



Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism
across Borders

EDUCATION TOOLKIT

Acknowledgements

This project includes participation from the following U-M National Resource Centers (NRCs), organizations and faculty:

- [Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies](#)
- [Center for South Asian Studies](#)
- [Center for Southeast Asian Studies](#)
- [Center for Middle Eastern and North African Studies](#)
- [Nam Center for Korean Studies](#)
- [Lieberthal and Rogel Center for Chinese Studies](#)
- [Center for Japanese Studies](#)
- **Jesse Hoffnung-Garskof**, Professor of History and American Culture
- **Darin Stockdill**, Design Coordinator, Center for Education Design, Evaluation, and Research
- **Alana Rodriguez**, Academic Program Manager, Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies; UM-UPR Program Coordinator
- **Victoria Langland**, Associate Professor of History and Romance Languages and Literatures; Director, Center for Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies
- **Lawrence La Fountain-Stokes**, Professor of American Culture and Romance Languages and Literatures
- **U-M International Institute**
- **African Studies Center**

And the following departments and faculty at the University of Puerto Rico:

- [College of Humanities](#)
- [College of Social Sciences](#)
- [College of Education](#)
- [School of Graduate Studies and Research](#)
- **Juan R. Hernández García**, Graduate Program Coordinator; Lecturer of History, UM-UPR Program Coordinator
- **Ricardo Alejandro Pabón**, World History Teacher, María E. Rodríguez Middle Public School, Bayamón, PR; Master's Student, University of Puerto Rico Curriculum and Teaching Program
- **Windy M. Cosme Rosario**, Lecturer of Interdisciplinary Studies; Doctoral Student, Department of History



About the UPR-Río Piedras

The University of Puerto Rico at Río Piedras (UPR-RP) is a public research university that serves more than 15,000 students, 20% of them graduate students. Founded in 1903, UPR-RP is the oldest university and the main campus within the University of Puerto Rico System. Its academic offerings include 70 undergraduate and 39 graduate degree programs in the humanities, social sciences, natural sciences, and professional fields. The university holds a Title V grant from the US/Department of Education and has consistently granted the largest number of doctoral degrees to Hispanics in the US. The College of Education has the largest number of students and offers degrees at the Bachelor's, Master's, and Ph.D. levels. It also administers the university's elementary and secondary schools.

Thank you to our partners:



Table of Contents

Introduction		5-10
Lesson 1:	Nationalism in a Globalizing World: Understanding the concept in context <i>by Darin Stockdill</i>	11-28
Lesson 2:	Pan-Africanism and the Abyssinian Crisis: Exploring solidarity through historical print media <i>by Timnet Gedar</i>	29-43
Lesson 3:	Racialization and Control: A case study from the Moroccan Rif <i>by Ahmed Mitchie</i>	44-55
Lesson 4:	“Beyond One Hand”: Copts, Rhetoric, and Erasure in the 2011 Egyptian Revolution <i>by Mekarem Eljamal</i>	56-65
Lesson 5:	Haunted Houses and the Colonial Experience in India <i>by Janaki Phillips</i>	66-78
Lesson 6:	Understanding Political Violence and Narratives <i>by Monte-Angel Richardson</i>	79-93
Lesson 7:	The “Uncivilized” in Thailand: I “belong” here. This is “home.” <i>by Mai Ze Vang</i>	94-104
Lesson 8:	Where is “home” for Cambodian-American deportees? Home, identity, and residency status <i>by Cheryl Yin</i>	105-127
Lesson 9:	Identity in Contemporary Advertising: A Critical Reading <i>by Miranda Garcia</i>	128-141
Lesson 10:	Raza, cultura, identidad: el pasado y el presente de los Afrodescendientes en Argentina.” <i>by Marisol Fila</i>	142-151

About the University of Michigan - University of Puerto Rico Outreach Collaboration

This collaborative project between the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, and the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras, is funded by Title VI grants from the US Department of Education. Title VI is a provision of the 1965 Higher Education Act, funding centers for area studies that serve as vital national resources for world regional knowledge and foreign language training. This project is geared towards creating spaces for conversations about new research and curriculum development projects among professors, graduate and undergraduate students, and school teachers from Puerto Rico.

As part of the effort to create sustainable links with institutions serving underrepresented populations, the Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies (LACS) at the University of Michigan built a partnership with the Colleges of Education, Humanities, and Social Sciences at the University of Puerto Rico. There are no Title VI National Resource Centers on the island of Puerto Rico; there are also no Hispanic serving institutions in the State of Michigan. Thanks to deep existing ties between our institutions we are able to expand access to the area studies and language resources at UM to the faculty and students at the UPR, to in-service teachers in the region around UPR, and to their K-12 students.

As a cornerstone of this collaboration, U-M's International Institute sends mixed delegations of area studies experts to the UPR for one K-16 professional and curriculum development workshop. These workshops follow the model of a pilot workshop organized by LACS in Río Piedras in 2014. These workshops are organized around topics that cross multiple disciplines and allow representation from different world regions. Each two-day workshop includes sessions for UPR faculty and students (including pre-service K-12 teachers) and in-service K-12 teachers from the surrounding San Juan metropolitan area.

Beginning in 2018, the University of Michigan's International Institute began a collaboration with the Center for Education Design, Evaluation, and Research (CEDER), a highly-skilled team within the U-M School of Education devoted exclusively to offering exceptional-quality designs, evaluations, and research on teaching, learning, leadership, and policy at multiple levels of education. Specifically, CEDER supports the design and development of education curricula, programs, technology tools, and software for other units on campus and for K-12 and informal learning settings in surrounding communities. The II-CEDER collaboration was established to professionalize the development of the teacher resources that are created at each annual UM-UPR symposium.

Education Toolkit Introduction

The 2019 Symposium of the University of Puerto Rico and University of Michigan Outreach Collaboration is focused on exploring the topic of “Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism across Borders.”

The objective of the symposium is to incorporate the concepts of race, ethnicity, and nationalism - and the ways they interact in the context of globalization and political conflict - into academic curriculum and teaching models at the university and K-12 school level.

This education toolkit contains a set of lessons that emerged from the research of graduate student researchers who presented their work at the 2019 symposium. Each of these researchers delved deep into specific case studies of identity through the lens of race and/or ethnicity in the context of tensions between forces of nationalism and forces of globalization. They then collaborated with an instructional designer to develop lesson plans directed at high school learners. The designer helped them plan out their initial lessons and then edited and adapted the final products.

Through these lesson plans, high school teachers in the humanities and social studies can engage their students in inquiry-based learning experiences to explore these important themes.

Beyond exploring issues of identity and nationalism, teachers can use these lessons to introduce their students to a range of disciplinary literacy practices and analytical approaches. Some of the lessons and included texts may need substantial scaffolding for high school students, so please feel free to adapt and modify to meet the needs of your students.

Below are some possible question frames that teachers can use to guide teaching and learning with these resources:

Driving question:

In our globalizing world, more people and societies are connected economically and socially than ever before, particularly through technology and the internet. In this context, how are our experiences and perceptions of race, ethnicity, and nationalism changing (or not)?

Supporting questions:

- What is nationalism?
- What role is nationalism playing in different contemporary conflicts/issues?
- What are race and ethnicity? How are they different?
- How do race and ethnicity connect to nationalism?

- What can we learn about race, ethnicity, and nationalism – and the ways they are interacting and changing - from case studies of conflicts across time and space?

All of the resources in this toolkit are in draft form, as curriculum development is an ongoing process that should never end, so we invite you to adapt these ideas and materials to your context!

This toolkit can be used in a few different ways. It can function as a set of resources from which you can select specific texts and activities to accompany your own unit on nationalism and identity, or as a complete package that introduces students to these ideas and then engages them with a set of dynamic, inquiry-based case studies.

We recognize that curricular demands today mean that many teachers have fewer opportunities to go deep into concepts like identity and nationalism, but **we invite you to be creative!**

These lessons will be most relevant to secondary teachers of contemporary world history, world geography, humanities, and world literature, but may be adapted to fit into other curricular areas as well.

The activities are designed to be interactive and flexible, and to promote higher order and critical thinking, dialogue, and social justice. Lesson development was informed by the principles of Understanding by Design (McTighe & Wiggins, 1998), so lessons are focused around essential questions and enduring understandings.

The ideas here are meant to spark your own thinking and creativity, so please adapt, modify, extend, and improve! Thank you for sharing our interest in this work.

Additional teaching resources on race, ethnicity, and nationalism to explore:

- **RACE AND ETHNICITY**
 - Collection of classroom resources on race and ethnicity developed by Teaching Tolerance:
 - <https://www.tolerance.org/topics/race-ethnicity>
 - Resource library with lessons on teaching about race in the US from Facing History, Facing Ourselves:
 - <https://www.facinghistory.org/resource-library>
 - Critical Media Project lesson plan on race and ethnicity
 - http://criticalmediaproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Race-and-Ethnicity_LessonPlan.pdf

- Lesson plan from Australia on teaching the difference between culture, race, and ethnicity
 - <https://www.harmony.gov.au/get-involved/schools/lesson-plans/lesson-plan-culture-race-ethnicity/>
- PBS resources on teaching about race in the US
 - https://www.pbs.org/race/000_About/002_04-teachers.htm
- Broad overview on teaching race and ethnicity:
 - <http://www.nea.org/tools/30417.htm>
- Sitio con recursos en español sobre el racismo:
 - <http://www.educatolerancia.com/racismo-xenofobia-recursos-educativos/>
- Actividades para el aula enfocados en el racismo, de Argentina
 - <https://www.educ.ar/recursos/128186/la-escuela-contra-el-racismo-actividades-para-el-aula>
- **NATIONALISM**
 - Video with supplementary teaching resources on history of nationalism, with a focus on Greece's struggle for independence from the Ottoman Empire:
 - <https://dptv.pbslearningmedia.org/resource/740126ee-5355-404b-b7f5-e9ea01858936/the-rise-of-nationalism/>
 - Canadian lesson on nationalism, with discussion of experiences of Palestinian and Israeli youth:
 - https://www.nbta.ca/Early_Career_Teachers/templates/Emergency_Lesson_Plans/history3.pdf
 - *World History for us All* curriculum, *New Identities: Nationalism and Religion, 1850 - 1914 CE*, Unit plan
 - http://worldhistoryforall.ss.ucla.edu/units/seven/landscape/07_landscape6.php
 - Article on Concept Formation lessons, uses example of Nationalism
 - <http://worldhistoryconnected.press.uillinois.edu/11.2/harris.html>
 - NY Times lesson plan on nationalism and the rise of far-right parties in Europe:
 - <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/19/learning/lesson-plans/echoes-of-history-a-lesson-plan-about-the-recent-rise-of-europes-far-right-parties.html>

- PBS NewsHour teaching resources on white nationalism:
 - <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/extra/tag/white-nationalism/>
- Thoughtful blog post from a teacher about teaching nationalism:
 - <https://bigpictureeducation.wordpress.com/2016/10/06/should-i-teach-about-nationalism-the-way-i-teach-about-racism/>
- Sitio educativo sobre la historia mundial, página sobre la historia del nacionalismo
 - <http://www.krismar-educa.com.mx/cursos/upmoodle/HistoriaUniversal/Historia2/nacionalismo.php>

Connections to Content Learning Expectations/ Standards Learning Objectives

The lessons in this toolkit correspond to different sets of standards and content expectations, particularly with respect to the Common Core Anchor Standards for Reading and the College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards. They also correspond to the social studies standards for World History, Global Studies, etc. in many states. Some potential connections are listed below.

Common Core Anchor Standards for Reading

- CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.1
Read closely to determine what the text says explicitly and to make logical inferences from it; cite specific textual evidence when writing or speaking to support conclusions drawn from the text.
- CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.2
Determine central ideas or themes of a text and analyze their development; summarize the key supporting details and ideas.
- CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.7
Integrate and evaluate content presented in diverse media and formats, including visually and quantitatively, as well as in words.
- CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.9
Analyze how two or more texts address similar themes or topics in order to build knowledge or to compare the approaches the authors take.

The College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards

- D2.Civ.6.9-12.
Critique relationships among governments, civil societies, and economic markets.
- D2.Eco.15.9-12.
Explain how current globalization trends and policies affect economic growth, labor markets, rights of citizens, the environment, and resource and income distribution in different nations.
- D2.Geo.11.9-12.
Evaluate how economic globalization and the expanding use of scarce resources contribute to conflict and cooperation within and among countries.

Michigan's Grade Level Content Expectations for High School World History and Geography:

6.2 Interregional or Comparative Expectations Analyze and compare the interregional patterns of nationalism, state building, social and economic reform, and imperialism.

6.2.1 Comparing Political Revolutions and/or Independence Movements – compare and contrast the American Revolution, the French Revolution, and one other revolution or independence movement that occurred in a region external to Europe from the standpoint of political, economic, and social causes and consequences.

7.2 Interregional or Comparative Expectations Assess the interregional causes and consequences of the global wars, revolutions, and independence movements during this era.

7.2.1 World War I – explain the causes, characteristics, and long-term consequences of World War I, including the major decisions of the Versailles Treaty.

7.2.2 Interwar Period – analyze the transformations that shaped world societies between World War I and World War II, including the economic depression, and the spread of fascism, communism, and nationalism in different world regions.

Lesson 1

Nationalism in a globalizing world: *Understanding the concept in context*

Driving Question

What is nationalism and how is it expressed by political leaders?

Supporting Questions

- What are the critical attributes of nationalism?
- How has nationalism changed over time?
- Does nationalism “look” or “feel” the same way in different places?
- What are some of the different understandings of nationalism?



Enduring Understandings

- Nationalism is the valuing of a collective identity based on different national characteristics like history, language, race, and/or ethnicity. It is often expressed as loyalty to a particular idea of a nation or national identity and often excludes certain groups.
- Nationalism is a relatively modern historical force tied to the development of modern nation-states, and it has played a harmful role in the world at times when used to create divisions between the peoples of different nations, or between different groups in a nation.

Overview

In this concept development lesson, students will build conceptual understanding of nationalism by first examining documents from different national contexts that express nationalism in order to identify key, shared characteristics that can be considered “ingredients” of nationalism. Then they will examine an additional set of documents that contain both examples and non-examples of nationalism, identify which examples fit into which categories, and evaluate their criteria/characteristics list for nationalism. Then they will discuss and evaluate the challenges presented in the modern world by nationalism. This lesson can be used at different points in US or World History, or in civics/government, to teach the concept of nationalism.

Learning Objectives

- Students will be able to summarize and explain different conceptualizations and examples of nationalism, and identify some key characteristics of nationalism.
- Students will be able to generate essential features of nationalism and use them to analyze and differentiate between examples and non-examples of nationalism.

Key Concepts

- Nationalism
- Globalism
- Sovereignty
- Identity

Teacher Preparation and Instructional Resources

- This lesson requires the use of document packets that will need to be printed out in advance.
- This lesson also requires cooperative work in groups of 3 to 4 students, so it is best to have an idea of how to form groups before starting the lesson. Groups with mixed-ability levels are a good idea in this type of activity with text-based activities.

Lesson Handouts/Materials

- Nationalism Text Set 1
- Nationalism Text Set 2
- Frayer Model (Optional)

Assessment / Final Product

- Students can demonstrate understanding at multiple points during the lesson, and teachers should use open-ended questions during discussions as formative assessment.
- Students can be graded on their participation in the group activities.
- Independent learning can be assessed through their final activity, the Exit Pass, or through the optional Frayer Model of nationalism.

Lesson Sequence

Adapted from:

<https://worldhistoryconnected.press.uillinois.edu/11.2/harris.html>

by Lauren McArthur Harris and Tamara L. Shreiner

Opening

1. Ask students to Stop and Jot in response to the following questions: What is a nation? What is nationalism? Give students a couple of minutes to jot down ideas, and then have them Turn and Talk to share what they wrote. Ask several students to share some ideas, but don't provide any of your own explanations or definitions.
2. Explain to the students that nationalism is an ideology, or system of ideas and beliefs, that developed in its modern form during the 1700s and 1800s as new nations formed through what are called the Atlantic Revolutions.
3. Tell the students that nationalism is a very important concept in modern world history, and is still very much in existence today, so they are going to learn about it by studying examples and figuring out what they have in common, and also by looking at non-examples to figure out why they are different from nationalism.

Guided Inquiry

4. Divide students into cooperative groups of 3 to 4 students and pass out *Nationalism Text Set 1* (one packet per group is fine). Direct the students to work in their groups to read each of the examples in this text set in order to summarize each of them and connect them as best they can to their current understanding of nationalism using the text box after each example. Once they have examined each example, ask them to work as a group to identify what they have in common. In particular, ask students to think about how each text expresses ideas around identity and nationality.

They should then use the similarities they have identified to generate a list of critical attributes (or important characteristics) of nationalism that they think are in each example. Summaries and lists of shared attributes should be recorded on the chart at the end of the text set handout. If students need help figuring out what the term "critical attributes" means, provide them with some examples. For example, what are the critical attributes of a civil war that make it different from another type of war? Two critical attributes of civil war might include the following: violent conflict; opposing forces that are citizens/residents of the same country. Absent these critical attributes, a conflict is something other than a civil war. So the students are looking for the necessary ingredients, one could say, needed to classify something as an example of nationalism. Provide other

examples as needed (e.g. critical attributes of a mammal: has hair or fur; able to produce own milk; has three middle ear bones)

5. As they work, probe their thinking with open-ended questions and use additional questions to push their thinking and direct them back into the examples as needed. When they have completed their list, have them work in their groups and use the list of attributes to quickly review each example to make sure that each example in the text set has all of the critical attributes.
6. Then bring the whole class back together and have groups take turns sharing their critical attribute lists. Keep track of the attributes by recording them on the board, and have students help process them and look for patterns, repetition, etc. and have them help to create a composite class list based on their ideas.
7. Once the students share their lists and create a class list on the board, share the following attributes which have emerged from academic definitions of nationalism (ideally by projecting them or otherwise displaying them):
 - a. Valuing a collective identity based on history, language, race, and/or ethnicity
 - b. Believing that a certain group of people is bonded to one another because of a shared identity
 - c. Placing loyalty to a defined nation above loyalty to other groups or individual interests
 - d. Making political claims on behalf of a defined nation

If helpful, you can also share the following:

Definitions of Nationalism:

- *advocacy of or support for the political independence of a particular nation or people.*
- *identification with one's own nation and support for its interests, especially to the exclusion or detriment of the interests of other nations.*
- *loyalty and devotion to a nation; especially a sense of national consciousness exalting one nation above all others and placing primary emphasis on promotion of its culture and interests as opposed to those of other nations.*
- *The idea of nationalism dates back to the 17th century and rose into prominence during the uprisings in the 18th century that produced the American and French revolutions. But the word attained more of a negative connotation during the*

20th century as it became associated with the nationalist movements in Europe that helped lead to World War I and World War II.

- *Today the word is often associated with the far-right, racist ideologies of white nationalists.*

8. Ask students if they agree or disagree with the above list (the attributes should be similar to students' attributes). Try to come to a consensus on the critical attributes of nationalism based on the definitions and student work, revising the student list as needed. Post final, agreed-upon attributes where they will be visible throughout instruction, including in later units (this may be the list already created, or an edited version).

Collaborative Inquiry and Sharing

9. Distribute *Nationalism Text Set 2* (again, one packet per group should be enough). Explain to students that this set of documents includes a mixture of example and non-examples of nationalism. In other words, some of the texts reflect nationalism, and some of them reflect different ideologies. Explain to the students that they will use their most up to date list of critical attributes to “test” each example. If an example has the attributes, they can conclude it is an example of nationalism. If does not have these characteristics, it is a non-example of nationalism and an example of something else.

Students must decide how to characterize each text (example or non-example) and be prepared to explain their thinking. They should use the chart at the end of the text set to record their decisions and provide some explanation. Give students time to work in groups before discussing the examples as a class. Also have students discuss the non-examples and identify a term that captures what these examples actually do exemplify (e.g. globalism, international solidarity, etc.).

10. When the groups are ready, take turns going around the room and asking the different groups to share their thinking about one particular text (moving through the different texts in this process). With each example, ask students in other groups if they want to **support**, **extend**, or **challenge** the thinking that was shared. Then discuss with students why each event is or is not an example of nationalism.

Reflection and Conclusion

11. Conclude the discussion by asking students if they know of any other historical or current examples of nationalism. This might be a good time to bring in current events, video clips, etc. that discuss the growing national conversation around white nationalism, or to connect directly to other content you are going to each that relates to nationalism (e.g. World War I).

12. For homework, or in class if you have technology access, have students find an article, cartoon, video, etc. in current media that is either about nationalism or expresses nationalism. Have them compare the framing of nationalism in that text to see if lines up with their list of criteria.
13. Conclude the lesson by having each group discuss, and prepare to share, their own thinking about the dangers or risks of nationalism, and the possible benefits. Encourage them to think about the different ways to understand and define nationalism in this process. Ask them to consider, for example, what is different about Kurdish nationalism and White nationalism in the US (issues of power, for example, come into play in different ways). An additional extension activity might be to have students compare definitions of patriotism and nationalism and to discuss the qualitative differences between how these belief systems are often expressed.

Assessment

Students can turn in their analysis charts for the different examples and non-examples. You can also turn the homework suggestions above into an extension assessment by having students explore the example they find at a deeper level and produce an analytical essay in which they write about how the example meets the critical attributes of nationalism. You might also use the optional handout with the Frayer Model at the end of the lesson to evaluate students' understanding of the concept of nationalism. To use this as an assessment, distribute it to students at the end of the lesson and have them fill it out to express their understanding of the concept.

Handouts:

Nationalism Text Set 1, Examples

1)



What is the main idea?

How is this an example of nationalism?

2)



What is the main idea?

How is this an example of nationalism?

3) India... 2014 Independence Day Speech, Prime Minister Narendra Modi

Brothers and sisters, can someone please tell me as to whether he or she has ever introspected in the evening after a full day's work as to whether his or her acts have helped the poor of the country or not, whether his or her actions have resulted in safeguarding the interest of the country or not, whether the actions have been directed in the country's welfare or not?

Whether it should not be the motto of one and a quarter billion countrymen that every step in life should be in the country's interests? Unfortunately, we have an environment today wherein if you approach anyone with some work, he begins by saying "what does it mean for me?" He begins by saying "what does it involve for me?" and when he come to know that it does not entail any benefit for him, immediately he says "why should I bother?" We have to rise above the feelings of "what does it mean for me?" and "why should I bother?"

Everything is not for self-interest only. There are certain things which are meant for the country and we have to refine this national character. We have to rise above the feelings of "why should I bother?" and "what does it mean for me?" and instead we have to think that "I am for nation's interest and in this field, I am going to lead". We have to inculcate this sentiment.

<https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/narendra-modi-independence-day-speech-full-text-red-fort-204216-2014-08-15>

What is the main idea?

How is this an example of nationalism?

4. United States... 2018 Speech to the United Nations by Donald Trump

Each of us here today is the emissary of a distinct culture, a rich history, and a people bound together by ties of memory, tradition, and the values that make our homelands like nowhere else on Earth.

That is why America will always choose independence and cooperation over global governance, control, and domination.

I honor the right of every nation in this room to pursue its own customs, beliefs, and traditions. The United States will not tell you how to live or work or worship. We only ask that you honor our sovereignty in return....

For similar reasons, the United States will provide no support in recognition to the International Criminal Court. As far as America is concerned, the ICC has no jurisdiction, no legitimacy, and no authority. The ICC claims near-universal jurisdiction over the citizens of every country, violating all principles of justice, fairness, and due process. **We will never surrender America's sovereignty to an unelected, unaccountable, global bureaucracy.**

America is governed by Americans. We reject the ideology of globalism, and we embrace the doctrine of patriotism.

Around the world, responsible nations must defend against threats to sovereignty not just from global governance, but also from other, new forms of coercion and domination.

<https://www.politico.com/story/2018/09/25/trump-un-speech-2018-full-text-transcript-840043>

What is the main idea?

How is this an example of nationalism?

5. The Kurds are on the verge of getting a homeland of their own. If they do, the Middle East will never be the same.

BY [CHRISTIAN CARYL](#) JANUARY 21, 2015, 5:26 PM

ERBIL, Iraq — As you walk around the streets of a city of 500,000, you could be forgiven for thinking you're in the capital of a small but up-and-coming Eastern country. **Police officers and soldiers wear the national flag on their uniforms — the same flag that flies proudly on public buildings, and, in a version, from a towering pole in the center of town. There's a national anthem, which you might hear on the national evening TV news, broadcast solely in the local language. You'll also notice imposing buildings for parliament and the prime minister, as well as the [diplomatic missions](#) of a number of foreign states, some of them offering visas.**



this city
you're
Middle
East
sport
flag
giant

Yet appearances deceive: This is not an independent state. You're in Iraq — more precisely, the part of northern Iraq known officially as the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG). You'll be reminded of this fact when you open your wallet to pay for something: the local currency is still the Iraqi dinar (though the U.S. dollar circulates widely). Nor do any of the foreign governments that maintain consulates in Erbil recognize Kurdish statehood...

Emphasis on "for the time being." In July of last year, KRG President Massoud Barzani asked his parliament to start preparing for a **referendum on independence**.

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2015/01/21/the-worlds-next-country-kurdistan-kurds-iraq/>

What is the main idea?

How is this an example of nationalism?

Text title / source	Main ideas	How it reflects nationalism (in a bullet point list)
1)		
2)		
3)		
4)		
5)		
Shared attributes (characteristics of nationalism each example has)		

Nationalism Text Set 2: Examples and Non-examples

A) **Statement by H.E. Mr. Motohide Yoshikawa Permanent Representative of Japan to the United Nations At the Signing Ceremony of the Paris Agreement 22 April 2016**

Mr. President, Japan is on the side of the people and countries most affected by climate change. Together with other countries capable of doing so, Japan will continue to actively engage in providing assistance to developing countries. This includes the implementation of our pledge made by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe at COP 21 to contribute 1.3 trillion yen in climate finance by the year 2020. Now, looking toward the year 2050, Japan will continue to reinforce measures in the areas of its strengths. Such measures include promotion of innovation as a key to keeping balance between climate change response and economic growth based on "the National Energy and Environmental Strategy for Technical Innovation". They also include contributions to global emissions reduction through the Joint Crediting Mechanism, a scheme to transfer superior low carbon technologies to developing countries. Moreover, Japan will engage in its own emissions reduction by carrying out its Global Warming Response Plan, soon to be adopted by the Cabinet. This plan incorporates policies and measures to attain ambitious goals of emissions reduction and the direction of long-term measures. In closing, I wish to express Japan's determination to join the other countries represented here to lead the effort to address climate change toward the realization of sustainable development through effective implementation of the Paris Agreement.

What is the main idea?

Is this an example of nationalism? Why or why not?

B) State of the Union 2018. Annual State of the EU address by President Juncker at the European Parliament.

The geopolitical situation makes this Europe's hour: the time for European sovereignty has come. It is time Europe took its destiny into its own hands. It is time Europe developed what I coined "Weltpolitikfähigkeit" – the capacity to play a role, as a Union, in shaping global affairs. Europe has to become a more sovereign actor in international relations. European sovereignty is born of Member States' national sovereignty and does not replace it. Sharing sovereignty – when and where needed – makes each of our nation states stronger. It is our Galileo programme that is today keeping Europe in the space race. No single Member State could have put 26 satellites in orbit, for the benefit of 400 million users worldwide. 6 This belief that "united we stand taller" is the very essence of what it means to be part of the European Union. European sovereignty can never be to the detriment of others. Europe is a continent of openness and tolerance. It will remain so. Europe will never be a fortress, turning its back on the world or those suffering within it. Europe is not an island. It must and will champion multilateralism. The world we live in belongs to all and not a select few. This is what is at stake when Europeans take to the polls in May next year. We will use the 250 days before the European elections to prove to citizens that, acting as one, this Union is capable of delivering on expectations and on what we promised to achieve at the start of this mandate. By the elections, we must show that Europe can overcome differences between North and South, East and West, left and right. Europe is too small to let itself be divided in halves or quarters.

https://ec.europa.eu/commission/priorities/state-union-speeches/state-union-2018_en#read

What is the main idea?

