

10 SLAVERY AND RACISM AS THE 'WRONGS' OF (EUROPEAN) HISTORY: REFLECTIONS FROM A STUDY ON PORTUGUESE TEXTBOOKS

Marta Araújo and Silvia Rodríguez Maeso

It was the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*, from 1789, which started to consecrate equality for all human beings. In the XIX century, several laws emerged forbidding slavery. Portugal was the first European country to grant freedom (*alforria*) to slaves and to declare the end of slavery.

– Year 8 history textbook¹

Many Western countries pride themselves on eradicating racism and abhor the idea that racism is still very much alive in all segments of society. Research that links slavery and colonialism to present day racism poses all kinds of problems for deeply entrenched models of identity and community. Decolonizing the mind means opening the chambers of taboo in the study on slavery and colonialism and its effects on contemporary societies.

– S. Hira, 'Decolonizing the Mind' (2010)²

Introduction

History teaching is a particularly interesting sphere for the analysis of national and European imaginaries on identity, the nation and 'race'. As Carolyn Boyd argues, 'history teaching and textbooks legitimate existing political arrangements and provide clues to national identity and destiny'.³ Moreover, textbooks are especially appropriate objects for analysis in the Portuguese context, as they are the most-used pedagogic resource in classrooms and are required to follow the official syllabus; they can thus be seen as the 'curriculum de facto'.⁴ Our aim is to show how exploring the teaching of slavery and colonialism in Portugal reflects on Eurocentrism and racism and engages with the specific contexts in which history is produced and consumed, particularly in textbooks.

This chapter draws on a multidisciplinary research project that aimed at exploring the construction of Eurocentrism in Portuguese history textbooks.⁵ The project lasted for three and a half years (2008–12) and was centred on three elements: (1) an analysis of textbooks and education policy; (2) interviews and focus groups with diverse actors; (3) participatory workshops, aiming to expand

the social impact of the project. History textbooks were analysed in a systematic fashion, through the development of a grid of concepts. A critical approach to content analysis was used, also taking into account that which was absent.⁶ We analysed the five most popular textbooks in the school year 2008–9 based on information provided by the Ministry of Education. Currently, history teaching has a ninety-minute time slot per week, at Key Stage 3 (KS3) (Years 7, 8 and 9, for pupils aged 12 to 15). Throughout compulsory education, history is taught in three different stages, in an increasingly sophisticated fashion, that is, in a ‘spiral curriculum.’⁷ KS3 is the only stage in compulsory schooling in which history is taught separately as a subject, however, and officially there has been a call for its merger with geography. KS3 was also chosen because the syllabus for these years includes World, European and Portuguese history, from ‘prehistory’ to contemporary times. The syllabus dictates that the teaching of slavery should take place in Year 8, but it is not considered a topic of study *per se*; rather it is a key concept included in syllabus guidelines on the theme ‘Expansion and change in the XV and XVI centuries’, and more precisely under the item ‘Openness to the world.’⁸ Slavery was thus given particular emphasis in the project, as we considered it a paradigmatic case of the workings of Eurocentrism.

Avoiding locating schools within a social and political vacuum, we brought into play the work of critical discourse analysts, such as Teun van Dijk, on the study of ‘the subtle structures and processes of modern racism’, and that calls for an engagement with the contexts in which discourses are formed.⁹ Accordingly, to take into account the specific contexts of textbook production and consumption we carried out in-depth interviews, focus groups and participatory workshops with nearly sixty participants of diverse professional profiles (namely, historians, university lecturers and students, publishers, authors, policy-makers, representatives of parents’ associations and social organizations, journalists, KS3 teachers and students).

Literature on the history of textbook analysis and revision has emphasized its links to international concerns – mainly since the 1920s – with the misuse of history and the need to promote ‘international understanding’ through the production of more ‘accurate’ and ‘balanced’ textbooks, particularly in history.¹⁰ Nevertheless, Eurocentrism and racism have not been a key concern and their critique has often been superficial. Our analysis of slavery in textbooks and our empirical approach focused not merely on the representations of the ‘other’ but mainly on the formulae deployed to naturalize the idea of Europe and its central role in the development of modern capitalist world-system, scientific thought and liberal democracy, read as achievements within a progress rationale.¹¹

Accordingly, we conceive of Eurocentrism as a historical phenomenon rooted in what Aníbal Quijano has designated as the global ‘colonial/modern capitalism’ inaugurated with the colonization of ‘America’ in the fifteen and sixteenth centuries and marked by two interrelated processes: the construction of

the idea of 'race' and the establishment of a diversified structure of control of labour – including slavery.¹² Eurocentrism – now hegemonic – is a paradigm that organizes the production of interpretations of social reality (past, present and future), while masking its political basis under the pretence of scientific neutrality. Following José Rabasa, Eurocentrism is thus not simply 'a tradition that places Europe as a universal cultural ideal embodied in what is called the West, but rather a pervasive condition of thought'.¹³ The effectiveness of Eurocentrism – that is its pervasiveness as an idea – rests on the naturalization of power relations in dominant interpretations of history. We thus consider that the critique of Eurocentrism needs to unravel the power relations behind the production of theoretical models and their pretensions to universality. This is crucial for discussing the specific issue of this chapter – the teaching of slavery. Therefore, throughout this chapter we explore the narrative devices that sustain Eurocentrism as the dominant paradigm for the interpretation of the history of slavery in Portuguese textbooks and, most importantly, of its relation with colonialism and racism. We will show that textbooks continue to deploy a colonial vocabulary, sanitized and depoliticized, that portrays slavery as a normal practice of 'those times' and that had the effect of originating contemporary multiculturalism. However, this is sustained only for the old *colonial* territory (i.e. Brazil) keeping the *national* society (i.e. Portugal) under the assumption of a foundational homogeneity. This narrative frustrates the discussion on the historical configuration of racism and its relation to the so-called European 'expansion' or 'discoveries', as our discussions with historians and history teachers reveal.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section focuses on the location of slavery and colonialism within the dominant views regarding the debates on textbooks and the teaching of history in European contexts; in the second section, we summarize the main findings regarding our analysis of slavery in Portuguese history textbooks; finally, we explore the approaches and views of historians, history teachers, university students and textbook publishers on the history/teaching of slavery and its relation to Portuguese colonialism.

