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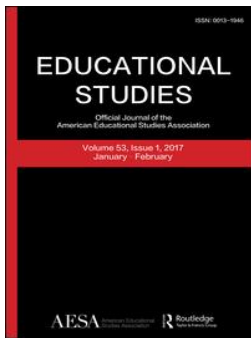
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ARTICLES

Can the Subaltern Nation Speak by Herself in the History Curriculum?

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This article examines and discusses the ways in which hegemonic and subaltern discourses alternatively evoke different, and sometimes competing, notions of *the nation* and how they might productively coexist within the history curriculum. More precisely, using Homi Bhabha's conceptual tools of pedagogic and performative narratives of the nation, the article examines history curriculum as permeable to alternative and endless reinventions of the nation and as intrinsically linked to a fixed, stable, and officialized narrative. The study, based on the analysis of the construction of the Catalan nationhood in school textbooks and teachers' and museums' resources in Catalonia (Spain), suggests complex dynamics between hegemonic and subaltern discourses, rather than fixed conceptualizations. Whereas revolutionary discursive depictions of the nation incorporated in the curriculum have a tendency to be officialized, institutionalized, and domesticated through their mediation in educational texts, the article suggests possibilities for more effectively building the subaltern voice within the school curriculum.

L'objectiu d'aquest article és analitzar els discursos sobre la "nació" que es troben presents en l'ensenyament de la història. Partint dels conceptes teòrics de "narració pedagògica" i "narració performativa" de la nació desenvolupats per Homi Bhabha, investigo si el currículum incorpora únicament els discursos hegemònics de la nació o si, per contra, també incorpora discursos més revolucionaris. Els meus resultats, basats en l'anàlisi de llibres de text i altres recursos educatius de la Catalunya actual, indiquen que els discursos hegemònics i els discursos subalterns conviuen i sovint competeixen en el currículum. Tot i que les perspectives més revolucionàries de la nació tendeixen a ser oficialitzades, institucionalitzades i domesticades en els texts, les veus dels subalterns formen part del currículum. Resten a l'espera de ser escoltades.

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El objetivo de este artículo es analizar los discursos sobre la “nación” que conviven en la enseñanza de la historia. Partiendo de los conceptos teóricos de narración pedagógica y narración performativa de la nación desarrollados por Homi Bhabha, investigo si el currículo incorpora discursos revolucionarios de la nación o si, por el contrario, se limita a los discursos hegemónicos. Mis resultados, basados en el análisis de libros de texto y otros recursos educativos de la Cataluña contemporánea, sugieren que los discursos hegemónicos y los discursos subalternos en el currículo cohabitan el currículo en una convivencia basada en la competencia. Aunque las perspectivas más revolucionarias de la nación tienden a ser oficializadas, institucionalizadas y domesticadas en los textos, las voces de la nación subalterna forman parte viva del currículo y pueden ser escuchadas.

This article analyses and discusses the challenges and opportunities for strengthening the impact of subaltern narratives of the nation in the history curriculum. Nationalism is traditionally associated with the hegemonic discourse and the imposition of dominant values (e.g., Althusser, 1971; Hobsbawm, 2012). The concept of the nation might also be understood as a “weapon for change and revolution in the hands of the subordinated” (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p. 106). The latter may provide a strategic option when the nation is not a sovereign State. In such cases, competing narratives of the nation might include hegemonic narratives from outside the nation (e.g., the narrative of the State, global capitalism, etc.), potentially hegemonic domestic narratives (i.e., the hegemonic narratives in the event of the nation becoming a nation-state) and subaltern-revolutionary narratives. The article’s aim is to analyze the potential for these competing narratives of the nation to coexist in the history curriculum of a nonsovereign nation—Catalonia, in this instance—and how possibilities in the discursive construction of the nation for a more democratic curriculum might be developed. Conceptual tools of pedagogical and performative narratives will be deployed to analyze the dynamics of these competing narratives.

Bhabha (1990) argues that theory and research pertaining to the notion of the nation is usually built on a restrictive understanding in which the narrative of the nation is exclusively defined in either a *pedagogical* or a *performative* form. In the pedagogical form, modernist theorists describe a *hegemonic* narrative that defines the nation as “inventions” (Gellner, 2008, p. 55) or as “invented traditions” (Hobsbawm, 2012, p. 12), distributed through what Althusser (1971) describes as “ideological state apparatus” (p. 145). Here, educational institutions are crucial in the maintenance of the nation and of the self-identification of the citizens as nationals (e.g., Brockliss & Sheldon, 2012; Sant, Gonzalez-Monfort, Santisteban Fernandez, Pages Blanch & Oller Freixa, 2015; Wang, 2008). The performative narrative, in contrast, is linked to a more vernacular and subaltern construction in which the people themselves define the nation. For example, ethno-symbolist theorists understand nationalism as a rediscovery and reinterpretation of preexistent myths, memories, and symbols (Smith, 2000). This preexistence nation might contain in itself the autonomous and revolutionary power of the unified community, that is, an intrinsic power of the people to resist external domination (Hardt & Negri, 2000). In this view, the knowledge and love of the homeland can be an essential element of the new generations’ education beyond the limits and the control of State mass education (Smith, 2000).

