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T OF IDEOLOGY IN LYNNE CHENEY'S CHILDREN'S BOOKS

by

SAMUEL MILLER

Under the Direction of Dr. Tomasz Tabako

ABSTRACT

This analysis of children's literature attempts to understand the relationship between social reproduction and ideology. This thesis argues that children's literature written by Lynne Cheney is a cultural artifact that constitutes an ideological history. In addition, it argues that her books can be used by ideological institutions to strengthen socially accepted practices through the theory of social reproduction. Since there is a lack of theory regarding cultural artifacts in literary studies, an adoption from the field of pedagogy called the theory of hidden curriculum is used to explain social reproduction. The process of social reproduction reinforces socioeconomic structures put in place in order to reinforce social norms.

INDEX WORDS: Children's literature, Ideology, Social reproduction, Hegemony, Hidden curriculum, Pedagogy, Myth, Social practice, Deconstruction

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HISTORY IN THE MAKING: THE IMPACT OF IDEOLOGY IN LYNNE CHENEY'S CHILDREN'S BOOKS

by

SAMUEL MILLER

A Thesis in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Degree of

Master of Arts

In the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

2010

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by

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Georgia State University

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Chapter One:

Once Upon a Time: Every Story has a Beginning

The Stage is Set

Since the attacks of September 11 2001, the United States has seen a revival of patriotism.[1] After that day, the Republican Party made "freedom" their rally cry and stressed the need to protect it.[2] Prior to the attacks President Bush was known as the "education president" with initiatives such as "No Child Left Behind."[3] Afterwards, it appeared the president had changed his agenda.[4] In his speeches after the attacks, President Bush pushed his "War on Terror" for the remainder of his first term and used it as a platform to secure his reelection in 2004.[5] Using this plan he preached for a more secure America, one that would stifle individual rights, alienate dissenting discourses, and polarize party lines more than in previous presidential administrations.[6]

Although President Bush may have turned from an education president to a war president, his rhetoric and the rhetoric of his party has been "educating" the country about what it means to be a patriot. President Bush suggested on numerous occasions throughout his administration that Americans go out and see the United States.[7] Americans should visit national parks and various points of interest and enjoy the benefits of living in America. He tried

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uts and economic stimulus checks for American families. The message he appeared to be sending was “spend these refund checks because it is patriotic”, “vacation in Wyoming because it is patriotic”, and “by doing this Americans can prove to the terrorists that they are not scared.” He was essentially saying that Americans would not be intimidated, and would continue to live their lives.

In a recent voluntary act by forty-eight states, the states relinquished control of their public school curriculums to the federal level. This move will create national standards utilized in all public school classrooms. However, there are two states that have declined to follow a national standard: Texas and Alaska.[8] Texas still wants to direct the curriculums taught within their schools and continue to do as they see fit.[9] Recently, the Texas Board of Education, which consists of fifteen members representing various parts of the state, has begun debating the standards of their social studies to be used in public education. This debate is of high importance because this board’s decision could reflect the same standards taught in the rest of the country for the next ten years, even though Texas is still independent of the national standard. That is because textbook publishing companies traditionally follow the standards set forth by the Texas board. The reason being that Texas purchases textbooks for over four and a half million students within their public schools.[10] If the books are not close to the requirements set forth by the Texas board, there is little hope that the state will purchase, which could significantly hurt the publisher’s business and subsequently business in other states.

The reason that the aforementioned debate in Texas is being so highly contested is because some of the standards that the conservative bloc of the board want amended are

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endments look to highlight a number of conservative movements while dismissing progressive ideas that were put in place in prior hearings. According to James McKinley, some members of the board are pushing to include "the conservative resurgence of the 1980s and 1990s, including Phyllis Schlafly, the Contract with America, the Heritage Foundation, the Moral Majority and the National Rifle Association"(McKinley). All of these measures passed the preliminary amendment vote and are ready for final approval in May 2010. There is also a proposal to remove from the curriculum any contributions by third-party candidates such as Ralph Nader, Eugene Debs, and even fellow Texan Ross Perot.[11] The conservative bloc of the board has made motions to change the name "American imperialism" into "expansionism."[12] This tactic is intended to diminish the significance of the actions of the United States in its handling of Native Americans, its removal of oppositional leaders of foreign countries, and the annexation of foreign territory.[13] The committee has also agreed to change the word "capitalism into free-market enterprise" (McKinley). Other moves made by the conservative bloc that have already been approved include the removal of Thomas Jefferson "from a list of figures whose writings inspired revolutions in the late 18th century and 19th century, replacing him with St. Thomas Aquinas, John Calvin and William Blackstone"(McKinley). This move stems from the fact that Jefferson coined the term "separation of church and state." This statement riles the ire of the conservative bloc of the board. They feel it is crucial to demonstrate Christian beliefs the founding members of the country possessed.[14] The board also approved the vindication of Joe McCarthy by the Venona papers, which provided evidence of Soviet spies infiltrating the United States government and providing correspondence back to their Communist counterparts, thus

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in his attempts to expose Communist sympathizers.[15] Lastly, the board approved what they called "'the unintended consequences' of the Great Society legislation, affirmative action and Title IX legislation" (McKinley). All of these ideas were intended to bring greater equality between races, genders, and socioeconomic standards. It appears the board would like to teach children that America was founded immaculately and needed little in the way of improvement. Other motions that were introduced to replace hip hop music with country music as a cultural movement, to exclude the Latino organization known as LULAC, and to remove second-wave feminist Betty Friedan from the list of civil rights leaders of the 1960's.[16] While it is important to highlight these historical realities, the board should have made a conscious effort to place counterbalance in the proposed curriculum in order to appear more balanced.

With these additions (or deletions) to the proposed social studies curriculum in Texas, it appears that public schools across America will learn from a more conservative perspective of history for the next ten years. While these standards are up for final approval in May of 2010, their effects will be felt for almost an entire generation of school children going to public schools. Granted, history is always skewed and is never comprehensive to the point of being wholly truthful, but one must realize that there are multiple sides to history and other points of view should be addressed in order for students to develop a level of critical thinking and reasoning. If the only historic figures showcased are the ones that match a particular political or economic mold, how will students respond to figures that do not fit in so easily?

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Why Analyze Children's Literature

What does a state's school board have to do with children's literature anyway? A school board can control the flow of information that is allowed to penetrate into a curriculum, but this is not just limited to textbooks in the classroom. School boards also have the ability to restrict books that are considered damaging to the curriculum from entering into school libraries. Many states carry a banned book list that prohibits certain books from being read in public schools. Sometimes these restrictions are misguided; in one instance the Texas school board banned the work of Bill Martin.[17] Their intent was to ban the book *Ethical Marxism,* but this ban also removed the children's book *Brown Bear Brown Bear What do You See?,* from school library shelves. Children's books are another form of curriculum that is permitted or denied entry into public schools by school boards in order to ensure a certain set of values are reinforced in a society.

Even though Neoconservative rhetoric lost considerable influence in both the legislative and executive branches of the federal system in the 2008 election, their voice and rhetoric will continue. How will it carry out such a task? The most obvious answers lie within media outlets that are sensitive to or support their agenda. These outlets provide the foundation for the group, which is essential in keeping the Neoconservative agenda from falling silent. However, in order to maintain or strengthen their agenda they must recruit new members from somewhere. After all, there is always strength in numbers. One perhaps surprising mode of recruitment for adherents to Neoconservative ideals occurs in Children's literature.

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en and young adults are possibly one of the most overlooked genres of literature.[18] Many people do not associate political rhetoric with books for children. Most books of the genre teach elementary "universal" morals and values like sharing with others and how to make friends.[19] Most books within the canon of children's literature either fall under the headings of fairy tales, historical fictions, or basic fact books about particular subject matter.[20] Tempe asserts that, "Children's literature is generally understood to have multiple purposes of entertaining, instructing and informing, or, rephrased, to serve the purpose of contributing to children's intellectual, moral and 'personality' development" (qtd. in Lampert 6). Most people would agree that these books are designed to educate a child about socially acceptable behaviors and practices.[21] These values teach children the proper etiquette of everyday society.

I argue that an ideology can influence young people to align themselves with certain ideals. In order to reinforce an ideology for future generations, a political group can implement the use of children's literature. A child's book can teach readers certain "natural" assumptions about any given subject. Children's literature is usually constructed to perpetuate certain ideas as a matters of fact. When viewed in this way, certain knowledge becomes legitimated even if there is no backing or justification behind a text's claims. If some of these "natural" assumptions of society include unwavering patriotism, free-market capitalism, and neo-liberal globalization without proper instruction about critical thinking or discourse about what effects they may have on others, we may re-experience the mistakes of our past.

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e targets of an ideology for a number of reasons. They are dependent upon adults for guidance. More importantly, their young minds are virtual clean slates ready to fill with all sorts of knowledge.[22] It is their naivety that makes them easy to manipulate. Since they are dependent upon adults for basic necessities, they learn early on to respect at least some degree of authority.[23] These factors develop the foundations for a socially acceptable child before they head off to their first public institution for continuous instruction: the school.

Children's literature receives little consideration as a form of cultural/ideological artifact. Most critics of children's literature I encountered during this project primarily focus on the literary style within the genre. They rarely focus on the influence these works could have upon the young audience in an educational sense. Seldom is the concept of ideology brought up in their discussions concerning these literary works. Although criticizing children's literature may seem trivial and pointless, the genre holds a pivotal place in the future of our nation's political landscape. This thread of argument has been carried out in other fields such as pedagogical studies. If certain pedagogical theories are applied to this literary format, then there is a potential to bridge an important gap in critical-cultural studies between ideology and children's literature.[24]

Of course, there are many who will disagree with this line of reasoning. For many, children's literature is considered something innocuous and accessible that demonstrates acceptable behaviors within a given society. Therein lies the potential problem. Every text brought forward by an author has ideological meaning behind it. There is always meaning

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creator intended any point.[25] In other words, culture does not occur in a vacuum. There is always some ideological force behind an object's creation or production. There is a history that comes along with the creation of children's' books. Most people could easily forget that children's books are typically written by adult authors. Prior to creating these texts the authors have their own views of acceptable values, norms, and histories that can penetrate into their works even if their subject matter is about basic concepts. I concur with Bradford when she states, "my position is that there is no such thing as an innocent text, that texts are informed by ideology, some overt but others implicit and often invisible to authors and illustrators" (Bradford 14). That is the crux of this argument. Children's literature created with unconscious intentionality expresses a cultural or ideological belief to the young audience who reads it. It will also be this impression that can assist a political ideology in recruiting young readers into passively accepting members of the dominating ideologies presented to them.

The Story of Tony Stark

My interest in this subject happened almost by accident in the beginning. It began with a conversation that I had with my thesis chair in the planning stages of this project. We started talking about comic books and other youth centered cultural objects. Then it occurred to me. The movie adaptation of the comic book *Iron Man* was in many ways ideologically different from the original story that creator Stan Lee had conceived in the 1960's. In the original 1960's comic serial, Tony Stark, a millionaire military-industrialist, was captured by a Chinese warlord who wanted weaponry that Stark Enterprises created for the United States military.[26] At first

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, but also secretly develops an armor outfit that he then uses to escape and defeat his enemy.

In the cold war era, American pop culture had envisioned communist countries as bumbling, less technologically advanced societies with comical espionage specialists like Boris and Natasha from *Rocky and Bullwinkle*.[27] This comic book series was created during a time when the Vietnam War was becoming a heated conflict. Communist China was aiding North Vietnam with armaments to help conquer South Vietnam, who was receiving assistance from France and later the United States.[28] At this time in particular, comic books and television programs depicted Communist villains as people of Asian descent. In *Iron Man*, Wong Chu, a Chinese warlord who was technologically deficient, craved the power Stark Industries had created, to defeat his rivals.

The new film adaptation updated the evil threat that captured Mr. Stark. Instead of a disguised version of Maoists warlords similar to the ones used in the original comic book, the screenplay called for a terrorist organization located somewhere in the Middle East. The terrorist organization tries to take control of the local area, but to achieve this goal they need Mr. Stark to recreate the technology for their ends. The fact that the screenwriter for this movie had updated the evil organization from veiled Maoist warlords to an alternate faction of Al-Qaeda was the spark that ignited my interest in the subject at hand.

This move to update the appearance of an enemy to fit a specific period led me to wonder, “Could there be more instances of this happening in other forms of media?” The movie was an adaptation from a comic book, a genre of literature typically geared toward young

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ce in comic books, then surely other literary genres for children would have some of these similar changes. This thesis focuses on the genre of children's literature for that reason. This is because the stories children read could greatly influence their perception of the world. With that responsibility, the authors of these books or comics have to know just how to handle the situation they are presenting to children. Some authors may try to keep things as apolitical or sanitized as possible, but even that can skew the first impression that a child has about a behavior or culture. As Bradford explains, "the politics of authors' discursive choices may be unintentional and unconscious and so the working of ideologies through texts are often invisible to readers, because they embody ideas and concepts naturalized within a culture" (qtd. in Lampert 7). These choices can perpetuate a dominant ideology's socially acceptable practices, as the authors who write children's books are providing, in their own way, illustrations and narratives about acceptable behaviors and values. Given that most people will not invest much time in the notion that there is potential for political influence in children's books, the genre goes largely unchecked. This presumed innocent text is then allowed to conceal messages about the "natural order of things" without recourse of action. "Thus, whether the politics within them are made obvious or not, children's books are artifacts with cultural social significance" (Lampert 11). The books will stand as a testament of the time in which they were created. They will represent by-gone natural and common sense guides for children's values and beliefs, even when those beliefs become obsolete.

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Rationale and Methodology of Study

All of these preconceived notions surrounding children's books provide a rationale for this project. In addition, there is little scholarly work on the notion that children's books could be considered ideological.[29] Since there appears no established method to analyze children's literature as a cultural artifact, I will be borrowing much of my method from the field of pedagogy. If only for the reason children's books are typically used as instructional tools for proper behavior, I believe that pedagogical theories and methods will suffice in my criticism of the genre. However, even with making this connection to method and criticism there is little offered in the field in regard to children's books. As Hunt contends, "there is a lack of any extensive theoretical discussion of the links between children's literature and education" (15). This lack of theoretical discussion and deficiency between the two fields compel me to contribute to this conversation.

For this study, it would be difficult to analyze a substantial or varied collection of children's literature to research given the scope of this thesis. The research is limited to one author who has written a number of books and could be easily accessible. I decided upon using the literary works of former Second Lady Lynne Cheney. She has written several books that range from children's literature to academic texts aimed at conservative audiences. Furthermore, she is a high-profile author considering her past association with the National Endowment of the Humanities, the American Enterprise Institute, and most recently former George W. Bush's White House Administration.[30] She has also been a member of the

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y for Texas. She still frequently vocalizes her criticisms of the education system in the United States with emphasis on American history.[31]

Given these facts about Cheney and the amendments slated for a final vote by the Texas Board of Education in May of 2010, it seems that pedagogy and the study of children's literature are two key facets in the development of future generations. In order to understand the meaning of these decisions by authors, directors, and school board members, we must first understand their justifications for their decisions. The next chapter will discuss the functions of ideology as well as the influence ideology has upon society. The functions of hidden curriculum and social reproduction will also be discussed. The method of critique implemented will be Derrida's concept of deconstruction and McGee's ideograph. These theories will unmask both the binary exclusions in Cheney's version of multiculturalism and the reinforcement of Cheney's ideology inherent in narrative of American history. This critique will evaluate the frames and themes used by Cheney in her books. All of these phenomena will help to explain the importance of critiquing Cheney's books and the social values they may propagate.

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Chapter Two:

Ideology, Social Reproduction, Hidden Curriculum and the Lasting Effects on Childhood

In this chapter, I will examine the concept of ideology. I will discuss the functions and characteristics that are inherent in ideology. This will be accompanied with some post Marxist analysis on ideology such as Gramsci's theory of hegemony. I will then explain the aspects of social reproduction and Althusser's ideological state apparatus, both of which have significant influence in the realm of pedagogy and children's literature. This chapter will conclude with the features of hidden curriculum and how it functions and influences children's literature.

Concepts of Ideology

The Marxist theory of ideology is extensive, and consists of volumes about the subject.[32] That is reason alone to limit the parameters of the concept that will prove to be most beneficial to this project. The majority of the discussion regarding ideology will come under the same theory that Marx and Engels wrote.[33] This course of action is solely for the political and socioeconomic realm that Marxism utilizes in its critique. However, most of Marx's work in ideology is highly deterministic and must be accompanied by some post-Marxist analysis of ideology for counterbalance. In its most basic constructs, Marx believed ideology was a form of domination structured to keep the oppressed in their place so that those in power could retain their lofty status as though it was natural and inevitable. Small interprets the Marxist concept of ideology as a way "to maintain an existing order. It assists in this task by providing a misrepresentation of the nature of society, hiding its defects and disarming criticism" (Small 83). In other words, ideology can create false connections of a natural structure within a

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tion, there needs to be safeguards put in place by the dominant class to ensure the subordinated are restricted in promoting their own discourse. In order for these false connections to continue existing, the dominant culture must establish, rationalize, and maintain a complex structure of interwoven ideas and concepts that justify the current social or political system's existence. McGee argues that "ideology in practice is a political language, preserved in rhetorical documents, with the capacity to dictate decision and control public belief and behavior" (458). These documents can range from presidential addresses down to textbooks children read.

These constructed patterns of beliefs can determine a group's interaction with the rest of society. These preconceived notions significantly affect a group's understanding of occurring world events. Apple insists that ideology functions within three categories or social settings: "(1) quite specific rationalizations or justifications of the activities of particular and identifiable occupational groups; (2) broader political programs and social movements; and (3) comprehensive world views" (20). Even in its most innocuous and invisible representations, ideology creates a point of view for either an individual or group. While sources are varied, these points of view compete to establish dominance.

For an ideology to maintain existence it must apply dominance in various ways; otherwise, it could no longer retain power. In other words, an ideology must remain active and dynamic to remain dominant. Imagine this dynamism like physical exercise, when a muscle exerts energy in a repeated practice the muscle builds strength and tolerance to perform the same task longer or with more force. If the muscle is under worked, it will become weak and

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force. The same can be true for ideology. Ideology must remain dynamic or slowly deteriorate. If it diminishes enough, it will become marginalized by ideologies it sought to curtail.[34]

Because ideology can influence a group, it can limit other possible discourses from emerging. McGee would agree with this statement as he interprets Marx's claim that "ideology determines mass belief and thus restricts the free emergence of political opinion" (458). Given this line of thought, ideology, dialectically, cannot only regulate the political, but also create or reinvent a discourse to justify the status quo. Bradford further explains, "ideologies of the dominant culture are so often accepted as normal and natural and are thus invisible" (10). The assumption that an ideology is naturally occurring can lead to dangerous propositions. If an artifact of ideology becomes natural, the artifact will become invisible. If such an event occurs in a discourse, the influence of the artifact becomes more powerful.

The key to understanding how ideologies and their artifacts appear natural, one must examine the procedure in which they became accepted. In order for these false beliefs to become natural, the dominant culture will apply different tactics to ensure the status quo. One method the dominant class uses is to control the flow and accessibility of knowledge. Antonio Gramsci claims that this dominance is achieved by "the control of knowledge preserving and producing institutions of a particular society "(qtd. in Apple 26). As the old saying goes, knowledge is power. Therefore, those who are in positions of power can validate or dismiss information. The acceptance or rejection of new information has a profound effect upon the discourse of a society. If new data proves detrimental to the justifications of a dominant

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ussions. The new knowledge is suppressed from becoming part of the general discourse. This is done to erase potential conflict between classes. This suppression is essential for the dominant culture to ensure peaceful maintenance of society.

This validation can create a broad knowledge gap between classes. Given the resources available to the privileged class, it allows for the manipulation of information. However, this manipulation is never all-encompassing. There needs to be other methods available to marginalize damaging discourses. In addition to this validation, Michael Apple argues Michael Young's point:

> [T]hose in positions of power will attempt to define what is taken as knowledge, how accessible to different groups any knowledge is, and what are accepted relationships between different knowledge areas and between those who have access to them and make them available (qtd. in Apple 35-36).

