Background paper prepared for the 2019 Global Education Monitoring Report

*Migration, displacement and education:
Building bridges, not walls*

MIGRATION CONCEPTS AND THEMES IN EDUCATION DOCUMENTS

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[1]ABSTRACT

The way in which educational materials address historic and current migration and displacement issues plays a crucial role in the experiences of migrants and refugees as well as those of the host communities. Educational materials are crucial in shaping the perceptions of society, and are also valuable resources that reflect the leading popular attitudes and governmental policies. The purpose of this study is to review education plans, curricula, syllabi, teachers' guides and textbooks from twelve countries encompassing all UNESCO regions that have experienced significant migration and displacement movements in order to inquire into the manner in which migration concepts are portrayed in these materials. A historical perspective has been added through a comparison of materials from different periods to highlight how education systems adjust and respond to changes in migration over time. Our analysis has elicited a comprehensive listing of the most common migration-related concepts and themes that occur in educational materials, allowing us to observe patterns that indicate the variation in the conceptualization of various aspects related to migration between countries and over time.

INTRODUCTION

Migrants, refugees, and other displaced people are often marginalized groups whose status in their host country has often interfered with their opportunities to receive equitable, quality education. As schools and educational institutions are key sites through which youth learn to negotiate cultural belonging (Suárez-Oroco et al., 2011), the marginalization of migrants, refugees and displaced people in these systems also hinders their ability to establish positive social interactions of any kind with local communities. This, in turn, can profoundly affect these students' educational attainment and involvement (Pries, 2004; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 2006), future economic success and participation in the labour market (Dustmann and Glitz, 2011; Nusche, 2009), and will or ability to engage as active citizens within their host society (Abu El-Haj, 2007; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011).

Curricula, textbooks and teaching and learning materials are important sites for the transmission, creation and reproduction of dominant societal perceptions, identities and attitudes in students (Vindevoghel,

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2016; Wotham, 2003) — they are thus vital, as stressed in the Incheon Declaration (UNESCO, 2016), for the improvement of equity, inclusion in the learning environment and of quality and relevance of the learning process. However, as international research has demonstrated, these resources, in reflecting the attitudes, priorities and discourses propagated by the government and within the dominant society, may also perpetuate narratives that still contain negative stereotypes and biases towards marginalized groups (UNESCO, 2016; UNESCO-IBE, UNESCO-IIEP and PEIC, 2015).

This study takes a comparative approach to explore the ways in which migration and displacement are described and conceptualized in educational materials and shed light on the reciprocal relationship that these materials have with dominant social, cultural and political understandings of and attitudes towards these phenomena. The incorporation of a historical perspective and local and temporal contextualization facilitates reflections on whether the changes in the conceptualization and representation of migration and related topics found in education documents echo the actual changes in society and policy.

METHODOLOGY AND DATA SELECTION

Methodology

We approach our goal of exploring the conceptions of and attitudes towards migration and displacement embedded in educational materials with the assumption that education reflects the imaginaries of the desired society, and that these imaginaries exist in a binding relationship with the history and the present while they are used to orient the future (Opertti, 2017). Education and its associated materials have a normatizing power; some may even go so far as to label education as a "vehicle for ideological assimilation and homogenization" (Kanu, 2003, p. 71). In particular, curricula, textbooks and other educational materials play a key role in constructing, controlling and categorizing identities and conceptions of citizenship that students must then negotiate (Abu El-Haj, 2007; Escobar Alméciga, 2013; Lei, 2003; Wortham, 2003). Such discourses — and particularly those surrounding citizenship and national identity — can have a strong othering effect on marginalized groups; it is in part through these discourses that prejudices and stereotypes are perpetuated with exclusionary effects. This is particularly true in the case of migrant groups, a factor that demands increasing attention in this age of unprecedented and transformational global migration (Abu El-Haj, 2007; Banks, 2008; Camicia, 2007).

These texts both create and are created by the discourse within which they exist; they exist in relation to each other as well as to the broader social, political, and cultural discursive environment. The structures of interest — the understandings of and attitudes towards migration and displacement — are thus likely to be manifest in these intertextualities (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 63). Content analysis (Krippendorff, 2004) is an appropriate qualitative methodology to adopt for a study of this kind: this systematic technique is flexible enough to accommodate broad and varied sources of data, allowing researchers to elicit patterns and themes from large, complex datasets (Cresswell, 2012, p. 238). This is a "bottom-up" approach to analysis – the researcher develops the framework of analysis in an iterative relationship with the data collection process. This approach grounds the analysis in the data itself while also allowing for the consideration of context — both of the data itself and of the researcher (Cresswell, 2012, pp. 237–238).

The current study takes as its starting point the UNESCO International Bureau of Education (UNESCO-IBE) and Global Education Monitoring Report's (GEMR) study on the monitoring of UN Sustainable Development Goal, Target 4.7 (UNESCO-IBE, 2016), in which researchers used a keyword search to examine national curriculum documents and reveal to what extent Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) and Global Citizenship Education (GCED) content was present in them.[2] As part of their study, the UNESCO-IBE team — having identified that the subjects social studies, civics, and citizenship education were considered to have the strongest links to GCED and ESD — conducted a sub-study of social studies curricula and syllabi.[3] Indeed, social science and humanities curricula and textbooks are popular sources for researchers studying the representation and construction of normative structures and dominant discourses through the education system, and have been of particular interest to scholars of global citizenship (Schissler, 2009; UNESCO, 2014; Wortham, 2003).

The findings of the UNESCO-IBE (2016) sub-study revealed that while the term *migration* was used by 80% of the 30 countries in the study, the term usually referred only to internal migration (rural-to-urban movements) or "to migration in a historical sense, explaining how the nation came to be settled" (UNESCO-IBE, 2016, p. 28). However, the study was limited in its ability to capture conceptions or instances of migration not specifically tagged with that term. The current study builds on the previous by

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[2] The UNESCO-IBE team developed a coding scheme based on keywords associated with ESD and GCED in collaboration with the GEMR team and based on UNESCO recommendations. See UNESCO-IBE (2016, pp. 9–10).
[3] We have considered 'social studies' and 'social science' as synonymous in the case of school subjects and curricula. We have also treated them as quasi-synonyms of 'humanities' in these contexts.

expanding the unit of analysis from token term to concept, based on an assumption that the concept of *migration*, meaning the movement of people from one place to another, may be addressed without using the specific term migration or a direct derivative. This allows for the identification of common migration-related concepts and aspects across the corpus of texts analysed which, in turn, facilitates a broad, comparative analysis of themes, patterns and treatment of migration. In order to best capture the interaction of dominant, sponsored discourses with conceptions of migration, this study analyses national curriculum frameworks (NCFs) and other official education plans as well as social studies curricula, syllabi, and textbooks.

Our guiding question throughout this study was:

How is the concept of migration presented in the texts?

This question necessitates several follow-up questions:

What migration concepts are presented in the texts? What aspects of migration phenomena are presented in the texts? Where? Using what language or imagery? What can this tell us about attitudes towards migrations in the societies in question? How have these treatments changed over time?

Our methodology drew from that proposed by Cresswell (2012, p. 237) and is summarized in the following steps, several of which occur in a simultaneous and iterative relationship to each other:

Identification of patterns in data

↑

Refinement of list

↑

Analysis of data

↑

Compilation of list of migration themes/concepts

↑

Reading of data

↑

Preparation of data for analysis

↑

Collection of data

Iterative   *Simultaneous*
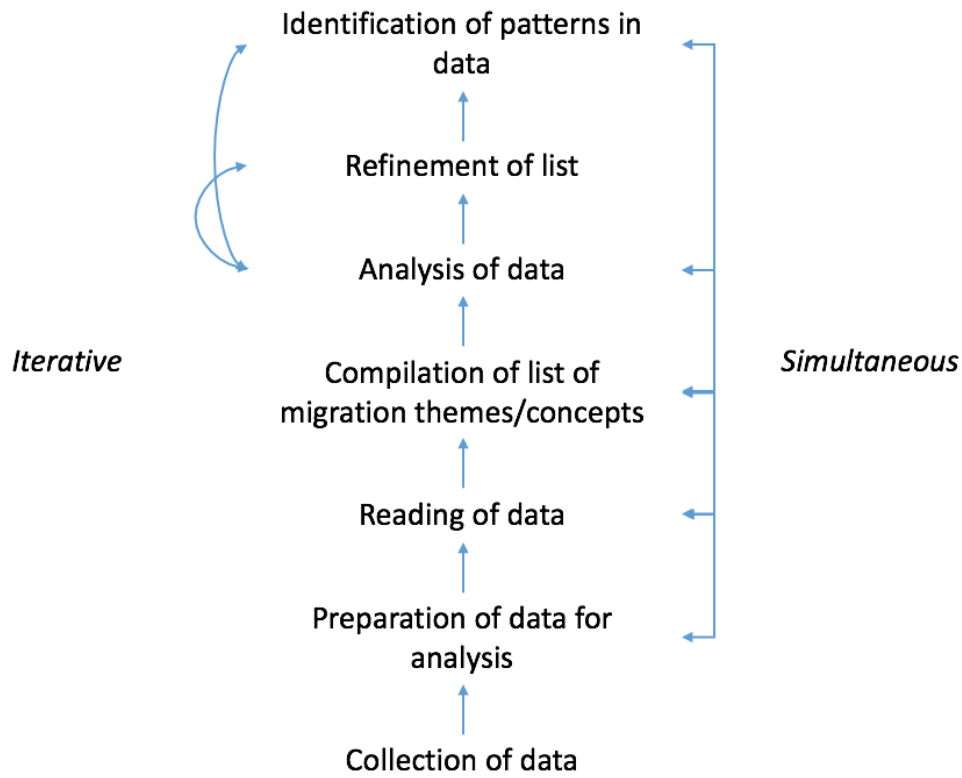
Fig. 1 Our "bottom-up" approach to data analysis, adapted from Cresswell (2012)

Data selection

COUNTRY SELECTION PROCESS

Our team selected 12 countries for analysis following several criteria:

- Referring to the work of the UNESCO-IBE and GEMR (2016) team to identify countries whose NCFs and social studies curricula contained terminology related to migration. This search was consequently expanded to other datasets, including UNESCO-IBE's curriculum collection and historical textbook collection, and the collection of the Georg Eckert Institute (GEI) textbook library;

- Regional representativeness: the selection should represent as many UNESCO regions as possible, and the countries should be reasonably representative of their respective region;

- To the extent possible, representing a variety of national experiences and history with different kinds of migration.

The final selection of countries for analysis was:

- Algeria
- Argentina
- Australia
- Canada
- Côte d'Ivoire
- Italy
- Jordan
- Mexico
- Philippines
- South Africa
- South Korea[4]
- United Kingdom

DATA GATHERING AND SELECTION: HISTORICAL SOURCES

During the initial data selection phase, we searched UNESCO-IBE's physical and digital collection for historical social sciences textbooks from the countries selected for analysis.[5] As countries differ in the organization of their study programmes, we also included geography, history, and civics textbooks in the search. Our historical sources gathering process was complicated by several factors:

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[4] The official name of South Korea is the Republic of Korea. South Korea is used for the most part of this document, except when it needs to be referred to as its official name.

[5] UNESCO-IBE's Historical Textbook Collection 1925–1969 comprises 20,000 textbooks from more than 140 countries in over 97 languages, and includes a wide range of subject textbooks and teaching guides. A selection of 4,700 of these textbooks has been digitised and made available through an online library as part of an ongoing digitization project by UNESCO-IBE. The digital library is currently (as of April 2018) in beta stages and not yet available to the public. Public launch of the digital library is expected in Fall/Winter 2018.

- A massive discrepancy in availability of historical resources between the countries — for instance, the UNESCO-IBE catalogue included a total of 364 potentially relevant books from the United Kingdom, but just five from the Philippines.
- The existence of catch-all categories for African French Colonies that included books from Côte d'Ivoire, among others.
- Due to the ongoing digitization project, a not insignificant number of books listed in the UNESCO-IBE catalogue were not physically or digitally available to us.

Furthermore, due to limitations on time and resources, our team further narrowed our sample set to a maximum of five historical textbooks from each country based on the following criteria:

- The books should be published between 1945–1969, inclusive.[6]
- Giving preference to general social studies textbooks aimed at specific grades or age groups, in particular to those that form part of a series or course of studies.
- Where social studies textbooks were not available, the next preference was for civics or geography textbooks, and then for history.
- Giving preference for textbooks published by local or national Ministries of Education, officially certified by these bodies, or written in direct, stated reference to a national curriculum framework.
- In such cases as Australia, where the selection of textbooks was still large, we selected books published for a particular region or state, with preference for those regions or states for which we had correlating contemporary sources.
- In cases where sources were available in multiple national languages, we selected resources written in languages accessible by our team.

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[6] This period, classifiable as 'post-War', represents the bulk of the available material in the UNESCO-IBE's textbook collection; it is also generally acknowledged to be a period characterized by increasing globalization, including notable upwards trends in migration. The collection does not contain materials from after 1969, and so this was our upper limit.

DATA GATHERING AND SELECTION: CONTEMPORARY SOURCES (SINCE 2000)

The data sources providing the contemporary perspective of analysis comprise an array of documents, including: national curriculum frameworks, education plans, curricula, syllabi, teachers' guides, and textbooks. These were gathered through:

- A search of UNESCO-IBE's database of recent NCFs, collected for the UNESCO-IBE (2016) study, and UNESCO-IBE's repository of curricula and frameworks;

- A search of the GEI's curricula workstation and textbook catalogue;

- In cases where none of these repositories had any relevant documents, or not enough for our purposes, we expanded the search to general internet queries and of the websites of the Ministries of Education of the countries;

- In the case of Jordan and Algeria, where none of the previous methods worked, we worked with an education specialist who had previously collaborated with us.

These searches provided us with a large amount of documents, which we further narrowed according to the following criteria:

- In countries, such as Canada, where the individual states or territories are responsible for curricula setting, we selected a territory that we also had data for in the historical perspective.

- In cases where similar documents were found from various years, we selected the most recent versions or the version that had a greatest variety of documents linked to it.[7]

- We did not select documents that were published earlier than the year 2000.

- In cases where we could not find social science-specific documents, we looked for history, geography and civics analogues.[8]

- When we could not locate enough curricula or syllabi for a country, we included other policy documents such as education plans.

- In cases such as Mexico, where specific educational materials such as curriculum frameworks for the education of migrant children exist, we selected both the general education materials and the

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[7] In the case of Mexico, we found two NCFs linked directly to other documents: one to a set of syllabi and the other to a set of teachers' guides. In order to have a greater variety of documents to analyse, we decided to keep both NCFs in the dataset.

[8] Due to the organization of the South Korean education system and the location of concepts relating to migration issues, we also included the curriculum for moral and ethics education.

more specific ones to broaden the perspective and gain deeper understanding of the positioning of migrants within the education system.

- In consideration of recent textbook controversies, we would like to note that the contemporary textbook used in the South Korean analysis was selected solely due to online access and availability at the time when this research was carried out.

FINAL SELECTION OF SOURCES

In total, our team analysed 189 sources. The majority of these were contemporary documents (see Fig. 2), due to the relative availability and ease of access of these documents. However, note that most (95%) of the historical documents analysed were textbooks (see Fig. 3), while contemporary data was drawn from a range of sources, most commonly (46%) from National Curriculum Frameworks, but also from textbooks, syllabi, and educational plans (see Fig. 4).
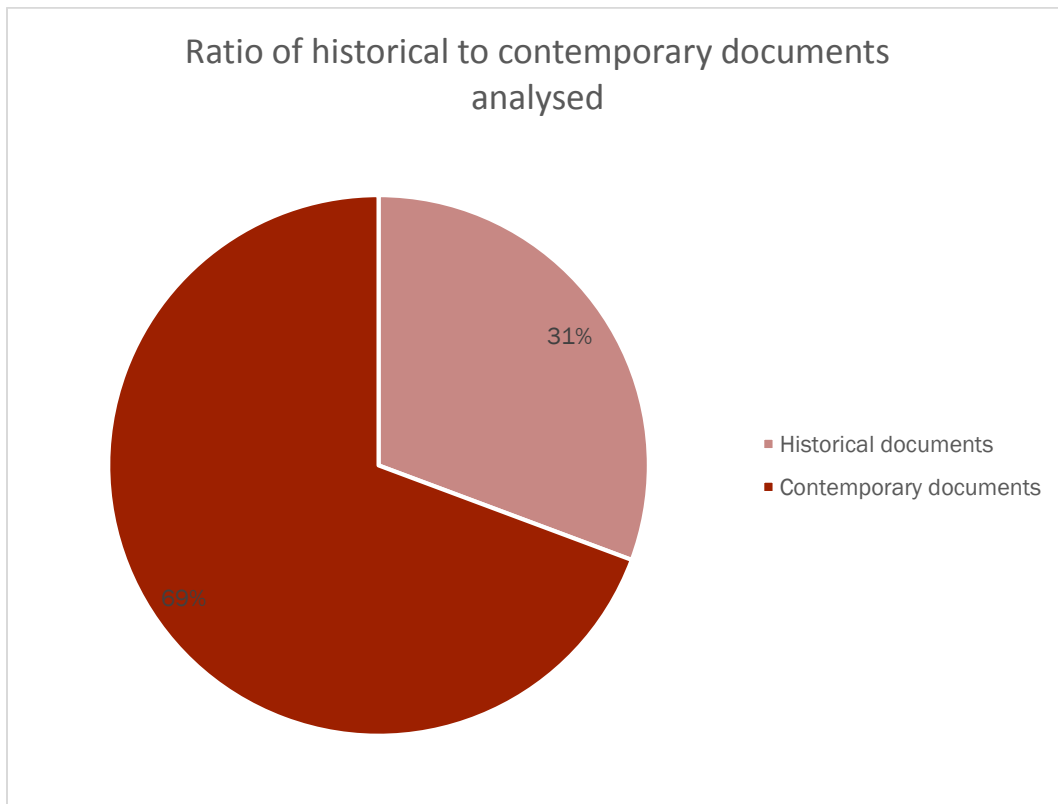
Fig. 2 Ratio of historical to contemporary documents analysed
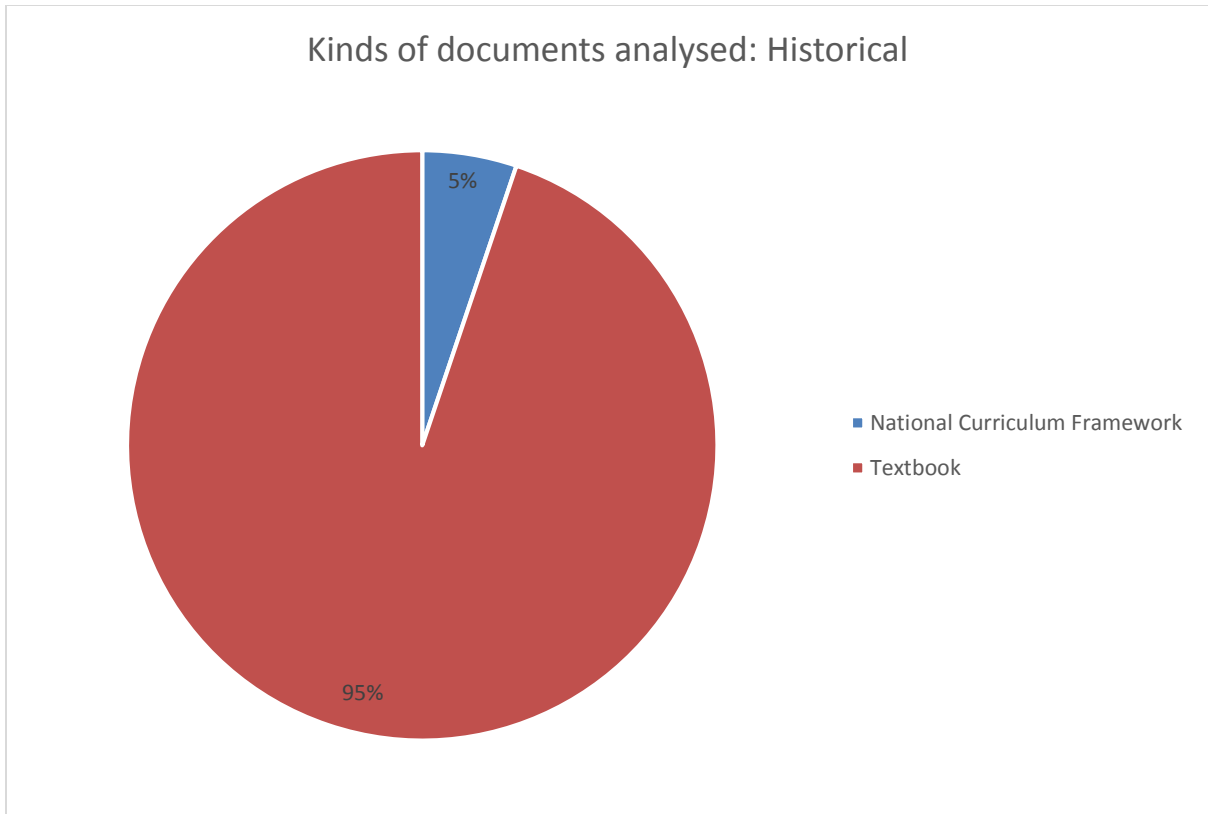
Fig. 3 Kinds of documents analysed: Historical
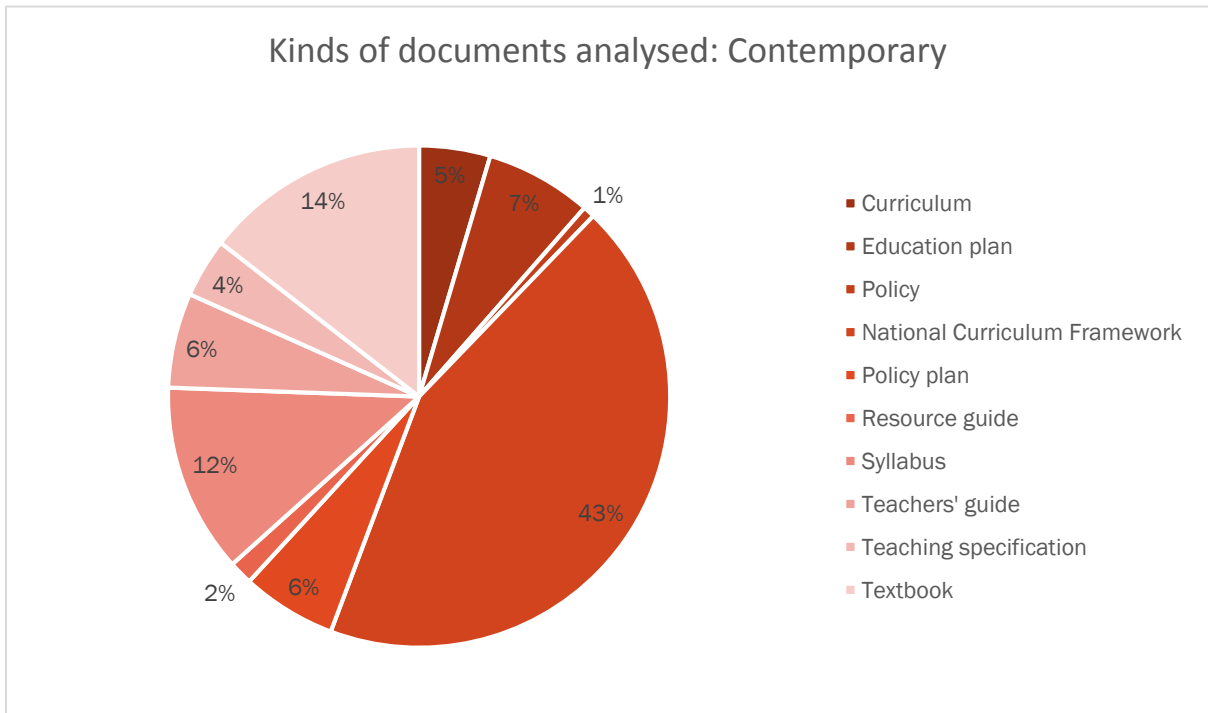
Fig. 4 Kinds of documents analysed: Contemporary

Kinds of documents analysed: Overall

Legend:
- Curriculum
- Education plan
- Policy
- National Curriculum Framework
- Policy plan
- Resource Guide
- Syllabus
- Teachers' guide
- Teaching specification
- Textbook
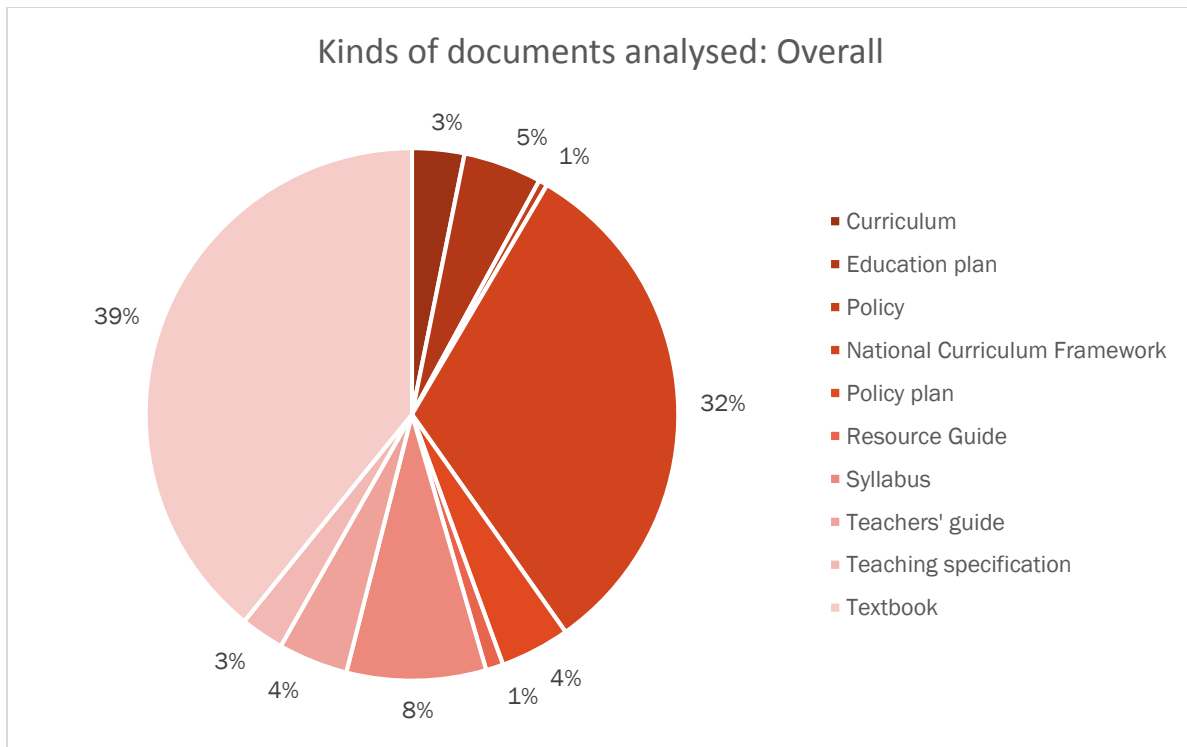
Fig. 5 Kinds of documents analysed: Overall

Note that the variety of kinds of sources analysed, in particular the reliance on curricula and syllabi in the contemporary perspective and on textbooks in the historical perspective, was a source of challenge during the analysis phase. Curricula are, by nature, less descriptive and expansive than textbooks, often comprising lists and bullet points as opposed to prose. Direct comparisons of the rate of token-phrase occurrence between textbooks and curricula is therefore not particularly meaningful. We have considered this aspect in our analyses, referring instead to the amount of coverage and relative amount of focus placed on concepts by the documents.

Another challenge our team faced in the analysis phase stemmed from the differing availability of sources between the countries of analysis and across the two time perspectives (see Fig. 6). This was compounded by the different ways that countries and Ministries of Education compiled and published their national frameworks — for instance, Australia's contemporary national curriculum framework for social sciences and humanities was obtained in just two documents, whereas in the United Kingdom there were three national curriculum documents and ten nationally determined syllabus documents related to social sciences. As discussed above, this challenge was particularly present in the gathering of historical documents.
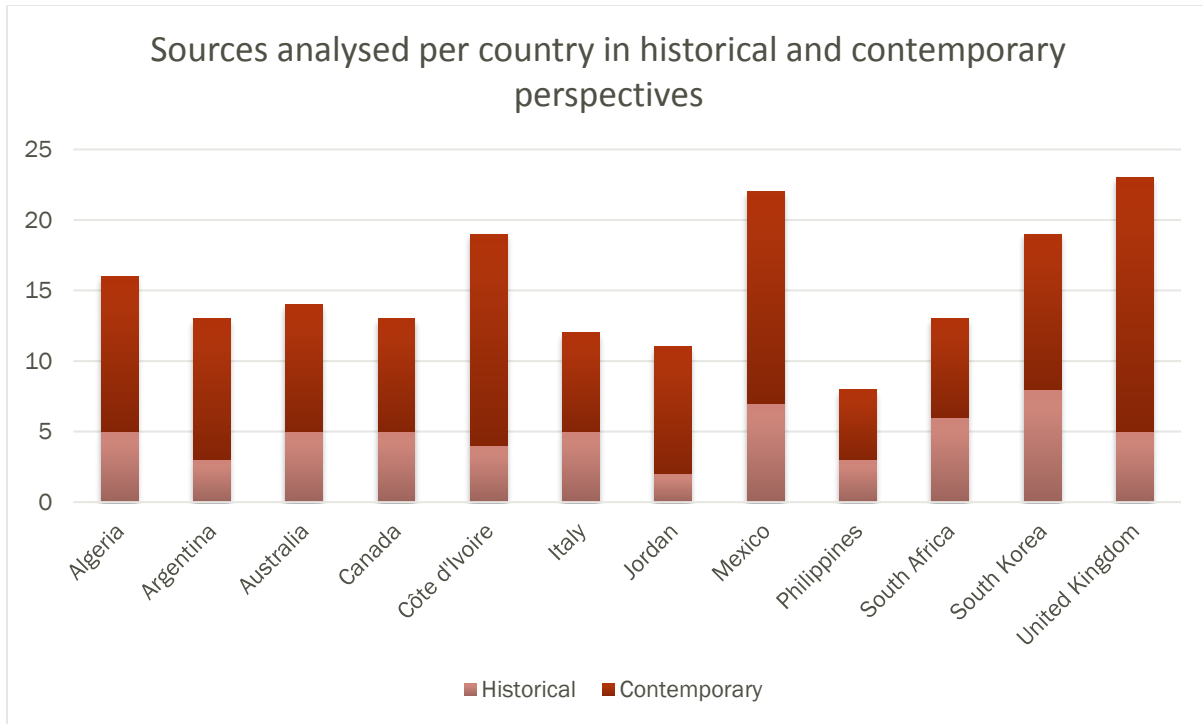
Fig. 6 Sources analysed per country in historical and contemporary perspectives

Due to changes over time in the organization of education systems within countries, and due to the sometimes stark differences between the shape of countries' education systems, we have not broken the complete list of sources analysed down by grade level or subject. The majority of sources analysed were aimed at students in basic and secondary education; some few sources were developed for the purposes of teacher education. See Annex 1 for the complete list of historical and contemporary sources analysed.

DATA SELECTION AND GATHERING: IDENTIFICATION OF EXCERPTS FOR ANALYSIS

Once the sources were selected, the team searched them for concepts relating to migration and the movement of people. In cases where the documents were digitized, this process was aided by a rudimentary search for keywords based on a range of concepts the team deemed likely to appear. These included (in the respective languages):

- Migration
- Refugee
- Displacement
- Circulation
- Movement [of people]

Searches were generally performed using word stems — for instance, in English: *migr*, *displ, *refug, *circul, *mov* so as to enable the capture of conjugated and inflected terms. During the first phase of document analysis and excerpt identification, it became clear that the list of key terms and stems used to search for relevant excerpts would need to be flexible and adjusted slightly according to each individual country, due not only to issues of language and morphology, but to the way the terms were used. As such, researchers used some level of discretion, according to the context and their familiarity with the text, as to whether to include extra terms in these searches, such as *settle, *colon[y, ies, ize, etc.], *nomad. In cases where the documents were not digitized — and this was the bulk of the historical documents — this process was performed through a manual scan reading.

Excerpts of text were selected for analysis that dealt with the concept of migration, or the movement of people, with the following caveats:

- Where texts talked about migration or displacement but no actual movement of *people* (as opposed e.g. to animals, culture, language, religion, etc.) was described or the concept was particularly weakly conveyed, the excerpt was not selected.
- Where texts talked about the ancient movements of peoples without relevance to the development or history of the country of analysis (for instance, the expansion of the Ottoman Empire in a British textbook), the excerpt was not selected.

ANALYSIS

The qualitative nature of this study and the inferential essence of the research questions rely on the contextualization of the data, to the best of the researchers' ability, in historical, socio-cultural and political terms. In this study, the researchers are by and large the means of analysis, and their understandings and inferences are ever-present in the interpretation of the data. This introduces a hermeneutical aspect into our approach. In light of this, we took many measures to avoid bias and approach the analysis in a content-driven, systematic way. Our research team is diverse and international, with varying backgrounds and personal experiences of migration and multicultural environments, and we relied on inter-team discussion and validation to mitigate researcher bias and single-viewpoint analysis wherever possible.

We also endeavoured to mitigate subjectivity and bias by adopting a two-level approach to the analysis, driven by our "bottom-up" methodology. The first level was a generic (more hermeneutical) analysis approach, during which we familiarized ourselves with the data and compiled a list of migration-related topics and concepts that occurred in the texts. This list was refined and expanded throughout the analysis process. It has been useful for our team to treat this list as a catalogue of migration concepts and themes, from which educational materials pick and choose in meaningful patterns. As such, the second level of analysis operationalized this list to create an in-depth and systematic picture of the data.

There is not space here to include the complete analyses of our data. There follows, in this section, a short summary of the main analytical conclusions that our analyses have elicited per each country. For more detailed accounts of these analyses including contextualization and illustrative examples, please refer to the appropriate Annex as referenced at the beginning of each section.

Country analyses

ALGERIA

See Annex 2

Migration concepts were scarce in the data from Algeria, though they are included in contemporary geography and history secondary school curricula. Historical texts reference migration particularly in relation to the immigration of the Prophet Muhammad. The relationship between Muhammadian immigrants and owners of the receiving lands is described as quite positive, as opposed to the treatment that Algerian migrants received when they emigrated to Europe. Since the end of the French colonization, curriculum and textbooks developers have worked hard to emphasize the unity of the peoples within the country, taking into consideration the fact that the country is a mixture of Arabs and Imazighen/Berbers. Contemporary texts emphasize Algerian colonization, its history, the countries behind it and its effects on the world in general, the Arab world in particular, and specifically Algeria. Colonization has had a deep impact on Algeria and the aftermaths of it are still clearly present in many aspects of the country. Overseas immigration is mentioned in the curricula in relation to Europe with emphasis on France as the country of choice to most of the Algerian immigrants. The unfair treatment of Algerian migrants abroad is also mentioned.

