ramaswamy explained the expectations for girls and the role of their

schooling: "Even though my parents sent me to the best school in the city, they really didn't have

any plans for me to be a career person; they never thought of me as "becoming somebody" or

being a professional." Ramaswamy further explained that her family would contrast the lives of

married versus working women: "all I heard from the age of 5 was that 'you have to get married

soon, you'll have a family and women working is not all that great, women should never be in

women's clubs and doing social service work'" (Sonifer & Ramaswamy, 1995: 3). Ramaswamy

remembered that she spent most of her time doing artistic activities as opposed to sciences: "It

was all I did drawing and painting because 'what's the use of doing chemistry and physics?' I'm

not going to work anyway" (Sonifer & Ramaswamy, 1995: 2). Arts were in fact seen as

"qualifications" that could help girls to get married: "Every girl gets to learn some art form;

again, that's with the goal of getting married. It's a qualification" (Sonifer & Ramaswamy, 1995:

4). Ranee Ramaswamy only graduated from college because her fiance's family requested her to

complete her education: "I only went to college because I was engaged when I was in pre-

university [...] his family wanted me to finish college. And that was the only reason I finished."

She added "I guess my parents really didn't realize that I had enough in me to become

somebody" (Sonifer & Ramaswamy, 1995: 2-3). This oral history shows how a girl's education was part of marriage proposals and contributed to securing the marriage.

Some of the women in the AIM project started their Western education informally, learning modern subjects and language at home. Aparna Ganguli remembered that her mother started her education informally, regardless of the fact that she had little schooling herself: "When I was a very young child, she always read books to us. [...] I remember learning my first math from my mom. She introduced me to Tagore; I still memorized so many of Tagore's poems" (Sonifer & Ganguli, 1995: 3). This speaks of the key role of parents in educating their children, even assuming the role of teachers themselves, and by doing so substituting the educational role of the state.

Still reflecting on her educational path, but years later in a formal setting, Ganguli described her experience in an all-women institution, Lady Brabourne College in Calcutta, and the key role of the hostel she lived in during this time (Sonifer & Ganguli, 1995: 3). According to Ganguli, the hostel heavily regulated visits: "It was a big house with a big wall. Inside we stayed and there was a visitor's list. Only the few people who had the signature could see us." This is important because it shows a gender difference in women's college experience. As opposed to men, women had to be "protected" by walls and guards from outside threats. The participant remembered the level of security in this hostel and explained that "There was a custodian who looked at the signature and called me, "Aparna, your visitors." So, you'd come and there were some small compartments in which we could visit. They weren't allowed to come inside the dorm rooms" (Sonifer & Ganguli, 1995: 4). Education varied depending on gender, the

environment was more supervised for girls than for boys, and this oral history briefly, but eloquently, reflected those differences.

Education and Princely States

A couple of oral histories in the project allowed us to reflect on the educational intervention of royal families in the Indian princely states. These accounts describe the advance of the Indian nation-state in these territories and the ways in which Indian princes managed to keep their relevance and status through charity and education after their territories were incorporated into the Indian Union. Furthermore, these testimonies speak of the presence of a governmentality in these princely states before independence and attached to educational projects.

In Hyderabad, one of the largest princely states in the Subcontinent, the local nobility funded education through a regional university and by subsidizing local students abroad. Abul Hasan Siddiqui (Sonifer & Siddiqui, 1995: 1-2) talked fondly about the higher education system in Hyderabad. He obtained his medical degree in a local university where Urdu, the language of the local nobility but not of the majority of the population, was the medium of instruction before independence and before the annexation of this territory into the Indian Union. The prevalence of a vernacular language does not involve access to non-Western knowledges. I understand the royal patronage of a university, specifically a program on Western medicine, as an indication of Indian princes' participation in a form of rationality that is intrinsic to modern government, in other words Foucault's notion of governmentality. Universities are part of the ensemble of institutions and procedures that allow the exercise of modern power. Additionally, higher

education institutions are part of the discipline apparatuses that have the population as its fundamental target (Foucault et al, 1991).

The participation of the Hyderabadi royal family in education was confirmed by M. J. Abhishaker who added that they partly funded his education in the United States: "Most students who were here [in the United States] from India at the time were basically on government grants or were from wealthy families who could afford to send their children abroad" (Sonifer & Abhishaker, 1995: 2). According to Abhishaker, after Independence the grandson of the king remained as "chancellor of the University" and helped students to get educated abroad. Presumably M.J. Abhishaker is referring to Mukarram Jah, who still holds a title of nobility as the "titular Nizam of Hyderabad." In fact, the Hyderabadi nobility's involvement in education continued in post-independence India through two non-profit organizations: the Nizam's Charitable Trust, headed by Mukarram Jah himself, and the Mukarram Jah Trust for Education and Learning, led by Azmet Jah, his son and heir apparent. Together, these oral histories add more information to the slow advance of the Indian nation-state, which replaced the patronage of Indian princes. However, the former rulers of Hyderabad have found in educational patronage a way to remain important and keep their social status in post-independence India.

Assembling Archives

Turning my attention to how students and their parents reacted to the educational discourses imposed upon them helped to have a more comprehensive perspective of education in post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India. It is worth noting that my intention was not to produce a comprehensive history of education in either time-spaces, but to enrich our understanding of the educational phenomena. This chapter especially relates to the construction

of political hegemonies and the advancement of governmentalities in India and Mexico. As a conclusion for this chapter, I will highlight some of the relevant insights that I identified in this work.

Despite their significant differences, the Historical Archive of Iztapalapa and the Oral History Project of the India Association of Minnesota are both public history institutions engaged in collective memory making, with the general public as their main audience. Collaborations between historians and the public are frequent in these organizations, reflecting a major element of public history. Likewise, the submission of materials and oral histories by community members is the core of these institution's respective collections. Working with public history institutions is important because it allows the inclusion of data beyond official narratives and scholarly work, especially the well-established schools of history discussed in chapter one.

The oral histories from both countries can be considered works of collective memory making because they captured knowledge about past events. They explicitly documented the past of specific communities, the villages and towns in Iztapalapa and the South Asian migrants who arrived in Minnesota. In the Mexican case, these projects of collective memory resemble Mesoamerican oral traditions that predate Western history and were part of the work of cultural groups that reasserted their indigenous heritage and past. The Indian oral histories are part of diasporic memory efforts, which document the experiences of migrants of South Asian descent in the United States. Despite the differences between the experiences of these communities, collective memories shed light to historical events from a non-governmental perspective.

The oral histories from Iztapalapa documented the exploitation of the environment by the post-revolutionary state. The loss of the lacustrine landscape described in the oral histories

illustrate the extractivist ideology of post-revolutionary regimes in Mexico. The exploitative nature of the Mexican nation-state, in this case against the land and the people of Iztapalapa, represents the advancement of a governmentality, which has the political economy as its main mode of knowledge, according to Foucault (et al, 1991). In the context of capitalism, within a dependent economy such as the Mexican economy, the land and the people were seen as resources to be exploited in the name of the nation. In terms of the concept of hegemony developed by Gramsci (1971; 2007), this exploitation helped to determine the dominant group's position in the process of production. By doing so, this exploitation allowed the post-revolutionary elite to obtain the majority's consent and impose a general direction on social life.