In Bhabha’s account (1990, 2004), the nation is dialectically constructed in the space in between these two types of knowledge (the pedagogical and the performative). In between space, the nation becomes an ambivalent social and cultural construction that contains in itself a subordinating force and an agentic productive potential (Bhabha, 1990). According to Bhabha (1990), Anderson’s (2006) definition of the nation as *imagined community*, emphasizes this ambivalent

process in which the nation emerges. “If nation-states are widely conceded to be ‘new’ and ‘historical,’ the nations to which they give political expression always loom out of an immemorial past, and, still more important, glide into a limitless future” (Anderson, 2006, pp. 11–12). Here, educational systems become a space where the nation can be imagined, simultaneously reproduced and produced. A space where, using Bhabha’s words (1990), the “history may be half-made because it is in the process of being made; and the image of cultural authority may be ambivalent because it is caught, uncertainly, in the act of ‘composing’ its powerful image” (p. 3).

History education, as a curriculum subject and through other subjects or school activities (e.g., historical texts, artefacts, monuments, commemoration of national festivities), is particularly relevant in the schooled construction of the nation. History education is probably the first and, perhaps, the main arena where the idea of the nation and its myths, memories, and symbols are explicitly presented to young people. Research on textbooks and other cultural tools has essentially focused on analyzing the possible alignment between historical educational texts and the official, master, or here pedagogical narratives (e.g., Abdou, 2016; Calderon, 2014; Christou, 2007; Idrissi, 2010; Kotowski, 2013; Repoussi & Tutiaux-Guillon, 2010; Terra, 2013; Thornton, 2006; Tormey, 2006; Torsti, 2007). Others, however, understand textbooks as multidimensional cultural tools, offering opportunities for alternative readings (Repoussi & Tutiaux-Guillon, 2010; Subreenduth, 2013; Thornton, 2006).

In Bhabha’s account of nation and narrative, the educational texts, as cultural tools, could be understood as mediators themselves. Constructed in between both, the texts could contain hegemonic and subaltern, pedagogical and performative narratives of the nation. This possibility has already been partially investigated by researchers who have looked at how different students are interpellated by different narratives in the same text (Levstik & Groth, 2002; Porat, 2004; Sant, Pages, Santisteban & Boixader, 2015; Wertsch, 2008). Postcolonialist studies have suggested that the texts and the images that they include might potentially contain subaltern constructions of the nation (see Coloma, 2013). Others have also highlighted that, rather than telling an “unequivocal story,” textbooks can be better understood as having “many narrative layers” (Meirlaen & Hens, 2009, cited in Repoussi & Tutiaux-Guillon, 2010, p. 165). It is the intention in this article to examine a set of educational texts toward unpicking how the history curriculum might be alternatively distributed in-between pedagogic and performative narratives of the nation.

First, Bhabha’s distinction between pedagogical and performative narrative notions of the nation will be explained so that it can support later data analysis. Following, the article outlines the situation in present-day Catalonia and research methodology. Discussion of the results provides representative examples and contrasts the data with previous research and theory. Finally, I outline the main trends of the complex dynamics in the construction of the curriculum and the possibilities of incorporating subaltern discourses within the school curricula.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: PEDAGOGICAL AND PERFORMATIVE NARRATIVES OF THE NATION

This theoretical framework is structured around three themes derived from the contrasting features of pedagogical and performative narratives of the nation in Bhabha’s account. These themes are (a) the nature of the narrative, (b) the strategies of interpellation used in the narrative, and (c) the roles of the nation in the narrative.

First, the pedagogical and the performative narratives of the nation are different in nature. The pedagogical narrative is described to have a continuist, accumulative, fixed, and stable nature (Bhabha, 2004). It is fixed as it narrates a pregiven or historically constituted past, akin to the metaphoric birth of the nation. It is also stable as it identifies the immutable principles of the nation in the form of certain norms and values. The pedagogic nature also contains the promise of a future in which the nation will fully become itself through the full accomplishment of these immutable principles. Through this evolution, the pedagogical narrative is continuist and accumulative toward certain ends (Mock, 2011). The performative narrative, in contrast, is repetitive and unstable, or in Fanon's terms (1963, p. 227), it is a "fluctuating movement that the people are just giving shape to." The fluctuation suggests a repetition of the past in which the people of the present repeat the events once lived by the people of the past. Bhabha (2004) uses the psychoanalytic notion of *Nachträglichkeit* (deferred action) to discuss how, in a process of repetition, the original is replaced. The past is dissolved in the present and the future becomes open. In the performative national narrative, when the people of the present reexperience the events of the past, they destroy the "true" national past and they enter into what Fanon (1963) describes as a "zone of occult instability" (p. 227), where the people become empowered to change their future.

