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The Role of School Civic Ceremonies in Children's  
National Identity Formation in Mexico

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I have written the Master Thesis myself, independently. All of the other authors' texts, main viewpoints and all data from other resources have been referred to.

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## Introduction

In Mexico, civic ceremonies are meetings celebrated with the objective to offer tribute to national symbols: the flag, the shield and the anthem. This objective is stated in the “Education General Law” and the “Law of the national shield, the flag and the anthems”. Both documents have federal application. Although the law states some guidelines, ceremonies are followed by tradition principally, the purpose of these meetings should serve to foster national identity, knowledge of national history and practice of specific behaviors and axiological appreciations in children.

At schools, ceremonies are held every Monday, at national holidays, at the beginning and at the end of the school year. During a school year, children would spend around 13% of the time in ceremonies (Quezada Ortega 2006:26) without taking into account the time that teachers and students require for preparations. Besides, civic ceremonies play a main role in the congregation of the whole school community: children, teachers, administrative and cleaning personnel all together in these events. Therefore, their relevance as the possibility for children to interact with other social groups beyond the peer group is crucial.

Generally speaking, ceremonies in schools related to nationalism in Latin-America have been studied as part of the “hidden curriculum” of syllabuses that encompasses school festivals, contests, artistic performances and other school activities. Scholars have applied qualitative methodologies, based principally on anthropologic and sociologic theories and theories of education. The main feature of the way they analyze this hidden curriculum is considering it as a body of rituals that conveys the analysis of social, mythological, religious, symbolic and other cultural facets. Nonetheless, the methodologies depart from centrism of sight of the adulthood or applied to adult population in schools and not necessarily from the perspective of children.

On the other hand, researches about national identity in Mexican education have focused in the collection of written study materials: the syllabuses of history, civic education subjects and their textbooks, leaving aside the focus on what children could think or even learn through these materials.

Given the fact that school is fundamental in the education of new generations, scholars have come out on this topic with the intention to question the so-called hidden curriculum, considering these practices as reactionary and far from being the part of a proper socio-educational project. Although the debate about the continuance of ceremonies is open and burning since some years back in basic education schools in Mexico, interschool meetings and even updating congresses for teachers, it has not had any significant effect in current school policies, even in the last one from 2015.

Additionally, neither those researches nor the discussions have focused their attention to answer basic questions related to how children understand civic ceremonies. After the field work and literature review I delimited my approach to put principal emphasis in the children's perspective in national identity influenced by civic ceremonies at schools. My main research question is:

*What is the role of school civic ceremonies in children's national identity formation?*

In order to answer this question, the notion of *children's national identity formation* (chapter 2) is compounded by concepts that were changing during the field work and writing. I understand that *national identity* is firstly, (De Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak 1999) a discursivity by which an individual recognized or must recognize himself as a member of a state. This discourse is produced and spread by institutions in the form of narratives and it contains historical, political, social and territorial references that forms a particular idea of a nation.

Among different features, it provides to the social group a construction of its uniqueness in contrast with its distinctiveness from other social groups. To the individual, it provides a sense of belonging within the group. Lastly, it conveys a set of behavioral and ideological predispositions, emotional attitudes and perception schemes about the social world.

Secondly, (Koh 2010), children "learn" predominantly in a school contexts the national identity through narratives that adults provide to them but they construct a reinterpretation based

on multiple factors such as life experience, cognitive development, emotional appreciations, and so on. For the purposes of this work, national discourse and narrative are into the cultural memory that school has thought as part of the national education of children who, by internalization, process such contents.

Previous to the field work, my initial doubts were:

- What are the most relevant symbols of ceremonies besides those stated in the law?
- How children interpret the distribution of the people in the playground by age and gender?
- How children interact with those symbols and compulsory activities during ceremonies?
- Are children able to understand anthems?
- How relevant is escort for children's national identity formation?
- What is the implication of teaching myths as part of the history of the country?
- What social functions civic ceremonies might provide to children?

After collecting the information and finished the selection of theories that may fit, I delimited my analysis (chapter 3) to two directions: the one related to how children apprehend the cultural memory of ceremonies and the one related to what children take from ceremonies as part of their own Mexican identity. Therefore, I analyze the data of the research according to two categories of analysis<sup>1</sup> that are also secondary research questions:

*What are the features of the cultural memory that children perform in relation to school civic ceremonies?*

*How children identify themselves as Mexicans in relation to school civic ceremonies?*

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<sup>1</sup> Or "operationalizations" are "facts from the reality" that is studied and that respond or are hints of the constructs and concepts exposed in a research (Loseke 2013: 69-71).

## The process of a civic ceremony

By rule, each ceremony must have the same structure. Here I describe the parts and development of a civic ceremony with the aim to illustrate its structure and on the grounds that I will refer to it in the whole work.

A school civic ceremony can be split in two (Quezada Ortega 2006), a *core* compulsory part where people salute the flag with its anthem, sing the national anthem, recite the “oath to the flag” and sing again the flag anthem as farewell. This is the most solemn part and any of its element could be absent.

A *complementary* part encompasses the commemoration of historic events, other information<sup>2</sup> and, for official holidays, performances of different nature such as folk dances and dramatization of historical events and myths. The commemoration could be skipped by the organizers as it happens in the first ceremony of the school year and when a class and/or teacher do not prepare it. However, during official holidays performances are compulsory.

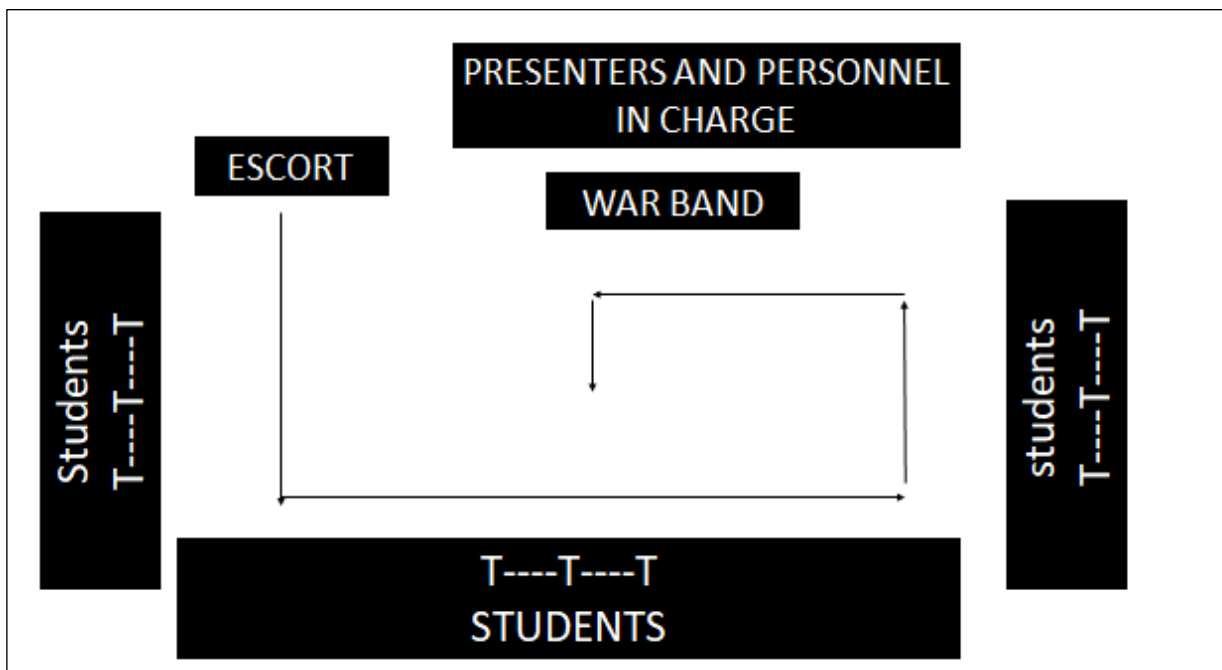
The regular process of a civic ceremony is developed in this way:

a) Preparation: In the main playground or place assigned for this purpose (not all schools have the proper infrastructure), the head teacher or personnel in charge ask children to stand in attention position with their class in rows and in a specific line depending on gender. The presenters and personnel in charge stand in a line in front of the flagpole. Teachers usually should stand with their students and the rest of the personnel distributes into the student rows or in a line close to the presenters. In case there is a “War

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<sup>2</sup> This information is different according to the school, usually teacher in charge speak about a moral value in the first ceremony of each month (as it happened in the two schools of my research) but I have seen other schools where teachers and/or children give nature or health advertisements.

band”<sup>3</sup> in the school, players stand in lines in front of presenters and facing the audience. At the end of the preparation, the organization of people resembles a rectangle-shape box.



*Figure 1.* Distribution of people in school ground for civic ceremony

If it is not possible for teachers to maintain the attention of the children, the person responsible of the ceremony or usually the head teacher may give military instructions to recover it. Some examples are that children keep distance one to each, that they turn in 180° or 360° and/or that they march on their spot.

In all public and most of the private schools in basic education system children must wear a daily uniform. For ceremonies it is usual that they use a special outfit or accessory added to the daily one.

<sup>3</sup> The military band, translated literally as “war band” from Spanish, is compounded by drums and trumpet players. They play to accompany the anthems, the instructions for escort and for audience such as “standing in attention position” or “rest position”. The elementary school in this research has war band.

b) Greetings and flag anthem: the head teacher, person in charge or an assigned child gives the morning greetings and asks to everyone to salute the flag (right arm at the high level of the chest in an axial plane with the hand pointing to the heart area).

Beginning from outside the box, an escort of children does a promenade to the center. With different marching styles children cover the border of the rows and reach the central point of the inner square while students are singing the flag anthem.

It is compulsory in all schools that escort children use a special outfit different from the Monday's uniform. It is usual that they use hats or berets and emblems on their right arm with no apparent patterns. Girls wear a dress or skirt, long socks and color bands to tie their hair while boys do not wear any distinctive accessory from the escort uniform.

It is important to mention that the number of individuals in school escorts is not clear. In teachers discourse and as a traditional rule, they are 6, like the 6 boy heroes<sup>4</sup>.

c) National Anthem: escort stays while students and teachers sing the national anthem directed to flag. The national anthem that is sung in schools is a shorter version of the official anthem, the plot is about the protection of the territory through war and the need to take part of army in case of invasion in the name of the fatherland. The parts taken off from the official version are those that speak with detail about blood bath of the enemy and sacrifice of soldiers due to war; nevertheless, this does not alter the plot in general.

d) Oath to flag: one or two children say the oath sentence by sentence while the rest of schoolmates repeat in canon. In the last part, children rise right hands pointing to the flag and promise loyalty to the flag and the fatherland.

e) Flag anthem as farewell.

f) Remembrance and commemoration of anniversaries: Considered as complementary element, children speak about events and historical characters. Usually they learn information by heart and repeat it for the audience. Commemoration of anniversaries could have a nationalistic emphasis but also they could have cultural and social motives. I

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<sup>4</sup> Hero boys were 6 teenage cadets protagonist of the defense against USA invasion of Chapultepec castle on September 13<sup>th</sup> 1847 during the American-Mexican War. Nowadays, children may know about them because of civic ceremonies, especially the one celebrated on Independence Day, after the last reform of 2011, the 5° class history text book is the only one that makes a brief mention about them. Historians refuted publicly its veracity until the last decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century and nowadays this is taken as a legend in schools (Loyo and Staples 2010).

interpret this part of the ceremony, as the “appreciation for the history” that is legally bound by the federal laws on that regard.

For national or traditional holidays, dramatic or dance performances are offered. In the very particular case in one of the schools of this research, they did a procession in the surroundings of the school for Independence Day ceremony.

g) Ending: children are asked to leave the ground by head teacher or a teacher in charge, depending on time and circumstances related with order, this could be by military instructions or freely.

Although ceremony development seems to be universal, it is possible to find slight variances. For example, it is likely to find escorts made up of 5 or 7 children instead of the traditional group of six. For the exchange of escorts in the end of school year a special promenade is and a ceremony focused on this purpose is made.

## Methodological considerations

My principal purpose in this work is not write a review or analysis of theories related to civic ceremonies at schools; rather, it is to observe and analyze the phenomenon “in action” and to comprehend how this is perceived by children, theories are a support for this purpose.

Hence, this thesis contains a field work (that I develop in detail in chapter 3) which aims to describe and explore civic ceremonies at schools from the child’s subjectivity. The field work is based on qualitative research due to it is useful to understand and interpret the object of study in a holistic way (*the whole is more than the sum of its parts*) with the help of theories but predominantly through the experiencing of the phenomenon from the researcher and the referents from those who live the phenomenon, in this case the children.

The field work was conducted in two schools in the south of Mexico City between August 21<sup>st</sup> and September 18<sup>th</sup> of 2017. The schools were a primary school and a secondary schools. There I made observations of all civic ceremonies during that period (9), individual and pair interviews to children (38), interviews to secondary school teachers (4) and a discussion group with secondary school students (16)<sup>5</sup>.

I chose this period of time in order to conduct the research in the context of the ceremonies from the beginning of the school year the opening ceremony and the ceremony in commemoration of Independence Day on September 15<sup>th</sup>.

Like it happens with the study of phenomena of this nature, the researcher must be *open to the emergency*, adjusting his research in accordance to the changes of the object of study (Mendizábal 2006: 67). In the beginning of the process of thesis writing, I chose a research design

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<sup>5</sup> The initial plan was to conduct the research from August 21<sup>st</sup> to October 2<sup>nd</sup> but in September 19<sup>th</sup> an 8.1 magnitude earthquake struck Mexico City and these schools closed during almost a month after this event. I planned also to interview 9 children and 6 teachers more (from primary school) and to apply a discussion group method with children from the last 3 grades of primary school.

that allowed me to change the categories of analysis according to the field work and to the theories I was reading. Moreover, I tried to have a research model that agrees with current approaches on children's research.

According to the *new sociology of childhood* (NSC) a research where children are involved requires to consider their position as a group that influences and is influenced by other social groups (i.e. adults in different contexts), their cognitive and communicative developmental skills, their role as actors and not as passive “objects” of the phenomena that they live, and an ethical approach that respects their rights (Heinzel, Kränzi-Nagl and Mierendorff 2012: 16-20). All this should be taken into account in order to design a study the closest possible to the children's perspective.

The NSC establishes that (Gaitán and Liebel 2011:173) in child research there are basically 3 models. Research *about* children where they are objects and the perspective of the study is purely from adults. Research *with* children where they are informants and co-researchers and perspective is shared between adults and children. And research *led by* children where adults act as co-researchers and assessors but the perspective is from the child. Our work correspond to the second line because it deals with a phenomenon where children and adults participate.

## Structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided in three parts: the methodology, the literature review and the analysis. The first chapter is dedicated to explain the principles of qualitative research with children, the research design for this study, the field where I conducted it, and the justification and objectives of each of the method.

In the second chapter I describe the theories whereby I analyze the field work, this is divided into three subchapters. The first contains a brief historical background of civic ceremonies at schools, the second one deals with the concepts of cultural memory and the last one with the concept of national identity formation.

The third chapter comprehends the analysis of the comparison between the results that I obtained in the field work and the theories of the second chapter. This is followed by the conclusion. Annexes of the result are found in the end of the work.

The first section encloses the basics for the research work I made. Civic ceremonies can be studied in different ways according to their contextual factors, the objectives of the research and the approach of the researcher. The qualitative research enables the approach to the subjectivity of the people who are a part or the whole of the object of the study, I chose this research because on the grounds that I want to describe and explore the role of civic ceremonies in child's national identity formation, the perspective of the individuals is one of the keys to accomplish such goal. Moreover, research with children implies certain methodological requirements related to their social and cognitive skills, the management of the rapport, the emphasis in their position as the experts of what they live, and the respect for their rights.

During a month, from August to September of 2017, I did observations of civic ceremonies, interviews to children, teachers and a discussion group with children. These methods were conducted in two schools in Mexico City, an elementary school and a secondary school. Children who attend classes in those schools and participated in the research are from 5 to 16 years old. Initially, I planned to conduct all the methods in both schools for one month and a half.

Nonetheless, due to the earthquake of September 19<sup>th</sup>, I had to skip part of the plan. The methods that would be missing are the discussion group, the interviews to teacher and to the youngest children in the elementary school.

I understand *national identity* as a complex that encompasses a conventional idea of a nation, a habitus and a construction that distinguish “us” from “they”. These elements are transmitted to individuals by discourse and narrative that I label with the term *cultural memory*. Moreover, the *formation of the national identity* depends principally on the school that has the monopoly of nation ideology fostering in the new generations and how children learn and assume this identity by processes of internalization which means that they construct their national identity in an active way along with their emotions, ideas, previous knowledges, experiences and so on. What I study in this work is the role of school civic ceremonies in the children’s national identity formation.

The second chapter conveys the theories that deal with this notions. After the brief historical context of civic ceremonies, I make use of some ideas from J. Assmann, A. Assmann, Tamm and Wertsch to describe the principles of cultural memory. Civic ceremonies are transmitters of information about historic events and myths of the origin of the nation, symbols, moral values and identity. Moreover, it is true that this information is or must be understood by the community through autocommunication, this concept is taken from Lotman. Lastly, this information may be apprehended by the individual through what Wertsch following Vygotsky, calls internalization.

A last section of this chapter concerns to the conceptualization of national identity formation. With the use of a social and a socio-educational approaches I explore the notion of national identity and its different components: the convention of nation as a sovereign entity with territorial delimitations; its habitus or set of emotional, axiological and behavioral predispositions as well as a modeling of the world; and the construction of the self and the otherness in the community.