Is this an example of nationalism? Why or why not?

C. Brazil, 2019 Victory speech by President Jair Bolsonaro

I've never been alone. I have always felt the presence of God and the strength of the Brazilian people. Prayers from men, women, children, entire families who, faced with the threat of following a path that is not what Brazilians want and deserve, place Brazil, our beloved Brazil, above all else. I make you my witnesses that this government will be a defender of the Constitution, democracy and freedom. That's a promise not from a party. It is not the empty word of a man. It's an oath to God. The truth will set this great country free, and freedom will turn us into a great nation. The truth was the beacon that guided us here and that will continue to light our way. What happened today at the polls was not the victory of a party, but the celebration of a country for freedom.

*The commitment we made with the Brazilians was to make a decent government, committed exclusively to the country and our people – and I guarantee that it will be so. **Our government will be formed by people who have the same purpose of each one who hears me at this moment: the purpose of transforming our Brazil into a great, free and prosperous nation.** You can be sure that we will work day and night for this. Freedom is a fundamental principle: freedom to come and go, to walk the streets, everywhere in this country, freedom to do business, political and religious freedom, freedom to inform and have an opinion. Freedom to make choices and be respected by them. **This is a country of us all, native or not.***

<https://blogs.transparent.com/portuguese/jair-bolsonaros-victory-speech/>

What is the main idea?

Is this an example of nationalism? Why or why not?

D. Cuba, 1979 Speech by Cuban President Fidel Castro to the 34th UN General Assembly

Esteemed chairman, distinguished representatives of the world community: I have not come to talk about Cuba. I have not come to explain at this Assembly the charge of acts of aggression of which our small but worthy country has been the victim for over 20 years. Neither do I come to use unnecessary adjectives to a powerful neighbor in his own home.

We bring the mandate of the sixth conference of heads of state or governments of the non aligned countries movement to present to the United Nations the results of their deliberations and positions derived from them.

We are 95 countries from all the continents representing the vast majority of humanity. We are united by determination to defend cooperation among our countries, free national and social development, sovereignty, security, equality and self-determination. We are associated in the endeavor to change the current system of international relations based on injustice, inequality and oppression. We act on international policy as a global independent factor.

Gathered in Havana, the movement has just reaffirmed its principles and confirmed its objectives. The non aligned countries insist that it is necessary to eliminate the abysmal inequality that separates developed and developing countries. We therefore struggle to eliminate the poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy that hundreds of millions of human beings are still experiencing.

We want a new world order based on justice, equality and peace to replace the unfair and unequal system that prevails today under which, according to the proclamation in the Havana declaration, wealth continues to be concentrated in the hands of a few powers whose economies, based on waste, are maintained thanks to the exploitation of workers and to the transfer and plundering of natural and other resources of countries in Africa, Latin American and other regions of the world.

What is the main idea?

Is this an example of nationalism? Why or why not?

E. Pat Buchanan 1996, Speech to announce presidential campaign

1996 Announcement Speech

When I am elected president of the United States, there will be no more NAFTA sellouts of American workers. There will be no more GATT deals done for the benefit of Wall Street bankers. And there will be no more \$50 billion bailouts of Third World socialists, whether in Moscow or Mexico City.

In a Buchanan White House, foreign lobbyists and corporate contributors will not sit at the head of the table. I will.

We're going to bring the jobs home and we're going to keep America's jobs here, and when I walk into the Oval Office, we start looking out for America first.

So, to those factory workers in the North Country and to the small businessmen and businesswomen, I say to you: This campaign is about you. We are on your side.

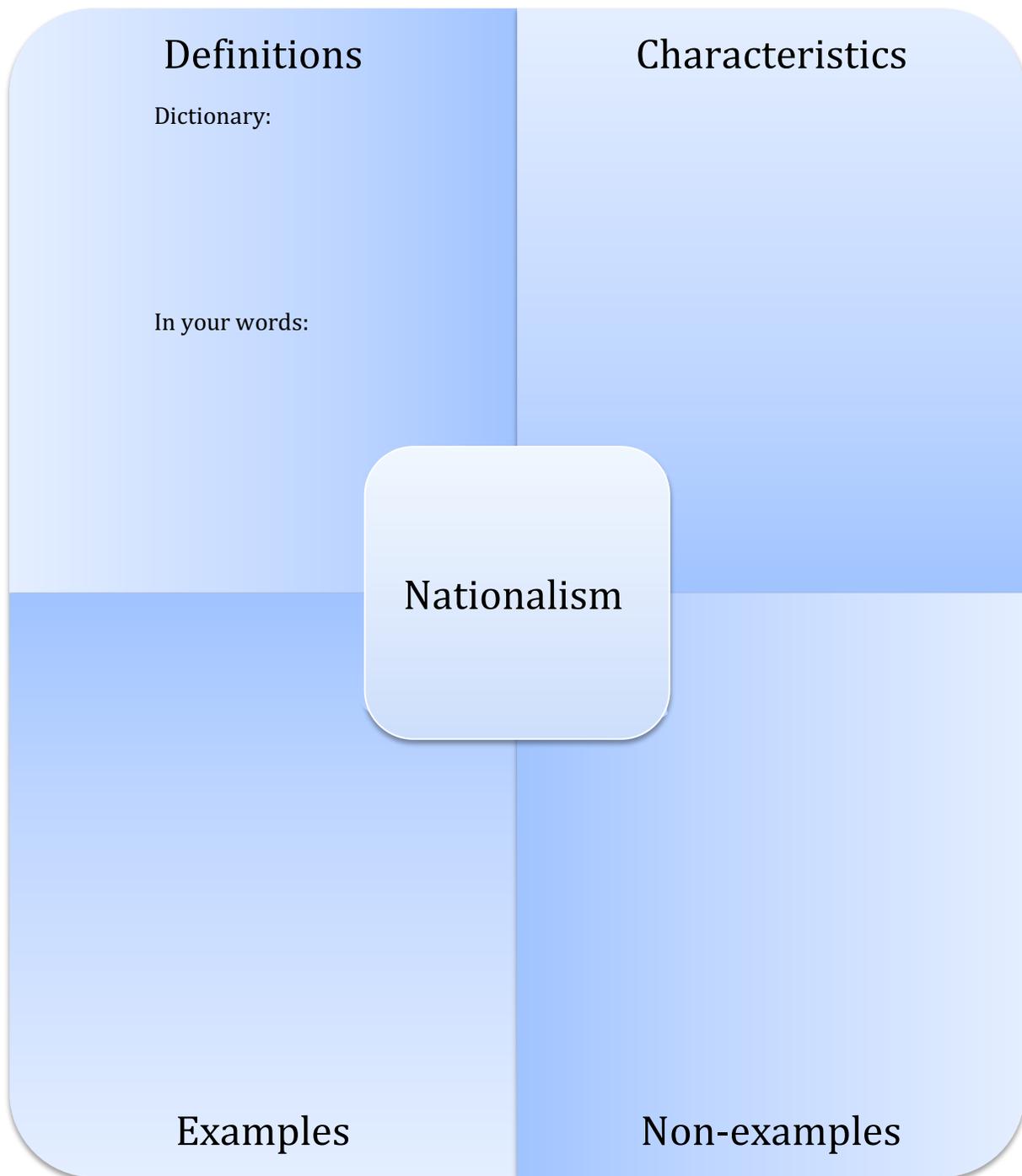
Whatever happened to the idea of Americans as one nation, one people? Whatever happened to the good, old idea that all Americans, of all races, colors and creeds, were men and women to whom we owed loyalty, allegiance and love? What happened to the idea that America was a family going forward together?

What is the main idea?

Is this an example of nationalism? Why or why not?

Text	Example or non-example of nationalism?	Explanation. If it is an example, connect the example to the critical attributes for nationalism.
A		
B		
C		
D		
E		
<p>What term would you use to describe the examples that are NOT nationalism? What are they examples of?</p>		

Framer Model: To show your understanding of nationalism as a concept, provide two definitions, at least 3 key characteristics, 3 examples, and 3 non-examples.



Lesson 2

Pan-Africanism and the Abyssinian Crisis: Exploring solidarity through historical print media

Driving Question

What is solidarity? What identities can motivate acts of solidarity?

Supporting Questions

Case study: What was the Abyssinian Crisis, and how did African- Americans understand the Abyssinian crisis and what made them identify with the Abyssinian struggle? How some people become involved and what were some of the reasons for and against doing so?



Enduring Understandings

Identities are complex and shape the way we view ourselves in relation to different people and events beyond our national borders. Historically, many movements have been built around this phenomenon. The Pan-African movement is one of the largest and most enduring of these movements. African-Americans played a significant role in articulating and mobilizing solidarity among Black people around the world, including during the Abyssinian Crisis, and print media was one of their tools.

Overview

In this lesson, students will engage with primary sources to understand a historical event that helped birth the global Pan-African movement. They will conduct close readings of African-American newspaper articles to define and analyze the concept of solidarity. Lastly, they will have the opportunity to apply their knowledge to contemporary global movements. This lesson can be used in either US or world history courses when looking at events in the 1930's leading up to WWII, although it might require minor adaptations depending upon the content and conceptual focus of the unit into which it is being placed. Or, it can be used in a broader thematic unit with the other lessons in this toolkit to explore issues of race, identity, and nationalism.

Learning Objectives

- Students will be able to summarize and communicate key information related to the Italian invasion of Ethiopia and its world historical significance.
- Students will be able to closely read primary sources to analyze the perspectives of authors and subjects with respect to the Abyssinian crisis, and to categorize them as examples or non-examples of solidarity.
- Students will be able to write a reflection in which they take a position on whether or not they would actively resist injustice in other nations.

Key Concepts

- Pan-Africanism
- Race
- Identity
- Solidarity

Teacher Preparation and Instructional Resources

- This lesson requires copies of primary source document packets for student groups.
- A blackboard, whiteboard, or large poster paper to write and organize students' responses during discussion of the material.

Lesson Handouts / Materials

- Handout 1: Images from the Abyssinian Crisis
- Handout 2: Italian Soldiers Start Sailing for Ethiopia
- Handout 3: Helping Abyssinia
- Handout 4: Defender Scribe Greets Robinson
- Handout 5: The Baltimore Afro-American, March 9, 1935: "Watching the Big Parade"
- Handout 6: Historical Background and Context

Assessment / Final Product

- Student choice 1: Imagining they were living in 1935, students will write an op-ed similar to the one they just read in class. Given their understanding of their identity (defined racially, nationally, linguistically, or any combination of these or other considerations), how might they have felt in response to the Italian invasion of Abyssinia? Would they get involved? Why, or why not? If yes, how and to what extent? In writing the op-ed, they may use humor, as did the author of our primary source, or take on another voice or style that they feel comfortable with.
- Student choice 2: Thinking of a contemporary foreign event that they have heard of in the news, students will write an op-ed similar to the one they just read in class. Given their understanding of their identity (defined racially, nationally, linguistically, or any combination of these or other considerations), how do they feel in response to this event? Will they get involved in supporting or denouncing the event or issue? Why or why not? If yes, how and to what extent? Students will make their case with the intent of convincing readers of their view.

Lesson Sequence:

Opening

- 1) To begin this lesson, pass out copies of *Handout 1 : Images of the Abyssinian Crisis* (1 copy per pair of students), or project the images if you prefer. Tell students that the images are from an event called the Abyssinian Crisis, and have them use a See - Think - Wonder protocol with a partner to discuss them. They should first describe out loud what they **see** in each image, then talk about what it makes them **think** about what the Abyssinian Crisis might have been, and then they should generate some questions, or things they **wonder**. Then take turns and have different teams of students share their thoughts and questions. Explain to the students that they are going to learn about the Abyssinian Crisis and talk about how African-Americans in the United States reacted to this event taking place in a different continent.
- 2) Next, pass out *Handout 2: Italian Soldiers Start Sailing for Ethiopia*. and ask students to read this article just as they would a contemporary newspaper article. Have them consider the following questions (project these or write on your board): What is the global issue being reported here? What events have transpired in the days and months prior to the print date? Who are the main actors? Ask the students to mark-up this primary source to highlight the answers to these questions as well as to jot down any additional questions that the article provokes for them.

Guided Inquiry

- 3) After students have done the individual work above, have students work in small groups of 3 to 4 to discuss the following questions: (1) What do we know about this event now?; and (2) What do we still need to know? After they have had time to discuss (5 minutes or so) have different groups share their ideas and summarize their responses on the board. Use this information to give the class a short explanation of the context and global impact of the “Abyssinian Crisis,” highlighting key vocabulary. Use the handout on background and context to guide your mini-lecture (Handout 6). Alternatively, you can have students read a basic article (<https://www.britannica.com/event/Italo-Ethiopian-War-1935-1936>, or <https://www.tutor2u.net/history/reference/build-up-to-the-abyssinian-crisis-1935>) and take notes on *Who, What, Where, Why, When* to help them understand the basic background of the crisis. Have students share their event summaries and review them as a class to make sure they understand the larger event.

Collaborative Inquiry and Sharing

- 3) Having established this historical context, and keeping students in their small groups, distribute Handouts 3, 4, and 5. Each group should get one copy of each article. Explain that each handout is about the response of African-Americans in the United States to the Abyssinian crisis. Tell the students they are going to think in particular about the idea of solidarity. Provide the following definition (or just pull one up on your screen):

Solidarity = unity or agreement of feeling or action, especially among individuals with a common interest; mutual support within a group.

Explain to the students that many African-Americans expressed solidarity for the people of Abyssinia, or Ethiopia, during its war with Italy. They are going to read 3 articles to analyze different responses to determine which ones are examples of solidarity and which ones are not. They are also going to think about the motivations behind different responses to the crisis.

For each of the three documents, they should answer the following questions as a group, with one set of written answers per group (you can project these questions, write them on your board, or design a handout):

- What is the article or editorial about?
- What does the author of the article, or the subject of the article (who the article is about), think about the crisis in Abyssinia, and what response do they recommend (or what response have they already taken)?
- Does the article describe acts or feelings of solidarity, or something else? How do you know?

- In the examples of solidarity, what motivated people to support others in a nation very far away? What identities other than national identity were at work?
- Have them take turns reading the articles, or read them out loud to each other if they prefer.

Ask them to next discuss in their groups what they would each do as individuals... would they leave the United States to help defend Abyssinia from Italy? Why or why not? Have groups share their thinking and engage the class in a discussion in which they are prompted to support, extend, or politely challenge the ideas of their classmates.

Finally, introduce students to the following definition of Pan-Africanism:

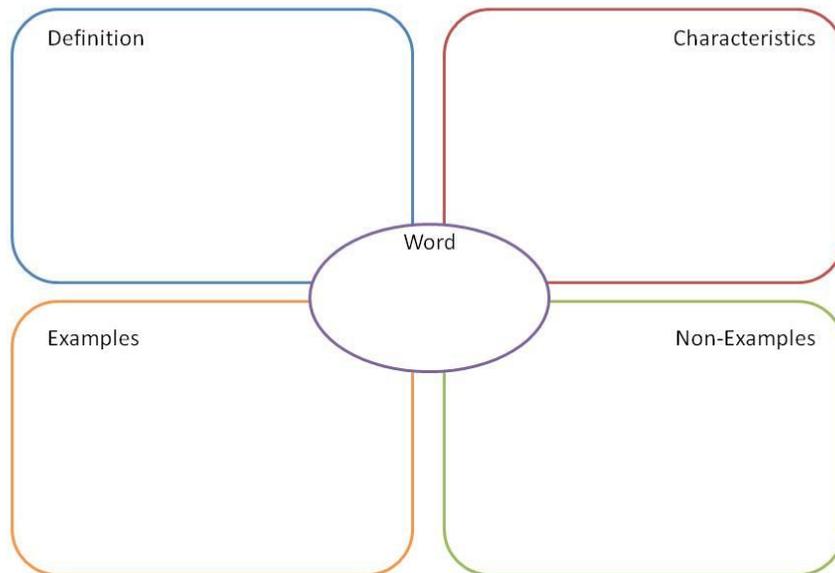
*In a historical context, **Pan-Africanism** served as both a cultural and political ideology for the solidarity of peoples of African descent. Most notably championed and pioneered by Marcus Garvey, Jomo Kenyatta, and Kwame Nkrumah, **Pan-Africanism** aims to connect and understand the universal injustices within the Diaspora (people around the world of African descent).*

Ask the students to discuss how African-America solidarity with Abyssinia is an example of Pan-Africanism.

Reflection and Conclusion

- 4) Ask groups to report back on the answers they discussed. Use these answers to have a broader class discussion on identity and the motivating factors for extending solidarity during a global crisis. A Frayer model (see example below) can be used to graphically organize ideas and develop this concept of solidarity to further deepen students' understanding of the concept.

Fruyer Model



Assessment

Students will have the choice of two writing activities (see below). Instructors may want to offer a pre-writing exercise to assist students in constructing their article, depending on the skills and needs of their students.

Student choice 1: Imagining they were living in 1935, students will write an op-ed similar to the one they just read in class. Given their understanding of their identity (defined racially, nationally, linguistically, or any combination of these or other considerations), how might they have felt in response to the Italian invasion of Abyssinia? Would they get involved? Why, or why not? If yes, how and to what extent? In writing the op-ed, they may use humor, as did the author of our primary source, or take on another voice or style that they feel comfortable with.

Student choice 2: Thinking of a contemporary foreign event that they have heard of in the news, students will write an op-ed similar to the one they just read in class. This event or issue should be discussed with the teacher before they proceed to write about it. Given their understanding of their identity (defined racially, nationally, linguistically, or any combination of these or other considerations), how do they feel in response to this event? Will they get involved in supporting or denouncing the event or issue? Why or why not? If yes, how and to what extent? Students will make their case with the intent of convincing readers of their view.

Suggested scoring rubric¹:

	Skilled	Proficient	Developing	Inadequate
Proposition & Support	Text introduces compelling claim that is arguable and takes stand on issue; text contains at least 2 reasons for or against solidarity with the stated cause, drawn from class discussion	Text introduces claim that is arguable and takes a position; text contains at least 1 reason for or against solidarity with the stated cause	Text contains unclear or vague position; does not contain any reasoning drawn from class discussion	Position is unidentifiable and no clear argument(s)
Issue & Background	Contains an abundant amount of background information about the issue or cause (who, what, when, where, why, how)	Contains some background information about the issue	Contains very little information about the background information	Contains confusing and irrelevant background information, or none at all
Rhetorical Devices	Contains many vivid instances of rhetorical devices, logical/emotional language, and action words	Contains some attempts at rhetorical devices, logical/emotional language, and action words	Attempts (some awkward) rhetoric and logical/emotional language that often falls short or doesn't propel the piece forward	Very little evidence of rhetorical devices, logical/emotional language, and action words
Organization	Order of op-ed makes sense; mostly uses transitions effectively	Order moves with some confusion; may have some paragraph issues	Op-ed is not well organized; paragraphs poorly structured	Op-ed lacks organization; random order to paragraphs
Convention	Uses all correct grammar and spelling throughout. Sentence variety and word choices are good	Uses mostly correct grammar and spelling. Some attempt at variety in word choice/sentence variety	Several grammar and spelling mistakes. Word choices are simple; sentences lack variety	Many grammar and spelling mistakes. Word choices are weak and sentence variety is nonexistent.

¹ Adapted from <http://www.sjsu.edu/people/nicole.hughes/courses/engl1aspring13/s1/OpEd-rubric.pdf> and

www.stjoe.k12.in.us/ourpages/auto/2014/4/14/42344417/Op-ed%20rubric.docx

Handout 1: Images from the Abyssinian Crisis



***What do you see? What do you think? What do you wonder?
What predictions can you make about the Abyssinian Crisis?***

Handout 2

Italian Soldiers Start Sailing for Ethiopia: Emperor Haile Selassie ...

The Chicago Defender (National edition) (1921-1967); Feb 23, 1935;

ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Defender

pg. 1

Italian Soldiers Start Sailing for Ethiopia

Emperor Haile Selassie Gets Ready To Repel Mussolini's Invasion

ROME, Italy, Feb. 22.—With the sailing of another contingent of Italian troops for the Italian Somaliland and Eritrea, bordering Ethiopia, the war clouds that gathered last week when Emperor Haile Selassie answered Italy's ultimatum, appear to have grown more menacing.

Protesting his desire for peace in Africa, and denying that he has war intentions against Ethiopia, Mussolini continues to load his soldiers on ships and bid them God speed to Africa. In an address before the Fascist council, Saturday, Mussolini declared that his troops are trained and equipped for "any emergency." He then proceeded to address the soldiers, telling them that they were going on a glorious "adventure" for their country, and that they are not to return until they have accomplished their purpose.

Headed for War

Thus, to the casual observer, it appears that Italy is moving rapidly into war with Ethiopia while protesting that such is not her intention. This opinion was strengthened this week when Italy refused Ethiopia's request for a commission to study the boundary and that a neutral zone be established until that is done. It is also openly stated here by newspaper observers that Mussolini is now adopting the belligerent attitude displayed by Italy in an effort to keep up the front

Continued on Page 2, Col. 3

Italian Soldiers Set Sail For Ethiopia

Continued from Page 1

he showed when he issued his first ultimatum to the African emperor.

It was confidently expected at that time that Ethiopia would accept the conditions imposed by Italy, and bow down before the Fascist braggadocio as other countries have done recently. But when Emperor Haile Selassie answered calmly that he was not looking for a fight, but that he would just as soon chase Italy out of his front door as to continue wrangling with her, he surprised Mussolini and all his followers. Not only that, but he showed the world that Ethiopia still knows how to handle her problems even when the League proves woefully inadequate.

Rome was shocked this week by another note from Ethiopia which declared that Emperor Haile Selassie is not at all pleased with the boisterous soldiers Italy is pouring along the disputed boundary line. According to the note, Ethiopia is aware of the fact that this is another gesture calculated to precipitate another clash which will be a good excuse for open hostilities. Ethiopia, said the Emperor, will watch this development, and act accordingly.

Handout 3

HELPING ABYSSINIA

Robinson, David

The Chicago Defender (National edition) (1921-1967); Apr 6, 1934

ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Defender

pg. 14

HELPING ABYSSINIA

Editor Chicago Defender: News about the dispute between Ethiopia and Italy as published in your newspaper and also the white papers should bring to our hearts a feeling of sympathy for the last monarchy of our race.

The situation with which Ethiopia is faced in its struggle to defend itself against an attack from the armies of Italy can be first judged by futile efforts of brave Morocco under Ab-del-Krimo against the airplanes and tanks of France and Spain a few years ago. Although both Italy and Ethiopia are members of the League of Nations that body has closed its eyes to the threatened invasion of Ethiopia.

Men of our race who are more acquainted with the international sea are faced with a responsibility which stares us in our faces this very hour, not that we are responsible for the dispute between Ethiopia and Italy but we are responsible for the future of our boys and girls who will grow up to find out that they have no chance of existing in a purely dominant white world.

I appeal to Mr. Abbott as editor of the "World's Greatest Weekly" to find out how we can help Ethiopia. It may be possible for us through our various organizations to send an appeal or a protest to the League of Nations to show that our race is not yet dead.—David Robinson, Chicago, Ill.

Handout 4

Defender Scribe Greet's Robinson: WAR ACE IS WELCOMED BY HARLEMITES

Kellum, David W

The Chicago Defender (National edition) (1921-1967); May 23, 1936;

ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Defender

pg. 1

Robinson Comes To City On May 24; Welcome Ceremonies Planned

DEFENDER SCORES

— BULLETIN —

The exclusive pictures in this edition of *The Chicago Defender* were taken aboard the Steamship Europa Monday as Col. John Robinson arrived from Ethiopia. They were flown to Chicago by airplane and here they are. Another feat in Race journalism by your *World's Greatest Weekly*.

By **DAVID W. KELLUM**

NEW YORK CITY, May 22—(By Telephone)—Colonel John Robinson, the "Brown Condor" of Ethiopia, the 31-year-old Chicago aviator who headed Emperor Haile Selassie's Royal air force, arrived here at 7:30 o'clock Monday night on the North German Lloyd liner, Europa.

Shot and Gassed

All smiles and seemingly the picture of health, although he has been gassed and shot twice, Colonel Robinson told your correspondent that he was glad to be back on American shores. He was sorry, however, that the war ended as it did.

"I am glad to be back," he said.

After a short stay in Chicago, Colonel Robinson, who went to Ethiopia and literally covered himself with glory, trying to preserve the independence of the last African empire, will go to Tuskegee Institute, his alma mater and begin preparations for the new course of study in aviation which he will teach during the fall and winter school term.



Handout 5

Watching the Big Parade: NON-COMBATANT DIS
Matthews, Ralph
Afro-American (1893-1988); Mar 9, 1935; ProQuest Historical New
sp. 4

Watching the Big Parade

By RALPH MATTHEWS

NON-COMBATANT DISCUSSES THE ABYSSINIAN CRISIS

The war between Abyssinia and Italy, if it does come, will have to be fought without me.

This decision will no doubt have little effect either one way or the other so far as defeat or victory is concerned.

This is merely to notify all and sundry that, personally, I prefer to remain a professional non-combatant.

The mere similarity in color is not sufficient incentive for me to rush half-way across the world to join up with the warring hosts of the King of Judah and have myself blown to smithereens just to indulge my pugnacious spirit on the altar of pigmentation.

The sons of Ethiopia are, perhaps, our brothers under the skin, but I prefer to remain in a state of strict neutrality to being skinned for the sake of dear old alma mater.

While I have profound respect for the scriptures my faith is not so strong that I want to be on the scene when Ethiopia stretches her hands forth. There is too much likelihood that Ethiopia might get her fingers shot off, and draw back a nub.

. . .

NOT GREEDY FOR WAR

When it comes to warfare, I am not greedy at all. I have no compunction at all about joining a band of American-born Abyssinians and waylaying an ordinary every-day Italian in an alley and whipping the garlic out of him, but to face all the hordes of Mussolini armed to the teeth is more than I care to bargain for.

But don't think for a moment that I have not sufficient cause to be sore with Italy. For years I have eaten in restaurants operated by former natives and some of the things they have given me in the sacred name of hash, have been sufficient to create an international crisis.

The Greeks have been guilty of this same gastronomic crime, but I have so much trouble differentiating between the two that I will just charge it all up to Italy and save a lot of complications.

The Italians will also have to account for a lot of the bootleg gin and other concoctions which I was forced to devour during the era of temperance, should I ever take up arms.

Try as I will I cannot get overly enthused on behalf of the conquering Lion, Haile Selassie, because I have seen little evidences that either he or any of his subjects believe us to be their kinsmen.

It would be very comforting if they did. In that case, the emperor might pen a sharp note to Uncle Sam after every lynching, saying:

"In the name of Abyssinia I demand protection for all persons of African extraction within the confines of the United States. If the government cannot insure this protection we will be forced to take severe measures and make America a protectorate of Abyssinia so we can put an end to lawlessness and anarchy and preserve civilization."

My neutrality is due to other reasons. Fighting is not my idea of constructive use of leisure time. I prefer dodging taxicabs to cannon balls even though the former may be the more dangerous of the two.

I am only forced to mortal combat by some extreme provocative act. Being unfamiliar with the Italian language, I have been unable to discern anything in the utterances of the dictator to aggravate me to the point of armed resentment. This is, of course, hardly an excuse because most of those who fought in the last war are still in the dark as to what it was all about.

There are, no doubt, two motives back of Mussolini's aggressiveness. One is that a good, healthy war helps to cement the different factions at home and aids a dictator to keep things in check. So he picked out a little-bitty nation and made the homefolks feel that grave danger lurked without.

Of course, if in the fracas Italy is able to grab off a good sized hunk of territory, that is very good too.

Such unfairness is enough to make the blood of any red-blooded man boil and I am, therefore, greatly incensed over the whole affair but I prefer to let my blood boil on the sidelines to having it run cold over the battlefield. In short, I am a dyed-in-the-wool pacifist.