A general in charge of an army has been highly successful in missions conducted. On this day, he receives new intelligence reports from his scouts. The information he receives is not beneficial for the operation involving the seizure of an occupied city the unit had planned on undertaking. After receiving his intelligence briefing, he can control the flow of this newly acquired information. He tells the leaders of his subordinate units of the new situation. He informs his platoon leaders that the operation is going to be harder to accomplish than originally thought. The enemy has heavily fortified the city and has the tactical high ground. On top of this, the munitions of the occupying forces are greater than expected. This means any attempt to capture the city will prove costly. In order to avoid any damage to the unit's morale, the information briefed in this meeting is not to be uttered to the enlisted soldiers. Their spirits

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e conducting the operation. If this information were to get out to the enlisted soldiers, then the potential would arise for disharmony to take place in the ranks. On the day of the mission, the general gives his pre-battle speech about how every soldier has a duty to uphold and that the "day will be theirs" if they heed the training they received. He mentions their objectives but never hints at the new dangers except to say that they should expect the enemy to "bring everything and the kitchen sink" to defend against their advance. The soldiers believe in what he says. This is because it is his job to ensure that his leadership will bring success with minimal loss. Thus, they follow their orders to the letter, endure a high rate of casualties and fail in their goal.

Those in position of privilege can use information to retain their dominance. Knowledge can be implemented as a means of reproducing current social standards.[35] Think of knowledge as its own version of capital. This capital propagates values by using machines of knowledge production (books, films, and various other media). With this wealth of knowledge, the privileged can ensure their financial and cultural security. Williams suggests, "This reproductive process is a 'logical necessity' for the continued maintenance of an unequal social order. The economic and cultural unbalance follows naturally" (qtd. in Apple 40). This necessity of dominance includes the marginalization of subordinate groups. One way of performing this dominance is through the use of myths and narratives.[36] They are stories of a collective group's past that justifies current social norms and actions. These stories can include instances of individuals working hard and eventually becoming a success. These stories can explain the motivations behind settling new territory or hide the intentions behind historical events. The

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behind the event in order to maintain a certain image of historical characters.

By having access to this privileged knowledge, those in power can implement mental shortcuts used to reinforce an ideology. Part and parcel in the expansion of an ideology is the development of shorthand terminology for complex concepts. These terms are known as clichés.[37] This mental short hand takes extremely multifaceted concepts inherent in ideology and reduces them to simplistic, often polarizing terms. This use of cliché can become misleading to those not in the dominant class. This is because information used in the formation of this mental shorthand is not made available to them. Marcuse explains that cliché, "governs the speech or the writing; the communication thus precludes genuine development of meaning" (87). Once a word or meaning is claimed through such an action, it is difficult to retract. The word becomes naturalized in this new meaning. Additionally, because of its simplistic determinism, the new meaning reduces any possible discourse from penetrating. An example of this determinism can be interpreted from the word patriot. When the word is attached to legislation such as the patriot act, it is hard to refute the legislation without sounding unpatriotic. If a member of congress spoke in opposition to the law they are referred to as being against America or a terrorist sympathizer.

If a word becomes synonymous with ideology, a group can close off other meanings to that word or concept. Marcuse explains that, "The unified, functional language is an irreconcilably anti-critical and anti-dialectical language" (97). The end result is the closure of discourse criticizing a word's meaning. As Marcuse continues:

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> nstrate and explain – it communicates decision, dictum, efines, the definition becomes 'separation of good from evil'; it establishes unquestionable rights and wrongs, and one value as justification of another value (101).

As explained earlier this closed language polarizes and attempts to justify its existence through the use of common sense. This eliminates the possibility for discourse that allows innovation and keeps all matters in black and white. Marcuse again explains, "Here functionalization of language helps to repel non-conformist elements from the structure and movement of speech" (86). This non-conformist speech is removed from the general discourse. To minimize its effectiveness, this speech is construed as immoral.

In most Marxist critiques on the subject, ideology is rarely based in truth. These false beliefs range from folklore to political stances. All of these factors influence a society's point of view. Zizek explains, "a political standpoint can be quite accurate ('true') as to its objective content, yet thoroughly ideological; and, vice versa, the idea that a political standpoint gives of its social content can prove totally wrong, yet there is absolutely nothing 'ideological' about it" (4). This subjugation comes in various forms and subtleties. I will be using Rossi-Landi's book as the basis for my interpretation of ideology. The book provides boundaries of ideology relevant to this study. The need to adhere to these boundaries is necessary since there is so much literature regarding the subject.

Functions of Ideology

Rossi-Landi classifies ideology into eleven distinct conceptions. They are mythology, self-deception, common sense, obscurantism, fraud, false thinking in general, philosophy, world-view, and an intuitive view of the world, behavior patterns, and sentiment. He further ranks

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d subtle mental functions to more prevalent functions of false consciousness. Rossi-Landi claims that these conceptions begin as vague and general claims within a social consciousness until they reach their most concrete form in social philosophy.[38]

I will review Rossi-Landi's theories about ideology which are relevant to the thesis. It will provide the groundwork for the boundaries regarding Ideology. I realize these parameters will leave out some significant portions of ideological theory. His discussion of each level of ideology provides a convenient tool of organization for the massive literature pertaining to ideology. These are broken down into subheadings with not only Rossi-Landi's interpretations but also other scholars from various fields of study.

Ideology as Myth

In his conception of ideology as myth and folklore Rossi-Landi states, "It [mythology] is distinguished from ideology in the guise of common sense in so far as the latter must be acknowledged to have a component of sanity and the great virtue of being common" (22). At this level, ideology closely resembles false consciousness. Myth provides the most generalized form of ideology. Myth supplies a narrative that usually provides a justification for social practices. Hart defines myth as "Master Stories that describe exceptional people doing exceptional things and that serve as moral guides to proper actions" (242). Myths incorporate a social history about a society's origin. Myth romanticizes a particular moment; it can create heroes and valorize actions. On the flipside, it can condemn events and dehumanize those who carry a different belief system contrary to the dominant ideal. Myth creates an impossible

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the perfect representation individuals should hope to achieve.

Myths can be constructed without logical reasoning or scientific thought. With a lack of these features, myth can create truth with little or no scientific evidence to support it. Since myth provides a general interpretation, it is also the easiest facet of ideology to manipulate. In *Are we Making Progress?,* Dennis Carlson argues:

> Words and narratives have no fixed, unified, or stable meaning, only a meaning that is articulated with a "commonsense," a taken for granted discourse that produces certain truths about the nation and its history, truths are used to construct a national narrative of progress (Weis et al. 94).

Myths create or reinforce ideology within society. Hart categorizes these functions into four categories. Each type of myth is used to rationalize different values inherent in an ideology. These myths help explain why and how a society works to members of that society. These myths also illustrate incentive in emulating the values they convey. The first type he calls, "Cosmological stories – why we are here, where we came from, and what our ancestors were like" (242). These myths provide stories that recount origins of how a group reached the current status they occupy. These types of myths explain why an individual left their homeland and immigrated to the United States. They explain how individuals farmed in the Midwest or worked in coalmines in the Appalachian Mountains. It can explain how the original thirteen colonies decided to declare their freedom from British rule.

The second type is societal myth, which provides a moral compass on proper behavior. These myths provide a moral lesson expressed through a central character's actions. Such myths could include how your father walked five miles, uphill, both ways, in the snow, just to

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"the redcoats are coming" through the streets and towns of Middlesex county. These myths may not be based in any truth whatsoever (like going uphill in both directions to school), but they provide a moral of perseverance and fortitude that inspire the listener into action.

The third type uses identity as its basis. Hart explains that, "They explain what makes one culture grouping different from another" (242). This myth explains what it is about a group that distinguishes them from another group. It may explain what makes a nation great or exceptional. This myth could be used to vilify an opposing group as someone who plots to do evil upon others. This type can also denigrate one race of people when compared to another. A race can use this myth as justification brutality visited upon another or why the oppressed group is considered inferior.

The final type is called eschatological myth.[39] This myth informs people about what their actions will merit them in the short and long term. This myth provides instruction for goals one may seek in the future. An example would be, if a person works hard and does well in school, then he or she is rewarded in the job market. A myth such as this (stating that hard work will garner success) is one of the most prevalent in American society today.

However, no matter which myth is chosen, each functions in a similar way. Hart states there are six functions that help rhetorically in reifying an ideology by providing "heightened senses of authority, continuity, coherence, community, choice, and agreement" (243-244). For a myth to provide authority, it must be able to substantiate information provided through it. Through this function, the masses will draw upon previous knowledge available to them to

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appealing to authority the myth draws an apparent claim to common sense that bridges understanding between speaker and audience. In order for a myth to remain effective it must create continuity. A myth must be able to take hundreds, if not thousands, of various events and weave a pattern of sense like a quilt that builds upon a larger narrative.[40] This is achieved by linking matters of the present with a chain of events in the past to create a story of how society should handle the situation it faces. In a similar vein, a myth can gather coherence by taking bits and pieces from various ideas and values and create a brand new story to persuade an audience. Think of this function as creating a whole new suit out of various old clothes. The clothes make little difference alone, but mixed with other old clothes can create a whole new look.

Myths create a sense of choice. Since most people are creatures of habit, the decision to make a change in their lifestyle is rare and not taken lightly. In order for myth to take effect, an individual is presented with a dramatic representation of a situation. Hart contends that, “Myth dramatizes such choices by depicting dialectical struggles between good and evil” (242). By presenting the issue in this manner and combining it with an individual’s desire to participate in socially acceptable practices, this increases the importance of the issue at stake.

Finally, a myth can create agreement among a group. It does this by creating a vague representation of an idea. A word or phrase is used to conjure up a composite sketch of an issue or subject. This composite sketch may or may not be based upon any true evidence. Take the example of a terrorist. Just by stating one word, the function of collective agreement

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le word creates a total profile of an individual complete with ethnicity, religion, and appearance.

When these myths are adopted to define a nation, they become part of a national narrative.[41] These stories usually depict certain ideals and character qualities that all members of a nation should adopt. It is this use of myth that provides the moral compass that affects not only children but adults who carry the values they learned from these stories in their youth. With these values instilled, an individual applies these narratives taught to them to interpret how the world should work. As Slotkin reminds us on the powerful effects of myth:

> The mythology of a nation is the intelligible mask of that enigma called the 'national character.' Through myths the psychology and world view of our cultural ancestors are transmitted to modern descendants, in such a way and with such power that our perception of contemporary reality and our ability to function in the world are directly, often tragically affected (qtd. in Hunt 185).

Myth is used by those in power to justify all forms of domination of the general public. Often politicians will recall these myths in speeches to rally support for their agendas. Recalling stories of past political figures making tough decisions or telling tales of everyday Americans struggling to make their dream a reality, speakers reinforce and justify their actions to the public. By incorporating myth into their rhetoric, the privileged provide vague justifications as to why there should be tightened security checks, legalized phone monitoring, and increased budgets on homeland defense.

Ideology as Common Sense

Ideology can be viewed as naturally occurring or just basic common sense. Rossi-Landi explains that "Common sense not only generalizes but also trivializes and minimizes, in a

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24). In fact, the notion of common sense could also be regarded as ideology since it trivializes matters without thought or rationale. According to Rossi-Landi, common sense substitutes "precision for generality, penetration for banality. From this point of view, common sense is a disorganized or barely organized *set* of attitudes, ideas, convictions, and value-judgments, all of a *pre-scientific* type" (24-25). Common sense removes the scientific evidence aspect from its interpretation of objects. For Small, "Ideology appears on this basis in the form of commonsense, validated by everyday experience" (85). Common sense helps mask underlying motives in ideology. This carries potential danger based on the premise that certain ideologies are considered common sense. These common sense appeals limit potential discourse and steer acceptable behaviors of society. Common sense practices justify certain actions of an ideology. One example of common sense practice is the removal of hats during the playing of the national anthem at a public event. It appears common sense to remove a hat if you are wearing one. However, if somebody does not remove their hat, other people at the event may question that person's values. This is because Americans have been instilled to react in a certain way when the national anthem is played. This powerful tool in ideology can create ideal citizens through notions of common sense practices. Nikolev reiterates this point in a larger scale fashion:

> [Ideology is] the suffusion through civil society of a system of values, beliefs, attitudes, and morality that is, in one way or another, supportive of the established social and economic order and of the pattern of interests that it sustains. Once internalized, such beliefs assume a kind of common-sense quality as the dominance of prevailing interests comes to appear part of the natural order of things to which popular consent is given (248).

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onal attitude leads to the next step for an ideology to become widely accepted in a society.[42] However, I will now present some post- Marxist theories needed to explain ideology more thoroughly.

The Use of Hegemony in Ideology

Hegemony is nearly synonymous with ideology because it tends to privilege the ideology of one group over another.[43] However, Gramsci's interpretation of hegemony illustrated a less deterministic outlook on capitalist societies than Marx's interpretation of ideology as a whole. Instead of claiming the ruling class implements their will upon the dominated, Gramsci proposed that authority must find levels of consent in order to legitimize their sovereignty. Howarth explains, "In Gramsci's terms, therefore, a ruling class must achieve 'intellectual and moral leadership', and not just 'political supremacy', if it is to govern effectively and efficiently" (257). Since an ideology cannot totally encompass the public, certain concessions must be made between the dominant and marginalized classes. Hegemony creates a level of cooperation within a society to determine acceptable public behavior. According to Condit, "Gramsci states that in order for hegemony to function properly, a group must have a broad based and coherent worldview that 'leads' by gaining active consent from allies and passive assent from other classes or groups"(206). This is a significant variation of ideology in that Gramsci believed one dominant class did not entirely control society.[44] He purposed that concessions must be made by the ruling class to gain alliances and keep oppressed classes from initiating social upheaval. A ruling class legitimatizes their power by compromising with the public on certain issues. These concessions may hurt the ruling class in the short term, but they will prove beneficial as the public remains pacified. These small victories cause distractions for

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ese concessions to legitimate certain actions that benefit their interests. Gramsci did, however, understand that the state could contribute substantially to the dominating ideology through various means of reification (whether they be subtle, legal or otherwise) in order to maintain the status quo. Hegemony seems to offer what the subjugated wants. The subtlety is this: whatever the values and interests of a dominant social, economic or political group are, they perceive these values as dear to everyone. Lippe depicts the concept this way: "Hegemony treats particular values as though they were universal and as if consensus were simply a matter of following one's feelings or of agreeing to the obvious" (64). In order for hegemony to fulfill this function, certain criteria must be met. Hegemony must be inundated within our consciousness; it must reach a consensus among the population, or be interpreted as "tradition." Apple reiterates this notion: "Hegemony acts to 'saturate' our very consciousness, so that the…world we see and interact with, and the commonsense interpretations we put on it, becomes the world *tout court,* the only world" (5).

This leads to the following question: why does hegemony work so well in capitalist societies where democracy is practiced? How can the public allow for such concessions and, in essence, be duped to go along with agendas detrimental to them in the long run? If the public discovered they were allowing something to harm their own interest, then it would stand to reason they might react against the ruling class. The tactics of persuasion by the ruling class must compromise with not just one part of the subjected class, but possibly multiple factions within that class. In other words, not only do both parties agree on a basic principle. That principle may have to be agreed upon by other parties within the subjugated class. All of this relates to a common ground that all parties involved can agree upon. Smith reads it this way:

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> mony would be able to advance simultaneously in
> o adapt to the unique conditions of different sites in the social; to develop a specific form of political intervention at each site that best facilitates its extension and intensification; and to unify these plural micro-projects in pseudo-popular and pseudo-democratic terms, thereby foreclosing the possibility of radical resistance in advance (179).

This means that the state allows for small victories in the hopes of minimizing any possible detractors from gathering enough support to mount opposition. With opposition literally "on the outside looking in", the state can run an agenda that placates the public but further silences those marginalized parties. In Cheney's books there appears to be a more multicultural telling of American history that include marginalized heroes from different backgrounds and events that are not normally highlighted in traditional history books. These concessions made by Cheney provide distraction to her detractors. While her opponents are diverted, Cheney reinforces her ideology by illustrating those marginalized historical figures that follow a template of her historical narrative.

With the marginalized cynics pushed to the wayside, those parties within the public believe they have a universal understanding regarding policies and agendas. This is not the case. The idea of the universal in hegemony is not all encompassing to every group within a public sphere. The concessions made by the state in order to receive support by the public for their agenda may have given up too much or too little power. This depends upon the values of a given faction within the sphere. A particular group may have condoned certain actions, but that does not mean they full-heartedly agree with every action committed by the state. According to Laclau, "The theory of hegemony is a theory of universaling [*sic*] effects emerging out of socially and culturally specific contexts" (188). These contexts leave remnants of

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tance into the public sphere. These remnants will not always agree with universal notions and contradict certain aspects of the public sphere. Butler explains:

> [T]he assimilation of the particular into the universal leaves its trace, an unassimiable [*sic*]remainder, which renders universality ghostly to itself…no notion of universality can rest easily within the notion of a single 'culture', since the very concept of universality compels an understanding of culture and a task of translation (24-25).

This is like saying the state cannot please all of the people all of the time. Former values that are a part of a group may still be carried on after assimilation. It is as the saying goes, "Old habits are hard to break." Even when the state tries to present something as common sense or basic necessity they cannot satisfy everyone within the public sphere. This creates an endless need for legitimatizing certain actions on the part of the state. In order to achieve this universal, Butler suggests, "The universal can be the universal only to the extent that it remains untainted by what is particular, concrete, and individual. Thus it requires the constant and meaningless vanishing of the individual…" (23). It is this repeated erasure of the individual that strengthens the universal; however, the erasure can never fully eliminate the individual.

In order to validate these universal concepts within hegemony, Ernesto Laclau borrowed Jacques Lacan's concept of *empty signifiers*. This is a concept dealing with the fact that language creates a plurality of meanings through signifiers which are not stable or steadfast.[45] This renders the meaning of words in language useless due to lack of a symbolic order. These signifiers are never stable or constant. According to Lacan, "an empty signifier is a signifier without a signified" (Critchley et. al 262). In order for a concept to be accepted in hegemony,

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considered a correct interpretation of a concept which may not be all encompassing or widely agreed upon. He further explains:

> They are signifiers with no *necessary* attachment to any precise content, signifiers which simply name the positive reverse of an experience of historical limitation: 'justice', as against a feeling of widespread unfairness; 'order', when people are confronted with generalized social disorganizations; 'solidarity' in a situation in which antisocial self-interest prevails, and so on (185).

These interpreted concepts come from a society's understanding of their history. Since not every group in a society shares the same history as other groups, hegemony must be able to create universal concepts to reach a level of concordance for all parties involved, even if these meanings are contradictory and paradoxical. Laclau explains, "The representation of the unrepresentable constitutes the terms of the paradox within which hegemony is constructed… we are dealing with an object which is at the same time impossible and necessary" (66). In other words, the state will create an understanding that only exists in an idealized environment, never to be fully realized. There may be indications of the concept that exist, but it can never be fully realized. Since there are contradictions within the system of hegemony between the authority and the public, there will always be unevenness in regards to the public's voice, power, and representation.

The Concept of Social Reproduction

Social reproduction is an aspect of ideological theory that incorporates accepted values and judgments to produce acceptable members of society, according to their class. Rossi-Landi states, "There is nothing that does *not* belong to social reproduction, nothing that is not the historical product of a form of social practice" (53). In other words, there is no cultural object or

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ithout continued performance or ritualistic assigning of significance. Social reproduction provides some fundamentals that will help explain some aspects of the theory of hidden curriculum discussed later on in this chapter. As stated earlier, ideology (in this case social reproduction) does not occur in a vacuum; tradition and rituals must be established through historical events.

An excellent source of social reproduction happens within various institutions. For children, this primary institution is the school. Smith explains, “Public schools are thus seen as integral to the functioning of democratic society. Their job is to store and replicate the values of the polity, values defined broadly by state and national constitutions and in specifics by the outcomes of democratic processes” (2). Small agrees with this assertion but also concedes, “Education reproduces social relations of production, but it also reproduces its own social relations, both in the short term and in the long term” (78). So, society uses institutions to replicate society in future generations.

Social reproduction is incorporated into different types of institutions. These institutions can range from large groups such as military branches or small groups such as families. These institutions carry their own norms and values. Each institution uses ritual and tradition to reinforce their values. Small comments, “One function of education is to reproduce itself as an institution at the same time it reproduces social relations in general and assists in reproducing other social institutions such as family” (86). The values placed upon the students inside the institution of school prepare them for a future indicative of the values impressed upon them during their enrollment, however, these values change according to the economic status of the

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Marxian terms, is that social classes receive an education which is geared to their positions in society" (79). How does this happen? What is the driving force that keeps certain members of society oppressed while uplifting others? People have held the belief for years that education was the key to advancing economically. Education was always supposed to level the playing field.