The last chapter which is the core of the thesis encompasses the discussion of results from observations, interviews and discussion group within two categories of analysis. In a first category or operationalization, I analyze the elements that civic ceremonies offer as cultural memory in contrast to the way that children describe them. The second category compares the national

ideology that ceremonies encourage in comparison to the way that children describe their own identity as Mexicans. Finally, I summarize both categories and give answer to my principal research question, *what is the role of school civic ceremonies in children's national identity formation?*

This thesis has two purposes. On the one hand, to contribute in the study about national identity in childhood, specifically to propose a research of civic ceremonies at schools with methodology that focuses on the children's perspective. On the other, to contribute in the discussion about the continuance of these festivities.

## **1. Methodology of the field work**

Different theories and concepts can explain to some extent our object of study and how to approach to it. It is true that there are plenty of researches that deal with the role of schools in national identity formation. A very good example is the one I use in chapter 3, where Koh (2010) studies the influence of civic education in child's national identity through interviews of pre-teenagers. Nevertheless, there is no literature available with this specific approach on civic ceremonies and the children's perceptions of them since earlier age classes (5 years old) and with methods that point to the collection of their point of view such as the discussion group that I conducted in this field research. Furthermore, as I mentioned before, in the Mexican context the focus has been put by far in educational politics analysis and on the materials that children must study instead of the way that they understand them (Tanck de Estrada 2012: 11).

Ceremonies exist in the context of other phenomena and they are influenced by other vast number of factors such as geopolitical, socio-historical and temporal, that make it a unique and dynamic phenomenon. Consequently, the appropriate methodology for this kind of objects of study should involve a qualitative approach (Loseke 2013: 29).

In every applied research validity, reliability and sampling are factors to be considered (Álvarez-Gayou Jurgenson, 2013:25-30). If we understand that validity is to measure a specific phenomenon and not another one, from the qualitative point of view, this is materialized when subjects are expressing what the researcher is looking for. This measurement can also be recognized as "authenticity".

Reliability denotes the reduction to the minimal possible mistake in measurement and that the result could be reproduced by other researcher. Although in qualitative research there are not measurements in the quantitative sense, data should be congruent with the rest of the information related to the results.

Finally, sampling is the way the population of the study is selected and managed. To maintain the minimal bias in sample, all individuals of the population must have equal opportunities to participate in the research. To achieve the reliability, it is usual that researchers “triangulate” samples and methods in order to take into account the point of view of the agents that may influence certain phenomenon, and to contrast and compare data obtained in different ways (Hernández Sampieri 2010: 454, 476).

As I describe in the next sub-chapter, I did not select schools directly but by fortune my research proposal was accepted in two institutions: a primary school and in a secondary school<sup>6</sup>, fact that gave me the chance to work with children from 5 to 15 years and to collect the same information in different ages and education contexts.

Talking about the sampling, the objective was to facilitate that all children have the same chances to be selected considering the school grade they study and their gender. In the samples for interviews and discussion group, children were selected randomly. The same random selection was applied for teachers.

In order to be congruent with the validity and the reliability, I attempted to apply four methods of data collection with children and teachers from both schools but it was not possible to finish due to September 19<sup>th</sup> earthquake and close of schools. At the end, I made observations of all civic ceremonies from August 23<sup>rd</sup> to September 15<sup>th</sup>. I applied individual and pair interviews to children (38), interviews to secondary school teachers (4) and a discussion group with secondary school students (16).

The “research with children” model that I adopt in the field research, it is considered by the new sociology of childhood as congruent with qualitative approaches on the grounds that they are able to “reconstruct the live experiences from the subjectivity of children” (Heinzel et al. 2012:118), put them in research as actors and allow to collect data in their natural habitat. Besides, the most proper methods for children research are discussion group, open interviews and participant observations (Ibid).

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<sup>6</sup> In Mexican education system, children from 5 to 11 years are expected to study the elementary school while 11-to-15-year-olds are expected to study secondary school. In elementary school are 6 classes or grades (1° to 6°) and in secondary school are 3 classes (1° to 3°).

Although, there are other methods that have been taken by other researchers with the same paradigm. Liebel (2003) makes use of ethnography with children's organization who defend their right to work. Muchow works with maps drawn by children in her study on children perception of their neighborhoods, considered a pioneer of NSC (Hungerland 2015). Others methods as life history, ethnography or methods where children collect data from a specific field by themselves pictures and videos.

Among the rights enclosed in the Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989) that assure an ethical research approach with children are their right to be informed, the right to be listened, that the adult allow them to express and overall the respect for their best interests. In other words, the researcher must facilitate an atmosphere of comfort for children in every work, to let them know why and how each method would be conducted and that he or she listens to the child. Additionally, the whole research must be in accordance to the law and to the rules of the adults responsible of them.

### **1.1 Description of the field**

The field research was conducted in two schools, a primary school and a secondary school. The primary school is public and is located in a popular area of the South-West of Mexico City. It provides education to 332 children distributed in 14 classrooms and working with 15 teachers. The majority of children come from the same part-district, as it is stated by law for public schools. Nonetheless, there are children who live further but they are still inhabitants of the same district (Tlalpan).

The secondary school is funded by charity and private resources, it shares facilities with an elementary school and a boarding school in a foundation. This institution is located in Topilejo, one of the so-called 8 antique towns (over 900 hundred years) of Mexico City. Nonetheless, in secondary school children come from the south west of Mexico City and those who live in the boarding school come from the capital and states nearby. Only 2 children live in Topilejo. 79 children take lessons in 3 classrooms with 14 teachers, usually there is 1 teacher by subject.

I chose these schools because of unexpected circumstances. The head teacher of the initial school in Cancun city was not answering my e-mails to settle the arrangements for the research a week before personnel begins to work, and 2 weeks before the arrival of children. Thankfully, two head teachers from 2 schools in Mexico City accepted my research proposal without the paper work that requires at least 3 months in advance, as it happened with the first school.

It is important to remark that despite the fact that in Mexico City there live 55 ethnic groups, they are around 800 000 people who speak 57 different languages. The rest of the inhabitants (approx. 21 million people) are monolingual and do not belong to any indigenous group<sup>7</sup>. Topilejo is historically known for its Nahuatl settlements; nonetheless, secondary school students' families come from the south of Mexico City and not from the town. In both schools, the personnel in charge of subscriptions reported to me that none of the children have indigenous roots (including the families of the two children who live in Topilejo).

The authorization to work with the children was attained differently in each school. In elementary school, the authorization was given by the "supervisor teacher of zone"<sup>8</sup>. She, I and the head teacher agreed the time and methods without any restriction to my research plan proposal, supervisor even allowed me to videotape and make pictures without asking so. Later and one week before the beginning of the school year, in a teachers meeting I introduced myself and explained the objectives and requirements of my intervention. During the first week of classes, I visited children in each classroom, introduced myself and my objectives. I took advantage of it also as initial rapport for interviews, discussion group and in case they wonder about my presence during the ceremonies<sup>9</sup>. After the sampling and before conducting each interview, I explain its aim and asked if they let me to apply it to them as well as if they allow me to audiotape. A child denied the interview (I asked another one). Another kid asked me to not audiotape.

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<sup>7</sup> In Mexico City there live 785 000 indigenous people.

<http://www.excelsior.com.mx/comunidad/2017/08/08/1180280>. Lasted visited: 05.05.2018.

<sup>8</sup> A supervisor of zone is a teacher in charge of the administration and communication between the Ministry of Education and schools from a specific area. Usually, these teachers achieve those roles because they have the longest work experience in education and administrative positions in comparison to the rest of the personnel.

<sup>9</sup> During the interviews the majority of the children said that did not notice that I was doing observation during civic ceremonies.

I got in secondary school thanks to the head teacher. I talked with the majority of the teachers in their meeting, general head teacher of the foundation allowed me to videotape and make pictures, also without asking by myself. In the first week of field work, I explained to the selected children the objective of the methods and asked if they agreed to participate in them. All of them agreed. After their approval I sent to parents through general head office (as they ordered me) the petition for their consent. All of them sent back the consent with signatures. Every child allowed me to audiotape their voice and the discussion group members to videotape.

All children's names are fictional in order to keep the confidentiality of their identity.

## **1.2 Justification and objectives of methods and technics**

Here, I list the methods I employed during the research with children. I describe the utility and explain the characteristics of the application. As a reminder, I observed the first ceremony of school year, the regular Monday's ceremony and Independence Day's during a month in both schools. I interviewed children from 2° class of primary school to 3° class of secondary school and teachers from the latter too. Finally, I conducted a discussion group in the secondary school.

*Observation of civic ceremonies.* The principal objectives were to observe how people interact with the patriotic symbols and other symbols that ceremonies may offer such as the escort and the war band. Another objective was to observe the particular "tradition and costume" of each school in parallel with what is stated in the law. The last aim was to look at behaviors and the influence of environmental circumstances in the process of ceremonies. (Annex 1 Civic ceremonies observations).

I attended to ceremonies celebrated each Monday from August 21<sup>st</sup> to September 18<sup>th</sup> and the one of Independence Day (September 15<sup>th</sup>) in both schools. There were performances and a party as extra features. The sample in this method is the whole population that attended to schools those days.

*Interviews to Children.* With this method, children describe and explain from their own point of view the elements presented at ceremonies, specifically, the three patriotic symbols, the escort, the war band (in case of primary school) and the commemorations of historic events<sup>10</sup>. For secondary school children, interviews were conducted in the school laboratory and for the elementary school, they were made in a multipurpose room.

I interviewed 38 children, three in each grade in secondary school (in total 9) and at least two per group in elementary school (29)<sup>11</sup>. In 2° and 3° grade I interviewed children in couples, with a toy microphone and I changed the order of the questions, both actions to guarantee the rapport. The sample was randomly selected trying to have same number of boys and girls, considering the schedules, bureaucratic difficulties and facilities of both schools. (Annex 6 Children's interviews).

The questions were formulated right after the first 3 observations of the ceremony, I attempted to integrate both parts of the ceremony, the core and the complement, the former to know about the ritualistic side of the ceremony and the latter about the part where children are supposed to learn about history. Additionally, part of the strategy was to know from the child, how they understand the symbols that are stated in the law and the participation of two groups that are structurally important for the process of the ceremony, the escort and the war band. Finally, the questions related to the distribution of people in age and gender and also the escort and the war band would give light to the way that ceremonies imprint the social knowledge in children. At the end, the structure of this work changed and a partial part of the results of these questions were used to explain the so called national habitus.

- a) What happens during civic ceremonies?
- b) Could you explain to me what do the anthems talk about?
- c) What does the oath speak about?
- d) Why there is an escort?

Why there is a war band? (Only for the primary school).

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<sup>10</sup> This is the last part where children give information about the anniversary of events, people and institutions. This information is contained also in the Law and schools manuals.

<sup>11</sup> This due to there were 3 groups for 2° and 3° grades, 2 groups for 1°, 4°, 5° and 6°. Because of the closure of schools it was not possible to interview one child from 2° grade and anyone from first grade.

- e) Why children stand in rows?
- f) Why boys and girls are separated?
- g) Do you remember any particular event from anniversary commemorations?
- h) What is the moral value of the month<sup>12</sup>?

*Interviews to Teachers.* The aim is to have information and argumentation from the teachers that are the institutional representors. The questions are related to the same elements that I asked from children, besides their position about ceremonies. I interviewed 3 teachers from secondary school and a “supervisor of zone” from the primary school (Teachers’ interviews Annex 4).<sup>13</sup>

- a) What do you think is the function of school civic ceremonies?
- b) What is the relationship between this function and the education project you have as a school?
- c) To what extent children understand CC and their elements?
- d) What is the purpose of the escort?
- e) What is the purpose of distribute children in rows?
- f) What is the purpose in the separation of boys and girls?
- g) What is the relevance of the commemoration of anniversaries and the “moral value of the month”?

*Discussion Group method*<sup>14</sup>. This method is useful for obtaining information about how people interpret symbolic processes of a phenomenon, as well as to know the principles that they use to defend their arguments in front of others, consequently, the way they legitimate the ceremonies for this particular case. Instead of “making them to speak” like is done in the focus group method, the researcher “let them to speak” acting as a mediator and participant in the group (Gutierrez 2011 /Bonilla Loyo, Del Valle Rojas and Martínez Bonilla 2012). In other words, this

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<sup>12</sup> Every first ceremony of the month, teachers say a moral value and explain its characteristics (responsibility, gratitude, love, and so on) in order to be followed during that month by students.

<sup>13</sup> The initial plan was to interview 11 teachers.

<sup>14</sup> A discussion group was made with secondary school children, the same method was planned for the 3 last grades of primary school was not held due to the schools’ prevention measurements after the earthquake.

method is a way to access the social imaginary<sup>15</sup> of the group and the exchange of meanings of common sense between the members in their personal and social sphere (Aliaga Sáez, Basulto Gallegos and Cabrera Varela 2013: 145-147).

According to the new sociology of childhood, discussion group is valuable in comparison to other qualitative methods because it allows to observe collective conceptions of children as a generation independent from adulthood (Heinzel et al. 2012: 19). On the other hand, for our specific work, it enables the participation from children (Gaitán 2006:25) because they are not spectators but actors while they debate about a phenomenon they live.

The objective of this discussion group is that children give their opinions about the religious and military connotations of national anthem, the gender separation in ceremonies, the story about boy heroes, what means to “being a Mexican” and what would they change in ceremonies (Annex 5 Discussion Group).

The meeting with 16 children from secondary school was held on September 11<sup>th</sup> at 7 am in the laboratory (see Annex 2 Pictures). The questions were thought after some interviews and the majority of observations. I planned the questions principally to have answers about national identity in relation to ceremonies directly from the children. I asked about “boy heroes” and “god” due to many children in interviews offer these items.

- a) What is the meaning of “being a Mexican”?
- b) Would you “give your life<sup>16</sup> for the national flag”?
- c) What is the relation between ceremonies and god?
- d) What is the importance of boy heroes?
- e) Would you change your row?
- f) Would you change something about the Ceremony?

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<sup>15</sup> As far as this is a main concept in the method but does not interfere with our work, we clear that social imaginary is a concept that comes from psychoanalysis and social psychology and it is related to all those conscious and unconscious meanings that a social group shares between its members.

<sup>16</sup> In the oath and CC speech the term is *existence* (“existencia”) that I translate as *life*.

## **2. Civic ceremonies at schools**

This chapter consists of three parts. One is a general historic overview about the introduction of nationalist ceremonies to Mexican education system and the current law on the field. In the second part, I describe some principles of cultural memory on the grounds that civic ceremonies as cultural phenomenon try to transmit information about the national culture to the new generations. The contents of ceremonies embody historic events and myths of the origin of the nation, symbols, moral values and identity.

Moreover, civic ceremonies tend to be understood only by the community with the constant repetition of the same elements that the culture (adults) encourage in children. This form of transmission of information is known as autocommunication. Lastly, this information might pass from school to the individual domain by the process of internalization.

The third section of this chapter concerns to the conceptualization of national identity formation. There, I explore the notion of national identity and its different facets: the convention of nation; national identity as a set of emotional, axiological and behavioral predispositions as well as a modeling of the world; and the construction of the self-community and the otherness. Besides, I describe the models of school might take in the literacy of national ideology.

## **2.1 A brief history of civic ceremonies at schools in Mexico**

As an initial remark, it must be said that the history of education in Mexico has focused on the analysis of laws, summaries of pedagogical ideas and description of institutions (Tanck de Estrada 2012: 11) and has been far from the analysis of everyday practices of children which might be the objective of education. I review some important facts that are related to the influence of nationalism at Mexican schools and later in school festivities. This task is of utmost importance since the reason of current practices can be traced to their historical process.

Within the context of the Age of Enlightenment, the fall of European monarchies and North America's independence, in Mexico, still under the control of the Spanish Crown and Catholicism since 16<sup>th</sup> century, the direct predecessor of a Mexican national identity was the growing worshipping of Virgin of Guadalupe<sup>17</sup> that served as an instrument for religious control of population through the mixing of the ideology of the Spanish colonialization with indigenous traditions. At the same time the only university and intellectual institution of New Spain, the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico, started to be interested in indigenous arts and traditions with the goal of showing to Europe what they call the original identity of the people of New Spain (Tanck de Estrada 2010: 67-68).

During the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, after independence, some schools in the larger cities of the country started to teach geography, law (mainly civil duties) and the economy of the "fatherland" (Staples 2010: 118). Reformation leaders' slogans: "schools are made to forge the fatherland" and "education is redemption" were part of the discourse of education (Gutiérrez Chong, 2012: 99). Nonetheless, the attention of nationalism in education system was stated by law until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

By the end of XIX<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of XX<sup>th</sup> centuries, under the Porfiriato (1876-1911), the first dictatorship of Mexico as a Republic, church and state were already separated by constitutional law. By the end of this period, following the pedagogical thinking of that time,

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<sup>17</sup> The institutionalization Virgin Guadalupe's cult grew in such dimensions that in the first document of Independence of Mexico (1812), she is named the "patron saint of all our People".

schools had the obligation to enhance “love for the fatherland and its institutions, as well as to educate citizens who contribute to the country’s progress” (Loyo and Staples 2010: 141).

Educational policies and their institutionalization at all schools in the country followed the principles of positivism (imported during the Porfiriato) and expected to provide an education based on scientific knowledge and expressed prohibition of any kind of religious education (in public schools). But at the same time, education was turned into a “nationalist [education] that extols the love for the Fatherland and its heroes” (Staples 2010: 123).

With these ideals the state started for the first time to legitimize itself through education system (Staples, 2010: 126). In spite of the ethnical, economic and political differences in the Mexican population at that time, the state through school began to institutionalize its power.

A prototype of “the Mexican” started to be nurtured, leaving minorities that did not represent this model in the social exclusion, such as the indigenous population (Staples, 2010: 126). One of the projections for that time was to “*des-indianize* and transform the mentality of children to *mexicanize* them” (Moreno Juárez 2011: 315).