I. Eurocentrism, Racism and the Production of History: The Teaching of Slavery and Colonialism in Europe

As Michel-Rolph Trouillot has rightly pointed out, the production of history is not a process confined to academic historians: historical interpretations are produced in numerous 'overlapping sites' outside or 'on the fringes of the academia'.¹⁴ Portugal is not an exception, as illustrated by the recent contest '7 wonders of Portuguese Origin in the World'.¹⁵ This contest promoted a particular understanding of the central role of Portugal in the 'exploration' of new territories and seas, and the 'contact' and 'interaction' with other peoples as a

Portuguese achievement that would reveal its universal character, now read as interculturality.¹⁶ The contest asked the public to vote for the most wonderful monuments of Portuguese origin in the world, most of them related to the history of colonialism. Despite the highly mediatized nature of the contest, most of our interviewees were not acquainted with the polemic that it aroused among some academic circles. Additionally, some participants that did comment on this issue located certain events – namely slavery – in a well-bounded past whose legacies were belittled and seen as comparable to any other event in the past:

Slavery took place, it is over and done. Those who universally abolished slavery were the Europeans, not the others. Slavery continues in Africa, as you know, and it is very likely that in some aspects it continues in the Islamic world. Therefore, we, that developed it and generated it – to a very degrading scale indeed – we were also the society capable of bringing that same system to an end. And we, the Portuguese, ended slavery even earlier. Therefore, it is like history is history, and it is not worthy to change it. We don't always need to make of history something edifying, but neither something traumatizing; otherwise, now we would be striking against the Italians because the Romans massacred the Lusitans 2,000 years ago, and nobody is concerned. Nobody is concerned either with the Muslims' slaughtering of the Christians when they came into the [Iberian] Peninsula. Our interest is to remember the Roman heritage, the Islamic heritage, and this is what people are looking for, to assemble what remained [here]. (Historian 3)

Reactions to the polemic were also seen in the denunciation of the political agency and interest of those who protested against the contest; while the glorification of the 'Portuguese achievements' in textbooks was usually seen as unproblematic – enhancing students' self-esteem – the assertion of an African identity as part of the politicization of the debate on the history of slavery was considered as suspicious, i.e. not serious:

I got into a discussion with a Brazilian woman that lives in the United States because they asked me to sign a petition against that ['7 Wonders' contest] ... One of the wonders is precisely the 'Island of Mozambique' and I raised my voice against the terms of the [petition] text because, in the end, the 'Island of Mozambique' – as we know it – was structured in terms of urban planning before the slave trade started. That woman was very offended with my comments... And then I searched about this question and realized that there is a campaign – which is related to Afro-Americans – for the construction of an identity of the black American that entails the nativization of the past, which I do not think is very serious, nothing of this seems to me very serious. (Historian 5)

Moreover, the critique of the contest was assumed to be necessarily constructed as a judgement of the 'negative side' of Portuguese colonialism:

It is much easier to transmit this virtually clean view, without consequences, without a negative side of the Portuguese colonial and imperial experience and it is very dif-

difficult to give the opposite view, the complementary message ... I would prefer not to discuss these issues in those terms but in reality, it is the only way ... I think it is almost a duty. As a citizen with some knowledge, I must confront the terms under which this contest takes place. This does not mean that I would like to discuss that binary view of the good and the bad ... I would not like to discuss within these terms but I am forced to do it this way. (Historian 7)

The way the discussion on this contest was framed by historians illustrates the powerful 'conventionalization of the North American/West European colonial hegemony of international relations' that prevents an open political debate on racism in contemporary European societies and its place within textbooks and curricula, the Portuguese case being just one example.¹⁷ Most importantly, it reveals the anxieties and defensiveness of Eurocentrism when it is compelled to confront its assumptions and interpretative formulae; these reactions show the reluctance not only to problematize dominant readings of the history of colonialism and slavery – and, in general terms, of modernity – but mainly to unsettle the idea of a rational Western 'Self' invested with a vocation for universality.¹⁸ Accordingly, certain political agencies and legacies are legitimized while censuring others through the deployment of three discursive regimes: (1) any historical process can be interpreted considering its good and bad consequences; (2) the debates on history writing and teaching are more concerned with the objectivity of 'good' historians *versus* the biased versions of 'bad' historians than with power structures; and (3) the problem of Eurocentrism is a question of perspective that can be corrected by the progressive enlargement/completeness of historical accounts throughout the balanced inclusion of other perspectives (i.e. minorities).

Colonialism and Slavery as Not Belonging to 'European' History

Our analysis of the ways in which slavery is narrated and interpreted in textbooks, as well as of the dominant approaches presented by a variety of actors, aimed at unravelling how these regimes persistently frustrate an understanding of racism and colonialism as fundamental for the formation of the ideas of Europe and the West and their contemporary configurations. In this sense, what is at stake here is not so much a question of 'absences' or 'neglected histories' – though obviously relevant – but rather of the prevalence of certain frames of interpretation that naturalize those absences and preclude any sound debate on the interrelation between slavery, colonialism and racism. This question becomes clear when examining the debates promoted by the Council of Europe (CoE) on European history teaching and on the analysis/revision of textbooks.¹⁹ Throughout the reports that record the main points discussed in nine meetings on history textbooks (from 1953 to 1990) and ten on history teaching (from 1965 to 1995), neither slavery nor the teaching of racism in history are mentioned; there is one recommendation (in 1958) regarding nineteenth and twentieth-century coloni-

alism in textbooks and one reference to the teaching of 'European Discoveries/Expansion' (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries).²⁰

To understand the marginality of slavery and colonialism in these debates it is crucial to consider two elements that have guided the work sponsored by the CoE: the aim of promoting a European dimension in history teaching and awareness of the idea of Europe, of a European identity and heritage; and the concern with the ways of teaching 'sensitive' and 'controversial' issues and with the idea that history education can be (mis)used for promoting/eliminating bias and (racial, cultural, religious) prejudice.

Following Fernando Coronil, we should question here the underlying construction of the 'European Self' that paves the way for the purging of slavery and colonialism from the understanding of European history and of modernity.²¹ More precisely, how is this European 'awareness' and 'identity' presumed to be conveyed in textbooks and in what ways does it shape the silences and specific narratives on colonialism, slavery and racism? We consider this process as being aided by the operation of two narrative devices: firstly, the already mentioned linear historical imagination that conceives of 'the past' as divisible into the good and bad sides, the latter being usually referred to as the 'dark sides' of history; and secondly, the stress on the values that 'define' Europe, with a specific emphasis on democracy and human rights, although not neglecting the 'painful' dimension of its history.²² Within this framework, the teaching of a 'divisive history', that is, of sensitive and/or controversial issues – as it has been promoted by the Council of Europe – is considered from the perspective of the *effects* it may have in the classroom – conceived as a sort of replication of the confrontations haunting society or different countries:

History is full of painful and controversial topics. Where they exist in recent history, there are great dilemmas about how to present them to the next generation. Teaching about the Holocaust is the major example of such a problem, and many historians and educators are still involved in thinking about ways to understand and teach about it ... A topic further back in history such as European imperialism can still present problems since the effects of colonialism reverberate into the present day.²³

Thus the concern with controversial and sensitive issues, rather than being related to a critical reflection on historical processes and the production of history, is framed as stemming from the possibility of history being misused, with racism as a possible side effect.²⁴ This process involves locating certain political processes as 'heritage' and others as the 'dark and painful dimension of history', treating them as if they were separable and as if the construction of the past and of its effects were objectively (neutrally) established, regardless of the power relations that intervene in its continuous recreation. Following this rationale, within these debates the 'excision' of colonialism and slavery from the narratives of modernity, of the triumph of the European democratic nation states and of human

rights, becomes naturalized.²⁵ In this sense, it is crucial to locate textbooks and debates on the teaching of history within the wider historical phenomenon of Eurocentrism that has shaped modern political thought, modern 'conceptions of knowledge and law' upon the silencing of its fundamental relation to colonialism and therefore to slavery.²⁶ However, this is achieved not so much through the 'erasure of both processes in textbooks' but rather their accommodation within those dominant narratives that do not unsettle the European/national Self.