A study was conducted by Jean Anyon on the distribution of cultural reproduction. She attended classes at five school districts. Each district represented different economic situations that were present in the same metropolitan area. She attended two working-class schools, two middle-class schools, and one upper-class school to observe the ideological differences in each institution's curriculum. She discovered the schools used different teaching styles according to their economic status. In lower working-class schools, the primary focus was on the potential for success. Anyon writes, "The predominant tone of activity and interaction in the middle-class school was one of patriotism and student 'possibility'" (40). These students learned that hard work leads to success. The most crucial principle instilled in these children was to discover the right answer. There was little room given to critical thinking or reasoning, only finding the right answer. This style of education prepared the student for manual labor and proper response to supervisors. The middle-class schools she visited stressed independent, creativity in students' work. Innovation received praise over and above other aspects of their schooling. Their curriculum focused on analysis of situations and problem solving. This curriculum prepared students for such jobs as advisors, consultants, or analysts for corporations. The final school she visited was for children of high powered corporate elites. According to Anyon the curriculum practiced here was "highly academic, intellectual, and rigorous" (40). Classes were taught in a

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ward yes or no answer regurgitation. Classes had a focus on financially sound business logic and ethics. The main point of view in this curriculum was the preservation of one's own business interests.

Social Reproduction is a piece of the greater puzzle known as Social reality. According to Rossi-Landi Social reality is comprised of three layers: Social Practice, Social Reproduction, and History. "Social Practice [is] work performed by human beings in society, using as materials and tools both human beings themselves and nature modified through human action over time: in other words past history" (51). The ritual practice of social norms reinforces values inherent to a social class. In the case of the working-class children, getting the right answers teaches them this practice satisfies their teacher, but later in life it satisfies their supervisor and earns them praise and recognition.

As social practices continue to be reinforced, they eventually evolve into social reproduction when institutions are involved. Rossi-Landi claims that, "Social Reproduction [is] a vast mechanism or instrumental organization invented and constructed by humanity for the production of history: the mechanism comprises both human beings themselves and nature, used both as materials and as tools" (51). Institutions implement these social practices into mechanical functions. This limits the possibility for discourse as to why history heavily favors one group over another. This mode of thinking values those who "follow the rules" of good citizenship and acceptable social behaviors.

The third and final component is History. History in this aspect can dictate social positions and acceptable social behaviors. Rossi-Landi elaborates that, "History [is] the product

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social reproduction: it too comprises both human beings and nature, but as products" (51). In other words, history is what places value on various classes and objects. As stated earlier, ideology does not happen in a vacuum. It is a product of history. An artifact's value is criticized by its history. If the history of an artifact is placed in high regard, it will continue to flourish. We can think of history as a form of capital. If the history of an artifact is given great value, it will continue producing a rich history through social practice and reproduction. However, the opposite is true of artifacts that pose a problem for the dominant class. If the history of an artifact is degraded, it is rendered impotent in the eyes of the privileged. Cheney's example of Tecumseh in her books presents a man who forged a collective agreement between various tribes of Native Americans. However, she does not include the reason behind this confederation. She highlights his move to modernize fellow Native Americans, but down plays his plan to aid the British Empire in fighting the United States. Marcuse argues that such suppression "Is not academic but a political affair" (97). In other words, social reproduction is a social practice in action for the production of a history as political advantage.

A critical aspect of social reproduction, which deserves note, is the idea of cultural capital. One can view cultural capital in a similar fashion as economic capital. In other words, the more capital possessed by an individual or group the more power and influence they possess. Apple argues this point through another Marxist, Pierre Bourdieu. Apple claims, "Bourdieu focuses on the student's ability to cope with what might be called 'middle class culture.' He argues that the cultural capital stored in schools acts as an effective filtering device in the reproduction of a hierarchal society" (32). This notion recalls Anyon's field study. The

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ool receives the prescribed ideological tools to create the desired vocations of that economic class. Those taught service style curriculum will become well prepared for service style professions. The same can be said about those taught leadership skills.

This unequal distribution of cultural capital is similar to the distribution of financial capital. Apple argues, “Cultural capital (‘good taste,’ certain kinds of prior knowledge, abilities and language forms) is unequally distributed throughout society” (33). As demonstrated earlier, students of different economic classes received distinct educations. The lower classes were all but denied the use of reasoning. However, further up the economic scale, children of privilege learned the emphasis of critical thinking and business logic. If social reproduction does control class structure, then the message of higher education earning higher paying jobs has become a fallacy. Apple states:

> Reproduction theorists had argued that schools were no longer a great ‘equalizer,’ but rather played a central role in reproducing social class status by distributing educational knowledge that leads to power and status (e.g., legal, medical, managerial) to students from higher social class backgrounds and lower level more ‘practical’ knowledge (vocational, clerical) to working-class students (39).

Why are students taught this? Most people believe schools to be ideological free zones that encourage free thinking and creativity. The problem is schools are incapable of being ideological islands, free from outside influences and pressures (such as state and local governments, churches, and the military). Schools are part of a bigger network of institutions that support other institutions. Apple argues that this cultural reproduction occurs for two reasons in educational institutions:

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> a nexus of other institutions – political, economic and qual. Second, these inequalities are reinforced and reproduced by schools (though not by them alone of course). Through their curricular, pedagogical, and evaluative activities in the day-to-day life in classrooms, schools play a significant role in preserving if not generating these inequalities (64).

The current distribution of cultural capital can be damaging to marginalized discourse. It appears the school needs to distribute cultural capital, it must satisfy the standards put in place by individuals elected to their school boards.

Finally, social reproduction eliminates not only the idea of discourse, but also the notion of personal agency. Apple suggests, "It [ideology] focuses on men and women as recipients of values and institutions, not men and women as creators and recreators of values" (86). By limiting discourse as social reproduction does in the lower-class schools, children will grow up only as passive participants in a democratic society built on active change. They may never seek out and explore the possibilities that stretch out before them. They may take Cheney's presentation of American history at face value and leave it at that. They may never research something on their own or develop the critical skills to create change that might, in the end, improve their lot in life.

The Ideological State Apparatus

Althusser first wrote in *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses* about one of the subtlest forms of institutional reification available in the capitalistic society: the school. Here in the United States, federal, state, and local monies fund the majority of elementary and secondary public schools. The original function of these schools is to teach children the basics of everyday life such as the three R's: reading, writing, and arithmetic. As most of the public

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uld be ideologically free, allowing for young minds to learn how to think and behave for themselves. This, however, is not the case. The school represents what Althusser calls an "Ideological State Apparatus." He sums up the difference between this apparatus and the traditional repressive state apparatus, which requires a lengthy quotation due to his clarity:

> This manifestation of the ideological apparatus is in contrast to the popular notion of the repressive state apparatus. The repressive state apparatus according to Marx has claimed that state power and state apparatus must be distinguished, the objective of the class struggle concerns state power, and in consequence the use of the state apparatus by the classes (or alliance of classes or of fractions of classes) holding state power as a function of their class objectives, and the proletarian must seize state power in order to destroy the existing bourgeois state apparatus and in a first phase, replace it with a quite different, proletarian apparatus, then in later phases set in motion a radical process, that of the destruction of the state (the end of state power, the end of every state apparatus)(1)

The ideological state apparatus proposed here represents subtle albeit just as violent forms of social control. These methods are performed under the watchful eye of the institution. Although Althusser concedes that there is an intertwining of the two apparatuses, there is one primary distinction. Religious, educational, family and legal, ideological state apparatuses focus on the private sphere of life. The ideological state apparatus uses ideology to justify its actions. The implementation of ideology creates cohesion and unity among members of an institution. For instance, an army may use such terminology as teamwork and duty to convey their meanings of unification. In order for this cohesion to remain intact, there are certain rules used to solidify a level of group morale and team chemistry within a unit. If these rules are broken by an individual, the institution has actions it can use to curtail further disciplinary issues. This can

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the process. These actions are usually subtle in nature, which can be understood as symbolic.

In other words, the punishment given to an offending party is symbolically used as an example to others within the institution. Such actions can be constituted in subtle ways such as extra duty, random inspections or physical training. Other more extensive measures to stress an ideological point would be article fifteens (based upon level of institutional infraction determines the level of punishment), kitchen patrol, and if necessary, excommunication from the institution in the form of dishonorable discharge or imprisonment. These measures convey the consequences of breaking the acceptable social behaviors within their respective institutions. These measures are also exercised within other institutions as well. These measures include detention in school, grounding in the family home, or loss of license to practice in various professions.

In our case, we will be investigating the ideological state apparatus of the public school. According to Althusser, the school is a dominant controls of all ideological state apparatus. The reason, he supposes, is that the masses passively accept the teachings that go on within school walls. This happens without an objection as to what it may be doing to the most easily corrupted demographic of all the economic classes, the children. Althusser justifies the assertion:

> It takes children from every class at infant-school age, and then for years, the years in which the child is most 'vulnerable', squeezed between the Family state apparatus and the educational state apparatus, it drums into them, whether it uses new or old methods, a certain amount of 'know-how' wrapped in the ruling ideology or simply the ruling ideology in its pure state (1).

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luction, Althusser suggest that children "at school also learn the rules of 'good behavior' i.e. the attitude that should be observed by every agent in the division of labour [*sic*], according to the job he is 'destined' for" (1). The ideological state apparatus sets the institutional ground work for the future labor force's fate. By instructing the children according to their economic class, they will become better subjects for the jobs they will fill later in life. This is similar to Cheney's representation of individuals, who worked hard, received a good education, and reached their goals of success. By illustrating individuals who follow this template Cheney provides tools of reinforcement to aid social reproduction in school and in society.

I suggest that these claims by Althusser regarding ideological state apparatus reinforces the class structure similar to the theories of social production discussed by Rossi-Landi. By analyzing this passage, one can see the connection when Althusser claims:

> All of these measures that are put in place by the state in the educational state apparatus are used to support a single purpose. It is used so that the reproduction of labour power requires not only a reproduction of its skills, but also at the same time, a reproduction of its submission to the rules of the established order, i.e. a reproduction of submission to the ruling ideology for the workers, and a reproduction of the ability to manipulate the ruling ideology correctly for the agents of exploitation and repression, so that they, too, will provide for the domination of the ruling class 'in words'(1).

In summary, the ideological state apparatus operates in a similar fashion to social reproduction. Both theories can privilege or dismiss information in the interests of the institutions they represent and both theories unequally distribute their cultural capital according to socioeconomic factors.

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hapter, ideology can create false connections of a natural structure within a society. In order for these false connections to continue existing, the dominant culture must be able to construct, rationalize, and maintain a complex structure of interwoven ideas and concepts that justify the current social or political system's existence. It is important to note a distinction made between false consciousness and ideology. Rossi-Landi's asserts that, "The main difference we need to clarify is a linguistic one: false consciousness does not express itself verbally, ideology does" (132). What this means is that cultural objects cannot be claimed ideologically until verbalized into a discourse.

The influence ideology has upon a group or society can limit other possible discourses from emerging. This knowledge can be used as a means of reproducing current social standards. For a dominant society to exert its influence, it must implement legitimization: the principle of rationalizing or justifying a group's actions. There are many different methods behind legitimization. These include the natural fact, common sense argument, and generally accepted wisdom.

By legitimizing aspects of ideology, the meanings of words can be made synonymous with an ideology, closing off all other meaning to that word or concept. Marcuse explains that, "The unified, functional language is an irreconcilably anti-critical and anti-dialectical language" (97). This closed language polarizes and attempts to justify its existence through the use of the natural and common sense.

In his conception of Ideology, Rossi-Landi brackets ideology into varying levels of consciousness. The levels discussed were ideology as myth and common sense. Myths create or

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ciety. Myth provides a narrative that justifies a social practice or moral lesson. Ideology can be viewed as naturally occurring or common sense. When an ideology is considered common sense they are understood out of everyday experience with no scientific evidence to support its claim. Since an ideology cannot totally encompass the public, certain concessions must be made between the dominant and the marginalized. Hegemony creates a level of cooperation within a society to determine acceptable public behavior. Gramsci purposed these are concessions made to gain alliances and keep the dominated from resorting to social upheaval.

Social reproduction is an aspect of ideological theory that incorporates accepted ideological values and judgments to produce acceptable members of society according to their class. Social reproduction is often incorporated into different types of institutions. Social reproduction is a piece of a greater puzzle known as social reality. According to Rossi-Landi, social reality is comprised of three layers: “Social Practice, Social Reproduction, and History” (51). The ideological state apparatus operates in a similar fashion to social reproduction. All of these theories factor into the creation of ideological narratives that are propagated to the lower and middle classes. The myths and stories provided by ideological state apparatuses reinforce the ideology of the dominant class to the working class to ensure the continuation of socially acceptable practices. Since, the groundwork for the functions of ideology is complete; I will now discuss the cultural artifact of children’s literature and the theory of hidden curriculum and how they play a part in the reinforcement of ideology.

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The Cultural Artifact of Children's Literature

In the area of ideological critique, there has only been one scholar I have encountered who has reviewed literature in the same manner. Peter Hunt has been working with children's literature for many years and developed some key points that I will be adapting in my criticism. In the history of children's literary criticism, there has not been too much retooling. Reynolds gave one of the better contemporary criticisms of the genre when she views it through the feminist lens and suggested:

> The dialectical nature of the relationship between literature and culture adult novels were accustoming the public to changes in the social meanings of masculinity and feminity, both boys' and girls' fiction can instead be seen as conservative examples of what Althusser has identified as literature's unique capacity to reveal (and rupture) dominant contemporary ideologies (qtd. in Hunt 11).

It seems apparent that few literary scholars, let alone rhetorical scholars, have ever considered investigating children's literature as ideological artifacts. As stated earlier in the literature review, there is nothing produced that does not carry a history. Saxby asserts that, "children's books, perhaps more than other print media, reflect social change" (qtd. in Lampert 3). This leads to the conclusion that there must be some form of ideology behind its creation. This makes it all the more fascinating that this genre is overlooked. Hunt asserts this thought about children's book and their authors:

> Like other writers, authors of children's books are inescapably influenced by their views and assumptions when selecting what goes into the work (and what does not), when developing plot and character, determining the nature of conflicts and their resolutions, casting and depicting heroes and villains, evoking readers' emotional responses, eliciting reader's judgments, finding ways to illustrate their themes and pointing morals (18).

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to reproduce its values, it almost seems common sense to assign such values to children's books. The heroes portrayed in these stories have their own set of values and beliefs. The decisions made by these characters determine not only the outcome of the story, but their actions emphasize their morals. Hunt claims that, "children's books have had massive cultural influence on contemporary society" (qtd. in Lampert 6). Children's books are primarily based upon a myth or social value. The reading of such texts will reinforce an ideology even if the author had not intentionally placed any in a book. Waller contends:

> When a text is written, ideology works to make some things more natural to write; when a text is read, it works to conceal struggles and repressions, to force language into conveying only those meanings reinforced by the dominant forces of our society (qtd in Hollindale 32).

An example would be a story in which the lead character decided not to do the right thing. The story ends without the hero learning a moral lesson or the villain gets away without penalty. For most authors of children's books that would be extremely difficult to write, let alone publish. This is because such a story goes against conventions of teaching morals or instilling social values. Musgrave suggests "children's literature is an… almost quintessential source of the values that parents and others hope to teach to the next generation" (qtd. in Hollidale 30). In other words, in order to produce good citizens, children's books need to illustrate proper citizenship.

It is these illustrations of socially acceptable myths that propagate the authority vested in the dominant culture. Using stories of proper social practice children learn these lessons easily. Thompson argues:

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> s to sustain relations of domination by representing
> ssume the narrative form. Stories are told which justify the exercise of power by those who possess it, situating these individuals within a tissue of tales that recapitulate the past and anticipate the future" (qtd. in Watkins 179)

This constant reinforcement illustrates social practices in children's literature mask the potency of a dominant ideology. If we, as adults and scholars, have overlooked the ideological potential contained within these books, then how will children know? One must realize that children have not fully adapted their reasoning skills and logic, but something must be done. Hollindale contends, "Children, unless they are helped to notice what is there, will take them for granted too. Unexamined, passive values are widely *shared* values, and we should not underestimate the powers of reinforcement vested in quiescent and unconscious ideology" (30). If the trend continues, the passive acceptance of social morals in children's books could lead to passive acceptance of corrupt policies as adults later in life.

In keeping with the notion that social reproduction keeps the subjugated in line, children's literature can illustrate proper roles to the youth of working–class families. As Zipes argues, "the aim of children's books is often to produce the right citizens for the times, those who embody a society's required cultural values" (qtd. in Lampert7). Similar to other cultural artifacts, children's books contain a political message even when the meaning was unintentional. In literary criticism, this aspect has been overlooked. There is one consolation to the literary criticism of children's literature. It is the fact that it has exposed certain aspects of ideology. Lampert states:

> Children's texts have regularly been analyzed to expose the privileging of some of these discourses over others in the ways preferred identities are made available to readers. Some children's literary criticism demonstrates evidence of the prevailing positions,

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s that relate to the political, cultural, and historical social practice exists (10).

By analyzing children's books in the same tradition as literary works, there was some foundational evidence that theorizes children's books are products of their time and contain a different meaning in a contemporary setting.[46] In closing this section, I think Lampert says it best: "children's texts are one element in a complex set of cultural practices which produces identities for a particular time and place. Children's books are identity-producing, socializing texts, and so by their very nature are politicizing" (15).

The Concept of Hidden Curriculum

Since there is limited research on children's literature as a cultural artifact in ideology, I will be borrowing some theory from the field of pedagogy. The rationale for such a move is because the material reviewed in this thesis is similar to textbooks. Hollindale comments that, "it has been suggested that children's literature, because of its pedagogical nature, can provide a microcosmic look at how discourses emerge subject to ongoing contestation, revision and change as a precise effect of world events" (5).

Cheney's books are instructional in nature and provide information about United States history. Secondly, these books could be found in most elementary school libraries. That being said, the books would have to pass through a review board at some level before consideration for circulation in the library prior to purchase. Thirdly, one of the books uses the word "primer" right in its subtitle. A primer is usually considered a book of early instruction, although the word itself is seldom used today.

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pting from the field of pedagogy will be the theory of "hidden curriculum." Apple defines hidden curriculum as, "the tacit teaching to students of norms, values, and dispositions that goes on simply by living in and coping with the institutional expectations and routines of schools day in and day out for a number of years" (14). This pedagogical theory is compatible with the theory of social reproduction. The theory already resembles some aspects of social reproduction and the ideological state apparatus.[47] Hidden curriculum creates value systems both through an institution (the school) and reinforces the social structure of the economic class it educates.

Since we have already established that a school is an ideological state apparatus, proper social behaviors within the theory of hidden curriculum can also be considered an ideological device. Apple argues, "The study of educational knowledge is a study in ideology, the investigation of what is considered *legitimate* knowledge" (45). If this knowledge is taught to the working-class in order to suppress them, then it can stand to reason that even curriculum taught in schools are infused with ideology.

Since we can now assume that social reproduction is inherent in curriculum, it would also stand to reason that the curriculum taught within these institutions could unequally distribute the cultural capital that Bourdieu described earlier. The more cultural capital a student possesses, the better prepared that the student will be in the labor force. Those students given the least amount of cultural capital at the working-class level will only go as far as their parents in the labor force. Apple asserts, "This knowledge, as distributed in schools, may contribute to a cognitive and dispositional development that strengthens or reinforces

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tional arrangements in society" (45). Since those individuals in the position of privilege have the power to run institutions, they can control an institution's filter of cultural capital and determine what is suitable for children. Bourdieu illustrates the point this way: "Since they preserve and distribute what is perceived to be 'legitimate knowledge' – the knowledge that 'we all must have,' schools confer cultural legitimacy on the knowledge of specific groups" (qtd. in Apple 64). It is this filtering system that restricts the flow of cultural capital into the lower-class school's curriculums.

Apple sees this connection with cultural capital much in the same manner as Anyon (2006) saw in her field study of public schools. Both believe that there is a correlation between the economic class of a student and the amount of cultural capital given to them. Apple sees it this way:

> curriculum differentiation would fulfill two social purposes – education for leadership and education for 'followership.' Those of high intelligence were to be educated to lead the nation by being taught to understand the needs of society. They would also learn to define appropriate beliefs and standards of behavior to meet those needs. The mass of the population was to be taught to accept these beliefs and standards whether or not they understood them or agreed with them (75).

In the same vein as ideology, hidden curriculum must be maintained through a complex system of justification. The curriculum, like ideology, must appear to be widely accepted and regimented in order to appear natural to the subordinated. Apple provides an ideological argument for the use of hidden curriculum. "There needs to be continuous and increasingly sophisticated *justification* for acceptance of the distinctions and social rules they learned earlier" (83). In other words, the justifications for curriculum must be based on historical precedence that has been socially practiced within the institution to warrant the current claims.

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's ritualistic practices, they must appear simplistic and natural to become transparent to the oppressed group. Apple continues, "This requires that institutions, commonsense rules, and knowledge be seen as relatively pregiven, neutral, and basically unchanging because they all continue to exist by 'consensus'" (83). In other words, hidden curriculum must act in the same manner as an ideology to function properly. Hidden curriculum must assume the same qualities as ideology to take effect in education. The curriculum must appear as common sense and natural in order to influence subordinates without raising suspicion of subjugation.