Second, the pedagogical and the performative narratives of the nation use different strategies of interpellation. The pedagogical narrative uses what Wertsch (2002) defines as the remembering strategy to interpellate the people. The pedagogical narrative presupposes a separation between present and past that needs to be overcome. The narrative functions as a mediator between both times. This is, the people of the present remember the people of the past through this narrative. "The human self expands its temporal extension beyond the limits of the birth and death, beyond mere mortality. Via this historical identity, a person becomes part of the temporal whole larger than that of his or her personal life" (Rüsen, 2004, p. 58). The pedagogical narrative encourages the present nation to include a past never lived in lifestory as nation. Without the pedagogical narrative, the past might be partially lost or fragmentated into what Bodnar (1992) defines as "vernacular narratives" (p. 14).

In contrast, the performative narrative uses the reexperiencing strategy of interpellation (Wertsch, 2002). Connerton (1989, p. 24) argues that our memories are "habit-memories," that is, we essentially recognize and demonstrate their memories through performance. But the process of reexperiencing encompasses a modification of the original experience. According to Bhabha,

Coming "after" the original, or in "addition to" it, gives the supplementary question the advantage of introducing a sense of "secondariness" or belatedness into the structure of the original demand. The supplementary strategy suggests that adding "to" need not "add up" but may disturb the calculation. (2004, p. 222)

Reexperiencing is never the same, yet each reexperience might embrace new narratives and memories, including those belonging to the subaltern.

Third, in the pedagogical narrative, the nation is an object that is spoken for; in the performative narrative, the nation becomes the subject of the narrative. In the pedagogical, an authoritative discourse represents the past people as the object of the narrative. The process of representation, speaking for the people, involves a process of domination (Said, 1978; Spivak, 1988). The people of the past are defined, narrated, and shaped by the authorities of the present. The pedagogical narrative raises concerns about the imposition of the dominant culture's ideology (e.g., Giroux,

1997; Ross, Mathison, & Vinson, 2014). In the performative form, in contrast, the present people replace the past people and become the subject of the action. The performative narrative of the nation boosts participation and generates present and future instability. In the performative narrative, the subaltern are giving shape to and speaking for themselves.

In this article, I use these contrasting features of the pedagogical and the performative narrative as conceptual tools to analyse educational texts, including social studies textbooks and other teaching resources. Drawing on previous research, I assume that history and social studies educational texts tend to disseminate the pedagogical narrative (e.g., Calderon, 2014; Idrissi, 2010; Terra, 2013; Tormey, 2006; Torsti, 2007) but might also offer opportunities for alternative readings (Coloma, 2013; Porat, 2004; Thornton, 2006). The article's aim is to further examine the apparent coexistence of pedagogical and performative narrative, hegemonic, and subaltern, in school-based history education and its educational texts. The question is, are the history curriculum and its educational texts permeable to the voices of the subaltern nation?

METHODOLOGY ON CATALONIA AS A CASE

Present-day Catalonia provides a good example of an ambivalent construction of the nation. Officially a region within the Spanish state, Catalonia is presently living intensive nationalistic mobilizations involving hegemonic and subaltern constructions of the nation. The nationalistic movement can be attributed to a complex and multidimensional dynamics between popular movements and political and cultural elites (Crameri, 2014; Gillespie, 2015; Prado, 2014). Since the reintroduction of the Catalan regional government after the Franco dictatorship (1977), the Catalan government has primarily been run by a Catalan nationalist, center-right party. In this period, the political and media discourse has evolved from one demanding self-autonomy within Spain to one defending the right to national sovereignty (Crameri, 2014). Simultaneously, social and civil movements have fostered the support for independence/secessionism through unofficial referendums (Muñoz & Guinjoan, 2013), the use of social media, and the organization of social events (Crameri, 2014). In the last regional elections (2015), a self-declared anticapitalist, socialist, feminist, and ecologist secessionist party obtained more than 8% of the votes. The nationalistic movement contains in itself subaltern revolutionary narratives of the nation (e.g., anti-capitalist and anti-European Union) and the seed for domestic and international structures of domination through institutionalized narratives of the potential new nation-state (e.g., the new nation-state within the global market and the European Union).