The Idea of Multiperspectivity and the Teaching of Slavery and Colonialism

Generally speaking, the debate on textbooks concentrates on contesting a multicultural or multiperspective approach on one hand, or an ethnically/nationally centred view on the other.²⁷

Most debate on textbooks and history teaching has been framed by the need either to represent the 'other' in multicultural societies or to overcome the excesses of nationalism. Although both are interrelated, in broad terms we can say that while the former approach has dominated debate in contexts such as the United States and Canada, concerns about the latter have mostly taken place in European contexts with recent dictatorial regimes, such as Portugal. Debates on Eurocentrism and monoculturalism have been particularly prominent in the United States, in the context of the Civil Rights Movements of the mid-1960s.²⁸ Initially, the discussion was framed as a matter of representations: both the absence of representation of the diversity constitutive of US society and the misrepresentation of the 'other'. This promoted analyses of curricula and textbooks to study binary representations about 'us' and the 'other'. Underlying such research was a view on racism as 'error' or 'ignorance' and on Eurocentrism as a mere ethnocentric perspective requiring the 'other' side of history. That is, a compensatory approach that adds the 'version of the losers' while maintaining the master narrative unchanged.²⁹ These debates became particularly meaningful for social sciences and historiography when the discussion shifted from the critique of representations of the 'other' to the questioning of what constitutes the official canon, thus making evident the relationship between knowledge and power.³⁰ And yet, such discussion failed to make a profound critique of the construction of the core idea of national/European/Western 'we' around which the 'other' was organized.

The second approach to debates on history relates to the consideration of the problematic nature of historical narratives as related to the abuses of nationalistic history that would be eventually overcome by processes of democratization. The construction of Eurocentrism in Portugal is illustrated by the general focus of research on the *Estado Novo* (the New State) to study and illustrate the excess

of nationalism.³¹ This, albeit unintentionally, paved the way for the idea that the scientific production of history is now unproblematic and 'objective' following democratization in the mid-1970s. In more general terms, this second approach highlights the problem of textbooks as 'national narratives' driven by political and socio-economical transformations during the second half of the twentieth century. Eurocentric views of the world would be challenged by the growing acknowledgement and validation of other (non-Western) narratives, cultures and civilizations, a solution that has been conceptualized, mainly in the European milieu by research sponsored by the Council of Europe, as a matter of promoting 'multiperspectivity'.³²

The notion of multiperspectivity – the idea that 'textbooks should offer different perspectives on a given subject' – is linked to wider global debates and proposals on the role of scientific knowledge (and specifically of social sciences and humanities) for the maintenance of a peaceful global order, and of education for the implementation and consolidation of liberal democracies since the beginning of the twentieth century.³³ Falk Pingel's work is worth exploring here for its relevance in the field. Pingel acknowledges that 'up to now no generally recognized model has been found of how to deal with minorities' and warns of the perils of the mere inclusion of minorities' history in regular textbooks and of developing their own textbooks in addition to the regular ones. He considers that both strategies threaten 'cohesion' and minorities' possibilities of integration. Pingel defends the virtues of 'multi-perspectival methodologies' in textbooks, which instead of fuelling competitive narratives, 'integrates all components of the society and regards the mixture and growing together as a value in itself'.³⁴

Our analysis of the narratives on slavery in Portuguese textbooks challenges this positivist approach that welcomes the production of a balanced/consensual narrative that would accommodate others in a reasonable fashion. What is missing here is the necessary emphasis on the production of interpretations and not only on the inclusion of 'competitive' narratives.³⁵ Considering that the effectiveness of Eurocentrism is achieved both through prejudiced representations of the 'other' *and* the naturalization of the power relations that make plausible such (mis)representations, it is crucial to examine how specific systems of representation work, allowing for the circulation of certain interpretations of social reality under the pretence of scientific neutrality.³⁶ Therefore, our analysis will show how slavery is portrayed within an apparently objective humanist approach that secures the triumphal linearity of European democracies (epitomized by the French Revolution).³⁷ Within this framework, the imperative inclusion of neglected histories, such as the incessant political struggles and political rebellions of slaves and colonial subjects, can only be effective if they unsettle the master interpretation of modernity that disconnects colonialism from liberal-

ism, 'race'/racism from the construction of democratic regimes, the so-called 'industrial revolution' from slavery, and so on.

II. Slavery and the Understanding of Racism in Portuguese Textbooks

In this section, we summarize the main findings regarding our analysis of slavery in Portuguese history textbooks. We argue that the narratives used to discuss slavery constitute formulae of silence, which erase and trivialize core political processes.³⁸ This banalization is produced through several narrative devices, namely: the depoliticization of slavery, the (in)visibility of 'race' and racism, and the triumph of egalitarian humanism, as further developed below.

The Depoliticization of Slavery

In the textbooks analysed, slavery is presented within a wider depoliticized approach also used to describe several other processes, such as Christianization and colonialism, to which it is interrelated.³⁹ Removed from the historical power relations that constituted it, the system of slavery becomes naturalized through three narrative formulae: (1) the objectification of the figure of the slave; (2) the trivialization of slavery as an economic need; and (3) the deployment of the ubiquity argument – that is, slavery would have always existed.

Firstly, slavery is presented as part of the 'circulation of new products' between Europe and other continents. Within such a frame, the objectification of slaves emerges as natural, another product made to circulate by colonial powers: slaves were 'imported', 're-exported', 'they left ... with Europe or America as their destination' part of the 'circulation of products and people'.⁴⁰ Stripping the slave of his/her humanity, such descriptions effectively make the violence of this political and economical system invisible.