If I ever get shot it will be while indulging in some peacetime pursuit like being caught by the wrong husband at the wrong place, but I shall never expose myself to wholesale butchery on the field of honor.

I agree with Sherman that war is hell and we catch enough of that right here at home without adopting a country just to sample another brand.

This article is not to discourage any volunteers who make a hobby of joining armies and stopping bullets. Every man to his own pleasure, says I, but as for me and my house, let there be peace.

Handout 6

Historical background and context

In 1935, Italy invaded Ethiopia and sparked the Second Italo-Ethiopian War. At that time, it was often referred to as the Abyssinian crisis at the League of Nations. The League of Nations was an intergovernmental organization (sometimes seen as the failed forerunner to the United Nations) that was formed at the end of World War I. Both Italy and Ethiopia were members of this organization but other member states of the League were unable to intervene effectively to prevent the war and subsequent occupation of Ethiopia by Italy. Italy's fascist aggression in Ethiopia and elsewhere was a part of a series of events that led to the outbreak of World War II in 1945. The failure of the League of Nations to defend the only Black-ruled nation in its membership sparked a global debate in communities of color about racism, fascism, imperialism, and how to overcome them.

Up until the 1930s, there was nothing that had galvanized as much attention to an issue facing a community in Africa as did the threat to Ethiopian independence. The response globally was widespread and spontaneous in nature, demonstrating how deeply it resonated with people of color and colonized peoples everywhere from as far as Harlem to Calcutta. Rallies, strikes, and Ethiopian support organizations popped up everywhere in the United States, Caribbean, Europe, and Africa. Some scholars refer to this global response as trans-local because of its rootedness in local communities, though transcontinental in its occurrence. More specifically, communities of African and African-descendant people consistently reported on the Abyssinian war, declared their support for the Ethiopian people, and pooled resources to support their war effort including, in some cases, sending troops. Thus, the Abyssinian crisis is considered by most scholars a major catalyst in the development of the global pan-African movement.

Ethiopia, along with Liberia, was the only African nation that had not been colonized and therefore was a symbol of black independence. More than Liberia, Ethiopia acted as a source of inspiration for black freedom because of its celebrated history of successfully resisting attempted colonization by a European military force, as in the 1896 Battle of Adwa. In 1935, the fact that European members of the League of Nations failed to condemn the Italian invasion of the only African member of the organization was the reason why much of the subsequent discussion of the war was framed in terms of a racist and imperialist injustice. In this way, Ethiopia became both the theoretical and the practical catalyst for the further development of the anti-racist and anti-colonial struggles. Prior to the Abyssinian crisis, Ethiopia was a powerful yet abstract symbol for African independence. It acted as a source of pride for black descendants everywhere as demonstrated in Ethiopianist religious and cultural movements throughout the New World. What the Abyssinian crisis then began to do was to concretize this otherwise abstract and symbolic engagement with Ethiopia. In 1935, the actual geo-political state of Ethiopia was under threat and Black people were coming to its defense.

The Black press at this time, especially in the United States, was replete with references to our “Ethiopian brothers,” “Ethiopian motherland,” or “Ethiopian fatherland.” This was also the case in letters sent in from readers, which poured in from all around the country. These letters expressed their support for the Ethiopian cause and their willingness to offer anything needed, including and up to enlisting in the Ethiopian army. A reader of the Baltimore *Afro-American*, for example, wrote a letter to the editor saying, “every colored person throughout the world should do his utmost to maintain the independence of the fatherland.” The two primary sources included in this lesson plan are from the Baltimore *Afro-American* (1892—) and the *Pittsburgh Courier* (1907-1966) and both of these newspapers are prominent examples of African-American newspapers that were printed in major cities across the United States. These newspapers are important historical sources because they provide us with a vast array of voices from the Black community through editorials, opinion pieces, and letters to the editor. One article included in this lesson plan, for example, is from a newspaper contributor who, though he was in the minority, personally opted out of the growing activism and solidarity for the Abyssinian campaign and explained his reasons for doing so. Still, it was an issue he had to contend with because of its prominence and this shows the growing global and pan-African consciousness of African-American communities during the interwar period.

Lesson 3

Racialization and Control: A case study from the Moroccan “Rif” Movement

Driving Question

- What is racialization and how is it used to control groups and populations?

Supporting Questions

- What social structures interact in the process of racialization and control?
- Why is racialization perceived as an effective means of control?



Enduring Understandings

Racialization is the process that takes place when a powerful group assigns racial status or identities to a different group of people even though that other group did not identify themselves in this way. It is often used to justify social control, or the limiting of the rights and freedoms one group by another. In Morocco, the people of the Rif region have historically been racialized, or labeled and treated as a different racial group, in order to justify unfair treatment and marginalization.

Overview

In this lesson, students will read and discuss a series of information articles, and also analyze a primary document, in order to explore and explain how the people of the Rif region of Morocco have been racialized by the government, and how to analyze how they have responded with a protest movement.

Learning Objectives

- Students will be able to use secondary and primary source documents to summarize key events and explain the causes of the Rif protest movement.
- Students will be able to explain the concepts of racialization and social control and analyze how the events in Morocco connected to the Rif protest movement are an examples of these concepts.

Key Concepts

- Racialization: the process of ascribing ethnic or racial identities to a relationship, social practice, or group that does not necessarily identify itself as such
- Social control: the many ways in which human behavior, thoughts, and appearance are regulated by the norms, rules, laws, and social structures of society

Teacher Preparation and Instructional Resources

Online access and one to one devices, or printed materials, will be needed for this lesson. Resources include online video, articles, and printed articles.

Lesson Handouts/Materials

- Article 1 (online) “Morocco's Rif activists 'fighting for our nation'”
- Handout 1
 - Article 2: “A Deeper Look at the Protests in Morocco”
 - Article 3: “What was the Berber Dahir of 1930?”
- Handout 2, Reading Guide Primary
 - Primary Source 2: English translation of Facebook post from El Mortada lamrachen

Lesson Sequence

Opening

- 1) Project the following image on your screen and engage students in a See Think Wonder protocol. What do they see, what do they think, and what do they wonder? (the image can also be accessed with a news story: <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2017/08/morocco-rif-activists-fighting-nation-170827124952352.html>)

Give them time to jot down some notes and then have several students share their observations, thoughts, and questions. Ask the students what they think is happening in the photo, and where they think it might be from. Ask students to explain their reasoning.



Then, explain to the students that this image is from a region in the nation of Morocco known as the Rif. The picture shows a protest connected to a movement for increased political rights and economic opportunities for the people of this region. Protests were sparked by an incident in which a fishmonger (someone who sells fished) was crushed to death by a garbage truck as he tried to salvage a swordfish that authorities had confiscated from him as it was caught out of season. The incident represented for many people of the Rif the lack of value that the government places upon their lives.

- 2) Next, have students access the following article online: <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2017/08/morocco-rif-activists-fighting-nation-170827124952352.html>, and have them read the article in small groups. You may prefer to print it out. Have students complete a Who, What, Where, Why, When, and How analysis of the article, outlining the following:
- Who is the article about?
 - What is the main problem or conflict discussed in the article?
 - Where is this taking place?
 - Why is this problem or conflict happening?
 - When did it start?
 - How are different people responding to the problem?

To provide more context, show the map of the region below. Explain that the people of the Rif are Moroccan citizens, but are generally treated less than equal by the government.



- Then have different groups share their understanding of the events being described in the article, and as a class, asking different students to share ideas, develop an explanation of the protest movement in the Rif region of Morocco. Consider having students use Google Docs to create explanatory statements that you can then view and merge as a class together.
- 3) Explain to the students that the people of the Rif, in many ways, are being “racialized,” by the government of Morocco, even though they are citizens of the same nation. Tell them that many people in the Rif area are part of a cultural group historically known as

Berber, with their own language and identity, and the Berber have been historically treated differently from other Moroccans by the government.

To develop their understanding of the concept of racialization, show the video at this link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cTcs-qOaAQ0> If the link is not active, you can search for the video with the search terms, “The racialization process, Dr. Carlos Hoyt.”

Have several students share their what they understood from the video, and see if they have any questions. Transition into a mini-lecture and discussion on **concepts** of racialization and control using the following guiding questions:

- What is the difference between racism and racialization?
 - *Racism is the belief of racial superiority by those in a position of power, and the prejudice, bias, discrimination, and oppression of groups deems inferior that emerges from it. Racialization is the process of ascribing ethnic or racial identities to a relationship, social practice, or group that does not necessarily identify itself as such*
- Who commits racialization?
 - *Racialization is enacted by a social structure or system of power- for example a government*
- What is social control?
 - *The many ways in which human behavior, thoughts, and appearance are regulated by the norms, rules, laws, and social structures of society*
- *How do you think the government of Morocco is trying to racialize, and also control, the people of the Rif? Make your best prediction.*

Guided Inquiry

- 4) With students still in their small groups, pass out Handout 1, with Articles 2 and 3. Explain that Article 2 is about the recent protests in the Rif, whereas Article 3 is about a law that was created to discriminate against the Berber people (who make up many of the people in the Rif region). Have students work together to summarize key events in each article, and then have them discuss in their groups how the events in Article 2, the Rif protests, are connected to the law passed by the government of Morocco that separated out the Berber people. As needed use guiding, open questions to help students understand that law served to create a separate category for Berber people in the national identity, and then was used to justify unfair treatment for the people of the Rif region, many of whom are Berber.

Collaborative Inquiry and Sharing

- 5) With students still in their groups, provide them with Handout 2, and have them work through the guided reading activity in their groups. When they have addressed each article and the accompanying questions, go through the guided reading questions in order and have each group share out their thinking on one question (some questions might get addressed more than once).

Reflection and Conclusion

- 6) Next, post the following questions on your screen and have students discuss in their groups, or address as a whole class.
 - Who is El Mortada lamrachen?
 - What message is he trying to communicate in his first Facebook post? His second post?
 - Is the first post serious, or ironic? How do you know?
 - How might authorities have framed lamrachen's Facebook posts as posing a security threat?
 - On what basis do the authorities associate security concerns with Muslims?

Assessment Assignment

- 7) To assess student understanding, consider giving the students the following prompt either as a short essay or as an exit pass.
 - *Using evidence from the different readings, explain how the Moroccan government response to the protests by the people of the Rif is an example of racialization and/or social control.*

Handout 1:

Article 2:

Project on Middle East and Democracy

<https://pomed.org/a-deeper-look-at-the-protests-in-morocco-updated/>

A Deeper Look at the Protests in Morocco

(June 1, 2017)

By: Isabel Paolini

Renewed unrest in Morocco's Rif region the past two weeks has received little coverage, but the roots of the protests appear deep and interesting. Here's a brief look at what is going on:

Protests began October 2016 in the city of al-Hoceima, following the death of **Mouhcine Fikri**, a local fishmonger protesting the police's seizure of his illegally caught swordfish on October 28. He was crushed by a trash compacting machine whilst trying to retrieve the fish, which were valued at 11,000 USD. The accident, which was recorded and went viral, prompted King Mohammed VI to order an investigation which concluded in January.

Activists in al-Hoceima held demonstrations demanding transparency about the investigation and accountability for Fikri's death. A representative from the Moroccan Association for Human Rights (AMDH) stated [Fr] that "if the investigation does not reach a conclusion, there will be no more confidence in the authorities." Following Fikri's death, protests spread [Fr] from al-Hoceima to Tétouan, Casablanca, Marrakech, and Rabat, with thousands of protesters contesting arbitrary enforcement of law, abuse of power, corruption, and injustice. Fikri's death was ruled a homicide, and in November, eleven people were charged with involuntary manslaughter and forgery of public documents.

The Rif, an ethnically Berber region in northern Morocco, has a historically tenuous relationship with Morocco's central authorities, with pro-Rifian sentiment dating back to the colonial era, that continues to color regional relations. The Rifian people face what **Akbar Ahmed**, the Chair of Islamic Studies at American University, identifies as "high rates of poverty, unemployment, a media blockade, and brutal tactics employed by the police to crush any unrest." The al-Hirak group denounces "hogra," a colloquial term signifying the deprivation of dignity by authorities. **Nasser Zefzafi**, 39, has emerged as the leader of this movement. Zefzafi was also a leader of the February 20 Movement that galvanized the 2011 Arab-Spring anti-government protests across Morocco.

In February 2017, the "Mouvance de Rif" organized sit-ins [Fr] in Boukidaren, Beni Bouayach, Imzouren, and al-Hoceima, commemorating the death of Emir **Mohamed ben Abdelkrim El Khattabi**, a Rifian opposition leader of the short-lived Republic of the Rif (1921-1926). In al-Hoceima, police used [Fr] tear gas and rubber bullets to disband the 'illegal' gathering; ensuing clashes injured 27 officers and 60 protesters.

On May 18, 2017, Zefzafi called [Fr] "students, craftsmen, grocers, civil servants and all the forces to come from all over Morocco to take part in this historic march" via Facebook. Zefzafi, refuting accusations of promoting separatism, claimed the movement's "demands are social and belong to our right to a decent life and have no separatist dimension."

This week, Zefzafi was accused of disrupting Friday prayers at an al-Hoceima mosque and “obstructing freedom of worship” as he called for more demonstrations (video). On May 27, a government prosecutor ordered [Fr] the arrest of Zefzafi “for the purposes of the investigation and his presentation before the prosecutor’s office.” He faces charges [Fr] of “willfully obstructing the exercise of religious worship,” and possible imprisonment of three to six years.

Fleeing the police, Zefzafi published a video [Ar] on YouTube in which he called on his supporters to continue to demonstrate “peacefully” against the “Makhzen” – the governing elite of Morocco. On May 27, several hundred people took [Fr] to the streets of al-Hoceima and Imzouren to show their support, chanting slogans like “Vive le Rif” or “We are all Zefzafi.” He was finally arrested on May 29, and was also charged with undermining the interior security of the state.

Thousands have protested [Fr] his arrest in al-Hoceima, calling for his release, decrying [Fr] the militarization of the area, and demanding social reforms. May 31 marked [Fr] the sixth sequential night of protest with thousands of people shouting “We are all Zefzani,” waving Berber flags, and calling for an end to corruption. In a newly released video of Zefzafi, filmed before his arrest, he says, “My brothers ... If I am arrested, I have defeated the Makhzenean State [...] Stay peaceful.” There have been rumours [Fr] about the King expressing willingness to free Zefzafi, although this action would not halt the judicial proceedings against him. **Najib Ahamjik**, the second in command of al-Hirak, is also reportedly fleeing authorities.

Since May 26, many protesters have been arrested and accused [Fr] of obstructing police work. Protesters congregated [Fr] in the cities of Imzouren, Rabat, Casablanca, Marrakech, Fès, Oujda, and Nador in “solidarity” despite strong police presence.

End of article

Article 3:

What was the Berber Dahir of 1930?

The Berber Dahir of 1930 was a law passed in Morocco by the colonial French government. The law proclaimed that the subject Moroccan population would now be governed by two separate laws. The old system, based on Islamic Law or *shariah*, would be used for the Arab population, while “Customary law” would be used to govern the Berber population. The Berbers were the original, indigenous inhabitants of North Africa, however, they had been mixing with Arab migrants and conquerors since the 14th century. While by the 20th century, Berbers were still identifiable by their Berber language, virtually all Berbers spoke Arabic as well. Additionally, all Berbers were Muslim. By trying to legally segregate Moroccan society into Berber and Arab, the French colonial government sought to weaken any resistance to their colonial rule. In particular, they hoped to sway Berbers into becoming their allies, by suggesting that the Berbers were oppressed by the Arabs and that they actually had more in common with the French. The Berber Dahir was met by fierce resistance by Moroccans who did not view themselves as essentially different races of Berbers and Arabs, but who primarily identified themselves as Muslims, as well by their local tribal affiliations.

By: Ahmed Mitiche

Handout 2:

Guided Reading:

Read the excerpts and documents below and work with a partner to answer the questions in the text boxes:

Background: Hirak is the term used to describe the protests of the Rif people that started in 2016 as the people of the region demanded more rights from the Moroccan government. The government of Morocco reacted by trying to silence the protests.

Another Hirak activist, Mortada Iamrachen, was arrested in November 2017 and later sentenced to five years in prison after making two posts on Facebook.

The first, in December 2016, was a news report about the assassination of Russia's ambassador to Turkey. The second post, in June 2017, included his account of a conversation in which a purported journalist had asked him whether he had tried to bring weapons to Morocco on the orders of al Qaeda and he had responded, sarcastically, that he had. He was charged with promoting terrorism.

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/01/16/moroccos-crackdown-wont-silence-dissent-maroc-hirak-amdh/>

1) Who is Mortada Iamrachen?

2) Why was he arrested?

Amnesty International Statement:

During the Hirak protests that swept across Morocco's Hoceima region between October 2016 and July 2017, El Mortada lamrachen, who is also known as Abdallah El Kassimi, used his Facebook page to call for peaceful protests and took part in some of them. His lawyer Mohamed Sadkou believes that it was his active involvement in the Hirak movement which led to his current prosecution and imprisonment on trumped-up charges.

El Mortada lamrachen was first arrested at his house on 10 June 2017. His father had a heart attack on the same day and died a few days later. He was temporarily released by order of the Rabat Appeal court on 22 June 2017. Police then re-arrested El Mortada lamrachen in November 2017 after the Sale Court of First Instance sentenced him to five years in prison on charges including "advocating acts constituting terrorism offenses" based on two Facebook posts he published in December 2016 and June 2017. Amnesty International has reviewed the verdict in detail and has found that the two Facebook posts presented as evidence to convict El Mortada lamrachen did not advocate violence.

The first of the two Facebook posts for which lamrachen was convicted, published on 19 December 2016, was a news report from an online media outlet reporting the assassination of Russia's ambassador to Turkey, which quoted the assassin's declaration as he shot the ambassador: "We are dying in Aleppo and you are dying here".

The second post, published on 9 June 2017, was an account of a telephone conversation between El Mortada lamrachen and a person presenting himself as a journalist. In this post, he described how he had sarcastically responded to a question by the purported journalist about whether lamrachen had attempted to bring in weapons to Morocco in 2011 on the orders of Al-Qaeda leader Ayman al-Zawahiri, telling the journalist that he had in fact received the orders in a meeting with al-Zawahiri in Tora Bora, Afghanistan.

"Of course, lamrachen was being sarcastic as he has never been to Afghanistan. No one would confess to smuggling weapons on a phone conversation with a stranger. The exchange in question simply shows how frustrated he was by the prevalent misconceptions about him. lamrachen has suffered an enormous injustice here. The evidence presented to the court should not be used as it violates his right to freedom of expression, which is protected by Moroccan and international law. This is even more serious as he was forced to confess to the charges with threats that intimate photos of his wife would be disseminated online," lamrachen's lawyer Sadkou told Amnesty International.

<https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2018/04/morocco-quash-conviction-of-el-mortada-lamrachen/>

3) What details does this report add to your understanding of why El Mortada lamrachen was arrested?

4) How does his lawyer explain the Facebook posts?

Now, examine one of the Facebook posts for yourself:

Primary Source: Facebook post from El Mortada lamrachen, June 2017

Below is the original in Arabic followed by a translation.



Elmortada lamrachen
9 juin à 21:34 • 🌐

قبل أيام اتصل بي صحفي لأحد المواقع الإلكترونية، حول الحراك بالريف، ثم سألني عن أنباء تفيد أنني حاولت سنة 2011 إدخال أسلحة إلى الريف بالتواصل مع النوار في ليبيا، فقلت هذا صحيح لأن ذلك كان بأمر أيمن الظواهري عندما قمت بزيارته في تورا بورا، واستمرت في تصريحاتي في نفس الصد والرجل يؤكد علي، هل سأكتب هذا حقاً!!، وأنا كنعقول غير كتب كتب... ولكن مكتبهاش وطلع ماشي راجل هو وللي مصيفطينو.
دبا علاش مكتبهاش ولد اللدينا علاش واش وجهي ماشي دكشي.. علاش حكرني؟! واش أنا كافر أنا يهودي؟!، وخا نكون شيعي كاع منتحكرش كيما هكا اعيباد الله.

👍 J'aime 💬 Commenter ➦ Partager

Why do you think the government of Morocco reacted to this post by treating the author as a criminal? How is this connected to racialization?

A journalist from an online news source contacted me a few days ago regarding Hirak al-Rif and then asked me about reports that I had tried to bring weapons into the Rif in 2011 through contacts with revolutionaries in Libya; so I told him that the reports were true, and that I was in fact ordered by Anwar al-Zawahiri himself when I met with him in Tora Bora! I went on like that, with the journalist asking me [in disbelief] if he should really write that; and I'd say, 'yeah just go ahead and write it.' He didn't end up writing it and went on his way-him and whoever sent him.

Lesson 4

“Beyond One Hand”: Copts, Rhetoric, and Erasure in the 2011 Egyptian Revolution

Driving Question

How do the different identities present in one nation shape and interact with social movements seeking to change the nation?

Supporting Questions

- What motivates people to participate in social movements?
- What role do different identities play in how and why people get involved in social movements?



Enduring Understandings

The analysis and critique of constructions of race, religion, and nationalism is often carried out through the analysis and critique of documents. However, in limiting the pool of sources to the written word, we are also limiting the development of students’ critical analysis skills. This lesson serves to challenge this source restriction, expand critical thought, and expose students to the experience of analyzing and critiquing race, religion, and nationalism through visual and auditory materials.

Students will explore questions around how intra-communal borders are constructed and represented, how certain identities are left out in favor of others, and how rhetorical boundaries have physical expressions. These narrowed critiques can then be further expanded to reexamine our understanding of moments in history. What does it mean that events lauded as instances of liberation and national unity are understood in such a way precisely because of their erasure of racial, ethnic, and religious tensions?

Overview

Through a close analysis of photography, music, and video documenting and depicting the 2011 Egyptian Uprising, students learn to recognize how indicators of race, religion, and nationality were used to construct certain narratives and images around this moment in history.

Learning Objectives

- Visual analysis
- Politics of representation

Key Concepts

- Nationalism
- Identity
- Manufacture Collectivity
- Revolution
- Sectarianism

Teacher Preparation and Instructional Resources

This lesson centers on visual and aural analysis. The first exercise uses one video clip, which will require access to the internet and a projector. The second exercise is a comparative analysis of two photographs; the photographs can either be projected on a screen for all students to view simultaneously, or they can be printed out and handed to each student individually. Print copies are preferred because students then have the ability to directly annotate the images.

These activities can be done either individually or in groups. It is suggested to do the first visual analysis individually and the second in groups so students have the opportunity to form their own approach and strategy to visual analysis before doing a similar activity with their peers.

Lesson Materials/Handouts

- Contextual overview
- Music video
- Photographs
- Image Analysis handout\

Assessment / Final Product

The final product is a comparative research essay discussing how social identities are represented similarly or differently in the 2011 Egyptian Revolution and another social movement. Using the visual and aural analysis skills that they developed during these in-class activities, students should pick another social movement to analyze through visual and aural representations.

Lesson Sequence

Opening

1. Start by showing students images from the 2011 Egyptian Revolution on your screen (using the images on the previous page, or finding others with a Google image search). Take students through a See - Think - Wonder routine in which they describe what they see, talk about what they think it means, and generate a list of questions or wonderings they have. Then explain to the students that the images are from the 2011 Egyptian Revolution, and that they are going to explore the events and some of the groups of people involved.
2. Next, provide students with an overview of Egypt's history, its demographics, and the 2011 Egyptian Revolution. Options include using the Contextual Overview below to guide a mini-lecture; using it as a student reading, or using other materials like the video and timeline linked below:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xcwPObOyPrY>
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/01/201112515334871490.html>

Consider having students create a Who, What, Why, Where, When summary of the Egyptian Revolution of 2011 based upon the information they encounter in at least two of these sources.

Next, have students read the following article to deepen their understanding of the Copt community in Egypt.

<https://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-04-10/who-are-egypts-copts/8429634>

Have them respond to the following questions:

Reading Response:

- Who are the Copts?
- How do Copts see themselves as a part of Egyptian society?
- What particular challenges do people in the Copt community face in Egypt?
- How were Copts treated by the government during the Revolution?
- Do you think Copts had the same goals for the Egyptian Revolution?

Guided Inquiry

3. Next, explain to students that they are going to explore how the Egyptian Revolution was depicted in different representations, including a music video and two photographs. First, show students the music video, *Sout al-Horeya* by Amir Eid, (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fgw_zfLLvh8) and have the students focus on the video's imagery. In pairs or groups of 3, have them quickly discuss the following questions: What stands out to them? What message do you get from the video? Who is recorded? What emotions are you recognizing?

Have different pairs or small groups share their thinking and ask other students to *support*, *extend*, or (politely) *challenge* their thinking. Have them discuss what the video says about the motivations people have for participating in the Revolution.

4. Screen the video again, and for this second screening, have students work with their partner or small group to focus on the lyrics. What message are the lyrics sending? Does this differ or relate to the images? Do certain words used stand out? Why those words specifically?

Bring the class back together again to share out their reflections and discuss.

Collaborative Inquiry and Sharing

5. Then, have students form into groups of 3-4, and have them compare the two pictures of the 2011 Egyptian Revolution (you will need to project these at this time). What message is each photograph telling you? Are the messages the same? How can you discern such a message? Be specific in your explanations; refer to details within the images. Pass out the Image Analysis Handout and have students work as a group to complete.

6. After completing the group analysis, have students share out to the class what they discussed.

Reflection and Conclusion

7. Complete a brief free-writing exercise where students respond to the following prompt: Many images from the Egyptian Revolution show unity between Muslim and Christian (Coptic) Egyptians. Why might images of unity be important for the Revolution, and what problems might they cause?

-Note... students may struggle with this prompt, so it might be important to discuss. Images of unity were important in the Revolution so that they mobilize people from diverse sectors and try to create a unified Egyptian identity driving the Revolution. Such images are also problematic because they can make specific violence and unfair treatment aimed at Copts, and might even alienate some people on both sides or either don't want unity or think that it is dishonest to show unity when real problems exist.

Assessment

Comparative essay assignment (see above)

Contextual Overview:

As a thoroughfare between the Middle East, North Africa, and sub-Saharan Africa, it is no surprise that the political landscape of Egypt is ever-changing. Before earning its independence in 1952, leaders from the Roman, Abbasid, Ottoman, and British empires all ruled over Egypt. In 2011, rather than the call for regime change coming from an outside force into Egypt, it was an internally motivated desire for a political revolution in a space that has experienced so many throughout its history.

This moment in Egyptian history, though, was not an isolated event. Rather, the uprising was one of several throughout various Arab countries such as Tunisia, Bahrain, Yemen, Syria, and Jordan. Each of these uprisings had its own intricacies reflecting the diversity and complexities of its respective societies. In this lesson, we take a closer look at Egypt, specifically at its Coptic population, to unpack how the impact of ethnicity, religion, and nationalism impacted their place in the greater 2011 Egyptian revolutionary rhetoric.

Making up approximately **10% of the total Egyptian population**, the Coptic community is an **ethno-religious group** that has **suffered from varying degrees of marginalization throughout Egyptian history**.² Amongst a majority Muslim population, Copts stand apart being an **orthodox Christian community**. Claims to a pharaonic lineage, which gained popularity in the early 20th century, highlighted their **non-Arab ethnic identity**, distinguishing themselves from the larger population that counted themselves within the broader Arab community that spanned across the Middle East and North Africa.³ Identification as a non-Arab, though, does not preclude them from holding a strong national identity. In fact, **Copts embrace their connection to the Egyptian homeland and nationality**.⁴ Looking at past uprisings, it is from this national allegiance that they were able to set aside tensions along ethno-religious lines with their fellow Egyptians and unite to resist British colonialism.⁵ In 1919, the British attempted to levy a shared Christian identity with the Copts to justify continued British colonial control in Egypt.⁶ However, together Copts and Muslims rejected this demand, insisting that they are all one and the same—Egyptians. Copts participated in the 1919 Revolution against the British on the premise of equality with Egyptian Muslims and would be treated as such in the succeeding governments. This proved to be a short-lived illusion of national unity, as the 1952 uprising such actions against the British did not replicate such togetherness, and as we take a closer look at the 2011 uprising, nor do we see such unity there either.⁷

Focusing on the position of Copts within Egyptian society, it is clear that as political agendas shifted from administration to administration, so too did the basis for Coptic marginalization with some leaders using the Copts' status as a religion minority as a foundation

² Jason Brownlee, "Violence Against Copts in Egypt." *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*. 14 November 2013. Web. 22 October 2015.