ARGENTINA

See Annex 3

Immigration had a great impact in shaping the racial and cultural heritage of the country as well as its economic prosperity, thus contributing to the development of a new Argentinian society, in which the sons of immigrants were ready to leave the identity of their country of origins aside and fight for their new land. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Argentina was seen by Europeans as the land of opportunities, the place where to find salvation from the economic and consequent political crises that were affecting many countries of the continent. This was also due to the favourable migration policies implemented by the country, shedding light also on the role of the State in fostering or hindering migration. Nowadays, Argentina is still seen as a land of opportunities, this time by people from neighbouring countries. This time, however, the movement of people is pushed more by causes linked to globalization that by the government, indicating a shift in the "governance" over migration issues, dictated by a new global order. Despite the fact that the discussion about migration in the documents, reveal a tone of recognition towards immigrants, who helped in developing the country, their experiences were not always positives. Indeed, the beliefs and expectations of migrants and the reality they found once arrived in Argentina, were not exactly the same. In many cases, they were experiencing misery as well as discrimination from the locals, especially from the higher classes, reproducing a pattern that was already present in the colonial times. An interesting aspect discussed in relation to this point is the solidarity among different migrants, who in order to overcome the difficulties faced in the new country, created migrant organizations to help each other. Finally, Argentinians themselves have also been migrants; this is true especially, in the second half of the twentieth century, when the country experienced different political crisis. In relation to this, a noticeable absence in the contemporary textbooks is the migration of Argentinians during the military dictatorships the country suffered during the 1970s and 1980s.

AUSTRALIA

See Annex 4

Both historical and contemporary data show that migration concepts are currently, and have previously been, present throughout Australian social studies education The colonization and settlement of Australia are presented as the defining moments of the Australian narrative and establishment of Australian identity in historical and contemporary texts alike. While historical texts utilized the narrative of colonization to strengthen a specifically white, European narrative, contemporary texts are broadening this to create a more diverse Australian narrative. Specifically, while historical sources focus only on the growth and development of Australia as the effects of colonization and settlement-related migration,

contemporary texts work to broaden, to some extent, the presentation of these same aspects of the Australian narrative to include native perspectives and experiences. Contemporaneous immigration patterns are also used in the texts to contribute to the construction of the Australian narrative; in the historical data, this reinforces the white Eurocentric nature of Australian identity. In contrast, the contemporary data effectively creates a two-phase conception of immigration in Australia: recent immigration is considered to be largely Asian as opposed to prior European dominated immigration. Furthermore, contemporary texts assume experience of migration in students' families and heritage; this is particularly raised in relation to recent migration patterns — including refugees and refugee movements — and Australian multiculturalism, effectively characterising migration as a vehicle for change and diversity in Australian identity and culture. Simultaneously, the texts specifically leverage these recent migration trends in a positive light as a key axis of Australia's interaction with the countries of Oceania and Asia.

CANADA

See Annex 5

Migration concepts are present in data from both perspectives from a fairly young age (from grade 2 in contemporary data, and primary-targeted materials in the historical), but are most prevalent and differentiated in the contemporary perspective. Immigration is considered to be a (if not *the*) significant force in the creation of the Canadian nation, and particularly its unique heritage and identity. Texts in both perspectives portray Canadian society (and identity) as culturally heterogeneous in essence, largely as a result of the pivotal role of migration throughout the development of the Canadian nation. In the historical texts, this is largely accomplished through discussion of the colonization and settlement of Canada; contemporary texts cover colonization and settlement in detail as well, but also focus on other significant migration trends. The effects of European settlement in Canada are portrayed more positively in the historical data than in the contemporary data, in which texts consistently highlight the negative effects of European settlement on the indigenous peoples of Canada, particularly as a result of forced migration. Contemporary data explores migration policy largely in terms of the effect it had on individuals — again, this is largely considered to be negative, a chapter of Canada's history to be overcome through the appreciation of Canada's diverse and multicultural heritage and identity.

CÔTE D'IVOIRE

See Annex 6

Migration has played a key role in the history of Côte d'Ivoire, particularly in the population and development of the country. However, the educational resources acknowledge that migration does not always lead to positive outcomes. The historical sources also stress the misery faced by the farmers who migrated to the cities, and — by asking students to reflect on the experiences of these migrants — foster reflection on the negative consequences of rural-to-urban migration. That reference to rural-to-urban migration is found only in the historical textbooks; this is likely due to the decline of this phenomenon in recent years. Similarly, contemporary texts focus less on racial segregation in reference to migration than historical texts do, suggesting that for the country the issue of discrimination is not as relevant as in the past and that there are other priorities, such as the issue of refugees and internally displaced people. Contemporary texts place special emphasis on these topics, stressing values such as respect, empathy and solidarity towards these population groups. The competencies that students are expected to achieve by the end of their education tend very much towards the understanding of the other and the respect for people's rights, which are described as key responsibilities of the individuals towards themselves and the community in order to achieve peaceful coexistence. This last point is not limited only to displaced populations, but is also discussed in relation to immigrants.

ITALY

See Annex 7

The majority of Italian documents analysed refer to the topic of migration, reflecting the country's great migrant tradition. They refer especially to the economic and political crises that affected the country in the first half of the twentieth century, which forced many Italians, especially from the South, to look for better opportunities elsewhere. However, such discussion of migration is limited to the past, and there is only one specific picture that refers to the current situation of Italy as one of the main receiving countries of undocumented immigrants in Europe. From the latest curriculum framework, it can be understood that the Italian education system opts for a policy directed towards the integration of immigrants students in Italian schools and consequently in the Italian society. This policy is aligned with the general discourse around migration of the country. The focus on the integration of immigrants in the Italian national system contrasts with the more negative tone set by one of the historical textbooks, which refers to emigrants as "lost Italians", because they were obliged to assimilate when they arrived in other countries (Moroni, 1959, p. 404). A range of contradictory attitudes towards migration can be identified throughout the data, even within the same resources. Whereas in some places the text portrays migration in a negative light,

referring to it as a "problem" or a "painful process", in other places the text praises migration as a means of spreading Italian values and culture throughout the world. This sense of pride, simultaneously, is in contrast with the way in which Italian immigrants were perceived by the local populations — this is specifically relevant in relation to the Italian migration the United States, where Italian migrants were portrayed in the popular discourse as criminals responsible for the introduction of the mafia, and in Belgium, where they were accused of stealing jobs from the local population.

JORDAN

The topic of migration is a must in educational resources in a country like Jordan, which has experienced various patterns of migration throughout its history. This is reflected in the curricula from different grades and subjects, which explore the topic of migration from early grades, considering positive and negative aspects of the phenomena. The migration of the Prophet Muhammad and the fostering of brotherhood are presented as an ideal in the contemporary curricula. Contemporary curricula highlight various kinds of migration as well as their positive and negative impacts on the sending and receiving countries. The analysis reveals that this topic is explored since early grades. From grade 4 up to grade 10, the different curricula analysed listed migration concepts under the learning outcomes that students are expected to achieve and master, with the ultimate goal of being able to understand and analyse the impact of migration on the population structure. The curriculum coverage of refugees, a key political topic for Jordan throughout its history, requires students to consider the plight of refugees, demonstrate empathy, and consider Jordan's crucial humanitarian role in providing refugees with assistance. There is also, however, some consideration of the negative impacts of migration and particularly that of the influx of refugees on Jordan, such as the issues of unnatural population increase and demand for water.

MEXICO

Migration in Mexico, and not only in this country, dates back to the origins of men, and has acquired a greater importance in the past century. For this reason, in the historical and contemporary documents there is a perception that this phenomenon in the country has become institutionalized. Indeed, texts highlight the pivotal role migration has played in creating Mexico as a country rich with cultural, linguistic, and historical plurality and dynamism. Educational materials highlight that migrant communities must be empowered and protected against different forms of discrimination, and specific activities in the educational materials analysed sensitize learners towards the effect and importance of preventing discrimination and protecting the cultural plurality of Mexico. This emphasis on plurality is also maintained by the involvement of migrant and indigenous communities in the development of education programmes in order to address the needs of migrant children and consequently reduce inequalities. There is a noticeable omission in the Mexican texts of the discussion about emigration from Mexico to the United States, as well as of the concepts of undocumented migration and its consequences, such as deportation.

While popular discourse represents the issues of migration to the United States, undocumented migration and deportation in largely negative ways, the educational materials by and large portray migration in a positive light, highlighting the need to prevent discrimination against migrants and emphasizing their integral membership and contributions to the richness of Mexican society.

PHILIPPINES

See Annex 10

Although migration concepts were observed in all Filipino materials analysed, they received comparatively sparse coverage. The aftermath of colonization on the Philippines is largely presented in terms of its political and cultural effects in both historical and contemporary texts, perhaps reflective of the relatively small scale of colonial migration to the Philippines. Historical and contemporary texts use the actions of Filipinos under colonial rule as important narrative building blocks for Filipino national identity and pride, with the effect that colonial migration is one of the benchmarks *against which* Filipino identity is established. The focus of the historical narrative, in both perspectives, is not of the migrants but of an indigenous group who received (with little to no choice in the matter) those migrants. Still, the origins of Filipino ethnic identity are constructed in the text in large part through a narrative of ancient migration, largely from other parts of South and West Asia. In the contemporary data, migration is further portrayed as a key component of the Philippines' reciprocal relationship and interaction with countries in South and West Asia. Labour emigration — in particular, Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) — is the main kind of contemporary migration covered in the text, reflecting the pivotal role that this form of migration plays in contemporary Filipino society where state-sponsored and organized emigration is dominant. The topic of OFWs is not, however, covered in a solely positive light: the text also contains consideration of the social problems that have arisen as a result of the scale of emigration from the Philippines. However, this topic is covered largely as part of optional senior secondary social science course; the bulk of the coverage relating to migration issues in the contemporary Filipino educational materials do not necessary reflect the pivotal role that emigration plays in the Philippines, which is one of the largest exporters of temporary labour migrants in the world.

SOUTH AFRICA

See Annex 11

Migration concepts are present across the contemporary social sciences curricula with a fair degree of regularity starting from Grade 5, but are comparatively scarce. Migration concepts were found in four of

the five historical books analysed. In both perspectives, texts focused above all on colonial migration, slavery, and more recent migrant labour. Historical and contemporary accounts of colonization use the same events to construct fairly different narratives of migration: while the historical texts construct a positive, productive narrative, led by almost heroic white Europeans, the contemporary curricula create a more nuanced narrative that considers the impact on and experience of the indigenous populations, with white Europeans more frequently portrayed as aggressors. The pre-colonial history of migration in South Africa is othered by the narrative presented in the historical texts, while contemporary texts use it to situate South African history and identity within a broader, pan-African narrative. The history and impact of slavery is a key topic in the contemporary data that links the narrative of South African history with a broader, pan-African history. The historical and contemporary texts reflect some but not all of the key policies and debates around migration in South Africa in their respective time periods.

SOUTH KOREA

See Annex 12

Migration in Korea is comparatively considered a recent phenomenon and appears scarcely in both the historical and contemporary sources. There are, at large, four major migration patterns observed in either the historical or contemporary data throughout Korean history. Historical texts discuss the formation of Korea as a result of the ancient movement of people from Central Asia. Historical and contemporary texts alike cover two key emigrations that occurred during Japan's colonization of Korea: first, of political refugees fleeing the country to avoid persecution and looking for opportunities to fight for the independence of the country from outside the country; and then due to the difficulties caused by the agricultural plan adopted by Japan which forced the Korean farmers to leave the country for living. Historical texts also emphasized the ethnic, linguistic and cultural homogeneity of Korean society, which was valued for building a strong sense of Korean national identity, and which has long been fostered until recently. However, in recent years, Korea has begun to accept more and more foreigners, and the influx of migrant workers, North Korean defectors as well as multicultural families[9] no longer allow it to claim itself as a homogeneous society. Over the past decade, some attempts have been made to understand that Korea has been transforming into a multicultural society. This effort is still ongoing, and can be well

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[9] The term 'multicultural families' is used in the Korean texts largely, though not technically, to refer to a family unit comprising a Korean husband with a migrant wife from Southeast Asia.

seen throughout the contemporary texts, wherein the concept of multicultural society is introduced and emphasized, to various extents, from grade 1 onwards. While efforts have been made to the contrary, the othering of the migrants as minority still occurs, and the focus of the materials is on understanding the diversity and the changes that occur with the settlement of the newcomers. Lastly, the emigration of Koreans to other countries after the Korean War seems to be perceived positively, and is further encouraged in both historical and contemporary Korean textbooks.

UNITED KINGDOM

See Annex 13

Migration concepts were, overall, not comparatively prevalent in either the historical or contemporary sources from the United Kingdom. Colonization and settlement are the main migration concepts found, particularly in excerpts that relate directly to Britain, in historical and contemporary data. While the historical data downplay the role of this kind of migration in the *formation* of British identity, the contemporary data constructs migration as a foundation and key influencer of the British narrative. The transatlantic slave trade is a focal point in historical and contemporary texts; while historical texts avoid British culpability for this process, contemporary texts do not shy acknowledging the fundamental role Britain played in its development. Allusions to non-colonial migration in the historical data are nearly always accompanied by reference to questions of race, and contemporaneous migration patterns are nearly always discussed in relation to immigration control, reflecting the nature of contemporaneous debate on migration policy. In contrast, allusions to contemporaneous migration patterns in the contemporary perspective focus largely on rural-to-urban migration and do not necessarily reflect the current public focus on migration.

DISCUSSION AND SYNTHESIS OF FINDINGS

Throughout our two-phase process of analysis across the twelve selected countries, our team developed, refined and expanded a list of migration-related themes and concepts (see Annex 14). These themes and concepts are those that occurred with frequency in the texts, capturing a truly broad range: the list comprises 101 concepts, organized in eight categories:

1. Kinds/types of migration
2. Reasons for migration (pull and push factors)
3. Consequences of migration

4.   Migrants

5.   Other topics referring to people who migrate

6.   Reactions and attitudes towards migration/migrants

7.   Migration policy

8.   Miscellaneous

No country's data reflected all or even a majority of these themes. However, analysing the excerpts pulled from the texts in relation to these themes and concepts has enabled our team to identify meaningful — though general — patterns and trends across the various perspectives.

Clustering of migration concepts and themes around specific topics and events

The educational materials in most countries tended to focus on a set of events or topics that related to migration concepts and themes, and the references found in the data would cluster around those events and topics accordingly. For instance, in the case of Côte d'Ivoire, excerpts discussing migration focus disproportionately on displaced peoples; in Jordan, the discussion centres around refugees; in Mexico, Argentina and Canada it is related to emigration and immigration; in South Africa, colonization and slavery are dominant topics; Australian texts disproportionately focused on colonization and settlement and twentieth and twenty-first century immigration from Asia; texts from the United Kingdom focus on colonization and urbanization almost exclusively; and in South Korean texts the most common topics were, in the historical perspective, the origins of the country, immigration and emigration during and after colonization and the war, and multicultural families in both historical and contemporary documents.

Migration concepts in excerpts related to the discursive construction of countries' historical narrative, national identity and heritage

The countries selected for the analysis were in part selected because of their significant historical experiences with migration. As such, it is not a particular surprise that migration concepts were, in many countries, frequently found in excerpts that referred to the country's history and narrative. It is also perhaps unsurprising that the manner and effect of these applications of migration concepts to the histories and narratives of the countries differed greatly. This is perhaps best exemplified in relation to countries who experienced colonization differently: for instance, in the Philippines, colonial migration was very much portrayed as the force against which the Filipino nation was awakened, while ancient

migrations from various parts of South and West Asia were portrayed as constituting the Filipino people. The sanctioned Filipino narrative is thus that of those who were colonized, as opposed to those doing the colonizing. The opposite is true of Canada — while contemporary Canadian texts do recognize the history, experiences, and contributions of indigenous people to the history of Canada, it is the migration of white European colonists to Canada that is effectively treated as the first building block of the Canadian nation.

Texts leveraged migration concepts in various ways with the effect of constructing various conceptions of national identity. Compare the contrasting cases found in Italian and Argentina data: Argentinian historical texts described immigrants as a "gain" to the country, as they contributed not only to the prosperity of Argentina, but also to the creation of a new "Argentinian type" (Gianello, 1964, p. 141), who put his or her new country before that of their origin; in contrast, Italian texts portrayed migration as a cause of "lost Italians", as Italian emigrants were forced to assimilate and take up new citizenships and identities in their receiving countries. Countries with long experience of various kinds of migration, though particularly those countries that were previously colonized, were likely to treat migration as a source of multicultural heritage that played a key role in the foundation of a diverse national identity. It is interesting to note that in the case of Korea, although historical texts do not emphasize the role of migration in the foundation of the country, placing value instead on national social homogeneity, these texts promote migration as a means of promoting the development of Korea and its global standing.

Data also demonstrated that the treatment of migration topics in some cases had the effect of establishing links between the narratives and identities of the country and the broader region. For instance, the contemporary South African educational materials consistently leveraged narratives of the trans-African and trans-Atlantic slave trade that were effective in establishing discursive links between the diverse South African narrative and that of a broader, pan-African history. Contemporary and historical Filipino texts emphasized the role of ancient south and western Asian migrations to the Philippines in the construction of a plural but essentially Asian national identity; contemporary Australian texts characterised recent immigration trends from Asia as creating a connection with the region vital to Australia's recent past, present, and future.

Issues of race and ethnicity cannot be ignored in the discussion of national identity construction and conceptualisations of migration. Historical texts in particular speak of the effect of migration on race — for instance, one UK geography textbook that speaks of "racial admixture" as a result of migration (Suggate, 1963, p. 74); South African data discussed the topics of race and migration in conjunction with

disproportionate frequency. Historical texts from Argentina mention the influence of population movements to the territory, first in relation to colonization, then in relation to migration. In the former case, one text describes the presence of three different races: White, meaning Spanish, other Europeans and their descendants; Indigenous; and Black people, mainly referring to slaves from Africa (Sáenz Valiente, 1961, p. 339). In the latter case, another text emphasizes the predominance of white men after migration, pointing out that "black" people[10] were disappearing more and more (Gianello, 1964, p. 141). On the other hand, in terms of Korea, historical texts highlight the ethnic, linguistic, cultural homogeneity of Korean people to value, construct and strengthen national identity, which originated from "one" ethnicity and "one" blood. This is not emphasized as much in the contemporary documents; instead, the danger of developing certain perception of others, in this case non-Korean people, becomes a concern when the country now is accepting many migrants.

Within excerpts that contributed to the construction of these national narratives, migration-related themes were frequently leveraged in relation to the economic and cultural development as well as population growth and distribution of the country. Some similarities and trends can be identified here — for instance, texts from the former British colonies (Canada, South Africa, and Australia) all focused on the efforts of settlers and pioneers in the establishment and expansion of the nation's borders. Filipino texts highlighted the pivotal role of Filipino emigrants to Spain in the awakening of the Filipino national and cultural identity. Texts from the Côte d'Ivoire portray migration as the pivotal means through which the country was populated. Often, these developmental migrations were also directly incorporated in the construction of a concept of national identity, and sometimes received noticeably different treatment than more recent migration trends. Historical South African texts are a particularly good example of this: while more historical European migrations are lauded as the means of creation of the South African nation, more recent migration trends were presented as a potential threat to the nation.

Reflections of migration issues in contemporaneous public and policy discourses in educational materials

Our analysis of data in relation to its context, to the extent possible given the restraints of time and resources, has revealed some interesting trends regarding the degree to which educational materials

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[10] It is not clear in the text if this refers to indigenous people or the descendants of African slaves.

reflect the contemporaneous public and policy discourses surrounding migration. Reflections of contemporaneous discourses were, in many countries' data, most discernible in reference to the issue of immigration and emigration, and this was true in both historical and contemporaneous data. Some textbooks and curricula covered the relevant country's immigration policy explicitly — for instance, historical Filipino and South African textbooks directly state the limitations that government policy at the time set on immigration. An interesting comparison to make between these cases, where immigration policy is outlined in stark terms, is with contemporary curricula and textbooks in which immigration policies past and present are considered in terms of the impact they had on individuals. Canadian social studies curricula, for instance, repeatedly highlight the impact of controversial historical policies that forcibly displaced indigenous peoples or discriminated against immigrants on the basis of race; similarly, Australian curricula consistently raise the cost of colonial migration and, later, forced migration for the indigenous people of Australia. These examples do not necessarily reflect debates about contemporaneous migration, but they do reflect highly salient contemporaneous public discourses regarding the treatment of marginalized groups throughout the nation's history.

The reflection of migration-related public discourses and debates in the texts are not always complete, of highest contemporaneous salience, or even internally coherent. For example, South African contemporary texts cover the topic of urbanization and rural-to-urban migration, but they neglect the most publicly divisive part of that issue — namely, that of xenophobia and violent discrimination against immigrants from other African nations in South African cities. Or in the United Kingdom, while contemporary data discusses earlier migration from former commonwealth countries, recently controversial migration patterns from EU accession countries were omitted entirely. It was rare, in the data, for such salient public discourses to be presented as a topic for students' exploration. Canadian curricula require students to consider the costs and benefits of admitting refugees, both for Canada and the refugees themselves; Jordanian texts, too, highlight positive and negative aspects of the Jordanian policy towards refugees. Generally, however, such highly controversial topics were not conveyed as a topic of debate, and the reflection of the debates was inferred from the presentation of one dominant point of view.

In some cases, contradictions were observed even among data from the same time perspective (and even within the same source). For instance, the varying stances towards migration found in the historical Italian data, where migration is depicted as a problem but also as a good way to spread Italian values abroad. The depiction in Mexican textbooks of the highly sensitive issue of emigration from Mexico into the United

States, on the other hand, runs against the grain of dominant popular discourse by portraying documented and undocumented emigrants as important parts of the Mexican society.

Reflections of migration-related policies and discourses are not simply found in course content. They may also be observed and inferred from the shape and intention of curricula. The Mexican education system has created specific policies and curricula to support migrant children, for example, and the Philippines have created an Alternative Learning System (ALS) with purpose-made curricula for students affected by issues such as migration, inability to access regular schools, or lack of education as a child. In Korea, where migration is considered a relatively new phenomenon, contemporary textbooks tend to address migration through broader concepts such as fostering understanding of diversity — e.g. of multicultural families — without specifying that this is an issue facing society during primary and lower secondary education. However, starting from upper secondary education, Korean texts include in-depth discussion on the social and spatial changes that have happened due to the settlement of immigrants, as well as the understanding of the multicultural spaces that have appeared through ethnic/racial and cultural hybridity (MoE, 2015d, p. 278). Meanwhile, annual educational policies and plans begin to address the educational need for children from multicultural backgrounds and North Korean defectors, and specific policy proposals for the support of multi-cultural families and North Korean defectors in the education system have been submitted.

Perceptions of migration and migrants

The nature of this study makes valid comparison of perceptions of migration and migrants between countries, regions and time periods quite difficult. Although this study is predicated on the notion that discourse regarding topics is to some extent observable through text, such observations rely on political and social context that differs vastly between countries and over time. The most interesting and notable observations regarding change in perceptions over time are accomplished within the individual country perspectives.[11] In some cases, for instance South Africa, comparison between time perspectives revealed some significant shifts in perceptions of migration. Historical South African texts represent colonial settlers as a brave, industrious group to whom the country is indebted while condoning negative attitudes

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[11] These analyses were covered in the above summarized analyses and the expanded case studies in the respective annexes.

towards contemporaneous labour migrants from India. In the contemporary data, however, the colonial settlers are not portrayed in a unilaterally flattering light and the pivotal role in South African history and society of migrants from various countries, with a focus on those from other parts of Africa is highlighted. In others, the shifts are less dramatic. Canadian historical texts, for instance, mention the multicultural heritage of Canada as a result of migration, and stress its importance in the development of the nation, but focus almost exclusively on migration from Western Europe. Contemporary Canadian texts continue to stress that immigration is important, but include a much more diverse conception of migrants and celebrate the resultant multicultural heritage more vehemently. Argentinian texts in both time perspectives portray generally positive perceptions of migration, which is attributed with contributing to the country's economic development and the creation of a new race. However, there are also some instances in the Argentinian texts from both perspectives that do not paint migration and migrants so positively — for instance, implying that migrants may tend towards criminal associations and anarchism (MECT, 2006c, p. 66). In Korea, while the perception of emigrants may be considered quite positive, the othering of immigrants who live in the country persists, and many efforts have been included in contemporary documents to foster understanding of the added values of multicultural society and promote harmonious coexistence within the country.

These examples reflect the highly changeable and nuanced nature of discourse surrounding topics of migration: shifts in attitudes and perceptions may be small, and even in countries where migration is favoured and sanctioned by the state and official discourse, resistance to migration may persist, as it is a phenomenon frequently considered to be a disruption of the status quo, access to privilege or to the labour market.

Other contrasting discourse can be observed in the approach to unity and peaceful coexistence within the population found in the educational materials. While Algeria placed strong emphasis on Arabization, for instance, with a focus on moving on from the harm caused in the past by the colonization of the country, other countries such as Mexico and Côte d'Ivoire seek to foster behaviour that enables understanding among the various population groups. It is important to state that neither of these approaches is better than the other; they are different ways of dealing with the past and looking towards a more harmonious future.

Contemporary texts in many countries speak of marginalized communities such as refugees and displaced people as integral parts of the society — for instance, the Australian curriculum acknowledges that many

students will have family members with experience of being refugees; Jordanian materials detail the humanitarian responsibility that Jordan has to support refugees; Mexico has modified its education policies and prioritized the education of these communities; and Korea promotes among students community activities such as humanitarian and refugee relief. As previously mentioned, however, even here nuances exist: Jordanian materials ask students to examine the challenges caused by Jordan's acceptance of refugees, for instance.

Educational materials from other countries, such as the United Kingdom, do not mention the issue of refugees or other similarly marginalized communities in reference to their own country.[12] Rather, the materials from the UK portray urbanisation as a key factor in relation to issues of migration. Contemporary Italian and Filipino texts alike portray mass immigration and emigration (respectively) as recent challenges that have come about as the result of globalization — the former in relation to economic development, the latter in relation to the scale of emigration by Overseas Filipino Workers.

CONCLUSION

Educational materials are key agents in the construction of public discourses that are a key factor in the formation of children's knowledge, perceptions, and behaviour. The sensitive and comprehensive treatment of issues regarding migrants and other marginalized communities in educational materials is vital in global citizenship education and the achievement of SDG4 Education for all. This project has shown that the treatment of migration within educational materials is varied and diverse across the geographical spectrum, and that the conceptions and treatments of migration have regularly changed over time, largely in accordance with contemporaneous attitudes and discourses. While many of the contemporary educational materials analysed as part of this study tended, on the whole, towards the celebration of diversity, appreciation of the causes and consequences of migration, empathy and understanding for marginalized populations, this cannot be said to be true for all twelfth countries. It was not within the scope of this study to operationalize the comprehensive list of migration-related concepts that we elicited from the data as a true coding scheme, but future studies regarding the treatment of migration in educational materials may benefit from adopting it as the basis for such systematized analyses.

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[12] Coverage of the issue of refugees in contemporary UK curricula occurs exclusively in relation to Palestine in the 1970s.

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ANNEXES

Annex 1: Complete list of sources analysed

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Annex 2: Algeria

The educational reform Algeria has undergone throughout the years reflects its different political situations. The contemporary review of the textbooks is collected from a selection of curricula and textbooks used in Algeria issued by the Ministry of Education. Historic textbooks and the situation of education in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s were heavily influenced by the French colonization and education was in French. It is not until the mid-1990s that the Arabization Law was issued for Arabic to replace French in schools (Dekhir, 2013).

The selection was made to have a comprehensive view of the education system of Algeria, taking into account five-major stages of the development of education in the country: colonization; after the independence between 1962 and 1970; between 1970 and 1980; a fourth stage between 1980 and 1990; and finally the new reform plans after the development of the system between the years 1990–2002 (Rezig, 2011). This final decision was made after we realize that there were not a lot of historical resources available; thus, we decided to expand the years for this country also to the 80s and 90s.

MIGRATION FLUXES

Because of its strategic position in Northern Africa and on the Mediterranean Sea, various civilizations have established themselves in the territory of Algeria. Lessons on colonization that happened in the Arab world are numerous. Colonizing countries deprived the locals from the education required for the children of the lands occupied. Colonizers were not fair to the people. A theme, which is stressed in the resources and, which examples can be found as early as grade 4, specifically in the Arabic Language textbook (MoE, n.d.).

Algeria's population accounts for 40.969.443 people (CIA, 2018). UN figures indicate that international migrants correspond to 0.6% of the national population (UN-DESA, 2017). In 2013, the top five areas of origins of the migrants were Western Sahara (48%), State of Palestine (30.1%), Somalia (11%), Iraq (7.2%) and Saudi Arabia (3.7%). The country holds a historical profile of emigration. From 2010 to 2015, the total net migration[13] was -50.000, a figure higher than what was seen from 2005-2010, when the net migration

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[13] Net number of migrants, that is, the number of immigrants minus the number of emigrants.

accounted for -49.000 individuals. The period from 1985 to 1990 has seen an event greater unbalance between emigration and immigration, in which the net migration rate was -149.000 persons. From 1995 to 2000 the figures decreased, but still shown a high emigration rate, accounting for -76.000 persons in Algeria. Among the top five countries of destination of Algerian emigrants, France responded for the majority (89.3%), followed by Spain (3.8%), Israel (2.9%), Canada (2.4%), and Italy (1.6%) (UN-DESA 2014).

The issue of the life of the Algerian immigrants in Europe and particularly in France was explored in the books taught to students. The textbook of Arabic language for 4th grade displayed a lesson on the life of an Algerian immigrant who moved to Europe for work. His life was rough and his strife for living was not rewarding. The immigrant decided to go back to Algeria. On his way back to his country, while still in the plane, he looked out the window and saw his country after many years. He was not expecting to see how much the country had advanced in the past few years (MoE, 1996).

FORCED MIGRATION

To illustrate "forced migration", the History book of first level of secondary, discusses the forced migration of the Greeks. The author mentions the reasons that lead to this unfortunate outcome. Then, the book presents the methods of infiltration of the modern colonization by eliminating the natives and taking their lands and properties (MoE, 1987, p. 128), which translates as follows:

"Migration and settlement: In the United States and Australia, where Europeans came in groups, they killed many indigenous people: Blacks and Indians, and drove the vast majority into poor isolated environments to live a life of misery and poverty, on the pretext of their lack of civilization and nomads. The same picture happened in Algeria, where the French expelled the national population to the poor areas of mountains and desert and seized all their real estate and animal wealth."

While colonization's effects on countries are never as positive as nations see them, its effects in some countries are more devastating than in other. An example of this is given by the discussion of the British colonization of Africa, in which people were force to prostitution and forced labour in the copper mines (MoE, 1987, p. 186). Another example comes from the Arabic language textbook for grade 4 under the title Forest and Tree Planting. Abdel Hameed's father explains to his son how things were before the French occupation. "There were many trees in our natural forests in our country, with a variety of cypress, willow, pine, oak and other species. When French colonists occupied our country, they cut trees and sent wood to their factories in France. During the Liberation Revolution, the French burned many forests in the mountains, where the centers of the Mujahideen were located. These mountains became barren, burned,

with no vegetation or animals". This theme is presented to students at a delicate age where their characters are being shaped; as such, the presentation in the text of French settlers as a destructive force may impact the perception of students towards foreigners. There is another example of another invader from a different country; Spanish invasion was mentioned as well, and students are told that the Spanish invaders used Maghreb as an exile for criminals and the undesired residing in Spain (MoE, 1987, p. 128).

COLONIZATION, RESISTANCE AND DISCUSSION OF CONQUESTS

From 1830, the long period of French colonization began. In this regard, the textbook *History and Geography of Algeria* shows that there were great discrepancies in terms of the results of the French colonization between the real situation and what people were made to believe. Two readings proposed in the book show this contradiction. Whereas a paragraph of a book of that time entitled "Mission accomplished" praises the colonization process, saying that the immigration of French not only had granted stability to the country, but also allowed for its prosperity (Yver in Colin et al., 1957, p. 124); a text written by the director of the archives of Algiers, shows a completely reversed situation by stating that out of the 100'000 French immigrants expected to move to the country, only 14'000 in reality moved to Algeria, and only 3'000 of them succeeded (Boyer in Colin et al., 1957, p. 116).

From 1954 until 1962, the Algerian people came together to object the colonial power on what is known as The War of National Liberation, in which about one million people were killed. On July 5, 1962, after 132 years under colonial rule, the country proclaimed its independence (UNDP, 2018). A relevant flow of Algerian migration to France has been registered during the colonization period. This issue is also mentioned in one of the historical textbooks, *Geography of Algeria*, where the author states that, usually, the farmers from Western Algeria, because of their difficult lives, were forced either to move to the north of the country, in the Mitidja region, to work as agricultural labourers or to temporary emigrate to France (Arnollet, 1954, p.14).

The textbooks of various levels draw a subtle comparison between the colonization that Algeria underwent as opposed to the conquests done by Muslim conquerors. In addition, they are not shy in stressing the negative impact of the French occupation to the country. In the History book of the 1st grade of secondary (MoE, 1987), for instance, the negative effect of the European colonization is explored. European immigrants killed the native populations and infected them with diseases. This is likened to what the French did in Algeria of driving the locals to poor areas and taking their animal and fertile lands (p. 128). In addition, to taking their land, what can be understood from the textbook, *History and*

Geography of Algeria is that native Algerian, as well as other Europeans population who emigrated to Algeria at that time, also underwent a real assimilation process, which led to the creation of a type of Algerian habitant, who was "fundamentally French, but with a practical and adventurous character" (Colin et al., 1957, p. 128).

An example on the resistance that took place during the years of the French occupation comes from the Arabic Language textbook for Grade 6. The book presents a lesson on resistance to occupation and the recruitment of young girls to work as nurses and cooks among other light duties. The young girls were moved from the cities to the mountains where the rebels resided (Jari et al., 2013). War child is not a concept that is considered here as the children wanted to defend their country and were happy to join as nurses and tailors, besides it is not mentioned anywhere that families were against such drifting. Illiteracy was widely spread among natives and many did not know any better. In fact, the young girls now grownups are quite proud of their heritage as young "fighters". Other examples of the involvement of women in wars against enemies from the Islamic culture were citied in several lessons in the same book. Recruiting children to help deliver food and water to fighters was an honourable action (Jari et al. 2013. p. 38).