As I have demonstrated, there has been little research on children's literature as a cultural artifact. It appears that few literary scholars, let alone rhetorical scholars have considered investigating children's literature. That is why I have decided to conduct an ideological critique of children's literature.

In the fourth chapter, I will examine these theories and how they pertain to children's literature. I will critique Cheney's books in the hopes of supporting my argument. Hollindale admits:

> [I]deology is an inevitable, untamable and largely uncontrollable factor in the transaction between books and children. Our priority in the world of children's books should not be to promote ideology but to understand it, and find ways of helping others understand it, including children themselves (27).

As I hope to demonstrate, the ideology of an author can influence the values and beliefs of a child, and it is our jobs as scholars to understand the process and instruct future generations.

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Chapter Three

The Ideograph and Deconstruction as Method

This chapter will focus primarily on the method that I will be using in this close reading of the literature by Cheney. The main goal of this reading is to look for discrepancies in Cheney's work that may contradict her themes of unity, multiculturalism, and patriotism. I will be using two tools in my critique. The first will be the strategy of deconstruction conceived by Jacques Derrida. This literary tool looks for binary oppositions and inconsistencies within a text. The second tool I will use in my critique will be Michael McGee's rhetorical theory called the "ideograph". McGee's method takes political and ideological phrases and looks for any inconsistencies and contradictions contained within slogans and abstracted ideals of rhetorical strategies. I will first review some key points of both methods before exploring Cheney's work in the next chapter.

Derrida and Deconstruction

In order to give a better interpretation of the children's literature, I will be referring to Jacques Derrida's explanation of deconstruction. Put in its most basic form, deconstruction is a literary critique used to interpret meaning from various texts. However, according to Derrida, it is not a method, nor a critique.[48] He validates this claim by stating that "deconstruction is always at work in the work" (Wolfreys 22). In other words, deconstruction is always in the process of performing itself. Deconstruction is present before, during, and after we try to deconstruct texts. It is difficult to map out Derrida's explanation of deconstruction. Derrida's

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us and many of his explanations create paradoxes. One such example relates to his interpretation of deconstruction:

> You know the programme; [deconstruction] cannot be applied because deconstruction is not a doctrine; it's not a method, nor is it a set of rules or tools; it cannot be separated from perfomatives…One the one hand, there is no 'applied deconstruction'. But on the other hand, there is nothing else, since deconstruction doesn't consist in a set of theorems, axioms, tools, rules, techniques, methods. If deconstruction, then, is nothing by itself, the only thing it can do is apply, to be applied, to something else, not only in more than one language, but also with something else. There is no deconstruction; deconstruction has no specific object… Deconstruction cannot be applied and cannot not be applied. So we have to deal with this aporia, and this is what deconstruction is about. (qtd. in Wolfreys 28-29)

For this reason, some critics of Derrida would call deconstructionist theory relativist or nihilistic literary critique. I would argue that is not the case. Each statement Derrida makes is then retracted with another statement that appears to be refuting his own claims. Since Derrida's argument is bound by language, it is difficult to explain what deconstruction is. He has reached a philosophical impasse in that he cannot fully explain deconstruction nor can he refute its existence. Even in the paragraph cited above, Derrida is deconstructing his own explanation. He can describe various characteristics of deconstruction, but cannot give a foundation for it because there is no solid base upon which it can stand. Despite all of this, I believe that Derrida presents deconstruction as a way of looking past the assumed and the universal meanings many of us take for granted and gives us a way to reinterpret those texts. In many ways this is like an ideology working in reverse. Ideology seeks to naturalize certain concepts into a centralized meaning that unifies a group or ritual. However, deconstruction seeks to destabilize these meanings and expose the inconsistencies that are inherent in the unnatural connections of ideology.

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heory of deconstruction, words are assigned meanings that are not necessarily all encompassing. Meaning is created when we as audience assign significance to texts. However, the significance we assign to that text will vary according to our reading. Our interpretation of text construes the meaning we receive from it. We arrange the meaning of that text according to our own constructs or ideological backgrounds. It is similar to when somebody suggests the idea of owning a dog. We hear this text spoken and arrange it to mean something to us. Some people may imagine a small toy poodle while others may interpret the words to mean an Irish wolfhound. Though these are two different breeds of dogs, they are still fundamentally dogs. Yet, deconstructionists may reinterpret the choice of dog to connote certain attitudes of the dog owner or her economic standing. There are a number of ways that deconstruction can reinterpret this simple statement. When a statement or text is deconstructed, the text is not destroyed, but rather rearranged. Wolfreys explains, "I am engaging not merely in description, or what would be called a constative speech act. I am also *doing* what I am describing with and in words. I am producing, constructing, what is known as *performative speech act*" (14). When we describe or interpret a text we are performing a translation of that text. The assembly of words in a text resembles something different to each audience member that carries varied meaning for them, as opposed to another member of the audience. This occurs in ideology when we assign meanings to particular concepts or objects that are highly abstract. The meanings that we give to these concepts are interpreted from our own ideological background. Our interpretation centralizes a particular meaning that makes sense to us, but in the course of creating our meaning, we dismiss other interpretations of the same concept. If we deconstruct the concept of the word freedom, our interpretation will vary

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may interpret freedom to mean the right to bear arms or the right to speak against government policy. Some may even interpret freedom to mean that they have no responsibility or obligation to anyone or anything. All of this is based on our backgrounds and ideological upbringing.

Derrida claims that language, in essence marks out a center to a given word. In contrast to the rest of Western philosophy, which attempts to create a stable and unified meaning, Derrida removes that stable center and replaces it something what could seem just as plausible. Wolfreys explains, "The concept and word are thus part of the very fabric of our thinking, yet about which we barely give a thought when we employ concepts. They inform silently almost all, if not every epistemological and semantic procedure by which we function and navigate the world in which we live" (24). However, that word states what is understood and what has been marginalized in its meaning. This theory follows in a similar pattern as Saussure's theory of semiotics, which describes the different meanings behind words and the speech acts associated with them. However, instead of pointing out a central meaning to a given word, it removes this center that creates a given meaning. Saussure's point of difference revolves around his argument that in order for a speech act to have meaning it must have a pre-existing language system. Norris states, "This system, he [Saussure] reasoned, had to underlie and pre-exist any possible sequence of speech, since meaning could be produced only in accordance with the organizing ground-rules of speech" (25). However, Derrida refutes Saussure's privileging of the spoken word over the written word in his essay *Linguistics and Grammatology* because Saussure limits the interchangeability of words in a language.[49]

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assembles the meaning from the center of a word and allows for other possible readings of the same texts. These texts are then reinterpreted and include those things which are not incorporated in the original reading of a text. Derrida believed that deconstruction includes marginal concepts in the text. Similar to ideology, when a statement is made, there exist marginalized ideas that are excluded. In this primary statement, there is an understood meaning. However, if a person deconstructs the statement, they could interpret various meanings contradictory to the original. Wolfreys elaborates, “There is always work to be done. There is always some remainder to come, to be given over to the lucid patient attempt to cover the ground once more” (30-31). In essence, deconstruction is, as Derrida stated, always working. Texts will continue in this deconstruction even after we have finished our own deconstruction. It is an endless cycle of reinterpretation that starts before us and continues after us. This reinterpretation functions like ideology in the same fashion as Cheney’s books in that they reinterpret certain events in American history to fit her ideal narrative. Her interpretation reinforces a particular ideological narrative, but future authors may reinterpret her narrative to create an even stronger support for her ideal history.

According to Derrida, the reason there are multiple meanings is that we as readers come from various backgrounds. Our backgrounds and personal histories create different connections to the texts that we read. Since our backgrounds are different texts, they will create a different meaning for each of us. Derrida states that we as communicators are bound by our language. We cannot live outside of this language and are restricted in our meanings.

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ways is; language exists even before we utter the statement" (Wolfreys 23). When we create a text, either audibly or visually, we are creating a text that will be construed differently by different audiences. Wolfreys states, "What is written in the term is apprehension of that which is *in* and *of* construction, which makes it all hang together *as if* it were a unified, full, non-differentiated identity" (18). This construction is based upon the social, political, and ideological ties to other grammatical statements that are a part of the language. What Derrida is attempting to explain through deconstruction is that there is no unity within a text or even a word in a language even though ideology constantly tries to create unity. Ideology seeks to mask the arbitrary nature language while deconstruction seeks to unmask these meanings. For Derrida, there are at least two or more possible meanings behind any text which coexist together in that text. Norris furthers this by saying, "Deconstruction can never have the final word because its insights are inevitably couched in rhetoric which itself lies open to further deconstructive reading" (83). Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s *Letter from a Birmingham Jail* is an example of deconstruction in our rhetorical field. This masterpiece in American rhetoric has received many varied interpretations. Some have argued that is a response to upset ministers, and others have said that it could be interpreted as a Pauline epistle. In any case, rhetoricians have deconstructed texts to decipher what remains unsaid.

One prominent misconception about deconstruction is that it closes the meaning of any text. That is not the case. Deconstruction opens up multiple readings of the same text, even if reread by the same audience. So, deconstruction is always at work in close readings. Derrida is not destroying meaning, but is providing a tool that gives us multiple points of view on a text. Wolfreys states, "Never single or homogenous then, deconstruction should involve a patient

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to risk a reading in the face of the undecidable" (38). Norris affirms this statement, "Deconstruction is therefore an activity of reading which remains closely tied to the texts it interrogates, and which can never set up independently as a method or system of operative concepts" (31). We as readers of a text must acknowledge that our interpretation of the text will never be the final word on what a text truly says. Others after us will decipher these texts, and their critiques will be contrary to our own. Norris declares, "Deconstruction is therefore an activity performed by texts which in the end have to acknowledge their own partial complicity with what they denounce" (47).

In the end, deconstruction provides a literary tool that allows an audience to decipher the meanings behind various texts other than the supposed universal message an ideology may convey. Derrida sums it up this way:

> In short, deconstruction not only teaches us to read literature more thoroughly by attending to it as language, as the production of meaning through differance and dissemination, through a complex play of signifying traces; it also enables us to interrogate the covert philosophical and political presuppositions of institutionalized critical methods which generally govern our reading of a text…It is not a question of calling for the destruction of such institutions, but rather making us aware of what we are in fact doing when we are subscribing to this or that institutional way of reading. (qtd. in Wolfreys 35)

A common theme that most deconstructionists will use is the notion of binary opposition present within a text. Binary opposition presents meaning according to their polar opposites. These themes include light/dark, good/evil, and up/down. These methods of binary opposition are prevalent in many deconstructionist readings. When meaning is imposed upon an object it will create a binary by excluding other meanings from the object, making it inherently ideological. Deconstruction takes these ideological themes and examines their binary

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nt behind ideology. This method will be similarly used to analyze Cheney's text and interpret her claims within the illustrations of the literature. As I hope to demonstrate in the next chapter, Cheney's children's books contain such binary opposition. With the help of deconstruction I will expose her binary oppositions of whiteness/otherness, passive/active patriotism, and multicultural/unified narrative of American history.

McGee and the Ideograph

The second method I will be implementing in this critique will be Michael McGee's approach to ideographic analysis. McGee argues that those in power "use specific words or phrases loaded with meaning" (459). These words or phrases are highly abstracted from their original meaning and simplified. These phrases then become the basic building blocks of a rhetorical strategy to persuade the public. McGee explains, "Though words only (and not claims), such terms as 'property,' 'religion,' 'right of privacy,' 'freedom of speech,' 'rule of law,' and 'liberty' are more pregnant than propositions ever could be. They are the basic structural elements, the building blocks of ideology" (459). These ideographs lay the blocks that form an ideology's foundation. These phrases are used to simplify a concept, but also legitimize it by connecting it to other ideographs to construct or create a system of meanings, which are the basis of an ideology. Since all rhetoric is a form of persuasion, McGee suggests that the ideograph is a tool of ideology to sway public opinion in a leader's favor. McGee explains:

> I will suggest that ideology in practice is a political language, preserved in rhetorical documents, with the capacity to dictate decision and control public belief and behavior. Further, the political language which manifests ideology seems characterized by slogans,

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sily mistaken for the technical terminology of political

In other words, political actors can convey their ideological message through the use of these slogans that appear as part of an official or legal lexicon within the political system. These slogans appear official because they are claimed by a political body to be something natural and common sensical. In order to appear as common sense, they must be reiterated again and again. When used consistently, these slogans can become cliché as Marcuse suggests in terms of a closed language.

McGee explains that, "The concept of 'ideograph' is meant to be purely descriptive of an essentially human condition" (461). However, to society, there is no essential or universal condition to an individual's interpretation. Similar to the reasoning behind hegemony, there are many sides to the same story contending for domination. So McGee concedes:

> [T]wo 'ideologies' exist in any specific culture at one 'moment.' One 'ideology' is a 'grammar,' a historically defined diachronic structure of ideographic meanings expanding and contracting from the birth of a society to its 'present.' Another 'ideology' is a 'rhetoric,' a situationally-defined synchronic structure of ideograph clusters constantly reorganizing itself to accommodate specific circumstances while maintain its fundamental consonance and unity (466).

Ideographs cannot be fully persuasive at all times because they are culturally bound to the originators of the ideograph. For instance, an ideograph that could be used to explain a certain group's struggle could be interpreted as something entirely different by another group due to their cultural context. In the use of an ideograph to persuade one group, it may also be alienating to another group.

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various functions of legitimization aside from just persuasion. In Cloud's essay, the ideograph also can function as a scapegoat. In her essay "The Rhetoric of <Family Values>: Scapegoating, Utopia, and the Privatization of Social Responsibility," Cloud suggested that, "<Family Values> was an ideograph that offered a utopian return to a mythic familial ideal even as it scapegoated private families—especially those headed by single parents, racial minorities, and the poor—for structural social problems" (388). Cloud suggested that the term <Family Values> was used by both parties in the 1990's. It cited a lack of structure in the American family as an explanation for the degradation of society after the Los Angeles riots in 1992.[50] According to Cloud this urging to return to the utopian exemplar of the nuclear family of the 1950's was contradictive in nature.[51] This was due in part to the fact that politicians were clamoring for a return to a time that never actually existed in America's history. In this instance, the ideograph that was implemented was a contrast to what was happening in the nation at the time. While that version of the American family was popularized during that time, it was not the lifestyle that every family had.

McGee claims, "Such history consists in part of novels, films, plays, even songs; but the truly influential manifestation is grammar school history, the very first contact most have with their existence and experience as a part of a community" (463). This almost comes across as humorous because the children's books that I will be critiquing would fall under this grammar school social studies level of American history. It will be these kinds of ideographs that I will be analyzing that may contain inconsistencies. McGee concludes his definition of the ideograph this way:

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> language term found in political discourse. It is a high-collective commitment to a particular but equivocal and ill-defined normative goal. It warrants the use of power, excuses behavior and belief which might otherwise be perceived as eccentric or antisocial, and guides behavior and belief into channels easily recognized by a community as acceptable and laudable (467).

Edwards and Winkler further expand McGee's interpretation of the ideograph. McGee believed that the ideograph was solely a part of speech, however, Edwards and Winkler argued that ideograph could also be extended to visual rhetoric.[52] They contend that a visual ideograph can function like a verbal ideograph. It seems odd that McGee would only interpret the verbal as ideograph when even he states that movies could be considered "influential manifestations" of an ideology in his essay. Edwards and Winkler propose that visual ideographs possess the same qualities as images. Furthermore, these images can also be highly abstract concepts that warrant their power and can be developed just as easily as any other political discourse. Edwards and Winkler define their claim by analyzing varied and parodied images of the World War 2 Marines raising the American flag on Mt. Suribachi.[53] The images they used were of editorial cartoons representing various struggles that individuals faced. Some of these images showed politicians raising the flag as a demonstration of their external display of patriotism. Another illustration showed soldiers raising a large gas pump like the American flag during the first Persian Gulf War. Edwards and Winkler explained that, while visual ideographs maintain the same characteristics as verbal ideographs, they also "can appear to members of the culture in a variety of forms through addition, omission, and distortion of their component elements" (305). In essence, Edwards and Winkler are stating that visual ideographs can persuade and influence just as well as verbal ideographs.

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s of visual and verbal ideograph, I hope to demonstrate the influence rhetorical strategies can have within children's literature. Given the scope of the six books by Cheney, it will not be easy. Cloud warns, "[in order] to perform ideographic criticism, the critic must go beyond identifying ideographs to first locate a society's ideographs in historical (diachronic) context, and second, to describe the tensions and clashes in usages in any given (synchronic) moment" (390). When taking deconstruction into consideration, as well as the ideograph as a method, it would be easy to fall into deterministic interpretations of the text. As I hope to show, there remain underlying binary opposition and contradictions within this children's literature that could influence children in their future political and ideological actions.

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Chapter Four

Lynne Cheney's Children's Books

Lynne Cheney wrote the children's literature that will be evaluated. She is the wife of former Vice President of the United States Dick Cheney. She has written books for adults as well as children. Most of these books consist of Cheney's view of American history or the pedagogy of history. Her first book for children was released in 2002 called *America: A Patriotic Primer*. All but one of her books includes more pictures then text. Her lone exception, *A Time for Freedom,* is primarily text with a few pictures. I still consider this book geared toward young readers for two reasons. First, all events depicted in the book are labeled with a date followed by a brief explanation of an event in simplistic terms. Secondly the cover has a number of children running through the countryside while carrying an American flag.

Lynne Cheney has a record of fighting for history standards. She has been an education advocate for nearly four decades. She wants children to learn to "love this country" (Patriotic Primer). Many of the books she authored or coauthored prior to her first children's book were all based on historical figures or set in historical fiction.[54] She is outspoken in her criticism of history standards issued by various institutions for depicting negative aspects of the United States.[55] She believes that a multicultural version of history will distort young children's view about America. Cheney claims the reason for creating her first children's book was, "For a long time, ever since I was chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities back in the '80s and early '90s, I've been talking about the importance of knowing history, and lamenting that maybe we don't do as good a job of teaching it as we should" (Larry King).

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commitment to the conservative slant she fights vigorously to maintain. Cheney has been an outspoken history advocate since she stepped down from her presidency at the National Endowment for the Humanities. She served as a member of the special committee for Texas history standards under then Governor George W. Bush.[56] In the mid 1990's, she wrote an editorial in the *Wall Street Journal* entitled *The End of History*. Her editorial criticized the newly established standards set by same endowment she had presided over for years. Cheney states at the opening of her editorial, "Imagine an outline for the teaching of American history in which George Washington makes only a fleeting appearance and is never described as our first president. Or in which the foundings of the Sierra Club and the National Organization for Women are considered noteworthy events, but the first gathering of the U.S. Congress is not" (History). Cheney was dissatisfied with the new amendments, and she states that these new changes are the result of big government interference. Additionally, she felt the inclusion of these new groups dilute the inherent significance of the groups she supports. Cheney asserts:

> This is, in fact, the version of history set forth in the soon-to-be-released National Standards for United States History. If these standards are approved by the National Education Standards and Improvement Council -- part of the bureaucracy created by the Clinton administration's Goals 2000 Act -- students across the country, from grades five to 12, may begin to learn their history according to them (History).

The new amendments include voices of minorities and the disenfranchised which may not shed a positive light on America's past. Cheney states, "As for individuals, Harriet Tubman, an African-American who helped rescue slaves by way of the Underground Railroad, is mentioned six times. Two white males who were contemporaries of Tubman, Ulysses S. Grant and Robert E. Lee, get one and zero mentions, respectively" (History). Cheney feels that contributions by

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neatly into her ideal narrative of American history. The imbalance of representation created concern for Cheney and she fears the imbalance could result in the loosening of children's patriotic moorings. Cheney blasts away at the standards, proclaiming:

> UCLA's Center for History suggests that its document on standards be viewed as a work in progress rather than a definitive statement. But there is every reason to believe that the certification process put in place by the Clinton administration will lead to the adoption of the proposed standards more or less intact -- as official knowledge -- with the result that much that is significant in our past will begin to disappear from our schools (History).

She established that these new additions to the official knowledge will deteriorate her ideal American narrative. Her argument follows in line with what Lampert asserts:

> Creating a collective national identity is a process whereby some things are remembered and others are 'unremembered.' If a country is to be perceived as great, the stories of the past, present, and future must illustrate that greatness, and if its citizens are to be imagined as unified, narratives must be told to 'prove' their national traits (95-96).

In order for America to remain unified, the national narrative should be a singular voice and not a splintering faction of diverse groups. Cheney's argument contends that mythic stories of the founding members will be buried by marginalized voices receiving recognition. American history would focus more on differences and less about the country's commonalities.