Secondly, slavery emerges as an element in commercial routes, and therefore, from 'economic needs' resulting from colonization: 'After the Portuguese tried to use the [American] Indians [*índios*] to slave labour, they realized that these could not adapt themselves, which made it necessary to draw on African slaves.' Thus, it is presented as a 'natural' aspect within the context of European and Portuguese (economic) 'expansion' of those times.⁴¹ Ellen Swartz, in her analysis of North American textbooks, suggested that 'the slavery discourse ... generally serves to justify and normalize the system of slavery'. This is thus seen more as a necessity than a choice, implying 'that slavery was natural, inevitable and unalterable'.⁴²

Thirdly, the emphasis placed on the existence of slavery in Africa prior to the arrival of Europeans helps to naturalize the action of the several European empires that benefited from it:

The slave trade: To this entire coast of Africa, up to the kingdom of Congo, arrive many caravans of black people, who bring gold and slaves for trade. A part of those

slaves were imprisoned in war ... They are carried completely naked, just like they were born, like they were herd ... [The Portuguese traders] lead then the slaves to the islands of Santiago (Cape Verde), where constantly arrive the ships from diverse countries that there buy the slaves in turn for sound merchandise.⁴³

Slavery is trivialized by the fact that it already took place in certain regions and was being practised by other 'peoples' (such as the Arabs). Consequently, the link between racism and slavery is questioned: it was the 'blacks' themselves who brought the slaves for trade. We see here the continuous constitution of the past and its subjects (and identities) retrospectively, identities which, in this type of narratives, are subjected to the moral revision of that past and thus to 'blame sharing'.⁴⁴ Thus, the possibility of critique of the (re)constitution of identities such as 'European', 'Portuguese' or 'black' in the complex power relations of modern colonial governmentality is frustrated.⁴⁵ On the contrary, in many contemporary debates on the racial dimension of slavery those identities emerge as already constituted, levelled and subjected not to the scrutiny of political responsibility but of original blame, a discourse prevalent among our interviewees: 'Regarding the question of the African slave, I would refer to something that we should never forget when teaching this topic and which is the following: ... being a slave was not easy – as reported –, but we cannot forget that those who made them slaves were their own people' (university student 1, focus group); 'there were already slaves in Africa' (textbook publisher 1); 'slavery always existed in Africa ... The Portuguese as all the European powers that stayed in Africa were involved [in the slave trade], and unfortunately, slavery still exists in Africa' (historian 2).

Slavery and the In/Visibilization of 'Race' and Racism

'Race' and racism are two notions that emerge in a game of constant visibilization–invisibilization, a crucial aspect to the depoliticization of Portuguese colonialism. Textbook narratives do not so much erase the racial contours of the system of slavery as they render them implicit, naturalizing domination based on 'race': 'black slaves', 'black', 'black African slaves' or 'African slaves' are expressions that suggest the racial dimension of slavery, although they are never discussed.⁴⁶

Additionally, in textbooks, racism is reduced to certain moments of the history of colonialism, namely nineteenth-century imperialism. Confining racist discourses and ideologies to this 'new imperialism' exemplified by the 'Scramble for Africa' and the European 'civilizing mission' (emphasizing the British and French cases), textbooks do not consider the relevance of racial ideologies and governmentalities within Portuguese or Spanish 'expansion'.⁴⁷ This is key to understanding the prevalence of a narrative that focuses on the 'positive aspects

of colonialism' and proposes their interpretation in terms of multiculturalism and cultural contact: 'The practice of slavery, leading to the mass transportation of African population to America and Europe, developed miscegenation (the mix of races).'⁴⁸ Similarly, in multicultural Brazil: 'Nowadays, the Brazilian people are composed of the descendents of the original [American] Indian population, the white settlers and the black slaves, and a synthesis of the several cultures was achieved.'⁴⁹

The inscription of colonialism within the semantics of multiculturalism depoliticizes the historical relation between colonialism and racism. On the contrary, following David T. Goldberg, we argue that the so-called 'expansion' or 'discoveries' period should be considered crucial to the consolidation of racial hierarchical classifications and governmentalities:

The sixteenth century thus marks the divide in the rise of race consciousness. Not only does the concept of race become explicitly and consciously applied but also one begins to see racial characterization emerging in art as much as in politico-philosophical debates ... while slavery may be explained largely (though not nearly exhaustively) in economic terms, one must insist in asking why it was at this time that racial difference came to define fitness for enslavement and why some kinds of racial difference rather than others.⁵⁰

The Triumph of the Egalitarian Humanism

In textbooks, racism is conceived as an individual disposition, a belief strenuously combated by benevolent 'European spirits', i.e. 'members of the clergy'.⁵¹ To speak of racism – always through the use of euphemisms – a moralizing approach is deployed: challenges to injustice and to violent cultural and socio-economic structures are projected as having been led by 'good people', i.e. the Priest António Vieira or Bartolomeu de Las Casas, whose immersion within the colonial system is masked.⁵² This is achieved through the hygienization of the role of the missions and of 'evangelization' projects in the configuration of racial ideologies: 'The colonizers tried first to enslave the [American] Indians, but they faced the opposition of the Jesuit missionaries, who protected them.'⁵³

The prevalence of a moralizing narrative authorizes the trivialization and simplification of slavery via the naturalization of the 'Black African slave' and the inscription of the 'Indian' within a space of juridical and political struggle opened up by such European spirits.⁵⁴ It also disconnects the process of 'dehumanization' from the racial ideologies and governmentalities. Thus, textbooks validate the colonial vocabulary and rationale, uncritically underwriting the division of 'races' between those eligible for enslavement – the 'Black' – and those, such as the indigenous peoples, placed in the space of politics – with a cer-

tain capability of action, even though they had to be 'defended' and 'sheltered' by members of the clergy.⁵⁵

The institutionalization of a certain 'memory' of the struggles against slavery – that sanctions the heroization of figures implicated in the colonial system – activates the centrality of a moral Christian (Catholic) history and the simultaneous erasure of the struggles and rebellions of slaves. In this conception of history, that underpins all the textbooks analyzed, a triumphal linearity is drawn establishing the French Revolution and its key tenets – 'personal liberty' and the 'equality of all human beings' – as the cradle of anti-racism.⁵⁶

The French Revolution and slavery. The French Revolution stimulated the movements towards the abolition of slavery. In 1794, during the Convention, slavery was abolished in all the French colonies. Although slavery was re-implemented a short while later, the idea of the right to personal freedom will not disappear in the colonies and will eventually triumph.⁵⁷

In 1794, during the Convention, slavery was abolished in all the French colonies. Although slavery was later re-implemented, the right of black people to freedom eventually triumphed.⁵⁸

This simplification of the relation between liberalism, colonialism and racism does not consider that, in the terms 'man' and 'citizen' within the 1789 Declaration, it was implicit the idea of *another* territory and population not to be ruled by these codes. An opposition between the abstract notion of 'individual-citizen' and 'race'/racism was thus created. The colonial territory and the slaves in particular were positioned on the other side of the abyssal line of liberal modernity, as a blind spot of (French) republican thought.⁵⁹ To state, as textbooks do, that 'the right to personal freedom will not disappear in the colonies and will eventually triumph' discards an array of laws and codes through which European states continued to govern the colonies and the forced labour of a great segment of the population (for example, the 1790 *Droit des Colonies* in the French colonies; in the Portuguese context, the 1899 *Regulation of Indigenous Labour* – amended several times but only abolished in 1961 in the context of nationalistic struggles for independence).⁶⁰