The policy of Arabization was enhanced since 1962 in order to eradicate all traces of the French presence in Algeria after more than 130 years of colonization. This issue is displayed in the History textbook for grade 5. This book was published in 1969. It is the second history book taught to students. The book was issued by the National Educational Institute. The book started discussing the Arab conquests in the east. The relevant lessons began with the history of Arabs before Islam and moved to the conquests of Muslims in Iraq and Persia. The students are informed that the Islamic armies stayed in the countries they conquered and therefore spread the Islamic culture, which lead to the development of the countries. Further details were provided to the students, where the Muslim conquers were presented as an entity that has no desire to eradicate the natives and replace them (MoE, 1969). The theme of respect and equality mentioned in the Contemporary History Curriculum, the moral side in teaching and the weight on implementation of the spirit of Islam is clearly stated. This objective seems a running theme across the different stages of the reform and is clear in the lessons and stories told in the textbooks (MoE, 2016a).

There is an explicit example narrated through one of the lessons of conquering the Byzantines in Egypt. The spokesperson of the Arab army was a black man. The Byzantine leader refused to talk to him, but the army members insisted that he is the spokesman (p. 27). This is a lesson to students on the value of

equality of all humans regardless of colour, as the example narrated about the Byzantines is used to stress the fact that the Muslim leaders granted the nations they invaded safety and security regardless of their religion, as a fundamental rule of ethics. Indeed, Algerians were not treated equally as their French occupants even after years of considering Algeria as part of France. This is acknowledged also by the textbook *History and Geography of Algeria*, where the authors explain that to allow French settlers to establish in Algeria, the army in the country was in charge of "taking" some parts of the land of every village to allow French emigrants to cultivate their land. Local people were also employed to help prepare the land for the French (Colin et al., 1957, p. 114). However, in the same book, we can also read that because the moral life of France is based on the respect of the fundamental human rights of people, they consider all human beings as equals. Thus, they do not admit any form of exploitation of people and point out that the relationship between French and local population and between members of different emigrants population cannot be ruled by violence (Colin et al., 1957, pp. 223-224).

Other lessons taken from the history book of grade 8 discuss the brotherhood fostered between immigrants and receivers during the start of Islam (Haj et al. 2003); the book moves to the Islamic conquest; the crusades; the Mongol invasion and the impact of traveling on culture, trade and economy of countries. The students go back to studying about the first migration in the history of Muslims, when they fled to Al-Madina as they were persecuted by the non-believers. This immigration is important to all Muslims for nurturing the meaning of brotherhood, and the start of the establishment of the Islamic civilization. The book transfers to describing the conquests of Muslims around the world, then the downfall of the Islamic World and the start of the crusades. This in turn led to seeking the help of the Ottomans (Haj et al. 2003, p. 193). The book draws the comparison of the previous encountered conquers with the new ones. The Spanish colonization's impact was directed at exiling Spanish criminals to go and live in Algeria (Haj et al. 2003, p. 195).

Further examples presented on Islamic conquests are: Qadesiya Battle and Yarmouk; Quds (Jerusalem); Egypt; Arab Maghreb; Andalusia (the conqueror army settled in Basra ... they have a role in spreading Arab and Islamic culture), The Umayyad state, The Abbasid and the Arab State in Andalusia. Cultural and institutional changes accompanied conquests and colonization around the world.

The Arab conquerors, after arriving to Algeria, used the strength of the youth to complete their conquests to the rest of the world. At this stage (grade five) the author did not mention the difference between Islamic conquests and the colonization of other nations to the Arab and African worlds. It is mentioned

that the armies settled in the countries they conquered and spread Islam and the Arab culture (MoE, 1969, pp. 13-14).

POST-COLONIZATION

The post-colonization period has seen different political and economic regimes. Right after independence, the country opted for a regime based on a single party that held a socialist management of the economy. Due to his leading role in the liberation struggles, Ahmed Ben Bella was elected the first president of the country in 1963. However, he occupied the position for a short period. A military coup d´état in 1965 took place in the country. For the following 23 years, military presidents ruled the country (African Union). Due to the turbulent period in the country, the 1960s was characterized by a mass emigration wave towards France, which as mentioned before, reached 500.000 in 1964 (Chapan Metz, 1994).

Aiming to contain the migration flows, in 1968, the French and Algerian governments set a mutual quota of 35.000 migrants per year. In 1971, the quota was reduced to 25.000 per year (Chapan Metz, 1994). To attract migrants back to Algeria, both France and Algeria offered incentives to go back to the country of origin, mainly related to guaranteed housing (Chapan Metz, 1994). The economic crisis in Europe in the 1970s brought new policies to control migration from North Africa to France. In response to rising racist attacks against Algerians in France, in 1973, the Algerian government decided unilaterally to ban Algerians from migrating to France, which resulted in lower levels of emigration along the three following decades (Collyer, 2012, p. 107). However, it is estimated that by the end of the 1970s, 7.000 Algerians continued to migrate illegally to France each year (Chapan Metz, 1994).

One lesson of two parts stands out. A visit to a camp in Algeria. Algeria is described here as a receiving country dealing with refugees from the Arab World among the Algerians who decided to return to their country (Fadeel, n.d). They left the country in the first place in search of a livelihood (labour migration). Many immigrants who left Algeria returned to their homeland as they only left to find jobs (p. 171). The situation of the Algerians in Europe specifically France did not meet the expectations of the ones who left the country. Reverse migration took place. In relation to that, laws were issued by the government.

EMIGRATION FROM ALGERIA

In early 1980s, Algerians in France were 800.000. In addition to these migrants, there were also 400.000 *harkis* (Algerians who served the French Army during the War of National Liberation) resided permanently in France (Chapan Metz, 1994). Algerians emigrants continued to choose France as their main country of destination along the 1980s. However, France began to establish a tight visa policy on emigrants through

its Pasqua laws of 1986 and 1993, which in 1994 was further exacerbate by the closure of the French Consulate in Algiers. In consequence, the number of visas issued by France to Algerians had fallen from 900.000 in 1989 to 47.000 in 1996 (Collyer, 2012, p. 111).

The greatest difficulty for Algerians to access France occurred in the same period as the worst point of the crisis in the 1980s and 1990s (Collyer, 2012, p. 111). At the political level, a mass riot in 1988 changed the scenario in Algeria. Protesting against the worsening economic conditions of the country, the population reversed the single party system. In 1989, more than 20 new political parties were formed. When the second round of the 1991 elections came, however, the military government cancelled the elections and dissolved the National People's Assembly, which led to the beginning of what is referred to as the Algerian Civil War (African Union, 2018, p. 4). The period from 1992 to 1998 was characterized by intense violence, resulting in over 100.000 deaths. The violence only diminished by late 1990s when the government disbanded the Islamic Salvation Army (CIA, 2018). In 1999, supported by the military, Abdelaziz Bouteflika won the presidency of Algeria. The 2000s was characterized by gradual consolidation of democracy and security in Algeria, even though several attacks by radical Islamists have been occurring (African Union, 2018).

The crisis and the closure of access to France forced emigrants to diversify their destinations. Many high skilled individuals migrated to Canada, which in 2006 had 23.000 Algerian nationals. The population of Algerians in the United States also increased, accounting for 8.752 in the same year (Collyer, 2012, p. 111). For many others, the only option was to apply for asylum. From 1990 to 2010, UNHCR data reveal that 139.585 Algerian requested asylum across different countries (UNHCR, 2011). Almost 100.000 of these asylum requests were registered between 1992 to 2002 in Germany, the United Kingdom, Switzerland and Spain, where the population of Algerians increased significantly. From 1990 to 2010, the population of Algerian emigrants who did not choose France as a destination increased from almost nothing to approximately 100.000 (Collyer, 2012, p. 111).

In relation to this, the textbook of Geography for the middle level presented the topic of migration as a concept and provided instances of the migration of Europeans to the Americas and the Algerians to Europe (Mazghana et al., 1983). This is an example of overseas external migration. The students are introduced to more countries where people migrated to. Geography grade 7 also mentioned emigration of Algerians to the Americas (Mazghana et al., 1983).

Despite migrating to different countries, the life of migrants was not easy, as explained in the lesson "An immigrant goes back home" form a textbook of 1996 for grade 4 "Ammar, is forced to migrate to France to search for work, after French settlers usurped his land. He finds a job in a factory, but he was not comfortable as the owner of the factory despised him and overburdened him with work. At the end of the day, when he goes back "home", he does not find comfort because of the cold and dampness in his tin hut. Ammar always felt a stranger in this land, and constantly homesick for his country and people. When he hear that they opened a factory for trucks in Algeria, he decided to go back home" (MoE, 1996, p. 98). The description of the life of Ammar shows the struggle of Algerian migrants and their difficulties in integrating within the European societies, where they always feel like outsiders.

Rural-to-urban migration

Other migration movements, such as the one from the city to the mountains and the movement from the rural areas to the cities are explored in the textbook for grade 6 (Jari et al. 2013). From the textbook it can be understood that rural to urban migration is a phenomenon that is not really welcomed by countries due to the pressure that is has on the infrastructure of cities on the one hand, and the drain of the farmers in rural areas on the other. The lessons discuss about the visits of the students to their relatives in the rural areas and the visits of people living in rural area to the city. This way the lessons are showing the positive aspects of both life, in order to finely inform students about the advantage of living in both areas without instilling in them any preference.

Conclusion

For the general framework of the primary and middle stage curricula, immigration was not mentioned directly in the samples at hand. However, migration was mentioned directly in the Geography Curriculum framework for the secondary stage (2005a, p. 3; p. 19). In the History curriculum for the first year of secondary, historic immigration is mentioned under activities for students to perform. Terminology is mainly used to provide examples about the chronological order of historic topics for the secondary stage. It is found that it is important for students to be exposed to their history on the long term.

In the historical textbook of grade 4, students are exposed to the first immigration in Islam and the first act the Prophet Muhammad performed when arriving at the city he immigrated to with his followers: the creation of a Brotherhood between immigrants and supporters. The relationship between immigrants and owners of the lands was described as quite positive, as opposed to the treatment that Algerian migrants received when they emigrated to Europe. The book gives an example of an Algerian worker immigrant

who was ill-treated and could not tolerate his situation to the point that he decided to go back to his county (Fadeel et. al, n.d., p. 89).

Algeria has always experienced issues related to the unification of its population. Indeed, during colonization there was the priority to create a union of the different races living in the country to establish a peaceful coexistence and the progress of the country under the French rulers (Colin et al., 1957, p. 223). Nowadays, the attention is more on the national unity in relation to the Arabization of the country. Since the end of the French colonization, curriculum and textbooks developers work hard on emphasizing the unity of the people within the country, taking into consideration the fact that the country is a mixture of Arabs and Imazighen/Berbers (Brett, 2018). Although it is difficult to distinguish between the two dominant ethnic groups, Imazighen is in constant demand to be fully recognized and internal friction always looms in the air. Algerians are aware of this, and the curriculum and textbooks make it clear to educators the importance for them to emphasize national unity in their lessons (MoE, 2016a; 2016c; 2016f).

There is great emphasis on colonization, its history, the countries behind it and its effects on the world in general, the Arab world in particular, and specifically Algeria. Colonization has had a deep impact on Algeria and the aftermaths of it are still clearly present in many aspects of the country. Colonization is directly mentioned in the Curriculum framework of the middle stage (2016f, p. 29). The curriculum focuses on the importance of the desert and the natural elements available to encourage students to get back to their roots and appreciate their country. This is also presented in the Arabic language textbook. Overseas immigration is mentioned in the curricula in relation to Europe with emphasis on France as the country of choice to most of the Algerian immigrants. The unfair treatment of Algerians abroad is also mentioned.

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Annex 3: Argentina

Argentina has had a rich migration history since the time of its colonization. In 1810, the country gained its independence and after obtaining its independence from Spain, Argentina adopted an open-door migration policy towards European citizens. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the immigrants were citizens coming majorly from Europe. Becoming the second country, after the United States, to welcome the greatest number of European immigrants.

During the second half of the twentieth century, Argentina has been both a sending and receiving country. The former case happened for instance, from 1976 to 1983, due to the military dictatorship in the country that obliged many national citizens to flee the country (Esteban, 2003). Also during the financial crisis that hit the country in 2000, a great number of Argentinian citizens left. In only two years, 2000 and 2001, 118.087 Argentinians moved abroad (Esteban, 2003). Figures show that from 2000 to 2010, the number of Argentinians who emigrated reached more than 2 million (Benencia, 2012).

In terms of immigration, the end of the military regime saw an increase in the flow of migrants coming from Latin American countries to Argentina. Even during the economic crisis, data shows that the immigration flow from Latin American countries remained constant (IOM, 2012). Since 2010, Argentina is still the Latin American country that receives more migrants each year. For instance, immigrants represented 4.8% of the total population in 2015 (IOM, 2018).

IMMIGRATION POLICIES

Between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, the promotion of policies and programmes offering land and job opportunities to foreigners increased the flow of migrants to the country. The textbook *History of political and social institutions of Argentina* mentioned that the population almost triplicates between 1880-1912 from 250000 to 700000 and that Italians and Spanish were the most prominent groups, with the former working predominantly in agriculture (Gianello, 1964, p. 141).

The discussion about policies is central to both historical and contemporary resources. For instance, texts of both times explain more in detail the type of policies and the social and political situations of that times that brought to the development of laws favouring the big immigration. An example is the decree of 1812 that recognized that "to those foreigners that dedicate themselves to the cultivation of lands, enough land will be given to them and they will be helped in establishing their first rural settlements", based on

Juan Bautista Alberdi's idea "to govern means to populate" (Gianello, 1964, p. 59; MECT, 2007c, p. 76); or the policies about public lands promoted between 1860 and 1880, which institutionalized migration, with the creation of the Department of Immigration and the Office of Lands and Colonies, in 1876 (Gianello, 1964, p. 133). A main difference in contemporary resources, lays on the fact that, instead of focusing on the content of these laws, they focus more on the consequences, by requiring students to dig deeper and explore these issues with the use of analytical activities that will allow them to understand the impact that these policies had at local and regional level (MECT, 2005, p. 54).

What is interesting in this discussion and in the role of the policies promoted by the Government is that it really shows the extent to which a state can enhance or obstruct a migration process, leaving clear that migration at that time was also an important political issue and not only an economic one.

REASONS TO MIGRATE AND CONSEQUENCES

Both historical and contemporary resources discuss the reasons to migrate. Particularly, they both explain the reasons for the government to push for the economic development of the country. For instance, one contemporary textbook explains that with such a low population which was settled in different regions of the country, bringing immigrants to Argentina to populate the big extensions of lands and to transform this land with the help of a huge quantity of immigrants was considered as the most rapid and effective solution to the issue (MECT, 2009, p. 70). This on the side of the Government.

On the side of the immigrants, these were forced to move because of the lack of work and of fertile land in their countries of origin, as well as for the economic and political crises that affected Europe at the beginning of the 20th century. As one of the contemporary resources explains, moved by the lack of work or the rejection of a horizon of deprivation and stagnation, millions of people left their villages, towns or cities of origin to come to a promising Argentina. Many migrants thought that they were only coming to the country to improve their economic situation and then going back home, but, in reality, they helped forming another country and they settled in Argentina building a new society (MECT, 2006c, pp. 65-66).

Nowadays, as it will be further explained in the text, the main causes of migration can be identified in the effects of globalization (see discussion in chapter "New migration flows").

RURAL TO URBAN AND INDIGENOUS MIGRATION

A discussion about rural-urban migration can also be found only in contemporary resources. The discussions and activities presented in relation to this issue vary and varied is also the time to which they

are referring to as well as of the type of population. For instance, two books mention the exhaustive use of natural resources and the consequent crisis in the countryside as well as the industrialization and consequent urbanization that happened in the country from the 1930s (MECT, 2006c; 2009). In relation to this, activities are proposed. In particular one activity describes the story of two immigrants, Rosa Anna and Giuseppe and their migration process, first to Argentina with the inclusion of a map (see Fig. 7), and then from the countryside to the city because of the bad conditions of the rural areas. This activity aims at making students understand the life conditions of immigrants, which were not always easy, as we will explain later on (MECT, 2006c, pp. 77–78).

Fig. 7 Map illustrating the place of origin and destination of European migrants

Two other resources discuss the same topic but making a reference to current times. The first one introduces the story of a child living in the rural area describing how his cousin, who migrated to the city is talking about its life in the city. The suggested activity in relation to this aims at making students reflect about the story and about why a child in the rural area is astonished to hear things about the city (MECT, 2006c, p. 56). The second one talks about the current conditions of indigenous population in the country, who, because of the marginal situation and extreme poverty of the rural regions where they live, they are forced to migrate to the cities to find better opportunities, especially younger generations (MECT, 2007a, p. 97). This suggests that the phenomenon of rural-urban migration is still something relevant for the country and is affecting different kinds of population, suggesting that the populations living in rural areas are still the most marginalized.

The discussion of indigenous people in relation to topics of migration is present also in an historical text where there is an example about indigenous people being refugees of Jesuits. The text is indeed explaining that, during the colonial times, indigenous populations were receiving some sort of protection form the church through Jesuit missionaries, who were granting them the right of asylum in their missions so that they could not be captured by the Spaniards (Sáenz Valiente, 1961, pp. 362–364). This is the only time in all the resources analysed that there is a mentioning of the concept of refugee and right of asylum.

NEW MIGRATION FLOWS

As mentioned in the introduction, Argentina has been a receiving country but also a sending one, this especially in the second half of the 20th century. Some of the contemporary resources describe this issue. For instance, during the 1990, Argentina went through a big economic crisis and people were forced to migrate to find better job opportunities (MECT, 2009, p. 274). Argentinians also migrate during the military dictatorship in the 70s and in the 80s; however, this discussion is barely absent in the documents analysed, with only one textbook talking briefly about the fact that during the dictatorship some people were forced to exile in other countries (MECT, 2009).

In addition, the same book discusses the fact that Argentina is still considered as a land of economic progress and opportunities, however, if once the migration fluxes were made of Europeans, now they are made of people from neighbouring countries such as Bolivians, Paraguayans, Peruvians that are moving to Argentina (MECT, 2009, p. 274). Another difference from the historical migration flow is that, nowadays, discussions related to the main push factors are linked to globalization and not to the favourable policies that governments are setting. This indicates a shift of the "governance" over migration issues, that now is dictated by a new global order.

Sensitization of students in relation to the new migrant communities in the country is also proposed in some of the resources through different activities. For instance, one of them proposes students to analyse a Bolivian celebration which is held in a local neighbourhood of Buenos Aires and reflect on the topics of migration and cultural influence (MECT, 2006c; p. 93).

COMPOSITION OF THE ARGENTINIAN POPULATION

The movement of people has deep influence in the composition of the population of a country. For instance, historical texts from Argentina mention this issue, first in relation to colonization, then in relation to migration. In the former case, one text describes the presence of 3 different races – white: Spanish, other Europeans and their descendants; indigenous; black people: mainly slaves from Africa (Sáenz

Valiente, 1961, p. 339); in the latter case, another text emphasize the predominance of white men after migration, pointing out that "black" people –it is not clear here if they are referring to indigenous people or descendants of African slaves- were disappearing more and more (Gianello, 1964, p. 141). What is interesting in relation to this last point is that historical references also put a lot of emphasis on the fact that Argentinians were treating better and in a more human way their slaves compared to the treatment that English people was giving to their slaves (Pisano, 1963; Sáenz Valiente, 1961).

So, it is clear that conquerors and Spanish first and then migrants have had a strong impact on the racial, cultural and social composition of the country, even helping forging a new type of individual, who was putting the fact of being Argentinian before his/her immigrants origin as well as a new social class, the middle one (Gianelllo, 1964, p. 141).

Second generations of migrants were actively participating in the political life of Argentina by militating in different political parties, such as the socialist party, and mutual associations that were assisting the population in providing health and education as well as in maintaining their habits and traditions (MECT, 2009, pp. 93-96). What is interesting here is that historical textbooks, as it will be discussed in the following chapter, were depicting as "dangerous" these migrant associations and their discourse was more leaned towards those actions that lead to and improvement of the national unity. An example mentioned is the law of 1901, which led to the establishment of the military service as mandatory and as part of the process of "Argentinization" of the country by the incorporation of immigrants to the army (Pisano, 1963, p. 361). So, the perceptions in terms of being part of the new society changed a little across time, with contemporary resources making reference to the idea of associations to keep immigrant habits, whereas historical resources were more keen of talking about those efforts that were promoting "Argentinization".

ATTITUDES TOWARDS MIGRANTS AND MIGRANTS' EXPECTATIONS

Despite the fact that migrants, once arrived to Argentina were trying to integrate and assimilate themselves within the local population, this also due to the fact that before migrating migrants were taught how to behave in Argentina through manuals containing specific rules of what were considered good manners[14] (MECT, 2007c), things were not easy. Indeed, even if the policy discussions of those times

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[14] Among what was considered good manners there were: 1. When a band plays the National Anthem, everyone present will have to uncover their heads as a sign of reverence. 2. To any woman [...] whether a lady or a

were favoring and praising migration and immigrants, still there were some parts of the Argentinian society, such as high classes, but also people from the popular sectors, who had to share with immigrants everything they had (MECT, 2006c, p. 66), who were not happy with this situation. This issue is very interesting as it reproduces a similar pattern that was already present in the discussion about the behavior of people from the rich classes during colonial times (Sáenz Valiente, 1961, pp. 340–341), showing that the hierarchy and the division of classes is an issue that repeats throughout centuries.

This negative perception led also to the belief that migrants were involved in some illegal and unclear forms of association. This example is mentioned in both historical and contemporary resources, however, the tone in which the discussion has been carried out was definitely lighter in the latter compared to the former. Indeed, whether the contemporary manual only mentions the fact that the elite of Argentina was not really keen on migrants as, among other reasons, some of them were embracing ideals that were questioning the social order (MECT, 2006c, p. 66); the historical textbook, clearly mention that the not-so strict control on immigration fluxes and immigrants before 1910 allowed for the arrival of people who were not wanted; people who organized themselves in "dangerous associations" that were against the constitutional order of Argentina, and which also led to various terrorist attacks in the country (Pisano, 1963, pp. 364–365).

The resentment that migrants were facing once they were arriving to Argentina was also aggravated by the conditions that many of them found when they arrived, which were completely contrasting with the expectations they had when leaving their country of origin. This is explained mainly in contemporary books, in which many activities and actual examples, such as the aforementioned one of Rosa Anna and Giuseppe, were portraying this situation (MECT, 2006c, pp. 75–83). An interesting aspect discussed in relation to this point is the solidarity among different migrants, who in order to overcome the difficulties faced in the new country, created migrant organizations to help each other (MECT, 2007a, p. 98).

CONCLUSIONS

Immigration had a great impact also in shaping the racial and cultural heritage of the country, as well as its economic prosperity, thus contributing to the development of a new Argentinian society, in which the

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washerwoman she is usually called "señora" [...] 3. To call people at the entrance of the house, do not hit or shout; just beat three times the palms of the hands. [...] 6. In a cafe or restaurant the waiter is called beating the palms twice and adding immediately the call of ¡Mozo!, which means waiter. Do not hit the table or the glass. [...] 8. Do not smoke on trams. The advertisement "Salivating is forbidden" means that you cannot spit (MECT, 2007c, p. 78).

sons of immigrants were ready to leave the identity of their country of origins aside and fight for their new land.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Argentina was seen by Europeans as the land of opportunities, the place where to find salvation from the economic and consequent political crises that were affecting many countries of the continent. This was also due to the favourable migration policies implemented by the country, shedding light also on the role of the State in fostering or hindering migration. Nowadays, Argentina is still seen as a land of opportunity, this time by people from neighbouring countries, although this movement of people is pushed more by causes linked to globalization than by the government, indicating a shift in the "governance" over migration issues, dictated by a new global order.

Despite the fact that the discussion about migration in the documents, reveal a tone of recognition towards immigrants, who helped in developing the country, their experiences were not always positives. Indeed, the beliefs and expectations of migrants and the reality they found once arrived in Argentina, were not exactly the same. In many cases, they were experiencing misery as well as discrimination from the locals, especially higher classes, reproducing a pattern that was already present in the colonial times. An interesting aspect discussed in relation to this point is the solidarity among different migrants, who in order to overcome the difficulties of faced in the new country, created migrant organizations to help each other.

Finally, Argentinians themselves have also being migrants, this is true especially, in the second half of the 20th century, when the country experienced different political crisis. In relation to this, an issue that is barely discussed in contemporary textbooks is the migration of Argentinians during the military dictatorships the country suffered during the 1970s and 1980s.

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Annex 4: Australia

The five historical textbooks analysed were a series of social studies texts issued specifically for the state of Queensland by the Department of Education for grades 4–8 between 1959 and 1962. The contemporary data was drawn in large part from the curriculum content for the Humanities and Social Sciences (HASS) learning area in the Australian Curriculum (ACARA, 2018). The Australian Curriculum was endorsed in September 2015 by the Education Council for years F–10 in eight learning areas (ACARA, 2016a).[15] ACARA has also designed national curriculum content and assessment standards for Senior Secondary stage (years 11 & 12) in five learning areas, but state and territory authorities are ultimately responsible for the structure and organization of senior secondary courses and individually determine how and where to integrate national curriculum content and standards (ACARA, 2016b).[16] For the purposes of this study, we pulled all curriculum content in the Humanities and Social Sciences (HASS) learning area for all year levels of the F–10 curriculum and all options in the Senior Secondary HASS learning area. The Australian Curriculum specifies that HASS F–10 includes topics in History, Geography, Civics and Citizenship, and Economics and Business. Senior Secondary HASS is split into Ancient History, History, and Geography (ACARA, 2018).[17] During the period of curriculum implementation, states are able to supplement the Australian Curriculum with state-specific curricula. This study uses the Queensland F–10 curricula as an example of state-specific curricula.

Both historical and contemporary data show that migration concepts are currently, and have previously been, present throughout Australian social studies education. Migration has unquestionably played a key role in Australian history; it is unsurprising that the overwhelming majority of migration concepts found in textbooks, curricula and syllabi, contemporary and historical, are present most frequently in history

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[15] The scope is from 'Foundation' to Year 10, including children aged 5/6 to 15/16. The eight learning areas are English, Mathematics, Science, Humanities and Social Sciences, The Arts, Technologies, and Health and Physical Education. Humanities and Social Sciences (HASS) curriculum comprises elements of history, geography, civics and citizenship, and economics and business, and the curriculum until year 6, inclusive. In years 7–10, the subjects are split into separate curricula.

[16] The scope here includes learners aged 16–18. The five learning areas are English, Mathematics, Science, History and Geography.

[17] The complete Australian Curriculum is published by ACARA online (see www.australiancurriculum.edu.au/), where it is possible to use an online platform to view and download curriculum content according to learning area and year level. We have used their online platform to downloaded the complete HASS F–10 curriculum and it is the resultant document that we have used and referenced in this manner. The dynamic nature of that platform may result in frequent changes in content and inconsistencies in page references.

units and relate directly to the colonization and settlement of Australia, specifically by Europeans. In both historical and contemporary data, migration is clearly linked to the development and change of Australia as a nation. Migration, particularly colonization, is cast as a key building block of the Australian narrative and identity. The biggest difference between the data in the two periods is that there has been a marked shift from an exclusively white European depiction of migration (specifically colonial) in the historical data from the 1960s to a more consciously multicultural depiction of migration and the project of Australian identity creation.

COLONIZATION AND SETTLEMENT

The colonization and settlement of Australia are presented as the defining moments of the Australian narrative and establishment of Australian identity in historical and contemporary texts alike. While historical texts utilized the narrative of colonization to strengthen a specifically white, European narrative, contemporary texts are broadening this to a more diverse narrative.

In both historical and contemporary perspectives, colonization and settlement are presented as the defining moments of the Australian narrative and establishment of Australian identity. In the historical perspective, colonization is largely discussed in terms of the growth and development of Australia, further emphasizing the significance of this concept in the construction of the Australian narrative. In the historical perspective, this occurred frequently in conjunction with discussion of push and pull factors — i.e., what brought people to the colonies from Europe. The push and pull factors presented are largely economic, and in particular the gold rush is a frequently occurring topic.

In contrast, contemporary data focuses more on the lived experiences of colonial migrants (though there is provision for the exploration of pull and push factors as well). All but one of the instances of this are specifically related to European migrants. It is noteworthy that despite the important role of forced migration in Australian history (the exportation of convicts from England to penal colonies in Australia) (Reed, 2004, p. 7) there was only one mention of convict settlements, found in the 7th grade text (Australia DoE, 1962b, p. 11). The only other nod to the concept of forced migration is found in its negative (the specification of *free settlers* in the same text: "With the influx of free settlers, land grants were made to those who were willing to become pioneers in new districts" (Australia DoE, 1962b, p. 12).

Consistently, the expectation is stated that students should be approaching the topics with analysis skills aimed at developing connections between historical topics and present-day situations – for instance, Year 4's evaluating and reflection skill paradigm requires "describing risks in past times (for example, those

involved in sea travel, exploration and colonization) and making inferences about similar risks today (for example, the risks of space and deep sea exploration, colonizing other planets, adapting to life in a new environment)" (ACARA, 2018a, p. 84). Such focus on the lived experience of historical migrants and the direct linkage of those experiences with the student's everyday life provides students with the opportunity to inhabit and identify with those experiences, with the potential to create a strong sense of personal empathetic understanding and identification with the narrative of Australian history.

Thus, colonization is consistently presented in texts from both perspectives as a European-dominated project, firmly locating both the origins of the Australian narrative and foundation of Australian identity to a broader European narrative and identity. In the historical perspective, there is an explicitly racial aspect to this Eurocentric narrative, which although implicit in the contemporary data is not stated in such bald terms as is found in the historical data, for instance:

"As time went on other explorers found out much more about the country. White men began to settle on the lands along the coast. Towns and ports grew up and a railway line was built along the coast." (Australia DoE, 1962a, p. 19)

In the 1960s, contemporaneous with our historical data, Australian migration was still controlled by post-World War II policies put in place to encourage population growth, in reaction to fears generated and exacerbated by the war (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 2001, p. 1). The Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 had allowed Australia to eliminate non-European immigration, part of a package of policies known as the 'White Australia policy'. This was partially relaxed in 1947 to allow some skilled non-Europeans to immigrate and naturalize, and throughout the 40s, 50s and 60s immigration rocketed with the implementation of various assisted migration plans and policies enacted in tandem with various European governments. By the late 60s, concerns began to surface in the population regarding the ability of the country to absorb the number of immigrants arriving annually (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 2001, p. 8). The emphasis on *white*, *European* migration in the historical data (drawn from state-published textbooks) reflects these political priorities and social discourses. By establishing the narrative of Australia as a uniquely European project, and Australian identity as predicated upon whiteness, historical texts reinforced the pervasive othering of non-white, non-Europeans, effectively denying the validity of such individuals' claims to Australian heritage or citizenship.

While contemporary texts do also highlight the European aspect of colonization as a crucial part of the Australian narrative, there are some notable exceptions. For instance, the contemporary Queensland syllabus specifies that Australian society and identity has been, from the beginning, multicultural and influenced "indigenous peoples and groups of immigrants" alike (QSA, 2008, p. 1). This emphasis of *multiculturalism* reflects policy affirmed in the Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young Australians (MCEETYA, 2008), which calls for education in Australia to take up its role in building a cohesive and culturally diverse society. By including multicultural perspectives in the colonial era, clearly still considered to be a pivotal part of the Australian narrative, the contemporary Queensland syllabus makes space for students to identify and empathize with this narrative that the historical syllabus actively proscribes.

EFFECTS OF COLONIZATION AND SETTLEMENT-RELATED MIGRATION AND THE AUSTRALIAN NARRATIVE

While historical sources focus only on the growth and development of Australia as the effects of colonization and settlement-related migration, contemporary texts work to broaden, to some extent, the presentation of these same aspects of the Australian narrative to include native perspectives and experiences.

The treatment of the topic of Australian settlement and colonization differs between the time perspectives in terms of the treatment of its impact: whereas in the historical data the only effects of colonization and settlement that are discussed are the development and expansion of the country and its economy, in the contemporary data a much broader range of impacts is discussed, including environmental and, most saliently of all, the impact of colonization on the indigenous population. This is a particularly noteworthy distinction that likely represents changing political priorities, which have shifted to incorporate a conscious impulse to include the perspective of native populations in the construction of the Australian historical narrative.

In highlighting the economic pull and push factors of migration (particularly settlement and expansion), the historical texts focus almost exclusively on pull factors, the most common being the need for workers, trade possibilities, and – in particular — gold. The significance of the gold rush in the nineteenth century is clear: the resultant influx of immigrants more than tripled the total population of Australia, which, in turn, led to a series of political and socio-economic developments such as large government spending on infrastructure like in improving the railway network, liberal land laws, etc. (Richards, 2009, pp. 26–27; Russell, 2016, pp. 129). The historical texts certainly highlight this as a key part of Australia's history; in

doing so, they focus largely on immigration from Europe (in spite of the large numbers of Asian migrants who also played a part in the gold rush) and the crucial role that the gold rush played in enabling the development of the country, continuing the construction of a triumphant, Eurocentric narrative of Australian history.

The contemporary texts adopt a markedly different approach in the consideration of the effects of the colonial era and the settlement of Australia. The Melbourne Declaration makes the inclusion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander perspectives in Australia's history and future as a key priority (MCEETYA, 2008, p. 4), and the impact of this is evident repeated throughout the Australian Curriculum in phrases similar to "(including Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander perspectives)" (ACARA, 2018a, p. 341). The Curriculum requires that students investigate different viewpoints on various events and phenomena, and again this is common in relation to the topic of colonization, for example: "Investigating colonial life to discover what life was like at that time for different inhabitants (for instance, a European family and an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander language group…" (ACARA, 2018a, p. 93–94). This example, considered alone, does not have the same effect as when considered with the repeated exhortation 'including Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander perspectives' across the board.

Despite these stated intentions, native experience of colonization is largely presented as passive and 'done-unto' with little discussion of the agency or reactions of the native populations to the migrants. There is no explicit consideration of any similarities that may have existed between the groups. The cumulative effect, in the context of the study of colonial history, is to establish the European migrants as the dominant identity group while consistently othering the native population. This is especially true of the Australian Curriculum, which throughout employs highly neutral language. The Queensland-specific syllabi, however, in particular the Senior Syllabus for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (QSA, 2009), are more likely to include less neutral, more vivid language (for instance using the term "invasion" as opposed to "colonization") and present more explicitly negative impacts of colonization than positive. These syllabi reflect recent public debates around the topic of the presentation of Indigenous history in the Australian education system, which focus in large part around the terminology used to refer to the arrival of Europeans in Australia (see Cook, 2016). However, given that in the historical texts there are just two references to the indigenous population, and those heavily flavoured by racist language, the contemporary texts do certainly mark an improvement over time in the consideration of multiple perspectives in the colonial era.