³ Elizabeth Edwards Oram, *Constructing Modern Copts: The Production of Coptic Christian Identity in Contemporary Egypt*. N.p.: n.p., 2004. Print.

⁴ Nelly van doorn-Harder, "The Copts in Egypt's Counter Revolution: On Being Egyptian." *The Huffington Post*. 1 October 2013. Web.

⁵ Saba Mahmood, "Religious Freedom, the Minority Question and Geopolitics in the Middle East." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. Volume 54.2. 2012. pg. 418-446. Web. 20 January 2016.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

for discrimination and others preferring to exploit their non-Arab ethnic status. Gamal Abdel-Nasser justified his policies that negatively impacted Copts more heavily than their Muslim Egyptian counterparts through his rhetoric of pan-Arabism, which Copts did not fit into.⁸ Anwar Sadat, rather than discriminating against Copts because of their ethnic identity, marginalized Copts through religious affiliation. His policies of allowing greater participation of Islamist groups in the political sphere and the application of Islamic law into Egyptian law in 1971 did not greatly benefit Copts.⁹ Additionally, **Sadat exiled Pope Shenouda III in 1981** for speaking out against his politics and actions towards the Coptic community.¹⁰ After Sadat's assassination, **Mubarak allowed Pope Shenouda III to return from exile**. In doing so, **Mubarak capitalized both on the clergy's fear of regime retribution and what Paul Sedra calls a "modern millet partnership," whereby Mubarak offers recognition of Pope Shenouda III as "the sole legitimate representative of the Coptic community," and in return Pope Shenouda III supports Mubarak's political initiatives.**¹¹ Coptic representation in parliament and other government position has been in decline since Nasser, which caused the Coptic laity to turn towards the Church as a vehicle to voice their frustrations and needs to the government.¹²

As we shift our attention to the events of 2011, we cannot even settle on a determining a spark to the revolution without addressing Coptic marginalization and discrimination. While many consider the death of Khaled Mohammed Said, a young Egyptian brutally murdered by police in 2010, to be the catalyst for the Egyptian revolution, there is also an alternative view holding that the protests following the New Year's Eve bombing of the Coptic Al-Qiddissin Church in Alexandria were the first manifestations of societal frustrations reaching an apex. The Egyptian government was quick to claim the bombing as an act of terrorism, when it was well thought to be domestic sectarianism.¹³ Such **dismissal of sectarianism is a theme we will return to time and time again in analyzing the rhetoric of Tahrir Square.**

Whether you see the protest following the New Year's Eve bombing as the first iterations of what was to come or if you viewed collective action round Said's death to be the early stages of major mobilization, January 25th, 2011 stands out as the definitive beginning of the 2011 Egyptian uprising. On that day, tens of thousands of Egyptians took to the streets of Cairo and marched to Tahrir Square¹⁴, calling for the fall of Mubarak's regime. The first day of protests continued into a sit-in and occupation of Tahrir Square, as demonstrators refused to

⁸ Ibid., van-doorn Harder 2013, and Patrick Alexander Younan, "The Coptic Christians of Egypt: Dhimmitude and Discrimination." *Law School Student Scholarship*. 1 May 2014. Web.

⁹ Adel Guindy, "The Islamization of Egypt." *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 10.3 (2006): 92-102. Web. 29 October 2016.

¹⁰ Magdi Guirguis, "Coptic Researcher reflects on the late Pope Shenouda III." Interview with American University in Cairo Press. *American University in Cairo*. Nd. Web. 29 October 2015.

¹¹ Paul Sedra, "Reconstituting the Coptic Community Amidst Revolution." *Middle East Report*. No. 265, Egypt: The Uprising Two Years on (Winter 2012). pp. 34-38. Web. 29 October 2016.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Magdi Guirguis, "Coptic Researcher reflects on the late Pope Shenouda III." Interview with American University in Cairo Press. *American University in Cairo*. Nd. Web. 29 October 2015.

¹⁴ Tahrir Square, also known as Liberation Square, has great historical significance. In 1946, Egyptians took to the square and demonstrated against the British occupation. Protests in Tahrir came about again in 1952, expressing popular dissatisfaction with King Farouk. Egyptians have used Tahrir Square as the venue to call for regime changes, ending British reign, King Farouk's tenure, and finally, the Mubarak regime. Nezar AlSayeed, "History of Tahrir Square." *Harvard University Press Blog*. 1 April 2011. Web. 7 December 2015.

leave until Mubarak resigned from his position as president. On February 11th, a mere 18 days after the initial protest, Vice President Omar Suliman went on state television to announce the resignation of Mubarak. In the statement, Mubarak transferred security of the state to SCAF. Eventually, elections were held and the Muslim Brotherhood leader Mohamed Morsi was sworn in as president on June 30th, 2012. His presidency did not last long. Within a year on June 17th, 2013, the military ousted Morsi and replaced him with current president Abdel Fatah el-Sisi after large protests.

Handouts:

Music Video: [Sout al-Horeya](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fgw_zfLLvh8) by Amir Eid
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fgw_zfLLvh8

Photographs:
Coptic Priest and Muslim Imam¹⁵



Bird's eye view of Tahrir 2011¹⁶



¹⁵ Anne Alexander, "Egypt's Muslims and Christians join hands in protest." *BBC*. 10 February 2011. Web. 20 October 2015.

¹⁶ David Wolman, "How the January 25 Egyptian Revolution was Organized." *The Atlantic*. 4 May 2011. Web. 29 October 2016.

Image Analysis

What do you notice when first looking at the photograph?

What signs of social identity do you see?

What social identities or collectives are absent from the photos?

Why do you think some identities are more prominent than others? What are the implications on certain communities being seen or hidden from visual representations of the revolution?

Connect to the music video *Sout al-Horeya*

How are these photos different or similar to the music video? How might the two styles of representation be representing the revolution in the same or different ways?

Lesson 5

Haunted Houses and the Colonial Experience in India

Driving Questions

- How do people deal with the legacies of colonialism in terms of the architecture they left behind?
- How do ghost stories reflect histories of colonialism?

Supporting Questions

- What can we learn about colonialism from examining the idea of the haunted house, both in the form of Kipling’s short story and in the context of contemporary Shimla?
- What can ghost stories tell us about the legacies of the past?



Enduring Understandings

Colonialism left large impacts on the societies they left, including on the areas of economics, politics, culture, racial relations, but also on the level of the built environment and on the level of memory and the stories people tell. Ghost stories, both the ones told by the British in the Colonial period, such as the Kipling story featured here, and those told in the present about lingering British ghosts, are one way of viewing the experience and afterlife of colonialism as uncanny and frightening.

Overview

In this lesson, students develop background knowledge about the period of British Colonialism in India through the work of Kipling as well as through a contemporary ethnographic vignette of Shimla, the former Summer Capital of the British Raj. They will discuss and analyze the short story “My Own True Ghost Story” and use their insights to think about contemporary ghosts stories to reach conclusions about memories of colonialism in the present.

Learning Objectives

- Students will complete a reading guide for Kipling’s short story “My Own True Ghost Story” in order to develop background knowledge of British Colonialism in India and explore the trope of the haunted house.
- Students will write and share a reflection on both the ghosts in Kipling’s story as well as contemporary ghosts in Shimla and evaluate their ability to tell us something of the anxieties felt during the colonial and postcolonial era.

Key Concepts

- Colonialism
- Memory
- Ghosts and Haunting

Teacher Preparation and Instructional Resources

- This lesson requires a projector, so you can show an informational PowerPoint with facts, images, and questions. Students will also need copies of reading handouts to take home.

Lesson Handouts/Materials

1. Shimla, A contextual overview
2. “My Own True Ghost Story” by Rudyard Kipling, with Reading Guide

Assessment / Final Product

Ask students to identify some of the injustices and problems connected to imperialism that they explored in past lessons or readings. Have them develop a storyboard or outline for a different ghost story that represents how people in a particular region or nation might represent the past through ghost stories. If time allows, have students create a complete ghost story. You might have students use the following wiki-how to help get them started: <https://www.wikihow.com/Write-a-Ghost-Story>

Lesson Sequence

Opening

1. Open the lesson by asking students to Turn and Talk in response to the following prompts:
What kinds of historical events would you connect to haunted houses?
What kinds of ghosts might a historical house have?

Give students 1-2 minutes to talk and then have several students share their ideas. Explain to the students that they will be exploring similar ideas, particularly related to the connection between British colonialism in India and narratives around haunted houses in a particular region of India.

Then engage students with slides 2-5 in the lesson PowerPoint, going over key background information on Kipling and Shimla. You can also provide students with Handout #1, Shimla, A Contextual Overview, to provide further background information if needed. If desired, have students read in small groups and create summaries of key details about Shimla they think are important. You can also use the document to build a mini-lecture.

Guided Inquiry

2. Then pass out Handout #2, which is a ghost story by Rudyard Kipling. Have students read it in small groups in class, or you may choose to assign it to the students as homework.
3. Have students fill out the reading guide that goes along with the reading, again either in groups or as homework. Review their responses as a class by having students share and discuss in small groups, and then have each group share out their thinking about a particular question.

Collaborative Inquiry and Sharing

4. Show students part two of the slide show (slides 6-12), which includes pictures of contemporary haunted houses in Shimla. With each slide, engage students in a See, Think, Wonder exercise in which they describe what they see, share what it makes them think, and then generate new questions. This can be done in writing first and then students can use what they wrote as starting points for a brief discussion of each slide.

Reflection and Conclusion

5. Break students up into small groups and have them work through the following exercise that appears at the end of the slideshow.

Comparison

- *How might the ghosts from Kipling's story be different from the ones in Shimla today? What, if anything, do these two sets of stories have in common?*
- *What role does architecture play in each of these stories?*
- *What might each of these stories tell us about the legacies of colonialism?*
- *What, in your opinion, do ghosts have to do with history? What can we learn about from ghosts stories?*

Assessment

6. To conclude, have students work in small groups or with a partner to discuss other examples of colonialism and imperialism from the past. Have some ideas ready if needed (e.g. British colonial violence against Native Americans in the 1600s; the Spanish conquest of the Americas; Belgian imperialism in the Congo in the 1880s). If needed, have them do basic online research to identify particular problems and social injustices connected with specific examples. Then have them discuss what kinds of ghost stories might have been generated by these histories, and have them create basic story maps or outlines, and if time allows, produce actual ghost stories to share with classmates.

Handout #1

Shimla: A Contextual Overview

The urban landscape and colonial architecture of Shimla are sites where both historical memories and ghosts reside side by side. Originally designed as a summer retreat for colonists who longed for a home away from home, the distinctive architecture of this hill station continues to be inhabited, whether by the living or the ghosts of the British Raj. During my preliminary anthropological research in Shimla in the summers of 2017 and 2018 I heard various tales: there is the British gentleman who waits at the bus stop and asks for cigarettes, and ghosts of Victor Bayley and his wife who haunt their summer home. Given these sightings, one could easily see how this landscape could be said to be “haunted” by colonialism.

As the summer capital of the British Raj from 1864 until independence, Shimla became one of the larger hill stations originally founded as sanatoria. As places designed to offer seasonal relief from the heat, historian Dane Kennedy argues hill stations also served as refuges from the psychological toll of an alien culture as well as sites that were critical for the imperial endeavor. Centers for family life and the nurturing of the private sphere, hill stations were key sites of the social and ideological reproduction for the British (Kennedy 1996: 7). Yet these hill stations also played a peculiar role in the imaginary of place. The construction of cottages in eclectic Victorian styles such as mock-Tudor, neo-Gothic, Swiss-Chalet, or even “Himalayan Swiss-Gothic,” were a part of a project of replicating the English country home, and projecting nostalgic images of the British countryside onto the sublime vistas of the Himalayas. This endeavor then, was all about taming and exerting control over the landscape (Kennedy 1996). These styles were all a part of the cultural baggage the British brought along with them as they carved havens in the hills for themselves according to their aesthetic desires.

Perched, as it is, in the foothills of the Himalayas, the picturesque views from Shimla’s many hill tops are widely coveted. At one point someone a parallel was drawn between the seven hills of ancient Rome and the hills of imperial Shimla (Bhasin 2007: xiii). The notion of the picturesque combines this love of antiquity and natural. As Kennedy notes:

“The picturesque arose in the eighteenth century as a signifier of those scenes of nature that fulfilled certain prescriptions of beauty; these notions were derived from such varied sources as the Roman pastoral tradition, the landscapes of Claude Lorrain, and the antiquarian enthusiasm for architectural relics of the past” (1996: 39).

The quest for the picturesque fueled British desires to visit and settle in the hills. Part of their initial allure even, was their inaccessibility and remoteness. Hill stations were only accessible by arduous journeys with only animal and human labor until the second half of the nineteenth century. The railroad arrived in Ambala in 1869, from which point travelers were still required to catch a coach for thirty-eight-miles to the village of Kalka at the foot of the hills, from which it was yet another fifty-six-miles up the winding hills by pony or jampan (ibid: 91). This

uncomfortable journey was satirized by the Delhi Sketch Book in 1857. Railroad construction, Kennedy tells us, “reached Kalka in 1891, and after a decade-long endeavor that involved cutting over a hundred tunnels through the hills, it came to Simla in 1903” (ibid). In many ways then, it was ideological concepts such as the picturesque that drove the construction of these strongholds of British imperial fantasies.

Architecture, of course, was far from the only cultural baggage the British brought along to their summer retreats. They also brought popular forms of entertainment and storytelling, among them the literary genre of ghost stories. It should be taken as no great coincidence that ghost stories in Britain became popular at the same time as imperial projects; as tales of “the mysterious” emanating from the colonies made their way to the metropole. Margaret Weiner, tells us that it was in the colonies, “there, on the airy verandah of old Indies houses and colonial clubs, that Europeans shared tales about ghosts, sorcery, and inexplicable incidents” (Wiener 2003: 150). Part of the “literary fabric of the age,” ghost stories were widely circulated in the middle decades of the nineteenth century (Cox and Gilbert 2003). Indeed, Hill stations drew a host of literary types, such as Kipling who wrote a number of ghost stories himself, including *My Own True Ghost Story*, which will be the focus of this lesson.

Indian author and hill station resident Ruskin Bond claims in his collection of ghost stories from the Raj, that Englishmen found themselves in the dark bungalows, graveyards, villages, forests, and forts of a “Haunted India”. “For the British, coming from a land where haunted houses and castles were the norm, were fascinated by the wonderful variety of supernatural manifestations they found in India” (2002: x). “In Bond’s view, these tales were meant to provoke a “safe” and enjoyable kind of fear meant to “to enliven a dull railway journey, a sleepless night, a rainy day in the hills, a long sea voyage, or a period of recuperation from a tiring illness” (xii). More recently contemporary Himachali author Minakshi Chaudhry has written two short story collections based on Shimla residents’ real experiences with the ghosts of former British residents, as well as with local spirits. Here we face the question I outlined earlier: what happens when “haunting” is no longer just a metaphor for the colonial past that refuses to stay buried, but rather manifests as actual ghosts who refuse to leave, and who are widely known by residents to haunt certain places?

Handout #2

My Own True Ghost Story (1899)

Rudyard Kipling

As I came through the Desert thus it was—
As I came through the Desert.
The City of Dreadful Night.

Somewhere in the Other World, where there are books and pictures and plays and shop windows to look at, and thousands of men who spend their lives in building up all four, lives a gentleman who writes real stories about the real insides of people; and his name is Mr. Walter Besant. But he will insist upon treating his ghosts— he has published half a workshopful of them—with levity. He makes his ghost-seers talk familiarly, and, in some cases, flirt outrageously, with the phantoms. You may treat anything, from a Viceroy¹⁷ to a Vernacular Paper, with levity; but you must behave reverently toward a ghost, and particularly an Indian one.

There are, in this land, ghosts who take the form of fat, cold, pobby corpses, and hide in trees near the roadside till a traveler passes. Then they drop upon his neck and remain. There are also terrible ghosts of women who have died in child-bed. These wander along the pathways at dusk, or hide in the crops near a village, and call seductively. But to answer their call is death in this world and the next. Their feet are turned backward that all sober men may recognize them. There are ghosts of little children who have been thrown into wells. These haunt well curbs and the fringes of jungles, and wail under the stars, or catch women by the wrist and beg to be taken up and carried. These and the corpse ghosts, however, are only vernacular articles and do not attack Sahibs¹⁸. No native ghost has yet been authentically reported to have frightened an Englishman; but many English ghosts have scared the life out of both white and black.

Nearly every other Station¹⁹ owns a ghost. There are said to be two at Simla²⁰, not counting the woman who blows the bellows at Syree dâk-bungalow²¹ on the Old Road; Mussoorie has a house haunted of a very lively Thing; a White Lady is supposed to do night-watchman round a house in Lahore; Dalhousie says that one of her houses "repeats" on

¹⁷ Viceroy: an official who runs a colony, in the name of and as the representative of the monarch of the territory.

¹⁸ Sahib: a polite title or form of address for a man, often used to refer to British officials

¹⁹ Stations or Hill Stations were designed as a summer retreats for colonists and members of the army to convalesce. They were often located in the foothills and many of the following place names are those of other hill stations.

²⁰ Simla, or Shimla to use the contemporary spelling, was the summer capital of the British Raj from 1864 until independence in 1947.

²¹ Dâk-bungalows were buildings built by the colonial administration to provide free accommodation for government officials. The structures are therefore sometimes also known as posthouses, rest houses, or travelers' bungalows.

autumn evenings all the incidents of a horrible horse- and-precipice accident; Murree has a merry ghost, and, now that she has been swept by cholera, will have room for a sorrowful one; there are Officers' Quarters in Mian Mir whose doors open without reason, and whose furniture is guaranteed to creak, not with the heat of June but with the weight of Invisibles who come to lounge in the chairs; Peshawur possesses houses that none will willingly rent; and there is something—not fever—wrong with a big bungalow in Allahabad. The older Provinces simply bristle with haunted houses, and march phantom armies along their main thoroughfares.

Some of the dâk-bungalows on the Grand Trunk Road have handy little cemeteries in their compound—witnesses to the "changes and chances of this mortal life" in the days when men drove from Calcutta to the Northwest. These bungalows are objectionable places to put up in. They are generally very old, always dirty, while the *khansamah*²² is as ancient as the bungalow. He either chatters senilely, or falls into the long trances of age. In both moods he is useless. If you get angry with him, he refers to some Sahib dead and buried these thirty years, and says that when he was in that Sahib's service not a *khansamah* in the Province could touch him. Then he jabbars and mows and trembles and fidgets among the dishes, and you repent of your irritation.

In these dâk-bungalows, ghosts are most likely to be found, and when found, they should be made a note of. Not long ago it was my business to live in dâk-bungalows. I never inhabited the same house for three nights running, and grew to be learned in the breed. I lived in Government-built ones with red brick walls and rail ceilings, an inventory of the furniture posted in every room, and an excited snake at the threshold to give welcome. I lived in "converted" ones—old houses officiating as dâk-bungalows—where nothing was in its proper place and there wasn't even a fowl for dinner. I lived in second-hand palaces where the wind blew through open-work marble tracery just as uncomfortably as through a broken pane. I lived in dâk-bungalows where the last entry in the visitors' book was fifteen months old, and where they slashed off the curry-kid's head with a sword. It was my good luck to meet all sorts of men, from sober traveling missionaries and deserters flying from British Regiments, to drunken loafers who threw whisky bottles at all who passed; and my still greater good fortune just to escape a maternity case. Seeing that a fair proportion of the tragedy of our lives out here acted itself in dâk-bungalows, I wondered that I had met no ghosts. A ghost that would voluntarily hang about a dâk-bungalow would be mad of course; but so many men have died mad in dâk-bungalows that there must be a fair percentage of lunatic ghosts.

In due time I found my ghost, or ghosts rather, for there were two of them. Up till that hour I had sympathized with Mr. Besant's method of handling them, as shown in "The Strange Case of Mr. Lucraft and Other Stories." I am now in the Opposition.

We will call the bungalow Katmal dâk-bungalow. But THAT was the smallest part of the horror. A man with a sensitive hide has no right to sleep in dâk-bungalows. He should marry. Katmal dâk-bungalow was old and rotten and unrepaired. The floor was of worn brick, the walls were filthy, and the windows were nearly black with grime. It stood on a bypath largely used by native Sub-Deputy Assistants of all kinds, from Finance to Forests; but real Sahibs were rare. The *khansamah*, who was nearly bent double with old age, said so.

²² A male Indian servant.

When I arrived, there was a fitful, undecided rain on the face of the land, accompanied by a restless wind, and every gust made a noise like the rattling of dry bones in the stiff toddy palms outside. The *khansamah* completely lost his head on my arrival. He had served a Sahib once. Did I know that Sahib? He gave me the name of a well-known man who has been buried for more than a quarter of a century, and showed me an ancient daguerreotype²³ of that man in his prehistoric youth. I had seen a steel engraving of him at the head of a double volume of *Memoirs* a month before, and I felt ancient beyond telling.

The day shut in and the *khansamah* went to get me food. He did not go through the pretense of calling it "*khana*"²⁴—man's victuals. He said "*ratub*," and that means, among other things, "grub"—dog's rations. There was no insult in his choice of the term. He had forgotten the other word, I suppose. While he was cutting up the dead bodies of animals, I settled myself down, after exploring the *dâk*-bungalow. There were three rooms, beside my own, which was a corner kennel, each giving into the other through dingy white doors fastened with long iron bars. The bungalow was a very solid one, but the partition walls of the rooms were almost jerry-built in their flimsiness. Every step or bang of a trunk echoed from my room down the other three, and every footfall came back tremulously from the far walls. For this reason I shut the door. There were no lamps—only candles in long glass shades. An oil wick was set in the bathroom.

For bleak, unadulterated misery that *dâk*-bungalow was the worst of the many that I had ever set foot in. There was no fireplace, and the windows would not open; so a brazier of charcoal would have been useless. The rain and the wind splashed and gurgled and moaned round the house, and the toddy palms rattled and roared. Half a dozen jackals went through the compound singing, and a hyena stood afar off and mocked them. A hyena would convince a Sadducee of the Resurrection of the Dead—the worst sort of Dead. Then came the *ratub*—a curious meal, half native and half English in composition—with the old *khansamah* babbling behind my chair about dead and gone English people, and the wind-blown candles playing shadow-bo-peep with the bed and the mosquito-curtains. It was just the sort of dinner and evening to make a man think of every single one of his past sins, and of all the others that he intended to commit if he lived.

Sleep, for several hundred reasons, was not easy. The lamp in the bath-room threw the most absurd shadows into the room, and the wind was beginning to talk nonsense.

Just when the reasons were drowsy with blood-sucking I heard the regular—"Let—us—take—and—heave—him—over" grunt of doolie²⁵-bearers in the compound. First one doolie came in, then a second, and then a third. I heard the doolies dumped on the ground, and the shutter in front of my door shook. "That's some one trying to come in," I said. But no one spoke, and I persuaded myself that it was the gusty wind. The shutter of the room next to mine was attacked, flung back, and the inner door opened. "That's some Sub-Deputy Assistant," I said, "and he has brought his friends with him. Now they'll talk and spit and smoke for an hour."

²³ A photograph taken by an early photographic process employing an iodine-sensitized silvered plate and mercury vapor.

²⁴ Food.

²⁵ A simple litter, often used to transport sick or wounded persons.

But there were no voices and no footsteps. No one was putting his luggage into the next room. The door shut, and I thanked Providence that I was to be left in peace. But I was curious to know where the doolies had gone. I got out of bed and looked into the darkness. There was never a sign of a doolie. Just as I was getting into bed again, I heard, in the next room, the sound that no man in his senses can possibly mistake—the whir of a billiard ball down the length of the slates when the striker is stringing for break. No other sound is like it. A minute afterwards there was another whir, and I got into bed. I was not frightened—indeed I was not. I was very curious to know what had become of the doolies. I jumped into bed for that reason.

Next minute I heard the double click of a cannon and my hair sat up. It is a mistake to say that hair stands up. The skin of the head tightens and you can feel a faint, prickly, bristling all over the scalp. That is the hair sitting up.

There was a whir and a click, and both sounds could only have been made by one thing—a billiard ball. I argued the matter out at great length with myself; and the more I argued the less probable it seemed that one bed, one table, and two chairs—all the furniture of the room next to mine—could so exactly duplicate the sounds of a game of billiards. After another cannon, a

three-cushion one to judge by the whir, I argued no more. I had found my ghost and would have given worlds to have escaped from that dâk-bungalow. I listened, and with each listen the game grew clearer. There was whir on whir and click on click. Sometimes there was a double click and a whir and another click. Beyond any sort of doubt, people were playing billiards in the next room. And the next room was not big enough to hold a billiard table!

Between the pauses of the wind I heard the game go forward—stroke after stroke. I tried to believe that I could not hear voices; but that attempt was a failure.

Do you know what fear is? Not ordinary fear of insult, injury or death, but abject, quivering dread of something that you cannot see—fear that dries the inside of the mouth and half of the throat—fear that makes you sweat on the palms of the hands, and gulp in order to keep the uvula at work? This is a fine Fear—a great cowardice, and must be felt to be appreciated. The very improbability of billiards in a dâk-bungalow proved the reality of the thing. No man—drunk or sober—could imagine a game at billiards, or invent the spitting crack of a "screw-cannon."

A severe course of dâk-bungalows has this disadvantage—it breeds infinite credulity. If a man said to a confirmed dâk-bungalow-haunter:—"There is a corpse in the next room, and there's a mad girl in the next but one, and the woman and man on that camel have just eloped from a place sixty miles away," the hearer would not disbelieve because he would know that nothing is too wild, grotesque, or horrible to happen in a dâk-bungalow.

This credulity, unfortunately, extends to ghosts. A rational person fresh from his own house would have turned on his side and slept. I did not. So surely as I was given up as a bad carcass by the scores of things in the bed because the bulk of my blood was in my heart, so surely did I hear every stroke of a long game at billiards played in the echoing room behind the iron-barred door. My dominant fear was that the players might want a marker. It was an absurd fear; because creatures who could play in the dark would be above such superfluities. I only know that that was my terror; and it was real.

After a long, long while the game stopped, and the door banged. I slept because I was dead tired. Otherwise I should have preferred to have kept awake. Not for everything in Asia would I have dropped the door-bar and peered into the dark of the next room.

When the morning came, I considered that I had done well and wisely, and inquired for the means of departure.

"By the way, *khansamah*," I said, "what were those three doolies doing in my compound in the night?" "There were no doolies," said the *khansamah*.

I went into the next room and the daylight streamed through the open door. I was immensely brave. I would, at that hour, have played Black Pool with the owner of the big Black Pool down below.

"Has this place always been a *dâk*-bungalow?" I asked.

"No," said the *khansamah*. "Ten or twenty years ago, I have forgotten how long, it was a billiard room."

"A how much?"

"A billiard room for the Sahibs who built the Railway. I was *khansamah* then in the big house where all the Railway-Sahibs lived, and I used to come across with brandy-shrab²⁶. These three rooms were all one, and they held a big table on which the Sahibs played every evening. But the Sahibs are all dead now, and the Railway runs, you say, nearly to Kabul."

"Do you remember anything about the Sahibs?"