History plays an essential role in both constructions. A particular historical event, Eleventh September 1714, is considered to be the heart of the Catalan national narratives (Crameri, 2014; Guibernau, 2000). In brief, in the context of the Spanish War of Succession (1700–1714), most Catalan villages supported the Austrian dynasty against the Bourbon candidate, Philip V. Although the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), signed by the belligerents, recognized Philip as King of Spain, the Catalan leaders decided to carry on their fight. September 11, 1714 is the date of the surrender of Barcelona (the Catalan capital) to the Franco-Spanish army of Philip V, and it represents the abolition of Catalan political institutions and linguistic and cultural rights. The commemoration of this historical event was officially declared the national day of Catalonia in 1980 just after the reintroduction of the Catalan government. Eleventh of September is the key data that social and civil movements have elected to perform their national (proto-hegemonic

TABLE 1
Instructional Materials Analyzed

<i>ID</i>	<i>Type of Material</i>	<i>Name of the Text</i>	<i>Student Audience (Age)</i>	<i>Author/Funding Body</i>
T1	Textbook	Social Sciences, Geography and History	13–14	Publisher
T2	Textbook	Geography and History	13–14	Publisher
T3	Textbook	ESO Social Sciences	13–14	Publisher
T4	Textbook	History	15–16	Publisher
T5	Textbook	Polis. Social sciences, history.	15–16	Publisher
LP1	Lesson Plan	What happened the 1714?	15–16	Secondary teacher
LP2	Lesson Plan	The War of Succession	12–16	Secondary teacher – Local institution
LP3	Lesson Plan	Philip the Fifth and Catalonia	12–16	Secondary teacher
LP4	WebQuest	11th September, National day	12–16	Secondary teacher
LP5	Lesson Plan	Archaeologists of 21st Century		Local institution
LP6	Lesson Plan	11th September of 1714	12–16	Secondary teacher
LP7	Lesson Plan	Catalans' war	12–16	National institution
LP8	Lesson Plan	11th September	12–16	National institution
LP9	Lesson Plan	The memory	12–16	National institution
M1	Museum resources	Cardona 1714, the inexpugnable fortress	12–16	Local museum
M2	Museum resources	Barcelona 1700	12–16	Local museum
M3	Museum resources	Nobles and knights between two kings. The War of Succession in the National Archival institution of Catalonia.	12–16	National museum
M4	Museum resources	Catalonia and the War of Succession	Not specified	National museum

and subaltern) claims. In 2014, by the time this research was carried out, the Catalan people celebrated the commemoration of the 300th Jubilee. The Catalan government promoted official acts of commemoration, including (but not limited to) exhibitions in national museums, special documentaries on Catalan public television, and a web site comprising teaching resources for use in schools. Simultaneously, on the anniversary that year, 1.8 million people demonstrated in Barcelona to demand a referendum for independence.

For this study, the construction of the Catalan nationhood in 18 instructional materials was analysed (see [Table 1](#)). In line with earlier research, the initial focus was on the analysis of textbooks (e.g., Terra, 2013; Tormey, 2006; Torsti, 2007). This was achieved through access to five of the eight social studies textbooks (Botey, 2013) used by 14-year-old students in Catalonia in the academic year 2013–2014. In the selection of these books, criteria of popularity and availability were considered. Those sections or chapters that referred to the War of Succession or to 11th September 1714 were most closely examined, in addition to some other educational resources. As part of the 300th 1714 jubilee, the Catalan government offered a full set of online resources to commemorate and study 1714 (Generalitat de Catalunya, n.d.). These resources included lesson plans; museum materials; and educational videos, audios, and games developed by teachers, institutions, and the Catalan public television and radio. From the materials, I identified 13 instructional texts. Texts are here defined as “resources in the form of narratives, both spoken

and written” (Wertsch, 2008, p. 122). The criteria for selecting these materials were: (a) their recommended audience was secondary school students; (b) they mainly included written texts and images (no videos, audios, or games were analyzed), and (c) they were published online on publicly available (nonrestricted) websites.

An initial reading of the texts revealed three common threads that guide the study’s data analysis. First, all these texts are mainly written in Catalan. With some minor exceptions when official documentation in Spanish is presented, the instructional language is Catalan. Second, the texts mainly focus on the War of Succession or in the defeat of 1714. Most of the texts are entitled “The War of Succession,” “Eleventh of September 1714,” or similar. Third, most of the texts expand their narrative after the defeat of 1714. Recurrent are the links between 1714 and present Catalan nationalism or the present celebration of the national day of Catalonia.

Drawing on previous research and theory on the field of textbook research (e.g., Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Foster, 2005; Hickman & Porfilio, 2012; Issitt, 2004; Nicholls, 2003; Repoussi & Tutiaux-Guillon, 2010; Subreenduth, 2013; Terra, 2013), data was analyzed using narrative analysis. Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, and Tamar Zilber (1998) highlight the openness and flexibility of narrative inquiry in terms of working procedures and the types of data that can be analysed. In this research, data included textual and visual material. In line with previous research (see, e.g., Nicholls, 2003; Sant, 2014), guiding questions derived from the theoretical framework were used to examine the data: (a) What is the nature of the narrative? (b) What narrative strategies are used to interpellate the readers? (c) What are the roles of the nation in the narrative? The units of analysis were created through *unitizing* my data, this is by creating units whilst analysing and attributing codes to data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Data was initially codified using the guiding questions to generate main themes and later recodified dynamically considering emerging themes.