CONTEMPORANEOUS IMMIGRATION

Contemporaneous immigration patterns are also used in the texts to contribute to the construction of the Australian narrative; in the historical data, this reinforces the white Eurocentric nature of Australian identity, while in the contemporary data, recent immigration is considered to be largely Asian as opposed to prior European dominated immigration, effectively creating a two-phase conception of immigration in Australia.

There was just one excerpt found in the historical data that refers to contemporaneous migration:

> "From the graph overleaf you will see how our population has grown since the arrival of the first fleet under Captain Phillip in 1788 […] The expansion of wheat-growing and other primary industries kept up a steady increase in population. With the development of manufactures after World War I, a marked upward trend in our numbers took place. The increase has continued steadily but Australia requires many more people to develop the country and make it secure" (Australia DoE, 1962c, p. 25).

This excerpt, published in 1962, explicitly links migration with economic development of the country and continued security. Considering the historical texts tendency to emphasize migrants' place of origin when discussing historical forms of migration (i.e. colonization), it is notable that this excerpt does not. Immigration is here being taught (at grade 7) as a key element guaranteeing Australia's future. The excerpt echoes the economic and development impact of migration for Australia, thereby creating links between contemporaneous trends and the established narrative of Australia's creation. This implicitly locates Australia's future development as a continuation of the (white) Eurocentric narrative of colonization, reflecting the above-stated policies and priorities of the government at the time.

In contrast, the contemporary texts largely portray twentieth century — particularly post-War — and contemporaneous migration as non-European (largely Asian). Immigration is referred to multiple times as key facet of Australia's relations to the other countries in the Asia and Pacific region. Effectively, the contemporary texts point to a two-phase conception of immigration in Australia. These texts describe migration to Australia in the eighteenth and nineteenth century as European, with the effect of founding Australian history, culture and identity in European traditions. Migration in the twentieth century, however, is largely portrayed as non-European, usually Asian in origin.

CONTEMPORARY EXPERIENCES OF MIGRATION AND AUSTRALIAN IDENTITY AND CULTURE

Contemporary texts assume experience of migration in students' families and heritage; this is particularly raised in relation to recent migration patterns, including refugees and refugee movements, and Australian multiculturalism, effectively characterising migration as a vehicle for change and diversity in Australian identity and culture.

There is repeated recognition in contemporary texts, in conjunction with coverage of contemporaneous and recent migration trends, that students' own heritage and families are likely to include immigrants and refugees. There is some explicit discussion of the influence of Asian migrants and refugees (particularly those from Vietnam) on Australian narratives and identity (e.g. ACARA, 2018a, p. 119; QSA, 2008, p. 1). Such topics frequently occur in relation to Australian multiculturalism and cultural change, but discussion of *reactions* to recent migration — either positive or negative — are infrequent in the data. In one notable exception, the Australian Curriculum does require that students should use census data to explore arguments both for and against migration (ACARA, 2018a, p. 109). The only mention of discrimination and stereotyping in the Australian Curriculum is presented in Year 9, in conjunction with the only notable instance of consideration of non-European migrants in the eighteenth century:

"Experiences of non-Europeans in Australia prior to the 1900s (such as the Japanese, Chinese, South Sea Islanders, Afghans). *Elaborations:* - outlining the migration of Chinese to the goldfields in Australia in the nineteenth century and attitudes towards the Chinese as revealed in cartoons (for example, 'The Mongolian Octopus')" (ACARA, 2018a, p. 230).

Significantly, the text itself does not specifically mention negative stereotypes: it is, however, easily inferred, given the context and assuming prior knowledge of the topic.[18] Other parts of the curriculum could feasibly be inferring a discussion of stereotyping and discrimination – for instance in Year 6's Civics and Citizenship unit: "exploring the experiences of people who have migrated to Australia and who have taken up Australian citizenship (for example, those of Asian heritage)" (ACARA, 2018a, p. 119).

Refugees and refugee movements are consistently linked with a changing and diversifying Australian identity. This particularly occurs in reference to refugees from Vietnam:

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[18] The cartoon referenced is a well-known and highly controversial example of anti-Chinese art, published in *The Bulletin* in 1886. See Kendall (2008, p. 15).

"Australian narratives and identities have been shaped by 20th century events including major conflicts, waves of immigration, social divisions and changes, and government relations with other nations e.g. World Wars; Vietnamese refugee immigration; conscription debate; 1967 Referendum; roles of women; links to Britain, the United States, and Asia" (QSA, 2008, p. 1).

Queensland's Modern History Senior Secondary syllabus's inquiry theme on diversity includes an (optional) until of study entitled "Refugees and multi-culturalism" (QSA, 2004, p. 34). Investigation of refugee experiences is also common across the board, particularly, in the Australian Curriculum, in units wherein students are expected to connect (where appropriate) "stories of migration to students' own family histories" (ACARA, 2018a, p. 113–114). Such treatments reinforce the two-phase conception of immigration in Australia, and further emphasize the idea that recent immigration patterns with their source largely in Asia are contributing to a diversification in Australian society. With the exception of the example given above, in which the Queensland syllabus casts the colonial settlement of Australia as a multicultural project, this creates the impression in the constructed Australian narrative that the multicultural aspect of Australian society is more recent and occurring in large part as a result of immigration.

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Historical

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Annex 5: Canada

Migration concepts were present in all sources selected for analysis, in both historical and contemporary perspectives. The historical sources comprised five textbooks published between 1946 and 1954. Three of these (one social studies, one history, and one civics textbook for secondary, middle, and primary schools respectively) were published in Toronto, Ontario; two (social studies texts for grades 3 and 4) were published in Regina, Saskatchewan. All were published by dedicated school-book publishing houses.

Education systems and curricula in contemporary Canada are governed and run at the provincial and territorial level; there is no national department or system of education (CME, n.d.). Each territory and province therefore has its own curriculum documents and each province selects (and/or commissions) textbooks. We selected the territory of Ontario for this analysis for two reasons: 1) Ontario has consistently received more immigrants than any other territory or province in Canada;[19] and 2) we had some data available from the province of Ontario in the historical perspective. We had access to one contemporary social studies textbook (grade 7, 2005), and all relevant curriculum frameworks related to social studies and related subjects for grades 1–12 (published between 2013–2015).[20]

PRESENCE AND VARIETY OF MIGRATION CONCEPTS

Migration concepts are present in data from both perspectives, but are most prevalent and differentiated in the contemporary perspective.

Migration concepts were present in all but one of the sources we analysed: the historical textbook *Long Ago and Far Away* (McVeety and MacMillan, 1954). Migration concepts were not as prevalent in the historical perspective as they are in the contemporary perspective. In both historical and contemporary perspective, migration concepts are introduced in material targeted to students from grades 2 and 3 onwards. Migration concepts are most frequently portrayed in reference to Canadian history, then in

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[19] Ontario is also the most populous province in Canada, comprising 38.5% of the country's population (Statistics Canada, 2017).

[20] The Ontario teaching programme includes the following subjects: Social Studies for Grades 1–6; History and Geography, Grades 7–8; Social Sciences and Humanities (Equity Studies, Family Studies, Sociology, Philosophy, and Religion), Grades 9–12; Canadian and World Studies (Geography, History, and Civics/Politics), Grades 9–10; and Canadian and World Studies (Economic, Geography, History, Law, and Politics), Grades 11–12. Courses outlined in the curricula for grades 9–10 are not compulsory – schools may not offer all courses and students may pursue only a selection of these courses. Courses aimed at Grades 11 and 12 are either work, college, or university preparation courses, and some are offered in either academic or applied streams.

recent, local social studies and civics.[21] The contemporary curricula include references to migration concepts across a broad range of subjects, particularly at higher grade levels — for instance, the impact of immigration is a frequent point of inquiry in a Grade 11 Food and Culture course (Ontario MoE, 2013c, pp. 164–168).

The historical textbooks include migration concepts largely in discussion of the colonization and settlement of Canada, and while colonization and settlement are also frequently covered in the contemporary sources, the contemporary curricula cover significant migration trends throughout all periods of Canadian history. For instance:

> "Identify key social and economic changes that occurred in and/or affected Canada during this period [1850–1890] (e.g. The Industrial Revolution, the development of urban centres, the gold rush in British Columbia, […] changes among Plains First Nations as a result of declining buffalo populations, increased settlement of the West, increasing rates of immigration), and explain the impact of some of those changes on various individuals, groups, and/or communities" (Ontario, MoE, 2013a, p. 150); *and*

> "Describe some key social trends and/or developments in Canada since 1982 (e.g., […] changes in immigration; an increasingly multicultural society; continuing movement from rural to urban areas; […]), and assess their significance for the lives of different people in Canada" (Ontario MoE, 2013b, p. 138).

Furthermore, whereas the historical textbooks cover migration concepts more narrowly (relating largely to immigration, the profiles and experiences of migrants, and the effects of migration particularly on population [growth and distribution]), the contemporary curricula cover a much broader range of migration concepts. Immigration is still the most common kind of migration discussed in the contemporary data, but significant attention is also paid to other kinds of migration, particularly forced migration, refugees, and rural-to-urban migration. The historical data does discuss various reasons for migration, but focuses heavily on natural, economic, and resource-related push and pull factors. In

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[21] It is important to note that the historical data comes largely (with the exception of one civics text) from social studies and history textbooks, and that the social studies textbooks deal heavily with Canadian history. The contemporary data, on the other hand, comprises a broader range of subjects including geography, politics, and sociology.

contrast, contemporary data focuses more heavily on government policies. Reasons for migration are not, however, frequently discussed in the contemporary data. The contemporary data more regularly portrays more diverse effects of migration than the historical data, and notably discusses the effect of migration on native populations at length and from various aspects.

IMMIGRATION IN THE CANADIAN NARRATIVE

Immigration is considered to be a (if not *the*) significant force in the creation of Canadian narrative, heritage and identity. Both historical and contemporary data portray migration as a key aspect of the Canadian narrative, central to the development of Canada, the Canadian narrative and Canadian identity. This is visible in some face-value statements found in both perspectives, such as:

> "The story of Canada has been the story of a long procession of discoverers, explorers, traders, missionaries, statesmen and home-builders, who have helped to make of Canada a country which Canadians to-day are proud to call their home" (Dickie and Palke, 1946, p. 469).

> "Canada's expansion west came from a political decision — a deliberate plan to spur economic growth and promote settlement. It had impacts on the First Nations and Métis peoples of the west, and on Francophone people in the west. It created a population with roots in many different cultures — a legacy that has shaped Canada ever since." (Rees et al., 2006, p. 307).

In the historical textbooks, history courses focus on the European and colonial settlement of Canada as the main narrative of Canadian history, with the effect that Canadian history, in that perspective, is one entirely centred around groups migrants. While the contemporary texts encompass a broader telling of Canadian history, the relative importance of migration — and particularly *immigration* — to the Canadian narrative is reinforced through the repeated use of immigration as an example of the main influences on Canadian economic and social development in Canadian history courses at every grade level from Grade 3 onwards.

In both perspectives, immigration is spoken of in positive and productive terms with relation to Canadian identity and society. The texts encourage students to identify with the presented narrative of immigration through a variety of means. For instance, contemporary curricula encourage students to explore history

by inhabiting the perspective of migrants in the past, and in many cases comparing this with the perspectives and experiences of contemporary migrants, creating empathy and relatability:

> "Analyse the displacement experienced by various groups who were living in or who came to Canada between 1713 and 1800 (e.g., the expulsion of the Acadians; the forced relocation experienced by many First Nations and/or Métis to reserves or different territories; the migration of Loyalists to various regions of Canada; the forced migration of African slaves to New France and British North America; the immigration of people to Canada seeking land, religious freedom, and/or work), and compare it with present-day examples of displacement (e.g., the relocation of a First Nation reserve community in Canada as a result of poor living conditions; the experience of and services available to immigrants or refugees to Canada)" (Ontario MoE, 2013a, p. 139).

The contemporary textbook presents the perspectives and experiences of migrants (and other groups) in fact-based fictional stories and newspaper articles, along with interviews with real-life contemporary descendants of the migrant groups in a recurring chapter section entitled "Identity then and now". Another common and effective example encouraging students to associate with the constructed narrative — found in both historical and contemporary data — is to directly relate the students' personal heritage and identity to the story of migration in Canada:

> "Whether you are a Canadians by birth or by adoption, you share with millions of other young Canadians the heritage that has come to you from these builders of Canada" (Dickie and Palke, 1946, p. 469).

> "By the early 1900s, the National Policy[22] and Canada's drive to settle the west had added people of many different collective identities to Canada's already diverse population. Over the next hundred years, Canada's diversity grew even more […] Canada's roots lie in a diversity of peoples. It is diverse today — even more diverse than in the past." (Rees et al., 2006, p. 343) [N.B. This statement is accompanied on the page by a photograph of young, contemporary, diverse students of approximately the same age as the students

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[22] The National Policy is the name given to the Canadian government's 1878 policy to promote Canadian industry, finish the National railway and settle the west. The latter part of the policy was to be accomplished by providing migrants with incentives to settle in the west, such as giving them free land.

for whom the textbook is intended (see Fig. 8). The effect of this to provide the students reading the textbook with a reference that they can identify with, bringing them directly into the story of the collective identities that, according to the text, Canada is made of.]

"Compare ways in which some traditions have been celebrated over multiple generations in their family, and identify some of the main reasons for changes in these traditions (e.g., immigration to Canada [...]) Sample questions: 'How did moving to a new country change the way your family celebrated some of its traditions?'" (Ontario MoE, 2013a, p. 73).
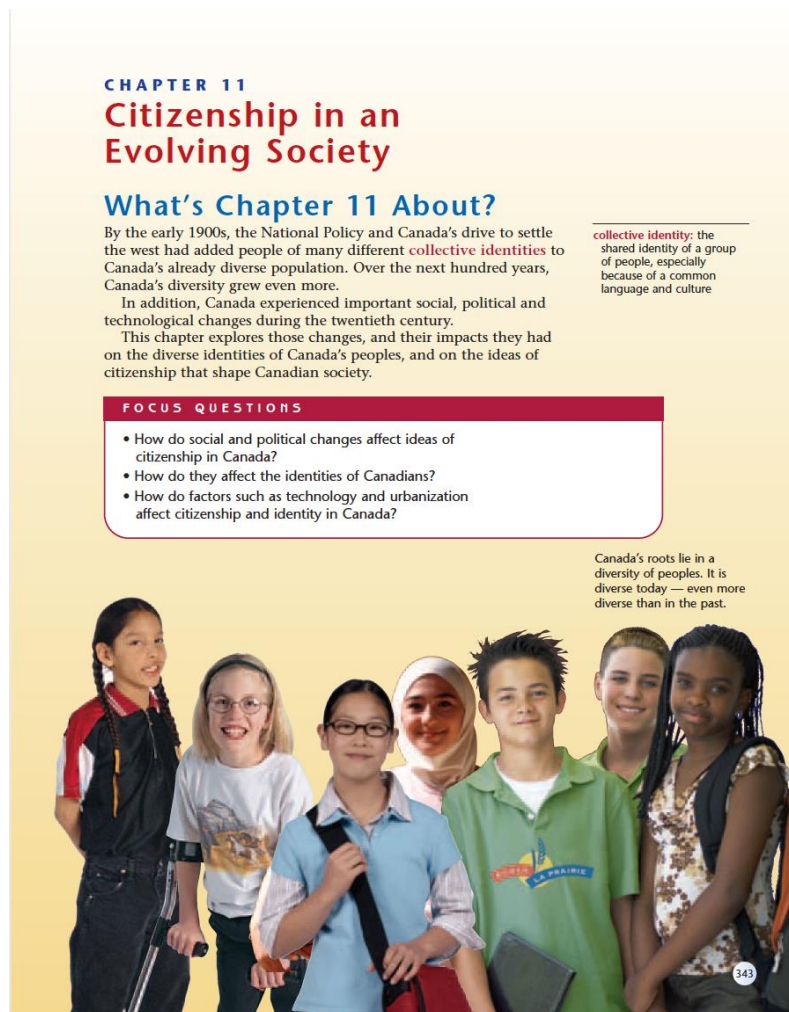

Fig. 8 Citizenship in an Evolving Society

In both the historical and contemporary perspectives, then, the Canadian narrative and identity are presented as being heavily constructed by migration, specifically *immigration*, and that (im)migration is and has been considered desirable and even necessary:

"During the late 1800s and early 1900s, Canada relied on immigration to populate the prairies. Today, Canada relies on immigration to maintain its population. Canada has a low birth rate — and without immigration, its population would soon begin to shrink" (Rees et al., 2006, p. 363).

HETEROGENEOUS CANADIAN SOCIETY AND IDENTITY AS A RESULT OF MIGRATION

Texts in both perspectives portray Canadian society (and identity) as culturally heterogeneous in essence.

The passages presented above resonate with other, similar passages in the contemporary data echo that the most commonly raised effect of migration is cultural and social change. In the contemporary perspective, courses aimed at older students repeatedly link the transformative effect of immigration on Canadian heritage and identity with the development of a multicultural society:

> "Describe some key developments in immigration and immigration policy in Canada during this period, and assess their significance for Canadian heritage and identity (e.g., with reference to the points system, origins of immigrants and refugees, the development of Canada as a multicultural society, cultural festivals)" (Ontario MoE, 2013b, p. 137).

The term *multicultural* is not found in the historical data, but repeated emphasis on the places of origin of migrants combined with passages that highlight the valuable cultural contributions these groups have made to Canadian society have a similar effect of casting Canadian society and identity as heterogeneous and diverse — for instance:

> "If we could read more fully the story of the Canadian people we should discover that each band of settlers has had some special gift to offer to the country of their adoption. Some have brought the gift of music or of art. Some have brought a love of the literature of the country from which they came and have made other Canadians acquainted with their splendid folk-lore. Others are skilled in the handicraft of a much older civilization than that of Canada. Added to these gifts are others of endurance, thrift and honesty, all of which grace and strengthen a nation" (Dickie and Palke, 1946, p. 471).

This is particularly salient in the historical perspective when considered in the context of the political climate at the time. A series of Immigration Acts (1910, 1919, and 1952) and the Chinese Immigration Act (1923) excluded migrants to Canada who could not trace their ethnic origins to Europe. Concerns about the levels of immigration — which increased sharply after low levels throughout the Great Depression and

WWII (Edmonston, 2016, pp. 79–80) — are reflected in the historical data in statements such as: "This migration raises the issue of how many immigrants Canada can absorb" (England, 1958, p. 23). It is also true that in the section of *Contemporary Canada: A Mid-Twentieth Century Orientation* (England, 1958) entitled "Who We Are", the list of immigrant groups to Canada provided when tracing key population flows is exclusively European. The following passage, taken from the same book, raises another issue from the discourse around migration at the time, that of "assimilable or non-assimilable groups" of immigrants (England, 1958, p. 25). It is plausible that this is referencing debates that were occurring at the time around the Immigration Acts and the Chinese Immigration Act, which were suspended in 1962, just four years after *Contemporary Canada* was published. Rather than affirming earlier assumptions that some groups of immigrants (so, non-European immigrants) were 'unassimilable' and that this posed a serious problem for society, this text presents a more amenable stance:

> "While there are minority group settlements that offer resistance to intermarriage and to North American attitudes, the assimilation of great numbers of immigrants of all races has taken place without undue difficulty. [...] There has been, of course, stress and strain between racial groups in Canada, and the major bicultural aspect of her national existence is a story of difficult and often uneasy adjustment. But we inherit a great land and unique opportunities. The physical background, the kind of government that has been established, and the way in which we earn our living and distribute the income from our work are part of our heritage and of the changing opportunities that make the Canadian people" (England, 1958, p. 26).

This represents a softening stance on immigration, though also speaks to the overarching theory of migration at the time, that assimilation and integration were crucial in a peaceful and functional society. The contemporary data, on the other hand, repeatedly speaks to multiculturalism and multicultural policies that move away from the assumption that assimilation of migrant groups is necessary and towards a preservation and celebration of diversity in Canadian society and identity. This is seen in statements such as: "identify and describe fundamental elements of Canadian identity (e.g., inclusiveness, respect for human rights, respect for diversity, multiculturalism […]" (Ontario MoE, 2013a, p. 123).

Contemporary texts link the origins of multiculturalism in Canadian identity and society back to the arrival of European settlers, but more frequently reference post-war immigration trends and more recent waves of migration:

"describe some key social trends and/or developments in Canada since 1982 (e.g., […] changes in immigration; an increasingly multicultural society; continuing movement from rural to urban areas; […]), and assess their significance for the lives of different people in Canada" (Ontario MoE, 2013a, p. 122).

Often, the role of and changes to immigration policy are directly connected to increasing multiculturalism in Canada, perhaps reflecting — as similar instances in the historical data did regarding assimilation — topics of current policy debate. For instance:

"describe some key developments in immigration and immigration policy in Canada during this period, and assess their significance for Canadian heritage and identity (e.g., with reference to the points system, origins of immigrants and refugees, the development of Canada as a multicultural society, cultural festivals) Sample questions: […] "What changes in policy were reflected in the Immigration Act of 1978? What impact did they have on Canadian heritage?" (Ontario MoE, 2013b, p. 137)

It is clear in both perspectives, however, that Canadian society and identity are and have been, since the arrival of the first Europeans in Canada, culturally heterogeneous.

PORTRAYAL OF THE EFFECTS OF EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT

The effects of European settlement in Canada are portrayed more positively in the historical data than in the contemporary data.

In the historical data, the main effects of migration (most of which refers to European settlement of Canada) raised are population increase and cultural/social change, both of which are portrayed in positive and productive terms, as evidenced above. The contemporary data mirrors the historical data in that discussion of the impact of immigration on Canada's cultural and social development is nearly always portrayed in a positive light. On the other hand, the contemporary data more frequently raises less positive effects of migration, particularly the effect of immigration (specifically of European settlers) on native populations. The contemporary textbook and curricula differentiate, however, between the effect of early European settlers (early French fur trappers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, for instance) on native populations as a mixture of positive and negative:

"How would you describe the trading relationship that developed between the Mi'kmaq and European fishers? To what extent was it mutually beneficial or unequal, in your view? Why?" (Rees et al., 2006, p. 47)

"describe some of the positive and negative consequences of contact between First Nations and Europeans in New France (e.g., with reference to the impact of European diseases on First Nations, the role of First Nations in European exploration, European claims to First Nations territory, intermarriage between First Nations women and European men, the fur trade, competition for land and resources, alliances, European weapons, missionaries), and analyse their significance" (Ontario MoE, 2013a, p. 108).

In contrast, they portray the effects of subsequent European immigration (British and then French settlers from the 1600s) on the native populations of Canada (First Nations, Inuit peoples, and Métis peoples) more negatively. For instance:

"Historians believe this level of devastation decimated First Nations and Inuit peoples after Europeans began coming to North America. What impact do you think a rapid drop in population could have on societies and communities?" (Rees et al., 2006, p. 85)

In the contemporary curricula, much repeated focus is given to the forced migration of native peoples as a result of European settlement, with lasting impacts:

"How has the forced removal of indigenous populations from land with many resources to land with few resources contributed to an inequitable distribution of wealth?" (Ontario MoE, 2013a, p. 182)

"Explain some of the ways in which interactions between and among First Nations and Europeans in New France are connected to issues in present-day Canada *(e.g., land claims, treaty rights, environmental stewardship, resource ownership and use)* […] Sample questions: […] 'What were the differences between First Nations and Europeans in New France with respect to views on land use and ownership? How have these differences led to some conflicts in present-day Canada?'" (Ontario MoE, 2013a, p. 109)

The contemporary textbook directly links the negative effects of the immigration of Europeans on native populations with the European doctrine of *imperialism:*

> "Colonies and imperialism go together. Imperialism is a policy — an official objective of a country — to dominate other regions of the world. A colony is a region of the world dominated in this way — by another country. The country sometimes sends colonists — or settlers — to live in the region as a way to establish control over it" (Rees et al., 2006, p. 71).

These negative effects of European settlement, though, are presented in units that link European settlement to the creation of contemporary Canada and Canadian identity:

> "identify some key components of the Canadian identity *(e.g., bilingualism, multiculturalism, founding nations, religious freedom)*, and describe some of the ways in which communities that were in Canada around the early 1800s have had an impact on Canadian identity *(e.g., with reference to Canada's official languages, cultural contributions, place names, observances such as National Aboriginal Day or Black History Month)"* (Ontario MoE, 2013a, p. 87).

In doing so, the contemporary texts create something of a paradox: the creation of Canada as a nation is intrinsically linked to the arrival of the European settlers, the formation of French and British colonies, and the subsequent federation of the two. These movements — particularly the British movement — are portrayed as having an exclusionary and negative effect on the native peoples. However, the texts then insist that the native communities were included in the development of Canadian identity. The native populations are thus placed in a grey area by the texts: both as part of the nation but separate from it.

CONTEMPORARY EXPLORATION OF MIGRATION POLICY

Contemporary data explores migration policy largely in terms of the effect it had on individuals. Canadian migration policy is included in the contemporary curricula beginning from grade 6. Discussion of migration policy frequently involves the effect it had on individuals, as opposed to bigger picture investigation. So, for instance, in 8th grade Canadian history students are asked "What impact did the Chinese Immigration Act of 1885 have on Chinese people already in Canada and their families in China?" Generally, the texts indicate that migration policy has had negative effects on individuals and groups of migrants in Canada. This almost exclusively applies to non-European migrants, who are classified by ethnicity. The text also frequently links the negative effect of migration policy on migrants with attitudes and policies of the time in question. A good example of this is evident in the 10th grade history course (Canada 1914–1929):

"describe some significant challenges facing immigrants and other ethnocultural minorities in Canada during this period (e.g., racism and antisemitism; segregation and discrimination in jobs and housing; immigration policy, including the 1919 Immigration Act; the quality of life on reserves; restrictions imposed by amendments to the Indian Act in 1920; residential schools), and explain some of their consequences. Sample questions: […] 'What changes were made to the Chinese Immigration Act in 1923? What attitudes are reflected in these changes? What effects did the changes have?'" (Ontario MoE, 2013b, p. 131)

The contemporary textbook uses personal accounts and interviews with the descendants of immigrants directly affected by the Chinese Immigration Act to illustrate the negative effect the policy had on individuals. The text does not limit its discussion of the negative effects of migration policy to material concerns — it also elaborates on the effect such policies had on individual's sense of identity:

"'I know it bothered him when he read the words 'not a Canadian citizen' stamped on his birth certificate. He wondered 'if I'm not a Chinese citizen, and not a Canadian citizen, then what is my nationality?'" (Rees et al., 2006, p. 322)

Elsewhere in the text, careful attention is paid to the way in which racist attitudes influenced migration policy, treatment of ethnic minorities, and policies dictating forced migration (internment of peoples in camps, for instance during the war).

"At times, however, Canada's immigration policies and treatment of immigrants have displayed racial discrimination. For example:
• In 1900, the Canadian government passed a law that prevented visible minorities from voting in federal elections.
• From 1914 to 1918, Canada fought in World War I against Germany and the eastern European empire of Austria-Hungary. During the war, the Canadian government interned Canadians of eastern European descent. This means the government arrested them and forced them to live in camps.
• In 1923, Canada passed a law that disallowed Chinese people and most other Asian people from immigrating to the country. The act also barred people of Asian descent from working as teachers, lawyers and in other professions.
• From 1939 to 1945, during World War II, Canada interned Canadians of Japanese

descent and of Italian descent, because Japan and Italy were enemy nations" (Rees et al., 2006).

There is a sense of awareness raising as atonement for past wrongs to these and other passages in the text. The grade 10 Applied History curriculum asks students to:

> "describe some of the ways in which Canada and Canadians have, since 1982, acknowledged the consequences of and/or commemorated past events, with a focus on human tragedies (and human rights violations that occurred in Canada or elsewhere in the world (e.g., apologies for the Chinese Head Tax, the internment of Japanese Canadians [...]) and explain the significance of these commemorations for identity and/or heritage in Canada" (Ontario MoE, 2013b, p. 140).

It is clear that one of the priorities of the curriculum is for students to understand that migration policy based on race and discrimination have been harmful in the past, to individuals, groups, and Canada as a whole. The passage above links the commemorations and apologies directly to Canadian identity, with the effect of excluding the attitudes that enabled those policies from the building blocks of Canadian identity. In doing so, these examples reaffirm and underline the contemporary texts' emphasis of multiculturalism as a key facet of Canadian identity, one that can and should be enacted through migration (specifically *immigration*) policy.

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Annex 6: Côte d'Ivoire

Immigration has been a critical agent driving the economy of Côte d'Ivoire since the colonial times, when the French administration was relying on foreign labour force for the development of the country economy (Adjami, 2016; IOM, 2009). An issue that developed even more so, after the country independence in 1960, when Félix Houphouët-Boigny became the unique president and "ran the country under a one-party state for over three decades" (UNHCR, 2017, p. 6). As a matter of fact, the stability within the country led to a great increase of its population, which was already discussed in the 60s by the educational materials developed by the National Ministry of Education. In particular, the Geography textbook for 4th grade describes the increase of the immigration flow in Côte d'Ivoire, especially in the centre of the country, which was the place of transit for the immigrants coming to the country to look for a job and thus was highly populated and dynamic (MEN, DGEP and DSP, 1965a, p. 26).

MIGRATION AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE

Recent data show that from 1950 to 1998 the population of foreign-born people in the country increased from 5% to 26%, respectively (UNDP, 2011, p. 1). This is acknowledge also by the Education Plan 2016-2025, which stresses the fact that migration fluxes played a great role in the population dynamics of Côte d'Ivoire (MENET and MESRS, 2017, pp. 12-13). However, this situation has changed in recent years, and nowadays the migration rate of the country is almost reaching 0.1%, meaning that migration is not anymore one of the main causes of population growth in the country. The plan explains that this situation has happened because of the political-military crisis of the 2002, which has seen a large increase of population displacement, both internal and external. Since the end of the crisis in 2011, the country has gained some stability, thanks also to different types of aid received from a variety of development partners; thus, many of the Internally Displaced People as well as refugees of Côte d'Ivoire, who fled to other countries during the crisis, have returned to the country. Nevertheless, the return of the displaced citizens does not have a great impact on the population growth as in the past (MENET and MESRS, 2017, pp. 12-13).

Some of the programmes and textbooks analysed both contemporary and historical also reflect the aforementioned situation. Activities related to demography are included in the recent programmes for the 6th grade of primary education as well as in the specific programmes of History and Geography for secondary education. For instance, in the first case, in the document there is an example of a worksheet for the development of competencies in the subject of Geography. One of the competencies learners are

expected to develop is the ability to identify the characteristics of the population and identify the causes of demographic changes and rapid population growth, among which they mention in the text there is the increase of migration rates (MENET and DPFC, 2012f, p. 164). Similarly, in the historical textbook of Geography[23], in the part discussing the dynamics of the population, there is a section referring specifically to the role played by migration in the population growth. The text explains that the population increases if immigration is greater than emigration and that it decreases if emigration is greater than immigration (Pasdeloup, 1968, p. 156). In addition, this textbook suggests that migration is also related to the economic development of a country, a city and a village, which will be discussed in the following part.

Migration and economic development

As aforementioned, migration has been connected with the economic development of Côte d'Ivoire, as illustrated by different contemporary and historical resources. Particularly, in the contemporary History and Geography textbooks for secondary education for grades 3, 4 and 5, the understanding of the link between migration and economic development is considered as one of the key competencies of Geography that learners are expected to achieve. For instance, in grade 3, in order to know how to deal with a situation related to the economic development of Côte d'Ivoire, learners need to be able to understand and explain the dynamics of demography as well as the role of migratory movements in relation to the economic development of a country (MENET and DPFC, 2012k, p. 25). This knowledge is explored even more in depth in grade 4, where students are asked to understand the development of the population in Côte d'Ivoire during the sixteenth and eighteenth century. Students are asked to draw a map indicating the internal migration movements, describe those movements as well as their causes

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[23] In relation to Côte d'Ivoire, it is important to mention that there are two groups of sources that have been selected. The first group are three books developed by the National Ministry of Education of the Country, whereas in the second group these are two textbooks that have been developed specifically for African students by different French scholars. In this latter category, the book "*Pasdeloup, B. 1968. Geographie 6ème. Collection André Journaux: programme africain et malgache. Paris, Hatier*" was developed by a French author following the official Geography programme adopted by the Conference of Ministries of Education of Africa and Madagascar, in April 1967, as it can be read in the book. The same happened for the textbook "*Clérici, A. et Parisse, R. 1966. Les Peuples Noris : Histoire à l'usage des Élèves Africains. 2ème edition. Abidjian, CEDA"* written by the French scholars André Clérici, who was the advisor of the former president of Côte d'Ivoire Félix Houphoüet-Boigny, and René Parisse. In relation to this, in an article of the 70s about the use of textbooks in French Africa and Madagascar, the authors explain that after the independence of African Countries, French Publishers, among them Hatier, decided to adapt their textbooks in relation to the changes that Africa had undergone. Thus, they created a series of textbooks specifically for learners of French Africa and Madagascar to fulfil the need in terms of textbook supply of the former colonies with publications that unfortunately were not really close to the reality of the African countries (Breton et al., 1973, pp. 38-41).

(MENET and DPFC, 2012l, p. 13). In grade 5, students are asked to expand their knowledge by going back to the origins of the first habitants of Côte d'Ivoire as well as of West Africa. They are expected to look into the first migration movements in the region, to describe and identify the causes of migration and the consequences as well as to represent the migration fluxes on a map and expand their knowledge by researching these issues with the help of different resources and propose consequent actions to promote national unity (MENET and DPFC, 2012m, p. 16).