Shortly after the attacks of September 11th, there was an outcry of patriotism in the United States not seen since World War Two. In the following months, countless books were published about how to deal with the events. It was at this time Cheney completed writing her first book for children. In an interview with *Kidsread.com,* Cheney said she received her inspiration while touring the country during the 2000 presidential campaign. In her own words,

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erica" (Kidsread). It was this lesson Cheney wanted to convey to the next generation of Americans. She felt children growing up need to understand the same values she cherished. Cheney declares: "This is a book that helps little kids understand the principles our country is based on, the ideas that underlie our freedom. When we are under attack, it's particularly important that the next generation understand the foundations of our liberty" (Children's Literature). It was these foundations she fought for years earlier with the National Endowment for the Humanities. This was the time to grasp the ideal and mythical narrative she sought to defend.

In interviews following the publication of *Patriotic Primer,* Cheney repeated a mantra similar to her editorials, but with a more positive delivery. Her goal in writing *Patriotic Primer* was to continue the message of America she had learned about. Cheney states, "My point was that we need to do a better job of conveying our national story to the next generation" (Children's Literature). In creating literature for young children, Cheney has preempted a child's view of America before their first social studies class. However, Cheney states, "I hope they understand how amazing this country is, how varied, how beautiful, how free. We live on what Winston Churchill once called the "sunny uplands" of history, and I hope my books help children begin to understand that" (Children's Literature).

These "sunny uplands" were the themes of her first book, *Patriotic Primer* that caught the eyes of the critics. The book is festive in nature. The pages are filled with parades, fireworks, and children playing while learning American values. The critics felt the book reflected a more multicultural version of Lynne Cheney. Her inclusion of certain minorities and

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lcomed change. It appeared she had softened her position regarding multiculturalism. Stille wrote, “What the book may show is that notions that were bitterly divisive several years ago -- diversity, multiculturalism, inclusiveness -- are now so widely accepted as to have become entirely standard” (Children’s Books). What the critics did not realize is the books she authored were not that open and accepting. Instead, her books reinforce ideologies she fought to maintain since her days at the National Endowment for the Humanities. Rather than embracing newer, previously silenced voices, her stories reinforced traditional American myths and narratives. Turner argues that ideological patterns in a nation’s narratives are “a product of those myths and meanings which have been culturally constructed… the nation is constructed through its stories” (qtd. in Wilson 130). Reviewers of her second book saw her approach as more inclusive, rather than a crusader for conservative ideals. Critics stated:

> 'A Is for Abigail: An Almanac of Amazing American Women,' far more fun and less didactic than Cheney's first primer, is brimful of heroines -- mostly dead and mostly white, although the selection is otherwise varied and entertaining. Great moralizers and goody-goodies get equal time with protesters, politicians, journalists, abolitionists, runaways and other troublemakers (Sinkler).

I will demonstrate these books only include selected minorities who follow a template that aids in the construction of America’s exceptional narrative.

The intent of this criticism is to identify issues present in the six books she has written. I will then identify and define some overarching themes and binary oppositions present in all the books. The themes presented in the books reflect the ideology that Cheney holds dear. Critics have argued that her work in children’s literature is not as they had expected.[57] They felt she was doing an excellent job of incorporating multicultural ideas into her books by including

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she does include a number of significant figures in her books such as Martin Luther King Jr., Roberto Clemente, and Chief Sitting Bull, but there is a lack of explanation of their importance or contribution to the United States. This is the first overarching theme discussed. As some of her critics have noted, Cheney appears more multicultural by including more minorities. However, these included figures highlight a binary opposition of whiteness/otherness and reinforces ideas about the American dream, the hard work ethic, and assimilation.

A second overall theme addressed is the ideographs used in her books. These include oversimplifications of complex, abstract values such as “freedom” and “equality.” Some ideas discussed in her books might be difficult to understand at a young age, but one cannot exclude certain explanations to portray the United States as a perfect society. Such teachings can lead to a utopian nostalgia for a society that cannot exist. This is similar to the “Family Values” Cloud writes about in her essay. Cloud interpreted this as a conception of ideal family life, but was not a universal situation available to all. By using such ideographs, Cheney presents America as a keeper of a standard that may not have existed. Nothing here in the present has always existed; it has, in essence, evolved from a previous state or situation. Whether these changes occurred by a pen or sword, America has not kept the same interpretations of values as our fore-bearers.

The third theme discussed is the presence of the American flag and the concept of patriotism present in all of her books. Patriotism can come in many forms, whether it is saluting the flag or making a stand against a social injustice. However, the form of patriotism Cheney displays in the books appears almost entirely passive in nature. Patriotism is presented in these

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concept brings up another binary opposition about passive/active patriotism. It could be stressed in these books that the greatest patriots were the ones who followed and obeyed the "natural" laws of American democracy and free-enterprise.

Before I discuss these overarching themes, I will give a brief overview of all six books. It is necessary to make distinctions between each book and their overall theme. Of the six books, three focus on various ideas and people that contributed historically to the United States. Two of these same books list information in an alphabetical layout. Each page represents a letter of the alphabet with a patriotic concept attached. The third book lists facts and points of interest about each state during a family trip across the United States. Two other books in the series present stories during the founding of the United States. The first story recounts George Washington crossing the Delaware River. The second book recalls the creation of the United States constitution. The lone textual book presents the history of the United States in chronological order with simple facts regarding historic events. I will focus on the five illustrated books, but the inclusion of the text-heavy book does offer some insight on some events portrayed in the other five.

America: A Patriotic Primer

I will start the case study most fittingly with the first children's book published: *America: A Patriotic Primer*. Before opening up the book, there are two interesting things to note. The illustration on the cover depicts five children of various ethnicities raising the American flag, reminiscent of the American Marines who raised the flag on top of Mt. Suribachi. The second

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imer" in the book's subtitle. In a contemporary context, the word appears to be a little old fashioned. Ulanowicz states, "The term 'primer' –used to designate an instructional book, especially one employed for imparting basic literacy skills—has largely fallen out of use in the American lexicon… there seems to be something decidedly old-fashioned about the term 'primer' –and also something quintessentially American" (344). The use of such a word refers to a point of established elementary understandings, thus providing instruction about what American values are and the various individuals who have made contributions to those values. The pages are not numbered but are headed by different letters of the alphabet. Some of the pages depict various leaders in American history (Madison, Lincoln, and Washington) while others display ideographs of American fundamentalism (equality, freedom, and Ideals). Cheney states, "I hope that parents and grandparents will use this book to teach children about Washington's character, Jefferson's intellect, and Madison's wide-ranging knowledge" (Primer vi).

A is for Abigail: An Almanac of Amazing American Women

A is for Abigail is Cheney's second children's book. This book follows the same themes as *Patriotic Primer.* Each letter contains various heroines or themes of American women contributing to the progress of the United States. Themes range from day-to-day actions of mothers to leaders in the arts, sciences, and government. This book is heavily illustrated with various pictures and descriptions about contributions made by women since American colonial times. In the preface Cheney states, "Reaching high and working hard are recurring themes in the lives of those in this book, and so, too, are being brave, never giving up, and caring deeply about the welfare of others. America's amazing women have much to teach our children – and

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Abigail vii). While it is true that these stories of American women are an inspiration, they are not the full story. Throughout the book, the hard work ethic is present. Cheney uses their stories as examples to live by. Cheney claims, "What American women have accomplished is truly amazing, in their dreams, hard work, and high achievement, all of us can find inspiration" (Abigail vii). In other words, these are stories exemplifying the hard work myth America has been propagating since the before the American Revolution.

Our 50 States: A Family Adventure across America

Our 50 States is primarily a fact book about all the states as cataloged by three children on a cross-country trip from Massachusetts, from where the pilgrims landed to the last state to enter the union, Hawaii. Throughout the family trip, the older brother and sister write postcards, letters, and email friends and family back home about all the marvelous things that they see. The layout of each page is reminiscent of a scrapbook, except the mementos explain little particulars for each state. Each page contains various facts about when the state joined the union, a small map with various points of interests, and famous people born there. Cheney's reasoning behind the creation of this book is to help facilitate a love for the beauty of America's landscape. She says, "One of the pleasures of my life has been sharing the beauty and variety of America with my grandchildren" (50 States vii). This book is full of facts and, like the previous two books, includes various stories of minorities. Cheney explains, "I hope that *Our 50 States* will inspire kids everywhere to learn about our vital and diverse country" (50 States back cover).

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When Washington Crossed the Delaware: A Wintertime Story for Young Patriots

When Washington Crossed the Delaware presents the story of General George Washington's surprise attack on Hessian forces and victorious march to Princeton, New Jersey. Each two-page spread has a small amount of text along with large painted renditions of events that occurred during the course of the story. Each page contains a quote from various soldiers and people related to the event. A couple of things take place in the story that seem to fit the theories associated with myth in this story. Certain events depict heroic actions of General George Washington charging across the battlefield dodging musket rounds and the preordaining of Alexander Hamilton into greatness after the Revolutionary War. Cheney's rationale for the telling of this story is because "it's a compelling story, and it helps them [her grandchildren] understand that our existence wasn't always assured" (Washington iv). This plays into the hard work ethic and perseverance of one of America's founding members. It presents a story of overcoming an obstacle that will later become a catalyst for the creation of a new country. Cheney's intention behind the book carries on a tradition that she anticipates other families should undertake. However, in this case, she wants this book to become a family tradition of reading during the holiday season as it alludes in the book's subtitle. Cheney states, "I hope that this book will bring the tradition of sharing history to families all across America" (Washington inside cover).

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We the People: The Story of Our Constitution

We the People is the story of the founding fathers gathering to meet in Philadelphia. They are there to amend the Articles of Confederation, but instead create a whole new form of government and ratify a new constitution. This book follows in the same manner as *Washington.* The pages are large painted renditions of the text and contain quotes from various members of the delegation. Lynne Cheney believes that, "the story of our founding document is an important one for our children to know. It is a tale of persistence, as delegates kept on despite obstacles that at times made their task seem impossible"(People v). This book falls under her theme of perseverance and hard work as the delegates deliberate and argue about the formation of a new system of government.

A Time for Freedom: What Happened When in America

A Time for Freedom is the only book that is not heavily illustrated. It is a chronological listing of key events that occurred on the North American continent from the pre-historical period to the present day. The book divides into seven different chapters centered on particular milestones. These chapters are the pre-historic and colonial settlements, the founding of the United States, The American Civil War, the Reconstruction period, The World Wars and the Great Depression, the Cold War era, and the dawning of the new millennium. Each chapter contains various dates of importance that reflect Cheney's ideal narrative of American history. The reason behind the writing of this particular book, according to Cheney, is "fewer and fewer

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sic facts of our history" (Time for Freedom xi). It seems almost ironic that she makes a statement about forgotten basic facts, yet she feels compelled to help those remember her version of American history. She ends the book with this statement: "I offer this time line as a way of encouraging study of the past and I also hope it will spark conversation about what is truly important for us to know… America is our home—and how lucky we are that it is" (Time for Freedom back cover). The conversation she seeks to spark about history seems to be a unified story about the exceptional history of the United States.

There are certain themes prevalent in all of Cheney's books. I will highlight some of these themes because they illustrate Cheney's interpretation of historical figures and events. These themes include the roles of minorities, especially African Americans and Native Americans, her oversimplification of abstract concepts, and her understanding of patriotism. All of these concepts share commonalities that fall in line with Cheney's ideology, despite her attempts at multiculturalism.

The Role of Minorities in Cheney's History

The first theme I will discuss is the role of minority contributions present in the books. The selection or exclusion of various figures presents an intriguing interpretation of their roles in American history. There appears a formulaic reasoning behind including a minority figure in this collection. In the nearly four hundred years of history presented in the six books, minorities, and especially African Americans, Native Americans, and Hispanics have, by and large, been left out. This is one of the binary oppositions that I will discuss as it pertains to the role of whiteness/other. The roles of Anglo-Americans are given a lot of credit in Cheney's story

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ey receive the majority of credit for struggling to make America better. The minorities highlighted in the books are displayed as followers of this same tradition. In order to improve their situations, these individuals had adapted to the Anglo-American standard in order to succeed. For minorities, it was not just hard work, education, and diligence that made them successful, but the constant struggle against institutionalized racism and segregation not mentioned in the books that make them success stories.

The first binary example I will explore occurs with Native Americans. The image of Native Americans portrayed in the books could be considered assimilating to themes of the American myth. Almost all Native Americans depicted provide something beneficial to the United States or reflect capitalistic characteristics. Native Americans appear accommodate to the needs of the explorers and settlers. Few instances exist in the books that illustrate Native Americans standing up against social injustices inflicted by settlers or the United States government. In fact, there is only one page that is solely devoted to Native Americans.

This consolation page appears in *Patriotic Primer* under the letter N that represents Native Americans, “who came here first” (Primer N). There is no mention that they occupied most of North America prior to European colonization. This page presents the other as an assimilated people and washes away traces of their heritage. No images or texts explain how these people lived. The suggestion that they “came here first” eludes the fact that they had been indigenous to the continent before the colonists arrived when compared to the next page which portrays immigrants taking the oath of citizenship. In a way, it insists that Native Americans followed similar immigration patterns as European settlers. Native Americans are

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s. These include the Navajo code talkers during World War II, Pocahontas saving John Smith, and Sacajawea aiding Lewis and Clark. Other illustrations that appear are more tokenistic examples of individuals who have made a mark on society, such as athlete Jim Thorpe, ballerina Maria Tallchief, and former Colorado senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell. Their inclusion reifies the hard work and persistence theme seen throughout the books. The other two illustrations are examples of Native Americans assimilating in a "civilized" way. They represent "white washed" instances of Native Americans adapting to Western civilization. These individuals exemplify minorities assimilating to the Anglo path of success. The first illustration is Sequoyah, who created an alphabet for the Cherokee people and promoted literacy among his tribal community. The second selection is Shawnee tribe leader Tecumseh. He receives no credit for creating a confederation of Native American tribes to aid the British during the War of 1812 against the United States.[58] The book instead mentions that Tecumseh only formed a confederation of tribes. There is no explanation why the confederation existed or what their goals were. In her introduction to *Unsettling Narratives* Clare Bradford recalls:

> These lame one-dimensional sketches produce a version of American history in which Native Americans are cast as friends to colonists, or (in the cases of Sequoyah and Tecumseh) as endowing their people with benefits (the alphabet, a confederation) that mirror practices in colonizing culture (2).

The inclusion of one protesting leader is interesting; it also demonstrates the absence of conflict between the Native Americans and the colonists. This absence of conflict can create the illusion that Native Americans had no disputes with the United States government. This infers that interactions between European settlers and Native Americans were non-confrontational. Other Native American leaders that appear in the books are Chief Joseph, Chief Sitting Bull,

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ackhawk, Chief Plenty Coups, Chief Seattle, Geronimo, and Osceola. Most of these leaders were accommodating to settlers and the government. Those individuals who fought government forces to defend their homeland appear in name only. Two excellent examples are Geronimo and Chief Sitting Bull.

In *Our 50 States*, Geronimo is described as follows: "Apache Leader Geronimo fought fiercely for his people before surrendering to the U.S. Army in 1886" (60). If the reader is only given this much information and lacks critical thinking, then this statement makes little to no sense. Who did Geronimo fight? If he was fighting the United States, what prompted him to do so? His defiance appears as an anomaly, especially when contrasted against other Native American figures selected, who were cooperative with the settlers. Chief Sitting Bull also provides an intriguing selection in the books. He appears three different times. He is given three sentences for his contributions: two illustrations of his monument in South Dakota and a small portrait. In *Patriotic Primer*, Chief Sitting Bull's grave appears on page I for Ideals. It is collaged with other monuments such as Mt. Rushmore, The Vietnam Veteran's Memorial, and Portrait Monument. This injection of ideals is extremely vague and oversimplified, which I will discuss in a later section, but I feel it necessary to note that this is the regard the Native American leader receives. In *Our 50 States* the monument is almost lost in the clutter of information for South Dakota. The text reads, "A monument marks the grave of Sitting Bull, a spiritual leader of the Sioux, in the Standing Rock Reservation" (56). In *A Time for Freedom*, Chief Sitting Bull's name appears in the same manner. He receives credit for inspiring Crazy Horse and other Sioux tribal members who fought at Little Big Horn. It also states he died during his arrest when returning from Canada trying to help his people. Granted, Little Big Horn is Chief Sitting Bull's most

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time in which he clashed with U.S. government forces. He was part of Red Cloud's War in 1865, which would eventually lead to the Great Sioux War of 1876, neither of which are mentioned.[59] Both wars involved Native Americans relocating to reservation areas, for the benefit of homesteaders or gold prospectors. This does not follow the logic Cheney declares in the Introduction of *A Time for Freedom:* "it is equally important to be familiar enough with the order of events so that one has a sense of the progression of our national story" (xi-xii). If such order was so valuable, then the events that led up to the Great Sioux War would require mentioning.

These are the few Native Americans contributions listed which appear in medicine and commerce. These contributions are not inventions in their own right, but characteristics of Western civilization. These contributions include the Mohawk trail, which is a trail used to promote trade between indigenous tribes in modern day Massachusetts and upstate New York. Cheney mentions the medical contributions by health and wellness advocate Annie Dodge Wauneka of the Navajo people. She fought against the spread of tuberculoses in her tribe. She sought to change sanitation practices and translated English medical terms into Navajo language. The other intellectual contributions listed are by two writers, Zutaka Sa and Sarah Winnemucca. The remaining mentions refer to academic accomplishments such as obtaining Ph.D.s or medical degrees. These include Susan La Flesche Picotte, the first Native American to earn a medical degree, and Janine Pease, who became the first Ph.D. recipient of the Crow tribe. While these achievements are good to note, there is no mention of the atrocities endured by these tribes. In essence, Cheney presents Native Americans as American when they follow inherently American ideas.

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Native Americans receive little mention at all. Instances in which Native Americans are "othered" in the most violent sense fail to be listed. In her attempt to appear multicultural, Cheney further alienates Native Americans from the grand narrative of American history. One instance of alienating others occurs in her explanation regarding the Trail of Tears. The forced relocation of thousands of Native Americans over property rights is glazed over. The only mention with adequate information appears in *A Time for Freedom*, which describes the Trail of Tears as follows: "The route taken by Cherokees from Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, and North Carolina to Oklahoma is called the Trail of Tears. Thousands perished along the way" (71). This is one of the biggest forced marches by a government against people of a different nation, yet there is barely a mention of it, why it occurred, or the repercussions that resulted from the actions. It seems that Cheney's ideal narrative has displaced Native Americans from the history books just as the government had done over 170 years ago. In a way, Cheney appeases some of her audience by providing some notable names and dates in Native American history. However, she fails in explaining their significance. Some of her selections illustrate the Anglo-American path to success, but do not explain the hardships these individuals faced. As we will see with other minorities, Cheney removes the otherness of Native Americans as contributors to the American narrative only to further alienate them.

African Americans receive little prominence in the contributions they have made in the United States. African Americans are presented in the same binary opposition as Native Americans. They are given credit for providing contributions to the United States. However, their plights are looked over when it comes to slavery and segregation. Just like Native

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y dedicated to them. This page occurs in *Patriotic Primer* as page K for Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. His description in *Patriotic Primer* is as follows: "K is for King. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. fought for justice with prayers, peaceful marches, and some of the most powerful words our nation has ever heard" (Primer K). This is then followed by a quote from his "I Have a Dream" speech. The rest of the page depicts different facets of his life such as winning the Nobel Peace Prize, penning his "Letter from Birmingham Jail," and his march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama. Of everything discussed on the page, there is only one stated issue: his protest to ensure African Americans could vote. In regards to the Selma marches, Cheney states, "they helped convince Congress to pass a law ensuring that African Americans could vote" (Primer K). In the first place, it was President Lyndon Johnson who presented a proposal for the Voting Rights Act to Congress. He did this after witnessing the beatings of nonviolent protesters by Alabama police.[60] Congress was not debating the issue before the Selma marches; additionally, the marches proved that segregation of the other was alive and well in the South. The intent of the marches was to draw national attention to the fact that African Americans could not register to vote without harassment.[61] For Cheney, there is no mention that Dr. King was fighting for equal rights or who he was protesting against. Similar to Native Americans, Dr. King was fighting an invisible enemy. This illustrates that the other is never present when presented as an adversary of minorities. It appears these Americans struggled against an enemy that never existed. However, their struggle was against adversity (even though it was institutionalized racism) and they overcame that obstacle. In a sense, it is an American success story. In this case, a marginalized people fought against the government. They succeed in their mission, but the adversary is never mentioned.