Besides the study of geography, the fatherland’s history and law, former education schools heightened the participation of children and families in patriotic meetings and expeditions to “memory places” such as graveyards, museums and government buildings where stories about the life of national heroes were told (Moreno Juárez 2011: 317).

Intellectuals indicated that festivals are means for children to learn national culture and proposed that these must be held in schools prior to national holidays: Labor Day, Constitution Day, Reformation Day<sup>18</sup>, Fifth of May (or the victory against French intervention) and the Hidalgo’s festivity (or Independence Day) (Martínez Carrera 2007).

The last five years of the Porfiriato are essential in the interaction between the nationalist ideology of the state and the education system due to the mobilization of child students in different public civic ceremonies for the celebration events of the 100 years of Mexican independence in 1910. Celebrations were held during a month in Mexico City and the majority of the main cities around the country, delegates of different sectors of society and from almost 30 countries attended

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<sup>18</sup> This reformation separated church from any administrative or judicial activity.

to buildings' inaugurations, speeches given by authorities and civic ceremonies (Martínez Carrera 2007).

Among the festivities, the main ones were the *reception of baptism fountain of the "Father of the Fatherland"* Miguel Hidalgo<sup>19</sup>, the *remembrance of "boy heroes"* and the allegiance swearing to the national flag that ended in a procession.

In Mexico City, the government newspaper narrates (Moreno Juárez 2011:329-331) the attendance of children from all its schools. They wore special outfits that were payed either by families, charity or government. Their principal tasks were to sing the national anthem, standing in rows as simulation of the military.

Two months later, peasants, workers and other groups rebelled against the government and the Mexican Revolution broke out. 21 years later, with new people in power, the commemoration of the 100 years from the end of the War of Independence (1821) was celebrated during the "week of the child". Children attended a procession from Zócalo to Chapultepec castle and sang the national anthem for the "allegiance swearing to the flag". In the same week, a ceremony for the "boy heroes" memory was led by the national military school (Moreno Juárez 2011).

Although these two festivities crossed a significant socio-political movement, a first idea of the structure of civic ceremonies at schools was consolidated during those times. These elements are still part of the modern ceremonies: the use of special outfit, standing in rows pointing the sight to the flag, national anthem singing and, in very special holidays, a procession.

Historically, processions have a religious and/or military motivation, in Mexico they were adopted firstly in national public celebrations and later in schools with no apparent pattern. The only rule is that attenders must walk behind the flag. It is likely that schools that organize processions are only those with public funds, due to current security and logistics that this requires. Only one of the two schools where I conducted observations organizes a single procession during the school year for Independence Day.

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<sup>19</sup> Miguel Gregorio Antonio Ignacio Hidalgo-Costilla y Gallaga Mandarte Villaseñor, better known as Miguel Hidalgo, was Spanish born in New Spain that led the Independence War of Mexico in 1810.

The nationalist ideology brought to children by schools proposes a new ideal of “the Mexican” (specially the masculine gender) that contributes to the progress of the country, must have the flairs of boy heroes<sup>20</sup> and other people who “were martyrs of the fatherland”. This ideal is entrusted to teachers in order that they would mold the future of the childhood.

Military education was introduced during the same period of Porfiriato for public schools, at least in Mexico City and its near surroundings (Loyo and Staples 2010:139). This is important on the grounds that the base of the performance of civic ceremonies at schools depends on military instructions.

During that time, the majority of the personnel of the ministry of war and army had no elementary education and it was considered as the main reason of desertion from the army and lack of patriotism. The ministry of war and the ministry of education were concerned about this and encouraged military education for all population in order “to defend the fatherland”. Schools were given the duty to teach “the love for the fatherland and the respect for the rules” from an early stage of age through the teaching of military exercises. These had to be implemented during the “hours where there are no compulsory tasks” in order to develop in students the “virility of their souls”, fast reaction in case of real emergency and the interest in the military career by conviction and not by obligation (Sánchez 2013). The project of militarization of schools was forgotten at the end of Porfiriato and it is not possible to state to what extent this fact influenced the military features that civic ceremonies have until today.

The ideological war against the church was clearer in schools further than Mexico City during the short period where government worked based on socialist political perspective in the 1930s. The relevance of this short period “of socialism” was that many churches turned into schools or cultural centers and all types of religious festivities were substituted for civic ceremonies and national festivals (Loyo 2010:184).

From the 1960’s until today, the policies on national ideology were systematized. The teaching of national geography, history and law (“civic and ethic education”) took part in the regular curriculum with the help of textbooks for children and programs for teachers. (Loyo 2010:

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<sup>20</sup> In teachers discourse, boy heroes are the direct referent and basis of the school escort.

199-222). Two main strategies were followed in schools: the cult for national symbols and the teaching of an official version of the national history which principal aim was the legitimization of the state. Civic ceremonies at schools became a regular tradition for national holidays, the beginning and ending of school year and every weekend (Quezada Ortega 2006: 394-395).

On the other hand, the first mention about civic ceremonies in law was until 1984 in the Law of the National Shield, Flag and Anthem (LNSFA) (1984). Its article 15<sup>th</sup> states that “all those days declared as solemn days for the Nation, the national flag must be hoisted completely or at half-mast depending on whether it is related to a festivity or a mourning, in schools, temples and other public buildings [...]. Federal, state and municipal authorities will provide that institutions of elemental, middle and high education pay honors to the National Flag on Mondays [...] at the beginning and ending of school year”.

The article 18<sup>th</sup> lists official holidays, some of them are the National Flag Day, Independence Day, Mexican Revolution anniversary and others; nonetheless, not all these dates are a motivation to hoist the flag or do a civic ceremony in schools such as days related to the inauguration of institutions and buildings.

In relation to what is done in ceremonies, the 46<sup>th</sup> article states the obligation of schools in the teaching of the national anthem in kindergartens, elementary and secondary school while the 14<sup>th</sup> states that the “civil salutation must be done in standing position, extending the right hand on the chest, with the palm pointing down, to the level of the heart. Besides, men will salute with the head uncovered [...]”.

The first mention where the state entrusts school the nationalist literacy appears in the reformation of 1943 of the Mexican Constitution (1917). There, it is only mentioned that the education system “must harmoniously heightens all human faculties, fostering at the same time love for the fatherland [...]” (Ornelas 2013: Appendix A).

Later in 1993, with the creation of the General Law of Education, the nationalist literacy was introduced for the first time in a law of education. Its 7<sup>th</sup> article states that the education must “strengthen the awareness for nationality and sovereignty, appreciation for history, its patriotic symbols and national institutions [...]”.

As we can see, the only law that specifies the compulsory application of civic ceremonies at schools is the LNSFA, it mentions some characteristics but outside this description there is no specific law about civic ceremonies. In law, civic ceremonies are not part of the integral education of inhabitants of Mexico due to the law of education, the specific one that contains the principles of alphabetization and literacy of population do not contemplate civic ceremonies. As Quezada Ortega states (2009), teacher manage the ceremonies by tradition, learning what previous teachers have done in the past and giving these knowledge to the new generations of teachers.

## **2.2 Civic Ceremonies and Cultural Memory**

In this section we make use of some relevant concepts from semiotics of culture in order to have tools for understanding the narrative and discursivity that school civic ceremonies contain, their nature as autocommunicative mechanisms, their importance as transmitters of culture and how cultural memory may go from society to children performativity by the process of internalization.

Through school civic ceremonies educational institutions and specifically teachers attempt to transmit knowledge and to integrate the new generations into culture. This means that, as consequence of these meetings, children may learn to perform a set of specific behaviors and memories that carry feelings, aesthetics and moral prescriptions about being a Mexican.

Thus, it would not be a surprise why Tartu-Moscow School defined *culture* as the “non-hereditary memory of the community” (Lotman 1978: 213). Among the features of culture, the most important are: a) the transmission, b) the creation, and c) the storage of information (Lotman 1990:2). The school plays a central role in society as a macro shelter of different memories that are transmitted and transformed to the new generations.

Culture is a three-dimensional framework that comprises social, material, and mental aspects, hence *cultural memory* comprises social, material and mental or cognitive memories. Social and material memories would be in the collective level while the cognitive one in the individual level. Moreover, even if individual memory can have its roots in biology, it is not

isolated from its social contexts that triggers and shapes it, “we remember in sociocultural contexts” (Erll 2008: 4).

J. Assmann (2008:109) recognizes *inner*, *social* and *cultural* levels in memory. The first memory is the consequence of neurological and mental processes of individuals, the second is the consequence of interaction between individuals known as *communicative memory*, and the third one is the memory conserved beyond these interactions through institutions, here we find the history and mythology of a certain social group. He would define cultural memory as:

“Exteriorized and objectivized; it is stored in steady symbolic forms, artefacts and other supports from different nature that are spread through distance media. It pervades specific situations and it is associated with a ceremonial order and not with everyday life” (Seydel 2014:203).

On the other hand, forgetting is an important part in memory, it is the individual act of erasing memories due to these are not useful anymore or represent traumatic circumstances. Within cultural memory, forgetting can be active or passive. The former is true when memories are trashed or destroyed due to, for example, revolutions or censorship. The latter is a non-intentional forgetting as consequence of losing, hiding, disappearing, neglecting or abandoning memories that were important sometime in the past.

Society is not capable of remembering by itself, it requires the selection and reconstruction of versions of the past that is in constant evolution according to the present of the culture (Erll 2008: 4-6). Society requires to remember, for that it makes use of institutions that store and collect memories in both ways of forgetting: active memory institutions preserve the past as it were present and the passive ones preserve past as past. Taking a museum as example, it remembers actively for society through prestigious objects presented in main rooms and passively through peripheral rooms that are not shown to the public sight (Assmann A. 2008: 97).

Active memory, called *canon* by A. Assmann, selects texts according to specific purposes turning them “sacred” for society. The duration of these texts is the principal objective of active memory institutions. In spite of the premise of preservation, each generation reinterprets the *canon* giving new meanings through time. The canon is the basic memory for religion, art and history. Calendars of saints, churches, reading of classics, theater adaptations and architectural styles are

examples of canon in religion and art. On the other hand, the state legitimizes itself creating narrative versions the history, as well as commemorative dates and cult for memories.

The passive memory or *archive*, are all those texts that are institutionally preserved by society as important data for the future. It could be said that this is the bureaucratic memory as far as those who construct it are entities on the control of power such as the government, church or police, their main objective is to “administrate” populations. The archive is predominantly political when it serves as way of indoctrination and it is historical when it has the purpose to document the past.

Society might exist without the archive but never without its canon. We can observe this in traditional cultures that rose over orality, arts, performance and practices by which individuals live and interact with each other (Assmann A. 2008:103). Moreover, cultural memory is not possible without institutions and their carriers or individuals with the authorization in the transmission of culture to others and to the new generations. All those texts that are not institutionalized but exist in the social discourse because of being shared among individuals. According with J. Assmann (2008:115) texts that are part of *collective memory* are alive through no more than 3 generations or 80 years. Anyhow sharing of information about the past is possible not only because of human interaction but as a consequence of cultural mediation, principally built on written and visual texts (Tamm 2015:128).

School through its personnel, curricula, materials and textbooks is the authorized one in the transmission of knowledge from the past. The *performativity* of civic ceremonies in schools serves as mediation of specific active memories that, in their manifested purpose, are historical events and myths related to the origin of the society as a nation. In these rituals, children and other people in school remember repeatedly a foundational event that has been homogenized through a particular language spoken.

Therefore, the way that the foundational event is re-signified is attached to a dominant “rule of remembrance”. “One and the same culture can be understood as a culture of a (nation) state or smaller interest groups, who control and direct textual processes by controlling politics, ideology, marketing, the school system and mass media” (Ojamaa and Torop 2014: 11).

Consequently, this evidences on the one hand, the expression of a certain ideology and on the other, the way that society or attendants represent the event (Díaz Árias 2006:178-179). This brings lastly, to the point that festivities are also “the dramatization of the symbolic fight between normativity and contra-hegemonic behaviors” (Díaz Árias 2006:179), they are always representations of the political dimension of the culture and a latent possibility for attendants to politicize the cultural memory (Díaz Árias 2006:190).

How events become enough meaningful to spread into society and its future generations? Boyer and Wertsch (2009) collect different researches and contribute with relevant ideas in this discussion<sup>21</sup>. I describe some of them that are useful to understand our topic.

Firstly, events or objects are less likely to be forgotten if they are self-affirming and far from being embarrassing, shameful or a reflection of a negative facet of the social group (Boyer and Wertsch 2009: 174). For example, all the narrations in civic ceremonies at schools are positive events for the image of the Mexican people albeit history text books illustrates negative facts and other scenarios where even these events are not that positive.

Secondly, older events, with the passage of time become better bearable as far as they are reconstructed in a positive way for the identity of the culture, painful events are forgotten or mutate even into myths in order to reflect society in a well form (Boyer and Wertsch 2009: 191). This is true when in the dramatization of the battles the Mexican people are always glorious leaded by characters with outstanding skills that are usually called heroes in spite of the context of those battles are wars where the Mexican state lost large territories and sovereignty.

Thirdly, Wertsch agrees that habits play a central role in remembering collectively due to their role in performances such as the commemoration of Independence Day, religious holidays others (Boyer and Wertsch 2009: 121). In this regard, bodily automatism would be part of the core of socially shared memories. In civic ceremonies military instructions are the main features by which the people and the ritual itself is organized.

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<sup>21</sup> For these authors, memories are not passive content that gets into the mind but the bearer of the memories perceives, selects, forgets and remembers in an active way. Therefore, he uses *collective remembering* although he agrees that it is inseparable from other notions such as collective memory, social memory and of course cultural memory (Boyer and Werstch 2009: 113 and 119).

Finally, they address the debate of the role of emotions in collective remembering. Studies in individuals suggest that emotionally negative events are more likely to be remembered accurately in comparison to emotionally positive or non-emotional ones due to neurological processes but this is not known with certainty in the cultural level (Boyer and Wertsch 2009:104-105).

This is contradictory with the events where Mexican people could experience negative emotions due to invasions, conquests, wars and deaths as consequence in the past because the narrations in ceremonies are likely to be mythological instead of authentic. Nevertheless, the emotional negative way that they are presented to children, may have a direct influence in the way they remember the “history” of their nation.

### **2.2.1 Civic ceremonies as autocommunication mechanism of culture**

According to Tartu-Moscow School, the most important feature of culture is the need of self-description (Torop 2014:111). For that, social groups have specific ways to describe themselves through “languages of description”. These provide them with intercommunication, modelling of cultural memory and endure the life within culture. A set formula says: “the more descriptive languages a culture has, the richer is that culture” (Ibid). Besides, according to Torop (2014:112) as far as semiotics of culture analyzes languages of description, it analyzes intrinsically its identity. Furthermore, it is likely to consider all cultural processes of communication as autocommunicative processes (Ojamaa and Torop 2014:10).

Following Lotman, Tamm (2015:129) adds that society is not able to interpret itself without self-communication, and at the same time this mechanism is the basis of the mnemonic nature of culture, this language of self-description provides society models of remembering and self-understanding. Citing Assmann, he agrees that the self-image of society is cultivated thanks to a body of reusable texts, images and rituals (2015:127). Lastly, autocommunication has two spheres: one that carries information and the other that “carries creativity” that allows to generate new meanings out of existing texts (2015: 129).

Lotman (2001:17-22) points out that, although communication is a process where subject A gives a message to subject B (I-S/he communication), it is also possible that subject A gives a message to itself (I-I communication). In I-S/he the addresser and addressee can be replaced while the code and message are always the same whereas in I-I communication the addresser and addressee are exactly the same but this “I” reformulates and gives new meanings to the very same message with the help of a new code acquired through time that results into a restructuration of the “I” itself. This way of communication is denominated *autocommunication*.

Another distinction between A-B communication and “I-I” communication is that the latter requires less signs to be understood by the same subject besides the message is always shorter than in the former way of communication. Instead of total objects or sentences, we require only abbreviation or indices of signs as Lotman suggests, following the psychology premise from Vygotsky who states that inner speech (or “I-I” in Lotman) is differentiated to the external speech (“I-S/he”) because of the absence of vocalization (2001: 25-26).

In this context, Lotman redefines culture and states that we can treat it as a sum of messages that circulates from different addressers to addressees but also as a single message transmitted by a collectivity that acts as an addresser and addressee (2001: 33).

Along these lines, civic ceremonies are by nature a self-descriptive message through which a sector of the population through schools as communities attempt to define their own identity, with the use of texts that are related particularly with national identity such as its origin, relevant historical events and/or myths, territoriality, and certain behavioral and axiological appreciations. Self-descriptive language is referential and meaningful only for those individuals in the school community.

Furthermore, the objective of these ceremonies is to serve as mnemonic devices. School festivities are settled by “I-S/he” communication in principle as a result that children are consumers of the texts produced by older generations and transmitted by the current adults in schools. This turns into “I-I” communication under the premise of repetition because ceremonies are held in the beginning and end of the school year, every Monday and official holiday during at least 12 years that the child attends to basic education school. Therefore, texts are the same but they are

reinterpreted by the “I” community and each individual as part of what Lotman considers as “constant self-discovery” (Lotman 2001:29).

### **2.2.2 Internalization of culture**

The notion of autocommunication serves properly to understand mechanisms on the transmission and remembrance of texts in the social and community levels, although Lotman considers it as a phenomenon that could explain also the individual level recovering the Vygotskian concept of *inner speech*. Nonetheless, it is important to take into consideration that the former concept emanates from a psycho-developmental discussion.