The following section presents the results of these analyses, organized in relation to these three guiding questions. For each question, two artifacts are presented in detail to illustrate the analysis and the discussion.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

What is the Nature of the Narrative?

Artifact from Archaeologists of the 21st century (GD5)

The War of the Spanish succession was, according to several historians, the real First World War. European powers fought for the hegemony and for the new international balance of powers. Catalonia was certain; in the same way as present Catalonia, she¹ fought to defend her freedoms, acquired through centuries, and her laws, that kings had to obey. The defeat of 1714 had lasting, hard and difficult consequences. But the confidence in the individual, the national sentiment and the resilient character allowed Catalan people to look ahead.

The pedagogical narrative is structured in three main events in the texts: prior to 1714, during 1714, and after 1714. Catalonia before the conflict (prior to 1714) is described as a stable and sovereign nation. Sovereignty is here defined in relation to a territory conveying “self-rule and the capacity for independence action” (Brown, 2014, p. 52). In some of the texts, Catalonia is explicitly described as a *State* with the Catalan Courts or Parliament being the maximum authority. In this first artifact, the notion of sovereignty is implicit in the mention of Catalan “freedoms” and

“laws, that kings had to obey.” The existence of this sovereign (independent) Catalonia provides an argument to justify that the ideal Catalan nation is possible because it was once possible. In the examined texts, sovereignty is the symbolic “homeland” (Smith, 2000, p. 13) that was lost in the defeat of 1714. After the loss, Catalonia is described as looking ahead. The question is, toward what end? Mock (2011) suggests that pedagogical narratives of the nation are accumulative. National narratives often present a nation slowly approaching its destiny, recovering the homeland that they once lost. In the Catalan case, the nation seems to look ahead toward this destiny. Catalan people are expected to recover their homeland, to regain sovereignty.

The Catalan narrative is also fixed, stable, and continuist. In the previous artifact, there are two elements of continuity. First, the willingness of the Catalan people to “defend her freedoms, acquired through centuries, and her laws.” The Catalan will to preserve their initial status of sovereignty is the reason why the Catalans revolt against Philip V. This willingness has been preserved from before 1714 until present Catalonia where, according to the text, the people keep on defending their freedoms. For Smith (2000), national myths need to inspire courage and faith to the oppressed descendants. In this respect, 1714, as a myth encourages, the Catalan people to keep on fighting for their freedoms.

The perseverance of the Catalan character is the second element of continuity. In the narrative, the Catalan character is described as “confidence in the individual, national sentiment and resilience.” A more detailed examination of these characteristics suggests that the Catalan character seems to be composed by a combination of liberalist and romantic values. In my analysis, these values accomplish two different functions. In the sense of what Rüsen (2004, p. 73) refers as “exemplary historical consciousness,” these values provide a timeless normative referent that needs to be followed to “look ahead” toward the sovereign destiny. Simultaneously, there is an expectation that the exemplary and continuist values that once orientated the actions of the ancestors will orientate the actions of the descendants. One might wonder if, in the event of an independent Catalan State, the characteristics of this State (a liberal nation-state) have already been predetermined.

The performative narrative is also present in the narrative of the Catalan nation. The interactive resource, entitled “11th September, National day of Catalonia” (edu365.n.d.), shows different images. Among them, three images of Catalan people demonstrating in the same space at three different times in the history. The first image dissolves into the second that later dissolves into the last one. The repetitive nature of the performative narrative is here explicit. The animation ends with a specific mention to the continuist principles of the pedagogic nation (willingness of sovereignty and Catalan character): The cultural and political Catalan nationalism started the fight to have the Catalan character recognized. In the analysis, the text attempts to restore the pedagogical narrative, but this attempt is not fully successful. The reader is left with a sense of repetition distinctive of the performative narrative. On each anniversary, the Catalan people commemorate the events of 1714 and, by doing so, they repeat the Catalan narrative. Commemoration might be understood here as the performative act *par excellence*: a repetitive, continuous and “fluctuating movement” (Fanon, 1963, p. 227), in which the nation is constantly produced and reproduced. In nationalistic terms, the pictures represent different people but the same community, in the same territory, claiming their sovereignty. This is, indeed, the definition of the nation in Anderson’s (2006) account.