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by African Americans that are mentioned involve the entertainment industry. A few African American leaders are mentioned who fought for equality or the abolition of slavery. Even most well-known heroes receive short descriptions for their contributions. Harriett Tubman is only known as a figure of the Underground Railroad, and Malcolm X is only known as an activist. In fact, Malcolm X's is noted as being born in Omaha, Nebraska and there is no mention of him elsewhere in the rest of the books. A prime example of this selective history occurs with former slave Sojourner Truth. Truth was an abolitionist and women's rights activists. She appears three times in the series, twice under female suffrage and as a native born New Yorker in *Our 50 States* who "was an inspiring voice for freedom" (20). Yet, in *A Time for Freedom* there is no mention of her activist speeches or contributions toward the women's suffrage movement. In comparison, her friend and contemporary Elizabeth Cady Stanton gets eight mentions, including her death in 1902. Both are equally noted women in the suffrage movement, yet Truth, who follows the formula of the sanitized "other," receives small mentions in a tokenistic manner. This again alienates the "other" when they appear as assimilators and contributors to the American narrative.

Depictions of slavery in the books are presented in a sanitized manner or as an invisible evil. For instance, in *Our 50 States* the family visits Williamsburg, Virginia and they talk to an actor who portrays a slave during colonial times. He is cleanly dressed in a farmer's outfit complete with a shovel. In *A is for Abigail,* there is a depiction of a young slave girl dressed almost as nicely as Abigail Adams. Other appearances in the series portray slavery as an invisible evil. All mentions of slavery seem to depict a hideous monster that slaves tried to escape. Anna Weems and Harriett Tubman are both portrayed in a way that may be construed

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. When juxtaposed with Cheney's rendition of sanitized slavery, the results can create a conflicting image to a child reader. The few images of slavery present in the books look like depictions of simple country life. Oppressors or slave owners are never depicted directly, even though some do receive their own pages in various books like Jefferson, Washington, and Madison. If this version of slavery is presented to the reader, they may be confused why so many slaves tried to run away in the first place.

African Americans contributions are primarily in the field of entertainment or sports. In the 96 mentions of African American contributions that occur within the Cheney/Glasser books, 50 individuals appear under this theme. Such names as Jackie Robinson, Wilma Rudolph, and Ella Fitzgerald fall under this category. Also, interesting to note, of these entertainers, only two names are mentioned for television or cinema: Oprah Winfrey and Diahann Carroll. The remaining mentioned entertainers are all dancers or singers. Additionally, 16 of the 96 mentions of African American contributions appear in name only. They are usually located in aesthetic borders around the page. This leaves out any information about their contributions. This leaves 30 other mentioned contributions to African Americans. Out of these 30 mentions, 8 received multiple points totaling 18. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass, and Harriett Tubman all receive multiple mentions for their contributions. This only leaves 12 other mentions of African Americans in Cheney's account of history.

The remaining mentions for African Americans are shown as side notes to other prominent actors in a particular field. These occur in *Abigail* under different themes, most notably in the areas of science and medicine. Euphehmia Haynes is mentioned as the first

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h.D. in mathematics. Bessie Coleman is credited as the first African American woman to receive her pilot's license. Dr. Mae Jemison is noted as the first African American woman in space. They appear consolatory when compared to women like Dr. Barbara McClintock, who won the Nobel Prize for her work in genetics. African Americans who could easily fit the same narrative as some of the individuals mentioned are not listed. Surprisingly, there is no mention of George Washington Carver (except for his museum in Tuskegee), W.E.B. Du Bois, or Booker T. Washington except in *A Time for Freedom,* where Washington is credited with founding the Tuskegee Institute and Du Bois is mentioned as a by-line to the event. It is a stark contrast to what Cheney is conveying about the American myth. Carver helped stabilize the southern agrarian economy with his various inventions for peanuts and crop rotation.[62] Booker T. Washington founded a school that helped newly freed slaves receive an education that would lead to better vocations. Yet, these accomplishments that offered minorities a way to help support themselves and their families are not mentioned. Another area oversight relates to their contributions and achievements in the realm of politics. While a few names do appear, there is no mention of Supreme Court Justices Clarence Thomas, Thurgood Marshall or elected African American women. It appears that the politics of these prominent figures contrast to the narrative that Cheney is trying to provide. Yet, these individuals went through the same process as other elected officials.

Particular pages raise questions about these contradictions raised by Cheney. Even in the fields of medicine and education, minorities are literally placed in the background. The work ethic and struggles for these individuals were just as great (if not harder in some circumstances) than the individuals Cheney highlights. On Page B of *Abigail*, which is for Elizabeth Blackwell

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contributed to the field of medicine. Of the thirteen names listed in the page, there are only three that represent any minority group. Of these three, only one, Susie King Taylor, is pictured. In her illustration, she is leaning over an injured African American soldier soliciting help from an out of frame figure. The other women illustrated on the page seem to have control of their situations or are giving maternal gestures to people off frame. The other two minority women listed, Dr. Rebecca Lee Crumpler and Dr. Lillie Rosa Minoka-Hill, are planted around a circle of names with no further description. Dr. Crumpler receives credit as the first African American woman to receive a medical degree. It would seem odd to add her name until later we discover she conducted missionary work while working for the Freedmen's bureau.[63] The inclusion of Dr. Minoka-Hill is a strange inclusion because she is not the first Native American woman to earn a medical degree.[64] She is the second to do so. The first Native American woman to achieve this was Susan La Flesche Picotte.[65] The main point in this decision results in what these women did after receiving their degrees. Dr. Picotte received her medical degree and continued her practice among the Omaha tribe. She is mentioned elsewhere in the series, but only as an advocate for Native American rights and never as a medical doctor. Dr. Minoka-Hill conducted her practice from her kitchen in the Oneida reservation.

There is one African American who receives notoriety in a different field than the rest. Madame C. J. Walker receives two mentions in the series. She represents what I believe to be tokenistic expressions of the hard work ethic Cheney is trying to portray. Madame Walker was the first female self-made millionaire who made her fortune by creating a line of hair care products specifically designed for African American women.[66] Walker demonstrates the

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ch an individual designs a product and becomes a success story to inspire young girls, especially minorities. She represents a vindication for the capitalist economic system as a correct method. To the reader, she exemplifies the idea that if one plays by the rules of capitalism, then one's product can make them wealthy and successful. This is something many working class children aspire to do. Still, this does leave the question of why only her? Are there not other entrepreneurial minorities who could have been included or mentioned?

These illustrations of minorities present contradictions to the narrative Cheney is trying to present about the United States. Based on her notions of hard work and struggles for ideals, Cheney is attempting to present the notion that anybody can contribute and gain success. She attempts to wipe out the notion of the "other." She is purveying the idea that all people have an equal opportunity and can overcome any obstacle. This approach to unity only alienates minorities further by providing tokenistic figures and sanitized representations that do not tell the whole story. This only conceals why certain events took place and certain figures are relevant to different groups. Her selections of suitable figures appear to fit a certain mold. However, in the long run, they may divide people more than bring them together as she intended.

Cheney's Oversimplification

The second theme prevalent in Cheney's books is the oversimplification of ideas and events that took place in American history. This theme pertains to the slogans and phrases that appear alongside historical events she presents in her books. As stated in the literature review,

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n could lead to cliché. Marcuse states that cliché "governs the speech or the writing; the communication thus precludes genuine development of meaning" (87). These clichés can fall under McGee's ideograph in that they are slogans prevalent in American society, but do not properly communicate their meaning. While, in some instances, this can be forgiven due to space limitations, the exclusion of details and facts in a book like *A Time for Freedom* are extremely hard to overlook. This oversimplification can have a disastrous effect on the "conversation" Cheney was hoping to instigate. Oversimplifications leave interpretation wide open and can lead to contradictions inherent in the text. The fact that these snippets present information in this manner can hinder a reader from considering various aspects of an event.

It is evident even today, as some people can easily remember historical dates with little cliché rhymes. A prime example I remember from elementary school was "In 1492, Columbus sailed the ocean blue." Granted, this is a factual statement applied to rhyme, but what if intrinsic ideas of ideology are incorporated this way? A cliché could dictate behavior patterns or mindsets that repress or marginalize dialogues.

In *Patriotic Primer*, clichés and ideographs are present on numerous pages. Most are placed on pages that contain abstract ideas that may be difficult for a young reader to comprehend. For example, "A is for *America*, the land that we love" (Primer A). This is indeed a very difficult concept for nearly any person to grasp, let alone a child. What exactly is America? If it is what is printed on the page, then America represents New York on the Fourth of July during a fireworks display. What land is the text talking about? I may love my home, but I may

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many ways to demonstrate a love for country. It is not simply waving the flag or attending parades. However, Cheney presents love for country as celebrating its greatness.

Two ideographs that occur within the series are Equality and Freedom, which appear on the same page. They represent letters E and F. These letters share a two-page spread that symbolizes that both concepts are joined together and inseparable. However, in America's history that has not always been the case. The country has existed over 230 years. Yet, the nation has not given equal rights to all members of the citizenry. Between slavery, segregation, women's suffrage, Native American rights, and gay rights, equality in the United States still has a long way to go. Cheney explains this discrepancy as follows:

> E is for Equality. The Declaration of Independence established the principle that all are created equal and have God-given rights to live, to be free, and to pursue happiness. Over the years, more and more of us have been able to enjoy these rights equally (Primer E).

If a child is unaware of America's segregated past, then this passage could mean that many people have come to America to enjoy equality. Given there is a page depicting immigrants reciting the oath of citizenship later on in the book, this statement about equality becomes awkward. This meaning leaves one to wonder why there is an "equality time line" located in the inner frame of the page. The time line presents a chronological listing of amendments and acts made into law securing the rights of people. There is no explanation as to why these laws needed to be passed or the persecution these people faced prior to their passage. Cheney's definition of equality is indeed abstract. However, her concept of freedom receives less explanation. "F is for *Freedom* and the *Flag* that we fly" (Primer F). This statement

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Allegiance to the American flag. This meaning of freedom explains nothing, nor does it demonstrate any concept of the word freedom. The only possible linkage to freedom on the page is a little girl on a tree swing kicking her legs in the air. This may illustrate that we as American citizens have the freedom to enjoy ourselves, but offers little explanation. The rest of the page devotes itself to the history and customs associated with the American flag. This leads to the question, what freedoms are we entitled to? Is freedom only guaranteed by the flag? Both equality and freedom are ideographs presented here as something fundamentally inherent to all citizens. Cheney's interpretation of freedom contains no sense as to what that word allows citizens to do. Some of these freedoms are listed later in the book, but there is no description as to what kind power the word possesses. What appears to be stated is that we are free to follow along with this version of American citizenry.

Other oversimplified abstract ideas presented in the books include heroes and ideals. Heroes and Ideals, which represent letters H and I, share the same two-page spread in *Patriotic Primer* with the quotation, "Heroes remind us of our nation's ideals and how important it is to live up to them" (Primer H). Surrounding each letter are selected figures that embodied these traits according to Cheney. Of the 12 people that surround the letter H, all of them follow a template of helping others in distress or crusading for a cause. There is no hero listed that fought against social injustices. While Harriett Tubman, Frederick Douglass, and Chief Joseph all fought for their respective causes, they represent indirect agents of change. These individuals fought for the abolition of slavery and equal rights for their people, but they had no political power except to inform others of their plight and raise awareness. Other heroes listed such as Sam Houston, Clara Barton, and John Adams make an appearance, yet they had made

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irect agents of change. They became leaders and created sweeping changes in policy and medicine.

The ideograph of ideals is presented in a similar fashion. The objects that surround the letter I are monuments to various moments and people in American history. These include Mount Rushmore, Chief Sitting Bull's grave, and The Alamo. The themes that surround these monuments are freedom and equality. Yet, it would be very difficult for a child reader to put this together. Even if all of these monuments are tributes to freedom and equality, the levels of freedom and equality attributed to them are varied. The Alamo and Chief Sitting Bull's grave are both testaments to a nation's quest for freedom and independence, but they both have very different results. David Crockett and James Bowie both fought an overwhelming force led by Santa Anna's Mexican Army and lost. However, Texas won independence and eventually became a part of the United States.[67] Chief Sitting Bull led the Sioux nation against the U.S. forces in order to keep their land. The Sioux achieved victory at the battles of Little Big Horn and Wounded Knee, but had to flee to Canada in exile before finally surrendering to U.S. forces.[68] The ideals that contrast Sitting Bull and James Bowie are stark indeed. While both men were defending the ground they stood upon against a foreign invader, Sitting Bull was fighting for land that belonged to his people for generations, Bowie was not. Yet both men went down fighting in the defense of their freedom and land.

Heroes in this context represent part of Althusser's ideological state apparatus. In the literature review, Althusser discussed how such an apparatus is similar to social reproduction in that it presents idealistic representations of a group. This concept is demonstrated on the

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history. The page contains images of firefighters, police, soldiers and teachers who are all a part of the community. They perform idealized tasks of their chosen professions, whether it is fighting fires, marching in step, or teaching math. These are all representations of how these institutions work within a society. Presenting different institutions in this manner, the reader receives a form of social reproduction, and an idealized society Cheney proposes children should emulate. When taken with other ideographs presented in these books, Cheney portrays American values that close off meaning in language and contradict what they seek to propagate.

The Role of Patriotism in Cheney's Books

The next theme that I will discuss is the representation of patriotism and the selective nature of the revolutionaries in the books. Cheney's interpretation of patriotism presents a festive and passive tone in contrast to a serious and active one. This use of tone dismisses important events and people that are relevant to the American narrative. Patriotism in the most basic meaning of the term represents a love for one's country. The patriot will come to action in defending the honor of their country. This honoring can come in many forms. However, in this section I will be focusing on Cheney's interpretation of the ideograph of patriotism. The patriotism that appears in Cheney's books is considered passive patriotism. By passive patriotism, I refer to the celebratory nature of the word. This occurs when the citizenry acknowledges the greatness of the country that they live in, but does not engage in active roles that influence the political landscape. In *Patriotic Primer,* Cheney states patriotism "fills our heart with pride" (Primer P). This is the overriding theme and ideograph that occurs. Patriotism

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and embrace, rather than debate and question, as our freedoms allow us to do.

In her examination of *Patriotic Primer,* Anastasia Ulanowicz states that a children's book such as this can produce what Lauren Berlant calls "infantile citizenship" (qtd. in 361). This form of citizenship shifts patriotism from an active role to an emotional or sentimental role. In other words, patriotism has become a social practice complete with rituals and tradition. This patriotism has its slogans almost everywhere. "Proud to be an American," "Support our Troops," and "United We Stand," are renditions we see on people's shirts and bumper stickers on a daily basis. I even wear a "Support our Troops" wristband constantly because it is my way of honoring my fellow military brothers and sisters deployed at home and abroad. However, this is only an emotional attachment to a patriotic stand. Notice the words chosen, "support," "proud," and "united" in terms of patriotism are all references to feelings and emotions. This version of patriotism requires little effort by citizens and can be used in social reproduction. By encouraging this form of patriotism, which requires little energy to participate, it becomes widely acceptable to support the state in the actions it may undertake. However, voices of dissent, which can also be viewed as patriotic, are shunned for their marginal stance. Individuals who fought against a social injustice founded the United States, yet Cheney insists that the citizenry should rest on these laurels. These books implement social reproduction of the "infantile citizen" and passive patriot as I will demonstrate.

Throughout all of the books, patriotism represents a ritualistic act that fills a participant with pride. When citizens salute the flag, attend Independence Day parades, or recite the

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ng ritualistic actions affirming their American identity. Each tradition they follow is accompanied with a smile on their face. Rarely are there depictions of saddened people or moments of reflection anywhere. By limiting these illustrations, the emphasis focuses on celebration. It appears as a call to where we are going rather than where we have been. This is a reversal of what Cheney has stated we, as Americans, should contemplate. This patriotism carries certain familial connotations. All rituals are depicted in family settings. Children and adults alike participate in activities that denote patriotism, whether they are at a cook out, folding the flag, or going cross-country visiting various points of interest. It demonstrates that the family is one of the most patriotic ideas and by participating in these activities reaffirm them as true patriots.

However, as Berlant explains, "the reduction of citizenship to an exercise of sentimentality creates 'childlike' citizens whose naïve faith in the nation's greatness and potential blinds them to its many structural injustices and inhibits their participation in collective action" (qtd. in Ulanowicz 361). This naivety can lead to a dangerous road of closed discourse. If dissension is present, the marginal voices are vilified as agents of unpatriotic discourse. There is an example of reprimand for not following these patriotic rituals. On page *F* of *Patriotic Primer*, there is an image of children reciting the pledge of allegiance to the American flag. The children have their hands over their hearts, staring upward to the flag, participating in this socially acceptable tradition. However, near the middle crease of the page, there is a young boy who appears to be admonished by one teacher for being too loud. It appears he is reprimanded for not participating in the collective tradition of sating the pledge allegiance. This could be interpreted as a subtle form of discipline in support of social norms.

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e rarely illustrated. The beauty of a democracy is that it allows for discourse and the exchange of ideas without fear of repercussion from the state. Information and ideas can be freely distributed whether they support the current system or they advocate radical reform. Yet, aside from the stories of George Washington and the founding members of the United States, there are rarely any figures depicted that pushed for revolution or radical reforms. The active forms of patriotism I am referring to are voting, protesting, and debating. In all of the pages depicted by in Cheney's books, there are only nine images of active patriotism. Voting is something Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and female suffragettes such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Carrie Chapman Catt fought for, but the story stops there. After that, voting is no longer discussed. With the exception of page *R* in *Patriotic Primer*, which depicts a candidate waving to a crowd of supporters with balloons falling from the ceiling indicating that she won her election, voting gets no further explanation as to why it is so important. Apparently, the message here is to passively accept an elected official winning office as though she had done it all by herself. There is no mention of a campaign or election process. It is saying that those destined for an elected office will make it on their own merit. Yet, so many people in the books protested to have this right given to them. It seems to disparage their sacrifices in obtaining their goal or the importance of having that right in the first place.

The image of protest presented is the most peculiar part of the active form of patriotism. The image of protest could easily be confused with the passive forms of patriotism discussed earlier. There are seven different depictions of protests (three for women's suffrage, two for Dr. Martin Luther King, one for the second wave of feminism, and a general protest).

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tance of protest portrays a group of individuals marching and waving American flags. While it is true that, “dissent is the highest form of patriotism,” the representation of protest made by Cheney is not entirely accurate. Most depictions of protest we see on the news and other media show people carrying signs about the issue they have a disagreement over. Rarely does the American flag make an appearance at such protests.

There are only three pictures in which protest signs are present; however, these signs are aesthetically drowned out by the number of flag waving citizens participating in the same protest. In the case of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the protestors are marching with both American Flags and protest signs, but the signs are illegible. They are blank or have lines across them blurring out the possible purpose of the protest. In the general protest located on page *R* of *Patriotic Primer* there are protestors outside a government building. In this instance, the protestors are carrying signs that read, “Listen to us now,” ”Hear what we say,” and “Hear us.” Ulanowicz states that this form of protest with flags and generic protest signs “reduces moments of public protest to merely recreational events that one might optionally partake of in as casual and uncritical a manner as one might attend a Fourth of July parade” (360). The protest could have stated something understandable to a child. The protestors could have rallied for increased school funding, better playground safety, or something relative to children’s lives. If there was a clear purpose to the protest, then it may appear sincere. The final protest with any readable material appears on page S of *Abigail,* which depicts the first meeting of women suffragettes at Seneca Falls, New York in 1848. As the ladies are marching with American flags in their hands, there is a banner above them displaying a quote from the Declaration of Sentiments. These protests seem to belittle the sacrifices made by the real life

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g against a social injustice. Furthermore, by reducing these protests as recreational acts as Ulanowicz claims, it reinforces the celebratory nature of patriotism Cheney is trying to present because all seriousness of protest is lost. Even the page in *Abigail* that shows women from all walks of life marching as one down a street seems overshadowed by the flags waved by marching participants. These protestors who fought for voting rights or equality in the work place may have loved their country, but representing protest in this fashion makes light of the situation they faced. They, like Dr. King, were fighting for equal rights in the workplace and society, yet Cheney presents happy enthusiastic people looking to celebrate America. The fact that so many people gathered to hear Dr. King speak in front of the Lincoln Memorial seems trivialized, when the reason they gathered is not accurately represented. For people to gather as they did to hear his "I Have a Dream" speech, it would warrant that there must be a reason behind this gathering. The fact that segregation is not even mentioned devalues the contributions made by King and his followers.