Even after many decades, the oral histories showed that the moments of social transformation that defined these countries and their educational systems, disrupted life and generated instability in both societies. In this context, revolutionary governments and colonial authorities used armed forces to keep their populations under surveillance and control. This use of security forces serves as evidence of domination through physical violence, which according to Gramsci (1971; 2007) is the second action for which power manifests itself after hegemony. Likewise, control over populations is evidence of a governmentality, which according to Foucault (et al, 1991) has the state's apparatuses of security as its essential technical means to the exercise of power. In other words, state sanctified powers, such as police and army forces, rather than defending the population from criminals and outside powers, aim to sustain a modern bureaucracy and an administrative justice system. Without the collective memory of these events, the coercion of state power on these communities would be lost to history.

The history of violence that emerged from these memories is not always discussed in academic research. The testimonies of people who were children at the time, registered the level of violence they were exposed to during the analyzed time periods. The oral histories talk about both physical and structural violence. For example, the Iztapalapa archive documented direct physical violence, mainly exercised by the Mexican army, including possible extrajudicial killings and illegal graves. Similarly, structural violence is documented in terms of hunger and political persecution. Likewise, the physical violence exercised by the British Raj, especially in the aftermath of the Quit India Movement, is discussed in the oral project of the India Association of Minnesota. Violence and domination are thus part of the context in which literacy campaigns and schooling took place in both post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India.

The educational role of the Catholic Church emerged in the oral histories from both countries. Educational activities and schools attached to Catholic institutions transitioned from the regimes that preceded the moments of social transformation to the post-revolutionary and post-independence regimes respectively. The oral histories in the Iztapalapa archive show how the local churches performed literacy campaigns in the early 20th Century and shared the educational field with the only government school in the area. After the Revolution, based on the legality of the 1917 Constitution, the Mexican state exercised a modern political authority and slowly replaced the Church in its educational mission, not without some opposition. The increasing educational role of the Mexican government at the expense of the Catholic Church's power created some tensions that were recorded in the archive. The replacement of the Church by the federal government demonstrates the advance of a governmentality in Mexico, a

rationality which involves an ensemble of institutions and procedures that allow the exercise of modern power. Schools were thus part of that institutional ensemble that allowed the state to exercise power on the population.

In India, schools related to Catholicism educated a diversity of groups that included the English-speaking class who worked within British institutions, members of vulnerable groups such as Dalist and Adivasis, and the children of Catholic families. The significant impact of these schools can be understood in the context of a historical neglect of basic education by colonial authorities, the post-colonial focus on higher education, and the advantages that these schools offered for obtaining and improving English language skills and Western education.

In both countries the oral histories reflect a convergence towards a colonial language becoming the national language. In Mexico there was little discussion about the hegemonic status of Spanish, since the Mexican elite and most of the population were Spanish speakers and those who spoke Indigenous languages were a minority. In India, despite nationalism and the language politics of the post-independence years, in practice English has emerged as the national language. I understand the emergence of colonial languages as an element of political hegemony, based on the prestige of the dominant group. Moreover, I observe a connection between Western knowledge, governmentality, and colonial languages.

Finally, the participation of non-state individuals emerged from the oral histories as key in the expansion of schooling. In Mexico, community leaders were essential to promote the educational projects of the post-revolutionary regime. Before and after the Mexican Revolution, hosting students and donating land to build a school allowed the current educational system to develop, showing a more complex process than the one described by most historians. The role of

federal authorities leading the path towards schooling is generally emphasized, while the oral histories from Iztapalapa explained local dynamics and proved the important involvement of local authorities, community leaders, and the people in general. In India, parents were essential to promote the schooling of their children. The active and enthusiastic involvement of parents in the Western education of their children, shows how parents substituted teachers and the Indian state to guarantee education.

CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation conducted an educational comparison between the Mexican and Indian time-spaces after they experienced moments of social transformation, the Mexican Revolution and the Indian Independence Movement respectively. As a result of comparing education in post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independent India, this research identified valuable insights for the fields of the comparative and international education, and history of education.

This research explored the reasons why at different times of the 20th Century and in distant regions of the world, both Mexico and India established modern nation-states with national education systems. In both countries education contributed to solidify power, modernize the population, and incorporate new territories and communities to the capitalist economy. This is how schooling fits into larger political, economic, and modernizing projects of the Mexican and Indian elites.

Post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India both advanced their educational plans as part of their respective moments of cultural leadership. Nevertheless, three major differences between these two regimes were identified. First, Mexico concentrated on basic education and alphabetization campaigns while India focused on higher education. These divergent targets of attention will influence subsequent educational policies. Secondly, Indian planning documents discoursively supported the importance of citizenry to participate in electoral democracy and national reconstruction, but most importantly, economic development. Development is also important in the post-revolutionary Mexican ideology, but not in terms of

democratic participation. Third, Mexico's centralization of education contrasted with India's

decentralization, but the analysis of reports and other documents produced by planning agencies

showed that after just a couple of years the central government of India had to intervene,

especially given the decline of quality in education, which was clearly expressed in the

authorities' preoccupations for the low quality of available textbooks in the country.

This research involved an ensemble of multiple sources, methodologies, and skills from a

diversity of academic fields, the following are the meaningful and critical conclusions that this

dissertation achieved. After reviewing the significance of the *triveni* approach, the conclusions

are organized in three thematic sections: political authority, national ideology, and

modernization. A final segment on the implications of this research concludes this project.

The Triveni Approach Revisited

This dissertation established a comparison between two educational systems that seemed

incomparable. At first, post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India appeared to be

not only geographically distant, but temporarily separated. Furthermore, the limited number of

South-South comparisons challenged this project to generate an academic apparatus to fulfill the

requirements of the comparative education field and to appropriately analyze these time-spaces.

To undertake this challenge and achieve a comparison of these divergent time-spaces, a

theoretical framework for comparing post-colonial societies in the 20th Century was developed.

This framework was titled the *Triveni Approach.*[1]

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[1] Triveni (त्रिवेणी) is a Sanskrit word which means triple-braided, alluding to the place of confluence of the three major rivers of North India. It also refers to a three-versed form of Hindi/Urdu poetry. See figure 1 in chapter 1 for a detailed explanation.

The triveni approach combined three elements: classic theory, critical theory, and methodological models. The first element refers to classical social science theories. It is based in a combination of Antonio Gramsci's notion of hegemony (Gramsci, Hoare, & Nowell-Smith, 1971) and Michel Foucault's governmentality (Foucault et al, 1991). Considering that this dissertation is concerned with Mexico and India as two non-western contexts with a history of colonialism, aspects of the subaltern school of history, critical theory, and critical peace education made up the critical element of the triveni approach. Additionally, methodologies that recognize the need to assemble multiple and heterogeneous components, were used as part of this approach. Aspects of crisscrossing comparisons, critical discourse analysis, and autoethnographic work nourished this dissertation.

Current comparative and international research in education relies on quantitative data as the preferred units of comparison and on quantitative analysis as its idolized methodologies. However, following ongoing trends in the field (Sobe & Kowalczyk, 2012; 2013; Sobe, 2018), this dissertation contended that attention must be placed on context to better understand education. Under this perspective, and as part of the triveni approach, the contextualization of educational phenomena was carried out as an ever-changing process that was practiced across the entire dissertation, and not just at the beginning of the text and as an introductory section. Consequently, this research used a contextualizing approach that interweaved history, law, institutions, textbook analysis, and oral histories to bring context to the front-end of research.