In the historical textbooks, part of the discussion also focuses on migration movement, their causes and consequences, stressing once again the economic factor as one of the main factors linked to immigration and emigration. In particular, in the Geography book for African and Malagasy learners, the author provides the definition of emigrants saying that when life becomes difficult, some people decide to leave the country and go to richer regions; these people are called emigrants (Pasdeloup, 1968, p. 153). He continues by adding that emigration has been very important for the development of certain countries such as in the case the migration of Europeans for the US and Canada; or of Chinese for Indochina; or of Indians for Malaysia (see Fig. 9).
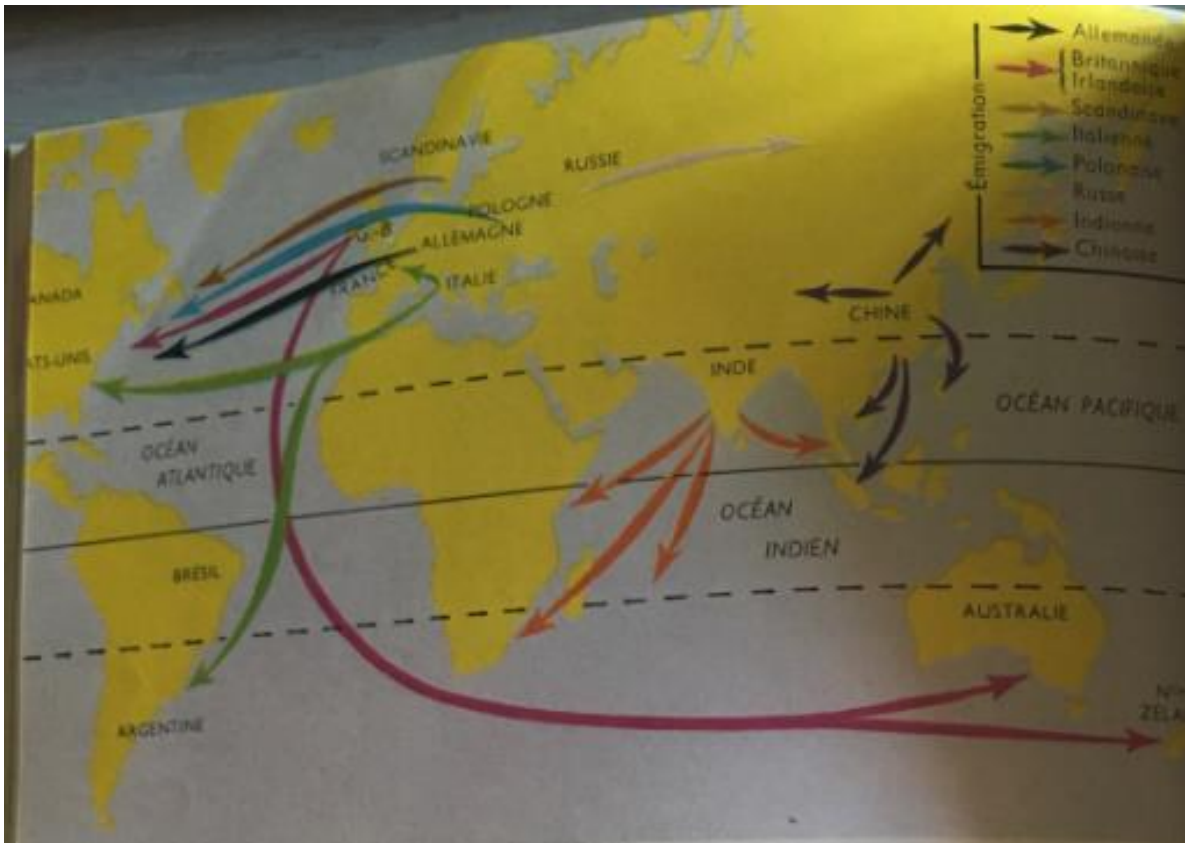
Fig. 9 Map of human migration from the nineteenth century

These movements have been facilitated also by the development and improvements of communication routes and transportations (Pasdeloup, 1968, p. 153). In relation to the improvement of transportation, one of the two history books developed by the National Ministry of Education (NME) of Côte d'Ivoire mentions that efforts were carried out to make the country more attractive to foreigners, since after the independence the population of the country was still scarce. Thus, during the first years of the French colonization, 1985-1907, commercial routes were developed with the constructions of the railway system and of a port in Abidjan, which helped to develop the export industry. However, this did not have an immediate impact on the growth of European population in Côte d'Ivoire, whose foreign population remained scarce, with only 475 French people living in the country in 1904 (MEN, DGEP and DSP, 1965b, p. 32).

INTERNAL MIGRATION AND RURAL EXODUS

Internal migration is also one of the phenomena highlighted by both contemporary and historical resources. If, as aforementioned, in the contemporary books and competency-based curriculum

framework, learners are expected to explore the migratory movement in Côte d'Ivoire as well as in West Africa (MENET and DPFC, 2012k; 2012l; 2012m), in the historical textbooks more details are provided. For instance, in the History book for lower secondary developed by the NME, there is an explanation of the creation of two different Kingdoms, Bouna and Abron, with a map (see Fig. 10) indicating the different routes of migration of people who brought to their foundation (MEN, DGEP and DSP, 1965b, pp. 1-2). Another example is the History book for African students, which dedicates several parts to the migration of African tribes, such as the Bantous, throughout the centuries and across Africa (Clérici and Parisse, 1966, pp. 43–46).

Le royaume de BOUNA et le royaume ABRON
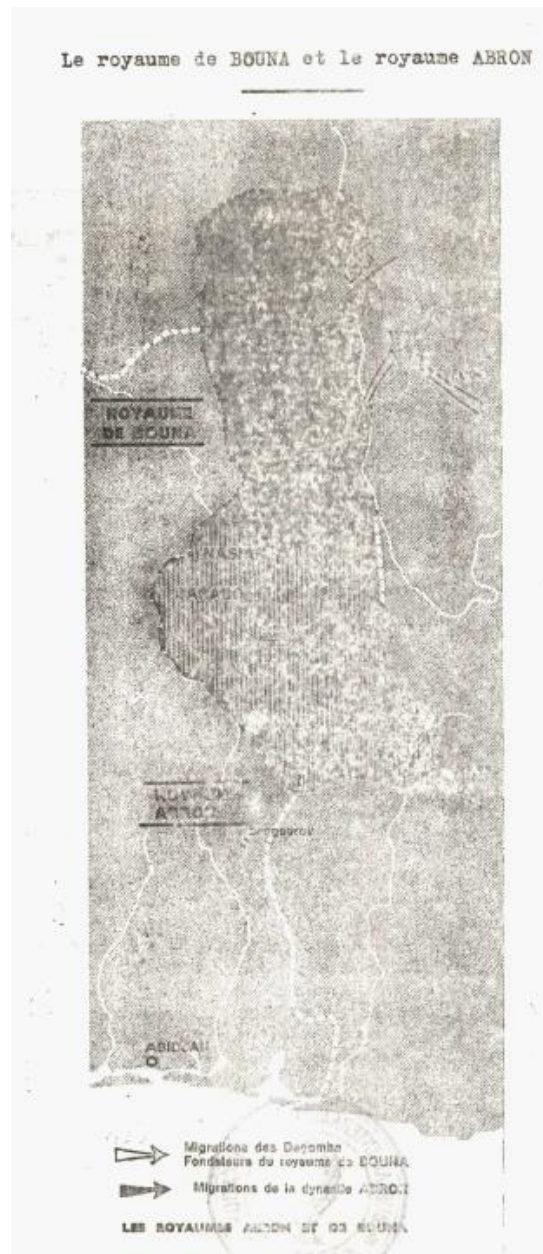
Fig. 10 The kingdoms of Bouna and Abron

What is also interesting is the discussion in the historical books that is not mentioned in the contemporary book are the notions of rural exodus, describing the rural to urban migration as well as seasonal migration in Africa. The rural exodus is defined in by the Geography book for African and Malagasy learners as the "departure of inhabitants of the countryside to the cities", which in Africa intensifies after 1940 (Pasdeloup, 1968, p. 153). The book *History for African students* discusses this phenomenon also in relation to 1940s, but it also reflects about it in relation to the period after the African conquest, at the

beginning of the nineteenth century, considering it as one of the main social consequences brought by colonization. This exodus was also caused by the fact that in some countries, the best land was possessed only by white people, a situation that was leaving black people with very poor and unproductive land (Clérici and Parisse, 1966, pp. 138–140). Unfortunately, life in the city was not easy and once people were arriving in the city they were ending up in a more miserable situation than the one they were living before. In order to make students understand the situation in the cities, the book proposes a reading describing the life conditions of some workers in South Africa, with specific questions to foster students' reflection (see Fig. 11). Whereas the book *Geography for African and Malagasy learners* proposes to the students to explore rural migration in a village they are familiar with and collect information about the number of the people, who left the village; the place to which they have gone; and the reasons of their departure (Pasdeloup, 1968, p. 156).
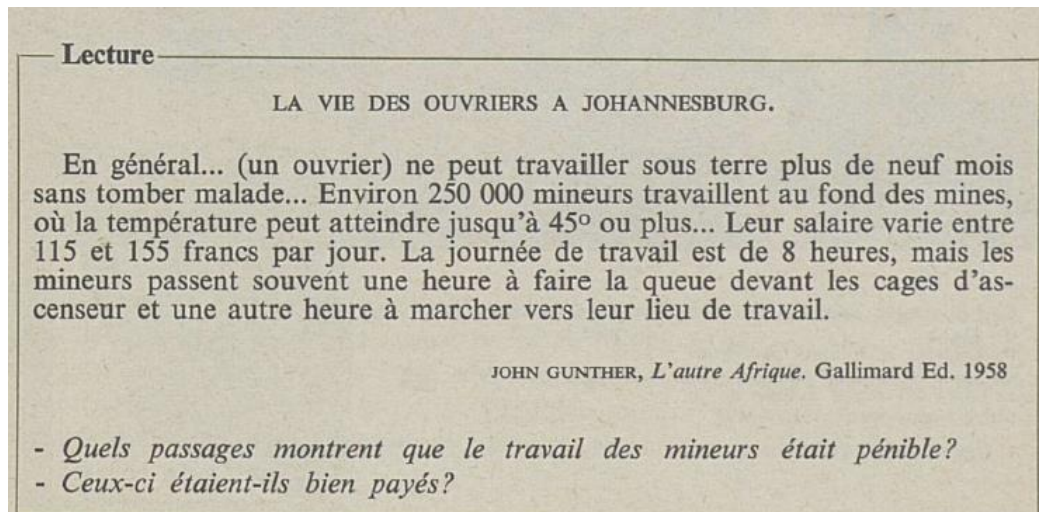
Fig. 11 The life of workers in Johannesburg

The lack of discussion about rural-urban migration in contemporary resources is probably due to the fact that there has been a decline of this phenomenon starting from the 1980s (Beauchemin, 2011). Thus, rural-to-urban migration is not as important in the current discussion in Côte d'Ivoire in comparison to more pressing topics such as refugees or displaced people.

OTHER CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF MIGRATION

As part of the causes of migration that have been identified particularly in the contemporary resources, there is the armed conflict, which lead to the displacement of population (MENET and DPFC, 2012i, p. 40). This issue is highly discussed in different educational materials, as it will be explained in the following part.

Among the consequences of migration, identified only by historical sources, there is the discussion about the fact that because of migration, human races have been expanded across the globe (Pasdeloup, 1968, p. 146). In some cases, the expansion of people has brought to a mixing of races; however, in some countries this has not happened and, for instance, in South Africa, defined as "racist country" (Clérici and Parisse, 1966, p. 142) there is a persistent discrimination and segregation of the black population, who is forced to take different means of transportation and live in different parts of the cities (see Fig. 12) (Pasdeloup, 1968, pp. 146-147). This issue is pointed out also by the book *History for African students*, in which there is a definition of the word segregation, indicated as "separation of races" (Clérici and Parisse, 1966, p. 143).

PHOTO AG. DIF. DE PRESSE

3 La ségrégation en Afrique du Sud
Dans la ville du Cap, les Noirs n'habitent pas dans les beaux immeubles du centre, mais s'entassent dans des cahutes qui sont parfois de véritables taudis.

Fig. 12 Neighbours where black African people were living in South Africa

DISPLACED PEOPLE AND REFUGEES

As previously mentioned, an issue that has been highly discussed in the contemporary resources are refugee and internally displaced people. On this note, considering that refugees and displaced people are the results of the political instability the country faced in early 2000, as explained in the Education Plan (MENET and MESRS, 2017, p. 12), it is not surprising that the historical textbooks do not contain this information.

Since many people, who had fled the country (refugee) or their region (Internally Displaces People) came back to Côte d'Ivoire in the past years (MENET and MESRS, 2017, p. 12), many of the new educational materials focus on the respect of refugee children. In particular, in the annex of the curriculum frameworks for primary education, grades 3, 4, 5 and 6, discuss, as point of reference for the teachers, the four main principles of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, specifying in that Article 2 about non-discrimination is also referred to refugee children. In addition, it also mention that it is the aim of the convention to protect children from any forms of abuse or negligence and to protect refugee children as well (art. 22) (MENET and DPFC, 2012c; 2012d; 2012e; 2012f).

The programmes for secondary education in Human Rights and Citizenship Education, for grades 3, 4 and 5 go a little bit more in-depth in the thematic (MENET and DPFC, 2012g; 2012h; 2012i). For instance, in the programme of 3rd grade, students are expected to develop the competency of facing a situation related to the rights of the child, human rights and international humanitarian law. As pedagogical suggestion, the manual proposes a situation of child labour and asks students to recognize the type of violence suffered by vulnerable people and use, as didactic supports, instruments such as, the Convention of the Right of the Child (1989), the Convention of the Status of Refugees (1951), the convention of Women Rights (1953), among others (MENET and DPFC, 2012g, pp. 16–17). Other activities proposed across the three documents are related to the role of humanitarian organizations, such as the High Commissioner for Refugees, of the juridical mechanism, in the protection of victims of conflicts and in the assistance of population in distress, such as orphans, displaced population or refugees (MENET and DPFC, 2012g; 2012h; 2012i).

In terms of displaced population, what is particularly interesting is that case studies about displaced children in a school or a classroom are used to help students develop competencies of different kinds. For instance, in primary education grades 5 and 6, for the subject of Human Rights and Citizenship Education (MENET and DPFC, 2012e; 2012f) and the aforementioned competency about the ability to face a situation related to the rights of the child, human rights and international humanitarian law and in the lesson about the protection of civilians during an armed conflict, the example proposed describes the personal story of a displaced child. The learners are asked to research about the ways in which civilians can be protected during an armed conflict.

Similar situations are also proposed for the programme of Human Rights and Citizenship Education at secondary level, particularly grade 5 and always in relation to the competency about to the ability of facing

a situation related to the rights of the child, human rights and international humanitarian law (MENET and DPFC, 2012i). There students are asked to reflect more in-depth about the role of the participation of youth in their fulfilment as well as the rights and responsibilities of citizens towards the community during time of peace or war. Different situations related also to displaced students are presented and students are asked to act by following some strategies that will lead them to the development of the aforementioned competency (MENET and DPFC, 2012i, p. 18, p. 30).

In the same programme, values such as a peaceful coexistence among different people, tolerance, respect for diversity and respect for the habits of the immigrants, among others, are also fostered. Besides the fact that throughout the majority of the contemporary resources there is an emphasis of the respect of Human Rights, the programme on Human Rights and Citizenship Education for secondary education, grade 5, is the only one that clearly states the importance of the respect of the habits of immigrants and other displaced population, the development of solidarity, and other values for coexistence (MENET and DPFC, 2012i, p. 44). Considering the situation the country is living in maybe this is something that can be reconsidered and expanded also for other education levels.

CONCLUSION

Migration has been something very important for Côte d'Ivoire, which has led to the population of the country and to its development. However, the resources acknowledge that migration does not always lead to positive outcomes.

The misery faced by the farmers who migrated to the cities is also highly stressed, especially in the historical resources. Specific examples are proposed to students to foster their reflection on the consequences of migrating to the cities, asking the students to explore the phenomenon also in their personal contexts. The fact that reference to rural-to-urban migration is found only in the historical textbooks is likely due to the decline of this phenomenon in recent years.

Racial segregation was also frequently discussed in historical textbook as well, with pictures showing the living conditions of black people in South Africa. Contemporary resources only mentioned this issue once, in relation to the convention of eliminating every form of racial discrimination signed in 1966 (MENET and DPFC, 2012h). This suggests that for Côte d'Ivoire, the issue of discrimination is not as relevant as in the past and that there are other priorities, such as the issue of refugees and internally displaced people.

In the documents analysed, mainly the contemporary ones, special emphasis is made on the issue of refugees and displaced people. Values such as respect, empathy and solidarity towards these population groups are highly stressed in the documents, activities and proposed pedagogical practices. The competencies that students are expected to achieve at the end of their education tend very much towards the understanding of the other and the respect for people's rights, which are described as key responsibilities of the individuals towards themselves and the community in order to achieve peaceful coexistence. This last point is not limited only to displaced populations, but is also discussed in relation to immigrants.

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Annex 7: Italy

When talking about migration, Italy is certainly a country that stands out in the discussion. Indeed, due to its strategic position and its closeness to Libya, from where many boats of emigrants from Africa and the Middle East leave every day, Italy receives the highest majority of undocumented migrants of any country in Europe. Recent data from the Ministry of Interior indicates that in 2016 and 2017, 181,436 people and 119,369 people, respectively, arrived in Italy (MI, 2018, p. 3). This can also be seen in the picture below (Fig. 13), which was found in a contemporary textbook and that visually shows the immigration flow to the country (Bianchi, 2009, p. 233). The same textbook also explains how, nowadays, one of the main issues related to migration is the globalization of crime, and that migration has unfortunately become a very important lucrative business, especially in relation to the human trafficking of migrants (Bianchi, 2009, p. 19).

Fig. 13 A boat carrying clandestine migrants as it approaches a port in the Puglia region

Italy is not only recognized as a receiving country but also as one of the greatest sending countries of the last century (as explained in the following section). Even before then, the country has had a long tradition of being a land of sailors and explorers, as indicated by the below map (Fig. 14), found in one of the historical textbooks, which represents the discoveries of great Italian sailors and explorers (Burgatti, 1947; Visentin and Besso, 1946).
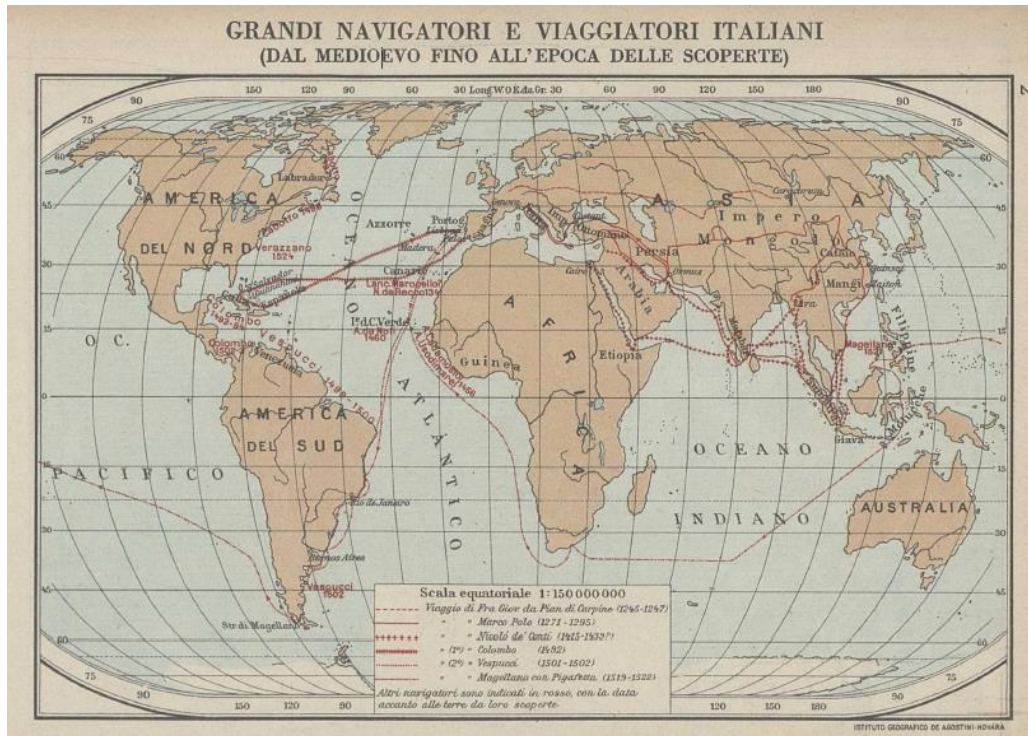
Fig. 14 The voyages of great Italian sailors and explorers

INTERCONTINENTAL, INTRACONTINENTAL AND INTERNAL MIGRATION

In the majority of the contemporary resources consulted, migration is described as a social phenomenon and it is discussed in relation to dynamics of the population, together with concepts such density and distribution as well as the impact that it has on people's identity. In addition, in some of the contemporary resources, students are also expected to understand these phenomena within the more general framework of globalization (Bianchi, 2009; MIUR, 2004).

Both historical and contemporary resources describe the migration of Italians at the beginning of the twentieth century, saying that Italy has had for a long time the record on emigration due to the economic and political situation of the country at that time, which was characterized by widespread unemployment, especially in the southern part of the country. Discussions in both contemporary and historical textbooks centre around three main emigration concepts: 1) the intercontinental migration of Italians experienced by the country between 1901 and 1913, when about 9 million people migrated to Argentina, Brazil and the United States; 2) the post-WWII emigrations as a result of the economic consequences of the war: to other countries in Europe (namely France, Belgium, and Switzerland), usually on a temporary or seasonal basis, and to the United States and Argentina, usually on a permanent basis; and 3) the internal migration

from the south of Italy to the north, specifically to the so-called "industrial triangle" of Turin-Milan-Genoa (Bianchi, 2009; Leonetti, 2013a; 2013b; Moroni, 1959; Operti, 1959; Ruggeri, 1949).

Some of the historical textbooks also propose readings that describe seasonal and internal migrations. In the first case, for instance the textbook *Geography and history for 4 grade of elementary school* describes how male farmers living in the Alps were migrating to the cities, leaving women in charge of the land (Visentin and Besso, 1946, p. 17). This part also gives us an idea about the intersection of migration and gender, a topic that none of the resources, both contemporary and historical, specifically addresses, but which can be observed in some of the pictures showing the situation at that time. For instance, the picture below (Fig. 15) makes it clear that migration was not limited to certain individuals only, but also to entire families.

Fig. 15 Emigrant family at the train station in Milan

Furthermore, one of the contemporary book also talks about Italian migration in relation to the colonization of Libya by Italians at the beginning of the twentieth century. Indeed, because of the economic crisis and under the pressure of the great industrials and economics groups of the country at that time, pushed the government to occupy Libya. This was mainly to give new land to Italian people, so that they also could migrate closer to home. However, this did not bring to expected results as the country

did not have fertile lands such as the ones of Argentina and the United States. As a result, the colonial approach of Italy failed and farmers kept migrating to other countries (Leonetti, 2013b, p. 16).

PERCEPTIONS OF MIGRATION AND EMIGRANTS

Emigrants were mainly artisans and famers. The migration of Italians also led to the transfer of many remittances, which improved the quality of life in their places of origin (Leonetti, 2013a). In addition, many emigrants did very well for themselves and achieved high social and economic positions, making the name of Italy and Italian values respected abroad (Moroni, 1959; Ruggeri, 1949). So, in this sense, migration was considered as something positive both for the country of origin as well as for migrants themselves. However, from the language used in some other resources, both historical and contemporary, one may have the perception that migration was not seen as something positive for the country of origin. For instance, one of the contemporary textbooks mentions that migration penalized the country of origin and brought richness to the receiving country (Bianchi, 2009, pp. 235-236). Whereas historical books describe the migration process as a loss of qualified young Italians; or they refer to migration as "the problem": "the problem of emigration"; the "eternal problem of the South of Italy" (Moroni, 1959; Operti, 1950). In relation to the use of language in the context of migration, a particular note must be made regarding the use of the last expression. This consideration of southern Italy as an "eternal problem" that was used in the 1950s and 1960s continues today. Indeed, specific discriminatory expressions to describe southern Italians are still widely used in contemporary discourse.

The abovementioned idea about the way in which Italian migrants were proudly representing Italy abroad, is completely different from the perception of Italian immigrants by the local populations. In relation to this, contemporary resources describe specific cases of this issue in the United States and in Belgium. In relation to the former, the book explains that, during the 1920s, in the United States, some episodes of intolerance against immigrants, who were considered as criminals and responsible for bringing the mafia to the country began. One of the most famous cases of the time was the one of Sacco and Vanzetti, two Italian immigrants who were accused of murder and, even though many evidence showed that they were not guilty, they got sentenced to death (Leonetti, 2013b, pp. 44–45). Immigrants were considered a menace also in the case of Belgium, where there was a widespread perception among the local population that migrants were stealing their jobs (Bianchi, 2009, p. 241). Interesting in the same contemporary textbook, there is a reading to make students reflect about this negative perceptions of migrants that

people had in the past and compare them to what is happening now with the prejudices held by the Italian population, but not limited to Italians only, towards immigrants (Bianchi, 2009, p. 247).

INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS

The integration of immigrants is a main priority for Italy. This is observable in the new Curriculum Framework for Basic Education, which highlights the importance of paying attention to the diversity of the learning environment and it mentions how it is relevant to focus more on the needs of those students who do not have Italian citizenship, to help them integrate within the society. This will happen also by supporting them in reaching an adequate level of Italian to be able to communicate and consequently be involved in the learning process. The master of linguistic and cultural competencies is very important for the educational progress of the students, both first generation immigrants (who just arrived in Italy) and second generation immigrants (who have been born in Italy) (MIUR, 2012, p. 26).

The discussion in the curriculum framework is also aligned with the more general discourse about migration of the country, where, for instance, data about the integration of second-generation immigrants in the Italian society are collected by the Italian Institute of Statistics (ISTAT, 2017). In relation to this, the textbook on globalization explains that integration is easier for second generation immigrants, who live the new country as their own and have the tendency to establish stronger and social and cultural relation (Bianchi, 2009, p. 235). This focus on integration of immigrants in the Italian system contrasts with the tone set by one of the historical textbooks that defines emigrants as "lost Italians", because they were obliged to assimilate in other countries (Moroni, 1959, p. 404). The use of word "lost" seems to indicate here a slight criticism of the author towards this practice.

CONCLUSIONS

Because of the great migrant tradition of Italy, the majority of the documents analysed refers to this topic, especially in relation to the economic and political crises that affected the country in the first half of the twentieth century and that forced many Italians, especially from the South to look for better opportunities somewhere else. However, what was interesting in relation to this issue is that the discussion around migration is limited to the past and there is only one specific picture that refers to the current situation Italy is living, as one of the main receiving countries of undocumented immigrants in Europe.

From the latest curriculum framework, it can be understood that the Italian education system opts for a policy directed towards the integration of immigrants students in Italian schools and consequently in the Italian society. This policy is aligned with the general discourse around migration widespread in the

country, which gives a lot of importance to the statistics about the integration of second-generation immigrants into the Italian society. This strong focus on integration of Italian policies contrasts a little with the critical tone set by one of the historical textbooks that defines emigrants as "lost Italians", because they were obliged to assimilate in other countries (Moroni, 1959, p. 404).

The feelings towards migration that can be identified throughout the text are also contradictory, even within the same resources. Whereas, sometimes you might have the sensation that migration has not been something positive for the country, defining it as a "problem", a "damage", a "painful process"; in some other occasions, you may have the feeling that it has been useful to bring up the name of Italy and spread Italian values in the world. In these cases, praising words towards Italian emigrants are used. This sense of pride, simultaneously, is in contrast with the way in which Italian immigrants were perceived by the local populations. Examples in the textbooks mention specifically the case of the United States, were usually they were considered as criminals and responsible for the introduction of the mafia, and in Belgium, where they often were accused to steal the job of the local population.

SOURCES ANALYSED

Historical resources

Burgatti, L. 1947. *Geografia e Storia per la terza elementare.* Torino, S. Lattes & C. Editori.

Moroni, F. 1959. *Corso di Storia: per licei e gli istituti magistrali.* Torino, Societá Editrice Internazionale.

Operti, P. 1950. *Civiltá Italiana: Etá Contemporanea.* Torino, S. Lattes & C. Editori.

Ruggeri, E. 1949. *Geografia per le scuole medie*. Milano, Edizioni La Prora.

Visentin, L. and Besso, C. 1946. *Geografia e Storia: Testo/Atlante illustrato per la 4a elementare*. Novara, Istituto Geografico De Agostini.

Contemporary resources

Bianchi, M. (ed.). 2009. *Geografia del mondo globalizzato*. Milano, Markes.

Da Re, F. 2013. *Curricolo Scuola Primaria e Secondaria di Primo Grado con riferimento alle competenze chiave europee e alle Indicazioni Nazionali 2012.* https://www.ic16verona.gov.it/j/attachments/article/488/CurricoloPrimoCicloIndicazioni2012.pdf

Leonetti, E. 2013a. *Geo 3: Il Mondo, i Paesaggi, la Popolazione, l' Economia per la Scuola Secondaria di Primo Grado*. http://www.maristi.it/ebook-school/medie/leonetti-geo3.pdf

——. 2013b. *Storia C3 Il Novecento Per la Scuola Secondaria di Primo Grado.* https://www.matematicamente.it/staticfiles/manuali-cc/Leonetti-Storia-III.pdf

Ministero dell' Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca (MIUR). 2004a. I*ndicazioni Nazionali per i Piani di*

Studio Personalizzati nella Scuola Primaria. Roma, Ministero dell' Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca.

——. 2004b. *Indicazioni nazionali per Piani di studio personalizzati nella Scuola Secondaria di 1° grado.* Roma, Ministero dell' Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca.

——.2012. *Indicazioni nazionali per il curricolo della scuola dell'infanzia e del primo ciclo d'istruzione.* Roma, Ministero dell' Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca.

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Ministero dell'Interno (MI). 2018. *Cruscotto giornaliero sui migranti sbarcati in Italia : gennaio-aprile 2018*. http://www.interno.gov.it/sites/default/files/cruscotto_giornaliero_27-04-2018.pdf

Annex 8: Jordan

Jordan has been subjected to migration since its establishment over 100 years ago. Its location and the nature of the political situations in the surrounding countries made it the best choice for immigration of all types.

Because of the recent crisis that occurred in Syria and with the influx of refugees to the country, the Ministry of Education (MoE) added refugees' education to its strategic plan for the coming five years. Building new schools to host refugee children and youth is also part of this strategy. In addition, the MoE has recently developed a short-term policy based on the Human Resources Development Strategy (HRD) in order to address the issues faced by the education system (MOE, 2015, p.16). Refugees are the majority of non-Jordanians. According to the sixth population census (2015) Jordan still hosts 2.9 million foreign residents i.e. 30.6% of its total population i.e. from Syria (13.6%), Egypt (6.6%), Palestine (6.6%), Iraq (1.4%), Yemen (0.3%), and Libya (0.2%), 2% of nationals from other countries (UNICEF, 2018).

So, the Strategic Plan aims at increasing the access of refugees to schools and guaranteeing quality education for all (MOE, 2018).

BACKGROUND AND HISTORICAL TEXTBOOKS

To understand why Jordan is considered as a refugee haven for many, it is worth knowing some background information on the establishment of the Kingdom. The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (or Jordan) is a country located in western Asia, which shares its borders with Saudi Arabia in the south, Iraq in the northeast, Syria in the north, Israel and Palestine in the west. According to De Bel-Air (2016), "Jordan being historically a regional migration crossroads, its socio-political history and geopolitical ambitions defined the country's policy approach to migration movements" (p. 1). In the early twentieth century, World War I also provided an opportunity to the Arabs in the region to revolt against the Turkish rulers, with the support of Britain (FRD, 2006). However, even after the Arab revolt of 1916, for the Arabs it was very difficult to gain their sovereignty on the territories, as under the Allied rule of Middle East, the French received Syria, while the British received Iraq and Palestine. In addition, the eastern portion of the Jordan River was named as Transjordan, which was controlled by an Arab administration under the supervision of the British governor for Palestine (FRD, 2006). The semi-autonomous region of Transjordan gained independence in 1946 and came to be known as the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (CIA, 2018).

A historical look at the textbooks used during the early years of the establishment of the kingdom presents the clear reflection of the political situation at the time in Palestine. The country experienced the first wave of migration, during the Arab-Israeli war, wherein Jordan along with Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Saudi Arabia advanced in the territory of former Palestine to have a control over the West Bank (FRD, 2006). Since the country decided to naturalize all the refugees from Palestine on both Banks, the national population of Jordan trebled (De Bel-Air, 2016). Back then, Palestine case was the most serious and all Arabs agreed on the importance of taking an action about it. It is estimated that almost 500,000 Palestinian Arabs moved to Jordan or the West Bank (FRD, 2006). The second wave of migration was pushed during the Six-Day War in 1967 and the occupation of the West Bank by the Israel, wherein the residents of the West Bank were considered as 'displaced' rather than refugees by the Jordan (FRD, 2006).

In reviewing the textbook *Summary in the history of Palestine from the earliest times until today*, of 1956 for grade six, the writer went to great lengths to prove to the students the right of the Arabs in the country and the illegality of the forced presence of Israelis. The details of the lessons are up to the names of the different cities in Palestine and their evolvement with history. The effect of the birth of Jesus Christ and the call for Christianity is discussed especially that it has profound impact on the world at the time. Through history, many immigrations of different nations affected that part of the world by being a place proving at one time pull factors and at other times push factors. The conclusion is that Israelis have no right to expel the citizens and take their homes from them. In 1948, one million Arabs were displaced.

The second historical example of the textbooks is the Palestinian cause taught back then to the secondary stage. Again, here the history of Palestine is explored in detail starting from 3500 BC. Five major immigration waves overtook the area: The Assyrian Babylonian wave to Iraq; the Phoenician Canaanite wave to Palestine and Lebanon; The Aramaic and Muaab Wave to Syria and Eastern Jordan; The wave that came to the east of Jordan and the Islamic wave in the seventh century (Hindawi, 1968, p. 9). The author proved that Israelis are originally from the south of Iraq.

However, according to Findlay and Sumha (1986), "the boom in Jordanian emigration came to an end in 1979, with a sudden loss of confidence in the world oil market and a decline in the demand of migrant labour" (Findlay and Sumha, 1986, p.173), and this eventually led to the increase of the unemployment rate within the country. Following the persistent high levels of unemployment, the government restrained its open door policy, as it was already hosting, "900,000 work migrants of various nationalities, some 750,000 Iraqi refugees and numerous Syrians, Lebanese, West Bank Palestinians, while an estimated 50%

of the population is descendent of the naturalized Palestinian refugees of 1948 and 1967' displaced people" (De Bel-Air, 2007, p.1)

The Palestinian issue is also discussed in contemporary textbooks and curricula, such as the textbooks from grade 6 to 12, however the approach is slightly different from the historical ones. For instance, one of the first main aspect that can be noticed is the fact that in the contemporary resources, the emphasis and the language has been altered drastically. The Jordanian Ministry of Education decided to put the name of "Israel" explicitly on the official Jordanian maps that are taught to students instead of occupied Palestine. It also overlooked the name of a famous Jordanian war hero, Firas Al-Ajlouni, who is considered a national hero in Jordan because he led the fighting squadron against the Israeli entity. He was martyred in the 1967 war. After the Palestinian wars and different waves of migration, Jordan faced other waves of migration due to wars in a different part of the Arab World. Also, immigration was reversed. Jordanians and Palestinians moved to the Gulf States searching for a better income. Yet, this caused another wave of migration. According to the De Bel-Air, "the First Gulf War (1990-1991) forced a third wave of 350,000 "returnees" to Jordan: these were Jordanian nationals, most of whom were originally Palestinians naturalized after 1948, who had emigrated to the Gulf States" (De Bel-Air, 2016, p.1). The emigration of the Jordanian nationals to the Arab oil rich countries since the 1950s, especially after the 1973 oil boom, served the political interest of the regime through its 'open door' policies. The emigrants played a crucial role in remitting to their families, which in turn compensated for some citizens mostly the Palestinian refugees and the displaced persons (De Bel Air, 2016). The remittances had a crucial developmental role in enhancing the consumption based, non-productive economy and a new mode of wealth accumulation, which later led to an increase demand for domestic workers (De Bel Air, 2016).