“Clearly, Lotman’s autocommunication is not based on Vygotsky’s definitions of egocentric or internal speech. Furthermore Lotman’s distinction is not embedded in a developmental model, which is an essential part of Vygotsky’s system” (Andrews 2015: 357).

Therefore, some notes should be taken into consideration in order to examine to what extent is feasible to compare “inner speech” with “autocommunication”, more important the pertinence of inner speech in cultural memory and how this is useful for the purpose of this thesis.

The discussion (Vygotsky 1986:12-57) departs from a Piaget’s hypothesis, he suggests that egocentric thinking is in the middle point between autistic and social thoughts. The former is unconscious, it is guided by the principle of pleasure, and carries the wishes and fantasies of the self being by essence totally opposed to the social thinking and the principle of reality. He believes that egocentric speech disappears totally when socialized speech is presented and developed until adulthood. Vygotsky denies this idea. Firstly, egocentric speech or speaking alone is a need for children to grasp their outer world, to understand activities that they are doing, specifically, new and/or difficult tasks that otherwise they would not be able to manage. Secondly, egocentric thinking is the passage that would regulate the principle of reality into the principle of pleasure due to the needs presented in the former must be realistic in order that the self believes that he can satisfy them.

Lastly, egocentric speech is a necessary stage between vocalization and thought, for him the language is an evolution from the social sphere to the individual thought. Thus, the egocentric speech evolves into the *inner speech* as Lotman (2001:25-26) summarizes and redefines as autocommunication. Lotman's concept takes relevance if we comprehend that autocommunication for the community is as important as inner speech for the individual because through the management of same messages with different codes acquired with the time, the community would achieve a higher stage in its "mental" or socio-cultural maturity.

For Vygotsky, higher mental functions such as language, memory and praxis (cognition of motor actions) are skills presented firstly in the interpsychological sphere of the individual and later by internalization, in the intrapsychological one, in accordance with the social context and individual psychological development (Wertsch 1985: 158). It might be better to say that higher mental functions are "internalized social relationships" and that the intrapsychological plane is "formed" only as consequence of social interaction and not because of solely "transference" (Wertsch 1985: 64-66).

Retaking these ideas, civic ceremonies are an "I-S/He" model of communication because adults transfer message to children and it turns into a "I-I" model when, due to the constant repetition of the same message during the basic education of children, they may internalize social interactions. Furthermore, if we follow the idea that, autocommunication "is the inner speech" of the "I" community, it molds the development of conscious and higher mental functions of the individual.

In opposition to cognitivist psychology that observes internalization through the way that the subject manipulate objects, sociocultural psychology paradigm observes internalization through representational systems (i.e. speech) that are needed to manipulate such objects. In that regard, inter-intrapsychological processes are important for higher mental functions and not for every brain function as it is for cognitivism.

Internalization is defined as the process whereby the activity performed by the subject in his externality, comes to be executed in his internal plane. Differently to other theorists, the passage from externality to internality is given by the semiotic mediation that is settled between the child

and the instructor that could be any agent with such role from the social context (Wertsch 1985: 262).

Altogether, internalization a) is not a process of copying external reality to internality; rather, a process wherein consciousness is formed. b) The external reality must be a social interactional reality. And c) the main relevance is that this process enables the subject to master the use of socio-cultural external signs in order to interact with his social world (Wertsch, 1985: 67). At the end, what it is internalized are higher mental functions, social interactions and culture (Zittoun and Gillespie 2015: 478).

Other scholars add ideas into this notion. Individual neither receives external world information passively nor with his active participation (*appropriation*); rather, he brings new meanings to the world thanks to an *externalization/internalization* dynamics (Zittoun and Gillespie 2015: 479).

Apart from the fact that environment must be socialized, internalization is a structural sensory and linguistic developmental process that is influenced by the social position exchanging for example, a child who teaches other child will understand better another interlocutor that tries to teach him in future. (Zittoun and Gillespie 2015: 483)

Moreover, child's understanding of culture is able to be semiotically guided by *symbolic resources* made in his social environment such as books, movies or even civic ceremonies. They provide experiences to the child that allow him to know other resources and to understand other individuals through these experiences (Zittoun and Gillespie 2015: 485). Then, symbolic resources or texts could be comprehended as "carriers of experiences". Some of the examples of symbolic resources in ceremonies are the flag and the escort. The former may carry those symbols related to the nation. The latter, which only task is to carry and show the flag, and as the elite group of the school, it might be the central reference of the ceremony and the ideals of the students.

In order that the outer world could be apprehended in the intrapsychological plane of the individual, it must be approached firstly by interpsychological mediation or intervention of other individuals. Let's say that civic ceremonies are meaningful only for people in the school community. Here, teachers and older children act as mediators of the interpsychological sphere of

the learner. Children that do not attend to school or who are foreigners, without the proper mediation, may not perceive ceremonies as meaningful.

Furthermore, in the interaction between intrapsychological and interpsychological planes it is required certain approach from the adult to the child or the culture instructor to the learner. In other words learner and instructor must perceive the other in the same situation and that both are able to understand each other. This interaction is seen within four levels of *intersubjectivity* (Wertsch 1985:163-164).

In the first level, the child is not able to understand the adult due to his understanding of the situation is not the same than the adult's in spite the latter tries to lead him, then communication is not possible. In a second level, there is a minimal understanding from the child to the adult, the child knows the situation or task that the adult expects but he does not know how to accomplish it because the adult is not clear enough. In the third one, the child is able to understand how to complete the task thanks to his intrapsychological inferences with the minimal instruction of the adult. In the last level, there is a full accomplishment of communication from both subjects and the child is able to achieve the task later by his own.

Summarizing, there must be proper conditions for the interaction and communication between the child and the adults in order to internalize culture and, on the other hand, besides the minimal mind developmental structures in the child to invest the world of meaning, the adult must guarantee the proper intersubjectivity to procure the internalization of culture.

Hypothetically speaking, with the support of civic ceremonies along with other pedagogical actions such as teaching of history or citizenship literacy, schools are providing to children the memories of the culture as nation if the intersubjective mediation between teachers and children is successful, let's say that it is located in the highest stages. Specifically, if children internalize civic ceremonies it is because they show that they can understand and perform their contents with a minimal intervention from the adult.

### 2.3 Civic ceremonies, national identity formation and schools

De Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak (1999:153-154) warn about some basic assumptions to take into account when dealing with national identity. First, “nation” is a mental construct, in the individual mind it is likely to be presented as a sovereign social unit, determined territorially by its borders. Second, national identity is a *discourse* prone to be produced, reproduced, transformed and destructed. Third, it is a *habitus*, which is a set of behaviors, internalized in the course of socialization and compounded by ideas, concepts, perceptual schemes and emotional attitudes. Fourth, national identity is intrinsically tied to the constructions of distinctiveness and uniqueness. Fifth, national identity is not a stable and consistent construct, it is built on malleable basis and given according to the context which it is used.

Our personal identity consists of those elements that distinguish us from others and elements that describe our “essence” such as the way we live, the experiences that we are more likely to face every day, memories, physical appearance, traits, temper, and so on and so forth. At some point we share these descriptive elements with other individuals forming group identities such as family, friends, peer group or community; hence, we can define national identity as a complex of assumptions, memories, ideas, emotions, views (discourse) of the world that are constantly narrated and partly performed in behaviors by a specific group of people, that consider to belong themselves to a certain idea of nation.

In their research based on interviews and documental collection, De Cillia et al. (1999: 169-170) found that people tend to have either one of two notions of nation. The notion of *Staatsnation* that is related to citizenship, legal and political institutions and the *Kulturnation*, related to ethnics, traditions and mythical elements of a specific cultural community. Moreover, they point out that in the official discourse, the Kulturnation narrative is likely to play as a support for inculcate or justify the Staatsnation narrative.

In her study about national identity conceptualization with pre-adolescents in schools from Singapore and USA, Koh (2010: 227-238) points out that there are three aspects to consider in this regard: the narrative side of identity construction, children’s understanding of the world and the role of schools in national identity formation. As we already discussed in our first chapter, national

identity is a story that we tell to ourselves as individuals and that we share with others that come from the “same nation”. The narration is compounded of history facts, myths, habits, traditions and also deep emotions such as anxiety, shame or glory and it is inherited by generations.

Koh suggests that children are active agents in the meaning-making of all social scenarios. This idea corresponds with the construct of internalization that we reviewed in the last chapter. The research’s data shown that children adapt the narrative that their community offers to their own personality, identity and understanding and not as passive agents that reproduces adults’ narrative. It also shown the “factor of resistance” in children that are constantly renegotiating this narrative with their own social identity as immigrants and even their own individual identity.

Koh observes two kind of school approaches to national identity formation. On the one hand, the *political* model wherein schools focus on the development of moral values and practices related to the society as a state, in her example USA schools enhance democratic values in children. On the other hand, the purpose of the *patriotic* model is to educate children in loyalty and emotional attachment to the society as a community.

Extrapolating these notes to our object of study, the expressed aim of school civic ceremonies in Mexico is the reproduction of national discourse. Through narrative, it counts selective histories and myths that constitute the official memories that providers of culture must repeat to new generations. This narrative is contained by anthems, oath, dramatizations, other arts presentations, “value of the month”, and anniversaries’ information about official or relevant dates for the nation as state.

The non-linguistical elements are presented in the administration of spaces, distribution and classification of participants, uniforms, military instructions and the management of patriotic and other symbols. Remembering that national identity is also a habitus, then in these rituals is feasible to appreciate behaviors, axiological and aesthetical assumptions in relation to what is conceived as Mexican nation and as the ideal member of that nation.

From a first sight, Mexican schools following law and tradition, encourage both models of national education through civic ceremonies: political one as they proclaim the expected moral values and democratic practice and patriotic because they demand loyalty and attachment to the nation from children.

Finally and not less important, ceremonies at school attempt to assure the sense of distinctiveness and uniqueness. The former is clear in the anthem which is principally a call to defend militarily the sovereignty of the fatherland, the dramatization of historical events, commemoration of anniversaries, etc. and the latter can be interpreted from the oath or the use of the uniform. In that regard, I analyze these characteristics from the data collected in the field research.

### 3. Discussion of results

As I explained in the introduction and literature review, *national identity formation* lies on two factors. On the one hand, on the monopoly of school in the nationalist ideology education of the population and, on the other hand, on the child's internalization of this ideology as identity, understanding internalization not as a passive process but as an autonomous capability by which children know the world.

*National identity* is the discursivity in the shape of cultural memory by which individuals produce, reproduce and transform referents associated with them as a national community. The referents have three functions: the construction of an idea of nation, the construction of the "we" and the "other" and the construction of a national habitus.

The cultural memory of a specific nation is produced under rules of remembrance that encompasses historic events, myths and symbols. In regard of the school these might be organized into an official archive and canonized memories according to specific purposes.

National cultural memory is integrated syllabuses and festivities of the schools. What we study here is the presence of national cultural memory in school civic ceremonies and its influence in the national identity of children of an elementary and a secondary school.

In this chapter I compare the data collected in the field work with the theory that I described in the literature review. I make this comparison into two categories of analysis, the one related to the children's national cultural memory and the one that concerns the appropriation of this memory as part of the national identity of the child.

After the discussion of the categories, I give answer to my initial research question: What is the role of school civic ceremonies in children's national identity formation?

As a reminder, as far as the objective of the research was not the verification of an hypothesis in a predetermined field with definite variables; rather, it was to explore and describe to what extent school ceremonies influence the national identification from children. Therefore, the research design was flexible from the beginning in order to be open to the "emergency" of the

dynamics of the field, its unexpected and new circumstances that in fact they were presented in the course of the research.

### 3.1 Category of Analysis 1: What are the features of the cultural memory that children perform in relation to school civic ceremonies?

This category of analysis is worked on with observations of ceremonies in Mondays, questions a), b), c) and g) from children's interviews, questions b), c) and g) to teachers and Independence Day ceremony.

Children	Teachers
a) <i>What happens during civic ceremonies?</i>	
b) <i>What do the anthems talk about?</i>	b) <i>What is the relationship between this function and the education project you have as a school?</i>
c) <i>What does the oath speak about?</i>	c) <i>To what extent children understand CC and their elements?</i>
g) <i>Do you remember any particular event from anniversary commemorations?</i>	g) <i>What is the relevance of anniversaries commemoration and the "moral value of the month"?</i>

During interviews, children considered that Civic Ceremonies (CC) are made because of three reasons. One majority mentioned that they serve to display a set of behaviors during them such as "putting attention", "keep order" or "to be quiet". The great majority (32) mentioned the word "flag" and many considered that CC they are made to "pay respect", "salute" or "sing" to the flag. A minor proportion of children (6) (with any pattern in their age), associated CC functions to the knowledge of the past. Armando [15 y./3° s./intv 2] explains:

*During ceremonies if we must speak about an anniversary of an event, we always say a day and try that our schoolmates can understand it. Otherwise, if we are those who listen, we try to understand what is said in an*

*anniversary of event remembrance. To listen in order to know what has happened. Actually, that is the general idea of a ceremony. To try to learn what they say. That helps you to have culture general knowledge.*

Interviewer: Why do you think they exist?

*To inform about historical events and to make aware the population about dates and places, things that happen someday [in the past] and influenced history. Like in the case of the revolution, the independence. Important dates.*

### **3.1.1 Anthems and oath**

In regard to the texts that children must learn by heart for the core part of ceremonies the majority of children answered that anthems and oath speak about the flag. They related the oath [question c)] to “independence”, “loyalty”, “promising to take care of the country”, “respect to each other” and “boy heroes”. In primary school, several children recited or sang fragments of the anthems or the oath in order to be able to answer the questions.

8 children mentioned that anthems and/or oath speak about *independence*. Armando [15 y./3° s./intv 2] and Elena [9 y./5°p./intv 19] said that anthems speak about the war of independence against Spain. Kids who mentioned this are in the last 3 classes of elementary school and in secondary school.

6 children mentioned *god* in their answers. Damiana [12 y./1° sec./intv 7] considered that according to the anthem god created everything. Ernesto [8 y./ 3°p./intv 26] said that in the anthem is read that god gave freedom to the flag. All children with exception of Damiana are in 2°, 3° and 4° class. Besides, Georgina [14 y./3°s./Annex 5 discussion group] considered that national anthem depicts the history after Christ.

All items from answers are contained in the texts with the exception of “boy heroes”. The oath contains the word “independence” but “Spain” or a “war of independence against Spain” is not explained in any part. The national anthem is a statement of independence but it does not talk about the independence war as many children considered. The same anthem contains the word “god”, it makes reference to the idea that “god wrote the glorious destiny” of the fatherland but it is not related to the flag nor to Christ. Lastly, none of the texts contain historical facts or characters

as some children answered: “history” facts, “battle of Puebla”, “Emiliano Zapata” and “Benito Juárez”.

The central fact is that only one child [Armando/14 y./ 3° s./intv. 2] was able to explain in general terms only what the oath talks about.

*It speaks about the loyalty to the fatherland and the respect to our patriotic symbols. That we must behave according to the rules.*

Which symbols?

*Shield, flag and anthem.*

Is that in the oath?

*Not like that, only the part of the flag.*

Many children mixed or confused the anthems with the oath, for example, some children mentioned that the oath talks about the colors and shape of the national flag when only the flag anthem contains these words.

On the side of the school, teachers agreed in different grades that children do not understand what is exposed in civic ceremonies. Three mentioned that children do not care about CC and arts teacher considered that CC are repetitive and not a conscious performance that reach emotions and formation of moral values. Sub-head teacher added that there is not any instrument to measure such comprehension but considered that comprehension is diverse according to the family context, cognitive attitudes and development and agrees that anyone understand the language of CC in its totality. Supervisor says that children will understand when they grow up.

We may say that, for some children, the main function of CC is to remember the past. In school, adults as authorized and representors of memories attempt to transmit a national cultural memory through civic ceremonies with the use of different canonized texts such as the anthems. Nonetheless, no matter the content in the lyrics of the flag anthem, national anthem and the oath to the flag might mean (Annex 1), according to this data it is hard to prove that children have internalized these meanings. On the other hand, all teacher agreed at some extent that the contents of the anthems and oath are not understood in their age, considering all children.

What is clear from the beginning is that CC are lacking the minimal channels of mediation between their material of the national cultural memory and the children’s mind. This is evident not only in interviews but in some ceremonies where children were not able to maintain their attention to the process or simply shown no interest on it. The level of intersubjectivity (Wertsch 1985) that adults may achieve in relation to CC in general is a second level where there is a minimal

understanding from the child. He knows the situation (because kids answered that they know the purpose of the ceremonies) but the tasks are difficult to achieve due to the unclear approach from the adult.

In secondary school this lack of intermediation is clearer not just because usually children lose their attention by themselves but in circumstances where teachers or presenters may not manage the task.

Music starts, orders are being followed by escort children, they salute to the flag, and then tutor asks to the rest of attendees to do the same. Escort advances while anthem music is played, I notice that just a very few sing or move their mouth because I cannot hear anyone, but only whispering.

Escort reaches the center. The oath is led by a secretary, she has a slight mistake and it seems she faces some difficulties to say it by heart. I see 2° grade children that, instead of following the speech, they were some kind of mumbling. [Secondary school 28.08.17]

The oath is given by a boy with the microphone, he does not wait “the repetition” from the audience, another boy is with him but he does not say anything. Teacher in charge of the presidium, Spanish Teacher, does not say anything on microphone but she is with the group.

National anthem music is on. I cannot listen anybody that is singing although I hear at some voices that follow the melody but I am not sure if they sing. I do not sing. Escort does the promenade to go back to the beginning while flag anthem music is on, nobody sings this time [Secondary school, 05.09]

In the discussion group (Annex 5 Discussion Group), all children accepted that they sing “sometimes” the anthems. During ceremony observations it was noticeable that children from secondary school do not sing at all.