My approach to contextualizing education came from the concepts of hegemony and governmentality. The need to contextualize research is generally accepted amongst scholars, but there is no consensus about how to engage in this process. Contextualizing remains a theoretical

and methodological issue that needs to be discussed and taught as part of theoretical and methodological courses. How to bring context to the front end of research was a major challenge for this dissertation, but the strong foundation in classic political theory allowed this project to develop a framework of analysis useful for this educational comparison. Inspired by the notions of hegemony and governmentality, this dissertation identified three conceptual objects that allowed the comparison between post-revolutionary Mexico and post-Independence India: modern political authority, national ideology, and modernization. These three elements became the comparable formats that comparativists seek when they try to render comparable units.

These objects were useful as units of comparison because they transcend the differences of time and space between post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India. After their respective transformational movements ended, regimes in both Mexico and India engaged in processes to solidify their political authority, to expand the state's national ideology, and to modernize their respective populations. Consequently, modern authority, national ideology, and modernization granted this project the possibility to compare.

By using political authority, national ideology, and modernization as units of comparison, this dissertation up-set widely accepted ways of research in the Comparative and International Education field. In this way, this research responded to Novoa and Yariv-Mashal's invitation to explore new understandings of research that involve multiplying spaces and unfolding times (2003). The comparison of education in post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India achieved exactly that purpose, the exploration of new understandings of scholarly research that involve multiplying spaces and unfolding times. This comparison upset and disrupted traditional conceptions of time and space by bringing together two geographically and chronologically

separated systems. Moreover, by engaging in a comparison of two seemingly incomparable countries, this research explored new ways of engaging with education in post-colonial societies, with political regimes that were the result of transformational movements, and with time-spaces that are part of what some of us, scholars, activists, and communities resisting neoliberalism, describe as the global-south. Once a scheme for comparison was developed, the triveni approach, other features that nurtured the comparison were brought to this research, starting with textbooks and contexts, followed by analysis of the content of textbooks, and concluding with a variety of oral histories contained in local and online archives.

Modern Political Authority: The Power to Make Educational Decisions

Modern political authority is a comprehensive process of power that involves the legitimate right to rule, the legal exercise of discipline, and the capacity to impose duties on the population. In post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India, modern political authority also involved the opposition to religious and traditional authorities, the conception of people as rational beings, an emphasis on individuality over group-identities, and the power to make educational decisions. This dissertation described and analyzed how the power to make educational decisions became monopolized by the Mexican and Indian nation-states.

Post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India consolidated modern political authority in their respective territories by establishing or expanding modern institutions and by solidifying a modern legal system. In both Mexico and India, we observed the concentration of power around groups and leaders that emerged as dominant after a moment of social transformation. These organizations established alliances with rival groups and organized themselves as modern political parties. In fact, the elites that emerged after both the Mexican

Revolution and Indian Independence fought to reassert themselves by creating political systems with a hegemonic political party. Such organizations can be considered as modern because these institutions were only possible in political systems that rejected political violence, traditional authority, and communal agency.

Regimes in Mexico and India also consolidated modern political authority by promoting a modern legal system. Based on the arguments made by relevant theorists such as Antonio Gramsci (1971; 2007), Michel Foucault (1991; 1995), and Max Weber (Weber & Knight, 1927; Weber & Roth, 1968), it is possible to argue that this consolidation was possible through the legal exercise of discipline. Post-revolutionary and post-independence regimes substantiated their commands and rules on the prominence of a rational law and by developing expert officialdoms. As discussed in Chapter Two, the 1917 Mexican Constitution and the 1950 Indian Constitution are the rational instruments that sanctioned the legal exercise of discipline, substantiated commands, and secondary rules, and supported the actions of experts in the bureaucracy.

Chapter Two of this project argued that the establishment of a modern political authority, especially in political systems with a hegemonic party and nation-states founded on the rationality of law, is an appropriate context for education to become a national issue. In other words, the power to make educational decisions was predominantly national, as opposed to local or international, because the elites that emerged after moments of social transformation, such as revolutionary and decolonizing movements, reconfigured power relations between society and the state along national lines. Consequently, educational decisions were seized by national

authorities, federal or central depending on the legal framework of the country, as they were the recognized representatives of the nation.

This research used textbooks as an entry point for the analysis of the interplay between knowledge and power. Following Sobe and Kowalczyk (2012), chapter 3 opened a space for the crisscrossing of textbooks, contexts, and the epistemological structures that made them possible. This dissertation approached textbooks as mouthpieces for the governmentalities of post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India, analyzing them as "acts of knowledge," which meant that textbooks were educational discourses that established forms of social practice and were used as resources that reflect discursive strategies with respect to power (Brehm & Silova, 2016). Furthermore, textbooks were studied as modern and modernizing artifacts, objects attached to state institutions which conducted editorial policies in each country.

The importance of textbooks in both Mexico and India was further consolidated by three elements that this dissertation identified: the continuation of a bureaucracy between old and new regimes, a legal and institutional context that favored textbook policies, and the prevalence of the capitalist model for the economy. Despite the Mexican Revolution, there was an overlap of public officials between the Porfirian regime and the postrevolutionary bureaucracy at all levels, including educational institutions. Something similar happened in post-independence India, where public officials overlaid between the colonial administration and the independent government. This project discussed how this bureaucratic continuity could be observed in national textbook policies.

Textbooks as Tokens of Transitologies

This research found value in discussing post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India as transitologies (Cowen, 2000), that is, as simultaneous collapses and reconstructions of state apparatuses, economic stratification systems, and political visions of the future. Features from previous regimes that prevailed include legal, economic, and bureaucratic elements in both countries. Underlying discursive items and practices that started in previous regimes managed to transcend the moments of social transformation that impacted both countries and were present in the textbook projects produced by the new regimes. India's textbook culture and the anxiety of cram were the most dramatic elements that transitioned to independent rule, but in Mexico authoritarian values and civil servants also managed to survive the Revolution. In both countries Western knowledge contained in books not only prevailed but was expanded by the new regimes.

Editorial projects during the early years of post-revolutionary Mexico included popular books used during the Porfirian dictatorship, the production of Western and Eastern classics, and specific titles that targeted the rural population. This dissertation identified a continuity in the use of textbooks during and after the Revolution. The permanence of certain titles, but especially Justo Sierra's *Historia Patria* (Fatherland History), is evidence of an educational transitology in Mexico.

By discussing post-revolutionary Mexico, this research found a connection between an authoritarian tendency amongst post-revolutionary educational authorities and the lack of a re-writing of History. After such an important event as the Mexican Revolution, the celebration and reproduction of Justo Sierra's *Historia Patria,* taken as the most important post-revolutionary

textbook by the Secretariat of Public Education in the early 1920s, is indicative of the educational values and knowledge that endured the Revolution.

This dissertation placed a significant emphasis on how textbooks became political instruments for the reconstruction of state apparatus. The authoritarian nature of the Porfirian dictatorship in Mexico and the British rule in India that motivated the Mexican Revolution and the Indian Independence Movement respectively, continued after these movements triumphed. Through the endurance of bureaucrats, educational law, and the use of textbooks from previous regimes, authoritarianism transitioned into the new regimes and thus contributed to construct political hegemonies in both countries. The authoritarian nature of textbooks could only be exposed by analyzing their content. Consequently, notes on authoritarianism in textbooks were made in Chapter Four of this project.