This narrative guarantees the idea of 'Europe' and of the 'European citizen' as engines of history and politics, ignoring the role of the political action of slaves and the long process of rebellion and resistance they endured in the abolition of slavery. In this sense, it should be noted how the Revolution of Saint-Domingue (1791–1804), which was crucial in the history of colonialism and in the political struggles of black slave populations, has been silenced in the European historiography and textbooks.⁶¹ Equally significantly, Portuguese textbooks do not make reference to the *quilombolas* (a community formed by maroons, runaway slaves), or to the Quilombo dos Palmares: one of the main focus of slave resistance since the seventeenth century in the region.⁶²

III. Performing the Evasion of Power: Discourses and Experiences of Producing History in Portugal

We are truly the vehicle, we are transmitting certain concepts... and we transmit our ideology as the air we breathe. (History teacher 1, focus group)

What emerges from political decisions is that the interest in History takes place when it is time to evoke ... that is, the idea of History as legitimizing something else. (Historian 9)

Our analysis of slavery, colonialism and racism in history textbooks has shown the way in which power relations and violence are evaded through a depoliticized account of these core historical processes and a patronizing perspective regarding the political subjectivities of the racialized 'other'. In this context, it has been particularly interesting to explore the approaches and views of historians, history teachers, university students and textbooks publishers.⁶³ In particular, we are interested in assessing the ways in which the discussion on the history and the teaching of slavery was inscribed into two key issues addressed in our interviews: the idea of a Portuguese idiosyncratic colonial administration and its consequences on current images of nationhood; and the absence of a history of Africa in curricula and textbooks and more generally in Portuguese academia.

In the empirical work, we discussed the relevance of the image of Portugal as an old nation and the role of the 'expansion'/'discoveries' period in the textbooks analysed, which project specific ideas of Portuguese colonialism. According to one historian, these two crucial moments in the national imaginary reinforce each other, and, significantly, they are fundamental to enhancing students' self-esteem and transmitting a positive image of the country:

What I think is transversal to Portuguese society and maybe also among youth is that there is still an idea of the History of Portugal that favors two moments: the period of the foundation of the nationality and then, the so called 'golden age' of the discoveries ... People ... have an idea of Portugal as being an important country among the other nations, that it was a pioneering country contacting other peoples and, in a certain way, that idea enhances people's self-esteem because in a way when you compare that period with the later situation, with other moments in history, those times seem glorious and then this reflects on the idea that the Portuguese people have a special capacity to relate to other peoples. (Historian 6)

This 'Portuguese specificity', described as a capacity to contact and relate to other and to be convivial, has been emphasized throughout the interviews.⁶⁴ Accordingly, the 'racial question' is downplayed as decisive because of the miscegenation process considered as 'characteristic' of Portuguese colonialism and its contemporary consequences:

It is obvious that an empire results from a unilateral will to impose on others ... Yet for the Portuguese case, one of the strongest nuances of the Portuguese imperial experience is the *métissage* [*mestiçagem*]... Since the beginning, I mean, we have had mulattos since the beginning; there are mulattos in Portugal since the mid-15th century. (Historian 3)

We, the Portuguese, have a characteristic, even regarding colonization. Our colonization, as you know, is considered as a very soft colonization – despite all the bad things that happened in history. Anyway, it is a colonization process with openness to the other, a *métissage* [*mestiçagem*] ... Things that are unthinkable for other peoples, namely the English, isn't it? (History teacher)

Although sometimes challenged as a view associated with the (excessively) nationalistic propaganda of the New State's dictatorial regime (1933–74), this dominant frame gives way to that approach to the 'sensitive' past as dividable into the 'good' and 'bad' sides:

Regarding the colonies and the discoveries, we made bad things but we left good things there ... and it is necessary to see both sides, to see the changes introduced ... It is not only 'oh, Portugal was there and killed the indigenous peoples and... victimized the poor, made slaves', this is true, Portugal did that. But go and ask in Cape Verde, they remember, they have it fresh in their memory ... the things we left there ... Go to Angola and ask for the good things. (University student, focus group)

Moreover, the pragmatics of history teaching acts as buffer to a deeper critique of the legacies of the past, implying that a concern with the 'misuses' of history is no longer at stake nowadays. In this view, democracy would have restored 'the right order of things': its history would be 'objective'⁶⁵ and therefore the 'glorification' of Portuguese history would have a good effect on students' self-esteem as citizens:

Well, when I was a teacher I followed the textbooks and I did not really disagree with that and back then I was not so conscious of certain issues that I only became aware of later ... I thought that, in a way, a certain glorification of what the Portuguese had achieved – and that others did not or did not even try to – was contributing to the formation of the student's citizenship. It was an aura of greatness worthy to be transmitted. Today, after all, I am not so sure it should not be this way ... I think the world has changed quite a lot since then and nowadays, and we must put a greater emphasis on, I think that the best way to de-center, to decolonize history is maybe, to give a larger room to the other precisely within the contents, not the discourse. (Historian 5, researcher)

I have never been an imperialist nationalist, I mean, I never had anything to do with that logic, but I cannot, however, be at odds with that ... I think I must not be at odds with that presence [of Portugal in the world] as long as it is analyzed with objectivity, you see? (Historian 1, university professor).

It is assumed, thus, that textbooks can be now *improved* by including contents that reflect other views, other perspectives, as a means to portray a 'fair' account of an event.⁶⁶

I think that the challenge in the teaching of history must be to help the students acquiring the perception that there are other views, other perspectives; that the fact that others have different views and thoughts from our own does not mean that ours are better or worse. (Historian 9)

When the discussion on slavery is located within this semantic field and within a compensating approach to textbooks, a possible discussion of its legacies on the configuration of racism is frustrated and the discourse falls into a banalization of the past focusing on details, on generalizations or on cumulative irrelevance.⁶⁷ Additionally, this strategy frequently results in a petty 'sharing the blame':

I think that if the curriculum would say 'attention, do not forget to mention that there was the Kingdom of Congo ... that there was already a structure ...'; for instance, one thing that it is not mentioned and it is something I have recently learned ... is that there were already slaves in Africa, and we also have the opposite stereotype: it was the White people who enslaved them ... But this is not mentioned, talked about, dealt with ... It is not considered an objective within the program to understand Africa before the Portuguese arrived there, or to understand America, or Brazil. (Textbook publisher 1)

Regarding the problem of slavery, slavery always existed in Africa; the Portuguese participated in this process and strengthened and expanded it, yes, that's right! But it always existed ... Thus the denunciation must be done... because slavery was outrageous ... outrageous for humanity and it still is today, but you cannot assume all the blame and forget all the rest, right? (Historian 2)

This overall race/power evasive discourse mitigates the interrelation between colonialism, slavery and racism reinforcing a Eurocentric production of history that subsumes power relations into a specific equanimity, such that the wrongs of colonialism(s) and slavery can be measured, but only from the perspective of the colonizers and its collaborators.⁶⁸