According to answers that were better elaborated by the oldest students, intersubjective mediation may improve with the age of the children, they accomplish a better level of understanding what the adults attempt to transmit in relation to anthems and oath. This may explain also in a partial way the trend where the oldest children tempted to associate anthems and oath to the national independence being able to explain such connection. While the youngest related these texts to *god* even if the support to make such assumption was simply the solely word.

### ***3.1.2 Commemorations***

In the question about commemorations [Annex 6 Children’s interview question g)] only 6 out of 38 children mentioned something, historical characters and/or calendar days. Among the characters

named were: “boy heroes”, “Miguel Hidalgo”, “Benito Juárez”<sup>22</sup>, “Lazaro Cárdenas” and “Diego Rivera”<sup>23</sup>. Armando mentioned: *Sep 16<sup>th</sup> Declaration of Independence, March 18<sup>th</sup> about the oil expropriation*,<sup>24</sup> and *February 24<sup>th</sup>*, while other two children mentioned “March 21<sup>st</sup>” and the “Battle of Puebla on May 5<sup>th</sup>”.

Nonetheless, none of them were able to give further information or explanation about their answer. The majority of the children who remembered something from that part of the ceremony said anniversaries that were commemorated in previous school years, not in the current one as I asked. The exception were two children, Juli3n [11y./6°p./intv 12] who told me accurate information about Benito Juárez with a slight mistake in the information about the time. He had to learn by heart that information and spoke about it in the ceremony a week before interview. The children who mentioned more calendar days or characters are from secondary school.

In the group of children who did not remember any commemoration, Jean Paul presented an anniversary a week before but he had forgotten the information right after he started to speak [4.09 Primary school], during the interview [10y./5°p./intv 17] he said *a man who died*, but could not say his name, why he was important or the calendar day.

The only three children that tried to explain further about historic events, they confused characters with historical contexts. Elena [9y./5°p./intv 19] said that Benito Juárez (1806-1872) was leader of the War of Independence (1810-1821) [the answer is Miguel Hidalgo]. 3ngel [8y./3°p./intv 28] told that he presented information about Christopher Columbus, when I asked what exactly he presented, he answered *about Emiliano Zapata*<sup>25</sup> and did not say anything more. Jaime [9y./4°p./intv 21] said that anthems talk about a Mexicans vs. Mexicans war.

After the core part of the ceremony it was usual that children’s attention got lost gradually.

All children give the information learned by heart, most of them are hard to understand, there is any voice intonation differences and at some points volume is very low. A child forgets information totally, he

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<sup>22</sup> Ex-president elected in different periods from 1858 to 1872. It is known principally because of being the first president with indigenous origin and because his leadership in the reformation where church is separated from state issues.

<sup>23</sup> Mexican painter famous during revolution war period and married with Frida Kahlo.

<sup>24</sup> Ex-president famous because of oil expropriation. In university programs related to history he is mentioned as the only political leader with communist ideals but this information is not considered in history study programs in basic education.

<sup>25</sup> Leader of Mexican Revolution.

walks away with his drawing. The last boy says <<the revolution of the soup>> (Japan is “Japón” in Spanish and soup is “jabón”), some children from audience laugh but presenter seem like he does not get his mistake. It appears to me that there is not comprehension by them about what they say by heart [Primary school, 27.08.2017].

Historical events information is given by some children from 5° class, all children from the class stand in the front with their teacher, the majority of them do not have any way of participation. The front line children carry drawings on paper allusive to the event, these are the same than in secondary school: General Law of Work publication, fighter’s wife death 1 international personality but also “grand parents’ day” and a famous Mexican singer death. While children with drawing walk inside the box in order to show them, the majority of children from the left side do not watch [Primary school, 28.08.17].

Historical events. 9 children give information learned by heart. Two of them are even “talking” the information, among teachers “we” believe that when they do that it means that they comprehend information. In the half of the line those children someday starts to laugh and provokes that the rest laughs, they see each other smiling and laughing. Adults show faces of seriousness, children closer to me (2° secondary school grade) do not show any expression, like their attention was floating. [Secondary school, 05.09.17].

This trend was more evident in the Independence Day’s commemoration after the absence of war band (that lead to problems of organization), a longer ceremony in its core part and a quite warmer weather.

*-And now we will have our social ceremony, 4°B will recite a poem about Hidalgo priest-* A group of around 20 children recite choral poetry about Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, main character of Independence War. Meanwhile, a woman is speaking by cellphone, she is around 3 meters away from me. Several children from 2° grade are yawning. (Primary school, 15.09.17)

In a pair interview to 3° grade of primary school, Vanessa and Ernesto [8y. both/intv 26] said that they remember anniversaries because of the outfit they had to wear when they presented. Vanessa mentioned that she remembers March 21<sup>st</sup> because she was wearing a butterfly’s costume and the boy said that he remembers Lazaro Cárdenas. Casimiro from 2° grade of primary school [6 y./intv 30/youngest child of the sample] tried to explain with uncomplete sentences what he was wearing during his presentation of the last year but he could not remember any historical data.

This coincides with the statement of Boyer and Wertsch (2009) by which corporal habits are a better support for collective remembering. Moreover, the youngest children described ceremonies by the corporal habits that they must display and visual elements. Casimiro [6 y./2°p./intv 30] is the best example, besides he was struggling to speak and tried to explain his

answers by mimicry, all of them where related to body movements that they must do during ceremonies. Other children mentioned that in ceremonies they “march”, “rise hands” (in the oath), “stand up” and “stay in silence”. Nevertheless, this not guarantee that children apprehend the meaning that adults attempt to imprint in students with such actions.

From the institutional perspective, with the exception of one teacher, [question g) of Annex 4 Teachers’ interviews] all of them consider that the part where children speak about events from the past is important but not everyone agreed that it has the same relevance. Spanish teacher said that commemorations should be changed to advertisements with brief information in order that this would be more didactic. Arts teacher considered that it must be spoken about interesting facts for the school community instead of events from the past. Sub-head teacher considered that anniversaries information has have good reception and children have improved skills related to talk in public. Supervisor considered that this part -is important, [because] without history there is not identity-.

Comparing the data about commemorations part, it is frankly clear that solely the gap between teachers’ and students’ answers is large, this may be influenced by the difficulties that come along with the process of the ceremony, the absence of interest or the difficulty from kids to maintain their attention. No matter what is the answer for this, what it is true is that civic ceremonies do not guarantee the internalization nor the performance in children of the information about the past that teachers are looking for.

### **3.1.2.1 Independence Day Commemoration**

For the Independence Day’s commemorative ceremony on September 15<sup>th</sup>, the most important of the school year, children and teachers from each class presented a performance based on dancing, singing or dramatization. In secondary school 3° class and dance teacher danced “la Danza de la Pluma” (the feather dance), 2° class represented the Independence War Declaration and the choir group compounded by students from different grades sang a song about characters that participated in the war of independence. They made the ceremony with the primary school of the foundation, this presented folk dances and the battle of Chapultepec as theater play.

In primary school 4° class children sang a song about Miguel Hidalgo. 6° class offered a theater play about the conquest of Mexico. 1° class sang the pop music song “Mexico”. 2° spoke about the “heroes of Independence”. 5° grade children recited coral poetry about Independence war. 3° class children presented an acrostic with the word “INDEPENDENCIA”. And 5° class presented the folk dance “La Bamba”. After presentations children, teachers and parents made a procession in the surrounding of the school.

As the celebration suggests, the ceremonies focused on the depiction of Mexican independence movement. The representation of the same facts were essentially different in both schools. In primary school, [see ceremony observation 15.09.17] the intention was to provide information about the way that each “independence hero” participated in the war. Each child wore an outfit and say some words that he/she learned by heart (with some difficulties) but they did not offer any theater play. The character represented were only 4 leaders of each power group during the beginning of Independence war: the group that supported the Spanish crown and the group against it (insurgency army).

On the other hand, secondary school children represented the “assault of the Alhondiga de Granaditas”, battle that marked the beginning of the war of independence. The characters represented were the leaders of the groups, the groups themselves and “El Pípila” that, according to the climax of the story, he was the one that, with a stone and a torch “dodged the bullets rain and set on fire the Alhóndiga’s (corn storehouse)” that allowed the assault of the insurgency army.

*Narrator: When they arrived [insurgency army to the corn storehouse], Hidalgo faces this unexpected and apparently impregnable fortress against which he has no strategy.*

*Suddenly, a worker from the mines, with the nickname “El Pípila”, got to the place.*

*El Pípila proposes to insurgents to fire the door, it is hard to listen what he exactly says due to the distance of the actors.*

*Hidalgo accepts the proposal and El Pípila crosses through the rain of bullets. He sets the door on fire and waits until it carbonizes and falls down.*

*El Pípila dodges the bullets with a stone that he is carrying back. He goes to the door of the fortress and sets the door on fire. Fire sound effect. El Pípila pushes the door of kraft paper that falls to the ground. Some children laugh. Maybe because it was expected some action that depicts a door that falls because of fire. [Secondary School 15.09.17]*

Although both representations are from different nature, apparently the first tried to be more objective; both depict only the way that leaders or heroes participated in the beginning of

independence war being far to represent and explain to children the social circumstances that caused and resulted of a 20-years war, as it would be expected given the teaching role of the school.

At the end what is tried to be provided by school as cultural memory to children is the supposed origin of a nation. It does not matter if the focus is “historical” like in elementary school or if children take as origin *independence* or *god*, what we speak here is about a cosmological approach (Uspenskij 2017) to the past that may not allow the reflection neither about the future nor about the present and which, at the same time, is a-historical, a-political and a-social to the service of an ideology that may be from those on power or simply from the school.

The compulsive repetition (autocommunication) of an obliged cultural memory along with memorization (Ricoeur 2004, 83-96) (as it is the most fundamental rule for all children in CC) lead to the incomprehension of the historic events that were traumatic, “the subject repeats without remembering” (Ricoeur 2004, 567) and the final result is the forgetting of the history. Furthermore, the autocommunication of empty contents may lead to that the “I” community culture thus the individual evolve both into a-historical, a-political and a-social entities. The question is how children within such context may read cultural explosions?

### **3.2 Category of Analysis 2: How children identify themselves as Mexican in relation to school civic ceremonies?**

This category is explored principally with the discussion group data and also with the answers of the first question to both groups in interviews and with all those answers to other questions where children associated elements from CC to national identity.

Retaking the ideas from Cillia et al. (1999) and Koh (2010), national identity formation is influenced principally by the school and how children apprehend it as active learners. National identity is essentially unsteady and encompasses a mental idea of nation, a habitus, a construction of “we” and “they” and it is transmitted by discursivity. We already studied this discursivity in the form of cultural memory. It is true that we cannot isolated cultural memory from social, community

or individual identity therefore, I discuss the elements whereby we explore the national identity formation in children without disregarding its national cultural memory.

The unsteady or multi-referential nature of national identity is evident since the school. All teachers considered [Annex 4/question a)] that the main function of CC is to provide identity, this could be community identity, respect and appreciation of the community symbols [Secondary school sub-head teacher]. Supervisor argues that people without identity is likely to be manipulated and arts teacher considers that it is to respect people of the same nationality.

Only an interviewee specifies that CC's function is to provide "national identity", she argues that children are following North-American identity values and defines national identity more like an individual identity.

*National identity is to have a sense and a conception of "who I am", where I go and why I have this nationality?*

*Why they tell me I must salute the flag when I could salute any other thing. [I assume that she refers to the ceremony]*

Independence Day celebrations attempt to depict an idea of nation from multiple references where the "official" national identity (*Staatsnation*) blurs with a folk identity (*Kulturnation*) and elements taken from the mainstream media that somehow teachers fit into the idea of the "Mexican being".

Two example of this mixture were a "banda" music performance in the foundation where secondary school is and the context within 1<sup>o</sup> class of primary school danced right after the performance about the conquest of Mexico and before the presentation of the "heroes of independence".

Children sing a popular song from 80's, the music mixes pop with "ranchera". They wore a "modern outfit" (T-shirt and jeans) and "paliacates" tied to their neck. These textiles are an intrinsic symbol in "Mexican culture", they are tools for indigenous workers who use them principally to dry their sweat and a very important ornament in folk dances from many regions of Mexico.

*-Now we have the song "México" by "Timbiriche"- Says teacher by microphone. Both groups of children from 1<sup>o</sup> grade dance and sing. They have "paliacates" (colored handkerchiefs popular in Mexico) that move with hands and jump at the same time. Their teachers (2) lead them making circles and lines. The majority of children are smiling although not all of them are singing. [Primary school, 15.09 Independence Day]*

Regular ceremonies and the one for Independence Day mixes both approaches of national identity: *patriotic* and *political* (Koh 2010) in order to generate the sense of *uniqueness/distinctiveness* or

the construction “us/they” (Cillia et al. 1999). One of many examples is the oath to the flag that speaks about Mexico as a State that enables rights to its inhabitants and Mexico as a community where inhabitants must offer loyalty besides the life.

*Presenter -Repeat all of you after me: Flag of Mexico. Legacy from our heroes. Symbol of the unity among our parents and our siblings. We promise [children rise right hand and point to the flag] to you to be always loyal to the principles of freedom and justice that make our fatherland an independent, human and generous nation at which we give our lives.*

*In standing position, now!- (Secondary school 15.09.2017)*

The spreading of the notion “us/they” is more marked within the core part of the ceremony. Children wearing a school uniform must stand up and sing in rows with their pair group and gender generating a sensation of uniqueness. The national anthem (Annex 1), as statement of independence emphasizes the distinctiveness putting the other in the sphere of strangeness and as a latent treat to the own security:

*But if stranger and foe in their boldness dare to tread on thy soil, they must perish, then, oh my country, this thought only cherish every son is but a soldier for thee.*

*War, war! There is no quarter to any who dare to tarnish the coats of arms of the country! War, war! Let the national banners be soaked in waves of blood.*

Another element that helps school civic ceremonies in the construction of us/they is the notion of the Mexico as a nation with previous foreign invasions, cosmological approach to the past is founded, or at least, essentially marked by the Spanish invasion as it is the principal topic of Independence Day celebrations like it is depicted in the dramatization of the Spanish conquest of Tenochtitlan in primary school, the independence war against Spain or the dance about the “total history” of Mexico.

*Sub-head teacher takes the microphone and explains the performance: the first [period of Mexican history], thousands and hundreds of years before the Spanish invasion. The second, from the arrival of Spaniards to the valley of Oaxaca in 1521 to 1950. And the third one, from 1950 to the present time. [Secondary school 15.09.18]*

In sum, the national identity that school tries to imprint in the new generations is imbedded in a logic where abuses of memory might proliferate (Ricoeur 2004: 110-111). This official national identity that at the same time is communitarian (school) is based on a foundational violence where

the other is always a threat and it is in conflict with the notion of the past time (as we analyzed in the previous section), the perception of the present and the projection of the future.

Talking about the side of the children, to the question about the meaning of “being a Mexican” [question a)/Annex 5 discussion group] Manuel [12 y./1°s.] answered that it means to pay respect to patriotic symbols and to eat Mexican food, for Bernardo [13 y./2°s.] it means to have a nationality and Eduardo synthetizes that one thing is related to law and the other thing to traditions.

9 children rejected and 3 confirmed that they may “give their life for the flag” [Annex 6 question b)]. Manuel reminds the story of the boy heroes, he hesitates about his answer but he - *would like to know how it feels- because -it is his flag-*.

Mauricio [15 y./3°s.] answered that he would gave his life because of the Mexican culture and history. While Gacer [13 y./2°s.] agrees in that because he *-loves the country-*, he *-was born [there], pays respect to traditions-* and his relatives live there.

The children that rejected this idea did not offer any argument. Manuel [12 y./1°s.] would not agree because he dislikes *-the president and the first lady-*. Georgina [14 y./3°s.] argued that in case of war, everybody would probably react and defend the country.

To the fragment from the national anthem [Annex 5 question c)]

*-when inscribed in the heavens [in Spanish is read “God”] eternal blessed peace for all the land thou dost see. But if stranger and foe in their boldness dare to tread on thy soil, they must perish, then, oh my country, this thought only cherish every son is but a soldier for thee-*

Children interpreted that all Mexicans’ fate is to be a soldier. Any of them agree with such statement with the exception of Manuel who repeats his rejection about the president.

All children manifested that god is not associated with “being a Mexican” but the word is presented in national anthem to give faith to the people [Gacer/13 y./ 2°s.] and, according to Georgina [14 y./3° s.], the anthem tries to explain history after Christ time.

Here we have that secondary school children are able to distinguish between the patriotic and the political discourse of civic ceremonies, what means to be a Mexican legally speaking and what means to be Mexican in the cultural way. The majority of them make clear his/her position in

regard to Here we have that secondary school children are able to distinguish between the patriotic and what they take from ceremonies as part of their national identity. According to the information of secondary school discussion, children may internalize and construct his national identity alongside their sense of belonging (Gacer) or their political assumptions (Manuel).

With the lack of the discussion group from primary school children, we can say that secondary school students' national identity is not necessarily marked by all the elements that school civic ceremonies try to transmit.

### **3.2.1 Flag**

By law, schools “must encourage the respect to the patriotic symbols and national institutions” (General Law of Education 1993: article 3°). The shield was not mentioned neither in children's discussion nor in interviews. As we saw in the analysis of the first category, and the information they manage about the national anthem is vague. What is noticeable is the presence of the flag as a symbol of nationality and how children associate it to further ideas.

In the first question of the interview 32 children mentioned the flag. For them the principal activities in CC [Annex 6 question a)] are “saluting”, “paying respect”, “honor” and/or “singing” to the flag. Moreover, the great majority considered that the main reason of the CC is because of the flag, for example “to love it”, “to respect it” or because “it represents the country”.