This dissertation can conclude that textbooks functioned as political instruments that supported state-reconstruction after the collapse of the previous regime. The educational principles that originated during preceding systems persisted through the moments of social transformation and into the new political systems. The content analysis in Chapter Four and other sections of this research observed the persistence of authoritarianism, modernization values, economic and social stratification, and a dependent capitalist model.

Institutions and Individuals as Modernizing Political Authorities

Following the argument that educational decisions became predominantly national, and as an important part of contextualizing this comparison, this dissertation identified institutions and individuals that played a significant role in the expansion of textbook policies. In order to fully understand the role that education played during moments of social transformation and how

textbooks contributed to this role, this research saw these institutions as part of the efforts to reconstruct the state apparatuses in post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India. These institutions exercised a modern political authority, advanced a national ideology, and contributed to modernizing the population. As modern and modernizing agents, these institutions were composed of official experts who based their acts on the rationality of law. These organizations acted as entities of cultural leadership, promoted a nationalist conception of the world, and helped to transform traditional conduct into modern political behavior.

In Mexico one specific institution was clearly identified as the central modernizing agent, while in India a set of planning agencies were identified as important. The Secretariat of Public Education in Mexico (Secretaría de Educación Pública - SEP) was the key institution in a larger project of modernization, state consolidation, and paramount in terms of textbook policies. The secretariat concentrated on three axes of action: instruction, the creation and dissemination of national art and culture, and the expansion of a national system of libraries. Textbooks were key for the tree axes, to support instruction, to teach about the national culture, and as key items in the libraries.

In contrast, in India there was not a single entity but a set of planning agencies that advanced the modernizing projects of the state. Modern political authority was exercised by the central government through the expert officialdom in the Ministry of Education and the Central Bureau of Textbook Research, but more importantly through the experts in the national planning agencies. Planning was the key instrument that the post-colonial elite in India used to achieve development. Post-independence political leaders saw economic planning as the only rational, scientific, and legitimate instrument to address the demands that arose during the struggle for

independence. Consequently, education in India was attached to economic planning through the 1949 University Education Commission, the 1951 National Planning Commission, and the 1953 Secondary Education Commission.

As early as 1948, the University Education Commission discussed the textbook culture and the anxiety of cramming that were prevalent in India, reporting that the method of instruction was excessively focused on textbooks. The commission provided a negative evaluation of vernacular education and recommended that it stop prescribing specific books for specific courses. Four years later, in 1952, the Secondary Education Commission followed this trend and argued that the transition to vernacular languages as a medium of instruction prevented the possibility of publishing textbooks on an all-India basis, constraining the authors to their states. As a consequence, competition became limited, and together with the practice of prescribing a specific source for particular courses, this context led to arbitrary selections and the deterioration in the standard of quality in textbooks. The commission reported on three concerning issues: poor quality of materials, malfeasance in the approval of official textbooks, and indoctrination.

The Secondary Education Commission thus called on all educational authorities to pay more attention to textbooks and compelled the central government to assume more responsibility in education, specifically the production and selection of better textbooks. This recommendation began a process in which central authorities will play a more decisive role through textbook policies. Two of the recommendations of the commission stand out because both solidified the role of national authorities. First, the recommendation to establish a central authority that would set clear criteria for quality textbooks, a suggestion that went against the original decentralization mandated by the constitution and the process of vernacularization of education. Second, the

commission recommended to stop the colonial practice of prescribing single textbooks for every subject of study. Instead, commissioners suggested using a list of books and leaving the final choice to schools. The Secondary Education Commission also addressed concerns about indoctrination, but only suggested without providing clear guidelines that prescribed textbooks should not contain offensive passages or statements, and that textbooks should not indoctrinate the minds of students with political or religious ideologies.

As discussed in Chapter Three, textbook policies reinforced the power of the Mexican and Indian states and solidified the power to make educational decisions at the national level. Even in India, where the constitution mandated a process of decentralization and elementary education was vernacularized, the need of quality textbooks was repeatedly used to call and eventually promote the intervention of central authorities. National textbooks are thus at the core of the political process and the consolidation of a modern political authority in both post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India.

Textbooks as Modern and Modernizing Political Instruments

Chapter Four concentrated on the content of six textbooks selected to analyze political authority, national ideology, and modernization. These books were produced and distributed during the early years of the post-revolutionary state in Mexico and the Indian nation-state after independence. In this chapter, relevant aspects of the content of these sources were identified and analyzed, thus allowing for the crisscrossing of textbooks, contexts, and the epistemological structures that made them possible as suggested by Sobe and Kowalczyk (2012: 65).

This dissertation revealed that textbooks became a modern necessity for regimes in post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India. These artifacts supported the refinement of

the state machinery by facilitating knowledge and regulating behavior. In both Mexico and India, the incapacity of the market to produce what the state required to strengthen its political authority, advance a national ideology, and modernize the population, prompted educational authorities to get involved in questioning, regulating, and producing textbooks.

The textbooks that this dissertation analyzed in Chapter Four were projects in which different fields of Western knowledge and political interests converged. Intellectuals, scholars, artists, physicians, and scientists collaborated in the production and edition of these books. The first observation that stands out is the validity of Antonio Gramsci's concept of organic intellectuals applied to the educational field. The authors and editors of the selected textbooks had strong connections with their regimes. These intellectuals were not only participants in editorial projects, but they also balanced their academic and artistic backgrounds with bureaucratic careers and collaborations. The authors of the books considered in Chapter Four were in fact part of their respective elites, connecting themselves to the state through their work, collaborating in projects funded by the government, and some of them even held bureaucratic positions.

Some of the authors who participated in the analyzed editorial projects were also internationally relevant. This research project identified international networks held by some of the authors and illustrators of these sources, revealing that ideas and experiences flowed in complex channels and not just in the core-periphery dichotomy, as a loose interpretation of dependency theory would expect. These networks included how Latin American intellectuals collaborated with the Mexican government, Mexican bureaucrats and authors that shared a history of migration to the United States, and Mexican artists with an international presence who

worked along with the Mexican government in international fairs. In India, collaborations with UNESCO, hosting an international summit, and editing books were relevant international projects that helped to strengthen the political authority of the Indian nation. Similarly, India's cultural capital was used to project the nation, especially through the promotion of classical literature and important authors such as Tagore and Gandhi. Finally, the incorporation of scholars, collaborating directly with planning commissions and other relevant agencies consolidated these networks.

Content analysis of these sources supported the argument that textbooks are both modern and modernizing artifacts. Chapter Four started with the idea that books contributed to the refinement of the machinery of power by allowing readers to locate information more efficiently, thus helped to modify the population's knowledge and behavior, and repositioned readers towards modern knowledge, especially the nationalist ideologies promoted in post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India. This perspective still deserves further consideration by historians of education when exploring textbooks and their role in modernizing colonial and post-colonial societies. Consequently, this could be a relevant trend of research for future projects on Mexico and India.

Anticolonialism and Cosmopolitanism as Sources of International Legitimacy

As previously discussed, Mexico's and India's cultural capitals were used to project these nations in the international stage. Additionally, by analyzing textbooks content, this dissertation concluded that the 20th Century nationalisms in Mexico and India were both anti-colonialist and cosmopolitan. Anticolonialism in Mexico was mostly expressed in a fear of foreign invasions. The analysis of the Mexican sources showed that the threat of foreign intervention allowed the

establishment of authoritarianism in the country and strengthened the role of the federal government as the guardian of the nation.