"It is long ago, but I remember that one Sahib, a fat man and always angry, was playing here one night, and he said to me:— 'Mangal Khan, brandy-pani do,' and I filled the glass, and he bent over the table to strike, and his head fell lower and lower till it hit the table, and his spectacles came off, and when we—the Sahibs and I myself—ran to lift him he was dead. I helped to carry him out. Aha, he was a strong Sahib! But he is dead and I, old Mangal Khan, am still living, by your favor."

That was more than enough! I had my ghost—a firsthand, authenticated article. I would write to the Society for Psychical Research—I would paralyze the Empire with the news! But I would, first of all, put eighty miles of assessed crop land between myself and that *dâk*-bungalow before nightfall. The Society might send their regular agent to investigate later on.

I went into my own room and prepared to pack after noting down the facts of the case. As I smoked I heard the game begin again,—with a miss in balk this time, for the whirl was a short one.

The door was open and I could see into the room. Click—click! That was a cannon. I entered the room without fear, for there was sunlight within and a fresh breeze without. The unseen game was going on at a tremendous rate. And well it might, when a restless little rat was running to and fro inside the dingy ceiling-cloth, and a piece of loose window-sash was making fifty breaks off the window-bolt as it shook in the breeze!

Impossible to mistake the sound of billiard balls! Impossible to mistake the whirl of a ball over the slate! But I was to be excused. Even when I shut my enlightened eyes the sound was marvelously like that of a fast game.

Entered angrily the faithful partner of my sorrows, Kadir Baksh.

²⁶ Alcohol

"This bungalow is very bad and low-caste! No wonder the Presence was disturbed and is speckled. Three sets of doolie-bearers came to the bungalow late last night when I was sleeping outside, and said that it was their custom to rest in the rooms set apart for the English people! What honor has the *khansamah*? They tried to enter, but I told them to go. No wonder, if these Oorias have been here, that the Presence is sorely spotted. It is shame, and the work of a dirty man!"

Kadir Baksh did not say that he had taken from each gang two annas²⁷ for rent in advance, and then, beyond my earshot, had beaten them with the big green umbrella whose use I could never before divine. But Kadir Baksh has no notions of morality.

There was an interview with the *khansamah*, but as he promptly lost his head, wrath gave place to pity, and pity led to a long conversation, in the course of which he put the fat Engineer-Sahib's tragic death in three separate stations—two of them fifty miles away. The third shift was to Calcutta, and there the Sahib died while driving a dogcart.

If I had encouraged him the *khansamah* would have wandered all through Bengal with his corpse.

I did not go away as soon as I intended. I stayed for the night, while the wind and the rat and the sash and the window-bolt played a ding-dong "hundred and fifty up." Then the wind ran out and the billiards stopped, and I felt that I had ruined my one genuine, hall-marked ghost story.

Had I only stopped at the proper time, I could have made ANYTHING out of it.

That was the bitterest thought of all!

²⁷ A local small denomination of currency.

Reading Guide

At home or in class, read the story you have been assigned. As you read, remember to do the following to help you understand the article:

- Read in sections and pause to take notes or talk about the article when you start losing focus.
- Look up new words that confuse you.
- Re-read difficult sections.
- Ask yourself questions as you read and connect to other things you know.

When you have read the story, answer the following questions by working as a team. Every group member should be ready to present and explain your answer to every question. If you need more space, write on another sheet of paper.

What is the title of the story and when was it published?	
What is the story about? Summarize it in a short paragraph.	
Why do you think the author thought of ghosts? What do they want you to understand about living in dâk-bungalows?	
What does this story have to do with nationalism and/or race and identity?	
In the end what did the author find so frightening? How do you think this links up to colonial officials' experience of colonialism?	

Lesson 6

Understanding Political Violence and Narratives

Driving Question

How do narratives shape how we interpret and understand political violence?

Supporting Questions

- How do we understand political violence as a concept, but also an experience which is shaped by context?
- How can political violence be shaped by grand narratives?
- How do groups of people share their narratives of political violence?



Enduring Understandings

It is hoped that students will understand that narratives and the ways they are retained shape how acts of political violence are remembered by witnesses. It is important to retain the narratives of multiple persons who were involved in these acts of political violence so that others can critically analyze these events and learn important lessons in order to prevent political violence, and also recover from it when it happens..

Overview

The goal of this lesson is to read and understand case examples of political violence from a variety of cultures in order to understand the ways that individuals recount these experiences. Rather than providing examples which are filtered through a western perspective, these case examples are provided to allow students to consider and know narratives which are often left out of high school curricula. Students will also be given the chance to think about their role as a witness to these narratives, reflecting on their responsibilities as receivers of this information.

Learning Objectives

To widen students' scope of what is considered political violence, and to challenge them to read beyond essentializing definitions that often constrict the readers' understanding of the complexity of this subject. Students will explore the concept of political violence and develop a better understanding of the common experiences of humanity in interacting with this subject.

Key Concepts

- Political violence
- Shaping history: grand narratives/narrative history
- Responsibility of the witness: global ethics/reflecting/taking action

Teacher Preparation and Instructional Resources

Make copies of printed case examples and discussion questions.
If available, set up video and podcast case examples.

Lesson Handouts/Materials

The mediums through which case examples are presented include podcasts, transcriptions, and videos. While five particular case examples have been selected, any ethically obtained testimony shared by a survivor of political violence can be adapted for this lesson.

Assessment / Final Product

Students can demonstrate understanding at multiple points during the lesson, and teachers should use open-ended questions during discussions as formative assessment.

Students will participate in classroom group discussion, and the teacher can provide students with a self-assessment and reflection tool and can also monitor participation.

Lesson Sequence

Opening

1. Begin this lesson by explaining to the students that they are going to explore how we construct and interpret narratives about events of political violence. Ask the students what comes to mind when they hear the term political violence. Ask them what to explain what a historical narrative is in their own words.

Next, hand out the introduction to political violence and historical narratives (Handout I) and give students time to read and take notes. Ask students to also write down any questions they may have.

Ask several students to share their observations, thoughts, and questions about the topics of political violence and historical narratives. Tell them they will learn more about this political event, the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and that they will get to see examples of historical narratives later to help conceptualize this concept. Explain that they will be exploring how this historical event and narratives portray the perspectives of Japanese and American people, and do a quick Turn and Talk with the following prompt: What do you know about Japan? Have a few students share some of their prior knowledge about Japan.

2. Have students who need it read the handout about the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (Handout II).

Guided Inquiry

1. Ask students to respond in writing to the following questions, then discuss them in pairs, small groups or as a whole class. Prompts can either be provided on a handout or presented on a whiteboard or projector. Students should be instructed to answer the questions in a couple of paragraphs and given around ten minutes to complete the activity.
 - What is your responsibility when learning about and remembering acts of political violence? For example, can you be instrumental in how these events are remembered and understood? How? What examples of political violence from the past or present can you think of to support your opinion?
 - What qualities, skills, circumstances or perspectives are unique to witnesses of political violence — whether today or in the past — and how might they help make their voices uniquely powerful?

Collaborative Inquiry and Sharing

3. Break students up into groups of four. Give them each a different case example to review as a group (Handout III). As they watch, listen or read, have them take notes on the handout, which asks: What do these narrators want to convey? What are they doing to achieve it? What impact are these actions having? What is your reaction to this narrative?
4. Once they have all read the case example for a set amount of time (about 10 minutes depending on time available), have students fill out handout IV regarding their case example. Once this is completed, have the students go to another group to ask what their case example was about in order to complete filling out handout V.
5. Invite them to share ideas in small groups, then, as a class, discuss major takeaways and reflections.
6. Finally, follow up by asking students to discuss:
 - What forms of narrative seem to be the most impacting to you? Why?
 - Do you think these narrators are able to make a lasting impact on this issue? If yes, why? If no, why not?
 - What barriers might they run into? Why?
 - Now that we have heard many narratives about this event, what is our responsibility as witnesses? Why?
 - What reactions or questions do these narratives raise for you? Why?

Reflection and Conclusion, and Assessment

7. To end this lesson, have students complete a personal reflection with an exit pass responding to the following prompt: “Why does understanding narratives about political violence matter? Is it important to represent different peoples who have experiences with political violence accurately and with respect?” Students can respond in writing to this prompt, and you can take it up as a discussion question to open the next class. Be sure to read them and address any interesting and/or problematic ideas during this discussion.

Handout I: A brief overview of political violence

The work of defining political violence comes from the disciplines of comparative politics, international relations, and sociology. Broadly, political violence is perpetrated by people or governments to achieve political goals. **In short, political violence has been defined as, “deliberate infliction or threat of infliction of physical injury or damage for political ends” or violence, “which occurs unintentionally in the course of severe political conflict.”**

Forms of political violence include physical actions such as armed conflict, ethnic cleansing, genocide, and terrorism. In recent years, academics have come to argue that there are other non-physical political actions which also lead to violence. These non-physical government actions include policies and laws, and include processes that serve to marginalize certain groups. Examples of these actions include laws that support xenophobia, segregation, and deportation. A refusal by governments to care for the basic needs of their citizens has been argued to be a form of political violence. These non-physical forms of political violence have included behaviors such as inadequate response to natural disasters, not providing access to clean drinking water, refusal to address ethnic conflict, and establishing no due process of law. Many of these forms of political violence have been supported by the United Nations in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and these rights have been adopted by forty-eight of country's governments.

Other political scientists have gone even further to include governmental refusal to preserve a country for future generations as a form of violence towards marginalized groups. This includes adopting policies which are detrimental to the environment, not managing increases to cost of living, and the refusal to acknowledge increased rates of inter-group violence.

Historical narratives

Historical narratives define and shape how we remember events within society, including moments of political violence. Every society contains multiple narratives that citizens have about their shared experiences. A historical narrative may take the shape of a governmental policy, the recorded testimony of a survivor of violence, or a book written about a political event. Narratives are divided along lines of identity including race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, gender, sexual orientation, age, ability status, and many others.

Although many competing narratives exist, some narratives are adopted by the government for various reasons, then propagated through education and media. These narratives are called **grand narratives** or master narratives. These terms were introduced by Jean-François Lyotard in his 1979 work *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. In this work, Lyotard included many views which were being developed as a critique of the institutional and ideological forms of knowledge. The danger of a grand narrative is that, in propagating one perspective of historical events, others are left out. In supporting one narrative while discarding others, we encourage an education which is one-sided, biased, and inaccurate.

Along with these consequences, adopting a unitary narrative about historical events has direct implications on the individuals and groups whose narratives are left out. The adoption of one narrative often means the erasure of others. In erasing these accounts, we fail to remember the experiences these groups have witnessed. We also fail to fully understand how policies and events have impacted the marginalized groups. By adopting one narrative and leaving out by others, we create a hierarchy in which the grand narrative is seen as the most correct account of history, while others are viewed as inconsequential, frivolous, or at their worst, fabricated. For marginalized groups that have been struggling against systems which permeate political violence towards them, the impact of the adoption of a grand narrative ensures that their struggles, and the violence, will continue.

Based on the notion that there exists a hierarchy of knowledge that is preferential to people in positions of power, it becomes imperative for equality to employ an approach which centers the perspectives of marginalized groups. In the social sciences, this approach has been operationalized as **narrative history**. This method of documenting historical events includes story-telling, where the narrator gives their account of events through their own perspective. Unlike traditional narratives, narrative history is less concerned with the sequence of events as it is about obtaining the narrator's personal account about how they were impacted. Examples of narrative historical accounts related to political violence include The Diary of Anne Frank and testimonies from Japanese survivors of the atomic bombing.

The role of the witness

The narrative historical approach was developed to empower marginalized persons to contribute their stories as equally valuable historical knowledge. However, there are contestations regarding the ethics of this approach, and scholars have claimed that seeking out these testimonies from survivors of political violence require them to traumatically re-tell these events while getting nothing in return. Another criticism of this approach relates to the responsibility of the consumer of this information. The modern witness of historical narratives is thus faced with a difficult challenge. In 'bearing witness' to another person's account of experiencing political violence, what actions is the receiver expected to take? The following lesson proposes one possible solution through a facilitated reading of historical narratives from survivors of political violence. This lesson hopes to help students answer the pressing question regarding political violence: How can the witness incorporate this narrative in a way that goes beyond voyeurism and moves towards restorative action?

Handout II: Atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, 1945

On August 6, 1945, during World War II (1939-45), the United States dropped the world's first deployed atomic bomb over the Japanese city of Hiroshima. The explosion wiped out 90 percent of the city and immediately killed 80,000 people; tens of thousands more would later die of radiation exposure. Three days later, a second A-bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, killing an estimated 40,000 people. Japan's Emperor Hirohito announced his country's unconditional surrender in World War II in a radio address on August 15, citing the devastating power of "a new and most cruel bomb."²⁸ US President Truman authorized the use of the atom bombs in an effort to bring about Japan's surrender in the Second World War.

Truman's decision was framed by his belief that the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki would shorten the war and thereby save the lives of tens or hundreds of thousands of American soldiers as well as untold numbers of Japanese soldiers and citizens. However, in the years following the war—and to this day—the United States' use of nuclear bombs against the civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki has had both proponents and detractors. Many questions remain about the necessity of using the bomb and its moral implications: Would the United States have acted so quickly to use nuclear weapons against Europeans? Was racism against the Japanese an element in the decision? Might the United States have exploded a nuclear bomb on an uninhabited island to demonstrate the bomb's terrible power instead of destroying two cities? Might the United States have been able to gain Japan's unconditional surrender by other means? The debate over the bomb – whether there should have been a test demonstration, whether the Nagasaki bomb was necessary, and more – continues to this day.

The survivors of the bombings are called *hibakusha*. Memorials for bombing victims in Hiroshima and Nagasaki contain lists of the names of the hibakusha who are known to have died since the bombings. Hibakusha and their children are victims of fear-based discrimination and exclusion when it comes to prospects of marriage or work due to public ignorance about the consequences of radiation sickness. Much of the public persist with the belief that the Hibakusha carry hereditary and contagious disease.

Many steps have been taken by hibakusha and allies to ensure that the message of the atomic bomb survivors is shared. Peace advocacy became prevalent in both cities with bombing survivors continuing to advocate internationally to this day. Advocacy has taken the form of sharing their testimonies and contributing to the development of international nonprofits aimed at nuclear disarmament.

(If available, play this video after the handout is read: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hgp6ZH-by-E> or <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t19kvUiHvAE>)

²⁸ History.com: <https://www.history.com/topics/world-war-ii/bombing-of-hiroshima-and-nagasaki>

Handout III: Case Examples

Case example 1: Last Surviving Crew Member Has 'No Regrets' About Bombing Hiroshima²⁹

Russell Gackenbach was a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army Air Corps and a navigator on the mission. Today, the 95-year-old is the only surviving crew member of those three planes.

Gackenbach enlisted in the Army Aviation Cadet Program in 1943. After completing his training, he was approached by Col. Paul Tibbets, who was recruiting officers for a special mission. Tibbets said it would be dangerous but if they were successful, it could end the war. The 509th Composite Group, led by Tibbets, spent months training in Wendover, Utah, before being shipped off to an American air base on the Pacific island of Tinian.



Their planes were reconfigured B-29 Superfortress bombers. They had different engines, fewer guns and a larger bomb bay. But at the time, Gackenbach didn't know any of this.

"I never heard the words 'atomic bomb,' " he tells Radio Diaries. "We were only told what we needed to know, and keep your mouth shut."

The planes took off around 2 a.m. on Aug. 6, 1945. Gackenbach was part of the 10-man crew that flew on the Necessary Evil.

"We were told that once the explosion occurred, we should not look directly at it, that we should not go through the cloud," he says. "We were not told anything about the cloud, just [told] don't go through it."

As they made their final approach to Hiroshima, they were flying 30,000 feet over the city. Then, the radio went dead: that was the signal from the Enola Gay that the bomb had been released. The first thing Gackenbach saw was a blinding light and then the start of a mushroom cloud. He got out of his seat, quickly picked up his camera and took two photographs out the navigator's side window.

The plane circled twice around the mushroom cloud and then turned to head home.

²⁹ [NPR](#), Last Surviving Crew Member Has 'No Regrets' About Bombing Hiroshima. August, 2018.

"Things were very, very quiet," Gackenbach says. "We just looked at each other; we didn't talk. We were all dumbfounded."

Gackenbach was discharged in 1947 and went on to work as a materials engineer for 35 years. In 2011, he returned to Japan to visit the Hiroshima Peace Memorial.

"After 73 years, I do not regret what we did that day. All war's hell," he said. "The Japanese started the war; it was our turn to finish it."

Case example 2: In Japan and America, more and more people think Hiroshima bombing was wrong³⁰

As of May 2016, President Obama became the first incumbent American president to visit Hiroshima, the Japanese city that was devastated when the United States dropped an atomic bomb on Aug. 6, 1945.

Even so, such a visit may reflect shifting viewpoints of Americans on Hiroshima. Last year, Pew Research Center compiled a number of polls about public attitudes to the bombings in America and Japan.

In the first Gallup poll from 1945 just after the bombings, a huge 85 percent of Americans approved the bombings. However, figures from 2005 show a significant decline to 57 percent. Meanwhile, another poll conducted by the Detroit Free Press in the United States and Japan in 1991 found that 63 percent of Americans thought that the bombings were justified in a bid to end the war, while just 29 percent of Japanese did.

When Pew followed up on that question in 2015, they found that the numbers of people who thought the bombings were justified had dropped in both America and Japan — to 56 percent among Americans and just 14 percent among Japanese. The total percentage of people who thought the bombings were unjustified stood at 79 percent in Japan, up from 64 percent in 1991. In America, those who thought they were unjustified rose to 34 percent, from 29 percent in 1991.

The widespread support for the bombing of Hiroshima among Americans has long led incumbent U.S. presidents to refuse to visit the city, fearing it would be construed as an apology. Obama's visit seems to reflect the perception that support for the bombings has dropped, even if he doesn't apologize.

While many Japanese view the bombings as unjustifiable, some in Hiroshima may well be satisfied even without an apology.

"What's done is done," one Hiroshima resident told The Washington Post in 2009. "I don't need an apology. But if Obama hasn't seen what an A-bomb can do to you, then he should come and look.

³⁰ [Washington Post](#), In Japan and America, more and more people think Hiroshima bombing was wrong. May, 2016.

Case example 3: Transcript from study.³¹ Anonymous participant. Participant is hibakusha, survivor of the Hiroshima atomic bombing of 1945.

“I remember the day of the bombing quite well. I was exactly 9 years old. I was 9 at the time of the bombing and there was school... well rather than school, it was just supplementary lessons. But there was school like that, with students from 1st through 6th grade. The war got really bad after that. I don't remember when I started to go, if it was during 2nd grade, the bomb was dropped when I was in the 3rd grade. But the teacher for the supplementary lessons started coming a little before that. So I went to a place that was close, well around 300 meters from my house. I would go at 8:15AM and play outside. And then there was a flash, and everyone - my classmates - rushed inside. After that I lost consciousness and don't remember what happened. I was trapped beneath the rubble of the building. A lot of people died right then. Since the houses were made of wood - there was a foundation like this, and the house was built on top and it was flattened - there was some height, so I was in a place that had height. It wasn't flattened. I saw some light, and at first I was like this. I remember that well, that I was on my stomach like this. So I went towards the light. I remember getting out. The back of the dress I was wearing at the time was ripped. It was ripped, and when I went out there was one of my friends with blood all over their face. That kid was one year younger than me. Since they were standing outside with blood all over their face, I took them and escaped together. Or rather, since the kid had relatives near the school, I left them there and I went home. Even though I went home, everything was a sea of fire. There was no one in the house, and my parents weren't there. Since I was at school I was separated from my parents. Because I realized I can't go home, I backtracked to school and there was a neighbor, or rather, I don't know how to say... there were some people running away and she said that we should escape together, so I ran away with her.

Then, I ran with those people into a field. For now, we had escaped in the field. At the time the sky was dark. It was dark, and people who were burnt black, like rags were hanging off of them, started coming and coming. I started to think, “what happened? What is this?” Those people eventually died. So a lot of people like that came. I was in the field for many hours, but by coincidence somebody who lived above my house came by. They told me that they could take to me where my mother was. So I went with that person, and my parents were there. (ST note: Not sure if parents or parent) How do you say - far away there were my mother and the child, my brother who was 45 days old. There they were, my mother carrying my younger brother, and my older brother. I was able to reunite with my parents there... I reunited with my parents.

³¹ 'A Qualitative Study of Collective Memory and Mourning in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan. 2018.

I think it was at night. There was no food or anything in the field. When we went back home, our house was in an unlivable state. In the past we had these things called air raid shelters. We lived inside the shelter for many months. It was right next to our house then. How do you say - we were able to go inside and get things in our house. So we slept in the air raid shelter.

And there's one more memory that I can't forget. It was the night of August 6th when we were living in the air raid shelter. At night. At my place there was a river. [People] probably came up to my place by sailing through the river with a boat. Since they could hear the sound of the pump, they kept saying, 'please give me water, please give me water'" I really can't forget that. 'Please give me water.'"

Case Example 4: Transcript from study. Anonymous participant. Participant is hibakusha, survivor of the Nagasaki atomic bombing of 1945.³²

“I’m personally a victim of the bombing... At the time, I had been evacuated, and entered the city immediately afterwards, which means I’m called a “entrance bombing victim.” However, my parents and younger sister were exposed to the bombing in Nagasaki and were quite heavily injured. My father lost sight in one eye, and my younger sister’s throat became damaged right afterwards. Even though she had surgery and such later, her voice... her voice became very hoarse. After that, she couldn’t go to school and was constantly in and out of the hospital. When she entered middle school, she was already 15 years old. You’re really supposed to start middle school when you’re 12, but she was 15. She could only go for the first semester of the first year of middle school, and after that, she was always in and out of the hospital, basically living there, for the rest of her life until she was 44. So her mandatory education wasn’t at all... she never finished middle school. So for my family, the day of the bombing is really... a day [to assert that] we must get rid of atomic bombs, we must never do this again.

I’m not sure if it’s something to share, but... You see, every single person passed away in a different fashion. Even within myself... my mother was the first to pass, even though she was the healthiest, she passed away first. And next my father passed, and my younger sister passed, and my older sister passed. And now on top of that, my older sister is approaching her final days - that’s the order so far. I approached every person’s death differently within myself. I felt most pity for my younger sister, because she spent life in a hospital for 20, close to 30, 20-something years. I was so surprised when she said confided in me that she wanted to think about suicide. Rather than surprise - I talked to her about needing to consider our parents’ feelings, and asked her to please think about our feelings as well. I was able to convince her. Somehow that worked out. Hospital life means that you have to live within a very limited community, right. Thinking about how she spent her entire youth that way, I feel like she must have felt like she was in jail, like a prisoner. And in the end she developed glaucoma and became unable to see. My younger sister and I took care of her for a while. I... I was surprised when she said something like, “Helen Keller had three hardships, I wonder how many I have.” And she became unable to see. When she said that “not even a single ray of light shines anymore,” I was surprised. Her voice wouldn’t come out, the voice that we take for granted. She couldn’t be at all active like other people. She couldn’t play. Thinking of her spending her life within those circumstances... I feel that I have to help get rid of nuclear weapons with her life in my hands.”

³²A Qualitative Study of Collective Memory and Mourning in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan. 2018.

Handout IV: Case example reading guide

With your reading group, read the case example you have been assigned. As you read, remember to do the following to help you understand the article:

- Read in sections and pause to take notes or talk about the case example when you start losing focus.
- Look up new words that confuse you.
- Re-read difficult sections.
- Ask yourself questions as you read and connect to other things you know.
- Check with your group members and discuss your ideas.

When your group has read your case example, answer the following questions by working as a team. Every group member should be ready to present and explain your answer to every question. If you need more space, write on another sheet of paper.

What is the title of your case example?	
What is your case example about? Summarize it in a short paragraph.	
Why do you think the author of this case example wrote it? What do they want you to understand?	
What does this case example have to do with political violence and historical narratives?	
Is this case example mainly a grand narrative, or is it another type? Is it both? Explain your answer.	

Handout V: Case Example Synthesis

<p style="text-align: center;">Case Example 1</p> <p>Title:</p> <p>Big Idea:</p> <p>Main Takeaway:</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Case Example 2</p> <p>Title:</p> <p>Big Idea:</p> <p>Main Takeaway:</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Case Example 3</p> <p>Title:</p> <p>Big Idea:</p> <p>Main Takeaway:</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Case Example 4</p> <p>Title:</p> <p>Big Idea:</p> <p>Main Takeaway:</p>

Lesson 7

The “Uncivilized” in Thailand: I “belong” here. This is “home.”

Driving Question

How do different nations construct their national identity, and who gets left out of this identity?

Supporting Questions

- What does it mean to be Thai? Who lives in Thailand that does not get to claim this identity?
- What does it mean to be from a hill tribe in Thailand?
- What are the rights and benefits of citizenship that get denied to some people in Thailand?
- How are the elite using administrative, political, and institutional systems as tools to prevent these groups from accessing Thai citizenship?



Enduring Understandings

- Thailand is an ethnically and culturally diverse nation--there is no such thing as a *true Thai*.
- As in many nations, ideas of citizenship and belonging to the nation in Thailand are used by the elite government to exclude certain ethnic minority groups and deny them equal rights and opportunities provided to the dominant groups.
- The elite marginalize particular groups by categorizing and denying them access to Thai citizenship, a practice deeply rooted in Thailand’s long and violent history with these groups.

Overview

In this lesson, students will begin the process of learning about the country of Thailand and its unique and diverse population. Then they will identify one of Thailand’s biggest challenges, the issue of ethnic minority groups not accessing citizenship. They will read short articles, analyze a demographic map, and watch a video clip. The goal of this activity is to challenge students to

ask questions about how nations establish and maintain a national identity, how groups are defined and excluded, and how these complex issues of national identity, marginalization, and exclusion violate people's human rights to become a part of/to belong to their own country/home.

Learning Objectives

- Students will be able to summarize basic facts about Thailand, including about its geography, government, people, and culture.
- Students will be able to explain the demographic diversity of Thailand.
- Students will identify and discuss the biggest challenge in Thailand -- citizenship and the denial of citizenship to certain groups..
- Students will analyze the different ways that issue of citizenship impact different groups of people, particularly members of the Hill Tribes, in Thailand.

Key Concepts

- Ethnic Identity
- Marginalization
- Thai vs. "other"
- Citizenship

Teacher Preparation and Instructional Resources

- This lesson requires students to work in groups, and also requires video projection and copies of handouts. Be sure to have a grouping plan in place and make copies in advance.

Lesson Handouts/Materials

- *Handout 1: Background Information on the Kingdom of Thailand*
- *Handout 2: Thai Citizenship and the Hill Tribes*

Assessment / Final Product

- Students can demonstrate understanding at multiple points during the lesson, and teachers should use open-ended questions during discussions as formative assessment moments.
- Students can be graded on their participation in discussions, and their use of evidence from sources in discussions, and also on completion of handouts.
- Independent learning can be assessed through their final activity, the Exit Pass.
- Extension opportunities for assessment can include a comparative research paper in which students research the experiences of the Hill Tribes in Thailand and compare them to the experiences of a group that was denied citizenship in the United States in the past (African-Americans, Native Americans, different immigrant groups at different historical moments).

Lesson Sequence

Opening

1. Begin this lesson by establishing some basic **Ground Rules** for discussion, such as the ones below.
 - Bring no harm to yourself or anyone around you.
 - At any point if you feel uncomfortable, please feel free to step out.
 - Please no talking when someone is sharing.
 - Please realize that as a facilitator and you as participants are all engaging together equally.
2. Engage students in a brainstorming and prior knowledge activation activity using the prompt, “What do you know about Thailand?” Give them one to two minutes to work with a partner to jot down as many ideas as they can. When time is up, have several different students share their information. Explain that they will now read a short article to add to this knowledge, and to evaluate if their current thinking is accurate.

Guided Inquiry

3. Pass out *Handout 1, Background Information on the Kingdom of Thailand*, a four-page packet. Have students look at the last page, which is a note taking table, and call their attention to the categories. Have them work in small groups (3-4 students) to read each section and study each image or graphic. They should each take notes in the own table as they go, writing down information their group agrees is important. After each group has read the document and taken notes, discuss each section with the class, asking different groups to share down the key ideas they noted. Then have students complete the “I used

to think.... but now I think” prompt at the end, or if they have already done it, have them share. Ask students what new information they learned about Thailand that surprised them.