The associations to the flag are diverse, 12 children associated the flag to the country, its people, traditions, history and/or freedom. In this regard, we may say that the flag is a symbolic resource, a carrier of experiences (Zittoun and Gillespie 2015) that allows children to know other symbolic resources and the culture itself that in this case it would be the “national culture”. Moreover, the flag as symbolic carrier may provide sense to what surrounds it. This may be true

because from early education (kindergarten) children internalize the through ceremonies that are focused on it (flag anthem as welcome, farewell, oath to the flag, escort and so on).

For example, 10 of the youngest children of the sample (2°, 4° and 5°) considered that the reason to be standing up in rows by grade and gender [question e) and f)] was to make room to the flag in order that “it goes”.

Casimiro [6 y.] and Cony [8 y.] from 2° class:

I: Why children stand in rows?

*Con: to sing, we cannot sing if we are not in attention position and in rows.*

*Cas: In order to have space for the flag, they show the flag.*

I: Why boys and girls are separated?

*Cas: to give room to the flag.*

*Con: I do not know.*

David and Jorge [9 y. both/ intv 23] from 4° grade:

I: Why boys and girls are separated?

*J: in that way we don't make larger rows.*

Let's suppose we do short rows of boys and girls. It would be ok?

*Both: yes.*

So why teacher do not put them together?

*D: because the row would be larger.*

But we can do it as I told you, keeping short rows. Why they do not do like this?

*J: because it requires a lot of space and the flag cannot go through.*

*D: the same.*

The criteria about space is not present in any interview from secondary school, this could be related to the fact that the youngest children perceive “in a superficial way” ceremonies, they mentioned physical movements (see the first category of analysis) and visual elements to describe ceremonies while the oldest describe them in a more abstract way: to learn about “history”, “traditions”, how “freedom” was achieved and so on. Nonetheless, it is also possible that oldest children (secondary school) did not associate the distribution of people to the flag because the playground is much larger than primary school's one.

From school side, arts teacher's interview agrees with the idea that the distribution of children in the playground has the aim that children see and appreciate the flag. He compared the functions of flag as image for nationalism with the functions of a saint for religion.

*I think, it gives solemnity to the ceremony, bringing a flag through the whole space is "like a way to show the flag to students" in order that they feel that fervor, even related to (although it has nothing to do with).... With the religious tradition... it is similar to show a Saint. The flag is shown as a symbol that we must venerate and respect like it were a saint. In the Mexican people this tradition is deeply rooted, there is a syncretism between those images.*

What is the aim to distribute children in rows?

*We come back to the same. Firstly, it has a character of order and discipline, of space management.*

*It has the objective that the flag is surrounded by human beings that venerate it, it must be seen, otherwise is useless. Humankind and symbolism go together.*

This idea is clearer in the procession made in primary school as part of Independence Day celebration. Instead of carrying "San Judas Tadeo" from home to the church<sup>26</sup>, the school carried the flag through the community. The "divinity of the flag is so powerful" that escort children walking is not protected neither by the rope nor by adults like the rest of the students.

When sports teacher blows the whistle, children clap, march or shout something that I cannot understand, neighbors and people who are walking nearby look steady at them while they walk. Escort is in the very front, not covered by the rope... [Primary school 15.09 Independence Day]

In this regard Oscar and Ester [8 and 7y./3°p./intv 27] perceived the flag as a spiritual entity.

I: Why do you think they [CC] exist?

O: *Because they are important for the flag.*

Why?

O: *I don't know, I don't know... because, does it protect us?*

From what?

O: *from the terror... from stealing, from killing... just from that.*

E: *Because it takes care of us.*

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<sup>26</sup> San Judas Tadeo is the saint of the "difficult cases" and is popular in many communities in Mexico. Believers make a procession on the 28<sup>th</sup> of each month.

From what?

*E: From the hurricane, it takes care of us from everything with [related to] god.*

Ivan gave a similar approach:

I: What does the oath speak about?

*That we never disrespect the flag.*

Just that?

*Yes*

What would happen if you don't respect the flag?

*It would be a punishment for you, if you disrespect it.*

Like what?

*Punishment... for example that you will not doing it well in job and at school.*

Thus, flag may encompasses the historical and religious origin of civic ceremonies and in the end, the religious origin of nationalism which predecessor in Mexico was the cult for Guadalupe's Virgin.

### **3.2.2 Escort**

Children give multi-referential meanings to the flag that can go beyond the national identity and even to the school application. Staying in the school sphere, an obliged association is the escort, the meaning that school provides to escort children and how children perceive it whether or not they participate in it. As I described in the introduction, those who have the "honor" to carry the flag wear a special outfit that can be totally different from the school uniform or only some extra accessories, among them the white gloves are important as they conserve the purity of the flag.

For being part of the escort, by school rules children must achieve the highest marks and show "a magnificent" behavior. In most of the cases, not all children who are there is because of their merits. As I have seen in my experience as teacher and as Quezada Ortega (2006) points out, children might be selected for other reasons such as their economical position, color of the skin, as a favor for their parents and so on.

Teachers [Annex 4] considered escort as a main element of the ceremonies and the school in general<sup>27</sup> in the education sense due to the merits that children must accomplish to win a place. Spanish teacher said that escort's function is to carry and show the flag. Arts teacher said that it was inherited from Independence war and it gives solemnity to ceremonies, besides he compares civic ceremonies with catholic ones and considers the flag as substitute of the adoration of saints, in both cases, it enhances fervor.

Sub-head teacher considered that escort has the "custody of the symbols" and represents the country in a symbolic way. He argues that it is a group that can reflect inclusion in the school because in past years some children were selected without having the highest averages; nonetheless, he says that this school year they select them in the traditional way. Finally, supervisor teacher said that it transmits "values of discipline" and children can achieve a place in it if they make the effort.

On children side, their opinion is close to the teacher's. The majority gave relevance to the educational sense of being in the escort. Almost everyone mentioned that in order to be there they must have a high average in notes during their studies. Only two children would not like to be part of it.

Why does escort exist?

*V: Because there is a flag for salute.*

If we take it off?

*V: we would not salute to the flag.*

Would you like to take part in escort?

*V and E: Yes!!*

(Their voice tone raises and facial expression shows excitement)

Why?

*E: To carry the flag.*

*V: because we parade in front of all children.*

Why you would like to carry it Ernesto?

*E: I would feel very "cool".*

Why you want to parade in front of all children Vania?

*V: to be close to the flag.*

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<sup>27</sup> It was not possible to interview primary school teachers thus, we do not have their opinions on escort nor on the war band.

I suggested to some children to take off escort and asked what they would do without it. Some answered that without the escort it is not possible to show the flag in spite that there is a pole for such purpose in the playground. Others considered that it would not be any ceremony, organization in students or no respect to the “patriotic symbol” (flag). One student said that in case of lacking an escort, teachers would be authorized to carry the flag, if there were no teachers, children would be authorized to carry it, from the older to the younger ones. The relevance that children gave to escort is not the same for the war band, that in spite of its functions as background music, accompanier of orders and a kind of “rhythm” to the ceremony; it is not valued in the same way.

I: Why there is a war band?

*In order that they play the songs.*

If we take off the war band what could happen?

*Nothing.*

If we take off escort what could happen?

*We would not have the patriotic symbols.*

In interviews, children do not mention the requirements for taking part in the war band. Nonetheless, usually who take part of it are the stragglers of the school system, they do not achieve the minimal of the so called “academic progress [aprovechamiento]”, and sometimes they are the troublemakers of the school. To the suggestion of taking war band off the majority considered that it would not be an issue, although the only time war band was missing, the ceremony progress has its difficulties.

14:00 bell rings, anyone takes a position in main ground as it always had happened. 3° teacher talks by microphone -*Children, please come to the playground and stand in attention position-*.

Gradually but with some chaos, children make the box shape. Still noise of voices. Teacher asks to each teacher to rise his/her hand -*do not break balloons-* she shouts to children. There are dozens of balloons tied to the tubes that surrounds the main ground made to hold the canvas that cover children against sun.

The only signal to begin flag anthem is the singing of the teacher who leads. She sings aloud, children sing. Escort begins promenade, the flag crashes against line of balloons and children collide one to each other, they stop, do the line again, girl with flag carries it differently, it looks like it is heavy, they reach the center (Primary school 15.09 Independence Day)

Therefore, despite children mentioned the educational sense as the principal criterion for being part of the escort, in case that they take away the escort, what covers relevance is the flag: without flag, there is not ceremony.

In the random sample of interviewees, there were 4 children from both escorts. Adriana [11 y./6°p./intv 10], primary school standard-bearer considers escort important because of the difficulty to be there, they must have a high academic average. She says that she feels proud to be there and that every child is intelligent but just those who put a lot of effort in studies, can take part.

Juli3n [11 y./6°p./intv 12] from primary school escort asserts that he does not know why there must be an escort and he is not sure about the number of children in it but he says escort serves as example of effort and high academic average for other children and being part of the escort is a position of respect that other children would not have. Vanessa [11 y./6°p./intv 14] the side position member of the standard-bearer says that escort gives meaning to the flag and to be there it is required academic preparation and responsibility.

Wendy, the secondary school standard-bearer [14 y./3°s./intv 1] intervention is a good example where the flag, CC and national identity are together. She considers escort important because children take the role of representors of the country, for her Mexico is solidary nonetheless she would like to live in USA because “there are more opportunities” out there.

I: What is done during civic ceremonies?

*Listening, saluting the flag and knowing what happens during each month (anniversaries announcements).*

I: Why do you think they exist?

*To have “a better value”.*

What do you mean?

*To respect more the flag and to know Mexico and to love it.*

Do you love more Mexico after ceremonies?

*I like the country, and the solidarity. I was not born here. I was born in Atlanta [USA] and people there is different. After ceremonies I appreciate more the flag.*

When did you arrive?

*When I was a toddler.*

Have you come back there?

*No.*

What nationality do you prefer?

*I like more the north-American one.*

Why?

*Because when I get older I can have more opportunities of work or study there than here.*

Although her position in the escort is the principal one and she is proud of it, ceremonies are sometimes boring and tiring.

I: Who would cancel ceremonies?

(4 children rose hands)

Mauricio: *For me it is boring.*

Wendy (14): *I would!*

Bernardo: *And who will carry the flag?* [Wendy is the standard-carrier of the escort].

(Laughs)

Wendy why you would remove it?

Wendy (14): *Because sometimes is boring and tiring.*

With such declaration, we may confirm that national identity is not necessarily related to the civic ceremonies.

To the children that were asked whether or not they want to be part of the escort, only 2 children rejected, one said that is “a lot of responsibility”. The rest of the children agreed that they would like to participate in the escort because they can be looked by others, march, dress like them, carry the flag or show that they achieved high academic average.

Besides the fact that the escort is the protector of the flag or better to say that it is the authorized and privileged to touch it, its symbolic functions condensates partially the *national habitus*: moral values, aesthetical perspectives, behaviors and schemes of thinking (cultural memory, notion of the time) that civic ceremonies attempt to imprint in children. This habitus serves as the same time for the purposes of the school.

In addition to what I have described as part of the national habitus that escort represents, other axiological and behavioral concerns that have to do with national identity that children should fulfill are those related to the place of CC in the educational project [Annex 4 question b)]. According to teachers, in first instance CC provide identity (question a)) but also CC educate children in moral values, civism and ethics. Sub-head teacher considers that the main moral value that CC promote is respect to beliefs, to the other, to oneself and principally to differences that children have between them. Supervisor considers that it depends always on the way they are recovered inside classrooms and demands that teachers must retake CC elements in lessons due to she considers it is not done in that way.

Furthermore, it is important to not forget that according to a fragment in the discussion group and to several interviews, children associate ceremonies to a behavioral display set related to body control and management that is also part of the habitus of the school day.

At the end, despite any of the 38 children (Annex 6) remembered the moral value of the month and teachers do not answer about it (Annex 4 question b)) they are aware about the values that are demanded by civic ceremonies and the moral values that the school requires, playing the role as model to children, as all of them (with the exception of 2) answered.

### **3.3 Research question: What is the role of school civic ceremonies in children's national identity formation?**

Mexican law states that school is responsible for “foster[ing] the love for the fatherland” (Mexican United States Politic Constitution, §3, 05.02.1917) and “strengthen[ing] the awareness for nationality and sovereignty, appreciation for history, its patriotic symbols and national institutions” (General Education Law, §7, 1993). One of the ways for such purpose is to “pay honors to the national flag on Mondays [...] at the beginning and ending of school year” (Law of the nation shield, flag and anthem §15, 1984) and all those days “declared as solemn for the nation” (Ibid).

Although it is not a rule that these laws are of the teachers' domain or knowledge, they set ceremonies as a tradition with the same objective to provide national identity to the new generations as Quezada Ortega points out (2006) and as we can see in the teachers' interviews (Annex 4). In this last chapter we discuss to what extent this is factual.

National identity formation is a complex of elements that are juxtaposed each other, it is influenced by child's internalization and school and encompasses national cultural memory, the construct of nation, the construct of us/other and a national habitus.

Teacher may foster the national identity with a varied set of discursive contents through civic ceremonies in order to introduce to children those historic-mythical events, characters, axiological appreciations and behavioral dispositions that every Mexican “must poses”. Nevertheless, what it is true is that the gap between what is attempted and what is internalized or the semiotic mediation between the teachers and students is not achieved, at least, it is not observable before the end of secondary school education.

Besides the exhibition of symbolic resources in a constantly repeated ritual, the literacy of national identity through ceremonies is based mainly on memorization of contents: anthems, oath and historic and mythical events. Despite children in interviews recognized in these elements the origin and characteristics of the conventional term of nation we cannot say that they internalize them in their knowledge of the past. Children mixed events and confused characters from very different contexts. Only a couple of children remembered a couple of words of an event that was commemorated during that school year, in the first three ceremonies of this research; nonetheless, they could not mention the relevance of that even, nor its reasons or consequences. Moreover, the teachers considered all these elements from ceremonies relevant in different degrees but at the same time they accept that children are not able to understand them.

On the other hand, according to what has been discussed with secondary school kids, it is true that they can speak about their idea of what does it mean to be a Mexican and that they have internalized this notion along with their own experiences, emotions and sense of belonging. We can even presume that also their political thinking plays a role here. Furthermore, they mentioned that being a Mexican carries both notions of national membership, citizenship and traditional roots.

However, as the discussion as a whole may suggest, the intervention of the standard-bearer in it and the opinion of participants of escorts, this sense of belonging, emotions, experiences and construction of national membership are not part of the performance of civic ceremonies at all.

Children from elementary and secondary school know what they must do during civic ceremonies but they do not know the purposes and reasons of what institution demands for them, as it is defended by teachers. This circumstance shows that teachers' intentions are unfruitful either in the internalization of the national identity and the encouragement of moral values, with the former, teacher integrate CC in the educational project of the school.

Talking about the moral topic that we can contemplate as part of the national habitus, some children made mention of it and associated moral values such as "respect", "love", "honor", "pride", "solidarity" and/or "loyalty" to a set of behavioral attitudes that they are obliged to display during ceremonies such as being "quiet", in "silence", in "order", "calm" and/or to exhibit a certain body management. Conversely, in the discussion group and observations, children keep a continuous resistance against this habitus. This is reflected in the difficulties to maintain attention, the lack of interest, and sometimes a total rejection.

Children may resist to the rules of civic ceremonies but those rules are established by the adults. This means that the resistance is reduced to the fact that children cannot play other rules (Berger and Luckmann 2015), only those ones; therefore, habitus is imprinted in all its dimensions and beyond the school as models of social understanding. This is evident in the opinions of kids [Annexes 6 and 5] about the distribution of people by hierarchy, age and gender. However, given the characteristics of this work, it is not possible to offer a further analysis in this topic.

As I already mentioned, children are aware of the function of the ceremonies, the great majority considered that they are made to pay honors to the national flag. Although they did not mention “national identity” at any moment they associated the flag with elements related to it as we see in 4.2.1. A minority, principally the oldest children associated them to knowledge of the past or cultural memory (4.1) and another important group associated ceremonies to the display of different behaviors related to order and control.

### **3.3.1 Boy Heroes**

In addition to the analysis of the associations that children made about the flag (3.2.1), there is one which looks outstanding in the results. In spite that there is nothing that may refer to boy heroes in anthems, oath or any other part of the core of the ceremony<sup>28</sup> they were present in the results of this research. In discussion group of secondary school a child opened this topic, the side of primary school, 9 children from 4° to 6° classes mentioned them and their story was one of the main performances during Independence Day celebrations.

If there is a possible foundational mythology with overtones of history that might be present in children collective memory is the myth of the boy heroes. The myth itself depicts all the elements that compound national ideology: the idea of nation, the construction of us/they and a moral values of the ideal Mexican.

*Narrator: Many years ago, in 1847, exactly inside the castle of Chapultepec was the military school. There were brave young boys who were studying. They used to share rooms, games and overall moral values such as respect and honesty.*

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<sup>28</sup> There is a very brief mention about them in the text book of history for 5° grade. Children may have knowledge about them because of the commemorations of the Independence Day celebrations of past years.

Two groups of 3 children each walk to the front while they hug each other, in the center they greet each other by hand and go away from scenario.

*-This young boys wanted to make a career in the army: Juan de la Barrera, Juan Escutia, Agustín Melgar, Fernando Montes de Oca, Vicente Suárez and Francisco Marqués- each character marches to the front, does the military salute with the hand on the front head and marches back with the rest of children.*

*An evening in 3<sup>rd</sup> of September 1847, "with the flag at full-mast", it happened something unexpected, from a far area it could be heard a noise that paralyzed of the inhabitants of the castle, immediately a bugle plays and a soldier shout...- some children from the group go to the center, make a line and kneel. [Independence Day celebration]*

The plot, as I know it from my school student years is simple. 6 children confronted the USA army in the castle of Chapultepec, symbolic center of the concentration of political power since pre-Hispanic history. One of the kids took the national flag, wrapped himself and threw himself from the highest point of the castle. The result, USA army was not able to take possession of the flag and the sovereignty of the country got saved from interventionism. All of the children "died for the fatherland".