This research also found differences in the kind of cosmopolitanism expressed in each country. Officials in Mexico expressed a cosmopolitanism that was orthodox, based on Hispanic culture and the Spanish language, while post-independence civil servants in India displayed a cosmopolitanism influenced by notions of what we now study as human capital theory. In both Mexico and India, high level bureaucrats were burdened with providing adequate reading materials to students, but the key issue in terms of cosmopolitanism is how textbooks were perceived as technologies that allowed access to relevant knowledge created elsewhere in the world. In Mexico the original emphasis was placed on Western and Eastern classic texts. I have labeled this interest as orthodox because it emerged from an appreciation of humanity's cultural heritage. In contrast, the focus in India was innovation and providing access to scientific and technological advances.

A major finding of this project is the mutual influence of developing countries and how these connections are part of cosmopolitanism. Countries such as Mexico and India not only took Western nations into consideration to formulate their vernacular notions of cosmopolitanism. The selected textbooks showed that, based on that humanitarian universalism, non-hegemonic countries were considered as well and were depicted in some of the analyzed sources.

Attached to cosmopolitanism, the selected textbooks revealed their instrumental use in obtaining domestic and international legitimacy. Textbooks were also used by the Mexican and Indian regimes to promote their status overseas. In Mexico, the same authorities that edited and illustrated textbooks also participated in international fairs that sought the recognition of the

post-revolutionary regime. In India, the most prominent example is the use of All Men are Brothers, based on Gandhi's teachings, to further the status of India in the world.

A final note on the importance of national aesthetics for consolidating a modern political authority must be included. As part of the development of national ideologies, chapter 5 of this dissertation confirmed that nationalist aesthetics and civic performances became important in both post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India. Not only for state agents, but for the people. The oral histories analyzed in chapter 5 corroborated the increasing importance of the national flags, national anthems, and patriotic festivals in schools. Consequently, national aesthetics and performances that started to take place in schools were understood by this research as elements that contributed to the expansion of a governmentality that was authoritarian, nationalistic, and modernizing.

National Ideology: The Nation as a Cultural Unit

Post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India spread national ideologies to secure the masses' consent and their collaboration in the economic system. The modern political institutions and laws established by these regimes were strengthened with the promotion of a national ideology. Based on the works of Jones (2018), Eagleton (1994), and Geuss (1994), this dissertation discussed nationalism as a set of ideas about how the world should be. More specifically, as a set of ideas to make sense of the world along national lines. This included a perception of a world that is composed of nation-states and the idea that every person belongs to one.

Scholars generally agree that one of the most important roles of schooling is to spread nationalism. After conducting this research project, this dissertation concludes that one of the

roles that post-revolutionary and post-independence education had in common, was to produce subjects of the nation. Students had to be taught that, regardless of their differences, they all inhabited and belonged to a nation. As opposed their religious affiliation and their immediate communities, whether that was a village, town, or a city, students were schooled into becoming Mexicans or Indians.

Following Edward Said's argument that nations present themselves as entities that have existed since ancient times and as a continuous cultural unit, what is known as the antiquity of nations, the content analysis in Chapter Four of this work identified this idea in both post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India. The textbooks analyzed in this research promoted the antiquity of both Mexico and India, establishing the ancient existence of a Mexican and Indian nations. Attached to this antiquity expressed in the analyzed textbooks, this dissertation argued that this identity implied the acceptance of the secularized authority of the elite. Consequently, students were required to honor the elite's historical significance, taught in history textbooks, and obey their economic projects given their dominance and hegemony.

This project further argued that post-revolutionary Mexican regimes and post-Independence Indian governments used national narratives as discourses to maintain cohesion and mobilize the population (as explained by Fairclough & Wodak, 1997 and Kaviraj, 2010). In both cases, nationalism became the ideology that was endorsed by the elite to form a collective will and disseminate a modern conception of the world.

This new conception of the world was configured in the constitution that each country enforced and was successfully advanced through formal education. For this reason, this project analyzed the constitution of each country and the debates about national education that produced

the constitutional articles on the subject. In post-revolutionary Mexico, the national ideology created by the revolutionaries was further disseminated through projects of national aesthetics and by encouraging a cultural nationalism. In India, the nation was imagined into existence and shaped by central institutions, especially planning commissions focused on industrial development.

In Mexico, all levels of schooling became centralized in a federal agency, the Secretariat of Public Education. In contrast, in post-independence India education was decentralized and directly linked to economic planning. As a matter of fact, the Indian Constitution set economic planning and higher education in a concurrent list of responsibilities shared by the states and the central government. Indian nationalist leaders, most prominently Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, were instrumental in establishing education as an element of development and was thus attached to economic planning. Nevertheless, the decentralization process in India was severely criticized since its implementation. Due to quality concerns, corruption, and the reproduction of colonial and religious dogmas, the central authorities became quickly concerned with the status of basic education and decided to intervene in the matter. Some of those policy interventions, which included textbook policies, were discussed in chapter 3 of this dissertation. These interventions, enacted by Indian central authorities, show how the national leadership actively participated in the diffusion of a national ideology, even in spite of the constitutional mandate to decentralize education and regardless of the languages politics that demanded the vernacularization of schooling in India.

At different points of the 20th Century, the emergence of the modern nation-state required the creation of a national ideology that could bring together divergent groups and diverse

populations into a single political entity (Kaviraj, 2010). This dissertation has characterized the national ideologies of post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India as discursive (Banerjee-Dube, 2015: 179-180), narrative (Kaviraj, 2010), and totalizing (Geuss, 1994). These national ideologies were also abstract, they presented a way to understand the nation as a continuous reality and aimed at transforming society. The Mexican and the Indian nations were thus imagined into existence (Anderson, 2006) by shaping institutions, framing situations, and forging social structures (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

Considering the 20th Century context previously described, this dissertation concludes that education became an ideal field for the spread of national ideologies because it helped to solidify the subjective antiquity and the objective modernity of the nation (Anderson, 2006). That was possible because education influences people at both abstract and material levels. Schooling helped to disseminate national ideologies that work as discourses that modified the behavior of people and made use of the legal exercise of state discipline, reorienting behavior towards modernity (Gramsci, 1971; 2007; Seth, 2007). At the same time, schools were part of the concrete reality of the nation and its students' lives. After expanding, schools became physical spaces that allowed the nation to act and mobilize for itself (Geuss, 1994); in other words, schools not only taught about the nation but also made it a tangible reality.

The analysis of a selection of sources, conducted by this dissertation in chapter 4, showed that textbooks helped to spread nationalism in Mexico and India by advancing the conception of the nation as a cultural unit. The analyzed textbooks positioned India and Mexico as political entities where people had a common past, setting their origin in ancient times, and establishing a historical continuity. Apart from history, literacy played a nationalistic role as well. In both

countries the analyzed textbooks supported literacy campaigns and policies. As an essential skill, literacy was perceived as a way to strengthen the nation and as a source of national pride.

It is important to underline that in India, literacy was considered an ability native to the Subcontinent and not necessarily as something foreign. According to the analyzed textbooks, literacy preceded colonialism and had been part of the Indian nation given the existence of vernacular languages and scripts. Under a nationalist perspective, historians described vernacular literacy as a tradition that was only interrupted by colonialism and as evidence of the cultural capital of the Indian nation.