Collaborative Inquiry and Sharing

4. Next, pass out *Handout 2, Thai Citizenship and the Hill Tribes*, and also prepare to show the linked video (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1p3bXBxYNZE>). The video is titled “A Right to Belong (Trailer),” in case the link is no longer active.

Review the instructions on the handout, and have students be prepared to take notes while they watch the video. Show the video and make sure students are taking notes and paying attention. If time allows, consider showing the video twice, once with students just watching, and once with them taking notes. Give students time to talk with a partner about what they found interesting or surprising, and then quickly process the video as a whole class by having them share thoughts and questions.

Then direct the students to work with a partner or in a small group to read the short article and then complete the questions on the handout. Be sure to tell them they can use additional paper if the need more space to write, and remind them that they should reference the video and their notes as well to answer the questions.

Reflection and Conclusion

5. To end the lesson, have students discuss the following questions connected to Handout 2 in their small groups:
 - Why do you think the government of Thailand has denied citizenship to the Hill Tribes?
 - What inferences (best guesses) can you make about general attitudes in Thailand’s elite society towards the people of the Hill Tribes?
 - Are there similar patterns of attitudes and denial of rights in the United States?

Have each group take jot down their main ideas in response to each question. When they have discussed each, bring the class back together. Have one group share their thinking on one question, and ask at least two other groups to support (agree with), extend (add to), or challenge (politely disagree with) the ideas shared by the group. Make sure you ask them to provide evidence/information to support their ideas. Use this procedure until each question has been answered and every group has participated.

Be prepared to help students draw comparisons between Thai treatment of people from the Hill Tribes and the treatment of Native Americans in the United States, or the treatment of African Americans. It was not until 1924 that all Native Americans were officially granted citizenship in the United States, 141 years after the Constitution was established! African-Americans were not recognized as citizens by the United States until the Civil Rights Act of

1866 and the 14th Amendment of 1868, and were effectively denied actual citizenship rights for many years afterward by Jim Crow laws and voter suppression.

Assessment

6. To conclude the lesson, have the students complete an Exit Pass in which they respond to the following prompts:
 - Using the example of the Hill Tribes of Thailand, explain why the right to citizenship is so important and should not be denied to people because of their ethnic and cultural background. Using examples from what you learned, explain how whole communities of people can suffer because of this kind of situation.

Handout 1: Background Information on the Kingdom of Thailand

Geography



(Map of Thailand)³³



(Floating Market)³⁴

Thailand is “in the heart of Southeast Asia” and its neighboring countries are Myanmar (Burma) (northwest), Cambodia (east), Laos (northeast), and Malaysia (south). The shape of Thailand is believed to look similar to the shape of an elephant’s head and trunk (the north and northeast regions of Thailand are the ears and neck and the southern region of Thailand is the trunk).³⁵ Thailand is known for its fresh and tropical fruits and vegetables, dishes full of spices, coconut milk, lemon grass, ginger, peanuts, fresh noodles, and floating markets. Bangkok is the capital of Thailand. It was once known as the Venice of the East due to its canals.³⁶

People and Culture



(the Karen)³⁷



(the Lahu)³⁸



(the Hmong)³⁹

³³ National Geographic Kids. (2019). [online] Available at: <https://kids.nationalgeographic.com/explore/countries/thailand/#thailand-floating-market.jpg>

³⁴ National Geographic Kids. (2019). [online] Available at: <https://kids.nationalgeographic.com/explore/countries/thailand/#thailand-floating-market.jpg>

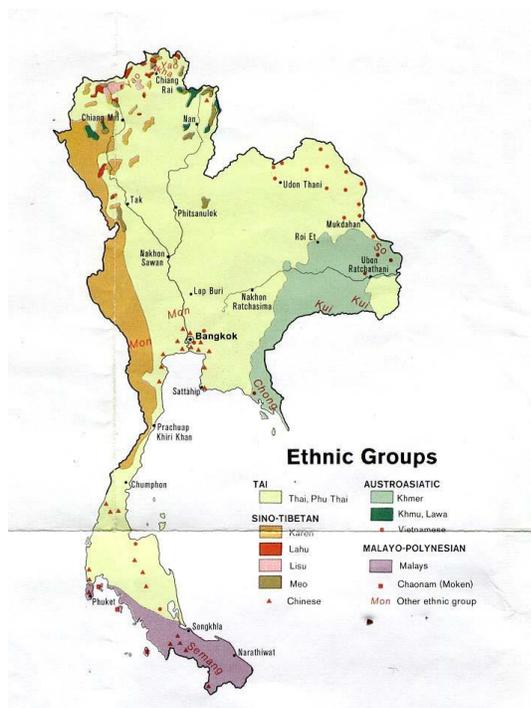
³⁵ Scott, D. (2019). Thailand is shaped like an Elephant. [online] Streetdirectory.com. Available at: https://www.streetdirectory.com/travel_guide/209294/asia_destinations/thailand_is_shaped_like_an_elephant.html

³⁶ Binsky, D. (2018). *World's Longest City Name? (Bangkok is 168 Letters!)*. [online] YouTube. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ArMhMpQFsnU> [Accessed 28 Feb. 2019].

³⁷ Photo courtesy of Andy and Matteo

³⁸ Photo courtesy of Andy and Matteo

³⁹ Photo courtesy of Andy and Matteo



(A map of the demographics in Thailand)⁴⁰

Thailand has a population of 69 million people and a diverse population of ethnic groups. The dominant religion in Thailand is Buddhism. The official language of Thailand is Central Thai. According to anthropologist Pinkaew Laungaramsri, being Thai is defined as someone who speaks Central Thai, Buddhists, and loyal to the Royal Thai Family (Laungaramsri, 157). An estimated one million highland indigenous people reside in the northern, mountainous region of Thailand.⁴¹ Of these, Rika Fujioka, a researcher at the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) in Bangkok, Thailand, asserts that there are “3527 [highland ethnic minority] villages in 20 [different] provinces of Thailand.”

The province that has the biggest population of highland ethnic minorities is Chiang Mai (Fujioka R., 3, 2002). In Chiang Mai alone, there are over 20 different ethnic minority groups. The Thai government, however, recognizes only ten highland ethnic minority groups across all provinces—Karen (*Kariang*), Hmong (*Miao or Meo*), Lahu (*Museu*), Akha (*Ikho*), Mien (*Yao*), H' tin (*Thin*), Lisu (*Liso*), Lua (*Lüa*), Khmu (*Khamu*), and Mlabri (Pesses A., 11, 2007; Minority Rights Group International; Keyes C., 28-29).⁴² All ten

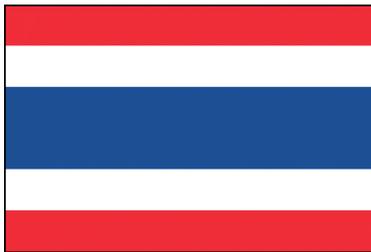
⁴⁰ Photo courtesy of the University of Texas at Austin

⁴¹ Minority Rights Group International is a non-governmental organization in the United Kingdom that advocates for marginalized/indigenous groups in the world.

⁴² For a long time, I didn't understand how or why highland ethnic minority groups were being listed in the order that they were when scholars discussed about them. I didn't think it matter or signified something significant. However, according to Abigaël Pesses, she listed each group in the order of most to least importance. Due to this

highland ethnic minority groups are categorized under the category “Hill Tribes” (*Chao Khao*).⁴³ The Karen (47.18%), the Hmong (16.32), and the Lahu (11.21%) have the largest population among the ten groups (Fujioka R., 3, 2002). According to anthropologist Prasit Leepreecha and Kwanchewan Buadaeng, these groups are categorized by the Thai government under one group because the Thai government believes that they are all homogeneous—living in remote areas in the mountains; hunting wild animals; growing local crops as their primary food source using swidden agriculture; using herbal medicines; and lacking their own written language.

Government



(Thai Flag)⁴⁴



(Emerald Buddha)⁴⁵



(Former King - King Rama IX)⁴⁶

Siam, formerly known as Thailand, was the only Southeast Asian country that was not colonized. Originally a Monarchy government, governed by a long reign of Thai kings, Thailand transitioned to a Constitutional Monarchy after a 1932 revolution. The country still has a King and the *Lèse majesté* law prevents people in Thailand to speak badly of the royal family. Although Thailand does not presently have a Prime Minister due to political tension, Thailand has a long history of prime ministers who were male dominant ruling Thailand until 2011 when the first woman prime minister was elected.

new discovery, I have decided to list the groups the same way she listed hers in order to better understand how the Thai government prioritize each of the highland ethnic minority groups.

⁴³ Chao khao (hill tribe), khon tang dao (alien people), and meo (dirty and stupid) are some of the names the dominant group calls highland ethnic minorities (Chamsuwan & Poomsrikaew, 2004). For this paper, I will mainly use highland ethnic minorities or refer each group according to their accepted name.

⁴⁴ National Geographic Kids. (2019). [online] Available at: <https://kids.nationalgeographic.com/explore/countries/thailand/#thailand-floating-market.jpg>

⁴⁵ Peterson, J. (2012). File: Emerald Buddha, August 2012, Bangkok.jpg - Wikimedia Commons. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Emerald_Buddha,_August_2012,_Bangkok.jpg

⁴⁶ Olarn, K., & Cripps, K. (2017). Thailand's royal cremation ceremony caps year of mourning. Retrieved from <https://www.cnn.com/2017/10/26/asia/thailand-king-bhumibol-adulyadej-cremation/index.html>

Geography:	
Government:	
People, Diversity, and Culture:	
Comments/Notes/Questions:	
I used to think that Thailand was... but now I think that...	

Handout 2: Thai Citizenship and the Hill Tribes

Watch this short video clip. Video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1p3bXBxYNZE>

Take notes on who the mountain people, or hill tribes, are, and how their lives are impacted because their government will not give them citizenship. Then read the paragraph below and work with your group to answer the questions on the next page.

More than 10 million people in the world cannot access citizenship (Jedsadachaiyut, N., & Al-jasem, N., 2016), which means they lack certain rights and benefits given to others living in their home nations. In 1997 in Thailand, an estimated of 496,245 highland indigenous people—over half of the population—lacked Thai citizenship status. Although in 2005, the number decreased to 480,000,⁴⁷ but was still extremely high. More recently, according to United Nations Human Rights Commission, there are “438,821 people registered as stateless” in Thailand specifically. “Stateless” means that no nation has granted them citizenship status.

Without Thai Citizenship, ethnic minorities are denied of their rights to access education, vote, work, travel, health services, legal services, and property (Coconut Bangkok, Benar News, & Centre for Multiculturalism and Education). If caught by the authority, they can be deported, arrested, or abused (Pesses, 11).

By 2024, the Thai government plans to reduce this number of statelessness to zero. However, the government’s goal is problematic because they have not explained how they are going to do this, and they have not included the very people who lack citizenship in this process. Over 377,677 people from highland ethnic minority groups in Thailand are not registered for citizenship, and thus are not able to participate in the political system, so how will they participate in the shaping of the new citizenship status? How will their voices and concerns be heard? In addition, people in these groups have very little access to education because they are not provided resources and rights by the government, so they are being denied the information and tools they need to learn about and fight for their rights. This lack of education and resources help explain why these groups continue to be the poorest in Thailand (Pesses A., 11; Minority Rights Group).

⁴⁷ This report was written by the Centre for Multiculturalism and Education Policy, Faculty of Education at Chiang Mai University with a collaboration with and support from the Indigenous Women Network of Thailand (IWNT), CEDAW Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) Report Working Group, and the Network for the Advancement of Women and Peace.

Handout for video clip & short article (paragraph)

<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Who are the “mountain people” or “hill tribes,” and how many do not have citizenship? 2. What are some of the rights denied to these groups of people because they government does not give them citizenship? 3. How does this lack of citizenship impact their lives? 4. What does it mean to be Thai? 5. What does it mean to be a hill tribe? 6. Were there ever groups of people in the United States that were denied citizenship? 7. Why do you think governments give rights and privileges to some groups and not others?	
<p>Comments/Notes/Questions:</p>	

Lesson 8

Where is “home”? A case study of Cambodian- American refugee immigration and deportation



Driving Questions

How can a homeland be lost?

What happens when a person’s home, identity, and residency status do not overlap? Who gets to decide where your homeland is located?

Supporting Questions

Historical Background of Cambodian Immigration:

- What are the various factors that lead to migration and immigration around the world and throughout human history? Consider voluntary or involuntary reasons.
- How did most Cambodian-Americans come to be in the United States?
 - What is the historical background of Cambodian immigration to the United States?
 - When, why, and how did most Cambodian-Americans arrive as refugees?

Lived Experiences of Refugees after Resettlement in the United States:

- What factors account for the wellbeing of an individual? How might these factors intersect or affect one another? (For example, how might employment and steady income influence one’s health?)
 - With these factors in mind, what are common or shared experiences found among Cambodian-American refugees after resettlement in the United States?
 - What challenges did Cambodian-American refugees face in their new home (physical health, mental health, education, employment/financial, social, linguistic, family/relationships, etc.)? How do these challenges differ from other groups in the United States (Americans whose families have lived in the United States for many generations, other immigrant groups, etc.)?
 - How do the experiences of Cambodian-Americans who came as adults differ from Cambodians who came as babies or young children? What difficulties do adult refugees face versus what difficulties do younger refugees face?
 - How do different generational groups think of the concept of “home” or “homeland”? (Where would each consider their home, based on their memories or lived experiences?)

- How might intergenerational trauma and conflict between the parents' generation and the children's generation affect refugee families?
- How might their experiences in the United States after resettlement lead Cambodian-American refugees into committing criminal offense or having a criminal record?
- United States citizenship offers protection from deportation. What barriers prevent non-citizen Cambodian-American refugees from being naturalized? (financial, linguistic, bureaucratic)
 - What knowledge or resources might help create a pathway to U.S. citizenship?
 - If non-citizen minors are unable to initiate the naturalization process themselves, what other options are available to them?
- Why are the plight of Cambodian-American refugees (and other Southeast Asian-American refugees) often ignored?
 - How does lumping Southeast Asian-American refugees under the term of "Asian-American" hide differences within different ethnic groups?
- After learning about the difficulties and challenges Cambodian-American refugees faced, how might we help future refugees resettle and adapt to life in the United States today and in the future?

Citizenship, Criminality, and Deportation:

- What are the various residency statuses among people living in the United States?
 - What is the difference between a United States citizen versus a non-citizen? What rights do citizens have over non-citizens?
 - What are the various ways one may become a United States citizen?
- What are the residency statuses of Cambodians when they first step foot in the U.S. in the 1980s?
 - In what situations do these statuses change? How might Cambodians change their residency status?
- What is criminal deportation?
 - What is the residency status of Cambodian-American refugees who are facing criminal deportation?
 - How have immigration laws and policies in the 1990s affected Cambodian-American immigrants who have a criminal offense?
 - What is The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996?
 - Even though non-citizen Cambodian-American refugees are in the United States legally, why are there a large number of Cambodian-Americans with deportation orders and why have Cambodian-Americans been deported to Cambodia?
 - What crimes are deportable?
 - If a citizen and a non-citizen commit the same crime, why are they treated differently?
 - What fears drive criminal deportation? What drove the passage of the 1996 Act?
 - What is the narrative surrounding "good immigrants" versus "bad immigrants"? Why are some immigrants seen as deserving to live in the United States while others are undeserving?
- Why do some people, like Cambodian-American deportees, lose the right to live in the only place they call home?
 - Do people deserve second chances?
 - Can people rehabilitate and change?
 - Should people be deported for old criminal offenses from their youths?

- If a crime (like possession of marijuana) is now legal or if a crime changes its severity, should a deportee come back?

Home, Identity, and Residency Status: Life before and after Deportation

- How might the concepts of “home,” “identity,” and “residency status” overlap or not overlap for individuals?
- Where is “home” for a Cambodian-American refugee who came to the United States as a young child?
 - Why does the United States consider Cambodia their “home”?
- If many Cambodian-American refugees grew up in the United States and have never been to Cambodia, cannot speak Khmer (Cambodian language), do not understand Cambodian culture, what difficulties might they face when they are deported to Cambodia? Compare and contrast the difficulties their parents may have faced when they first came to the United States.
 - Consider the families Cambodian-American deportees leave behind. How might their absence affect their loved ones in the United States?
- Because the United States cannot deport all Cambodian-Americans with deportation orders at one time, Cambodian-American refugees with deportation orders live in limbo, never knowing when they will be deported. How might this limbo affect Cambodian-American refugees with deportation order and their families?

Enduring Understandings

Historical Background of Cambodian Immigration:

- The nation of Cambodia was engulfed in war and violence during the 1970s.
- Between 1975 and 1994 close to 150,000 Cambodians were brought to the United States under refugee status and resettled by the US government in different communities across the US.
- Within one year, Cambodian refugees became lawful permanent residents. After living in the United States for five years, they can apply to become U.S. citizens through naturalization.

Lived Experiences of Refugees after Resettlement in the United States:

- Cambodian immigrants with refugee status were given little support by the government and struggled to adapt to US society. Most people did not speak much English, many did not have much formal education due to years of war, and they generally did not have much in the way of financial resources. Many suffered from mental health issues like Post Traumatic Stress Disorder due to the war and violence. Many refugees were dropped off into low-income neighborhoods and left to fend for themselves in a new and foreign land.
- Within this population, however, were babies and young children, including some who were born in Thai refugee camps after their parents fled Cambodia and before they resettled in the United States. These Cambodian-Americans grew up in the United States. They may have never step foot in Cambodia and may not speak Khmer.

- Cambodian-American refugee youths who grew up in the United States faced racism, discrimination, and assault in school and in their community. Some may have joined gangs as a form of protection.
- Some youths had conflicts with their family over different beliefs and expectations, caught between American values and their parents' values. Some youths faced identity crises, not understanding their family background and family history, how and why they came to the United States, because their own history is not taught in school and because their parents may have been unable to talk about the death and genocide they witnessed in Cambodia.
- Cambodian-American youths struggled in school. Their parents were unable to help them for many reasons. They did not have an understanding of the American education system and were unable to help their children with homework. Many youth come from low-income families so parents may have been physically and/or mentally absent, working long hours to make ends meet or suffering from PTSD and depression.
- Many of these issues may have led young Cambodian-American refugees to become involved with the criminal justice system.
 - Some may even have pled guilty to crimes they did not commit for various reasons: unwilling to snitch on friends, wanting to avoid a lengthy trial, etc.
- Many statistical surveys aggregate and lump Asian-Americans together, hiding disparities between different ethnic groups.
 - Due to their shared history of war, trauma, and refugee resettlement in the U.S., Southeast Asian-Americans (Cambodians, Vietnamese, Laotian, and Hmong) differ from other Asian-American groups in many ways.
 - Advocates for Southeast Asian-American refugees recommend moving away from a simple "Asian-American" race and ethnicity box and moving toward disaggregate categories so that we can obtain better information about Southeast Asian-Americans.
- There are many barriers to naturalization.
 - Many Cambodian-Americans were unaware of the protection citizenship granted as many assumed that lawful permanent residents were afforded the same rights. This was partly true until the passage of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996.
 - Many Cambodian-American refugee youths never thought about the residency status.
 - Currently, it costs \$725 to take the naturalization test each time.
 - Not all applicants pass on their first try.
 - With few exceptions, applicants must know English to pass the exam.
 - Exam questions may be difficult for some.
 - Non-citizen minors can only acquire U.S. citizenship when at least one of their parents naturalize as U.S. citizens, also known as derivative U.S. citizenship.

- Non-citizen minors are unable to initiate the naturalization process. They can either wait until they are at least 18 or they can derive U.S. citizenship through their parents, relying on their parents to initiate the process.

Citizenship, Criminality, and Deportation:

- Due to life circumstances, Cambodian-American refugees end up committing criminal offenses.
- Some Cambodian-Americans may have plead guilty, sometimes for crimes they did not commit, instead of fighting a charge based on the advice of their lawyers (often public defenders) gave them. They did not know that this would impact them many years later when immigration laws later changed.
- The 1996 Act changed the rules and policies regarding criminal deportation, which is the deportation of non-citizen residents who may be in the United States legally, but due to their criminal record, are subject to deportation.
 - This is driven by the narrative that deporting non-citizen immigrants will make the country safer or that non-citizen immigrants who commit crimes do not deserve to live in the United States.
- The 1996 Act affected a disproportionate number of non-citizen Cambodian-American refugees with criminal offenses because it:
 - was retroactive: crimes committed before 1996 were subject to deportation, regardless if the person may have changed or rehabilitated
 - expanded the list of deportable crimes (known as “aggravated felonies”): minor, non-violent crimes like possession of marijuana or public urination are deportable offenses
 - took away judicial discretion and due process: immigration judges cannot look at each deportation on a case by case basis. In the past, judges were able to consider the severity of the crime, whether the individual had turned their life around, or whether deportation might inversely affect the families they leave behind, such as minor children, spouses, or parents who depend on them. Now deportations are automatic and judges have no say in the matter.
- Even though Cambodian-Americans may have served their time, they may still be deported as a form of double jeopardy.
- The United States could not deport Cambodian-American refugees to Cambodia until 2002, when the United States and Cambodia signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), where Cambodia agreed to accept deportees.
 - In 2017, after hearing personal stories from deportees on how deportation affected their lives, Cambodia stopped accepting deportees. The U.S. retaliated by denying visas to officials who wished to travel to the U.S. until Cambodia conceded and agreed to continue to accept deportees.

Home, Identity, and Residency Status: Life before and after Deportation

- Many Cambodian-American deportees have never been to Cambodia and many cannot speak, read, or write in Khmer (Cambodian).
 - They face difficulties fitting into Cambodia, finding employment, etc.
 - Local Cambodians also are weary of deportees, viewing them as dangerous criminals.

- Through deportation, Cambodian-American may leave behind children, spouses, or parents who were dependent on them.

- One's citizenship does not always overlap with what one considers "home."

Overview

In this lesson, students will build background knowledge on the history of Cambodian immigration to the United States, with a focus on those considered refugees by the US government. First, students will learn important vocabulary around immigration and residency statuses.

Second, students will evaluate and interpret data in the form of charts and narratives/articles about Cambodian-American refugees as well as other Southeast Asian-American refugees.

Third, students will analyze and evaluate important policy changes with respect to immigration and criminalization that affected the Cambodian-American community.

Fourth, after laying out all this information, students will analyze the causes and effects of criminal deportation on Cambodian-Americans from an individual level, a home and family level, a community and society level, and a governmental level.

Finally, students will be told that Vietnamese-American refugees, who share a similar resettlement history to Cambodian-Americans, will potentially face a similar deportation crisis if certain policy changes come into effect. Students will be asked to write a letter to a politician or to a newspaper op-ed on how, based on their understanding of the Cambodian-American experience, Vietnamese-American refugees might be impacted by similar immigration and criminalization policies.

Learning Objectives

Students will be able to:

- understand the circumstances that led to Cambodian immigration to the United States and why they were given refugee status.
- summarize the challenges Cambodian-American (and by extension Southeast Asian-American) refugees faced after resettlement in the U.S.
- reflect on how these challenges led to the criminalization of Cambodian-Americans.
- describe how the passage of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 affected non-citizen Cambodian-American refugees.
- extend their understanding of Cambodian-American refugee experience onto other Southeast Asian-American refugees.

Key Concepts

- Residency/Legal Status
 - Immigration
 - Citizen
 - Non-citizen
 - Refugee, Asylum Seeker
 - Lawful/Legal Permanent Resident
- Naturalization
 - Derivative Naturalization
 - The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996
- Aggravated Felony
- Deportation, Criminal Deportation
- Intergenerational trauma

Teacher Preparation

This lesson requires group work, so it is best to have a grouping strategy mapped out ahead of time. There are also handouts that will need to be copied. In addition, students will need to access articles about different deportation cases online, or the teacher will have to print them out ahead of time.

Resources to build teacher knowledge

Yin, Cheryl, "Contextual Information document"

Cahn, Dori, and Jay Stansell. 2005. "From Refugee to Deportee: How U.S. Immigration Law Failed the Cambodian Community." In *Race, culture, psychology, and law*, edited by Kimberly Barrett and William George, 237-254. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.

Cowan, Sylvia R. 2013. "Cambodians go "home": Forced returns and redisplacement thirty years after the American War in Indochina." In *Return: nationalizing transnational mobility in Asia*, edited by Biao Xiang, Brenda S. A. Yeoh and Mika Toyota, 100-121. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Zelnick, Jennifer A. 2018. "Cambodian American Deportable Refugees and Transnationalism." In *Porous Borders, Invisible Boundaries? Ethnographic Perspectives on the Vicissitudes of Contemporary Migration*, edited by Jayne Howell, Deborah R. Altamirano, Faedah M. Totah, and Fethi Keles, 91-95. Arlington, VA: Committee on Refugees and Immigrants.

Documentaries and Videos:

NBC Asian American's 5-part documentary "Deported":

<https://www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/nbc-asian-america-presents-deported-n734051>

My Asian Americana, a Studio Revolt project: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YQxtfCz4B1o>

Documentary "Cambodia's Son" about poet Kosal Khiev: <http://cambodianson.com/>

PBS's Independent Lens documentary "Sentenced Home":

<http://www.pbs.org/independentlens/sentencedhome/film.html>

Lesson Handouts/Materials

Handout 1: Contextual Background

Handout 2: Key Terms

Handout 3: Timeline

Assessment / Final Product

After learning about the deportation of Cambodian-Americans, students are later told that in 2008 the United States and the Vietnamese government signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) for Vietnam to accept criminally deported non-citizen Vietnamese refugees. The Vietnamese-American community, after witnessing the deportation of Cambodian-Americans, made sure that the agreement stipulated that no Vietnamese-American refugee who arrived prior to July 12, 1995 (the date the U.S. and Vietnam re-established formal relations with Vietnam) would be deported. This date prevents the deportation of Vietnamese-American refugees who came in the aftermath of the Vietnam War and had criminal records. The U.S. government is now considering re-negotiating the MOU with Vietnam in order to deport Vietnamese-American refugees prior to 1995. Students are asked to predict how this might impact the Vietnamese-American community and respond by writing an op-ed or letter to a politician.

Lesson Sequence

Opening

1. Students start off with a quick-write and respond the prompt:

- *How do you define “home” or “homeland”? Under what circumstances can one lose their homeland or become kicked out of their home country?*

2. Four corners/walls: This activity will assess students’ preliminary thoughts on identity and criminal deportation. One corner/wall will represent “Cambodian” and its opposite corner/wall will represent “American” (have chart paper with these terms posted on corresponding wall). The other corner/wall will represent be “yes” and “no.” As the teacher asks the following questions, students should either go to Cambodian/American or yes/no depending upon the question. Teachers may ask students in each party to explain why they chose that answer.

Chenda’s parents fled Cambodia to seek refuge at a refugee camp in Thailand in 1979 after experiencing war. While waiting to be resettled in the United States, Chenda was born in a refugee camp in Thailand. Chenda came to the United States at 1.5 years old. She is in the United States legally as a lawful permanent resident, but is not a U.S. citizen.

- Since coming to the U.S., Chenda has never been to Cambodia. Do you think Chenda considers herself “Cambodian” or “American”?
- Chenda failed to pay her taxes. Do you think Chenda could be deported for this crime, “yes” or “no”? [*Don’t tell students at this point, but YES, Chenda can be deported for this according to current policy.*]
- If Chenda served 2 years in prison for failing to pay taxes, do you think Chenda could be deported even after serving her time, “yes” or “no”? [*Don’t tell students at this point, but YES, Chenda can be deported for this according to current policy.*]

Like Chenda, Kheang’s parents are from Cambodia, and he was also born in a Thai refugee camp and came to the U.S. at the age of 3. He never thought about his citizenship status, assuming he was an American citizen because his family was granted refugee status when they arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s.