Manuel [12 y./1°s] in the discussion said:

*Manuel (12): like the cadets, the boy heroes, the cadet Juan Escutia or I do not know exactly. But one of them gave his life for the flag. But some people say it was an accident, it is said that he stepped on the flag and fell.*

*They fought in Chapultepec and they risked their life to save the flag.*

In interviews, the associations offered by children are related principally to independence of Mexico although the battle of Chapultepec took part almost 40 years later and in very different historic contexts. However children agreed that it is just a myth.

*Manuel: He was drunk [the one who threw himself].*

(Laughs, then silence that I interpret as uncomfortable)

*Manuel: it is also possible that he felt desperate, if you see that everyone is shooting you probably prefer to throw yourself to the emptiness (in the history of boy heroes, the boy who saved the flag, had to throw himself to the ground from the highest point of the Chapultepec's Castle).*

*Georgina: You would do it in order to save your fatherland.*

Who of you considers that the country was saved just with avoiding that North Americans took the flag?

(No one raises her/his hand).

Any of you do not consider this is true?

(Several children raise hands).

In the foundation where secondary school is, the performance of this myth was offered by the 3° class of the elementary school. The attention of the audience was focused on the drama and even the children from 2° class (from where I was standing) were arguing about whom they identify with.

Two children in front of me discuss about the facts, one is confused about who is Juan Escutia (they say, “the one who threw himself away”), another child explains. The first one says: *I am the first boy hero*.

The actors make rows and march through the scenario with the flag while piano music that looks childish to me is being played.

Meanwhile, I can hear children who are fighting about “who is the first one” in relation to the boy heroes. The discussion ends when one child agrees to be not Juan Escutia but other who is hanging the flag with the protagonist.

Almost at the end of the promenade that actors are doing a child shouts “Viva México” and others follow him. The number of followers turns such large that their teachers screams to them *hey! It is not time yet*. I am not sure if children got confused about the moment they must shout “Viva Mexico” (in the representation of Independence War) or if they were feeling “such a patriotism” with the theater play that they followed the cheers. (Independence Day)

Without making more assumptions due to the lack of the discussion group, interviews to teachers and to the youngest children from the primary school, what I state as hypothesis is that the only content from CC that could be meaningful to children is the myth of boy heroes. At the end, memories are meaningful for a community if they “become part of artistic, emotionally laden ways of forming group identity and meanings” (Rodriguez and Fortier 2007:10).

In sum, with the exception of the construct of nation and the symbolism that the national flag may represent, children take just a few elements from civic ceremonies whereby they identify themselves as Mexicans. The construction of us/they that civic ceremonies offer are not necessarily internalized by them nor its habitus, at least to what identity formation regards. And civic ceremonies do not provide of meaningful contents that may play the role of cultural memory to children social identity.

For children, the influence of civic ceremonies may be more relevant in other spheres that are hard to analyze with the theoretical background of this work such as their functions as model systems of the social world, or their functions as model of perception of the social history.

The relevance of CC for children may be even further. They might be meaningful as far as they serve to resist the school system.

Bernardo: *it should be more dynamic instead of remember important dates. Now, one could ask any date, and anyone would not know it.*

Esmeralda: *it is a waste of time.*

I: Someone else?

(No answers).

I: Who would cancel ceremonies?

(4 children [out of 16] rise hand).

Mauricio: *For me it is boring.*

Wendy: *I would!*

Bernardo: *And who will carry the flag?* [Wendy is the standard-bearer of the escort].

(Laughs).

Wendy why you would remove them?

Wendy: *Because sometimes they are boring and tiring.*

Who definitely would not remove them?

(8 children rise their hand).

Does someone want to tell us why you would not remove them?

Santiago: *Because we lose class time.*

(Laughs).

Mauricio: *That is a reason why I would not remove ceremonies.*

Who from you would not remove them due to a different reason?

(No one answers).

Alberto: *I prefer to attend to ceremony instead of attending to English class.*

(Several children say “me too”).

## Conclusion

The thesis presented an empirical study of civic ceremonies at schools in Mexico. The principal objective of this work was to explore to what extent these ceremonies have impact in the way that children identify themselves as Mexicans focusing on their own point of view. Here there is presented the analysis of the results of a qualitative research conducted in a primary school and a secondary school. Results correspond to observations of 9 ceremonies, 38 interviews to children, 4 to teachers and a group discussion with secondary school children.

The theoretical framework is compounded by different concepts that offer explanation to the construct *national identity formation* as a phenomenon that depends on two factors: the way that school provides national education and the way that children learn through internalization. *National identity* is understood as a complex that encompasses a shared mental construction of nation, a national habitus, a double notion of community that distinguishes “us” from “they” and a cultural memory that carries symbols, historic events, characters and myths about the origin and constitution of the nation.

The analysis of the results is handled into two categories of analysis. One that deals specifically with the cultural memory that is promoted during ceremonies and the other that deals with the contents that children take from ceremonies to identify themselves as Mexicans.

The celebration of civic ceremonies do not guarantee what school is looking for, to foster national identity. This might be possible due to many reasons, what is taken into the discussion is that this might happen due to the lack of proper mediation between teachers and adults in the transmission of such information. Children know what they must do, to pay respect to the flag, but only a few comprehend partially the contents of the anthems and the oath despite their memorization. And none of them comprehend the national history that is tried to be thought in the complementary part of the ceremonies.

Children are able to define their national identity; nonetheless, this definition is not build on what they see in ceremonies; rather, on their own sense of belonging to the family sphere, community, and society; their personal experiences of traditions and even their own point of view about government.

On the other hand, the discussion points out that civic ceremonies might have other effects such as the way that children perceive the social world, or even the history of their country: cosmological, apolitical and asocial. Another effect could be totally the opposite that is proclaimed, the destruction of cultural memories by which individuals attach themselves as part of a community. For further researches it would be very valuable to take into account these side effects.

This work attempts to contribute in the current discussion in Mexican schools about the actions that must be taken regarding the civic ceremonies' contents and functions and to encourage the empirical research with emphasis in children's perspective in the field of semiotics of culture.

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## Annex 1 Anthems and Oath

<p><b>NATIONAL ANTHEM<sup>29</sup></b></p> <p><b>Coro</b>  Mexicanos, al grito de guerra  El acero aprestad y el bridón,  y retiemble en sus centros la tierra  Al sonoro rugir del cañón.</p> <p><b>I</b>  Ciña ¡oh patria! tus sienes de oliva  De la paz el arcángel divino,  Que en el cielo tu eterno destino  Por el dedo de Dios se escribió.  Más si osare un extraño enemigo  Profanar con su planta tu suelo,  Piensa ¡oh patria querida! que el cielo  Un soldado en cada hijo te dio.</p> <p><b>Coro</b></p> <p><b>II</b>  ¡Guerra, guerra sin tregua al que intente  De la patria manchar los blasones!  ¡Guerra, guerra! Los patrios pendones  En las olas de sangre empapad.  ¡Guerra, guerra! En el monte, en el valle  Los cañones horribles truenen,  Y los ecos sonoros resuenen  Con las voces de ¡Unión! ¡Libertad!</p> <p><b>Coro</b></p> <p><b>III</b>  Antes, patria, que inermes tus hijos  Bajo el yugo su cuello dobleguen,  Tus campiñas con sangre se rieguen,  Sobre sangre se estampe su pie.  Y tus templos, palacios y torres  Se derrumben con hórrido estruendo,  Y sus ruinas existan diciendo:  De mil héroes la patria aquí fue.</p>	<p><b>CORO</b></p> <p><b>IV</b>  ¡Patria! ¡patria! Tus hijos te juran  Exhalar en tus aras su aliento,  Si el clarín con su bélico acento  Los convoca a lidiar con valor.  ¡Para ti las guirnaldas de oliva!  ¡Un recuerdo para ellos de gloria!  ¡Un laurel para ti de victoria!  ¡Un sepulcro para ellos de honor!</p> <p><b>Coro</b>  Mexicanos, al grito de guerra  El acero aprestad y el bridón,  Y retiemble en sus centros la tierra  Al sonoro rugir del cañón.</p> <p><b>ANTHEM TO THE FLAG</b></p> <p>“Se levanta en el mástil mi Bandera.  como un sol entre céfiros y trinos  muy adentro en el templo de mi veneración,  oigo y siento contento latir mi corazón.  Es mi bandera, la enseña nacional,  son estas notas su cántico marcial.  Desde niños sabremos venerarla  Y también por su amor, ¡vivir!  Almo y sacro pendón que en nuestro anhelo  como rayo de luz se eleva al cielo  inundando a través de su lienzo tricolor  inmortal nuestro ser de fervor y patrio ardor.  Es mi bandera, la enseña nacional,  son estas notas su cántico marcial.  Desde niños sabremos venerarla  Y también por su amor, ¡vivir!”.</p>
<p><b>OATH TO FLAG (Secondary school ceremony 15.09.2017)</b></p> <p>Presenter -Repeat all of you after me: Flag of Mexico. Legacy from our heroes. Symbol of the unity among our parents and our siblings. We promise [children rise right hand and point to the flag] to you to be always loyal to the principles of freedom and justice that make our fatherland an independent, human and generous nation at which we give our lives.  In standing position, now!-</p>	

<sup>29</sup> A literal translation to English language of the whole anthem and a singable adaptation of the first two stanzas can be found in: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Himno\\_Nacional\\_Mexicano](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Himno_Nacional_Mexicano) [Retrieved 22.05.2018]

## *Annex 2 Pictures*



*Boy Heroes in the Battle of Chapultepec*



*Secondary school War of Independence*



*Primary school Procession*



*Primary school "La Bamba" dance*

### ***Annex 3 Civic ceremonies observations***

21.08.17

#### **Secondary School**

I arrive 15 minutes before 8. I noticed there is a crowd in front of the main door, the majority are adults (surely, parents). I recognize some workers through the wire-netting-made door of the parking lot and, when a very well acquainted opens the door, I say hello and ask permission to get it (it is not allowed to pass without a car).

Immediately, I say hello to a few teachers, they show facial gestures of surprise. I check in both head teacher's office to give advice about my arrival but I do not find anyone. I lead directly to the other opposite corner of school where is possible to see main corridor and main playground. I exchange some words with workers, a teacher asks me about life in Estonia and then he speaks about mother's death and difficulties in a relationship, we get close were the rows of children are made, I listen to him and tell him, <<I am going to take a spot close to parents>>. I thought I am not a teacher so I should not be close to children. At that time, I heard my name several times, said hello to some students and exchange words with 3. I worked with them around 5 years and I was trying to avoid as possible them, thinking that research could be biased.

Children and other people are standing, the form of congregation looks like a square box, it seems that limits are marked by the tubes-made structure that is used to cover part of the ground from sun and raining, but this time the cover is not put and it is not needed. The flagpole is behind secondary school children.

I stay at spot in the right low corner where I can see all groups. I am in the left side of all secondary schools students, in the right side of the low-elementary school and in the left-right side of high-elementary school.

Back music of the welcome-farewell flag anthem is turned on. Orders in the escort are given by the child who is in the left side of that who carries flag. This is the elementary school escort, secondary school's is not present.

Firstly, salutation to the flag "right hand on the chest, pointing to the heart" (and which shows a perpendicular line against the body in straight position), after escort order, a child who gives orders to the rest of people at school asks by microphone to salute flag, I attend the order. Escort (each step is verbal order) turns to the right, advance in "doubled step", turn left, advance in "short step" and turn right in order to look face to face to the low-elementary school children groups; this, at the time that anthem finishes.

Child with microphone asks to say the oath to flag and introduces two girls to say it by microphone; after that, with back music for national anthem, the great majority of people sing it. Is time to say goodbye to flag with same anthem; escort does almost the same to come back to the beginning point. When escort gets there, elementary school secretary takes flag to head teacher's office.

Child with the microphone welcome students and gives device to elementary school teacher who welcomes children too and wishes to have a "good school period". Then, she introduces the personnel of elementary school section, teachers take a place in the middle of the square (facing same position than escort's) in order of the grade they will teach, then "special lesson teachers" (physical education, dance, English, entrepreneurship and vegetables farming), and finally, clean workers. Secondary school head teacher takes microphone, welcomes and presents personnel. As long as teachers teach one or a few amount of subjects, it seems that they are introduced by any apparent order distinction.

For both introductions, children cheer and applause to teachers, few of them in an exciting way, others softly, in several occasions, SS children whisper each other when teachers walk to the center. The majority of personnel dress a jacket with Foundation logo, it is blue with gray and jeans.

After this, ES head teacher introduces a man who has been the whole time behind her, the other head teacher and 6<sup>th</sup> grade group, he dresses a gray suit and tie. He is the representor of the editorial who gives the donation of informatics books. ES head teacher asks a child from 2<sup>nd</sup> grade group to take a book as a "symbolic act" of receiving donation.

1<sup>st</sup> grade group goes where head teachers are and 6<sup>th</sup> grade children give a candy pop to each of them, they return to their spot with their teacher.

## Primary School

Arrived 10 minutes before 14:00.

What surprised me firstly was its “war band” and that it is made up by young children. The entrance is in the level of the upper platform, I sit in a corner where I see the majority of parents were; this, in order to be “out of the children space” and that I can observe.

There are 2 women (probably mothers) in the lower platform. I stare at 2 men that sit behind the basket blackboard, one of them has a trumpet; suddenly he stands up, plays trumpet and walks to the upper left corner, given the time, it seems it is the signal to start ceremony. I take advantage of the movement and I look for a place in the lower platform, I can watch better both spaces and children. In a few minutes, rows and the box shape is made. I take a spot in the lower right corner, just behind 4 grade children groups, in the same line are 3<sup>o</sup> to 6<sup>o</sup> grade children, in a perpendicular line, in the left side, 2<sup>o</sup> and 1<sup>o</sup>.

I see a man with a microphone, jeans, tennis and a sport jacket, I think that dressing code in traditional and public education has changed considerably. Some minutes later he asks who is *in silence*, and ask those who rise hands, he does the same 3 times, in the last one all children are *in silence*. *War band*, is settled, head teacher gets to the back side of the flag pole, where the man with microphone is. The latter asks to *stay in attention position* twice, then he turns his head where the majority of adults were, some children among them were also. He asks, in a second time he says <parents are the example of children, they *must give the civil values “to respect flag respects”*, properly>. Some who seemed to be sat or leaning against the wall stay in attention position.

Trumpets followed by percussions, play flag anthem. Escort is made up of 6 children, 4 in the front and 2 in the back, 4 girls and 1 boy. They walk through the playground in straight lines and some 45° turns until they reach the center of the playground, they look where the majority of children are.

The teacher with microphone recites the flag oath in divided sentences, children repeat. Teacher says “we” are going to sing the national anthem. War band starts. All children sing, at least I listen and see lips moving, the older children, who are alone move lips but I am not sure if they are really singing. National anthem ends followed by flag anthem. The same anthem but this time is for farewell the flag. Again, children sing out loud.

Teacher says that Ceremony is finished and welcome all children, he ask to *give the most major effort to achieve the success*. He gives microphone who head teacher.

Head teacher salutes children and asks if they are happy, he makes same questions until I can hear children shouting “we are happy”. Then he salutes parents, he changes his position to look at them and never change it again to children to the rest of his speech.

<<We have had the problem that not all children *achieve the maximum progress* (in Spanish *aprovechamiento* is used as “the way to take advantage of thing, specifically, food) and this school year we must achieve it, we ask you [to parents] to help us on this objective>>

Head Teacher talks about the quantity of children per group: they are not established 100% due to is possible that more children are register later.

He presents the personnel, first the head teacher secretary who <<makes everything possible, like that children are register in SEP (Ministry of Education)>> then another secretary, followed by teachers. All they are presented by their first name and the subject or group them will work with. After each teacher, some parents and children clap. Head Teacher presents the person in charge of cleaning, he says the way he hired her and why the last woman (who apparently lasted for a long time) arrived. He says to parents that they can count on her.

He finalized the meeting and ask children to go with their teachers to classrooms. Children in rows walk behind their teacher. At the end 3 groups are in the playground. I say hello (with hand) to head teacher, he says me that some teacher

live far. The teacher of a 2° grade arrives and ask children to follow her. The last 2 groups make a single line and walk to the stars with the lead of an adult that I have not seen in the presentation nor before.

28.08.17

### Secondary School

This time I must use public transportation to get to school, thinking of that is annoying. At the end, I spend around 2 hours, no traffic jams and it was not as bad as I expected and used to experience 3 years ago.

I arrive 15 minutes before 8:00. I know by a teacher, that school bus has not arrived and that is why school looks empty. Head teachers are not in their office. I heard that, given the fact that it rained the whole night and it is cold, ceremonies won't be celebrated at 8. I speak almost an hour with elementary school head teacher, among personal stuff and that she thinks the week at school has been very calm, as never before. She also says that behaviors and specially, dress code have "decayed" in public education schools given the fact that new reformation has provoked anger in teachers and those who have a place now after taking exams, are "untouchable". I ask about ceremony time, she calls to secondary school office and says they will have it at 9:30.

HT says to me that she is hearing that ceremony started. I get to main playground, they are doing sound proofs and say hello to me through microphone. I come back and walk to the corridor and get to the other side, I exchange some words with sports teacher, children are going to the playground from their rooms, at some point some children surrounded me I ask how they are, we exchange some words and I walk to the ceremony's place while they follow me, then, they take their place.