Migration is mentioned in relation to population increase in many textbooks, two of which were chosen: Geography grade 6, and History of Jordan for grade 12. The documents discuss the immigration of Palestinians in 1948 and 1967; the return of thousands of Jordanians after the gulf war in 1991; the immigration of Iraqis in 1991 and 2003; and finally, the Syrian crisis and the influx of the Syrian refugees to the country (Amayreh et al., 2017, p. 160).

REASONS FOR MIGRATION

In the History textbook of grade 7, the lesson on migration starts by explaining the different types of immigration and the reasons behind them (Khawaldeh et al., 2017., p. 19). The lesson then enlist the pull factor for immigration: countries around the world requesting labour workers. The lesson evolves into

mentioning the positive and negative impacts of immigration; students are asked to discuss about the types of immigrants that they can find in Jordan and whether the impact of having immigrants in the country is positive or negative. The same theme occurred in Geography for grade 11. The book explores immigration, its types and impact on countries as well as pull and push factors, but in a manner that commensurate with the different age range that are being addressed. The lesson states the influencing factors of immigration in population size, growth, composition, social and economic characteristics; age and gender structure, re-distribution of people geographically in any region. It also explains that migration has positive outcomes, such as the provision of labour and the construction of abandoned areas. For instance, the European immigration is mentioned as a positive example for the population growth in the Americas and Australia. Finally, the students are asked to consider the Jewish immigration to Palestine and how it led to a change in its demographic and social composition (Abu Lil et al., 2017).

PERCEPTION AND CONSEQUENCES OF MIGRATION

Throughout the documents, migration is treated as a positive and negative issue. For instance, the National and Civic education textbook for grade 9 book describes as a positive effect of migration the one that took place at the start of the call for Islam. The Muslims were forced to leave Mecca and head to Al-Madina. The first act the prophet did was to foster brotherhood between the immigrants and the original dwellers of the city. The establishment of a center for teaching reading and writing and consultation among the increasing the market place, helped in the development of the city (Zoubi et al., 2017). In relation to Prophet Muhammad, the National and civic education for grade nine, which concentrates on human rights and democracy among other topics, presents the fostering of brotherhood that he carried out when Muslims were forced to leave Mecca. In Al-Madina, Prophet Muhammad wrote Al-Madina Charter for the Regulation of Relations between Communities and Groups. This document is regarded by many as the first civil constitution in history (Brezat et al., 2017, p 42). The same book also discusses the history of some of the most famous cities in Jordan, establishing their importance as cradles of civilizations, and therefore places of touristic attractions, specifically the Baptism Site, making pilgrimage a positive addition to the country.

Migration can also be seen as bringing negative impact to a given country. For instance, the National and Civic education textbook for grade 9, part two, explains that the influx of refugees added to the unnatural increase in population and burdened the water supply in the country (Brezat et al., 2017, p. 37).

REFUGEE CRISIS

Jordan has been dealing with refugees since 1947, but for the past six to seven years, the weight of the Syrians refugees overburdened the country. However, it is part of the Jordanian culture to receive people in need. This is also a vision shared by the Ministry of Education, which aims at leading an educated community committed to values, science, excellence and global reach. In order to achieve this, the mission of the Ministry is providing equal opportunities of access to quality education to enable learners to think creatively and critically. Moved by these beliefs and because refugees have now become a great part of the population of Jordan, the Ministry of Education included refugee education in its five-year strategic plan that was launched in mid-March 2018. The discussion about Syrians refugees is already part of the different textbooks taught in the schools of the Kingdom.

In the National and Civic education textbook for grade 10, the Jordanian humanitarian role is emphasized (Masaeed et al., 2017). Jordan provided aids of all sorts to many countries, some of which are Palestine, Iraq, Lebanon, Afghanistan, Turkey, Pakistan, Libya, Egypt and many more. The textbook indicated that the number of the Syrian refugees according to the Jordanian Government is one million and two hundred and sixty-five thousand (Masaeed et al., 2017, p. 27). This is more than double of the number acknowledged by UNHCR. Jordan provides for the refugees: shelters, safety, health services and education. Despite the pledging of the donor community to support the country in this aspect, the amounts actually received is 61% according to the report issued by Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation (MoPIC) for the year 2016.

Under types of migration, in grade 11 Geography textbook, the lesson distinguishes between external and internal migration; and "voluntary migration", and "forced migration" (Abu Lil et al., 2017). The students are to discuss and decide what type of migration the Syrian refugees underwent. Teachers usually ask Syrian students to talk about their situation and the circumstances that drove them to leave their country. Most of the Syrian students in Jordan are in second shift schools. There are around 200 second shift schools dedicated to Syrian refugees. This solution was taken after the issue of crowdedness in classrooms was no longer under control of the teachers. This topic is thoroughly studied by the Ministry of Education and was added to the Education Strategic Plan that was launched in March 2018.

The ministry included the Syrian refugees' crisis specifically in the strategy and asked the international community to fund the construction of new schools in the coming five years under access and equity domain. The Education Strategic Plan stems from the Human Resources Strategy that was approved by

the Cabinet in September 2016. Refugees was a topic that was included in the strategy of the country for the coming ten years. The Strategy of the Ministry included all aspects of the refugees such as increasing their enrolment and addressing the challenges they face.

The extent of the refugee crisis in the country can be also seen through the images proposed in the Civic Education Textbook, grade 10, which represents the Zaatari camp (Fig. 16). Zaatari camp is now considered the 4th largest city in Jordan (McGhee, 2017). The textbook presents the picture discussing the role that Jordan played in providing help to people in situation of distress. It says that "Jordan has been a model for the countries of the world in the humanitarian role towards refugees by providing assistance, aid and services to them from the moment they arrive in Jordanian territory, and provided them with the necessary protection despite the scarcity of resources and scarcity and the enormous financial burdens they bear. On the other hand, Jordan provided medical humanitarian assistance to many countries of the world Including Palestine, Iraq, Lebanon, Afghanistan, Turkey, Iran, Indonesia, Pakistan, the Maldives, Yemen, Libya and Egypt" (Al Masaeed et al. 2017, p. 24). The textbook states that the number of Syrian refugees is about 265,000, however, there is a lack of agreement among different stakeholders on the real number of refugees. This issue has posed a serious discussion in many of the international conferences and in dialogues with the donor community.

Fig. 16 Zaatari camp in Jordan

NOMADIC LIFE AND RURAL-TO-URBAN MIGRATION

The textbook of Geography for grade 11 also discusses internal migration, from rural areas to cities, and its impact on the country. The population increase in the cities and industrial countries in the past was mainly due to the need of labour workers by the different countries. The negative impact of such migration is elaborated. Students are asked to analyse in depth the forms and maps that indicate the rates of urbanization in the Arab world and Jordan resulting from migration from the countryside to the city and to think about solutions to stop such type of migration (Abu Lil et al., 2017).

The same topic is discussed again in grade 12 -History of Jordan where there is a lesson about the evolvement of the social life in Jordan. (Amayreh et al., 2017, p. 160). Migration from rural to urban places is explored as well as the procedures the government took to stop the farmers and nomads from constant traveling by making the "Badia" (desert) an attractive place to stay by providing citizens with housing and running water all year long, among other means of life necessary for them.

CONCLUSION

Migration is indeed a topic of great relevance to the world, and to the Arab world in particular. This stems from the constant conflicts that erupt in the region and their impact on the rest of the world. This is true also in the case of Jordan, which has been subjected to migration since its establishment over 100 years ago. In fact, its location and political stability has converted the country in a land of migration, before with Palestinian refugees and, more recently, with the growth of flux of Syrian refugees to the country, which has obliged the government to take important measure to address the situation. One of these measures has been the enhancement of educational opportunities to refugee children.

The topic of migration is a must in educational resources in a country like Jordan. Curricula of different grades and subject matters reflect this situation. The type of migration as well as its positive and negative impact on the sending and receiving countries are explained. The analysis reveals that this topic is explored since early grades. From grade 4 up to grade 10, the different curricula analysed listed migration under the learning outcomes that students are expected to achieve and master, with, as ultimate goal, the ability to understand and analyse the impact of migration on population structure.

SOURCES ANALYSED

Historical

Al Dabbagh, M. M. 1957. *Summary of the history of Palestine from the earliest times until today*. Beirut, Dar Al Ghad.

Hindawi, T. 1968. *The Palestinian Cause*. Jordan, National Printing Press.

Contemporary

Abu Lil, A. R., Al-Akhras, H. et al. 2017. *Geography 11th grade for the literary, hotel and tourist branches*. Jordan, Ministry of Education.

Al Masaeed, T., Al Othman, T., Kokash, A. and Miqdadi, K. 2017. *National and civic education for Grade 10*. Jordan, Ministry of Education.

Amaireh, M., Nuaimat, K., Zoubi, I., Salibi, T., Shayab, M. and Suqairat, N. 2017. *History of Jordan for Grade 12*. Jordan, Ministry of Education.

Brezat, A., Khashman, Y. and Ghaween, F. 2017. *National and civic education for Grade 9*. Jordan, Ministry of Education.

Khawaldeh, M., Rawashdeh, M., Dahham, G., et al. 2017. *Geography Part 2 for Basic 7*. Jordan, Ministry of Education.

Ministry of Education. 2009. *Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Education 2009–2013*. Jordan, Ministry of Education. http://www.moe.gov.jo/Files/moePlan.pdf (Accessed 23 April 2018)

——. 2013a. *General framework and general and specific outcomes of the curriculum of Social and National Education — grades (1–5)*. Jordan, Ministry of Education.

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——. 2016. *Migration Profile: Jordan*. European University Institute. 2016/6. http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/44065/MPC_PB_201606.pdf?sequence=1 (Accessed 23 April 2018)

Federal Research Division (FRD). 2016. *Country profile: Jordan*. https://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/cs/profiles/Jordan-new.pdf (Accessed 23 April 2018)

Findlay, A. and Samha, M. 1986. Return migration and urban change: a Jordanian case study. In King R. (Ed.) *Return Migration and Regional Economic Problems*. London, Routledge. pp. 171-184.

McGhee, A. 2017. *Zaatari refugee camp: The 'temporary' shelter that's become Jordan's fourth largest city*. ABC News online. http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-07-28/zaatari-refugee-camp/8749866 (Accessed 23 April 2018)

Annex 9: Mexico

Mexico has a longstanding tradition of migration, not only as a sending country, but also as a receiving and transit one (OCDE, 2009). This is acknowledged also in the education documents analysed such as, for instance, the Curriculum Framework for Indigenous and Migrant Children (SEP, 2014b). At the beginning, before becoming the first migrant-sending country in the world in 2010 with a total of 11,859,236 million people, as indicated in the Geography textbook of grade 5 (SEP, 2017a, p. 93), the country was enlisted as one of the main receiving countries in the world, together with USA, Argentina, Canada, Brazil, Australia and South Africa (Sánchez Molina, 1950, p. 48).

Population movements date back to the origins of men and Mexico is not an exception. From the study of both contemporary and historical resources we can understand that migration has been for centuries an intrinsic characteristic of the population of the Mexico as well as of Latin America. For instance, all the three History textbooks analysed describe migration as one of the hypotheses of the arrival of the first men in the American continent and in Mexico, focusing particularly on two migration phenomena: the immigration from the Behring strait and then expanded to the south (see Fig. 17) and the immigration from Polynesia (Arellano, 1950, pp.9–13; Hernández Ruíz, 1955, pp. 13–15; Chávez Orozco, 1950, pp. 13–16). In addition, contemporary resources, such as the Curriculum Frameworks for Indigenous and Migrant Children, highlight that the migration of the different Mexican indigenous groups as well as the dynamism of its population throughout the centuries have been responsible for the deep mixed heritage of the Mexican population as well as its cultural richness (SEP, 2014a, p. 29; SEP, 2014b, p.15).
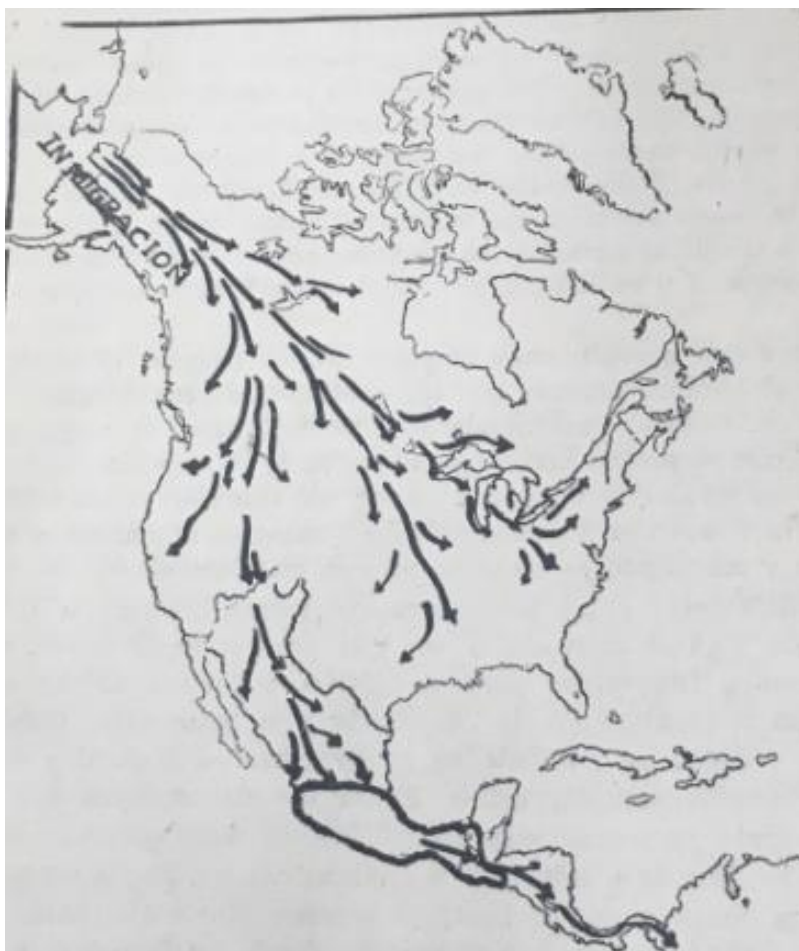
Fig. 17 Immigration routes in North America

Therefore, because of the migrant nature of the country, it was not surprising that all the educational resources analysed, but one, the Curriculum of Primary of 2009 for grade 1, contained migration-related references. The lack of references to migration topics in the aforementioned document can be explained, in a way, by the fact that, from the generic analysis of the Plan for Basic Education of 2017, we could understand that migration is a topic taught generally in grades 4, 5 and 6, as well as in the first years of lower secondary education in subjects such as history, geography, civic education and language and communication (SEP, 2017c; 2017d).

EDUCATION OF MIGRANT CHILDREN

A first important point to mention in relation to the nature of migration in Mexico is that, to address the complexity of this phenomenon and enable migrant communities to exert their individual and collective rights, the government of Mexico has payed particular attention to the education of migrant children as well as of children of migrants and seasonal agricultural labourers. This, as indicated in the different Plans

for Basic Education (SEP, 2017a; SEP, 2011a), has been done to improve the educational opportunities of the children belonging to these groups, who usually receive poor education and are affected by exclusion, discrimination and inequalities (SEP, 2017c, p. 76).

For this reason, the Government, through the General Directorate of Indigenous Education (DGEI, for its Spanish acronym), has created specific programmes and curricula to help migrant children and children of migrants overcome marginalization and exclusion, breaking the traditional paradigms of education and putting in the first place the involvement of migrant and indigenous communities in the establishment of the education needs of their children and in sharing their experiences and knowledge in the classrooms (SEP, 2014a, pp. 33–34).

The general Curriculum Framework of Basic Education for Indigenous and Migrant Children, is integrated by four modules, one of them focusing specifically on migration: Curriculum Framework of ECCE for Indigenous and Migrant Children: historical features of migration in Mexico (SEP, 2014b). This document addresses many different topics of migration: from the description of the dynamism of the Mexican population to the migration of children and women; from the migration to improve life opportunities to a migration driven by more specific cultural patterns; from legal and illegal migration to the risks affecting migrant women. Because of the density of the migration content of this document, we decided not to focus on it for this analysis but to use only some of its topics to support the discussion.

The consideration of children of migrants or migrant children in the Mexican education system can be also noticed by the fact that in the resources for regular basic education, pedagogical strategies and specific activities directed particularly to these groups are also suggested. For instance, in the Plan for Basic Education of 2017, in the language and communication programme, they introduce an activity, which implies the use of letters and the establishment of different communication channels within the community and among communities, by explaining that communication is extremely important for different reasons. One of the enlisted reasons is that, since some family members and friends might have migrated abroad, learning how to establish communication networks will increase learners' ability to communicate also in these situations (SEP, 2017c, p. 253). Another pedagogical strategy is the one suggested in the Teacher Guide of History for Basic Education. In order for teacher to make students understand the notion of simultaneous processes related to time, the book suggests the use with migrant children of references to their past and current experience, asking for example to compare their previous life with their current one (SEP, 2011c, pp. 102–103).

Definition of migration and Mexicans in the United States

The definitions of migration found are similar in both historical and contemporary resources. For instance, the Geography textbook of grade 5 states that "[a] temporary or permanent displacement of people from a country to another, from a city to another or from a village to another is called migration" (SEP, 2017a, p. 90). The textbook continues mentioning that migration has two phases: emigration: the action of leaving one place; immigration: the action of arriving to a place. It also provides the definition of external migration, the movement of people among different countries and internal migration, the movement of people within a same country (SEP, 2017a, p. 90). Similarly, Vivó, in his book *Human Geography* defines migration, as the movement of people from one place to another, which is composed by two phases: emigration, the abandonment of a place; immigration: the arrival to a place. In addition, this author adds a third phase that can happen, which is the re-emigration, when people return to their place of origin (Vivó, 1950, pp. 29–30). In the book *Notes on Human Geography*, the author provides definitions of the concepts of countries of emigration, the places from where people leave and the countries of immigration, the places where people go to. He also explains that migration can be permanent, when people do not move back, such as in the case of Spaniards in Latin America; or temporary, like the seasonal migration of Mexican migrants in the United States for the harvest of different vegetables and then return to Mexico once the harvest is over (Villareal, 1951, pp. 92–93). The fact that a book of the early 50s specifically mentions the presence of Mexicans in the United States at that time is another indication of the duration of the phenomenon.

The migration of Mexicans to the United States is also explored in contemporary resources such as the Curriculum Frameworks for Indigenous and Migrant Children (SEP, 2014a; 2014b), where this topic is deeply discussed; or in the more recent Geography textbooks of grades 5 and 6 (SEP, 2017a; 2017b), where there is a discussion about sending and receiving countries and there are specific activities related to these issues, such as a postcard written by a Mexican immigrant in the United States describing his experience accompanied by specific questions about the subject (SEP, 2014a, p. 90). Statistics are also shown to demonstrate the extent of this phenomenon (SEP, 2014a, p. 93).

What is very interesting in relation to this topic is that apart from the "Curriculum Framework for Indigenous and Migrant Children: Historical features of migration in Mexico" (SEP, 2014b), no other document talks specifically about the migration of Mexicans to the United States; a country where an estimate of 12.9 million Mexicans lived in 2013 (SICREMI, 2014). In addition to this, two other terms that

are not included in the discussions of contemporary resources are: undocumented migration and deportation. Indeed, beside the fact that some pictures of the textbooks of grade 5 and 6, as we will discuss later, allude to undocumented migration, this topic is not explicitly mentioned. This is surprising considering that these phenomena have been a constant of the process of migration of Mexicans in the US since the 20s, when the Border Patrol of United States was created with the specific purpose of preventing undocumented immigration (SEP, 2014b, p. 137).

A possible way to explain this situation can be by the fact that the discussions about migrants that are carried out throughout the texts are quite positives and make it clear that migrant belong to specific communities that are integral part of the Mexican society. Thus, the importance of supporting and protecting them against any form of discrimination and racism (SEP, 2009c). On the other hand, the discourse surrounding undocumented migration has the tendency of depicting undocumented immigrants as criminals; an image, which is completely the opposite of what education programmes, pedagogical activities and learning outcomes in the texts try to convey. From this, it probably derives the omission of this controversial topic.

MIGRATION CAUSES

Migration is something that has always existed, as it is part of the human nature. Indeed, human beings have constantly been moving to explore new lands, to fish and hunt or to conquer other places. Different causes brought men to move from one place to another, however, the list provided in the historical resources analysed are very comprehensive and still relevant to the current world situation.

For instance, in the book *Human Geography*, the author identifies three types of causes: economic, religious and education (Vivó, 1950, pp. 29–30). A similar list can be found in the book *Notes on Human Geography* of 1950, in which the author, in addition to the causes identified by Vivó, also discusses social causes, derived from the overpopulation of some regions and the consequent misery of the population; geographical causes, due to the inadaptability of people to the environment or due to natural disasters, such as earthquakes; and political causes, due to the development of forms of government limiting the freedom of their citizens. According to him, the combination of economic, religious, social, political and geographical causes may results in an exodus of the population (Sánchez Molina, 1950, pp. 47–48). Likewise, in contemporary resources, for instance the Geography textbooks for grade 5 and 6, the enlisted causes are: economic, familiar, social and political (SEP, 2017a; 2017b). In addition, the new Education Plan explains that these causes have been accelerated in recent years by globalization, which has brought

to an increase of inequalities at global level; climate change, environmental instability and biodiversity loss; demographic changes; armed conflicts and political instability; among others (SEP, 2017c, p. 97).

Other examples of migration found in the resources analysed are, for instance, the immigration of Europeans as well as of Asian and Lebanese in Central and Latin America or the US to look for better opportunities, especially after WWI (Harnández Ruíz, 1955; Sánchez Molina, 1950; Villareal, 1951; Vivó, 1950). The contemporary and historical documents also talk about the conquest and colonization of Europeans as well as the issue of slavery (Arellano, 1950; SEP, 2010c; SEP, 2011c; Vivó, 1950). This not only in relation to the conquest of America, but also of Africa, Australia and New Zealand, which brought, for instance, an increase of the emigration of French, Italians and Spaniard to Libya, Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia (Vivó, 1950).

Finally, all of these movements can be summarized in two waves of migration: intercontinental migration and intracontinental migration (Vivó, 1950, p. 29). To this it can be also added, internal migration, such as rural-urban migration, which has been affecting Mexico for the past 50 years (SEP, 2010c; SEP, 2017a).

MIGRATION, RACE AND LANGUAGES

In both contemporary and historical resources, migration is considered and described also in relation to race. As aforementioned, the Curriculum Frameworks for Indigenous and Migrant Children stress the fact that the rich cultural mix of the Mexican population results from the dynamism of its population throughout the centuries (SEP, 2014a, p. 29; 2014b, p.15). Similarly in the book, *Notes on Human Geography*, the author mentions that the mix among different races, which has led for instance, to the modification of the features of the populations around the world, is one of the main consequences of migration and the continuous movement of people. This is because migrant populations by crossing different regions and establishing relationships with other human groups acquire new somatic traits and lose some others (Sánchez Molina, 1950, p. 58).

The migration process also affects languages. Villareal (1951, p. 109), for instance, states that the language of emigrants transforms little by little creating new dialects deriving from the language of origins. In addition, the new Education Plan of Mexico highlights the fact that the language of emigrants was influences not only by the process, but also by the language of the country of immigration. Indeed, it mentions that the already rich linguistic mosaic of Mexico became "even richer with the influence of the languages of the immigrants that arrived in the country during the last three centuries" (2017, p. 155). In particular, this refers to the immigration of Germans, Italians, French, Chinese, Catalans, Galicians,

Koreans, but also of Peruvians and Guatemalans, who have brought their indigenous languages to the country.

EDUCATING ABOUT MIGRATION TO PREVENT DISCRIMINATION

As discussed so far, migration is a very important topic in the Mexican society, as shown by the content of the recent Education Plans and Programmes, which contain greater and deeper reflections about this topic. For example, in the History Curriculum of the new Education Plan, students are asked to reflect on the way the concept of border and nations have changed through the years and the impact of borders on Mexican identity (SEP, 2017c, p. 404). In the same Plan, among the learning outcomes of the Programme of Geography for grades 5 and 6 of primary and grade 1 of lower secondary, students are expected to recognize the characteristics of migration in Mexico, in other American countries and in the world, analyse its implications, and explain its causes and consequences (SEP, 2017c, pp. 426–427). Similarly, in the Teacher Guide for Geography of 2011 for secondary education, learners are expected to recognize the implications of migration as well as its causes and consequences both in the world and in Mexico to become more aware of the space and the conditions in which they live (SEP, 2011b, p. 37).

Pedagogical strategies to educate children about migration are also proposed in contemporary resources. For instance, in the Programme of Geography and History for Primary education of 2009, grade 2, one of the topic that teachers have to present to students is: Migration in my community. As didactic approach, the book suggests teachers to have students explore their community and ask people questions such as Where did you live in the past years? Why did you have to move?, etc. In addition, the book also proposes as an alternative to invite a migrant to the classroom to talk about his/her experience with the students and understand better the phenomenon of migration (SEP, 2010a, p. 136).

Exercises about migration can be found in both contemporary and historical resources. In the historical resources, exercises are more traditional, limited and very similar across resources. For instance, in both books *Human Geography* and *Notes on Human Geography*, students are asked to identify on a map in red the countries of emigration and in green the ones of immigration (Sánchez Molina, 1950, p. 48; Villareal, 1951, p. 98). As for the contemporary resources, some of the exercises proposed are also similar to the one of the historical resources, where students are asked, for instance, to draw a map and represent the migratory movements (SEP, 2017b, p. 99). Nevertheless, there are also some activities, that are much more dynamics and focus more on the relationship between migration and the Mexican society. For example, in the Programme of Geography and History for Primary education of 2009, grade 3, students

are asked to carry out a research about the origins of the population of their community. Through interviews with the inhabitants, students will have to find out how many people migrated, how many immigrated, how many are from indigenous, African or European descents? etc. (SEP, 2010b, p. 185). The fact that many exercises have to be carried out in the students' community suggest once again that migration is a very common phenomenon with strong connections with the Mexican society and the life of Mexican people.

As previously discussed, discrimination is one of the issues affecting migrant children in Mexico. Specific exercises about the sensitization of students towards this topic and the consequences of discrimination are proposed for instance in the programme of civic education for the 5th grade of primary where students are presented with a situation in which a migrant arrive to a place and the locals refuse him/her the entry for several reasons (SEP, 2010d). Students are confronted with a series of questions about discrimination and are presented with some Legal instruments such as the Federal Law on the Prevention and Elimination of Discrimination, to try to come up with measures to prevent discrimination and to develop more unified relationships with different people. These types of exercises are very important to make students become more aware of the causes and consequences of migration and reflect, in this way, on their role in the development of a more tolerant country.

Finally, in relation to the way in which historical and contemporary resources approach migration related issues is that, whether migration in the past was seeing more as an opportunity for a better life, nowadays, because of its social and cultural implications it is considered as one of the main problems affecting the world (SEP, 2009c; 2010d).

MIGRATION THROUGH IMAGES IN MEXICAN CONTEMPORARY TEXTBOOKS

The presentation of different migratory movements and types of migration and migrants is also conveyed through images. In the two contemporary Geography textbooks analysed, we found different pictures representing different migrant groups and ways of migration. For instance, in the Geography textbook for grade 6, we found Fig. 18 and Fig. 19 below, and Fig. 20 in the grade 5 textbook, in sections that were defining migration and talking about migration fluxes and different migration movements (e.g. internal vs. external, immigration vs. emigration) (SEP, 2017a; 2017b). The descriptions of the three pictures say: Fig. 18: "The International Bridge, border crossing in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, and El Paso, Texas, allow the access of more than 1000 people per day, not only Mexicans, but from all Latin America"; Fig. 19:

"Migrant children from Guatemala heading towards the Mexican border"; and Fig. 20: "Central American Emigrants".

When looking at the three images, one of the first observations that can be made is that there are different ways to reach/cross the border, but what kind of ways are they really showing here?

Fig. 18 pictures a group of people walking in an orderly line and the presence of border patrol – portraying a legal or documented process of border crossing; whereas, Fig. 19 and Fig. 20 picture children hanging from the back of a bus and groups of men standing on a train – intimating an illegal or undocumented means of border crossing, particularly in light of the increasing number of immigrants from Central American countries in Mexico, which has led to the creation of programmes such as *Programa Frontera Sur* to foster migration through "regular" channels (SICREMI, 2014).

In comparison, the description of Fig. 20 is not as clear as that of Fig. 19 as the sentence "reaching the Mexican border" may simply mean that children are going to the border of Mexico without crossing, or it may imply that these two children, who are pictured alone with no adults, will be somehow crossing the Mexican border. Although the textbooks do not explicitly talk about documented vs. undocumented migration, the different pictures clearly imply that there are different types of migration as well as channels. What is interesting here, and retaking the aforementioned argument about the lack of discussion of undocumented migration in the resources analysed, is that while Mexican people are portrayed in the materials as crossing the border through legal channels, other nationalities are shown using "alternative", undocumented channels, with the implication that it is other nationalities who are involved in illegal migration, and not Mexicans, which goes against the grain of dominant popular discourse.

Fig. 18 Border between Ciudad Juarez and El Paso

Fig. 19 Central American migrants

Fig. 20 Migrant children from Guatemala

CONCLUSION

Migration in Mexico, and not only in this country, dates back to the origins of men, and has acquired a greater importance in the past century. For this reason, in the historical and contemporary documents there is a perception that this phenomenon in the country has become institutionalized. Indeed, migration has made Mexico what it is. This is shown by several examples in the texts, which illustrate how the richness and plurality of Mexican cultural, linguistic and historical heritage come from the dynamism of its indigenous population as well as from the immigrants who arrived in the country throughout the years.

Migrant communities need to be empowered and protected against different forms of discrimination. This is visible not only in the fact that the Mexican government has set the education of migrant children as one of its priorities through the creation of specific programmes and curricula, but also in the fact that the regular education programmes are dedicating some space in educating about migration. Indeed, specific activities in the educational materials analysed sensitize learners towards the effect of discrimination, the importance of preventing it as well as the protection of the plurality of Mexico. A plurality that it is also maintained by the involvement of migrant and indigenous communities in the

development of education programmes in order to address the needs of migrant children and consequently reduce inequalities.

Finally, some of the most noticeable omissions from the discussions of the texts analysed are Mexican migration to the United States as well as the concepts of undocumented migration and its consequences, such as deportation. While popular discourse represents the issues of migration to the US, undocumented migration and deportation in largely negative ways, the educational materials by and large portray migration in a positive light, highlighting the need to prevent discrimination against migrants and emphasizing their integral membership and contributions to the richness of Mexican society.

SOURCES ANALYSED

Historical

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Chávez Orozco, L. 1950. *Historia Patria III año*. México D.F., Editorial Patria.

Harnández Ruíz, S. 1955. *Historia de América*. México D.F., Herrero Hermanos.

Sánchez Molina, A. 1950. *Apuntes de Geografía Humana*. México D.F., Cicerón.

Solís Luna, B. 1950. *El hombre y la economía*. México D.F., Herrero y Cía.

Villareal, L. 1951 *Geografía Humana*. México D.F., Único Editor.

Vivó, J. 1950. *Geografía Humana*. México D.F., Herrero y Cía.

Contemporary

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——. 2009c. *Programas de Estudio 2009: Sexto grado educación primaria*. Ciudad de México, SEP.

——. 2010a. *Programas de Estudio 2009: Segundo grado educación primaria*. Ciudad de México, SEP.

——. 2010b. *Programas de Estudio 2009: Tercer grado educación primaria*. Ciudad de México, SEP.

——. 2010c. *Programas de Estudio 2009: Cuarto grado educación primaria*. Ciudad de México, SEP.

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——. 2011a. *Plan de Estudios 2011: Educación Básica*. Ciudad de México, SEP.

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Sistema Continuo de Reportes sobre Migración Internacional en las Américas (SICREMI). 2014. *Artículos: México*. http://www.migracionoea.org/index.php/es/component/content/article/44-sicremi/publicacion-2014/informe-parte-ii-es/587-mexico.html (Accessed 26 February 2018.)

Annex 10: Philippines

We encountered some difficulties gathering as many sources from the Philippines as found for some other countries. In the historical perspective, just three historical social studies textbooks from the Philippines were available in the IBE UNESCO historical textbook collection: one civics textbook for primary schools, one social studies textbook for grade 6, and one history book for primary schools, published between 1957 and 1964. The contemporary perspective also proved difficult to find sources our team would be able to analyse. Although Philippine education plans and national curriculum frameworks for some subjects are available in English, the curricula for social studies and associated subjects are available only in Filipino.[24] We used an online translation service to translate the Grade 1–10 Social Studies curriculum from Filipino to English. We also had access to a grade 11 subject syllabus for 'Disciplines and ideas in the social sciences'. We also sourced a curriculum (in English) for the Philippine Alternative Learning System's (ALS)[25] Learning Strand 5: Understanding the Self and Society.

To provide context to the contemporary data, it is important to note that the first cohort of Filipino students to complete 12 years of basic education (the global standard) will graduate in 2018 (PNA, 2017). The 2013 Enhanced Basic Act extended Philippine basic education from grades K–10 to a K–12 program (Burgonio, 2013), and despite significant opposition, the reform was implemented successfully (Grageda, 2016). The two senior high school (grades 11 and 12) allow students to specialise in one of four tracks: academic, technical-vocational-livelihood, sports, or the arts. The academic track includes a humanities and social sciences strand, and the grades 11 and 12 subject curricula we have analysed are part of this strand. The senior high school programme also includes core curriculum subjects, and among these we have analysed the 'Understanding Culture, Society and Politics' curriculum (Philippines DoE, 2013).

Throughout the analysis of Philippine materials historical and contemporary, we observed that in comparison with a wealth of other topics covered in the syllabi and textbooks, migration concepts received relatively sparse coverage.

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[24] The Philippine education system has been bilingual since 1974; since then, English has been used as the language of instruction for science courses (and English language itself) and Filipino has been used for 'liberal arts' courses. (Vizconde, 2006, p. 267; Yanagihara, 2007, pp. 175–176). A study of bilingual education in the Philippines: Difference in pupils' degree of understanding between learning mathematics in Cebuano and English.
[25] The Alternative Learning System is a parallel learning system for those who have not had or could not access formal education in schools – for instance, those who dropped out of school early, or whose communities do not have access to basic education facilities (Philippines DoE, n.d.)