The texts are also permeable to the instable nature of the performative narrative of the nation. The animation, in the form of a blur transition between images, can be used as a metaphor of what Bhabha and Fanon describe as *Nachträglichkeit*, the dissolution of the previous nation into

the new nation. But in Bhabha' and Fanon's account, the replacement of the original people implies the establishment of a *zone of instability*. A more careful analysis of the animation shows the instability of this performative act. In the pictures, besides Catalan flags, some red communist/anarchist flags generate certain instability. Although the revolutionary flags are in a minority, their presence in the political mobilization indicates a disruption, an interruption, and an alternative to the proto-hegemonic construction of the nation (i.e., Catalan liberal nation-state). In other words, once the nation is mobilized, an instable space is created and subaltern views of the nation might emerge.

What Narrative Strategy is Used to 'Interpellate' the Readers?

Artifacts from the text "Felip V de Borbo i Catalunya" [Philip the Fifth and Catalonia] (LP3)

12. Which city had not been defeated yet? Who was defending that city? Which day did that happen? What Catalan festivity commemorate this event?

13. Once Philip the Fifth was reinforced as King, which institution did he eliminated? (...)

14. Which language was imposed as official?

The pedagogical narrative interpellates students to remember the events of 1714, such that narratives are shaped around this event, thus conferring significance on the date. Several resources, including all the textbooks analyzed here, encourage students to remember the details of the event using a didactic strategy. In the line of what has been described as a romantic approach to history education (see, for instance, Sant, Gonzalez-Monfort, et al., 2015), students are required to remember a fixed narrative containing places ("which city"), dates ("which day"), festivities ("what Catalan festivity"), and antagonists (the Spanish King and the Spanish language). The text mediates between people of the past and people of the present (Wertsch, 2002), encouraging students to remember a particular fixed narrative. In addition, students are expected to remember the consequences of the defeat for the people of the past (elimination of the Catalan institutions and imposition of Spanish as the official language) and for the people of the present (the commemoration of the event). The text, as mediator artifact, bridges the gap between the national ancestors and the present readers. Students are led toward constructing a narrative in which their story as nation is expanded beyond their birth (Rüsen, 2004). The narrative functions here as *in-between space* between past and present.

Figure 1, an artifact from the text "La memòria" [The memory] (LP9), illustrates how some of the texts use reexperiencing strategies of interpellation. Figures 1 and 2 are taken from the text "The memory" that gathers different posters of the commemoration of the Eleventh of September, from 1938 until 2012. Figure 1 is a poster that was distributed to encourage participation in the demonstration celebrated on the 11th of September 2012. In the poster, the text describes "The **11th of September** we march on Barcelona. At 18h, everybody in Catalonia Square!" By association, the march to the eleventh of September (in black bold letters), the poster is an invitation to reexperience the events of 1714, to put in movement (to march) what Connerton (1989) describes as "habit-memories" (p. 24). However, reexperiences usually embrace the replacement and disruption of the initial experience (Bhabha, 2004). What once was a march against Philip V's now is a march for freedom or for a new state in Europe.



FIGURE 1 March for the independence. Freedom! The **11th of September** we march on Barcelona. At 18h, everybody in Catalonia Square! **CATALUNYA. NEW STATE OF EUROPE. UNITARY CONCENTRATION** (English translation) [Author: Assemblea Nacional Catalana; Source: <http://www.marxa.assemblea.cat/>]

The poster is an example of how an ambivalent construction of the nation is used to interpellate the nation. The poster emphasizes an ambivalent call. The word “llibertat!” (freedom!), in bold white type-face, stands out in relation to the rest of the text. In the poster, a young woman covered by a Catalan flag represents a free Catalonia. The woman has certain similarities with a peaceful version of Liberty as represented in Delacroix’s *Liberty Leading the People*. In Delacroix’s painting, Liberty might be associated with the French nation, but also with the French revolution. In the context of contemporary Catalonia, Freedom might be understood as national liberation but also as liberation to pay taxes, liberation from the measures of austerity imposed by the Spanish government in agreement with the European Union, or liberation from the global market (Crameri, 2014). Similarly, echoing Delacroix’s Liberty, Freedom contains, in itself, the seed of the official sovereign nation and the seed of the revolutionary nation. The poster is deliberately creating a “zone of occult instability” (Fanon, 1963, p. 227) in which competing views of the nation, pedagogical and performative, coexist.



FIGURE 2 Catalan people! ... September 11, 1714–1938 (English translation) [Author: unknown; Source: Biblioteca de Catalunya. Barcelona.]

Simultaneously, the poster attempts to reduce the ambivalence of the interpellation call by identifying the aim of the march. After “Freedom,” the reader reads “Catalonia. New state of Europe. Unitary concentration.” The message appears in small print, compared with “Freedom.” The ambivalent slogan *freedom*, containing in itself hegemonic and subaltern views of the nation, is partially domesticated. The potential of the nation as a revolutionary weapon is canalized through the demands of a new state within the hegemonic power of the European Union. In the line of the thought of Hardt and Negri (2000), the “liberatory national sovereignty is ambiguous if not completely contradictory. While this nationalism seeks to liberate the multitude from foreign domination, it erects domestic structures of domination that are equally severe” (p. 133). The in-between construction of the nation is transformed into a pedagogical construction in which the aim (a new sovereign State) and even the potential institutions of domination (European Union) are made explicit.