In Chapter Four, this dissertation discussed how the analyzed textbooks, regardless of their subject focus, presented the Mexican and Indian nations as both ancient cultural units and as objective realities. This research identified the use of modern maps as logotypes of the Mexican and Indian nations. This instrument promoted a national ideology, identity, and emotional attachment to these countries. The use of maps gave readers a visual way to think about the nation, making them aware of its borders, Maps also configured a sense of identity amongst students by marking ethnic and cultural borders. Additionally, the maps contained in textbooks gave the nation not only a territorial representation, but an emotional value that created a national attachment.

Chapter Four of this research identified a key issue which was a shared value between post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India, schooling as a social good. In the selected textbooks, schooling was presented by both revolutionaries and independence fighters as a demand of the people. Specifically, schooling was presented as a right that was denied to the people during the authoritarian regimes that dominated these countries, the Porfirio Díaz

dictatorship and British rule. The regimes that emerged from the struggles discussed schooling as part of the aspirations of the people in both countries. In Mexico, the analyzed textbooks introduced schooling as a form of social mobility, a perception that has dominated educational discourse ever since.

A note on the centrality of a national aesthetic in Mexico must be included in these conclusions as part of the post-revolutionary ideology. Mexican muralism has been universally celebrated and studied by historians, but this research discussed how other aesthetic projects, some of which were closer to people's daily lives, came up as important for the expansion of a national identity. Aesthetic projects also included the construction of buildings, monuments, and roads that connected markets and communities. Similarly, the expansion of the music, radio, and film industries, supported the expansion of a national ideology. The use of new technologies such as cameras, typewriters, and printed calendars, cannot be underestimated. All these modern artifacts, structures, and industries contributed to solidify the Mexican nationalism. This dissertation not only underlined the importance of some of these modern objects and structures, but also discussed how these were presented and discussed to students in textbooks, thus supporting the conception of the Mexican nation as ancient and continuous cultural unit and the modernization of the Mexican population.

Modernization: Schooling People into Modernity

This dissertation identified how regimes in the 21st Century, promoted the modernization of their populations through three important processes: the legal exercise of discipline by the state (Gramsci, 1971; 2007), the prominence of a rational law in order to issue commands and enact rules (Weber & Knight, 1927; Weber & Roth, 1968), and a modern governmentality that

sees the population as a resource for state power and wealth (Foucault, 1991; Gordon, 1991).

Moreover, educational laws and institutions were here understood as important elements for the

refinement of the machinery of power, as explained by Foucault (1995). Therefore, laws and

institutions were analyzed as instruments that contributed to the surveillance and regulation of

the population along modern expectations.

This research advanced the argument that the modernization of populations was

fundamentally based in the perception of humans as a resource for state power and wealth

(Foucault, 1991; Gordon, 1991). Post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India were

thus studied as attempts to solidify the bases of modernity in distant parts of the world. These

attempts were not just seen as homogenizing programs, but as a multiplicity of steadily evolving

modernizing projects, in other words as two of the existing multiple modernities (Eisenstadt,

2000; 2002).

An analysis of the modern bases of the state described by Gramsci (1971; 2007; Bobbio,

1979; Mouffe, 1979), Max Weber (& Knight, 1927; Weber & Roth, 1968), and Foucault (1991;

1995; Burchell, Gordon, & Miller, 1991; Gordon, 1991), revealed the political nature of

education. A key argument advanced by this dissertation was that education played a major role

in rationalizing the Mexican and Indian populations. This meant that schooling had the

responsibility of producing the rational beings that are the foundation of a modern population.

Schooled into Modernity

A very important similarity between Mexico and India, identified by this research and an

issue that can be further studied as a global trend, is the expectation that people could be

schooled into modernity. This expectation has a colonial origin, in Mexico it can be tracked

down to the spiritual conquest, the forced conversation to Catholicism of indigenous populations, and the educational institutions established by colonial Spanish rule. In India, British authorities thought that Western education could produce an intermediary class of rational, English-speaking, and Western-educated Indians to help them to rule the Subcontinent.[2] This expectation continued after colonialism. The descendants of this class became the post-independence elite, who after independence acted as intermediaries between the state and less privileged groups such as peasants, low-class, and low-caste Indians.

The expectation that Mexicans could be schooled into modernity is present in both the Porfirio Diaz dictatorship and the post-revolutionary regime. How the post-revolutionary elite functioned as an intermediary between the masses and the state needs to be further explored, but the role of schooling in modernizing sectors of the population that were perceived as "backward" is certainly present in post-revolutionary Mexico. The most severe example is the educational project conducted by the Secretariat of Public Education known as the *Casa del Estudiante Indígena* (House of the Indigenous Student). This was a boarding school, inspired by similar programs in the United States and Canada, that sought to "modernize" or "civilized" indigenous students and turn them into agents of the state in their communities.

As shown in this dissertation, textbooks were used as modernizing tools to expand Western knowledge and to help the modernization of students. The use of textbooks as

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[2] This dissertation agrees with understandings of the complexity of the colonial education discussed by Krishna Kumar (2005) and Sanjay Seth (2005). Consequently, when talking about the intermediary class of rational, English-speaking, and Western-educated Indians, this dissertation considers both the aims and the needs of the empire, and the argument that colonial education involved subjectivity, in other words adjustments in how human subjects inhabit the world. Consequently, the intermediary class that this dissertation talks about does not assume the popular belief that colonial education only aimed at producing official clerks to administer colonial institutions and includes the leaders, professionals, intellectuals, and bureaucrats that were part of the colonial state apparatus.

modernizing instruments has been extensively researched by scholars who study India. Textbooks became so important in colonial and independent India that a culture around these artifacts emerged, labeled by historians as the "textbook culture." This research further argued that the use of English as a medium of instruction, the grant-in-aid system for funding education, and the centralization of examinations all contributed to generating the Indian textbook culture (Guichard, 2010; Kumar, 1986; 1988; Seth, 2007).

The different aspects of a textbook culture in South Asia received particular attention in this project. This research discussed relevant elements of the textbook culture such as: teaching based on state-prescribed textbooks, evaluation based on the content reproduced by the prescribed sources, and an emphasis memorizing the content of the textbooks without truly understanding it, a phenomenon known as the "anxiety of cram" (Seth, 2007: 17-45).

Internal Neocolonial Crusades

In post-revolutionary Mexico textbooks played a significant role in modernizing the population. Mexican authorities saw basic education as a strategic field to promote national development. Under this governmentality, teaching how to read and write was essential to communicate with the population and to impose upon them modern values. The expansion of literacy thus became the central project of educators and officials to modernize the population and attached to this project appropriate books to support literacy were needed. The endeavors that the Mexican government launched to promote literacy took colonial proportions. Following the European missionaries who spread Catholicism in Mexico, policies to promote literacy went beyond instruction in official schools and included campaigns focused on rural areas of the

country. These campaigns were known as "cultural missions," a title that reveals their civilizing-mission nature and how they perceived people as susceptible to be transformed.

These policies can be seen as internal neocolonial crusades for two main reasons. First, because they effectively expanded the use of Spanish as the official language of the nation. Second, because these policies promoted a national culture sometimes identified by scholars as "Mexicanidad." The publishing efforts of the Secretariat of Public Education were consequently aligned to expand a national language and culture via instruction and literacy campaigns. Through the Secretariat of Public Education, the federal government undertook the responsibility of making books accessible to the population.

Educators and authorities in Mexico were significantly invested in "civilizing" the people. Authorities found it necessary to produce European classics and make them available for the population. However, after the initial focus on literacy campaigns and European classics, post-revolutionary governments turned their attention to rural life and the books that were published during this time reflect this concern. Titles specifically designed for giving an account of the condition in rural Mexico.