EFFECTS OF COLONIZATION

The effect of colonization on the Philippines is largely presented in terms of its political and cultural effects in both historical and contemporary texts.

The history of the Philippines has been coloured by colonization since the Spanish arrived in the mid-sixteenth century. The historical texts we have analysed were published between 10 and 20 years after the Philippines gained independence from the United States — though it should be noted that *Philippine History* (Agoncillo, 1964) was published with support from American funding — and what little focus they do place on the colonial history of the Philippines is largely to do with the cultural, political and economic consequences of the Spanish colonization (namely: Christianization of the Philippines, lack of economic development, and colonial governmental structure) and the resistance efforts (and consequent fleeing) of Filipino rebels. Notably, there is no discussion of the effects of Spanish or American colonizers or settlers on the Philippines outside of missionaries and governmental officials (Agoncillo, 1964, pp. 23–27). In contrast, the colonial histories of Great Britain and the United States are spoken of more in terms of the migration and settlement of people. For instance, this following excerpt exemplifies the manner in which Spanish colonization of the Philippines is discussed in the text— largely without reference to the actions of people, rather casting the government of Spain as the main actor:

> "If you study what Spain did in the Philippines, you will be surprised to learn that Spain did not develop the Philippines much during the first one hundred years of her rule" (Agoncillo, 1964, p. 26).

The same text, on the other hand, describes the colonial development of the United States as a result of the migration of people:

> "There were three stages in the making of the United States– (1) The European migration to North America, (2) the War of Independence or the American Revolution and (3) the development of democratic processes. European Migration. –One day, in 1607, a group of Englishmen led by John Smith settled in Virginia" (Agoncillo, 1964, p. 154).

The contemporary standard K to 12 syllabus (Philippines DoE, 2016) and alternative learning system (ALS) K to 12 syllabus (Philippines DoE, 2017), in contrast, certainly require more time to be spent on the topic of the colonization of the Philippines and the experience of the Philippines under colonial government. Three of the four semesters of Grade 5 social sciences focus on the period of Spanish colonial rule, with

focus on the social and institutional changes that occurred as a result (Philippines DoE, 2016, pp. 108–109). Just one semester in Grade 6 is dedicated to American colonialism in the Philippines (Philippines DoE, pp. 126–137). The ALS dedicates significantly less time and space to colonialism, and links it overall to imperialism throughout South and West Asia — the standard curriculum covers this connection separately in Grade 7 (more on this below).

The key learnings the curriculum outlines in the Grade 5 semesters, encapsulated by the content standards, highlight the changes wrought in Philippine society and culture by Spanish colonialism:

> Grade 5 – 2nd Semester: Spanish Colonial Organization (16th and 17th Century): […] Content standard: Contemporary understanding of the context, the role played by the church in the objectives, ways and means of the Spanish occupation of the Philippines and their impact on society (Philippines DoE, 2016, p. 108).

> Grade 5 – 3rd Semester: Cultural changes in the Spanish Colonial Governance: […] Content standard: Demonstrating critical understanding of the changes in the society of ancient Filipinos including the struggle of several groups to maintain freedom in Spanish colonialism and its influence in the present era (Philippines DoE, 2016, p. 111).

In particular, the contemporary syllabus — similar to the historical textbook *Philippine History* (Agoncillo, 1964) — highlights the role of Christianity as a method of colonization that had a particular impact on Philippine society. Considering the length of time that the Philippines were under colonial rule (more than 300 years), it is perhaps surprising that the discussion of the role and impact of colonizing powers is limited to social and cultural changes in both historical and contemporary perspectives. The texts (particularly contemporary texts) from other countries with a similarly lengthy history of colonization (for instance, South Africa and Canada) in comparison discuss a much broader range of impacts of the migrant settlers. However, considered in the context of actual migration from the colonial countries to the Philippines, estimated to constitute only around 1% of the Philippine population at its highest level (Abrigo, 2014, p. 1), and the kinds of migrants that this small population would have comprised (namely, government employees and missionaries), it is understandable that this cultural and institutional legacy of colonization is not given prime consideration by the texts.

FILIPINO NATIONAL IDENTITY BUILDING DUE TO ACTIONS OF FILIPINOS UNDER COLONIAL RULE

Historical and contemporary texts use the actions of Filipinos under colonial rule as important narrative building blocks for Filipino national identity and pride.

Throughout the Grade 5 course outline in the contemporary K to 12 standard curriculum, repeated emphasis is placed on the actions of Filipinos living under colonial rule. For instance, in the second semester, the topic of which is cultural changes under the colonial government, students are expected to "demonstrate appreciation and pride in the efforts of Filipinos during the Spanish colonial period" (Philippines DoE, 2016, p. 111) throughout. The third semester of Grade 5 focuses specifically on freedom movements and rebellion of the indigenous people, and the two key learning competencies included in that unit are that "the unsuccessful conquest of the indigenous Spanish colonialism is evident" and that "the impact of Spanish colonialism on the nation's identity and identity is analysed" (Philippines DoE, 2016, p. 113–114). Students are required to empathise and identify with this narrative through "giving a personal insight into the impact of colonialism on the society of ancient Filipinos" (Philippines DoE, 2016, p. 113) and, as per the content standard, "demonstrating critical understanding of the changes in the society of ancient Filipinos, including the struggle of several groups to maintain freedom in Spanish colonialism, and its influence in the present era" (Philippines DoE, 2016, p. 111). The construction of the Filipino identity and narrative using these events and historical actors is not just implicit — the curriculum states clearly in the performance standards of the 4th semester of Grade 5 that students should be "expressing pride in the efforts of Filipino patriots amid Spanish colonialism and its important role in the development of national consciousness towards the formation of the Philippines as a nation" (Philippines DoE, 2016, p. 114). The historical textbook *Philippine History* (Agoncillo, 1964) also reflects this construction of the Filipino narrative (wherein the Filipino national identity was awoken by rebels under Spanish rule):

> "Many Filipino students, fearing for their lives, went to Europe to continue their studies. Graciano Lopez Jaena, Jose Rizal, Marcelo H. del Pilar, Jose Ma. Panganiban and many others left the Philippines for Spain. There they formed an association and founded the newspaper La Solidaridad. They became the propagandists of the Filipino cause. Because of their activities, Filipino nationalism was awakened" (Agoncillo, 1964, p. 27).

In the case of the Philippines, in contrast to other countries with experiences of colonial rule, the most important part of their national narrative construction is thus not the migration of people, but the culture

and actions of those people who were already in place when the colonizers arrive. This reflects a key fact that differentiates the Philippines from some other English-speaking post-colonial countries we have analysed: in the case of the Philippines, the history that is taught is not that of the colonizers but of those who were colonized. In some places, this is also reflected in the language choices used by the authors of the textbooks and curricula, who, for instance, refer consistently to the Spanish colonial period as "conquest" and "occupation" (Philippines DoE, 2016, pp. 108–109). This key difference perhaps goes some way to explaining why, in the texts, migration concepts are so relatively rarely mentioned in relation to colonization, in both the historical and contemporary perspectives.

NARRATIVE OF MIGRATION IN THE ORIGINS OF FILIPINO ETHNIC IDENTITY

The origins of Filipino ethnic identity are constructed in the text in large part through a narrative of migration.

The final three semesters of the contemporary standard Grade 5 social studies course, as discussed above, construct a Filipino narrative and identity that, to a large extent, have their beginnings in the colonial period. The first semester, however, goes some way to constructing a more extensive conception of the Filipino narrative, with "theories of the origin of Filipino race" (Philippines DoE, 2016, p. 105). In this unit, students explore the migration of Asian peoples to the Philippines. Unfortunately, we did not have access to contemporary Filipino social studies textbooks, as the elaboration on this topic would certainly be interesting in terms of the conception of migration in history and Filipino identity. The curriculum certainly highlights the "migration of humans from the Austronesian region" as the main theory that students should consider, implying that it may be the favoured theory by the authors and authorising body. In doing so, it places migration at the heart of Filipino ethnic identity and very specifically links the Filipino people with those from *Austronesia*. This is a small but marked difference from the historical text *One World: Old and New* (Agoncillo, 1962) which details in a chapter entitled "Asian Background" the various groups of people who populated the Philippines over thousands of years (pp. 7–8).

The historical text too emphasizes the role of migration in the creation of a Filipino people, though certainly evokes a broader, Asian aspect. The historical text explains how, where and when these groups of ancient migrants — such as the Malays and the Indonesians — are theorized to have settled, and which contemporary cultural groups can list them as their ancestors. Similar to this narrative of disparate cultural groups with differentiating ethnic origins making up the Filipino people, the contemporary curriculum requires at a fairly early stage (Grade 4) that students demonstrate pride and appreciation of a diverse

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Filipino identity based on diverse cultural communities and ethno-linguistic groups resulting from "migration and inter-marriage" (Philippines DoE, 2016, p. 92). In both perspectives, migration plays a crucial role in the narrative of the creation of ethnic identity.

MIGRATION IN THE RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIP AND INTERACTION BETWEEN THE PHILIPPINES AND SOUTH AND WEST ASIA

In the contemporary data, migration is portrayed as a key component of the Philippines' reciprocal relationship and interaction with countries in South and West Asia.

The contemporary curriculum, in its standard grade 7 social studies programme, explores the history of South and West Asia, with the stated aim that students will develop an "understanding and appreciation of […] the history, culture, society, government, and economy of the region and how these reflect the development of an Asian identity" (Philippines DoE, 2016, p. 151). The history of the Philippines and Filipino narrative is compared and contrasted with that of other countries in the area, thereby including the Filipino narrative within the broader Asian. Migration is included as an aspect of this interconnectedness of the Asian countries (Philippines DoE, 2016, p. 145), but the ALS curriculum places more emphasis on the role of migration in the creation of links among the Asian area (Philippines DoE, 2017, p. 63). Notably, this is indirect reference to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), of which the Philippines was a founding member. To an extent, then, migration is explored in the contemporary curriculum as a key facet through which the Philippines relates to and interacts with Asia (and, to a lesser extent, the world). A shared history of migration incorporates contemporary Filipino identity within a broader Asian identity and, reciprocally, incorporates Filipino identity within the narrative of the South and West Asian region constructed by the texts. In terms of the relative importance of this articulation of identity, however, it seems by the relative amount of time dedicated and detail given that this aspect of Filipino identity construction is considered of less import than other, more historical migrations.

LABOUR EMIGRATION AND OVERSEAS FILIPINO WORKERS (OFWS)

Labour emigration and in particular Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) is the main kind of contemporary migration covered in the text.

The historical texts we analysed made just two references to contemporaneous migration: one of these instances referred to the work of the International Refugee Organization (Agoncillo, 1964, p. 197), and one to the estimated 50,000 Filipinos working overseas in Hawaii (Agoncillo, 1964, p. 173). Current

migration trends are not raised frequently in the contemporary standard curriculum, with the first instance occurring in Grade 10 and then again in the (optional) senior high school Humanities and Social Sciences (HUMASS) track course Understanding Culture, Society and Politics (Philippines DoE, 2013). The ALS curriculum provides for more frequent coverage of the topic of labour migration and OFWs as part of several subjects of study throughout elementary, junior high and senior high school equivalent levels (Philippines DoE, 2017, pp. 61–62). In both contemporary school systems (standard and alternative), the topic of OFWs is addressed as having a major impact on society, culture, and politics — indeed, the Understanding Culture, Society and Politics course as one of two major recent challenges to "human adaptation and social change" (Philippines DoE, 2013, p. 7).

Labour emigration has been significant in the Philippines for much of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. It is estimated that between 1906 and 1934, between 120,000 and 150,000 (mostly male) Filipino workers were recruited for plantation labour in the United States (Asis, 2017). The relaxation of US, Canadian and Australian immigration policies during the 1960s led to another increase in Filipino emigration, but it was in the 1970s that emigration levels soared in conjunction with a construction boom in the Middle East (Abrigo, 2014, p. 2). The ILO estimates that by 1970, approximately 400,900 Filipino nationals were working abroad (ILO, 2015, p. 8). The most recent official statistics from the Commission on Filipinos overseas estimated that in 2013, more than ten million Filipinos were living or working overseas (approximately ten percent of the population of the Philippines), of which temporary emigrants comprise forty-one percent, permanent emigrants comprise forty-eight percent, and irregular or undocumented emigrants comprise eleven percent (CFO, 2013). The Philippines is thus one of the leading global exporters of temporary labour (Dimaya et al., 2012, in Eder, 2016, p. 452), a system that is "aggressively" facilitated by the government as it works to support and protect its overseas workers (Oh, 2016, p. 1). The prevalence of migration in the Filipino society has led to the development of a "culture of migration" (Asis, 2006). It is thus perhaps surprising that state-sponsored curricula do not stress the pivotal role of *contemporary* migration in Filipino society and culture until quite late in the social studies curriculum programme. The coverage of the topic of OFWs in the curriculum does, however, as stated above, explore labour migration as a key issue and challenge that society has had to adjust to.

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Annex 11: South Africa

The data we gathered for analysis from South Africa comprises, in the historical perspective, four textbooks published in the 1950s and early 1960s in Cape Town and Johannesburg in reference to specific, government-created syllabi. The South African school system, at the time, was segregated by race. The documents we had access to through the IBE-UNESCO's historical collection were likely intended for use in white and potentially coloured and Asian schools, as black African education was by law to occur in the language of the students' 'tribal group'. Note too that white students were also instructed in their mother tongue — either English or Afrikaans — and that a sense of antagonism existed among the white population according to their language group (Macquarrie, 1960, p. 171).

The contemporary data comprises the National Curriculum Statements (NCS) Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS) published by the Department of Basic Education in 2011 and a Grade 7 Social Sciences textbook published Macmillan South Africa and approved by CAPS in 2013. The CAPS documents are stratified and categorized into Foundation phase – Grades R (Reception/Preschool) to Grade 3; Intermediate phase – Grades 4–6; Senior phase – Grades 7–9; and Further Education and Training (FET) phase – Grades 10–12. From each phase, we selected the CAPS document most related to Social Studies – at Foundation phase this was the English Home Language curriculum; at Intermediate phase, Social Sciences; at Senior Phase, Social Sciences; and at the FET phase, the individual Geography and History curricula.

The NCS CAPS documents are the latest editions of the National Curriculum that was developed as a result of the Department of Education's curriculum revision process beginning in 1994/1995, immediately after the abolishment of apartheid, which purged much of the most racist language and outdated content from the curricula (Jansen 1999, cited in Chisholm 2005, p. 193). The Department of Basic Education's 2015 *Action Plan to 2019: Towards the realization of Schooling 2030* continues to define their goal as "a post-apartheid schooling system" (RSA DBE, 2015, p. 9). The issue of race and the ultimate goal of desegregation in South African education thus cannot be ignored in any analysis of South African curricula and textbooks. This is reflected in the observations and analysis of the documents, elaborated below. Migration concepts are present across the contemporary social sciences curricula with a fair degree of

regularity starting from Grade 5.[26] Migration concepts were found in four of the five historical books we analysed. In both perspectives, texts focused above all on colonialism and settlers, slavery, and migrant labour.

NARRATIVES OF MIGRATION THROUGH ACCOUNTS OF COLONIZATION

Historic and contemporary accounts of colonization use the same events to construct fairly different narratives of migration.

Texts in both perspectives focus on several key events related to colonization and settlement: the arrival of the first Dutch settlers and the foundation of the first permanent Dutch settlement under the Dutch East India Company in the 1650s; the importation of slaves by the Dutch in the mid-seventeenth century; the immigration of French Huguenots in 1688; the arrival of the British in the late eighteenth century; the journey of the Dutch Voortrekkers 'The Great Trek'; and the so-called 1820 settlers from Britain. The building blocks of the South African narrative are thus largely unchanged between the two perspectives (1950s/1960s – 2010s). There is, however, a notable difference in the way these events are constructed in the texts. In the historical texts, colonization and settlement are described in positive terms as "strengthening" and "contributing" to the "prosperous development and growth of South Africa" (Malan, 1956, p. 55). They make no mention of any negative impacts of European colonization, with the exception of elaborating on the difficulties the European settlers themselves (particularly the 1820 settlers) faced upon arrival in Southern Africa which were overcome thanks to the settlers "great determination and courage" (Malan, 1956, p. 55). In contrast, the contemporary texts focus largely on the negative impacts of European settlement and colonization. The contemporary curricula repeatedly associate colonization with "control" (RSA DBE, 2011b, pp. 39 & 40; RSA DBE, 2011d, p. 17; Ranby and Varga, 2013, p. 193) and "domination", with drastic effects — for example: "European colonization and domination changed the world dramatically" (RSA DBE, 2011b, p. 39). Focus is on why European colonization was possible to such a large extent and the impact of colonization on indigenous societies (these elements are part of Grade 7, 8, and 10 history curricula) (RSA DBE, 2011b). The curricula focus on dispossession and forced removal of indigenous people in particular as one of the key results of colonization; slavery and the international slave trade is another.

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[26] In comparison with other, previously British colonial commonwealth countries, however, migration concepts are scarce in the South African curriculum.

The differences in tone and intent that are found across the texts are well illustrated by the following two excerpts from textbooks from the respective time periods, both of which discuss the Great Trek:

> "This migration is known as The Great Trek, and the people who took part in it were the Voortrekkers. They trekked with wagons and oxen. The frail wagon was the Voortrekker's home and his fort, his only shelter in the wild, untamed interior where danger lurked everywhere. Their way led over high mountains and through deep rivers; they encountered savage Bantu tribes who murdered many of the pioneers; and they had to contend with fierce wild animals, heavy rains, and cruel droughts, and countless other dangers and hardships. Yet they trekked on determinedly in search of freedom" (Brits et al., 1962, p. 10).

> "Starting in 1835, about 14000 Boers started moving north. They were called the Voortrekkers, or pioneers. They travelled in wagons containing everything they would need for their new lives […] They took their servants with them. There were almost as many servants as there were trekkers. […] [Here, a map of the routes of various groups of Voortrekkers as well as a painting of a wagon that has broken down in a river, with the caption: "The Voortrekkers experienced many difficulties when they were on the trek."] They fought with the local people who lived there but were able to defeat them and set up their republics. The British recognised them as independent countries and they ruled themselves. They took over land belonging to African people, who had to work on the Boer farms or leave the area. […] The trekkers needed labour. Many of the African people they met did not want to work for them. They used violence to get workers who were treated like slaves" (Ranby and Varga, 2013, pp. 187–189).

Both textbooks describe how the Voortrekkers travelled and recognize the difficulties encountered. The key difference is in the way the texts address the indigenous population: "savage Bantu tribes who murdered many of the pioneers" versus the much more neutral "African people". The contemporary text acknowledges that the indigenous population were able to own land as well as make choices about whether or not to work. The Voortrekkers are portrayed as the aggressors ("they fought with the local people") as opposed to defendants, and the text emphasizes the forced removal of indigenous people from their land.

The narrative of South African colonial history constructed by texts in the two time perspectives, though built from the same essential building blocks, is thus markedly different. The historical texts construct a largely positive narrative, the main protagonists of which are white European. European migrants are portrayed in almost hero-like terms — for instance: "With very few exceptions the settlers were hard-working and courageous in the face of hardships and dangers. They were the right type of settler to make a success of life in a new colony." Students are encouraged to associate with these settlers and empathize with their experiences. In contrast, the text situates the indigenous people as an explicit 'other', deprived of any complex subjectivity and personhood by repeated description as "warlike" (Malan, 1956, p. 53) and "savage" (Brits et al., 1962, p. 10), or categorization as one of the dangers faced by the settlers much like the "fierce wild animals" (Brits et al., 1962, p. 10). The contemporary curricula, on the other hand, create a much more nuanced subjectivity for the indigenous population, and students are encouraged to empathize with them as well as, to a lesser extent, the white European settlers. The contemporary texts portray the white Europeans more frequently as aggressors, and highlights the negative impact their migration had and continues to have for indigenous peoples. The narrative of the colonial period that the contemporary text constructs is still driven by European settlers, but it is a multi-faceted narrative that accounts for agency among the indigenous peoples and does not elide or ignore the negative impacts of the arrival and expansion of Europeans in Southern Africa.

PRE-COLONIAL HISTORY OF MIGRATION IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN NARRATIVE

The pre-colonial history of migration in South Africa is othered by the narrative presented in the historical texts, while contemporary texts use it to situate South African history and identity within a broader, pan-African narrative.

The historical texts do not dedicate much time or space to pre-colonial migration in South Africa. The two texts that do discuss pre-colonial migration both do this in sections entitled "The Bantu", and the language used in presenting these histories is such that they are distinctly othered from the students for whom the books are intended. The following passage is a good example of this — the use of the collective pronoun 'our' designates the in-group of readers as the descendants of European migrants while simultaneously creating 'the Bantu people' as the out-group:

> "THEIR ORIGIN: We know that our ancestors originally came from Western Europe. But where did the Bantu people come from, and what was their origin?" (Brits et al., 1962, p. 200)

In effect, the historical texts create two separate narratives of South Africa: that of the Europeans and that of the indigenous peoples. One of the two historical textbooks that include details on pre-Colonial migration in Southern Africa does present accounts of the encounters between Europeans and indigenous peoples, but two things are noteworthy about this account: 1) there is no attempt to reconcile the two narratives, and 2) there is no discussion of the impact of the European arrival on indigenous peoples. For instance, the following excerpt presents an account of Europeans encountering the Hottentot people, but the use of the passive voice removes any sense of agency or cause and effect that may have contributed to a sense of shared history. It also elides any responsibility from European settlers, who brought smallpox with them to Southern Africa, and ends with a statement that both alienates other indigenous groups while erasing the possibility of any continued Hottentot identity or subjectivity:

> "In the course of time the Bantu, who were slowly migrating southwards from the north, encountered the Hottentots and clashes were inevitable. The Hottentots were becoming trapped between the Europeans in the south and the Bantu pressing in on them from the north. The warlike Bantu tribes exterminated many of them. And towards the end of the 18th Century the remaining tribes were decimated as a result of a smallpox epidemic, so that only a handful were left. The survivors intermingled with the invading Bantu to such an extent that the Hottentots practically ceased to exist as a race. These pastoral nomads were no match for their stronger, warlike enemies. The few who have survived have adopted the White way of life" (Brits et al., 1962, p. 199).

In contrast, the contemporary curriculum dictates that students in Grade 5 should learn about the peoples migrating to and settling in Southern Africa from as early as the Stone Age:

> "Background information: The first farmers in southern Africa were Bantu-speakers and archaeology shows that they entered southern Africa between 2 000 and 1 700 years ago. The study of Iron Age archaeology provides a history for the majority of present-day southern African and South African citizens" (RSA DBE, 2011a, p. 39).

The passage shows a conscious intent to create a narrative of migration to Southern Africa that resonates with a majority of the South African students. In the South African context, it is clear that "the majority of present-day […] South African citizens" refers to the Black African ethnic group: in 2016, Black Africans comprised 81% of the population overall, and approximately 85% of school-aged population (aged 5–19) (Statistics South Africa, 2016, p. 21). The specific inclusion of this background note (when such notes are

rare in the curricula overall) indicates that the authors of the contemporary curricula consider that the previous treatment of ancient movements of (black) peoples to Southern Africa, and as a result the creation of a historical narrative for black students in the South African school system, has been previously neglected and warrants special attention. This conclusion is further reinforced by our own observations of the historical data, where the focus is strongly on the history of South Africa as a colony and, as a result, on the stories and experiences of (white) European settlers and colonists. However, it is worth noting that despite these conscious efforts to elaborate on a history and narrative for black South Africans, the contemporary curricula do designate a significant amount of time to white colonial history.

HISTORY AND IMPACT OF SLAVERY IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN NARRATIVE

The history and impact of slavery is a key topic in the contemporary data that links the narrative of South African history with a broader, pan-African history.

Slavery and forced labour migration is a common topic in the contemporary data — it is a subject of focus in Grades 7, 8, 9, and 10, with entire units dedicated to related topics. (There is mention of slaves and slavery in the historical data, but the topic is notably less prevalent, even considering the relative volume of data gathered for each of the two time perspectives. Note that the contemporary textbook we had access to is a Grade 7 textbook — several of the units of the curricula in Grade 7 include slavery as a topic of investigation and so the textbook dedicates a deal of space to instruction about slavery.) The curricula and textbook do not focus only on slavery in South Africa, though, despite the fact that the early Dutch colonial settlement at the Cape relied heavily on slaves — most of whom were forcibly imported from other Dutch colonies such as India, Batavia, and Ceylon, as well as (in smaller proportions) elsewhere in Africa including Mozambique, Ghana, and Madagascar — and that slaves "consistently equalled, or even outnumbered, the white population" (Beck, 2014, p. 36).

In fact, the textbook dedicates more space to the consideration of slavery in other ancient African kingdoms (such as Timbuktu) and the trans-Saharan slave trade, as well as the transatlantic slave trade and slavery in the American South. Slavery is presented as a practice directly related to colonial powers and imperialism; one which benefited the colonial powers of Great Britain and the Netherlands while having a hugely negative impact on West Africa (RSA DBE, 2011b, p. 34). The textbook elaborates on the Dutch settlers importing slaves from West Africa to the Cape colony, directly incorporating the legacy of the slave trade into South African migratory heritage; at the same time, this connects the narrative of trans-Saharan and transatlantic slavery to the South African narrative. In doing so, the text opens

pathways for the connection of (black) South African identity to the legacy of slavery, a pan-African history, and a connection to the black African diaspora in the United States, Europe, and the Middle East. The same part of the text also elaborates on the Dutch practice of importing slaves from their Asian colonies, enabling the descendants of those slaves (who comprise a significant proportion of the so-called 'Coloured' population group) to identify and resonate with this history as well.

REFLECTION OF CONTEMPORANEOUS MIGRATION POLICIES AND DEBATES

The historical and contemporary texts reflect some but not all of the key policies and debates around migration in South Africa in their respective time periods.

Data gathered in both time perspectives reflect the key policies and debates around immigration at the time. In the historical data, the most striking example of this is in the book *Race studies for Standard VII* (Hudson et al., 1961). This text was, it states in the *Preface*, designed for the new subject 'Race Studies' being introduced into schools in the Transvaal[27] (around 1960).[28] The Race Studies syllabus was taught from grades 6 to 8; the first two years were devoted largely to studying the history, characteristics, and distribution of races (in South Africa and the world in general), while only the final year focused on contemporary issues (Marwick, 1961, p. 1). In the grade 7 text we analysed, there are two general chapters on "the races of the world" eight chapters on the Bantu peoples, and one chapter each on the 'Coloured People' and one on 'the Indians'. Most discussion of migration in the book is found in the section on the Indian population – elaborating briefly on how Indians arrived in South Africa (largely as indentured workers) and then spending a large proportion of the section discussing the reactions (of white South Africans) to the growing Indian population, giving reasons for the government's attempts to encourage Indian repatriation, and explaining why those attempts failed despite still, at the time, being considered desirable. There is some amelioration of anti-Indian sentiment in the text — for instance, this section that

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[27] The Province of the Transvaal, which was abolished in 1994 with the end of the apartheid government, comprised the present-day Guateng, Limpopo, and Mpumalanga provinces, and the eastern part of North West province. The capital of the Transvaal was Pretoria.

[28] The 'race studies' school subject itself was controversial – groups such as the South African Institute of Race Relations spoke out against the subject and its associated textbooks, as "they are written from the extreme Nationalist point of view, and preach the doctrine of Apartheid and White Baaskap relentlessly" (SAIRR, 1961). More measured critiques, such as Marwick (1961, p. 1) balanced the potential positive impact of the syllabus encouraging learning about cultural diversity with its "serious defects, e.g. its emphasis on differences between groups, its neglect of the biological unity and common origin of all mankind and its playing down of the possibility of cultural change."

raises potential hypocrisy in the government's repatriation policy: "To endeavour to bring about the repatriation of Indians seems a contradictory action when one recalls that from 1860 and for thirty years thereafter most of the Natal farmers gladly imported Indians" (Hudson et al., 1961, p. 168). However, the text carries on to side with the anti-Indian sentiment of the white population, stating: "It is understandable therefore that large numbers of people in Natal were no longer sympathetically disposed towards the Indians, and especially not towards the group which was beginning to compete with the Whites in the spheres of agriculture and trade" (Hudson et al., 1961, p. 169). The use of phrases such as "the penetration of Indians into South Africa" illustrate the xenophobic sentiments of the authors. The text surmises that most contemporary Indians in South Africa were in fact born there, and South Africa's more attractive conditions provided little incentive for them to leave, but concludes that "repatriation is still desirable" (Hudson et al., 1961, p. 173), indicating that the topic of the Indian population remained a source of tension worth highlighting.

The historical texts make no mention, however, of other controversial migration policies at the time, such as the forced migration enacted under the Bantu Resettlement Act of 1954, whereby the central government forced local governments to enact removals of black Africans off of freehold land, or similar mass movements/prohibition of movements of people dictated by the central government's attempt to create segregated neighbourhoods (Wentzel and Tlabela, 2006, p. 88). In fact, there is no coverage of any internal migration at all that may have occurred after the union of South Africa in 1910. Considering the important role played in the development of apartheid legislation by popular fears about urbanization and the perceived encroachment of black Africans into white urban spaces, this absence is noteworthy.[29]

One of the historical textbooks, written in response to the new syllabus sometime after 1951, does discuss some contemporary international immigration legislation:

> "European immigrants from certain countries who are likely to benefit South Africa as settlers are allowed entrance to South Africa, as are those who come to fill definite positions or have some trade or occupation. Certain classes of immigrants may be excluded, e.g., criminals, illiterates, people suffering from certain diseases, people with little money who are unlikely to be able to obtain work, or people who, for economic

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[29] Unfortunately, we have been unable to locate a complete curriculum contemporary to these historical textbooks, and thus cannot confirm that the topic would not have been addressed elsewhere.

reasons, may be considered undesirable […] In this connection, the alarming increase of immigrants from eastern Europe into the Union and of Indians into Natal (where they nearly outnumber the white race) drove the Government to adopt a quota system similar to that used in regard to immigration into the United States of America. Hence the Immigration Quota Act of 1930. […] This Act was suspended in 1939 and was replaced by the Aliens Registration Act […]" (Lamont, n.d., p. 200).

This excerpt reflects the prevalence of the white-first mind-set of the South African government while also creating a very specific profile of "acceptable" international migrants — namely, work-capable western Europeans. It also transmits a strong sense of justified xenophobia (an "alarming increase", for instance). This and other, similar instances of xenophobia are clearly racially motivated and demonstrate the basic xenophobic and racist tenets that underline the historical texts.

Xenophobia and anti-immigration sentiments are still prevalent in South Africa (Onishi, 2017). In their latest "community survey", Statistics South Africa note that the numbers of self-reported immigrants were significantly lower than expected, likely due to "instilled fear of disclosure of one's origin" (Statistics South Africa, 2016, p. 24). Much of the current anti-immigrant sentiment is directed at migrant workers from neighbouring or nearby African countries — particularly from Malawi and Zimbabwe (Onishi, 2015). These xenophobic sentiments and their violent outcomes have been fairly prevalent for a number of years (62 immigrants were killed in 2008 in Johannesburg, for instance). They have been frequently connected by both national and international observers to young, unemployed black South Africans (Warren, 2015; AFP, 2015). Landau (2005) argues that nativist and xenophobic discourses have arisen in and around urban centres as residents struggle to assert their rights to space and amenities by excluding and alienating 'foreign' Africans. Note that during apartheid, non-White South Africans were forbidden to live in urban centres and suburbs; temporary migrant labourers from neighbouring countries upon whom the South African economy depended were also forbidden from settling in South Africa. Since the lifting of apartheid in 1994, South Africa's urban centres have become a destination for national international migrants for the first time. She further argues that these discourses have created 'zones of exception' (regarding legal provisions) within urban centres and perpetuated by politicians and law enforcement, thereby normalising violence, vigilantism, illegal arrests and deportations (Landau, 2005, pp. 1116–1118).

Patterns of urbanization are thus clearly salient to the topic of contemporary migration in South Africa. The contemporary curriculum may reflect some of this tension in the inclusion of issues of urbanization,

rural-to-urban migration, and reactions to migrants in Grades 7, 10, and 12 geography curriculum. The grade 7 textbook, however, does not actually discuss urbanization at all, despite the topic being specifically included in the Grade 7 curriculum (RSA DBE, 2011b, p. 27). The concept of migration as a factor that affects a country's population is given just two short paragraphs of attention, including the statement that "there are at least two million immigrants living in South Africa" (Ranby and Varga, 2013, p. 99). The grade 12 curriculum does require more time to be dedicated to the subject of urbanization than that of grade 7 (calling for at least 5 hours to be spent on the subject), and includes provisions for the study of recent urbanization and the issues arising from rapid, unplanned urbanization (RSA DBE, 2011c, p. 46). The grade 10 curriculum specifies investigation into various forms of migration, including urbanization, and "attitudes towards migrants and refugees" as part of the unit on population and population movements, but calls for case-study based investigation that does not necessarily need to be focused on South Africa itself (RSA DBE, 2011c, p. 25). So, while it is possible that the taught curriculum and textbooks reflect the current controversies and conflicts regarding international immigration, it may also be that the textbooks either simplify or elide the topic (as in the case of the textbook for grade 7). Without access to texts or taught syllabi for the grade 12 curriculum, it is difficult to draw those relevant conclusions.

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Annex 12: South Korea

Migration in Korea is comparatively considered a recent phenomenon and appears infrequently in both the historical and contemporary sources. Historically, and even until recently, Korea has considered itself as an ethnically, linguistically and culturally homogeneous society, valuing one, pure blooded Korean ethnicity, around which a strong sense of Korean national identity has been built. However, with the upsurge of immigrants moving to Korea over recent decades, the crucial need for understanding diversity and further preparing the nation and its people for the transformation into a multicultural society is receiving more attention. Efforts in this direction are prevalent throughout the contemporary documents, such as curriculum frameworks of all education levels, annual education plans and proposals and learning resources.

In the comparison of historical and contemporary texts, four major migration patterns are observable. One is found in the illustration of the origins of Korean people. Then, forced emigration to other countries during the era of colonization is extensively covered in both. Afterwards, positive perceptions towards the emigration of Koreans to other countries after the Korean War can be observed in both historical and contemporary textbooks. This, in turn, is encouraged, as a means to promote the development Korea and its global standing. Lastly, the influx of immigrants to Korea, mainly due to economic success and intermarriage as well as the arrival of North Korean defectors, has turned Korea into a multicultural society, resulting in the vital need for social transformation to occur.