What are the Roles of the Nation in the Narrative?

The nation simultaneously performs as subject and object in the texts. In one of the books “Cien-cies socials. Geografia i història” [Social sciences. Geography and History]; T1) a photograph² represents the commemoration of the Eleventh of September 1977 just after Franco’s death. The image is used to illustrate a section in which the Eleventh of September is described as the Official National Day of Catalonia. Together with multiple Catalan flags, the picture partially shows a single panel of the Revolutionary Workers Society that claims *11th September—FIGHT* (11 SEPTEMBRE—LLUITEM). But the position of this panel in the picture is such that it becomes one of the most noticeable elements of the picture. The *people of the present* (the authors of the text) use the image to illustrate the pedagogical narrative, but this example evidences the impossibility of fully using and controlling the subaltern narratives of the nation. The subaltern nation is represented in a furtive yet subversive mode (Coloma, 2013). The instability of the act of re-experiencing is such that even though when the subject is transformed into object, as when the performative narrative is photographed and later transformed into a pedagogical narrative (the official national day), the seed of instability remains. The past nations are still subjects, speaking by themselves, particularly when they are visually represented.

The past nations are also attempting to speak by themselves in the Figure 2, an artifact from the text “La memòria” [The memory] (LP9). The poster was distributed during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). The war began with Franco’s *coup d’état* against the democratic republican government led by a coalition of left-wing political organizations including communist parties, anarchist organizations, and Catalan nationalist parties. The image shows a soldier, the republican army, and a half-naked woman holding a Catalan flag who represents Catalonia. The woman gives a laurel wreath to the soldier. In uppercase letters, we can read “Catalans!..” and “11th of September 1714–1938.” The link to 1714–1938 is a direct invitation to reexperience the events of 1714. In this case, the fight consists in supporting and contributing to the victory (laurel wreath) of the republican army. However, in 1938, it was unclear what would be the resultant State in the case of an unlikely republican victory. The definition of the new Spanish State, and Catalonia within it, had generated internal struggles between Stalinist, Trotskyist, and anarchist organizations. In Catalonia, these struggles had reached their climax in an open and violent confrontation (see, e.g., Preston & Mackenzie, 1996). In this respect, through the ellipsis “Catalans! ..” the poster was interpellating all the Catalans, regardless of their views, in this internal struggle. Used as educational resource, the poster does not lose this ambivalent complexity. Through the ellipsis, the people of the past seem to be speaking by themselves challenging the present readers to consider who the Catalans are and how the Catalonia of the future should be.

Although the poster is an example of the nation constructed as subject, the texts tries to reduce the ambivalence of the original source and to transform the nation into an object. The text describing the poster in Figure 2 explains, “Catalonia was fighting in a war in which her freedoms, explicitly stated in the Statute of Autonomy of 1932 were challenged.” The ambivalence ellipsis of “Catalans!..” is here officialized by being related to the prime principle of sovereignty represented in the mention of the “Statute of Autonomy.” The educational resource including the poster and the written comment demonstrates how educational texts perform, or rather might “evolve many narrative layers” (Meirilaen & Hens, cited in Repoussi & Tutiaux-Guillon, 2010, p. 165) which, in my analysis, are in permanent conflict. In the line of what Ross et al. (2014) suggest,

the proto-hegemonic ideology (the sovereign Catalan nation-state) embedded in the text attempts to domesticate the subaltern narratives of the image. If one considers the modernist understanding of the nation, the text pursues to invent the nation (Gellner, 2008; Hobsbawm, 2012). The people of the present seeks to speak by the people of the past in a clear attempt to dominate the past (Said, 1978) and to fix alternative readings. Whether or not this attempt is successful and the subaltern past is domesticated seems to be left to the hands of the reader (Westch, 2008).

CONCLUSION: WHO SPEAKS FOR THE SUBALTERN NATION?

The narrative of the Catalan nationhood in the history curriculum analyzed seems to be an in-between construction in Bhabha's (1990, 2004) terms. The pedagogical narrative is constructed in relation to a destiny (sovereignty) and to certain continuist principles (willingness of sovereignty and the Catalan character). By using remembering strategies of interpellation, the pedagogical narrative seeks to fix the past and to speak for the past nations. In contrast, the performative nation is apparent in the repetitive depictions of commemoration acts. Through these representations, the nation is interpellated to reexperience the past events. The interpellation call is shaped ambivalently in a form that might be appealing to present hegemonic and subaltern nations. In these visual representations, the subaltern narratives are able to disturb the pedagogical narrative and to attempt to speak by themselves.