Similarly, Post-independence leaders of India considered that the population could be schooled into citizenship. This dissertation argued that mass education and adult literacy were seen by Indian authorities as core components of equity and the future of Indian democracy. However, the focus on higher education and the decentralization of basic education prevented the central government from initially undertaking editorial projects at the national level. In India, after the vernacularization of instruction, a decline in quality of textbook materials led the central authorities to intervene and establish some policies that sought to address the educational decline

by improving the quality of textbooks. Policies included other editorial projects such as a system of award competitions for authors and publishers, the development of a Sanskrit dictionary, and the publication of texts about Gandhian philosophy.

A very important logic, which justified the focus on higher education in India, allowed to better understand the post-independence context and the role of textbooks. In the First Five Year Plan, the Planning Commission accepted that working on education was an urgent matter, but commissioners justified the focus on higher education on the general lack of resources in the country. The planning authorities argued that improving basic education depended on "better teachers," who subsequently required universities and training colleges (Government of India, 2015). Consequently, the central government was justified in prioritizing higher education, since this focus would have a multiplying effect, reaching basic education via "better" teachers. This logic also explains why the Indian state did not immediately undertake editorial projects for printing national textbooks.

This dissertation also explored the connection between modern political behavior and textbooks in India. The planning agencies clearly understood textbooks as artifacts that could help to modernize the political behavior of the population. Chapter 33 of India's first Five Year Plan (1951) suggested the use of textbooks to strengthen civic loyalties and to prepare the population for a democratic citizenry. The idea that people can be schooled into modern citizenry and democracy continued to be prevalent among planning authorities. The following year, the Secondary Education Commission considered that one of the aims of secondary schooling was to train the youth to be "good citizens," which commissioners defined as participating in the social reconstruction and economic development of the country.

Schooled into Modern Languages

A second reason for the lack of a national editorial policy in India could be found in the linguistic diversity of the country and the post-independence language politics. A national textbook project would have been extremely difficult to establish because of both the controversy of setting Hindi as a national language and because of the reconfiguration of Indian states along linguistic borders. The Nehru government avoided direct confrontations and acted as a mediator between linguistic groups. Over the years, English has been kept for interregional communication, broadening the gap between the English-speaking elite and those who speak vernacular languages. In practice, English has been the language of India's nation-building process and an important medium of instruction.

In contrast, post-revolutionary Mexico directly favored the expansion of Spanish. On the one hand, this makes sense given that after the Mexican Revolution the majority of the population were Spanish speakers. On the other hand, speakers of indigenous languages at the time were still a significant part of the population, between 12% and 29% according to the 1920 census. In fact, the linguistic diversity of the country was not discussed by the Constituent Assembly and the 1917 Constitution did not provide guidelines to address it. The language hegemony of Spanish was not discussed, and this colonial heritage was assumed as the medium of instruction without any question. The Spanish language's hegemony only supported the civilizing mission of Mexican authorities. Through the 1920s and early 1930s, post-revolutionary governments believed that indigenous peoples had to be incorporated to the broader Mexican nation by renouncing their own cultures and languages.

An important finding of this research, in Chapter Four of this dissertation, began with the idea that both regimes produced textbook materials in colonial languages, Spanish and English. This predilection emphasized the modernizing nature of educational projects in both countries, but the discussion about establishing a national language in India allowed us to see how elites at different levels and moments promoted educational projects that reproduced their own vernacular languages.

Unavailability of appropriate reading materials, either in terms of language, quality, or the unsuitability of the information, all motivated state intervention in both countries. Additionally, the incapacity of the market to produce appropriate books furthered legitimized governmental projects. In Mexico, nationalism motivated publications. Nationalism was expressed in the Mexican officials' opposition to imitation, especially in their hostility to the translation of materials in English from the United States. This opposition led educational Mexican authorities to engage in comparisons. This is an important conclusion for the comparative education field. From a nationalistic perspective, Mexican policy makers found major differences amongst educational systems by comparing languages and reading materials for students. Marking significant differences between English and Spanish, post-revolutionary authorities made the case in favor of contextualizing textbooks and used those differences to justify the need to produce national textbook projects.

Schooled into Laicism and Secularism

In post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India, the new elites hoped to modernize the population by engaging in projects that reshaped people's conduct. Amongst others, the efforts to modernize the Mexican and Indian populations included the secularization

of their beliefs though education. This project introduced the idea that one of the most important tasks that schools were charged with was the secularization or laicization of the population. Reshaping conduct included efforts to distance the government from religious and theological foundations (Foucault, 1991; Gordon, 1991). Post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India followed this modernizing tendency by radicalizing or continuing previously initiated projects of laicism and secularism.

While in Mexico post-revolutionary governments became "anti-clerical," a radical tendency against the Catholic Church that sparked two armed conflicts, the *Cristero Wars* of 1926-29 and 1932-38, post-independence governments in India were not as radical. In contrast, Indian secularism attempted to engage and sustain all of India's religions; especially those that originated within the national territory. Despite the trauma of Partition and the murder of Mahatma Gandhi by a Hindu extremist, the Indian government adopted religious symbols, prominently Buddhist tokens, and recognized the importance of Sanskrit and Hinduism as part of the cultural heritage of the Indian nation.

The textbooks considered for Chapter Four also revealed that separating the population from religious authority was essential for its modernization. In post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India governments consolidated their authority by disputing it from religious organizations and leaders. Notions of Mexican laicism and Indian secularism were in fact contained in the selected textbooks. These notions helped to separate the population from religion and bring them closer to reason, science, and technology.

In contrast with the discourse contained in the selected textbooks, the oral histories analyzed in Chapter Five exhibited the significant role of the Catholic Church in the educational

field in both countries. Contrary to expectations, specifically the secularizing nature of Western modernity, the educational role of the Catholic Church strongly emerged in both Mexico and India. Schools and educational activities attached to Catholic institutions and their members transitioned from the regimes that preceded the moments of social transformation to the post-evolutionary and post-independence regimes respectively. The Catholic Church thus emerged in this final chapter as a relevant agent in the modernization of post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India via literacy and schooling. Consequently, the Mexican and Indian modernities include religious institutions and a certain level of tolerance of their participation in public sphere and education.

The oral histories from Mexico also showed how the nation-state slowly replaced the Church in its educational mission, not without some opposition by the people and Catholic authorities. Similarly, while India is not a country with a majority Christian population, schools that were linked to Catholicism educated sectors of the Indian population: the intermediary class of Indians promoted by colonial authorities, members of vulnerable groups such as Dalits and Adivasis, and the children of Catholic families. This project argued that the significant impact of these schools in Indian society can be understood in the context of the neglect of basic education by colonial authorities in India, the focus of post-independence authorities in higher education, and the advantages that these schools offered for obtaining a Western oriented education and to acquire or improve English language skills.

Schooled into Capitalism

A topic that this dissertation brought to the discussion table was the relationship between the expansion of capitalism and textbooks. To analyze this relationship and inspired in the work

of Antonio Gramsci (1971; 2007), this project followed a conception of the nation-state as a cultural and educative institution that modernizes the morality and behavior of the masses to make them fit the needs of its productive apparatus. Considering this approach, this research highlighted the fact that after the Mexican Revolution and Indian Independence, the new elites did not question the continuity or the viability of capitalism. While the economies of both countries were mixed, keeping the state as a central economic agent, Mexico and India remained capitalist nations. In fact, these regimes continued the elimination of pre-capitalist structures and values that previous political systems started.