- Even though Kheang never naturalized as an U.S. citizen, do you think Kheang considers himself “Cambodian” or “American”?
- Kheang was caught with possession of marijuana in a state where marijuana-use is illegal. Is this crime deportable, “yes” or “no”? [*Don’t tell students at this point, but YES, Kheang can be deported for this according to current policy.*]

Lina was also born to Cambodian parents in a Thai refugee camp and came to the U.S. at a young age. Her parents were naturalized as U.S. citizens when she was 10 years old.

- Lina was found guilty of credit card fraud and went to jail for one year. Is she legally deportable, “yes” or “no”? [actual answer is NO]

Have students return to their seats and share the actual answers to the questions about whether or not people might be deported. Have students discuss what seems surprising and/or unfair. Explain to them that these are not made up situations, but real cases involving real people, and that in this lesson they will learn more about these examples and why such things are taking place.

Note: Handout 1 is designed to provide the teacher with contextual background on the issues covered by this lesson. It can be used as a reading for more advanced students at this point in the lesson.

Guided Inquiry

3. Using this activity as a launching off point, pass out *Handout 2: Key Terms*. Explain that these are some of the terms they need to know in order to better understand the examples from the opening activity. Have students work in small groups of 3 or 4 to generate concise explanations of each term in their own words. Each student should have their own copy of each of their explanations written in their notes or journals if they use journals or learning logs. Quickly have different groups share out their ideas for the different terms until each term has been covered. Ask other groups to provide feedback and input if they think an explanation is lacking key information. Use this activity to make sure that students indeed grasp the basic ideas behind these core definitions.
4. Next, still in their small groups, students should discuss the following questions:
 - Why do you think non-citizen residents are treated differently? If a citizen and a non-citizen commit the same crime, why are non-citizens held to a different standard?
 - Criminal laws often change. Recently, the Supreme Court decided in 2018 that the term “crime of violence” was unconstitutional due to its vagueness, as it is used for crimes like theft and burglary even if there was no violent force involved. If someone was previously deported for a crime that is now no longer deportable, should they be able to return to the U.S.? What do you think?
5. Now pass out *Handout 3: Timeline and Statistics*. Have students read and discuss this historical timeline, statistical information, and passages that describe the life experience of Cambodian-American refugees. Direct them to focus on the timeline first before looking at the statistics. Ask them to work in groups to identify what they feel like are 4 or 5 key turning points in this history, or moments when people experienced a major change. Have groups share out their thinking and explain why one event seems more impactful than another.

Next, have students look at the table, “Refugee Arrival to the U.S. from Southeast Asia Fiscal Years 1975-2010,” and tell them they are going to use the timeline to help them better understand the data.

Ask students to pinpoint certain events on the timeline that caused Cambodians to migrate or leave their home. Use the following prompts to guide their analysis.

- Based on the table, pinpoint the years with the largest influx of Southeast Asian refugees (in total) versus the largest number of arrivals from Cambodia? What event on the timeline does it coincide with?

Collaborative Inquiry and Sharing

6. Students will next read about Cambodian-Americans who either have been deported to Cambodia or are still living in the U.S., but have orders for removal and could be deported any day. Each of the names below is an individual in this situation, followed by a link to an article about their case (and often other cases). If any of the links are no longer active, try searching for the name followed by logical terms (Cambodian-American, deportation, etc.).

Sothy Kum:

<https://www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/deportation-cambodian-refugees-u-s-devastates-community-n867096>

Phorn Tem: <https://www.sacbee.com/news/local/article220981385.html>

Touch Hak: <https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/blogs/stateline/2016/04/05/southeast-asian-refugees-and-the-prison-deportation-pipeline>

Phal Sok: https://www.huffpost.com/entry/southeast-asian-prison-deportation-pipeline_n_5a1dd48ee4b0569950233065

Sophia Phea: <https://progressive.org/magazine/the-unforgiven-after-the-vietnam-war-the-united-states-took-/>

Divide students into groups of 3 to 4. Each group will read about at least one Cambodian-American who either has a deportation order or has already been deported to Cambodia. (Some articles will discuss two people briefly. Some students will read 2 different sources about the same person.) Have them consider the following, if information is available (project on your screen or write on board):

- What was the Cambodian-American refugee’s childhood like? What circumstances may have led them to commit a criminal offense that is deportable?
- What was the criminal offense that they committed?
- Since committing the offense, how has the Cambodian-American refugee changed? (marriage, children, new employment, etc.)
- Is there information on other family members who may be affected by such family separation? How might deportation impact the refugee’s parents, spouse, children, siblings, etc.?

Next, have students create a table with 5 columns and 3 rows with the following headings (they should make their cells bigger so they have room to write):

	Individual	Family	Community	Society / government
Causes				
Effects				

Based on what they read, students will fill out the chart concerning the causes and effects of criminal deportation at an individual level, a familial level, a community level, and societal or governmental levels. (Let students know that they may not be able to fill in all boxes.) You may need to walk through an example out loud and help students understand what they are analyzing and writing. They should think about factors at each of these levels that may have caused the negative situation, and also about the negative effects of the situation (criminal act, but also government action to try and deport).

Reflection and Conclusion

7. Student groups will then take turns reporting out to the class on the narratives they studied. The instructor will ask students to find patterns from the various narratives and also consider how the narratives relate to the timeline and statistical information.

Assessment

By the end of the lesson, students should be able to answer the following questions:

- How did Southeast Asian refugees (such as those from Cambodia and Vietnam) lose their homeland and why did they resettle in the United States?
- Why are Southeast Asian-American refugees, who spent a majority of their lives in the United States, being deported from the United States and returning to their parents' country of origin?
- For Southeast Asian-American refugees, where is "home":
 - according to them?
 - according to the United States government?

Extension options and supplementary resources

Are Vietnamese-American refugees next?

Teachers will tell students that in 2008, the United States government and the Vietnamese government signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), an agreement for the Vietnamese government to accept Vietnamese-American deportees. After witnessing what had happened with Cambodian-Americans after the 2002 MOU, the Vietnamese-American community made sure the agreement stipulated that no Vietnamese-American refugee who arrived prior to July 12, 1995 would be deported.

Students will read, "They came here as refugees. Now the U.S. may be deporting some Vietnamese nationals" (<https://www.nbcnews.com/news/asia/they-came-here-refugees-now-u-s-may-be-deporting-n872856>). After reading this article, students will discuss similarities and differences between Vietnamese-American deportees and Cambodian-American deportees.

Students are then asked to think back to the statistical information they had seen and to extend what they learned about Cambodian-Americans onto Vietnamese-Americans.

- Students will write a letter to a politician or a newspaper op-ed to highlight the ways in which modifying the MOU with Vietnam would impact Vietnamese-American community
- What caused Vietnamese-Americans to have criminal records from an individual, familial, societal, and governmental level?
- How might deportation affect them on an individual, familial, societal, and governmental level?

Handout 1: Contextual Background

by Cheryl Yin

In April 2018, 43 Cambodian-Americans were deported from the United States to Cambodia, marking the largest deportation of Cambodian-Americans in U.S. history. Many of these deportees were lawful permanent residents (LPR) who have spent most of their lives in the U.S. Despite being legal U.S. residents, these deportees along with over 600 Cambodian-Americans have been sent to Cambodia due to their criminal records. While the U.S. government considers Cambodia to be their “country of origin,” many deportees have never even set foot in Cambodia and many unequivocally consider themselves “American.” By examining the political, economic, and social circumstances concerning Cambodian-Americans and other Southeast Asian-American (SEAA) refugees (Vietnamese, Laotian, and Hmong), we will have a better understanding of how and why these individuals find themselves exiled from the country they consider their “home.” Using Cambodian-American refugees as a case study, I will also complicate the concept of “home,” “citizenship,” and “country of origin.”

For many Cambodian-American deportees, their story begins in Cambodia with their parents, some time before their birth. On April 17, 1975 the Khmer Rouge (KR) communists gained control of Cambodia and began implementing communist policies. The U.S. played a role in the rise of the KR. Many Cambodians joined the KR after the U.S. supported the coup d'état that overthrew their beloved king and after the U.S. secretly bombed Cambodia, killing innocent civilians and destroying villages, during the Vietnam War. Between 1975-1979, the KR created an egalitarian and agrarian society, without schooling, money, markets, or private property. All Cambodians became peasant farmers overnight and were forced to live, work, and eat communally. Cambodians were separated from their families and put into gender- and age-segregated work brigades, working up to 18-hours per day with little sleep and little food. Due to the violence and brutality, over a quarter of the population perished, either through outright execution, exhaustion, illness, or malnutrition. Concurrently, the neighboring countries of Vietnam and Laos also fell under communism. Some SEAA deportees were born at this time.

Other deportees, however, may have been born in refugee camps after their parents fled Cambodia, Vietnam, or Laos in the late 1970s or 1980s. Cambodian refugees, for example, risked their lives by traversing through mountains and thick jungle covered with landmines to reach the border of Thailand to seek refuge, away from the war and devastation. Not all survived the journey as some Cambodians may have been killed by KR soldiers or they may have stepped on landmines. The lucky few who reached Thailand lived in refugee camps. Some refugees gained sponsorship to resettle in countries such as the U.S., Canada, France, and Australia while others were repatriated to Cambodia. Until refugee camps closed in the early 1990s, life went on for many refugees who may have gotten married or had children. Many SEAA deportees were part of the generation of children born in refugee camps so they have never been to their parents' home country.

The success and happiness of any individual depends on the strength of foundational pillars such as family/relationships, health (physical, mental), food access, education, and finance/employment. Weaknesses in one pillar will affect the other pillars, which in turn affect the well-being of the individual. Because the U.S. government did not adequately help or prepare refugees for life in the U.S., SEAA refugees faced many obstacles related to each pillar. Adults encountered language barriers, cultural difference, poverty, lack of job training, unemployment,

and lack of health and mental healthcare. Many refugees came from lower-class backgrounds, and their skills back home (building oxcarts, tapping sugar palm trees) were not useful in the U.S. A high percentage of SEAA refugees suffer from PTSD and depression after witnessing war and death, but many lack health insurance or access to mental health professionals who speak their language. Young refugees and children of refugees born in the U.S. had to bear a lot of burden and responsibilities. It was demoralizing for adults to rely on children to translate for them in bureaucratic settings. Often living in low-income neighborhoods, refugees were susceptible to assault, robbery, and racism from long standing residents. Some youths joined gangs to protect themselves. The language and cultural barriers between adults and children took a toll on families, as refugee children struggled to navigate between two worlds: an American world vs. that of their parents'. For many refugee children who have no memories of war, there was a disconnect between their lives and their parents', leading to intergenerational trauma. Many children grow up not knowing their family's history, not knowing what happened to their parents in the 1970s because it was too painful and traumatic for refugee adults to talk about. Due to discrimination and racial profiling (in school, on the streets), many young refugee children end up breaking the law. Refugee children, without any role models at home, suffered in school. Some refugee children even felt that their teachers had unconscious bias and may have discriminated against them, not giving them a fair education. The phenomena described here are not linear experiences; they encompass interrelated struggles that have had a large impact on SEAA refugees, causing some to have criminal offenses.

Due to lack of resources, many SEAA refugees did not know the importance of becoming American citizens or how to begin the process. Even then, the citizenship application fee can also be an obstacle for many. Taking the exam may be difficult. With few exceptions, test-takers must know English and many fail on the first try. Young refugee children who came to the U.S. at a young age never thought about their citizenship status; many automatically assumed they were in fact American citizens. This unintentional oversight became detrimental for SEAA refugees within the past two decades. When the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (1996 Act) passed, many non-citizens with criminal offenses found themselves with deportation orders. After the 2002 memorandum of understanding (MOU) between the U.S. and the Cambodian government, the U.S. began deporting Cambodian-American refugees to Cambodia. The 1996 Act (a) expanded the types of crime that became deportable, (b) was retroactive, and (c) removed judicial discretion. Due to (a), SEAA with non-violent, minor crimes on their records (such as public urination, possession of marijuana, drunk and disorderly conduct) could be deported. Due to (b), even if SEAA may have already served their time, even if they may have rehabilitated, and even if the criminal offenses were committed before 1996, SEAA could still be deported. Due to (c), immigration judges could no longer look at each deportation order on a case by case basis, such as the severity of the crime, whether the individual has reformed, or whether the deportation would cause any emotional or economic toll on the families they leave behind, such as elderly parents, spouses, and young children.

The over 600 Cambodian-Americans deported to Cambodia often face cultural, linguistic, and economic obstacles, the same obstacles their parents experienced after resettling in the U.S. Many local Cambodians discriminate against deportees and are not welcoming of them. Unable to integrate into Cambodian society and unable to make sense of their situation, some deportees have turned to drugs, illegal activities, and there are a few reports of suicide. The families they leave behind also suffer in their absence.

Currently, there are over 16,000 SEAA refugees with deportation orders. As there is no rhyme or reason in who is deported and when, they live in limbo, never knowing if today is their last day in the U.S. Without immigration reform, current immigration laws and policies will continue to impact and harm SEAA families who live in fear of family separation.

Handout 2: Key Terms

Deportation/Removal: Expulsion of a noncitizen from the United States. People who can be deported include noncitizens (including lawful permanent residents) with criminal convictions; visa overstays; refugee/asylum seekers; and those who entered without inspection (for example, by crossing the border unlawfully). Once removed, a noncitizen faces legal bars for a time period that prevent his or her return or sometimes they are permanently barred.

Expedited Removal: A section of the 1996 laws used to deport many noncitizens without a hearing before an Immigration Judge. Expedited removal can be imposed on people the government finds “inadmissible” at any border entry point. Under expedited removal, individuals can be removed on an order issued by an immigration officer. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) began implementing the expedited removal provisions of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA) in 1997.

Lawful Permanent Resident (LPR): An immigrant with a “green card” who has been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence. An immigrant can become a permanent resident in several different ways. Most individuals are sponsored by a family member or employer in the United States. Other individuals may become LPRs through refugee or asylee status or other humanitarian programs.

LPRs have essentially the same rights and obligations as U.S. citizens with the exceptions of voting and holding certain public offices and civil service positions. However, LPRs can be detained or deported for certain offenses, including misdemeanors punishable by one or more years in jail. After five years (three years in certain circumstances), an LPR can apply for U.S. citizenship.

Refugees: People seeking protection and a safe place to live outside their country of origin who is unable or unwilling to return because of past persecution and/or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of their race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership in a particular social group. Each year, a certain number of refugees are selected by the U.S. State Department to undergo several security screenings and enter the United States through the Refugee Resettlement Program.

One year after arriving in the United States, a refugee can apply to become a lawful permanent resident (LPR), and after five more years, can apply for U.S. citizenship.

<https://www.freedomforimmigrants.org/terminology>

Naturalization:

Naturalization is the **legal process** through which a foreign citizen or national can become a U.S. citizen. In order to be naturalized, an applicant must first meet certain criteria to apply for citizenship. Then, the applicant must complete an application, attend an interview, and pass an English and a civics test. Upon successful completion of these steps, the applicant takes an oath of allegiance, and becomes a citizen.

These legal requirements help the immigration service ensure that only those people who are sincere in their desire to become U.S. citizens become naturalized. Below you'll find a more detailed look at the basics of naturalization, including eligibility for naturalization and the steps involved in the application process.

Eligibility for Naturalization

Before you can apply for naturalization in the United States, you'll need to meet certain eligibility requirements. U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (**USCIS**) states that applicants for naturalization must be:

- At least eighteen years old.
- A lawful permanent resident of the United States for at least five years before applying for naturalization.
- Physically present in the United States for at least five years at the time of application.
- Able to understand and speak English.
- Of good moral character.

The residency requirement has some exceptions for time outside the country that your attorney can explain in detail. USCIS also provides a Naturalization Eligibility Worksheet that helps potential applicants determine if they're able to apply. Your most important resource is an experienced immigration attorney, who can prepare your application and **coach you through the test** and interview preparation.

If you meet these requirements, you may apply for naturalization.

<https://immigration.findlaw.com/citizenship/the-basics-of-naturalization.html>

Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act:

Overview

The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRAIRA) strengthened U.S. immigration laws, adding penalties for undocumented immigrants who commit crimes while in the United States or who stay in the U.S. for statutorily defined periods of time.

The Act was designed to improve border control by imposing criminal penalties for racketeering, alien smuggling and the use or creation of fraudulent immigration-related documents and increasing interior enforcement by agencies charged with monitoring visa applications and visa abusers. The Act also allows for the deportation of undocumented immigrants who commit a misdemeanor or a felony.

The Act mandates that immigrants who are unlawfully present in the U.S. for 180 days but under 365 days must remain outside the United States for three years unless **pardoned**. If they remain in the United States for 365 days or more, they must stay outside the United States for ten years unless they obtain a waiver. However, if they return to the U.S. without the pardon, they must wait 10 years until they may apply for a waiver.

<https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/illegal-immigration-reform-and-immigration-responsibility-act>

Handout 3: Timeline and Statistics

by Cheryl Yin

1965-1973: The United States dropped 2.7 million tons of bombs on Cambodia, killing an estimated 4,000 civilians

- Most of the bombings occurred in the countryside so many rural Cambodians moved to urban areas to seek refuge from bombings and/or because their villages and homes were destroyed

1970: the Khmer Republic, led by General Lon Nol who was supported by the U.S. government, overthrew King Norodom Sihanouk and took power

1970-1975: Civil war between the Khmer Republic and the Khmer Rouge communists who claim they will reinstate the king, gaining support from Cambodians in the countryside

April 17, 1975: the Khmer Rouge captured the capital of Phnom Penh and the entire country

April 17, 1975 – January 7, 1979: the Khmer Rouge implemented a communist society, forcing all Cambodians into the countryside to perform backbreaking agricultural work with little food and sleep. Anyone who was not a peasant farmer (their ideal person) was targeted as an enemy. Over ¼ of the population died of starvation, illness, and execution.

1980s-early 1990s: After the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime, hundreds of thousands of Cambodians fled to the Thai border to seek refuge

- Khao-I-Dang, the largest refugee camp, at one point had a population of 140,000 Cambodians, becoming the second largest “city” of Cambodians outside of Phnom Penh
- Many deportees were born at this time in refugee camps

April 1, 1980: Passage of the United States Refugee Act of 1980 came into effect

1980s – 1990s: Due to shared history of communist takeovers, over 1 million Southeast Asian refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos (which includes ethnic Hmong) resettled in the U.S. during the 1980s and 1990

September 30, 1996: passage of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996

- Expanded the types of crime that are deportable, or crimes that fall under “aggravated felony”
- Was retroactive: crimes committed before 1996 could cause deportation, even if the person already served their time in prison
- Took away due process: immigration judges could no longer look at individual cases and stop deportation

1996-2001: Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) could hold non-citizen offenders indefinitely, even if there was no chance of deportation

- Southeast Asian-American refugees held by ICE for long periods because Southeast Asian countries were unwilling to accept them

2001: court ruling that no one could be held by ICE longer than 6 months without a reasonable chance of being deported in the future

2002: Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between U.S. and Cambodian government

- Cambodia agrees to accept deportees
- The U.S. begins deporting non-citizen Cambodian-American refugees

2008: Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between U.S. and Vietnamese government

- Vietnamese-Americans, witnessing the toll deportation had on Cambodian-Americans, fought for an agreement that prohibited the deportation of Vietnamese-Americans who arrived in the United States before July 12, 1995

2017: Deportees in Cambodia met with the Cambodian government to describe their plight. The Cambodian government was sympathetic to their stories and briefly stopped accepting deportees, before resuming after the U.S. embassy in Cambodia retaliated by denying American travel visas to Cambodian officials who wished to travel to the U.S.

2018: civil rights and immigrant groups report that the U.S. had deported Vietnamese-American refugees who arrived pre-1995

- the Trump administration contemplates renegotiating the MOU with Vietnam to remove wording that exclude the deportation of refugees pre-1995



Statistics on Southeast Asians adapted
from the American Community Survey

Refugee Arrivals to the U.S. from Southeast Asia Fiscal Years 1975-2010³

Fiscal Year	Cambodia	Laos	Vietnam	Total
1975	4,600	800	125,000	130,400
1976	1,100	10,200	3,200	14,500
1977	300	400	1,900	2,600
1978	1,300	8,000	11,100	20,400
1979	6,000	30,200	44,500	80,700
1980	16,000	55,500	95,200	166,700
1981	38,194	19,777	65,279	123,250
1982	6,246	3,616	27,396	37,258
1983	13,041	2,907	22,819	38,767
1984	19,727	7,218	24,856	51,801
1985	19,175	5,195	25,222	49,592
1986	9,845	12,313	21,700	43,858
1987	1,786	13,394	19,656	34,836
1988	2,897	14,597	17,571	35,065
1989	2,162	12,560	21,924	36,646
1990	2,329	8,715	27,797	38,841
1991	179	9,232	28,396	37,807
1992	163	7,285	26,795	34,243
1993	63	6,944	31,401	38,408
1994	15	6,211	34,110	40,336
1995	6	3,682	32,250	35,938
1996	5	2,203	16,107	18,315
1997	9	915	6,612	7,536
1998	7	9	10,266	10,282
1999	0	19	9,622	9,641
2000	0	64	2,839	2,903
2001	23	22	3,109	3,154
2002	0	18	2,855	2,873
2003	4	13	1,354	1,371
2004	7	6,005	979	6,991
2005	3	8,517	2,009	10,529
2006	3	830	3,039	3,872
2007	9	117	1,500	1,626
2008	15	59	1,112	1,186
2009	8	14	1,486	1,508
2010	9	36	873	918
Totals	145,230	257,587	771,834	1,174,651

Lesson 9

Identity in Contemporary Advertising: A Critical Reading

Driving Question

How is identity crafted, shaped, or reflected in advertising?

Supporting Questions



- What images, sounds, motifs, and other cues are leveraged in doing so, and why have these been specifically used to sell a particular product or service?
- How do consumers—individuals as well as targeted groups, like the Latinx community—process and internalize such messages and to what larger effects?
- With new media forms, technology, and direct marketing tactics, how are consumers increasingly involved and implicated in the advertising process itself?

Enduring Understandings

The goal of this lesson is to encourage critical engagement with commercial media to better understand the interplay between advertising and identity - perceptions of self and one's community. This exercise advances the larger goals of media literacy, which the Center for Media Literacy describes as "a framework to access, analyze, evaluate, create and participate with messages in a variety of forms — from print to video to the Internet...Media literacy builds an understanding of the role of media in society as well as essential skills of inquiry and self-expression necessary for citizens of a democracy...[it is] a 21st century approach to education" (2019).

Overview

With the aims of promoting media literacy in mind, this lesson does not intend to reproduce tired narratives that paint all advertising as a societal “evil” or a corporate brainwashing tool. The goal is for students to walk away with a more nuanced approach to media through a careful study of advertising; to be able to see, for instance, how advertising can be a site for cultural hegemony and entrenched stereotypes, as well as a vehicle for cultural change.

A contextual overview of advertising, its history, and manifestations in different global contexts will help prime students to critically engage with the medium. Such background will include not only the history and historical criticism of advertising in Europe and North America, but will also consider instantiations in the “Global South,” such as India and Cuba, that upend traditional American and European notions and critiques.

This larger discussion will be followed by an activity where students will be able to flex their own critical muscles by examining a set of advertisements from different countries and cross-cultural contexts in the classroom. Using two advertisements, students will practice critically reading such commercial media with a particular focus on how each renders or even shapes identity. Students will first analyze the two advertisements in a group discussion led by their teacher who will help point out visual, auditory, and other cues, as well as prompt students to think about the different identities portrayed, such as gender, ethnicity, nationality, and economic status. As a final assessment, students will individually analyze an advertisement of their choice for homework, and write a brief analysis of it using the concepts and analytical tools learned in class.

Learning Objectives

Students will learn how to break down advertising into multiple parts and analyze it through critical lenses, considering the communicated messages and what they mean, thinking about who created the advertisement and for whom, and how it represents and renders certain realities. Below are some guidelines students can master in order to critically engage with everyday advertising.

Deconstruct to Decode:

- Visual images, motifs
- Sounds (if audiovisual)
- Language, rhetoric
- Race, gender, class of models and actors

3 Key Frames of Analysis:

- Messages and meanings
- Authors and audiences
- Representation and reality

Key Concepts

- Identity and identity politics
- gender
- race and ethnicity
- media literacy
- critical thinking

Teacher Preparation and Instructional Resources

Contextual Overview:

Given the global scope and varying forms of advertising today, it is important to begin with a clear idea of what is considered “advertising.” As anthropologist and advertising scholar William O’Barr has noted, advertising has been defined in a variety of ways, but broadly speaking, can be summarized as an attention-grabbing device, one that embodies salesmanship via a mass media form (2005). While quite broad, this definition holds true for most advertising as it has evolved from its earliest known examples in antiquity to its contemporary and increasingly digital form. Likewise, it accounts for advertising in different national, economic, and social contexts.

As implied above, advertising is not a recent phenomenon. As a mass-mediated form, advertising began in earnest in the 17th century, as mercantilism and imperialism led to the use of European newspapers and printing presses for the introduction of new “exotic” products and announcements for upcoming voyages to “new lands.” It was in the mid-to-late 1800s, however, that advertising experienced its first major boom, as the industrial revolution drove competition and newspapers, posters, and bills began printing ads at an unprecedented rate. During this time, however, advertising was largely viewed through an uncritical lens - advertisements were simply viewed as endorsements for products and services, with their largest fault being occasional claims that were exaggerated or unfounded.

The exponential growth of the advertising industry and its expansion into radio and television in the earliest 20th century eventually sparked great debate and criticism of the media form and its project in the 1950s. Particularly in the wake of the World Wars and the Korean War, cultural critics and the broader public became concerned with “brainwashing” and subliminal messaging that may unknowingly sway individual thought and decision-making (see Packard 1957,

McLuhan 1951, O’Barr 2013). Advertising was thus no longer a harmless poster or jingle, but was a potential tool for manipulation.

This concern evolved into a more specific study of signs in advertisements in the 1970s, when scholars investigated how certain patterns and trends in images echoed and entrenched stereotypes, including gender norms, cultural clichés, and political power. It is during this critical turn that scholars begin to focus on advertising’s relationship with identity and strive to understand *how* ads perpetuate the status quo, cementing certain narratives over others. Through detailed visual analysis, scholars like Erving Goffman, showed how visual motifs in 1970s ads perpetuated the subjugation of women, repeatedly placing women at the feet of their male counterparts in advertisements (1979). Goffman and other cultural critics of the 1970s and 80s argued that if the public were more aware of these choices and representations, then individuals could be freed from the cultural hegemony they saw embodied in ads—be it the subjugation of women or the consumerist notion of success through material wealth.

The 1990s and 2000s saw a turn towards the producers of these ads and the considerations that go into choosing certain spokespeople, images, and ideas included in advertisements. What relationships underlie the production of ads, whether between “creatives” and account leads within agencies, or between ad agencies and their corporate clients (the producers of goods and providers of services)? These studies, many conducted by anthropologists, added a new consideration to the study of advertisements—not only should we carefully read what can be seen in ads, but consumers should also consider the aims, negotiations, and choices made by advertisers themselves. What does this ad wish to say and why? For instance, anthropologist Arlene Dávila posed such questions in the context of US advertising geared towards Latinx consumers, arguing that ultimately such advertisements “white-washed” this community, reflecting not only biases among advertisers, but also ultimately among the very consumers it wishes to target (2008).