Conclusion

In which conditions were slaves transported from Africa to other continents? ... Give your opinion about the treatment of these human beings. c) Show how figure A [drawing of a slave ship] constitutes a violation of Human Rights in contemporary times.⁶⁹

While many people have welcomed expressions of regret and apologies for slavery, many others – especially black people and Black organizations – have asked why the apologies have not led to actions to combat the legacy of slavery ... The ways in which these processes unfold, and their impact on societies at large, reflect the highly divergent access of contemporary racial and national groups to knowledge production and political power.⁷⁰

Despite relevant international efforts such as the 2001 World Conference against Racism held in Durban, whose declaration stated that slavery was 'among the major sources and manifestations of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance'; or the UNESCO initiatives during the *International Year to Commemorate the Struggle against Slavery and its Abolition* that encouraged scientific research on the links between the slave trade, slavery and contemporary racism and emphasized the influence of the Haitian Revolution, public policies and education policies in particular, continue to promote a depoliticized narrative on Atlantic slavery an understanding of slavery that naturalizes this system of domination and disconnects it from racism, thus helping to erase its racialized contours.⁷¹

This evasion of politics, that is of power structures and relations, is clearly re-enacted in current textbooks through the discussion on slavery within a human rights discourse. Regarding this, history textbooks are increasingly deploying a humanist approach that highlights questions related to the 'conditions' in which slaves lived and their 'suffering'.⁷² As the epigraph to this section attests, students are asked to comment on this by relating slavery to the contemporary frame of human rights, according to which it would constitute a clear violation of terms. Thus, the human rights of the individual (not a collective capable of acting politically) are approached through a moralizing narrative within which textbooks tend to focus on the 'degradation conditions' of living faced by slaves, emphasizing the 'inhumanity' of slavery without a political approach that is able to link economic and cultural processes to racial ideologies.⁷³ Within this narrative, empathy emerges as a device to approach the victim. This has fundamentally two consequences: on the one hand, it reinforces the construction of the slave as a subject who is incapable of political action; on the other, it precludes the association of slavery with routine ways of racist governmentality.⁷⁴ Slavery is thus consigned to the past and read in terms of the 'wrong doing' of those times but ultimately overcome, securing 'Europe' as the locus of democracy and human rights and of the capacity for self-critique.

Accordingly, only through the unsettling of the political idea of 'Europe' and of 'Europeanness' can the discussion on the relation between slavery and racism and its legacies take place. This should challenge the dominant moralizing approach on the teaching of slavery that paves the way for the disentangling of modernity from colonialism, and colonialism from racism, and the marginalizing/silencing of anti-racist and anti-colonial political struggles. The critique of Eurocentrism must thus be conceived as a 'radical critique of modernity' and not merely as a (compensating) critique of a European perspective on history.⁷⁵

39. 13.00–14.00, 11 February 2009, International Slavery Museum, Liverpool, United Kingdom. Observation notes and transcript of sessions on file with author.
40. Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory*, p. 29.
41. Ibid. p. 2; Rifkin, *The Empathic Civilisation*, p. 160.
42. 13.30–14.30, 11 May 2010, Buxton National Historic Site and Museum, Ontario, Canada. Observation notes and transcript of sessions on file with author.
43. Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory*.

10 Araújo and Maeso, ‘Slavery and Racism as the “Wrongs” of (European) History’

1. C. Maia and I. P. Brandão, *Viva a História 8!* (Porto: Porto Editora, 2008), p. 64.
2. S. Hira, ‘Decolonizing the Mind. The Case of the Netherlands’ (The Hague: International Institute for Scientific Research, 2010), unpublished paper, p. 14.
3. C. Boyd, ‘The Politics of History and Memory in Democratic Spain’, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 617:1 (2008), p. 138.
4. B. Cruz, ‘Don Juan and Rebels under Palm Trees: Depictions of Latin Americans in US history textbooks’, *Critique of Anthropology*, 22:3 (2002), pp. 323–42, on p. 324.
5. The project is titled ‘*Race and Africa in Portugal: A Study on History Textbooks*’, and is funded by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (ref. FCOMP-01-0124-FEDER-007554).
6. M. Apple, ‘Cultural Politics and the Text’, in S. J. Ball (ed.), *Sociology of Education* (London: Routledge Falmer, 2004), pp. 179–95.
7. Cruz, ‘Don Juan and Rebels under Palm Trees’, p. 328.
8. Ministério da Educação, 1989, *Programa de História: plano de organização de ensino-aprendizagem - Ensino Básico, 3º ciclo, vol. 2* (Lisboa: Departamento de Educação Básica/Ministério da Educação).
9. T. van Dijk, *Elite Discourse and Racism* (Newbury Park: Sage, 1993), p. 95.
10. J. Nicholls, ‘Methods in School Textbook Research’, *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, 3:2 (2003), pp. 11–26; M. Repoussi and N. Tutiaux-Guillon, ‘New Trends in History Textbook Research: Issues and Methodologies toward a School Historiography’, *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society*, 2:1 (2010), pp. 154–70; F. Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision* (Paris/Braunschweig: UNESCO/Georg Eckert Institute, 2010).
11. I. Wallerstein, ‘Eurocentrism and its Avatars: The Dilemmas of Social Science’, *New Left Review*, 1:226 (November–December 1997), pp. 94–6, 102–4.
12. A. Quijano, ‘Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism and Latin America’, *Nepantla: Views from South*, 1:3 (2000), pp. 533–9.
13. J. Rabasa, *Inventing America* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), p. 18.
14. M-R. Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1995), pp. 19–20.
15. The ‘7 Maravilhas de Origem Portuguesa no Mundo’ contest was organized by the Foundation 7 Wonders, and received the support of the Portuguese government (Ministries of Culture and Education) and the Portuguese Institute for Architectural Patrimony (IPPAR). The vote was organized online and the results were revealed in a ceremony broadcast by the public TV channel RTP 1 on 10 June 2009 – Portugal’s National Day. Some critical articles were published in the Portuguese press, such as ‘Monumentos e colonialismo’ [‘Monuments and colonialism’] by Boaventura de Sousa Santos (Review