This dissertation argued that post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India spread national ideologies to secure the masses' consent and their collaboration in the economic system. These regimes promised capitalist economic development in exchange for their populations' consent to rule, making them participants of political systems that were legitimized in a hegemonic party rule characterized by corporativist and clientelar relations.

The continuity of capitalism can be also found in the developmentalist ideology of post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India, a view that was concealed in the textbooks that both regimes promoted. Both nationalism and developmentalism included exploitative notions of the environment and the population, promoting the perception that nature and human beings existed to be exploited and serve the economic development of the nation. Similarly, these ideologies had a common objective, the elimination of pre-capitalist structures and values in order to allow for a greater development of the nation's productive forces within a capitalist dependent framework.

The final chapter of this project, Chapter Five, reached valuable insights on the relationship between the expansion of capitalism and education by assembling two archives and concentrating on the oral histories of people who were students during the early years of post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India. These observations include the exploitative character of the nation-state and the prevalence of forms of structural violence that these populations experienced.

Post-revolutionary regimes in Mexico and post-independence governments in India were discoursively committed to social justice but seen the population as a resource of state power, a feature of governmentality, implied the exploitation of the people and the environment. These time-spaces were indeed committed to the dominant class, their respective elites, and to capitalism as the favored economic system.

The oral histories from Iztapalapa revealed the exploitative character of the Mexican nation-state and its governmentality against the environment and the population. The depletion of the formerly lacustrine Iztapalapa land and the proletarization of the people that is described in the oral histories illustrates the extrativist ideology of post-revolutionary regimens in Mexico and uncovers the bases of the current climate crisis. In the context of 20th Century capitalism and a dependent economy, the land and the people were seen as resources to be exploited in the name of the development of the nation. In previous chapters it was discussed how modernity included the perception of the population as resources. However, this chapter showed how this perception went beyond that notion and was transformed into exploitation. In other words, the land and the people were not just assets, but collaterals of the dependent Mexican economy.

Schooled into Violence

Chapter Five discussed the prevalence of forms of violence that communities in Mexico and India experienced. This dissertation analyzed the Mexican Revolution and the Indian Independence as transitologies. A history of violence, often overlooked by academia, emerged within the oral histories as an element that transitioned from previous regimes to the post-revolutionary and post-independence states. The testimonies of people who were children at the time show that both physical and structural violence marked the educational experiences of communities in both Mexico and India. This project identified an important form of resistance exercised by children against British rule and parental authority during the Quit India Movement.

Decentering the State

Finally, this project found that in post-revolutionary Mexico private homes were used as schools, an aspect of the history of Mexican education that was relevant at the time and deserves more attention by scholars. The use of houses as schools transitioned from one regime to the other, thus supporting the reconstruction of the state apparatus mainly in rural areas of Mexico City's periphery. In fact, after the Mexican revolution, hosting students or donating land to build a school was crucial for the massification of basic education in the Iztapalapa area. The role of federal authorities leading the path towards schooling is generally emphasized, while the oral histories from Iztapalapa explained local dynamics and documented the important role of local authorities, community leaders, and the people in general.

In India, the role of parents was also identified as an important variable in the schooling of children. The active involvement of parents in the education of their children, documented in

the oral histories, showed how parents acted as substitutes of educational authorities. By exercising this role, parents made up for the precarious state of basic education.

Implications

The familiarity that some travelers experience when visiting Mexico and India, what distinguished photographers Iturbide, Rao, and Salgado (2002) called *Parallel Winds*, is not only rooted in the diversity of their populations, a rich ensemble of cultures, and colonial pasts. After conducting this comparative research, this dissertation has revealed and explored common elements in political authority, national ideologies, and modernization processes that together contribute to create this feeling of closeness despite distance.

This dissertation helped to fill an academic gap in mainstream research by providing a comparison of two societies that are rarely associated. By studying post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India, this study also contributed to expand South-South scholarly cooperation within the social sciences. Concretely in the history of education field and the comparative and international education discipline, and furthermore in terms of political studies given the development of historical and political concepts.

For the comparative and international education field, this dissertation contributed to strengthen the efforts to decolonize the discipline. In this research, classical theories helped to develop an approach (triveni), and to identify three objects of comparison that can be used for analyzing post-colonial societies. Furthermore, without demonizing the usefulness of other efforts, this research went beyond the hegemony of quantitative comparisons.

This dissertation demonstrated that we can in fact we compare geographically distant societies at divergent times. An educational comparison between post-revolutionary Mexico and

post-independence India was possible by setting aside traditional conceptions of times and space, by contextualizing research, and by favoring a decolonizing the approach.

The political approach that this dissertation developed, based on the concepts of hegemony and governmentality, and defined as hegemonic governmentalities, was important because it allowed me to explore education as a complex ensemble of practices, institutions, and people. While these conceptual tools came from political theory, this dissertation showed their valuable use in the comparative and international education field.

For the history of education discipline, the implications of this dissertation are also important. Decentering the state and its role in education is very important in current and future research. Topics such as the role of the Catholic church, the importance of local leaders, and the position of parents in formal schooling were identified in this project and still require further consideration by scholars.

Similarly, when discussing the history of education around the world, the enduring presence of colonialism in education is a topic that requires and deserves attention. This research understood the importance of the neocolonial crusades that nation-states promoted to modernize the people. This topic deserves more attention and only recently has been discussed in the public arena. Given the level of violence that indigenous peoples in North America faced, in all three countries Mexico, the Unites States, and Canada, this line of research and a regional comparative study are required.

Along those lines, for the history of Mexican education, little to no attention has been given to the hegemony of Spanish as the language of the nation. While in India, this topic was and continues to be at the center of politics and educational policy making, in Mexico Spanish is

generally assumed in national histories. This topic has only been discussed in local histories and research focused on indigenous education, and consequently it needs to be further explored and launched as a national debate.

This research also advanced our knowledge of the modernization processes. This dissertation understood and favored a perception of modernity as a multiplicity. Therefore, this study approached post-revolutionary Mexico and post-independence India as steadily evolving modernities, showing how education played a significant role in this multiplicity and its evolution.

As the research project advanced, the interaction between capitalism and education emerged as a relevant topic. This dissertation explored this complex relationship, concentrating on how education contributed to the expansion of a capitalist ideology that call for the exploitation of nature and people in the name of the development of the nation. Further research is required in this topic, but this study provided some possible routes of research by focusing on textbooks and oral histories.

The violent nature of schooling, including both as system that reproduces structural violence and as a disciplinarian institution that exercises direct violence, is a key implication of this project. Modern schooling is generally celebrated, historical research in both Mexico and India is still dominated by triumphalist narratives that see education as a victory over tradition, superstition, and ignorance. More recently, scholars stared to explore the complexity of the educational phenomena and its violent connotations. Inspired by a critical peace education approach, this research briefly discussed the relationship between education and violence. This is

an important area of research that requires further consideration and that must be included in current educational policy making.

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VITA

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While at Loyola, Dr. Melchor-Hernandez was part of the executive committee of the Graduate Student Advisory Council (GSAC) and served on several committees, including the Graduate, Professional and Adult Council (GPAC) and the School of Education's Academic Council. Dr. Melchor-Hernandez was a Fulbright Scholar and won the School of Education's Service Leadership Award.