ORIGINS OF KOREAN PEOPLE

The question of what is the origin of Korean ethnic group and the way in which Korea was established is discussed in both historical and contemporary texts. A discussion of migration, or movement of people, in this sense, is prevalent in historical perspectives.

Historical texts describe that Korean ethnicity is derived from Tungusic people, which belongs to Mongolian, and uses Ural-Altai language. The ethnic group travelled from the Pamirs about 50,000 years ago, around the time in which humankind began to spread around. They passed through Mongolia, Manchuria and China over a long period of time and finally arrived in the Korean Peninsula around the Neolithic Era. This infers that the formation of Korea was as a result of the ancient movement of people from Central Asia (History Education Association of Korea, 1961; You, 1962). Fig. 21 below shows the routes of Korean ancestors to Korea, which shows the relatively recent movement of people from the Northern part of Korea. As illustrated, during this recent movement, there were two major routes: one

group was moving towards northeast and the other to the southwest. It is noted also that since these movements of people occurred sparsely, over time, and due to the different environment the respective peoples lived in, some cultural distinction was inevitable. And yet it further emphasizes how the root of the peoples are still the same, with one pure-blooded Korean ethnicity (History Education Association of Korea, 1961, p. 9).
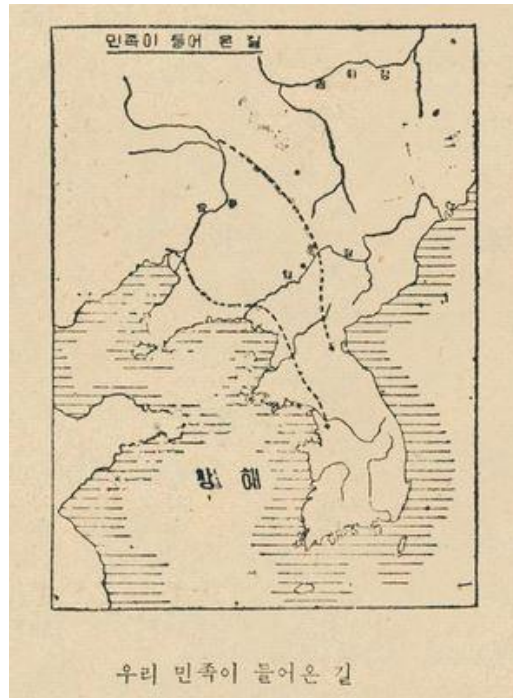
Fig. 21 Routes of ancient migration into Korea

While the origin of Korea is covered in the contemporary texts similarly to the historical texts, they do not portray migration or the movement of people as a factor in the origin of the country. Rather, contemporary texts begin the historical narrative of Korea with the lives of people in the Paleolithic era, as some habitants were found to have lived in the Korean Peninsula, Liaodong Peninsula and Manchuria since approximately 700,000 to 500,000 years ago (Yang et al., 2013a, p. 17). The texts go further describing the appearance of origins of civilization, without referring to any particular movement of people as the origin of Korea. This is partially due to the recent discovery of the ruins of Paleolithic Era in the Korean Peninsula, which further places the emphasis on the presence of people in the Korean Peninsula as early as during the ancient civilization.

Forced migration: Colonization as push factor

In both historical and contemporary perspectives, colonisation is considered as the key push factor that forced Korean people to emigrate to another country and this is elaborated in both perspectives in-depth.

The first group highlighted in both historical and contemporary texts are the political refugees, as for instance in this excerpt: "Japan governed Korea by the bayonet, controlling and suppressing the press, such as not allowing any newspapers in Korean, and dispersing all patriotic organizations. This persecution pushed the activists to leave Korea as political refugees to Manchuria, China, United States, and Primorsky Krai (Maritime Province of Russia, Yunhaju in Korean)" (History Education Association of Korea, 1961, p. 149). Historical and contemporary texts alike also highlighted that Korean immigrants living abroad in the aforementioned countries as well as Japan, Hawaii[30] and Mexico actively led and took part in the Korean independence movement as a great support and leading force, as many of them left the country to finding alternative opportunities and modalities to fight for independence (History Education Association of Korea, 1961; Yang et al., 2013b; You, 1962). Fig. 22 below is the photos of the independence movement of Korean immigrants in the United States.

○ 미국 필라델피아 독립관 앞에서 만세 시위를 벌이는 미주 동포들(1919. 4. 16.)

Fig. 22 Independence movement of Korean immigrants in Philadelphia, USA, 16 April, 1919

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[30] Hawaii became the 50th state of the United States on August 21, 1959. There were two major waves of Korean emigration to Hawaii in the twentieth century, the first between 1903 and 1924, and the second after 1965.

The second group of emigrants during the colonial era was farmers, as reiterated in both historical and contemporary history textbooks. This group emigrated due to the difficulties created by the Japanese agricultural plan, adopted by Japan between 1920 and 1934, to increase the yield of rice and make Korea the main supplier thereof. Because of this, many independent farmers were forced to become peasants, to practice slash and burn agriculture, and eventually to leave to Manchuria, Primorsky Krai and Japan to survive (History Education Association of Korea, 1961; Yang et al., 2013b; You, 1962).

Reflecting on the two large emigration waves occurred during the colonization era and the way in which they are portrayed in both historical and contemporary texts, we can conclude that this forced emigration of Koreans during colonization is one of the major migration patterns of the country.

What is also interesting to note is that, based on sporadic information in the texts, we can assume that there was certainly an influx of Japanese people to Korea. For example, "many professional and technical schools (medical, industrial, law, etc.) were built to educate Japanese, and very few Koreans were allowed to study there" (You, 1962, p. 211) and "most of the land of Korea were given to Japanese people" (You, 1962, p. 213). Also, in describing the origin of *Gwangju Students Independence Movement*, it is noted, "in, October, 30, 1929, on the train commuting to school from Gwangju to Naju, a Japanese male student taunted Korean female students by pulling their hairs" (Yang et al., 2013b). Based on all these excerpts, Japanese immigrants lived in Korea before and during the colonization era; however, the actual *movement* of Japanese people into the country is not mentioned in either historical or contemporary texts analysed.

Based on additional research, Korea — referred at that time as Chosun — was the largest emigration colony of Japan. There exceeded about 800,000 Japanese immigrants, residing in Korea by the end of the Japanese colony, demonstrating a massive upsurge from only 54 and 171,543 Japanese immigrants in 1876 and 1910, respectively (National Institute of Korean History, n.d.). It is also important to note that this data was obtained from the website of National Institute of Korean History, under the section entitled "Textbook Terminology". Taking into account the fact that only one current textbook has been selected for this analysis, we can assume that this term may appear in other learning resources.

Besides, Koreans' emigration to other countries before the colonization is not particularly mentioned in any of the historical and contemporary documents that have been analysed for this study.

Both historical and contemporary texts recognize the movement of people as a recent phenomenon.

The Korean Geography Textbook for Lower Secondary Education indicates that after the colonization and Korean War, the population of South Korea increased drastically and the causal factors for this demographic change given were: first of all, the North Koreans who fled seeking freedom; and secondly, the returnees who had left Korea during the colonization and Korean War (Choi, 1962, p. 88). Due to the oppressive situation they faced in North Korea, more than 5 million North Koreans have fled to South Korea since the Korean War. This resulted in the drastic increase of the total population of South Korea in 1949 and 1953 (20,180,000 and 21,440,000, respectively), replacing the loss of population during the Korean War (You, 1962, pp. 219–223). During this period, North Korean immigrants were not technically defined or categorized as refugees or defectors; instead, they were more likely considered internally displaced people, as compatriots, members of the "one" Korean ethnic group, who were unfortunately split due to the influence of communism. In addition, Korean Geography textbook for Lower Secondary Education also portrays that many Koreans (approximately 1,900,000) forcefully displaced during the colonization era still remain in Manchuria, Siberia, Japan, Hawaii and the United States.

In the historical texts, the section on the contemporaneous Korean education system presented the increasing number of students studying abroad: 2000 Koreans, including 500 females, studying in 18 countries, largely the United States, France, Canada and China (You, 1962, p. 218). When discussing the augmented population of Korea, it promotes emigration of Koreans to other countries as a mean to foster the development of Korea and its global standing (Choi, 1962; Kang and Chu, 1957). This, in a way, is contradictory to the very first line of the same exact textbook, which stated: "We, Koreans, are born in this land, being raised and live here, and be buried in this land forever" (Choi, 1962, p. 2). This contradictory attitude towards migration even within one textbook can be explained as a result of a rapid social and economic transformation of the society as well as its mind-set after colonization and war.

SHIFTING INTO A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

By simply going through the contemporary Korean texts, from education policies to curriculum framework and learning resources of social sciences, history, moral and ethics education, one can easily assume that multicultural education has been comprehensively promoted, which is obviously distinct from the historical texts. In the General National Curriculum Framework for Primary and Lower Secondary

Education, multicultural education — along with democratic citizenship, human rights, character development, unification, health, finance, sustainable development, etc. — are specified as cross-curricular learning areas to be fostered across all educational activities, particularly in relation to the situations of the community and home that each child belongs to (MoE, 2015a).

The contemporary History textbook has a specific section describing how Korea has been shifting into a multicultural society. Due to its economic and cultural development, many foreign workers, students and travellers have entered the country, and with the increased rate of intermarriage, many children come from multicultural families. Change in societal perception is urgently required, so that these children are free from discrimination and able to live as members of the society. The text also further indicates how Koreans have expanded overseas, for traveling, studying, and emigrating. Korean and Korean immigrations have been playing active part in political, economic, social and cultural areas across the nations (Yang et al., 2013b, p. 102).

Contemporary Korean documents pay special attentions to the need to reach maturity, to live by respecting diversity and to coexist in harmony, due to the increase of diverse cultures, ethnicities, languages and religions within the society. In the curriculum framework for primary education document, during the early stage of primary education (grades 1–2), no specific mention of migration was found; rather, it can be inferred that migration concepts are promoted within social studies at this education level through broader concepts such as fostering understanding of diverse of families. For example, students are expected to "understand that there are different types of family with diverse culture and respect diversity" (MoE, 2015b, p. 42). In grade 4, the term *multicultural families*[31] is introduced as an example of diversified forms of family (MoE, 2015b), particularly through moral education, where students are encouraged to "explore the rationales for the need for conceptual understanding of multicultural society and embracing the diversity; and through upright decision making process, to have an attitude to treat other people and their culture on a fair basis" (MoE, 2015b, p. 200).

During lower secondary education, students are encouraged to take part in community activities such as humanitarian and refugee relief (MoE, 2015c). Starting from upper secondary education, in-depth

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[31] The term 'multicultural families' is used in the Korean texts largely, though not technically, to refer to a family unit comprising a Korean husband with a migrant wife from Southeast Asia.

discussion is included on the topic of social and spatial changes that have happened due to the settlement of immigrants, as well as the understanding of the multicultural spaces that have appeared through ethnic/racial and cultural hybridity (MoE, 2015d, p. 278).

While understanding how the homogeneity of Korean people has traditionally, or until recently, been valued and nurtured for its national identity building, the challenge seems to be the shift of the perception of and towards "others" among Koreans. The overall direction of the MoE appears to be in line with this goal since contemporary documents no longer emphasize historical narratives that highlight the ethnic, linguistic, cultural homogeneity of Korean people to value, construct and strengthen national identity originating from "one" ethnicity and "one" blood. Instead, the danger of developing certain perceptions of and toward "others", particularly with regards non-Korean people, becomes a concern when the country now is accepting many immigrants. However, more constructive efforts should be made, as it is indicated that the contemporary perception of Korean people and youth towards immigrants may still be different depending on which country the immigrants are from. According to the World Values Survey (WVS) in 2010-2014, almost half of Korean people and youth (44.20%) responded that they do not want immigrants or migrant workers as neighbours (MoE, 2018).

Taking this into account, available education polices and plans from 2009 onwards include multiculturalism as well as the means of supporting multicultural families and North Korean defectors. Students from multicultural families, North Korean students, along with students with disabilities, are considered students with disadvantaged backgrounds and are seen as vulnerable, marginalized members of the society in a set of education policy and plans. Under this premise, special care is given to students from multicultural families and North Korean defectors in order to provide them with equal opportunities to quality education (MoE, 2009; 2010; 2011; 2012; 2013; 2014; 2016; 2017; n.d.). In addition, a series of education plans to support multicultural education has also been submitted to provide adequate support for the students from multicultural families (MoE, 2018).

However, while efforts have been made extensively, the othering of the migrants as a minority still occurs, and the focus of the materials is on understanding the diversity and the changes that occur with the settlement of newcomers.

One aspect to note is that migration in general is almost not mentioned at all in all historical curriculum frameworks analysed, except for the internal movement of people to the cities as a result of the urbanization and industrialization processes, while some discussion around migration are still sporadically

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found in all five history and geography textbooks. The internal movement of people due to urbanization, urban concentration of population trend, is not extensively analysed in this study, however, it is found in all historic texts.

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Annex 13: United Kingdom

The data gathering process for the United Kingdom was to some extent hindered by the fact that the UK education system has not traditionally taught "social studies" — rather, the subjects of geography, history, civics, and other associated topics are taught individually. This is true in both the historical and contemporary perspectives. The situation is further complicated by the fact that textbooks (historical and contemporary) are published by independent publishers, without explicit sanction from the Government or Ministry of Education. The data selected for analysis comes, in the historical perspective, from five textbooks published between 1957 and 1967; two of these are geography texts from a series for the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE); one is a human geography textbook for middle school aged students; one is a civics textbook for primary students; and the other is a history and civics primary textbook that is also part of a series. We were unable to locate any historical curricula from the United Kingdom.

The contemporary data comprises various national curriculum statements for geography, history, citizenship studies from primary level (key stages 1 and 2), to middle and GCSE level (key stages 3 and 4), to upper secondary school level (A and AS-levels). These statements are valid for England; Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland are independently able to set the curriculum for their students. We selected England for the purposes of this analysis as it has the largest population within the UK, and receives significantly more migrants per year than any other country within the UK (ONS, 2017). It should be noted that History and Geography are only compulsory in England until key stage 3, and that depending on school-internal regulations students may opt not to pursue GCSEs in either of these subjects. Citizenship studies *are* compulsory at GCSE level. All students in the UK are required to study until key stage 4; A and AS-levels are optional, and offer students even freer choice in the subjects they pursue (the majority of students pursuing A levels will study three subjects at this level). This context is important, as it may help determine the knowledge that the Department for Education considers vital for all children in England to possess.

We were unable to obtain access to any contemporary textbooks from the UK, and so we have supplemented the national curriculums statements with GCSE teaching specifications published by two of the leading examination boards in the UK (AQA and Edexcel). These examination boards set the academic examinations that students must pass at the end of their GCSE studies and are responsible for rewarding students with their qualifications. Schools are able to freely choose between examination providers on a subject-level basis. Using the materials provided by two of these exam boards to teachers preparing their

students allows a glimpse at whether or not key subjects are universal across all implementations of the national curriculum.

PREVALENCE OF MIGRATION CONCEPTS

Migration concepts were, overall, not comparatively prevalent in either the historical or contemporary sources.

The United Kingdom is considered one of the traditional countries of migration. In 2015 had the fifth-largest immigrant population in the world, and the tenth-largest emigrant population (Connor and Krogstad, 2016). For most of its history, the UK has overall been a sending country for migrants — it was only in the mid–1980s that the UK became a country of net immigration (Somerville et al., 2009). However, immigration has been a frequently contested topic in British politics and society since the end of World War II, particularly during the two time periods we have selected for analysis. After the War and throughout the 1950s, the UK had an open-door immigration policy that allowed citizens of the Commonwealth free and unrestricted entry. This was a source of political debate that often centred around race and imperialism. Race riots in London in 1958 and an increase in international immigration in 1959 sharpened the bitter national debate on immigration. The Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962 ended the open door policy, though the intense political and social controversy over immigration continued through to the 1970s (Hansen, 2003, pp. 25–29; Hansen, 2000, pp. 17–19).

The twenty-first century has seen immigration again become a key source of debate in UK politics and society. This has coincided with record levels of migration, increasingly alarmist media coverage, and Conservative-led governments that have focused policy on reducing net migration (Robinson, 2013, pp. 73–74). The European Union enlargement in 2004 and resultant large-scale immigration from eastern and southern European countries reshaped UK migration patterns: whereas in 2009, India-born migrants comprised the largest section of the UK's foreign-born population, by 2015 the percentage of Poland-born migrants was higher (Somerville et al., 2009; Vargas-Silva and Rienzo, 2017). Contemporary British media since 2015 has been dominated by the European migrant crisis as record levels of asylum seekers made their way from Syria, Afghanistan, Eritrea, and other African and Middle Eastern countries (Park, 2015; Kingsley, 2015). The political debate leading up to the 2016 'Brexit' referendum was, in large part, dominated by immigration issues stemming from the freedom of movement enshrined in the EU's Community acquis.

Considering the saliency of migration issues in British politics and society during the relevant time periods of our analysis (1960s and 2010s), it is thus notable that migration is *not* a frequent topic in the sources we have analysed. This seems particularly striking in the case of the contemporary National Curriculum, which although a sparse document in its own right is conspicuous in including no explicit reference to migration in its geography sections and only a very few in its history sections. England's GCSE History subject content outlines (UK DfE, 2014b) make no direct reference to migration; the GCSE Geography subject content outlines (UK DfE, 2014a) has just one in its section on human geography. On the other hand, however, the AQA's history and geography GCSE teaching specifications (AQA, 2017; AQA, 2016) do place more of an emphasis on migration concepts, including thematic units (though optional) on migration throughout British history (AQA, 2017, pp. 25–26) and urbanization in the UK (AQA, 2016, pp. 17–19).

COLONIZATION AND SETTLEMENT

Colonization and settlement are the main migration concepts found, particularly in excerpts that relate directly to Britain, in historical and contemporary data. While the historical data downplay the role of this kind of migration in the *formation* of British identity, the contemporary data constructs it as a foundation and key influencer of the British narrative.

In the historical textbooks, the majority of the excerpts found to contain migration concepts are directly related to colonization or settlement. Largely, these excepts discuss the history and formation of British colonies (or former colonies, such as the United States), although some reference is also made to other colonial powers, including Spain's conquest of South America. This observation is noteworthy in and of itself, but even more so as these are the *only* instances in which migration is discussed in direct relation to Britain — and even then, the texts often make reference to *European* as opposed to specifically British colonization. See, for instance, the founding of the United States described in *World Geography: Human* (Suggate, 1963):

> "*North America*. This continent of vast resources attracted during the nineteenth century a flow of emigrants from Europe, the bulk of whom went to the U.S.A.: many came from Ireland, but every country of Europe was involved to a greater or lesser extent, while immigrants also came from many other lands" (p. 74).

This is not at all wrong, of course, but it is interesting that the pivotal role of British migrants in the foundation of the United States is not highlighted. The text *Today Through Yesterday: Book 4 – The Young*

Citizen and the World of Today (Strong, 1957) emphasizes the role of British migrants more strongly than *World Geography: Human*, highlighting the journeys of explorers and the emigrants to Canada, for instance (Strong, 1957, pp. 121, 126–127). Where Suggate (1963) consistently distances Britain from its colonial agency, Strong (1957) more readily owns the agency of British actors as "makers of the Empire" (p. 116). This is not a large enough sample set to draw a definitive data set, but certainly the comparison between these two texts seems to point to a trend of increased detachment from the conceptual construction of Britain as an Empire, coinciding with the so-called "wind of change" and decolonization that was occurring throughout the British colonies and territories during the early 1960s (Pierce, 2009).

The contemporary national curricula and programmes of study do, in contrast, include discussion of migration in relation to Britain besides settlement and colonization — though not often. In their GCSE teaching specifications, both examination boards (AQA and Edexcel) expand on the amount of migration concepts prescribed by the national curricula and subject programmes, although the migration concepts present in the history and geography teaching specifications do generally adhere to the same topics: either colonization and settlement (including Anglo-Saxon and Norman arrivals) or urbanization. The two examination boards have largely interpreted these topics in similar ways in their GCSE specifications, although the AQA (2017b, pp. 25–27) specifically highlights the role of 'migration' in the shaping of British nation and identity throughout its units on colonization and empire, whereas the Edexcel (2015c) specification focuses more thematically on individual events or phenomena and downplays the pivotal role of migration.

The use of the term *settlement* in relation to the ancient arrivals of Anglo-Saxons, Vikings and Normans in the British Isles throughout the national curricula (for example, QCDA, 2010, p. 42) and the inclusion of these arrivals in units specifically related to the role of migration in shaping the British nation (AQA, 2017b, p. 25) is interesting, not least as the term is usually used in reference to the sixteenth to nineteenth century 'age of Empire', colonization and expansion. Although the GCSE teaching specifications refer to the ancient Anglo-Saxon, Viking and Norman arrivals as "invasion" (AQA, 2017b, p. 25) and "conquest" (Edexcel, 2015c, p. 18), they are clearly constructed as key events in British history. The AQA specification in particular, by placing this unit within its "Britain: Migration, empires, and the people" unit, emphasizes that this is the first of many interactions with peoples from other parts of the world that has shaped "the identity of the people of Britain" (AQA, 2017b, p. 25). The Edexcel Anglo-Saxon and Norman units are included in its British depth studies section, which has a similar though slightly less poignant effect.

The AQA specification continues to focus solely on colonization and settlement through a British lens. Its migration unit explicitly considers of the "social, political, cultural and economic impact of empire" in Britain and in the colonies (AQA, 2017b, p. 26). This combines with the statement of intent at the beginning of the unit — "[enabling] students to gain an understanding of how the identity of the people of Britain has been shaped by their interaction with the wider world" (AQA, 2017b, p. 26) — to imply that teaching according to this specification will highlight the role of these migrations in the British narrative. The Edexcel (2015c) specification places less specific emphasis on the social impact of colonization, raising this only once in the relevant extracts, and though it pays a similar amount of focus to the imperial era, it includes units on Spanish colonization rather than focusing solely on British imperialism. Still, the implication throughout is that colonization and settlement are key facets of the British narrative that impacted British society.

Thus, while in the historical perspective, the discussion of colonization and settlement comprises the entire discussion of migration that is relevant to Britain, this is not the case in the contemporary perspective. There are discrepancies in the presentation of these concepts found among texts in both perspectives, and limited datasets make definitive overall statements difficult. Broadly, however, the overall effect of the manner in which these concepts are presented in the historical data is to downplay relationship between colonization and settlement and the *formation* of British identity (as opposed to the *dispersion* of British identity, which will be discussed below), whereas in the contemporary data this relationship is in places highlighted and at the very least explored. Further, in the contemporary data, the use of the concept of settlement in relation to its ancient history of foreign arrivals functions to create a narrative of British history with this kind of migration at its very foundation.

EFFECTS OF COLONIZATION AND SETTLEMENT

The effects of colonization and settlement are considered to be cultural and developmental in the texts from both perspectives; however, the historical data emphasize colonization as a way to spread British culture with no consideration of the resultant impacts on other cultures, whereas the contemporary curricula and teaching specifications require that these impacts are explicitly explored.

Texts in both contemporary and historical perspectives place some emphasis on the effects of colonization and settlement. In the historical data, these effects are largely the development, expansion and growth of colonies, positively described. For instance:

> "If it had not been for emigration from the homeland, these Colonies, peopled by Britons overseas, could never have grown up as they have done" (Strong, 1957, p. 114).

Another key effect of colonization that is mentioned in the historical data is cultural. Unlike the contemporary texts' treatment of the contribution of this kind of migration to the formation of British culture and identity, as discussed above, the historical data treats colonization as a facet through which British culture and identity has been dispersed:

> "This is a good illustration of the fact that British communities overseas have been built up on the model of the social life of Britons at home. The settlers from Britain have carried with them not only British methods of government but also the ways of society and forms of sport as we find them at home. The development of cricket in these distant lands shows how the habits of Englishmen have been carried all over the world" (Strong, 1957, p. 126).

While the language in this excerpt creates some level of separation between "communities overseas" and "at home", both groups have claim to the British identity. This identity is, in this excerpt, linked directly to methods of government, society, and sport – and, accordingly, these aspects of Britishness have been dispersed and adopted in the countries that the British have colonized and settled.

Due to the sparse nature of the contemporary texts, which largely take the form of outlines, it is difficult to precisely compare the treatment of the same topic. However, even more general observations are useful in this comparison. In the contemporary teaching specifications, nearly every section that deals with colonization and settlement deals in some way with the impact of these both on the colonizers and on the indigenous peoples of the lands being colonized. This is ostensibly *not* the case in the historical data. Perhaps even more remarkable, however, is that this is also not the case in the national curricula statements. Rather, this seems to be an aspect of these topics that both examination boards have considered necessary for inclusion.

It is clear that there is a marked difference in tone than that of the historical texts, which cast the effects of colonization and the efforts of colonists in a solely positive light. In fact, this very subject has recently been a topic of some public and political controversy — arguments have ranged from accusations that British imperial history "is not taught in [British] schools" anymore (Dalrymple, quoted in Jeffries, 2015)

or too heavily coloured by postcolonial guilt (Gove, cited in Weale, 2016).[32] It is perhaps too strong to state that the careful treatment of the impacts of colonization on the colonized in the teaching specifications is the result of a postcolonial impulse (positive or negative) on behalf of their developers. It does, however, point to an awareness of the sensitivity of the topic of British imperialism, particularly in Britain's increasingly multicultural society.

PORTRAYAL OF THE TRANSATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE

The transatlantic slave trade is a focal point in historical and contemporary texts; while historical texts avoid British culpability for this process, contemporary texts do not shy acknowledging the fundamental role Britain played in its development.

While the transatlantic slave trade is a focal point in both historical and contemporary texts and is consistently disavowed as "cruel" (Suggate, 1963, p. 74), the manner in which it is discussed is markedly different. Four of the five historical textbooks reference the transatlantic slave trade directly, and while the texts emphasize the highly negative aspects of the slave trade, there is no acknowledgement of the British role in its perpetuation. The texts employ strategies such as the use of the passive voice to achieve this elision — for instance:

> "They are inhabited largely by the descendants of the negroes who many years ago were brought across from Africa to work as slaves" (Strong, 1957, p. 144); *and*

> "The Negroes of the West Indies and of southern U.S.A. are descendants of people who were taken from West Africa and sold as slaves to work on the sugar and cotton plantations" (Clowser, 1965, p. 65).

Yet another tactic employed by the texts with the effect of absolving direct British culpability is the repeated emphasis of Britain's early abolishment of the practice of slavery:

> "The total number of Africans who survived the cruel conditions of this trade, which Britain made illegal in 1807, can never be known, but it was very large" (Suggate, 1963, p. 74).

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[32] Michael Gove, cited in Weale (2016), is the former UK education secretary, who at the time of his cited statement was presiding over a highly controversial reform of the English history curriculum. See Mansell (2013).

In comparison, the contemporary texts — including the national curricula documents — cover the British role in the transatlantic slave trade explicitly:

> "ideas, political power, industry and empire: Britain, 1745-1901. […] This could include: […] Britain's transatlantic slave trade: its effects and its eventual abolition" (UK DfE, 2013e, 2013, p. 4); *and*

> - "Key topic 1: British settlement in North America, 1713–41. […] 2. Slavery in North America.
> - The slave trade and 'Atlantic triangle'; British monopoly on supplying slaves to Spanish colonies.
> - The impact of slavery on the development of tobacco and rice plantations.
> - The impact of slavery on colonial society: the position of slaves within society and the treatment of fugitive slaves within the colonies; the significance of Spain's decision to protect runaway slaves in Florida" (Edexcel, 2015c, p. 28).

Here again, we observe a much more balanced treatment of the darker side of British migration history, colonization and settlement in the contemporary data than in historical data.

REFERENCES TO NON-COLONIAL MIGRATION

References to non-colonial migration in the historical data are nearly always accompanied by reference to questions of race, and contemporaneous migration patterns are nearly always discussed in relation to immigration control, reflecting the nature of contemporaneous debate on migration policy. In contrast, allusions to contemporaneous migration patterns in the contemporary perspective focus largely on rural-to-urban migration and do not necessarily reflect the current public focus on migration.

As stated above, the significant majority of excerpts containing migration concepts in the historical data relate to colonization and settlement. Those that do not, however, nearly all make reference to questions of race. This occurs both in discussions of historical and contemporaneous migration, for instance:

> "But from early times there have been constant movements or 'migrations' of peoples, with the result that there has been much mixing of races. For this reason it has become increasingly difficult to speak of such a thing as a 'pure' race" (Clowser, 1965, p. 65); *and*

> "In most of these lands, however—some South American countries such as Peru being exceptional—Asiatic immigration is either barred or unwelcome. Thus, small numbers of

Chinese and Japanese moved into the western coastlands of North America, notably into California, but because of fears concerning the undermining of Western standards of living, such further immigration has been forbidden. The 'white Australia' policy operates to the same effect." (Suggate, 1963, p. 77–79).

Simultaneously, most of the excerpts that contain discussion of contemporaneous migration patterns also include mention of migration policy, usually immigration restrictions. So, for instance, the excerpt above from *World Geography: Human* (Suggate, 1963) that references the 'white Australia' policy also discusses the banning of Indian immigration from South Africa and of Japanese and Chinese immigration to the United States. *World Geography: Human* is not the only historical text that seems to justify race-based immigration control on the basis of fear that immigrants may undermine the country they enter. For instance:

"But nowadays most of the Dominions are in danger of having more immigrants than they want, or of getting what they would regard as an undesirable type of settler. To avoid these dangers immigration is now carefully regulated" (Strong, 1957, p. 114).

In these excerpts, the historical texts seem to reflect the racially charged nature of contemporaneous political and social debate surrounding migration policy and immigration control. In contrast, the coverage of contemporaneous migration patterns in the contemporary data focuses in large part on the relatively neutral subject of rural-to-urban migration and the processes of urbanization. While the GCSE teaching specifications do require students to understand that urbanization (defined as national and international migration to urban centres leading to urban growth) leads to social opportunities and challenges (AQA, 2016, p. 17), and that different people and stakeholders may have different attitudes towards migration (Edexcel, 2015a, p. 30), this coverage is far from a reflection of the current salience in popular debate of issues of British migration. Tellingly, the national curricula documents contain just one sentence that specifically references contemporaneous migration in the UK:

"[…] the changing composition of different communities, the recent impact, challenges and benefits of migration, and the movement of people over time to and from the UK" (UK DfE, 2015, p. 8)

This excerpt — from the GCSE Citizenship studies subject content — is presented in the context of the diverse identities in the UK. Interestingly, the text does not — as other similar documents have (see

Canadian analysis, for instance) — impose a broader UK identity on top of these disparate identities. Rather, it maintains the salience of distinct group identities while highlighting the concept of multiple identities and the need for "mutual respect and understanding in a diverse society" (UK DfE, 2015, p. 8).

Thus, while the contemporary texts do cover contemporaneous migration patterns, it cannot be said that the texts reflect the recent, particularly heated public debates regarding immigration, especially from within the EU. Here it must be noted that the national curricula documents were published in 2013 and 2014, when public discourse regarding migration was not yet as pervasive or divisive as it currently is in the UK, but still at a time when public opinion was largely against immigration in general and intra-European immigration in particular (Blinder and Allen, 2018; Travis and Malik, 2013). The examination boards and teaching specifications must adhere to these curricula documents, but may have some lenience in their selection of topics. Some noteworthy absences, considering recent events and discourse: there is no mention of Britain within the European Union in relation to migration concepts or indeed European migration to Britain at all since the early twentieth century.[33]

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Annex 14: Migration-related themes and concepts found in the data

1. Kinds/types of migration
    a. Colonization/settlement
    b. Expeditions/explorations
    c. Conquest/invasion
    d. Crusades
    e. Emigration
    f. Immigration
    g. Intracontinental migration
    h. Intercontinental migration
    i. Overseas migration
    j. Forced migration
        i. Slavery
        ii. Exportation
        iii. Deportation
        iv. Ethnic cleansing
    k. Pilgrimage
    l. Internal migration
    m. External migration
    n. Seasonal or temporary migration
    o. Labour migration
    p. Pre-historical/pre-modern migration (e.g. over land bridges, ancient history, ancestors)[34]
    q. Proselytism (missionaries)
    r. Remigration/Return migration/Repatriation
    s. Rural-to-urban migration/Rural Exodus
    t. Urban-to-rural migration
    u. Migration flux/ flow/ trends / rate
    v. Internal Displacement
    w. External Displacement
    x. Circulation of people
    y. Legal migration
    z. Illegal/clandestine migration
2. Reasons for migration (pull and push factors)
    a. Economic/work/trade
    b. Industrialization
    c. Urbanization
    d. Globalization
    e. Family/Family reunification
    f. Migratory chains

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[34] Effectively taken to refer to any migrations pre-fifteenth century.

g. Government policies/incentives
h. Natural reasons (e.g. as a result of natural disasters)
i. Political or religious freedom
j. Upward mobility
k. Social/cultural development
l. Development of transport/infrastructure
m. Education/Academic reasons
n. Resources
o. Persecution
p. Hunger
q. Epidemics

3. Consequences of migration
   a. Cultural change
   b. Economic effects
   c. Development (i.e. of country, city, land, infrastructure)
   d. Movement of ideas/technology
   e. Internal/inter-group strife (in population)
   f. Cultural mixture/interracial marriage
   g. Institutional change
   h. Population
      i. Population decrease
      ii. Population increase
      iii. Population (re)distribution
      iv. Population mobility
   i. Resources (e.g. availability of, demand)
   j. On indigenous populations

4. Migrants
   a. Emigrants
   b. Immigrants
   c. Colonists/settlers
   d. Seasonal migrants
   e. Labour migrants (e.g. agricultural labour, mining labour)
   f. Skilled and unskilled migrants
   g. Intellectual migrants
   h. (Externally) displaced people
   i. Internally displaced people
   j. Ancestors
   k. Refugees
   l. Slaves
   m. Nomads
   n. Interracial marriages
   o. Multicultural families
   p. Students

5. Other topics referring to people who migrate

     a. Demographics of migrants (i.e. race, ethnicity, age)
     b. Place of origin of migrants
     c. Means of migration (i.e. by boat, by plane, etc.)
     d. Experiences of migrants
     e. Culture/attitudes of migrants
     f. Integration/assimilation of migrants
     g. Needs of migrants

6. Reactions and attitudes towards migration/migrants
     a. Positive
     b. Negative (including discrimination, xenophobia, etc.)

7. Migration policy
     a. Immigration policy
          i. Programmes for immigrants
          ii. Response to immigration
          iii. Rules of immigration
     b. Emigration policy
          i. Programmes for emigrants
     c. Refugee policy
     d. Influences on migration policy
     e. Effects/impacts of migration policy
     f. International agreements

8. Miscellaneous
     a. Receiving countries
     b. Sending countries
     c. Routes of migration
     d. Absorptive capacity of countries
     e. Borders