- Visão, 7 May 2009). Academics from different countries posted an online petition addressed to the Portuguese government to denounce the omission of slavery in the historical depiction of the constructions to be voted: 'The contest "The Seven Portuguese Wonders" ignores the history of slavery and the slave trade': <http://www.petitiononline.com/port2009/petition.html> [accessed 23 January 2010].
16. See A. Vakil, 'Nationalising Cultural Politics: Representations of the Portuguese "Discoveries" and the Rhetoric of Identitarianism, 1880–1926', in C. Mar-Molinero and A. Smith, *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula* (Oxford: Berg, 1996), pp. 33–52; M. Calafate Ribeiro, 'Empire, Colonial Wars and Post-Colonialism in Portuguese Colonial Imagination', *Portuguese Studies*, 18 (2002), pp. 132–214.
 17. B. Hesse, 'Im/Plausible Deniability: Racism's Conceptual Double Bind', *Social Identities*, 10:1 (2004), pp. 9–29, on p. 20.
 18. For an analysis of the discourse on the 'Western Self' see F. Coronil, 'Discovering America Again: The Politics of Selfhood in the Age of Post-Colonial Empires', in Rolena Adomo and Walter D. Mignolo (eds), *Discourses on Colonialism, Dispositio*, 14:36–9 (1989), pp. 315–31; S. Hall 'The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power', in S. Hall and B. Gieben (eds), *Formations of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), pp. 275–331; A. Dirlik, 'Is there History after Eurocentrism?: Globalism, Postcolonialism, and the Disavowal of History', *Cultural Critique*, 42 (1999), pp. 1–34.
 19. CoE, *Against Bias and Prejudice. The Council of Europe's Work on History Teaching and History Textbooks: Recommendations on History Teaching and History Textbooks Adopted at Council of Europe Conferences and Symposia 1953–1995* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1995); CoE, *Mutual Understanding and the Teaching of European History: Challenges, Problems and Approaches*, Report of the Symposium held in Prague, 24–8 October 1995 (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1996); A. Low-Beer, *The Council of Europe and School History* (Strasbourg: CE/ Directorate of Education, Culture and Sport, 1997); CoE, 'Recommendation Rec (2001)15 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on history teaching in twenty-first-century Europe' (31 October 2001), at <http://wcd.coe.int/wcd/ViewDoc.jsp?id=234237> [accessed 11 December 2010].
 20. Conference on 'The period from c.1870 to c.1950', Istanbul and Ankara, Turkey: 25 August–3 September 1958, in CoE, *Against Bias and Prejudice*, p. 20. Symposium on 'Teaching about the Portuguese Discoveries in Secondary Schools in Western Europe', Lisbon: 1983 in CoE, *Against Bias and Prejudice*, p. 49.
 21. F. Coronil, 'Beyond Occidentalism: Toward Nonimperial Geohistorical Categories', *Cultural Anthropology*, 11.1 (1996), pp. 51–87, on p. 56.
 22. CoE, 'Recommendation Rec(2001)15'; CoE, *Against Bias and Prejudice*, p. 52; CoE, *Mutual Understanding and the Teaching of European History*, pp. 26–8, 41; Low-Beer, *The Council of Europe and School History*, pp. 65–71.
 23. Low-Beer, *The Council of Europe and School History*, p. 33.
 24. CoE, 1995: 61, 64; CoE, 1996: 7
 25. F. Vergès, 'Xenophobia and the Civilizing Mission', *Open Democracy* (13 May 2011), at <http://www.opendemocracy.net/fran%C3%A7oise-verg%C3%A8s/xenophobia-and-civilizing-mission> [accessed 25 November 2011], p. 1.
 26. B. de Sousa Santos, 'Beyond Abyssal Thinking: From Global Lines to Ecologies of Knowledges', *Revue*, 30:1 (2007), pp. 45–89, on p. 50.
 27. F. Pingel, 'Can Truth Be Negotiated? History Textbook Revision as a Means to Reconciliation', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 617 (2008), p. 182.

28. M. Apple, 'The Hidden Curriculum and the Nature of Conflict', *Interchange*, 2:4 (1971), p. 35; S. Foster, 'Whose History? Portrayal of Immigrant Groups in U.S. History Textbooks, 1800–Present', in S. Foster and K. Crawford (eds), *What Shall We Tell the Children?* (Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing, 2006), p. 165.
29. Hall, 'The West and the Rest' p. 279; N. Lesko and L. Bloom, 'Close Encounters: Truth, Experience and Interpretation in Multicultural Teacher Education', *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 30:4 (1998), pp. 375–95, on p. 380; E. Swartz, 'Emancipatory Narratives: Rewriting the Master Script in the School Curriculum', *Journal of Negro Education*, 61:3 (1992), pp. 341–55; G. Ladson-Billings, 'Just what is Critical Race Theory and What's it Doing in a Nice Field like Education?', in G. Ladson-Billings and D. Gillborn (eds), *The Routledge Falmer Reader in Multicultural Education: Critical Perspectives on Race, Racism and Education* (Oxon: Routledge/Falmer, 2004), pp. 49–67.
30. C. McCarthy, 'After the Canon: Knowledge and Ideological Representation in the Multicultural Discourse on Curriculum Reform', in C. McCarthy and W. Crichlow (eds), *Race, Identity, and Representation in Education* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 289–305.
31. M. Vale de Almeida, 'Leitura de Um livro de leitura: a sociedade contada às crianças e lembrada ao Povo', in B. J. O'Neil and J. Pais de Brito (eds), *Lugares de Aqui: Actas do seminário 'Terrenos Portugueses'* (Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote, 1991), pp. 245–61; M. M. Carvalho, 'Ensino da História e ideologia "imperial"', *História*, 34 (Ano XIX, nova série, 1997), pp. 14–23. M. Lagarto Santos, 'A formação da mentalidade colonial: Representações do Portugal Ultramarino em Livros de Leitura do Estado Novo', *Revista de História das Ideias*, 28 (2007), pp. 357–90.
32. Y. Soysal and H. Schissler, 'Introduction. Teaching beyond the National Narrative', Y. Soysal and H. Schissler, *The Nation, Europe and the World. Textbooks in and Curricula in Transition* (London: Berghahn Books, 2005), p. 5; R. Stradling, *Teaching 20th-Century European History* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2001), pp. 137–56.
33. UNESCO, *Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy* (Paris: UNESCO, 1995), p. 11.
34. Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision*, pp. 39–40.
35. Lesko and Bloom, 'Close encounters', pp. 389–90.
36. Hall, 'The West and the Rest', p. 282.
37. Humanism is here understood as the body of political ideas and discourses, developed since the sixteenth century, which proclaimed that human beings are defined by their rationality and morality; human beings are thus considered as subjects capable of producing (universal) history and knowledge. Critical studies have emphasized the need to analyse humanism – and its contemporary formulation via human rights – as intimately interrelated to the production of the idea of 'race' and to the rise of racism, and not merely as opposites. See D. T. Goldberg, 'Modernity, Race, and Morality', *Cultural Critique*, 24 (1993), pp. 193–227, and A. Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism* (1955; New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000).
38. Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, p. 96
39. W. Brown, *Regulating Aversion. Tolerance in the Age of Identity and Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 15.
40. A. Oliveira, F. Cantanhede, I. Catarino and P. Torrão, *Novo História 8 – vol. 1.* (Lisbon: Texto Editores, 2008), p. 38; M. E. Diniz, A. Tavares and A. Caldeira, *História Oito – vol. 1* (Lisbon: Lisboa Editora, 2009), pp. 38, 46; A. Barreira and M. Moreira, *Sinais da História 8 – Manual do Aluno* (Lisboa: Edições Asa, 2008), p. 46. In a previous version