These protest scenes lead me to another huge theme. It is the inordinate amount of American flags illustrated throughout the books. American flags are present in almost every page, including some instances in which the presence of the flag may not be appropriate to the situation. This introduces what Geisler calls "a double nostalgia – both joy of recognition and the idyllic past it conjures up" (qtd. in Lampert 122). Even five of the six covers have an American flag being held by a child. Many of these have no justification or rationale for their appearance, which could leave a reader partially disoriented to what they mean in relation to the theme presented on the page.

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arious positions. *Patriotic Primer* recreates the raising of the Flag on Mount Suribachi at the battle of Iwo Jima. There are young girls parading with pictures of famous American women while some wave flags. The youngest child on the family road trip across America flies a giant windsock with the stars and stripes, while his siblings have their hands raised in celebration in *Our 50 States*. In *A Time for Freedom*, children are running up a hillside while a young boy leads them with a huge flag. On the back of four books, Cheney is pictured with a group of children consisting of different ethnicities. In each picture, these children are waving small flags, have flag pins on their clothing, or are wearing clothes with the American flag sewn in them. This celebration of the flag is present and could allude to the fact that America embodies the flag. The history of the flag, the proper procedures for folding a flag, and acceptable social practices illustrate this point. The American flag is almost given personification because it appears so frequently.

The flag in essence represents all that is whole and pure for Cheney. Despite all the blemishes in the history of the United States, Cheney conceals them behind the flag. The exploitation of slaves, the removal of Native Americans from their homelands, and the capitalistic nature of imperialism all seem to be wiped away under the utopian vision carried in the flag. These depictions support the idea that our forms of democracy and economy are perfect. Democracy, according to Cheney, has been perfect from the beginning and we should all feel fortunate to be living here. Yet, her narratives about America's heritage appear to white wash all of the mishandling. This deletion of conflict, coupled with the celebratory nature of patriotism, presents an ideal America that is free of blemish. Many of the conflicts mentioned that occur on American soil (with the exception of the American Revolutionary War) are

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ants were involved in minor skirmishes, and life after battle carried on in the same manner as it had before. There are no wounded or captured people. All battles end in retreat and defeated soldiers run for the hills. This simply cannot be the case when wars do not operate in this fashion. War is often the result from the differences of opinion regarding land, beliefs, or policies. Presenting battle in this fashion, children may be spared the gory details. However, knowledge pertaining to the true nature of why a battle occurred disappears. Even the battles in *George Washington* are presented in this manner. The battle scenes depict a sanitized situation devoid of any seriousness. Soldiers look well equipped and disciplined, when that clearly was not the case. In certain scenes, British soldiers retreat from battle smiling. When the Hessians are defeated, they appear huddled up in a bunch looking ashamed. It almost seems that war is a serious form of tag.

In concluding this analysis, the themes offered by Cheney's books present America in a brightly colored festive package for children. Repeated mantras of hard work and patriotism reinforce her political stances. Examples of enterprising individuals vindicate the stance she has towards a free-market system of capitalism. This is all wrapped up in the colors of the American flag. She presents minority voices, but only selects individuals and groups that fit the exceptional mold of the American narrative she is fashioning for future generations. The festive aesthetics cover the unattractive blemishes of American history. They provide moments of consolation to the marginalized voices, but do not pursue the consolation further. This is where she falls short in her strategy to appear inclusive. Cheney portrays patriotism as something to be celebrated, but never to engage in actively. Thus, closing the door on a conversation she states must be "sparked." In reality, Cheney is seeking to maintain history in its most unified

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g the marginalized satisfied. To finish this chapter, I will present various concepts and characteristics of both neoconservative and neoliberal ideologies. This explanation should help us understand why Cheney selected the individuals that she did in her books and how they help propagate her point of view.

The Concepts and Characteristics of Neoconservative Politics

Neoconservative rhetoric has historically been associated with the Republican Party since the election of Ronald Regan to his first term as President of the United States. According to Robert Reich:

> The last 25 years in U.S. History have represented a period of conservative hegemony, marked ideologically by growing distrust in government and increased faith in markets, politically by increased Republican control of the House of Representatives, Senate, and presidency, and symbolically by the nostalgic ethos of Ronald Regan (qtd. In Spielvogel 553).

It was a fascinating mentality of frontier justice and Christian morals rolled up with the mythological history of our founding fathers providing the basis for their rationale.[69] Susan Harding states,

> Republican moral politics is generally associated with the party's development of several powerful political action committees and think tanks in the 1970's that formed alliances with numerous fundamentalist Christian organizations, which were reentering the world of secular politics for the first time in 50 years (qtd in Spielvogel 553).

It would be these fundamental religious groups that would provide the base of support for the neoconservative movement.

With its roots firmly planted in with the fundamentalist, Christian religion, neoconservative rhetoric incorporates theology and nationhood to provide justification for any

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servative ideology embraces various aspects of the American myth, from the earliest settlers that came to the thirteen original colonies, the myth of the shining city on top of the hill, and the beacon of freedom that proceeded it after the American revolution. Neoconservatives have taken their ideology almost as a mission from God to spread their rhetoric to the four corners of the Earth like missionaries.[70] According to their rationale, the United States is the one essential nation above all others, the beacon and exemplar of standards that no other country can match. It is by this nature that neoconservative rhetoric is evangelistic. Like evangelicals, neoconservatives seek to spread their message across the land and further. Ryn argues that this missionary message "includes perspectives on human nature society, and politics, and it sets forth distinctive conceptions of its central ideas notably what it calls 'democracy,' 'freedom,' 'equality,' and 'capitalism'" (384). They proclaim to the masses and unto the world that the United States should promote the benefits of freedom and liberty as a God given right. The way in which Cheney presents democracy, freedom, and capitalism in her books could lead a person to believe that these concepts are indeed natural and God-given. The way she portrays examples of American Revolutionary War heroes, inspiring stories of individual success, and natural consequences of democracy; it would be hard for anyone to refute her.

As Domke has pointed out, "the President's [George W. Bush's] discourse is marked by an evangelicist-like promotion of democracy and freedom as universally desired and deserved norms"(qtd in Zagacki 279). Since neoconservatives view this message as inherently natural they wish to share it with the rest of the world. The question remains, will the rest of the world think such a democracy is natural and beneficial? According to Zizek:

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> beneficent gift-giving underlies America's sense of itself erty around the world. If democracy and freedom are "humanity's true desire, then all that Americans need to do is to give people a chance, liberate them from their imposed constraints, and they will embrace America's ideological dream" (qtd. in Zagacki 279).

It seems that neoconservatives are going to impose their beliefs upon other nations. The neoconservatives believe other nations will become fellow believers if they hear the good news of democracy.

It is this evangelical style of rhetoric that encapsulates the notion of prophetic dualism. Wander explains, prophetic dualism is informed by

> Religious faith, moral insight, [and] a respect for the laws of God, 'all of which fashion' a set of virtues attributed to the nation which… could be called upon not only to explain why those in power deserved to be there, but also why the United States should engage in certain kinds of actions abroad (qtd. in Zagacki 280).

Think of it like a cult leader who proclaims their religion is superb and natural. The cult may conduct themselves in truly peculiar practices, but the leader still professes that this is the right and natural passage for salvation (or freedom and democracy). The leader will justify his actions as the will of God, thus defending the natural. In a similar sense, the neoconservative views their political mission in much the same way.

However, in proclaiming something on the basis of being natural, there must be a dialectical pairing with something unnatural. This illustrates one of neoconservatism's rhetorical strategies. Neoconservative rhetoric tends to be both unilateral and polarizing.[71] Cheney does not explicitly demonstrate this in her books, but she leaves clues as to how we are to regard those who do not play along. (The shushing of a young boy who is not partaking in the pledge of allegiance at the school's flagpole on page F in of *Patriotic Primer* comes to mind.)

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ctic in which the speaker will create a divisive ploy between good and evil or "us" versus "them". This ploy is never intended to create unity; it limits any gray area between the two poles of a conversation. This limits the dialectical discourse by eliminating the search for alternatives and leaving matters in black and white. When a political group's rhetoric becomes polarizing, it often follows up with unilateral actions. Zagacki asserts that President George W. Bush employed:

> 'prophetic dualism,' a rhetorical frame for interpreting American foreign policy that divides the world in to the forces of good (exemplified by the United States) and the forces of evil (represented by America's enemies). Prophetic dualism holds that Americans are morally and spiritually superior and destined to spread "good" around the globe" (273).

Harpine defines the tactic of polarization as "attempts to induce an audience to abandon the middle course and to make a commitment to one side or the other. He goes on to say that "Polarization is the obverse of unity and compromise" (qtd. in Foster 36). One part of this polarization condemns any criticism toward their political agenda as unpatriotic. This is rhetorically used to shun critics and attempt to vilify such actions as showing sympathy towards the enemy. Ryn comments that, "Reservations expressed in Europe and elsewhere about American unilateralism and global aspirations have been scorned and dismissed by proponents of empire as a failure to recognize the need to combat evil in the world" (395). Neoconservatives want to play by their rules; otherwise, they will take their ball and go home.

They refuse to participate in joint actions unless two conditions are met. First, those in the coalition must be willing to participate under the guidelines laid out by the United States. Second, the United States must be in the forefront as leader of the group. If these demands are not followed, then other nations are denigrated as sympathizers with evil and vilified for their

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Republicans proved themselves masterful at rendering as treasonable, or at least unpatriotic, any criticisms that cut to the heart of their own overblown rhetoric" (190).

However, it is this same patriotism that has given this political group all the polarizing strategy they need. Patriotism is essentially the neoconservative trump card. The greatest justification for any action warranted by this political party is based on the assumption of patriotic values. Even when no other nation is willing to go along, neoconservatives claims that patriotism pushes their agenda. Stuckey articulates it best this way:

> They wanted the government to act unilaterally when necessary in foreign policy, especially when 'American freedom' was perceived to be at stake, or to expand that freedom to other nations. They wanted the government to act aggressively on social issues, especially when 'American values' were perceived to be threatened. And they wanted the government to avoid action whenever possible on economic matters, especially when individual liberty was perceived to be involved (646).

The natural course of this unilateral and polarizing rhetoric usually tends to result in preemptive actions. The neoconservatives believe the best way to handle a situation is to "shoot first and ask questions later." The easiest way to deter an enemy threat is to neutralize the threat before it has a chance to strike. Writz and Russel regard preemptive tactics as "striking first to blunt an imminent attack from one's opponent; prevention relies on military force to counter gathering threats that will likely become more ominous and more costly to defend against in the future"(qtd. in Winkler 306). Wherever danger lurks, there must be a hero to defend American principles from the clutches of the enemy.

This leads into the next point of neoconservative rhetoric. It creates heroes reminiscent of an ideal history. Like other political groups, neoconservatives use myth to create heroes and

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portrayal of General Washington on the Delaware River and the authors of the Constitution are two examples of heroes handling difficult situations. Neoconservatives call on heroic icons to draw support for their present authority. Most will use members of the Revolutionary War era as examples. They attribute these heroes as facilitators in making the United States great. It provides justification for the Neoconservatives who want to follow in the same tradition as the founding members of the republic. Hariman expresses the idea this way: "The Republican politician achieves greatest glory as the heroic individual seizing the moment by voicing immortal words at the height of great events" (qtd in Hyde 2). Heroes and moral decisions go hand in hand. The reason why many people look up to heroes is because they knew what to do in times of crisis. People often wonder what a heroic individual would do if they were facing the same situation. By providing stories such as General Washington crossing the frozen river on Christmas night in order to surprise the Hessians, Cheney implies decisions that lead to success can be a long thought-out process containing considerable risks, but in the end they pay off. Hyde suggests:

> Heroes provide the material that directs a society's moral compass, offers instructions for understanding what human greatness is, and thereby informs the members of the society about what it takes for a finite being to live on after death in the hearts and minds of others(8).

Therefore, by identifying with these heroic figures, Neoconservatives create a persona built on a mythical premise. Additionally, the policies they wish to execute are tools to defeat an imaginary adversary and promote goodwill across the world.

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The Concepts and Characteristics of Neoliberal Economics

While attempting to spread their prophetic message of freedom and democracy worldwide, most neoconservatives also want to spread the message of unregulated, free-market trade.[72] This economic policy is known as neo-liberalism. It is an economic orientation hospitable to global free-market capitalism and international conglomeration. Predicated upon the priorities of free trade, neoliberal policies promote the profit-making capacities of markets while minimizing the goods and services of nonmarket institutions. According to McChesney:

> [Neo-liberalism] posits that society works best when business runs things and there is as little possibility of government 'interference' with business as possible"(qtd. in Vivian 8). Following in the same vein as neoconservative politics neoliberal globalization is, "a regime of American economic unilateralism (119).

To put it in another way, in order to participate with the United States in the economic game, a nation must be willing to participate under their rules. Pieterse states, "Neoliberalization was a regime of market conformity (as defined by the US treasury) and pressure on developing countries and international institutions to conform to market ideology" (122). This can be difficult for small countries trying to make a wedge into the global market. If they wish to compete, then they have must agree to trade agreements with the United States, even if they put that small country at a severe disadvantage.

How does this economic system achieve such ends? Those who support neoliberal practices look to have regulations done away with that might otherwise protect these smaller nations.[73] The concepts behind neoliberal economics have been around for quite some time. It

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early 1980's. It was initiated by then President Ronald Regan and Great Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. A number of economic bills passed during their respective administrations allowed companies to merge with or acquire other companies. This facilitated the creation of enormous corporations with reach across the globe.[74] George defines the economic system as a system that would allow markets, "to make major social and political decisions; the state should voluntarily reduce its role in the economy, and the corporations should be given total freedom" (1). However, while the corporation receives more freedom, this does limit the freedom of people in the process. While this unregulated form of capitalism allows for free-market competition, it also eliminates competition in the process.

This deregulated market allows for the unprecedented number of mergers and acquisitions that facilitate these large transnational corporations while whittling down competition.[75] In a way, this is reminiscent of social Darwinism, in that for business it is "survival of the fittest." However, what will occur to those businesses when they have devoured all of their adversaries? What will be the fate of competition and furthermore the fate of the consumer?

Let us suppose a large market conglomerate developed a remarkable product that is capable of performing all sorts of functions. The downside of this product is that it costs a tremendous amount of money to own. A small competitor arrives with a similar product, except their version is cheaper. There are a few options available to the conglomerate at this point. It can ignore the new product, reduce their price to compete, or just buy out the

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its own corporation. This is a possible situation that could happen in an unregulated economy. This is the unregulated action that George worries about. She warns that the "whole point of neo-liberalism is that the market mechanism should be allowed to direct the fate of human beings. The economy should dictate its rules to society" (2). This unregulated action would leave the working class unprotected because the state would have limited access to handling these massive corporations. If a huge conglomeration were to conduct itself in a manner that could become a detriment to members within a society, the government might not have the power to break the corporation's grip.

Deregulation and privatization are the keywords in a neoliberal state; government intervention is discouraged, while free trade is promoted. As Aronowitz warns:

> Throughout the globe, the forces of Neoliberalism are on the march, dismantling the historically guaranteed social provisions provided by the welfare state, defining profit-making as the essence of democracy, and equating freedom with unrestricted ability of markets to "govern economic relations free of government regulation (qtd in Giroux 136).

Services that are usually considered "natural monopolies" within city infrastructure are now moving toward privatization. George suggests that

> A natural monopoly exists when the minimum size to guarantee maximum economic efficiency is equal to the actual size of the market. In other words, a company has to be a certain size to realize economies of scale and thus provide the best possible service at the lowest possible cost to the consumer… But, what happens when these services become privatized. Quite normally and naturally, the new capitalist owners tend to impose monopoly prices on the public, while richly enumerating themselves (4).

With all of this deregulation taking place, the privatization of public welfare programs, such as mass transit, have been rendered into monopolistic institutions without any possible

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expensive infrastructure costs. However, this is just the beginning. If this trend were to continue, Giroux warns that:

> As neoliberal ideology and corporate culture extend even deeper into the basic institutions of civil and political society, there is a simultaneous diminishing of non-commodified public spheres – those institutions such as public schools, independent bookstores, churches, noncommercial public broadcasting, libraries, trade unions, and various voluntary institutions engaged in dialogue, education, and learning (140).

In addition to the privatization of public services, local governments are at the mercy of these global conglomerates. According to Lai, "individuals [local governments] and natural resources were exploited by corporate power in order to maintain the legitimized claims of economic growth. The 'good climate of business' protected the corporate interests rather than the individual interests" (10). These massive corporations with virtually unlimited resources available could dictate whole economies. They could control the livelihoods of smaller nations or small cities that depend on their factories or processing plants as a major source of revenue. The revenue generated by these plants helps maintain or create a stable infrastructure for the local economy. However, in the event that corporation threatens to leave if certain conditions are not met, the local government might make concessions in order to keep the plant there. These compromises could range from tax exemptions to land grants.

One prevailing myth in neoliberalism is the value of hard work and self initiative. Foucault saw this as a reinvigoration of the classic work ethic and what he called *homo oeconomicus* or self made entrepreneur. Foucault describes the phenomenon as follows:

> In neoliberalism – and it does not hide it, it proclaims it – we are also going to find a theory of homo oeconomicus, but the homo oeconomicus, in itself is absolutely not an exchange partner. The homo oeconomicus is a businessperson and a businessperson of him/herself. And this thing is so true that, practically, this is going to be the best of all

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> ake, substituting at every moment the homo for the homo oeconomicus businessperson of the self being for oneself one's own capital, being for oneself one's own producer, being for oneself one's own source of income (qtd. in Mediros 1).

What all that means in a nutshell is that people are human capital, just as Marx proclaimed in the 19th century. Human beings can only be producers for the machine in order to preserve themselves. Neoliberal rhetoric promotes hard work and initiative as the promotion of self interests and free choice.[76] It is the responsibility of the individual to get himself or herself where he or she wants to be. It is the age-old adage of picking yourself up by the bootstraps to make something of your life in the United States. This presentation is a derivative of the American dream: the notion that a person can come to the United States with only the clothing on their back and eventually own their own home or business and prosper in America.

This economic stance propagates the myth of the hard worker and success, or the myth in which the greater an obstacle is to overcome the greater the triumph. This reifies the notion that if somebody is willing to work within the established economic system then his or her dreams could someday become a reality. Jones and Mukherjee argue that neoliberalism, "mandates for self-reliance, entrepreneurial zeal, and market hegemony constitute a return to a primitive form of individualism, a competitive, possessive individualism that turns on little beyond the "doctrine of consumer sovereignty" (25). In other words, if an individual works hard enough, their dream of success will become reality someday. Cheney provides countless examples of this narrative in her books. It is hard to find an example in her books that does not propagate this American virtue. Almost all of her examples portray an individual who overcame obstacles to reach success despite race or gender. Whether it was Madam C.J. Walker

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illionaire or Clara Barton founding the Red Cross, Cheney displays these individuals as success stories of people who participated in the neoliberal work ethic. This is simply not the case anymore. Given the fact that huge conglomerates are virtually free to do as they please all over the world, it becomes nearly impossible for a person with a dream to succeed, that is, unless they are willing to work within the rules placed in front of them by the corporate giants.

Neoliberalism is a political orientation hospitable to global free-market capitalism and international conglomeration. Neoliberal policies promote the profit-making capacities of markets while minimizing nonmarket institutions. This deregulated market allows for the unprecedented number of mergers and acquisitions that facilitate huge transnational corporations. Deregulation and privatization are the keywords in a Neoliberal state; government intervention is discouraged, while free trade is promoted. As Aronowitz warns, “Throughout the globe, the forces of Neoliberalism are on the march, dismantling the historically guaranteed social provisions provided by the welfare state, defining profit-making as the essence of democracy, and equating freedom with unrestricted ability of markets to ‘govern economic relations free of government regulation,”(qtd in Giroux 136). This ideology helps propagate the myth of the hard worker, which states that if somebody is willing to work within the established economic system then his or her dreams could someday become a reality

In closing, part of neoliberal rhetoric has justified its approach to globalization as something inevitable. This justification makes it appear as though this economic approach is

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re, by making this approach appear natural, neoliberals can close off other possible discourses to the current economic situation. Tony Blair says it best this way. “I hear people say we have to stop and debate globalization. You might as well debate whether autumn should follow summer” (qtd. in Cole 86).

Patriotism, hard work, and heroes are major themes in both neoconservative and neoliberal rhetoric. In order to facilitate these themes there must be a primary source to foster ideals. As I argued in this chapter, these values can be propagated in children’s literature. Examples of both ideologies are present in Cheney’s books. Each one provides support to the notion that hard work and initiative will bring success, regardless of race, gender, or economic background. The individuals presented in each book are only a small sample of larger groups who do not receive the same credit or recognition. This is because they do not conform to this same formula of neoliberal and neoconservative ideologies. For each example she includes, there were others who fought against these ideals. Whether it was Native Americans fighting to retain their homeland from prospectors or civil rights leaders who fought social injustice with protests that ended in violence, many voices are not included in this narrative about American history. Much of her telling of America hides the unpleasant events of marginalized groups by sweeping them under the rug. She mainly focuses on the success stories of triumphant individuals. While it is essential to emphasize moments of triumph in American history, it is also necessary to demonstrate to young readers that America, as a whole, has not been perfect in all of its endeavors. By refusing to show some of America’s shortcomings, she runs the risk of presenting America as an infallible nation capable of no wrong doing.