This wave of criticism thus led to an upending of the simplistic top-down narrative of previous critics—advertisers are not the sole creators of ads, but may be increasingly influenced by their consumers, thanks in large part to a growth in market research and interactive marketing media, as well as advertisers’ access to consumers on social media. Particularly when scholars began to consider advertising in other cultural and global contexts, more evidence arose to suggest that advertisements may not only cement existing, hegemonic narratives, but may alternatively project new cultural changes that are authored by more than just the producer or advertiser. Anthropologist William Mazzarella showed how Indian advertisers negotiated between local and global cultures in marketing certain products, like a campaign for KamaSutra Condoms, which coupled Indian tradition with more Western ideas regarding individuality and sexuality. This ad and others reflected local and national debates as the country shifted away from its nationalist and socialist political ideology to a more neo-liberal and consumerist society. Products and ads began to portray different flavors of an increasingly international “Indianness,” mirroring the Indian consumer’s constant negotiation between local and global influences and ties. In the age of social media and interactive marketing, the consumer is much more involved in generating advertising content and influencing branding. Media scholar Adam

Arvidsson goes as far as to suggest that marketers and advertisers use consumers' cultural labor, which they appropriate in order to sell things and services back to them (2005).

A review of the history, debate and criticism surrounding advertising in the last few centuries shows that advertising and society are intimately linked, and increasingly so as technology allows for greater interaction between advertisers and consumers. The nature of this relationship has important consequences for how we think about identity, not only who we are as individuals, but also the communities we belong to. While scholars attempt to stay abreast of the many, rapid changes that occur in advertising today, there is still much to be analyzed in today's commercial landscape. Educating and empowering new generations to critically engage with these materials—to see beyond mere images and read the subtext of ads—will engender a more independent and critical citizen-consumer.

Instructional Resources

For this exercise, I have included two advertisements—an American commercial geared towards Latinx consumers, and a Cuban commercial that circulates in *el paquete*, the offline, USB-based media network I study. The former will give students an opportunity to analyze an advertisement they may encounter in their daily lives, while the latter exposes them to an ad from a similar cultural, but largely different political and economic context. As I do in my research, students will need to carefully analyze the images, sounds, words, and other elements in the advertisements, and how they come together to (un)intentionally craft or portray certain identities. Both advertisements can be accessed via YouTube, and can be downloaded prior to showing them in the classroom if one's school is "offline."

1. Burger King Spanish-language commercial

- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DICFAKwPXec&index=1&list=PLk_3yUjjokEVEKsJc_h1iORFktWRqHx5U
- **Brief Synopsis:** Sofia Vergara makes a smoothie with a male Burger King employee, narrating in Spanish the ingredients, process, and appealing characteristics.

2. Donde Dorian (local Havana hair salon) commercial

- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZHPFr4Ixg-I>
- Circulated through the Cuban *paquete*
- **Brief Synopsis:** A young man stumbles upon a very different hair salon in Havana, where he is greeted by neon-colored hair stylists and customers who dance as they take him through the salon and its adjacent bar and hookah lounge.

Alternatively, if video advertisements are difficult to play in the classroom setting, I have provided an alternative print ad at the end of this document that would be easier to reproduce and distribute to students.

Lesson Handouts/Materials

In the “Handouts” section below there is a table for students to fill out as they analyze the advertisements.

Assessment / Final Product

There will be multiple opportunities for assessment with two in-class group analyses and discussion, and a take-home assignment that asks students to individually write up their own analysis of an advertisement of their choosing. This latter assignment would perhaps be best suited for grading.

Lesson Sequence

Opening

1. Warm-up Questions: Teachers will ask a set of pointed questions to the class to prime students to begin thinking about advertising and their relationship to it. This can be done out loud as a group or as a quick writing/journal exercise at the start of class.
 - How often do you encounter advertising? Where do you usually see them?
 - What is the last advertisement you can remember? What kind of person was featured in it? Why do you think they were chosen?
 - Did you feel represented in the advertisement? Please elaborate why or why not.
2. Background on Advertising & Critical Approaches: Teachers can briefly summarize the “Contextual Overview” (see above) and/or introduce the critical media guidelines and learning objectives:

Deconstruct to Decode:

- Visual images, motifs
- Sounds (if audiovisual)
- Language, rhetoric
- Race, gender, class of models and actors

3 Key Frames of Analysis:

- Messages and meanings
- Authors and audiences
- Representation and reality

Guided Inquiry

3. Class Analysis and Discussion: As a class, students will watch the advertisement below followed by a group discussion guided by their teacher. Below are some examples of cues, considerations, and potential messages for each, though they are far from exhaustive.

[Burger King Spanish-language commercial](#): Sofia Vergara makes a smoothie with a male Burger King employee, narrating in Spanish the ingredients, process, and appealing characteristics.

- Deconstruct to Decode - Surface-Level Cues:
 - Clothing – What are the main characters wearing? Note that Sofia wears an unbuttoned, plunging polo shirt, whereas her male counterpart wears a standard, more conservative version
 - Language – What language are they speaking? Is it accented? They are speaking Spanish, though they have different regional/national accents.
 - Word choice – How are they speaking? Sofia uses *privacidad* and other words in a rather sexually suggestive way. “Made for each other” may not be overtly sexual, but is certainly romantic, also as if from a Spanish-language soap opera.
 - Sound – What sounds do you hear, other than human speech? Notes that shortly after the brief dialogue, the blender’s engine revs up

- Using the Key Frames of Analysis - Deeper Considerations:
 - Race & Ethnicity – What kinds of Latinx bodies are portrayed? Which are excluded? Sofia, the protagonist, is largely considered “Latina,” but is also quite fair and generally “white-passing.” What about the other Burger King employee?
 - Gender Roles & Norms – How is Sofia presented (in terms of dress, behavior, language, etc.) differently than her male counterpart?
 - Societal Stereotypes – Does this advertisement echo or perpetuate any existing stereotype, whether about women, Latinx individuals, etc.?
 - Messaging – What is Burger King communicating with this ad? What is being said beyond the advertised product? Does the message resonate with you – why or why not?

- Revisit Guiding Questions:
 - How is identity crafted, shaped, or reflected in advertising?
 - What images, sounds, motifs, and other cues are leveraged in doing so, and why have these been specifically used to sell a particular product or service?
 - How do consumers—individuals as well as targeted groups, like the Latinx community—process and internalize such messages and to what larger effects?

Collaborative Inquiry and Sharing

4. Group Analysis and Discussion: Students will repeat the class exercise in smaller groups, where they will watch the second advertisement, fill out the handout (see below) together, and begin to discuss the guiding questions as a group.

[Donde Dorian \(local Havana hair salon\) commercial](#): A stylish young man stumbles upon a very different hair salon in Havana, where he is greeted by neon-colored hair stylists and customers who dance as they take him through the salon and its adjacent bar and hookah lounge.

- Preface: Teachers should preface this advertisement with a bit of context – private businesses and independent advertisements are very new in Cuba, operating only in the last 10 years. Before then, all forms of media were exclusively created and disseminated by the government, which used these media channels to promote the state and its communist ideals. As such, these advertisements and their content represent a “Wild West” in Cuba’s media landscape and social discourse, as certain ideas and identities are espoused for the first time since 1959. This advertisement is not on State television, but instead circulates through the Cuban *paquete*, an offline USB network for foreign media.
- Deconstruct to Decode - Surface-Level Cues:
 - Clothing & Décor – What are the main characters wearing? How would you characterize their style? Note that most people in the commercial are fairly well-dressed and stylish. What about the décor – how would you characterize it?
 - Food & Drink – What is being advertised and how would you describe it? How are food and drinks presented and in what forms and quantities? Would you imagine these items to be commonplace or luxury goods in Cuba?
 - Sound (Music) – What kind of music is featured in the ad? What might the advertiser be suggesting by choosing this music to play throughout the ad as opposed to a more classic Cuban sound?
- Using the Key Frames of Analysis - Deeper Considerations:
 - Race & Ethnicity – What kinds of bodies are portrayed? Which are excluded?
 - Gender Roles & Norms – How is the woman presented (in terms of dress, behavior, etc.) differently than her male counterpart?
 - Social & Economic Status – Are these individuals well-off? What does the ad and its cues suggest?
 - Messaging – What is Donde Dorian communicating with this ad? What is being said beyond the advertised products and services? Unlike previous Cuban propaganda, this ad shows stylish, seemingly cosmopolitan consumers. They listen to international music and consume things (like neon hair dye or hookah) that are not Cuban staples. These individuals seem to have economic and cultural capital that diverges from the traditional, Revolutionary ideal, and this hair salon-lounge is eager to cater to them.
 - National identity – What new identity is this ad trying to project? How are they doing so and why?

Reflection and Conclusion

5. Once all the groups have finished, re-group as a class to answer the guiding questions and address any other thoughts, comments, or concerns.

- How is identity crafted, shaped, or reflected in advertising?
 - What images, sounds, motifs, and other cues are leveraged in doing so, and why have these been specifically used to sell a particular product or service?
 - How do consumers—individuals as well as targeted groups, like the Latinx community—process and internalize such messages and to what larger effects?
6. Review the tools or approaches that helped in arriving at these nuanced answers. Emphasize that they will use these again for their take-home assignment.

Deconstruct to Decode:

- Visual images, motifs
- Sounds (if audiovisual)
- Language, rhetoric
- Race, gender, class of models and actors

3 Key Frames of Analysis:

- Messages and meanings
- Authors and audiences
- Representation and reality

Guiding Questions:

- How is identity crafted, shaped, or reflected in advertising?
- What images, sounds, motifs, and other cues are leveraged in doing so, and why have these been specifically used to sell a particular product or service?
- How do consumers—individuals as well as targeted groups, like the Latinx community—process and internalize such messages and to what larger effects?

Assessment

7. Individual Analysis and Writing Exercise: Having analyzed and discussed two advertisements in class, students will select and analyze an advertisement of their choosing. As homework, they are to write their reflections, and depending on the size of the class, prepare to share their advertisement and critical reading thereof with their classmates.

Extension options and supplementary resources

Bibliography

- Arvidsson, Adam. 2005. "Brands: A Critical Perspective." *Journal of Consumer Culture*. 5(2005): 235-260.
- Medialit.org. 2019. *Center for Media Literacy*. Accessed January 9, 2019. <https://www.medialit.org/media-literacy-definition-and-more>.
- Dávila, Arlene. 2008. *Latino Spin: Public Image and the Whitewashing of Race*. New York: New York University Press.
- Goffman, Erving. 1979. *Gender Advertisements*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Mazzarella, William. 2003. *Shoveling Smoke: Advertising and Globalization in Contemporary India*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- McLuhan, Marshall. 1951. *The Mechanical Bride: Folklore of Industrial Man*. New York: Vanguard Press.
- Moeran, Brian. 1996. *A Japanese Advertising Agency: An Anthropology of Media and Markets*. ConsumAsian Series. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- O'Barr, William M. 2013. "Subliminal' Advertising." *Advertising & Society Review* 13, (4). Accessed December 6, 2018. <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/497057>.
2005. "A Brief History of Advertising in America." *Advertising & Society Review*. 11, (1). Accessed January 6, 2019. <http://muse.jhu.edu/article/594485>
- Packard, Vance. 1957. *The Hidden Persuaders*. New York: D. McKay Co.
- Williamson, Judith. 1978. *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising*. London: Boyars. Distributed by Calder and Boyars.

Handouts

Deconstruct to Decode

With your group, watch the advertisement you have been assigned. When you have finished, answer the following questions by working as a team. Every group member should be ready to present and explain your answer to every question. If you need more space, write on another sheet of paper.

<p>Summarize your advertisement: Think about the basic points - who is selling what? What is the main story or message?</p>	
<p>Describe it visually: What can you see in this ad? What images, motifs, colors, etc. are visible?</p>	
<p>Describe it audibly: What sounds do you hear in the ad? Think about music, sounds and background noises, voices, etc.</p>	
<p>Describe its language: What are people in the ad saying? What kinds of words and language are they using? How are they saying it?</p>	
<p>Describe its actors: What races, genders, classes, etc. appear in the ad? How else would you describe the models and actors in the ad?</p>	

After completing the above, sift the advertising through the 3 Key Frames of Analysis, considering:

- Messages and meanings: what's being communicated and how do you interpret it?
- Authors and audiences: who created this advertisement and with whom in mind?
- Representation and reality: what or whom is the ad trying to represent and does it do so successfully? Why or why not?

Frames of Analysis & Synthesis

Messages & Meanings:	Authors & Audiences:
Representation & Reality:	Final Synthesis: Big Idea:

Alternative Print Advertisement

Below is a print advertisement that can replace the first commercial if videos are difficult to play in the classroom setting. This should be easier to reproduce and distribute to students. I encourage you to find a second print advertisement from a local magazine, newspaper, etc. and have your students analyze it in groups.

Print Advertisement #1 – Unilever



Print Advertisement #2 – A local ad of your choosing

Lección 10:

“Raza, cultura, identidad: el pasado y el presente de los Afrodescendientes en Argentina.”



Pregunta central.

¿Cómo comunidades marginalizadas utilizan la historia y la narración para reclamar su espacio en una identidad local y nacional, tanto en el pasado como en el presente?

Preguntas de apoyo.

- ¿Qué mecanismos de inclusión de comunidades marginalizadas son fomentados en la Argentina actual? ¿Qué ocurría en el pasado?
- ¿Cuál es el discurso oficial sobre la identidad argentina?
- ¿Qué rol han cumplido a lo largo de la historia los grupos Afrodescendientes en la Argentina? ¿Y en el presente?
- ¿Cómo las identidades locales se relacionan con la identidad nacional?
- ¿Cuál es la relación entre raza e identidad?

- ¿Cómo se construye el pasado de un país? O tal vez, ¿Cómo se narra su pasado?
- ¿Cómo narran su historia los grupos Afrodescendientes en la Argentina? ¿Y su presente?
- ¿Por qué es importante conocer su historia?

Breve descripción.

En esta lección, los Afroargentinos son presentados como un estudio de caso que permite reflexionar sobre las construcciones sociales de la raza y las identidades locales y nacionales en el contexto más amplio de las comunidades marginalizadas en América Latina. A través del estudio del pasado y de las experiencias actuales de grupos Afrodescendientes en Argentina, la lección pretende reflexionar sobre las herramientas utilizadas tanto por los Estados como por las propias comunidades para narrar el pasado y el presente del país, y los mecanismos de inclusión y exclusión que están presentes en la construcción de las identidades nacionales.

Conocimiento perdurable. Ideas y aportes a los estudiantes.

Es la intención de esta lección que los estudiantes puedan reconocer las principales características de la narrativa dominante sobre la identidad nacional argentina y el rol que desde el estado se otorga a grupos minoritarios, especialmente a la comunidad Afrodescendiente. Los estudiantes podrán entonces identificar cuáles son los mecanismos a través de los cuales los grupos Afrodescendientes en Argentina buscan contestar y contrarrestar la versión oficial de la identidad nacional, y las consecuencias que la misma acarrea sobre la visión de estos grupos en el pasado de la Argentina, así como en sus experiencias actuales y calidad de vida. Finalmente, los estudiantes podrán relacionar estas experiencias particulares de Argentina con sus propias experiencias en contextos locales y nacionales, estableciendo un puente entre los mecanismos de exclusión e inclusión que existen en Argentina con los propios, así como las herramientas que permiten confrontar las prácticas de exclusión y de negación del pasado y presente de grupos minoritarios. Finalmente, la lección busca una reflexión más amplia por parte de los estudiantes de los mecanismos utilizados para la construcción de identidades locales y nacionales, así como la relación entre raza e identidad.

Objetivos. Metas del aprendizaje.

- Reflexionar sobre la relación entre raza e historia nacional.
- Reflexionar sobre la relación entre raza e identidad.
- Desafiar los regímenes dominantes de representación de la historia nacional.
- Reflexionar sobre los mecanismos de inclusión y exclusión generados por los estados.
- Reflexionar en la manera en que la historia oficial y las historias de grupos particulares son narradas y sobre las posibilidades de contar nuestras propias historias.
- Reflexionar sobre quiénes son nuestros “héroes/heroínas” y qué valores representan.

Conceptos Clave.

Argentina; Afrodescendientes; Identidad nacional; Identidad cultural; Estado-Nación; Raza; Contra-historia; Narración; Pasado; Inclusión; Exclusión; Representación

Preparación del docente y recursos para la instrucción de la lección.

En preparación para la lección, el docente puede explorar alguno de los siguientes materiales de lectura y/o audiovisuales:

Argentina. Historia y Geografía:

- Argentina, Wikipedia. La Enciclopedia Libre. <https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Argentina>
- Historia de Argentina, Wikipedia. La Enciclopedia Libre. https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historia_de_la_Argentina
- Síntesis de la Historia Argentina, El Historiador website, <https://www.elhistoriador.com.ar/sintesis-de-la-historia-argentina/>
- Historia de Argentina, Casa Rosada Gobierno Argentino, <https://www.casarosada.gob.ar/nuestro-pais/historia>
- Geografía de Argentina, Wikipedia. La Enciclopedia Libre. https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geograf%C3%ADa_de_la_Argentina

Afroargentinos:

- *Afroargentinos*. Documentary. Ceballos, Diego and Fortes, Jorge. 75 minutes. 2005.
- Andrews, George Reid. *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires, 1800-1900*, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1980
- Andrews, George Reid. *Afro-Latin America: Black Lives, 1600-2000*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2016
- Frigerio, Alejandro. *Cultura negra en el Cono Sur. Representaciones en conflicto*. Índice. Buenos Aires: editorial de la UCA, 2003
- [Afroargentin@s. Guia para docentes sobre Afrodescendientes y Cultura Afro, 2016.](#)

Agrupación Xangô:

- [Xangô's website](#)
- [English Translation of the Pedagogic Guide](#)
- [Día Internacional de la Mujer Afrolatina, Afrocaribeña y de la Diáspora Agrupación Xangô](#) (with English subtitles)
- [Dia de los Afroargentinxs Agrupación Xangô](#) (with English subtitles)
- [Agrupación Xangô Jóvenes Octubre 2017](#) (with English subtitles)
- [Afroargentin@s. Guia para docentes sobre Afrodescendientes y Cultura Afro, 2016.](#)

Materiales de la lección y recursos.

Los materiales trabajados durante la lección estarán disponibles a través de internet:

1. Artículo periodístico [“En Argentina no hay negros”](#), publicado en BBC Mundo.com el 28 de septiembre del año 2002.
2. Videos [“Soy Afroargentino/a”](#) y [“Dia de los Afroargentinxs Agrupación Xangô”](#)
3. Texto [María Remedios del Valle, La Afroargentina “Capitana” y “Madre de la Patria”](#)
4. Imágenes María Remedios del Valle (ver detalle en día 1).
5. [Video “Agrupación Xangô Jóvenes Octubre 2017”](#)
6. Selección de [Afroargentin@s. Guia para docentes sobre Afrodescendientes y Cultura Afro, 2016.](#) (Recomendado: Introducción a Secuencia didáctica Historia e Introducción a Secuencia Didáctica Cultura)

Evaluación/Producto final.

El producto final de la lección es la elaboración de un proyecto creativo por parte de los estudiantes. El proyecto creativo tomará la forma de un video corto (3 a 4 minutos) sobre la vida y contribuciones de un personaje histórico o contemporáneo que haya realizado aportes significativos a la propia comunidad de los estudiantes. En grupos de 3 a 4 estudiantes, seleccionaran una figura histórica o contemporánea a partir de la cual elaborarán una pequeña investigación seguido de la creación del video. Alternativamente, pueden realizarse presentaciones en clase con material impreso y pósters. La elección de la figura a representar también puede ser guiada por el docente a partir de la elaboración previa de una lista de posibles nombres. El objetivo es que los estudiantes puedan utilizar el conocimiento aprendido a partir de la experiencia de los Afroargentinos para reflexionar sobre el valor de contar nuestras propias historias, en pos de la construcción de una sociedad más inclusiva y diversa. (Ver detalle de la actividad en el día 3 de la lección).

Secuencia de la lección.

Día 1.

- Introducción. Quiénes son los Afroargentinos?
- Historia y memoria. María Remedios del Valle, la Afroargentina “Capitana” y “Madre de la Patria”

Apertura.

¿Qué sabes sobre Argentina?

Actividad: List – Group – Label / Listar – Agrupar – Etiquetar

Individualmente, realicen una lista de lo que saben sobre Argentina: ubicación geográfica, idioma oficial, bandera y otros símbolos nacionales, cultura, etc. Luego, reúnanse en pequeños grupos y creen diferentes categorías para agrupar las diferentes palabras que cada uno escribió. Finalmente, nombren esos grupos de palabras con diferentes etiquetas, de acuerdo al razonamiento que el grupo estableció para agruparlas. Compartan sus categorías (etiquetas) con el resto de la clase.



Fuente: Argentina. Wikipedia. La Enciclopedia Libre. <https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Argentina>

La identidad nacional argentina.

En pequeños grupos discutan lo que piensan sobre los grupos culturales, raciales, religiosos y sociales que forman la Argentina. Piensan que es un país diverso? Por qué sí o por que no? Cómo compararían la identidad argentina con la de su país?

(Opcional)

Lectura previa de:

Argentina, Wikipedia. La Enciclopedia Libre. <https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Argentina>

Historia de Argentina, Wikipedia. La Enciclopedia Libre.
[https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historia de la Argentina](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historia_de_la_Argentina)

Trabajo guiado.

- **Introducción. Quiénes son los Afroargentinos?**

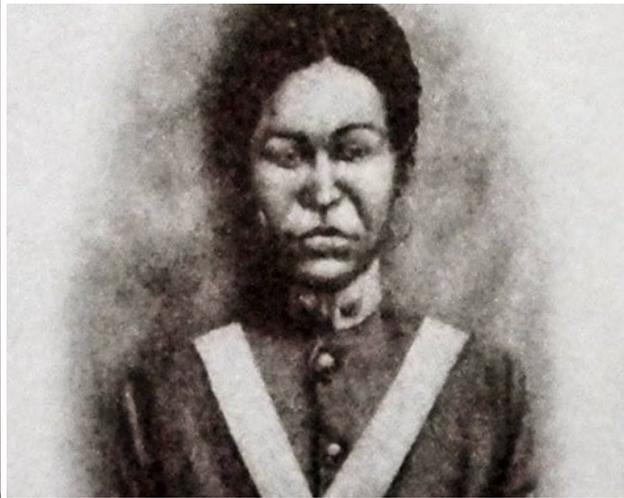
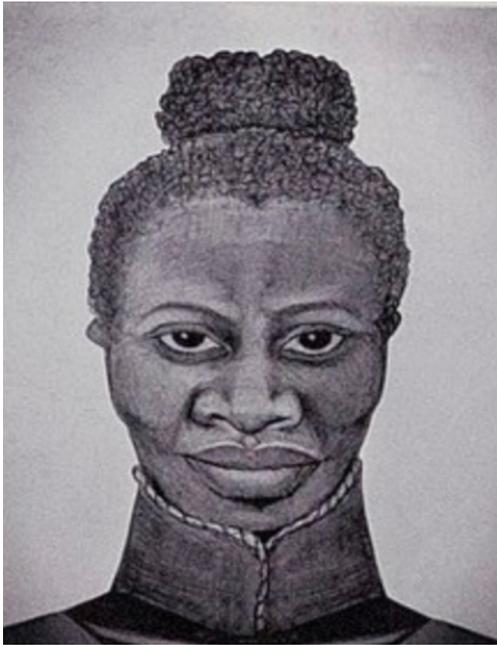
Lean el artículo periodístico [“En Argentina no hay negros”](#), publicado en BBC Mundo.com el 28 de septiembre del año 2002.

Asisten los videos [“Soy Afroargentino/a”](#) y [“Dia de los Afroargentinxs Agrupación Xangô”](#)

Tomen notas y señalan las principales ideas del artículo y los videos.

- **Historia y memoria. María Remedios del Valle, la Afroargentina “Capitana” y “Madre de la Patria”**

Lean el texto [Maria Remedios del Valle, La Afroargentina “Capitana” y “Madre de la Patria”](#) y observen las distintas representaciones de María Remedios del Valle.



Trabajo en colaboración.

En grupos de 2 a 3 estudiantes, respondan las siguientes preguntas de acuerdo a los textos y videos que trabajaron previamente.

- Quién era María Remedios del Valle?
- Qué valores representa?
- Por que se convirtió en el símbolo del movimiento Afroargentino actual?
- Cómo los Afroargentinos se representan a ellos mismos dentro de la identidad nacional argentina?
- Qué crees que ocurre en Puerto Rico con los grupos Afrodescendientes?
- Hay algún héroe Afrodescendiente aquí en Puerto Rico que tu conozcas?

Luego, compartan sus respuestas con el resto de la clase y reflexionen en particular sobre las dos últimas preguntas.

Día 2.

- Experiencias contemporáneas de jóvenes Afroargentinos.

Trabajo guiado.

Asiste el video [Video “Agrupación Xangô Jóvenes Octubre 2017”](#)

Lean la introducción a la Secuencia Didáctica Historia y a la Secuencia Didáctica Cultura de la guía [Afroargentin@s. Guia para docentes sobre Afrodescendientes y Cultura Afro, 2016.](#)

Trabajo en colaboración.

En grupos de 2 a 3 estudiantes, respondan las siguientes preguntas de acuerdo a los textos y videos que trabajaron previamente.

- Quiénes son los Afroargentinos?
- Qué significa ser negro en Argentina?
- Qué significa ser joven y negro en Argentina?
- A partir de lo que has leído y visto en el video, cómo es la relación entre raza y clase en Argentina?
- Cómo y por qué los Afroargentinos están reclamando su lugar dentro de la nación argentina?
- A través de qué mecanismos los Afroargentinos reclaman su lugar en la historia Argentina?

Luego, compartan sus respuestas con el resto de la clase.

Día 3.

Trabajo en colaboración.

Proyecto Creativo.

Formen pequeños grupos (3 a 4 estudiantes). Cada grupo debe escoger una figura histórica o contemporánea que represente los valores de la comunidad (piensen lo que hacen los Afroargentinos cuando escogen a María Remedios del Valle como representante de su lucha). Debe ser alguien haya realizado, o realice actualmente, contribuciones culturales, políticas o sociales significativas hacia su comunidad. Una vez que hayan escogido a su personaje, graben un video corto (3 a 4 minutos máximo), en el cual cuentan la historia de su figura histórica o actual y el significado que él o ella tiene para ustedes y su comunidad.

Aclaraciones/sugerencias para el docente: Este es un proyecto a ser realizado dentro y fuera del horario de clase. La elección de las figuras históricas o contemporáneas puede ser guiada por el docente a partir de una lista previamente armada, en la cual cada grupo seleccione un personaje a trabajar. Asimismo, puede realizarse secuencialmente, es decir: primero una búsqueda/investigación preliminar de figuras históricas y actuales significativas por parte de los estudiantes, luego una discusión en clase de los diferentes nombres y sus contribuciones, seguido de una elección de las figuras más relevantes por parte de cada grupo. El video puede ser filmado con un teléfono celular y compartido al resto de la clase o bien, en caso que se prefiera no hacer un video, puede proponerse una presentación en clase de cada grupo utilizando posters y materiales escritos e impresos.

Día 4.

Reflexión y Conclusión.

Formen pequeños grupos (3 a 4 estudiantes). Cada grupo va a reflexionar lo que han aprendido sobre los Afroargentinos, su historia y su experiencia en el presente, junto con el trabajo que han realizado en los proyectos creativos. Conversen sobre las siguientes preguntas y tomen notas de sus ideas para compartir con el resto de la clase:

- De qué manera contamos nuestras propias historias? Por qué es importante contar nuestras historias?
- Somos todos representados de igual forma en la historia nacional?
- Quien o quienes quedan fuera de la historia oficial? Por qué?
- De qué manera podemos ser más inclusivos?
- Es posible cambiar las representaciones dominantes de la historia? De que manera?

Realicen una puesta en común con el resto de la clase.

Extensión y recursos suplementarios.

Agrupación Xangô.

[Xangô's website](#)

[English Translation of the Pedagogic Guide](#)

[Día Internacional de la Mujer Afrolatina, Afrocaribeña y de la Diáspora Agrupación Xangô](#) (with English subtitles)

[Dia de los Afroargentinx Agrupación Xangô](#) (with English subtitles) [Agrupación Xangô Jóvenes Octubre 2017](#) (with English subtitles)