- of one of the textbooks, from 2003, there is mention of the violence of such ‘movements’ See A. Barreira and M. Moreira, *Rumos da História*, 8 (Lisboa: Edições Asa, 2003), p. 28.
41. Maia and Brandão, *Viva a História* 8!, p. 62. For an analysis of current historical research within Dutch universities that normalizes colonialism and slavery, which the author nominates as ‘scientific colonialism’, see Hira, ‘Decolonizing the Mind. The Case of The Netherlands’.
 42. Swartz, ‘Emancipatory Narratives’, p. 345
 43. Diniz et al., *História Oito – vol. 1*, p. 39.
 44. Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, p. 16; Hira, ‘Decolonizing the Mind. The Case of The Netherlands’, p. 13.
 45. Here we conceive of governmentality as the assemblage of institutional arrangements, techniques and mentalities, characteristic of modernity, developed to administer/control territories and peoples – though not limited to state politics – that had the production of knowledge as a key element; more specifically, modern governmentality is embedded in the configuration of the idea of ‘race’ and the establishment of a Eurocentred capitalist world-system. See M. Foucault ‘Governmentality’ (lecture at the Collège de France, 1 February 1978), in G. Burchell, C. Gordon and P. Miller (eds), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), pp. 87–104; M. Dean, *Governmentality – Power and Rule in Modern Society* (London: Sage, 1999).
 46. Diniz et al., *História Oito – vol. 1*, pp. 39, 96; Barreira and Moreira, *Rumos da História* 8, p. 28; Maia and Brandão, *Viva a História* 8!, pp. 62, 64.
 47. Diniz, Maria Emília; Tavares, Adérito; Caldeira, Arlindo, *História Nove – vol. 1* (Lisbon: Lisboa Editora, 2009), p. 14.
 48. Oliveira et al., *Novo História 8 – vol. 1*, p. 48.
 49. Diniz et al., *História Oito – vol. 1*, p. 96.
 50. Goldberg, ‘Modernity, Race, and Morality’, p. 203.
 51. Oliveira et al., *Novo História 8 – vol. 1*, p. 48
 52. Diniz et al., *História Oito – vol. 1*, p. 96
 53. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
 54. Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, p. 96–7; I. Godreau, M. F. Ortiz and S. Cuadrado, ‘The Lessons of Slavery: Discourses of Slavery, Mestizaje, and Blanqueamiento in an Elementary School in Puerto Rico’, *American Ethnologist*, 35:1 (2008), pp. 122–5.
 55. J. H. Sweet, ‘Spanish and Portuguese Influences on Racial Slavery in British North America, 1492–1619’, 5th Annual Gilder Lehrman Center International Conference: *Collective Degradation: Slavery and the Construction of Race* (Yale University: 7–8 November 2003), pp. 5–7, at <http://www.yale.edu/glc/events/race/Sweet.pdf> [accessed 23 November 2011]; Oliveira et al., *Novo História 8 – vol. 1*, p. 42.
 56. For example, Diniz, Maria Emília; Tavares, Adérito; Caldeira, Arlindo, *História Oito – vol. 2* (Lisbon: Lisboa Editora, 2009), p. 27; Oliveira et al., *Novo História 8 – vol. 2*, p. 27.
 57. Diniz et al., *História Oito – vol. 2*, p. 27.
 58. Oliveira et al., *Novo História 8 – vol. 2*, p. 27.
 59. Santos, ‘Beyond Abyssal Thinking’ F. Vergès, ‘The African Slave Trade and Slavery. Blind Spots in French Thought’, *African Slave Trade and Slavery* (2006), at <http://translate.eicpc.net/transversal/1206/verges/en> [accessed 9 November 2010].
 60. M. E. Diniz et al., *História Oito – vol. 2*, p. 27. M. P. Meneses, ‘O “Índigena” africano e o colono “Europeu”: a construção da diferença por processos legais’, *e-cadernos ces*, 7 (2010), pp. 68–93, at http://http://www.ces.uc.pt/e-cadernos/media/ecadernos7/04%20-%20Paula%20Meneses%2023_06.pdf [accessed 21 November 2011].

61. Although recently the Revolution of St Domingue came to be addressed in Anglophone contexts, particularly since the commemorations of the abolition of slavery that took place in 2007, its significance is sometimes contained by narratives that establish Haiti as one of the territories where slavery persists nowadays (for example, textbooks produced by the *School History Project*: C. Culpin, I. Dawson, D. Banham, B. Edwards, S. Burnham, *SHP History Year 8* (London: Hodder Education, 2009), pp. 87–8).
62. Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, pp. 95–107.
63. Most interviews and focus groups were carried out between February and June 2010. During that period we interviewed nine historians that currently work in Portuguese universities, schools and centres of research; we conducted two focus groups, one with six history teachers and another one with four university students from social sciences and humanities.
64. This formulation of a ‘Portuguese specificity’ regarding colonialism and national character – already present by the end of the nineteenth century – was enunciated as *Lusotropicalism* and is now commonsensical. See G. Freyre, *Em torno de um novo conceito de tropicalismo. Conferência pronunciada na Sala dos Capelos da Universidade de Coimbra em 24 de janeiro de 1952* (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1952); C. Castelo, *O modo português de estar no mundo: o luso-tropicalismo e a ideologia colonial portuguesa (1933–1961)* (Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 1998).
65. S. Harding, ‘After Eurocentrism: Challenges to the Philosophy of Science’, *Proceedings of the Biennial Meeting of the Philosophy of Science Association*, 1992, vol. 2, pp. 311–19, on p. 316.
66. Regarding this, an aspect frequently stressed in the interviews was the importance of using diverse and divergent primary sources in textbooks in order to confront the students with different versions of an historical event (see Barca, 2006).
67. Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, pp. 96–7.
68. Hira, ‘Decolonizing the Mind. The Case of the Netherlands’, p. 11.
69. Maia and Brandão, *Viva a História 8!*, p. 63.
70. K. Nimako and G. Willemsen, *The Dutch Atlantic. Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation* (London: Pluto, 2011), p. 182.
71. WCAR, ‘Declaration’, DURBAN: 31 August–8 September 2001, at <http://www.un.org/WCAR/durban.pdf> [accessed 15 December 2010], p. 13. UNESCO, *Struggles against Slavery. International Year to Commemorate the Struggle against Slavery and its Abolition* (La Mothe-Achard: UNESCO, 2004), p. 45.
72. For instance, Maia and Brandão, *Viva a História 8!*, pp. 63–4.
73. Diniz et al., *História Oito – vol. 1*, p. 39; Maia and Brandão, *Viva a História 8!*, pp. 63–5.
74. Hesse, ‘Im/Plausible Deniability: Racism’s Conceptual Double Bind’, p. 14.
75. Dirlík, ‘Is there History after Eurocentrism’, pp. 1–2.