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Chapter Five:

And They Lived Happily Ever After…

As I have demonstrated, children's literature is a vastly unexplored world for ideological critics. The virtual absence of academic writing suggests the research I am conducting will require more space and time than I have allotted for a thesis. The material I have looked through only offers a small sample of the texts for children that are out there in the literary world. Children's literature and Cheney's books especially cannot be considered the innocuous and innocent texts we have perceived them to be in the past. We can no longer insist that these literary works are more than products of their time. Like any other cultural artifact, Cheney's books contain a political message even when that meaning is unintentional. In literary criticism, this aspect is often overlooked. However, there is one consolation to literary criticism of Cheney's books: it has exposed certain aspects of ideology. They are products of a time, and they can influence the future more than many would believe.

As I have tried to establish, theories of pedagogical criticism and literary criticism must be incorporated to create a better model of critical theory for children's literature. Even Peter Hunt has noted in his book, *Literature for Children* there simply was not enough work out there. He started his work by piecing together what he could on the subject. I have argued that pedagogy is one of the first models of criticism in which a critic of children's literature should look for theory. The theories there are in tune with systems of instruction, which is what children's books provide. The theory of hidden curriculum provides an excellent resource for

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ographs that appear Cheney's books. If these objectives are not carried out by her, then certainly they will be taught in one form or another. While Cheney's work does not have to be purchased for children, the standards enforced by the new amendments like those being debated by the Texas Board of Education will eventually be taught to children.

Ideology can create false connections of a natural structure within a society. In order for false connections to continue existing, they must suppress other discourses. The dominant culture must be able to construct, rationalize, and maintain a complex structure of interwoven ideas and concepts that justify the current social or political system's existence. It is important to note a distinction between false consciousness and ideology. Ideology can influence a group or society, it also limits other possible discourses from emerging. This knowledge can be implemented as a means of reinforcing the current social standard. By legitimizing aspects of an ideology, the meanings of words can be made synonymous with that ideology, closing off all other meanings or concepts.

In addition, this thesis has illustrated the post-Marxist theory of hegemony. In order for the state to maintain legitimacy it must make concessions to the public. These concessions may cause distraction for the public while the state uses them to legitimize its exercise of certain actions in its own interests. To achieve legitimization, the state will attempt to reach a concordance with the public through common sense value systems. In other words, the values and interests of the dominant social economic or political group will be perceived as the values dear to everyone. Part of this persuasion can be achieved through the use of ideographs. These

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from their original meaning, and simplified. They then become the basic building blocks of a rhetorical strategy to persuade the public. These slogans appear official because they are claimed by a political body as something natural and common sense. In order to appear common sense, they must be reiterated to the point of metonymy. These ideographs have the ability to conjure within individuals a value or standard that may have never existed except in fantasy, yet feel real enough that they should strive to retrieve them. Finally, these ideographs can be used visually as well as verbally. To reclaim a rhetorical position, visual ideographs are more easily altered than verbal ideographs. To reclaim a rhetorical position

Social reproduction is an aspect of ideological theory that incorporates accepted ideological values and judgments to produce acceptable members of society according to their class. Social reproduction is incorporated into different types of institutions. Ideological state apparatuses operate in a similar fashion to social reproduction.

Anthony Manna suggests that children's books have more intrinsic value than most people realize. Children's books have often been considered simplistic, instilling values and morals into their young readers through entertainment. It is this premise that could lead many scholars to believe that there is nothing of academic value to be gleaned. As I stated earlier, ideology does not manifest in a vacuum, and in the impressionable mind of a child the literature they read could affect their social and political beliefs for the rest of their lives. Manna explains:

> As much as any valuable work of children's literature transcends the here and now and deals in universals, it is also inextricably tied to specific attitudes, values, and beliefs that dominate a particular era. Perhaps this is the case even more so with literature children read and hear since, due to the formative nature of childhood, one important (though

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> d) function of children's literature is to introduce
> out life and living, and hopefully through genuine entertainment, to apprise them of values that warrant appreciation, emulation, and preservation (58).

This is this reason we, as scholars, must begin to understand the delicate intricacies of children's literature. Cheney's books can no longer be viewed as simplistic forms of entertainment used to teach proper social behavior or morals. While many parents worry about what is being taught in the schools, concern should be aimed at the reading material children obtain before ever stepping into a classroom. Even Cheney states that "parents and grandparents will use this book to teach children about Washington's character, Jefferson's intellect, and Madison's wide-ranging knowledge" (Primer vi). Similarly, Althusser's belief in the ideological state apparatus follows: private institutions such as family, which inculcate socially acceptable behaviors prior to a child's induction into public school, can produce model citizens.

Cheney does have a record of fighting for history on to her own terms. She has been an advocate for education for nearly four decades, along with her husband who as a proponent of military history, wants to see children "love this country" (Patriotic Primer vi). African Americans, however, receive little recognition for their contributions. There is only one page dedicated to their accomplishments. The image of Native Americans displayed in this series of books can be considered assimilating to the American myth. Almost all of the Native Americans are portrayed in a light that provides benefit to the United States or reflects capitalistic interests. Few mentions are made of Native Americans standing up against social injustices inflicted by settlers or the United States government. The placement of certain individuals on the page may reflect their perceived contribution. The exploitation of slaves, the removal of

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s, and the capitalistic nature of imperialism are all wiped away. These depictions purport that our forms of democracy and economic system are superior to others because it was preordained. Finally, all of the books portray patriotism as a ritualistic act that fills a participant with pride. By creating this belief, Cheney is supporting the infantile citizen who remains politically inactive and unaware.

Pages adorned with festive motifs present a utopian version of American history, sprinkled with near mythological incarnations of founding fathers and an immaculate government track record. Cheney covers all of the scars and imperfections with her version of the "Magic Eraser", the American flag. She turns a blind eye to tragedies in our narrative, focusing on stories of heroic pioneers and soldiers fighting for freedom. She ignores their infringements on other people's freedoms and rights. Her literary devices provide the perfect cover for social reproduction. In books that insist we are celebrating our differences, we are in actuality celebrating our sameness as Americans. Her selection of people, places, and events reinforces her goal of one unifying narrative that should be adopted by all citizens of the United States. Her stories of the nation's founding, and the heroes she selects to provide its narrative, all follow a formula that closes the door to potential discourse. She presents the hard work and perseverance models of the American narrative and provides sufficient evidence to support them to the exclusion of others. This political tactic was used by former Vice President Dan Quayle in his defense of family values. His book entitled *The American Family* depicts minority families making the American dream work for them.[77] Cloud states, "[Quayle's] book *The American Family* holds up 'model' families such as the De La Rosas of Los Angeles, who, despite their poverty and racial discrimination against them, have managed to make ends meet and to

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pro-capitalist work ethic in their children"(396). The portrayal of minorities in this manner support the ideology that hard work and perseverance will work for anybody, yet these selected stories do not give the complete picture of fellow minorities who do not receive the same results.

Critics have argued the merits of Cheney's work. Her motions toward multiculturalism are nothing but half-hearted attempts to satisfy a quota system, reinforcing fixed narratives provided by the dominant ideology of the country. A critic could say that analyzing such a genre as children's literature is pointless. Most books in the genre are considered innocuous stories created to captivate children while instilling a society's value system or history. Children's books may claim to illustrate universal values that all children should learn early in life, but whose values are they, and should they be deemed universal? Cheney's portrayal of American history does bring these questions to light and leads me to wonder if such ideological practices take place in other children's books. In a future project, I would like to take what I have learned from this thesis and apply it to a possible case study of both public and school libraries that have these books in a similar manner to Anyon's (2006) study of curriculum among different public schools. I would also feature children's fiction on top of the nonfiction reviewed in this study. There are political motives even in fiction that could be explored for the benefit of better criticism.

Pickering argues that "many of society's concerns are reflected in children's literature more rapidly than in other literary studies" (qtd in Meyers 52). Those members of the dominant ideology have the opportunity to construct the national narrative in a fashion that pleases

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ry fabric of society as they wish. They can dictate appropriate behaviors and illustrate the functions of people and their professions within a given society, thus solidifying certain ideological practices for the child. Meyers states that "Notions of 'the child,' 'childhood,' and 'children's literature' are contingent, not essentialist; embodying the social constructions of a particular historical context, they are useful functions intended to redress reality as much as to reflect on it" (52). Children's books go through a stream of people before publishing. They often are changed to conform to certain ideologies in the process. The author who writes the book already has preconceived ideas about the subject. The illustrator may have certain values of his or her own. The editor may come to certain conclusions about the product that prevents it from being shed. With many different facets involved in the production of children's literature, I hope to have demonstrated Cheney's books can no longer be considered child's play.

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[4] For a transcript of this speech, see Miller Center of Public Affairs "American President" Web 5 Apr 2010 <http://millercenter.org/academic/americanpresident/gwbush/essays/biography/1>

[5] David Foster provides a recounting of the 2004 Republican Presidential platform, see "Bush's Use of the Terrorism and 'Moral Values' Issues in his 2004 Presidential Campaign Rhetoric: An Instance of the Rhetorical Strategy of Polarization." *Ohio Communication Journal* Vol. 44 Oct. 2006 33-59.

[6]For a discussion on the 2004 Republican presidential campaign, see Spielvogel, Christian. "'You Know Where I Stand': Moral Framing of the War on Terrorism and the Iraq War in the 2004 Presidential Campaign." *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* Vol. 8(4) 2005 549-570

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[9] To get the story behind the Texas School board and the social studies curriculum changes they proposed see the following articles. Harris, Dan. "Teach Your Children." *Nightline* 11 Mar 2010 Web 4 Apr 2010 <http://www.hulu.com/watch/134380/abc-nightline-texas-textbook-controversy > McKinley Jr. James. "Texas Conservatives Seek Deeper Stamp on Texts." *New York Times.* 10 Mar 2010 Thevenot, Brian and Babalola Niran. "The Revision Thing." *Texas Tribune* 10 Mar 2010 < http://www.texastribune.org/library/data/the-revision-thing/#annotation-marker-6>, Whittel, Giles. "Texas educators take aim at 'left-wing' curriculum with opt-out plans." *Times Online* 12 Mar 2010 Web 5 Apr 2010 <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/us_and_americas/article7059048.ece>

[10]For information on the textbook statistics, see Whittel "Texas educators take aim at 'left-wing' curriculum with opt-out plans." *Times Online* 12 Mar 2010 Web 5 Apr 2010 <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/us_and_americas/article7059048.ece>

[11] For the list of all the proposed amendments by the Texas board, see Thevenot, Brian and Babalola Niran. "The Revision Thing." *Texas Tribune* 10 Mar 2010 Web 4 Apr 2010 < http://www.texastribune.org/library/data/the-revision-thing/#annotation-marker-6>

[12] See the list of all the proposed amendments by the Texas board.

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[14] To get the reaction of the school board president and the board proposed changes, see Harris "Teach Your Children."

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[16] For a list of all the proposed amendments by the Texas board, see Thevenot, Brian and Babalola Niran. "The Revision Thing." *Texas Tribune* 10 Mar 2010

[17] For details on this school board oversight, see, Harris "Teach Your Children."

[18] For a discussion on the lack of ideological criticism in children's literature, see Hunt, Peter. *Literature for Children: Contemporary Criticism*. New York, NY: Routledge 1992. 2

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[22] For a psychoanalytic interpretation of young minds, see Fromm, Erich "Influence of Social Factors in Child Development" *Marxist.org* n.d. Web5 Apr 2010 <http://www.marxists.org/archive/fromm/works/1958/social.htm>

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[24] According to Zipes, Benjamin had done some research on children's literature in the 1920's and 1930's. His research did not lead to theory but there is work out there. "Walter Benjamin, Children's Literature, and the Children's Public Sphere: An Introduction to New Trends in West and East Germany." *Germanic Review* 2001.

[25] For an explanation of ideological meaning behind an author's intent, see Bradford 14

[26] For more detailed information on *Iron Man* and the *Iron Man* universe see the following sources from the comic book experts."Iron Man" *Marvel Directory* 2001 Web 4 Apr 2010 http://www.marveldirectory.com/individuals/i/ironman.htm "Iron Man (Anthony Stark)" *Marvel Universe* 2010 Web 4 Apr 2010 <http://marvel.com/universe/Iron_Man_(Anthony_Stark)>

[27] For an understanding of how television uses specific tropes to convey ideas about international issues, see "Glorious Mother Russia" *TV Tropes* n.d. Web 4 Apr 2010 < http://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/Main/GloriousMotherRussia> "Vietnam War" *TV Tropes* n.d. Web 4 Apr 2010 <http://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/Main/TheVietnamWar>

[28] For more detail on the events that led up to the United States involvement in the Vietnam War, see "Vietnam War" *Global Security* 27 April 2005 Web 4 2010 <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/vietnam.htm>

[29] For an explanation of other scholars on the ideological critique of children's books, see Bradford 6 .

[30] For a full transcript of Lynne Cheney's interview, see "Meet Authors and Illustrators: Lynne Cheney" *Children's Literature* 27 Dec 2006 Web 5 Apr 2010 <http://www.childrenslit.com/childrenslit/mai_cheney_lynne.html>

[31] For more information on Lynne Cheny's involvement in education and American history, see White House *Lynne V. Cheney* n.d. Web 5 Apr 2010 < http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/mrscheney/>

[32] See Marx, Engels, Zizek, Rossi Landi, Althusser, Eagleton to name a few authors on the subject

[33] For the original Marxist's concepts of ideology, see Marx and Engels,. *The German Ideology* New York, NY: International Publishers 2007

[34] A distinction must be made between the two components, even though ideology and false consciousness consist of similar attributes. Rossi-Landi's asserts that, "The main difference we need to clarify is a linguistic one: false consciousness does not express itself verbally, ideology does" (132). This means cultural objects cannot be claimed ideologically until verbalized into discourse. An object may still be claimed exclusively under false consciousness it is still kept within an individual. An object ideologically claimed will have false consciousness inherent. False consciousness is an un-verbalized form of ideology, but cannot be ideology on its own merit. However, once false consciousness becomes part of ideology, the kernel can slip between both aspects because the object has been both internalized and externalized in language. However, false consciousness does have functions of its own. Therefore, these functions can be considered ideological. Rossi-Landi elaborates, "All aspects of false consciousness, i.e., the phenomena in which it manifests itself, are present in ideology, which simultaneously preserves them and elaborates them by adding new components" (182).

[35] There are three concepts behind this reproduction of dominance. These characteristics are power conflict, legitimization, and style of argument. Power conflict can be defined as the struggle between two or more voices or groups seeking to seize and distribute power. This can lead to socioeconomic and cultural imbalances between classes and discourses. Apple contends, "power conflict is always at stake in ideological disputes, whether or not those involved expressly acknowledge that dimension" (21). The concept of legitimization is the principle of rationalizing or justifying a group's actions and its social acceptance. There are many different methods behind

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ommon sense argument, and accepted wisdom. The reasons for legitimization entail the need for defense of a principle that may be under attack from outside discourses. This defense can drastically close off other possible discourses viewed as unnatural and heretical Finally, the style of argument plays a role in the conception, maintenance, and the spread of an ideology. For a group to continue, they must adopt particular thoughts and values that create the foundation of their ideology. In order to maintain the current members of a group, core values need to be argued either explicitly or through a veiled language that is evident within the group's lexicon. Apple suggests that, "quite a special rhetoric, and a heightened affect, mark the argumentation that takes place in the realm of ideology…The rhetoric is seen to be highly explicit and relatively systematic" (21). It helps to reinforce the values the group already holds; however, not all members are the same. In this instance, an ideology will morph fringe values ensuring member retention.

[36] For a detailed analysis of the myths America has used over its history, see Hughes, Richard T. *Myths America Lives By* Chicago, IL: University of Illinois, 2003
[37] Herbert Marcuse gives a better definition of clichés and their use in discourse, see *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1991
[38] For a detailed layout of this consciousness scale in ideology, see Rossi-Landi, Ferruccio. Marxism and Ideology. Trans. Roger Griffin New York, NY: Oxford University Press. 1990. 18
[39] For a detailed listing of the types of myths, see Hart, Roderick P. *Modern Rhetorical Criticism.* Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon 1997 242
[40] For information on the construction of myth , see Hughes, 2
[41] For an analysis of myths become a part of the national narrative, see Hughes 2.
[42] This sense of natural and common sense combined with myth builds into a more specified ideological notion known as a world view. This level of ideology deals with the supernatural or unexplainable. Rossi-Landi discusses ideology at this level as an "intuitive world-view of emotive religious or irrational character" (37). At this point, an ideology can integrate more terrific myths or narratives and incorporate them into explaining the origins of nature or proper living based on certain theological beliefs. Rossi-Landi was specifically focusing this level of ideology upon a level of dogmatism. This level aims at those individuals who must balance their professions in the sciences and their acceptance of faith. It is the confrontation between faith and reason. At this dogmatic level, an ideology can suspend certain ideas in their rationales. Although, Rossi-Landi does concede this level is necessary for human beings to find comfort and answers for life's biggest unanswerable questions. As an artifact of ideology ascends the scale of consciousness, the artifact loses generalities and becomes more precise thus becoming less interchangeable but still able to be justified. Taking what Rossi-Landi has discussed so far these artifacts can manifest them into what he calls a "systematic world view" (26). This world view is a culmination of all the previous notions of ideology previously discussed that creates a complex system of beliefs. The biggest deviation in this manifestation from previous notions of ideology is that there must be conscious thought that goes into its conception. Rossi-Landi explains that at this level, "[ideology] aspires to be a total and all-embracing view, and finds expression in a set of convictions, ideas, and ideals designed to serve as a practical guide for life" (36). In other words, this level of ideology concerns certain aspects of life that have lasting influences on the individual's or group's behavior such as lifestyle choices.

[43] Condit provides an excellent interpretation of Gramsci's theory of hegemony, see "Hegemony in a Mass Mediated Society." *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* Vol. 11(3) Sept. 1994 206
[44] For information on Condit's view of Gramsci's hegemony see Condit. 206
[45] For a detailed interpretation of empty signifiers and semiotics, see Critchley, Simon and Oliver Marchart. *Laclau: A Critical Reader*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2004 Print. 261.
[46] For information regarding children's literature as a product of the time it was published rather than a cultural artifact, see Lampert, Jo. *Children's Fiction About 9/11: Ethnic, Heroic and National Identities*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2010. 2.
[47] Robin Small makes some excellent connections between social reproduction and ideological state apparatuses, see her work in "Marx and Education." Burlington, VT: Ahsgate Publising Limited, 2005 78
[48] Julian Wolfreys provides an excellent overview of Derrida's theory of deconstruction, see "Derrida: A Guide for the Perplexed." New York, NY: Continuum 2007 29.

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Dana Cloud explains the use of "family values" in her ideographic critique, see "The Rhetoric of <Family Values>: Scapegoating, Utopia, and the Privatization of Social Responsibility." *Western Journal of Communication*. Vol.62(4) Fall 1998 388.

[51] For Cloud's ideographic critique of <Family Values>, see Cloud 399.

[52] For their theory of visual ideograph, see Edwards, Janis L. and Carol K. Winkler. "Representative Form and the Visual Ideograph: The Iwo Jima Image in Editorial Cartoons." *Quarterly Journal of Speech*. Vol. 83 1997 290

[53] For these illustrations, see Edwards, Janis L. and Carol K. Winkler. 290

[54] For a catalog of Cheney's work, see "Meet Authors and Illustrators: Lynne Cheney"

[55] For a full transcript of Lynne Cheney's editorial, see "The End of History" *Wall Street Journal.* 20 Oct. 1994.

[56] For a biography of committees and groups Cheney was associated with, see White House "Lynne V. Cheney"

[57] For some of the critic's response to Lynne Cheney's books, see Stille, Alexander. "Children's Books; Of Thee I Sing." *New York Times.* 19 May 2002; Sinkler, Rebecca Pepper. "Children's Books in Brief." New York Times 16 Nov. 2003;

[58] For information Tecumseh's role in the War of 1812, see Blodgett, Brian. "Tecumseh: His Role in the Cause and Conduct of the War of 1812" n.d. Web 5 Apr 2010 <http://web.archive.org/web/20000816011432/http://members.tripod.com/Brian_Blodgett/Tecumthe.html>

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