Both narratives coexist in the text but the pedagogical narrative prevails in line with other studies (Calderon, 2014; Idrissi, 2010; Terra, 2013; Tormey, 2006; Torsti, 2007). In the case studied, the official narrative integrates supra-State hegemonic narratives (the presence within the European Union) and the potentially hegemonic domestic narratives (prospective liberal State). The pedagogical narrative has sovereignty as *leitmotif*, but this sovereignty is only constructed in relation to Spanish linguistic and administrative control and not in relation to other international political and economic orders (i.e., European Union, global market) or domestic structures of domination (i.e., liberal democracy). As suggested by Hardt and Negri (2000), any process of national liberation contains in itself new structures of domination.

The history curriculum is, nevertheless, permeable to subaltern narratives of the nation. The pedagogical narrative incorporates clandestine voices of the subaltern, which are covered by the complexity of the visual representations (i.e., photographs, posters). As suggested by Subedi (2013), images may have the potential of being more inclusive to marginalized narratives. Depictions generate instability and offer opportunities for multiple readings. Pictures are not essentially more realistic than written texts, but in the analysis they seem to be more open, dynamic, and permeable to subaltern narratives. In this respect, the subaltern nations are speaking for themselves through their visual representation. How they are being interpreted remains an open question.

There is a clear attempt in the educational texts to translate/mediate between these images and the student. The pedagogical narrative transforms performative acts into a coherent and meaningful narrative, continuous and accumulative in nature. In the analysis, the demonstrations are discussed in the text as examples of the continuous fight for sovereignty. The pedagogical text reduces the ambivalent construction of the nation in the posters to an institutionalized narrative containing a predetermined destiny. The subaltern speak for themselves in the pictures, but the text attempts to cover their voices. The pedagogical text tries to represent and speak for the subaltern in a process of domestication and domination (Said, 1978; Spivak, 1988).

The question remains, when subaltern narratives are integrated into the curriculum, are they still subaltern? In certain ways, by immobilizing the action, the performative narrative becomes a pedagogical narrative again. The action becomes a scene of the continuous narrative. Another performative action, however, might be created. The curriculum, understood as circular time, in which at the same time of year a new cohort of student will learn the story and look at the images, is performative in itself. Successive curriculums may generate new zones of instability linked both to the texts but also to the readers (Wertsch, 2008).

The key question here is whether the multiple readings of the images are within reach for the students (Wertsch, 2008). In his account of history textbooks, Thornton (2006) wonders, “What could teachers, if they were well prepared, do with the potential of the materials in textbooks? In other words, what if teachers routinely saw textbooks as a ‘beginning’ rather than something to be covered?” (pp. 22–23). The subaltern narratives seem to be there, what if teachers could use them to contrast the pedagogical narrative? In his study on the use of images of refugees, Subedi (2013) gathers some questions that can be formulated to illuminate the politics behind the images. In the particular case of the subaltern nation, these questions could also include: “What different nations are represented or interpellated in the image?” “What is the imagined nation of each of these potential nations?” “Does the text represent all of these potential nations?” Questions such as these can encourage alternative translations of the voices of the subaltern.

Perhaps the power of the subaltern nation, however, is not in their direct speech, but in their actions. In such a case, the role that history education might play in the mobilization is particularly relevant. In the analyzed texts, certain elements of the performative narrative of the nation (e.g., demonstrations, acts of commemoration) seem to have been incorporated into the official narrative. Demonstrations and protests become part of this pedagogical narrative in their own performative, repetitive, and reexperiencing nature. The pedagogical uses performative actions to justify its continuous and stable nature, but by doing so, it provides examples of active participation. By remembering past protests and demonstrations, the text interpellates students to demonstrate and protest. The pedagogical narrative, consciously or unconsciously, is leading to action.

The challenges and opportunities of this thesis are considerable. Wertsch (2002) suggests that the past is reshaped. One might imagine the State or the nation intelligentsia reshaping or *inventing* (Gellner, 2008; Hobsbawm, 1998) the past to convince new generations about what and when they need to be mobilized. But there is also a more optimistic outlook. The call for action, even if it is a pedagogical call, is a call for action. Following writers like Bhabha (1990, 2004) and Fanon (1963), I know that action itself leads to instability. What is politically significant here is the demonstration of what Bhabha (2004, p. 216) explains as the “finitude of the State on the liminal representation of people.” The State cannot entirely control how the people are represented. The subaltern nations speak and educate by themselves through the representation of their actions.

NOTES

1. In Catalan, the word *Catalonia* has feminine gender.
2. This image has not been reproduced in the text because permission of reproduction has not been granted from the copyright holder.

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