It is cloudy. I see for the first time their escort, they dress their sports uniform, anything special like the other escorts. The ceremony is leaded by the "tutor" of the 3 groups of the secondary school, he also teaches the subject "tutorship". The use of the space is the same, but this time it is only for secondary school (no one explained me that before, when head teachers and me settled the terms of my stay). 2° grade children in the lower side, 3° grade in the right side in front of the flag pole, 1° grade in the left side and teachers in the front, making a line, this time, just a few wear the foundation jacket but a similar dress code, jeans and a jacket, two or three a formal jacket and head teacher and "tutor" with a formal outfit.

Music starts, orders are being followed by escort children, they salute to the flag, and then tutor asks to the rest of attendees to do the same. Escort advances while anthem music is played, I notice that just a very few sing or move their mouth because I cannot listen anyone, but only whispering.

Escort reaches the center. The oath is leaded by a secretary, she has a slight mistake and it seems she faces some difficulties to say it by heart. I see 2° grade children that, instead of following the speech, they were some kind of mumbling.

The oath ends, *<We intone with respect our national anthem>* says Tutor. Music is on and Children sings, I do not do it, I do not feel the pressure of others.

Escort order to salute and leave is given, music on and tutor asks to salute also. Escort goes back with a similar routine but in this time they come back to the right upper corner where sports teacher is waiting, he receives the flag.

Tutor announces that *ephemeris* (anniversaries of historical facts or supposition of facts) will be given. These are held by teachers, by heart the mention those so called "official dates" (listed by government as national events): publication of General Law of Work and death of a woman who "was the wife" of a Mexican Revolution fighter, 1 about an international personality and one about a singer.

Then the "phrase of the week": "Gratitude is the most beautiful flower". Last person (sub-head teacher), says the *value of the month* which is also gratitude. He points that gratitude is an action of offering without waiting anything and that it should not have any economic interest. People applause.

*< We give ceremony as "finished", you (children) are at your teachers' disposal>* closer children to me from 2° grade stare at me and one asks me if they go with me cause "their" teacher is not there, tutor arrives and asks them to go to take the lessons. I walk behind the multitude, I ask sub head teacher and sports teacher about the color of children's

tennis, they say that the restriction was taken away since the last school year. Sports teacher tells me that he has some material to give me, he gives the flag to a child and asks that he keep it in head teacher's office. He gives me a manual of Civic Ceremonies process and sends me a manual of "civics events", both documents are almost the same, they are edited by education minister and highlight the way CC should be leaded. He says that one of the books is not published anymore because "they" want to through away CC, I ask and he says that SEP (Education Ministry), I ask to specify the organism, and he does not have an answer. Sub head teacher asks if that information is true, Sports teachers confirms and Sub makes a happy expression.

I make some notes and walk through the corridor, exchange some words with a few people from personnel. At 10:00 elementary school ceremony starts.

I stand in almost the same position than last 2 ceremonies there. I am behind 1° grade children. *<distance by times 1, 2... 1,2...>* 1° grade teacher asks, this in order than children separate from each other by the distance of their arms in front-back relation, apparently they do not know although they raise hands on 1 and 2, teacher says repeatedly that the front line children do not *take distance*. The rest of groups seem to be ready.

Same instructions: salutation to flag from escort children, and then the rest. Children sing flag anthem, A boy from 1° marches smoothly, like imitating escort? I wanted to detect in what extent 1° grade sing this anthem, at least everyone have their hand on and their lips moving.

During the oath, in first grade, the majority of children do not rise the hand although I heard they recite it (someone declaims while the rest must repeat).

National anthem is sung, I do not sing again. Escort children wear a red vest, white shirt, boys a tie and girls a ribbon. They salute flag, then teacher asks the same for the rest. 1° and 2° grade teacher ask children to salute. Escort comes back while flag anthem is song. Same child marches and is followed by a child who is behind, their teacher do not notice.

Historical events information is given by some children from 5° class, all children from the class stand in the front with their teacher, the majority of them do not have any way of participation. The front line children carry drawings on paper allusive to the event, these are the same than in secondary school: General Law of Work publication, fighter's wife death 1 international personality but also "grand parents' day" and a famous Mexican singer death. While children with drawing walk inside the box in order to show them, the majority of children from the left side do not watch, I am not sure about 3° grade but in 2° and 1°, several children make an expression of surprise.

The value of the month is said by school prefect *<we must speak about "Punctuality", month is close to finish but we will continue with this value the next month. It is important you get on time in the morning, before "the ringing"... you should take into account your outfit, it is important to have hygiene...>*. Whispering is increasing, attention of children and even adults appears to change the focus, they turn, speak with other and some teachers ask them to put attention.

Head teacher says that ceremony is finished. *<<half a round by times 1, (children shout "golpe": the action to step strongly against the ground), 2 (they shout "turning"), 3 ("stand in attention position")>>* says HT. The order is repeated. Children groups goes to their classrooms, apparently, without any special order.

## Primary School

I arrive at 13:40 but I pass through the school 40 minutes before to go home and I hear drums and trumpets, war band rehearsal. Rehearsal has finished, some adults, apparently the parents, sit on the side walk, fence or on the cement structure built around a tree which seems more comfortable because it has the height of a regular bench. Some children are playing a game called "Stop".

Children stand on a circle drawn on the playground and divided like cake pieces. Every child represents a country. A child should say *I declare the war against my worst enemy which is:...* Then, he/she says a country and the country must stay while the rest run as far as they can, that one in the circle step on its center and every must freeze, then he selects a country and calculates the steps he needs to reach it, if he is right, the country has a slight punishment, usually funny and easy to manage (a joke, tell a secret, kiss other on cheeks or hug, etc.); if he is not right in the answer, he receives the punishment. To begin again, the punished declares the war to other.

In this game, children are not countries but animals what surprises me. They do it several times. At the same time, there are a few children running, 2 playing with a ball and regular students are coming inside school. Then some children cross the bench to the green area, they are looking for a ball, nobody seems to notice it, it seems that there are sometimes where institutionalization rests. I do not say anything (as it would be expected, being an adult) due to the fact that they are not running any risk, it would be prohibited for them but that is not my responsibility.

The guy with trumpet plays and everything seems to change suddenly, rows are starting to be made, and games are gradually ending. At 13:50 escort starts to rehearse. Trump plays again and children attention is deeper, it is 14:00, rows are made fast, I stand on the lower left corner, behind 3<sup>o</sup>B grade children. The first to take total position are escort and war band children, I do not listen clearly the trumpeter but he says some things and makes some movements, after a movement, children stroke once or twice drums, make a loud step and/or make a sound with their arms against their chest or the outer side of their legs.

Groups that seem totally ready, silent and on the expected positions are 1<sup>o</sup> and 2<sup>o</sup>. School alarm rings but ceremony does not yet. Back packs that were on the ground now are hanging from children's backs, they look quite bigger in comparison to the last ceremony, probably now they carry with the full school work stuff.

I want to be sure that the group in front of me is 3<sup>o</sup> grade, I ask teacher, then we start talking about the high of children, for both, they seem to be shorter than normal, all of them from the lower line (3<sup>o</sup> to 6<sup>o</sup> grade), she says that feeding must influence it.

A child begins to cry, apparently without any reason. Some children try to consolate and also ask about the cause, one calls teacher, she gets close and hug him, asking the same, boy does not answer at all, then teacher asks if he didn't want to come to school, he nods but cries still not aloud, not too much.

This time there are too less adults than in the last ceremony, I think they are the same people than past days, war band parents. I see that war band children have different uniform, I ask to teacher if some of them are from the morning session, she does not know and a child of her group says that they are, because the uniform is not the same from afternoons (it is blue, not red), then teacher confirms information and says that she didn't realize it.

Escort salutes, teacher with microphone asks to salute, war band plays. Escort advances from upper left corner, turn in "short step" advance in "redoubled step" and gets to the center. Their dress code is quite similar than the other elementary school, red vests, tie and ribbons, girls red skirts; black shoes everyone. This time I take into account their sex, 1 boy and 5 girls, boy is in the last position, with a girl in his left side, the rest make a line in front, in this case, the girl who gives orders is in the right corner and flag carrier is in 2<sup>o</sup> place from left to right. Child who is still crying a bit, neither salutes nor sings, teacher does not notice.

Head teacher gets behind 2<sup>o</sup> grade children, he says with a firm voice and enough loud that I can listen approx. 10 meters away with some noise from voices and war band <<*we are in attention position... we are saluting... we are in attention position*>> Their teacher has not arrived. Back packs looks bigger than children, at least they have more volume than children's trunks.

The oath is leaded by teacher with microphone, everybody repeats the sentences and rise right hand when they are asked to do so.

<<*With a lot of respect, we intone the national anthem*>>. Children sing but I see that they look to several points different from the flag or the front as it is expected. It gives me the impression that they move their lips and/or sing mechanically.

War band plays flag anthem right after national anthem music. Children who are in the upper platform with adults do not stand nor salute, I think they are from the morning session and they are waiting for their siblings from War band, but they do wear afternoon session uniforms. The child stopped his tears and is saluting flag, he does not sing.

There are no presentations about historic events in the end. Teacher with microphone say that ceremony finishes. Escort that has arrived to the beginning point goes behind, then war band, groups go without any apparent order, 2 or 3 minutes later there are still 3 children groups in the playground, their teachers have not arrived yet. 6<sup>o</sup> grade children sit and wait on the upper platform 2<sup>o</sup> (with head teacher) stand 2 rows as well as 3<sup>o</sup> one (boys and girls separated). 14:15, 3<sup>o</sup> grade teacher arrives and ask children to follow her to classroom, I do not see teachers of the other 2 groups but they walk to the building stairs.

I say hello to head teacher who was saying to a sheep that is in the green area to go and eat, as he were a child (I have heard on camp that this is quite normal), I did not notice before that time about the sheep. Head teacher say just hello, anything else like last times, I ask “¿Qué tal?” (Formal way but not too solemn of “what’s up”) he, with a certain voice intonation, like trying to complain, says that teacher who has not arrived was the responsible of the Ceremony (and of course historical events presentation). He says that teacher lives far but <<what we can do?>>. I ask if it is possible to have the information about number of children per group to make the sample for interviews and discussion group, he asks me to go with secretary.

I go to her office, all 3 times before I tried to speak with her, she shown herself as not available and rejects information. This time is the first time she looks at my eyes to talk, although it seems she and teacher in front are very busy, she asks me how can she helps me, and without any question she gives me the information I need. I consider this change is given after we met in supervisor office and she told her what I am doing here.

1°A	26 it could be more later	1°B	26		
2°A	28	2°B	24	2°C	26
3°A	29	3°B	28	3°C	27
4°A	34	4° B	31		
5°A	36	5°B	36		
6°A	31	6°B	31		

4.09.17

### Secondary School

I arrive 2 minutes before 8:00. It is raining so I work on children’s list for group discussion and interviews. I write the permits for parents and talk with head teachers and general head teacher for 3<sup>rd</sup> time to settle the way and time I will apply these techniques.

It is 12 pm and I leave school to get on time to the next one. In this, is it possible the do ceremony later or another day, depending on the weather.

### Primary School

13:40 children outside, close to main door, I try to open it but it is closed from inside. I see the same teacher I talked with last time, she somehow open the door, I get closer but all children and their parents are rejected <<it is not open>> says abruptly a woman.

13:50 door is open, a crowd of children looks like they were released from a cage, running from the street into the school. Inside it is almost empty, children who seem to be from *war band* are running, some parents are talking, I recognize 2 of them from parties at my teens, that’s why I am sure that at least 2 children from war band. I do not look at them but to the main playground. The teacher I saw outside is sitting in the corner, she looks quite less energetic that last times, I get close, I say hello formally, she answers, I go and sit a bit further. 13:54 children from 2° and 1° grades are already standing in rows, the rest of children are doing different things, running, sit, standing and looking at surroundings. I saw some children than use the lines of the ground as signs of something: some of them use them lanes to do running competition and other use circles as basement of some kind of game.

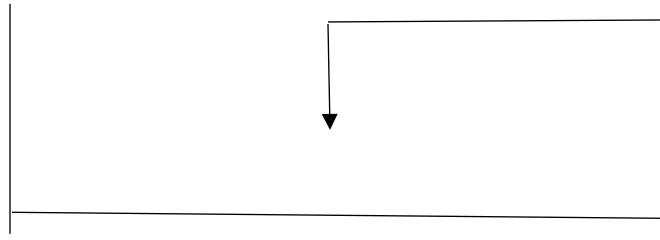
I go and stand close to the smallest children, 3 of the 4 groups have a teacher. I sit behind the group that has not I try to know further how they get in lines without someone who orders it, as expected. I boy turns his head, he sees me and I say hello, he answers, I ask about their teacher and he says she is on the door (main school door).

I get closer to the entrance/exit point of the escort, I try to be not too notorious but I do not sit. In front of me are children from escort standing, sights to different directions, 2 or 3 meters further there are the children from the war band with their instructor, he calls them by the name of their instruments “bugles”, “drums”, he yells at bugles 13:59 trumpet (instructor) plays the signal of beginning, escort children look directly to their front.

At my right, low elementary school children and at my left a few adults, they are in an upper ground, that section of the school is hidden from a further sight by a structure (around 2 meters high) where water tanks are (1000 liters).

14:00 *bell rings*. The female teacher on microphone ask *distance by times* and counts, children rise hands, children of 1° and 2° move hand but they do not move in order to “keep the distance”.

Flag anthem. Trumpet gives the order to start, war band children follow. Escort does its promenade:



Children sing. The bugles and drum ensemble seem to have slight difficulties. They are organized according to their high, it seems that sex is not taken into account, just high. Two lines: in front 8 children with drums, behind 7 children with bugles. Instructors counts aloud <<1... 1... 1...>> it seems like they have a compass on 6 times, I am not sure. With the exception of 2, children follow the timing bending the left knee.

National anthem. In front, of the box, the presidium is constituted by children from a 5° grade group. They are the only who are not in standing position but leaning, with the support of their blended elbows, on a concrete structure. Teacher give microphone to a girl who recites the oath to the flag.

<<With the same respect we intonate the anthem to our “patriotic labarum”>> ceremony leader says.

Commemoration of historical events. Children from presidium get ready, in line, every children says a calendar day with an event information by microphone and do a short promenade on the ground center with his/her drawing, principally they are faces, because of their anniversary or a work they made, and a few images of places. The creation of the national bank by the president of that time, Reformation of Laws against church, inauguration of metro by another president, color TV invention (by a Mexican and it used to be a patriotic date due to that), German invasion to Poland and Japan revolution. All children gives the information learned by heart, most of them are hard to understand, there is not voice intonation differences and at some points volume is very low, a child forgets information totally, he walks away with his drawing. The last boy says <<the revolution of the soup>> (Japan is “Japón” in Spanish and soup is “jabón”), some children from audience laugh but presenter seem like he does not get his mistake. It appears to me that there is not comprehension by them about what they say by heart. After every child, a man who works in the secretary office of the school, takes a photograph, I remember that at first meeting they told me they take pictures as an evidence to the Ministry of Education.

Teacher with microphone asks an applause for children who are stand in the center. She asks to children that, given the fact that it has been raining, they <<cannot run, cannot stay in main playground because they can be injured>>. Then she says, by group and teacher, who can go to their classroom, first groups to advance are those from the corners until the last ones in the middle. A teacher advances in front of *his* group and ask them to stay in line and take distance to each other, these 3 times then they walk after he asks to walk over a white like. Another teacher walks without any apparent “order”, she talks with children from the front and children from the rear follows, and also they exchange some words. If I compare these two group of children, the second one look quite more comfortable and able to follow the teacher by their own will, just a perception. 14:18, 3 minutes after ceremony, a group of children are still standing with those big backpacks.

I do not see head teacher. I go to supervisor teacher to say hello and ask about the place to do the group discussion and possible difficulties with interviews. Nobody is in the office. I go to head teacher office and he is not there either, he did not come. I say hello to a woman who sits in front of the head teacher’s secretary and ask if she has any inherence on children, I think I was kind of rude. She kindly tells to me that I can bring children to a room in front of that office and I just need to ask the teachers.

In comparison to the other school, I do not need any permit more than teachers' on children, apparently.

05.09.17

### Secondary School

I arrive at 9:30 as it was the agreement with Secondary School Head Teacher (SSHT) by whatsapp. I say hello to everyone in the office. She says that the person in charge of ceremonies is not at school and will arrive an hour later. I ask her to about the permit I wrote for parents in relation interviews and group discussion. She says that she needs the *order* from General Head teacher, fact that she has not mentioned before. I wait some minutes outside reading, I see General head teacher coming, at the time I see her alone I run to her office, she is talking with personnel there, I say hello and remember her about my research, I say I have the permits (she said before she will do them by herself) and that Secondary school head teacher just needs her an order to deliver them. She nods, I thank and go with SSHT.

She says that probably it would not be any ceremony, she does not give a reason and she says that they will have it just in order that I observe. I say that they do not need to change their dynamics just because of me, I try to be clear and do not say anything more. She wonders if it would be any problem and I repeat the same. I say that we can arrange children permits.

I wrote the text for permit a day before, as she asked, beholden by Secondary School. She wants that I tell my full name to add it in permits. I do not add any academic tittle, she wonders if it is ok to add "Bachelor" (in colloquial language, "bachelor" is a "bachelor in law" which gives more authority than a higher degree in many contexts). I said that my simple name is Ok.

She and I go to each classroom to ask teachers for their students. Outside I explain them what I am doing at school and ask if they want to participate, all of the say that they do.

10:30 and person in charge has not arrive, I look at breaks of elementary school children. In 2 football fields they are playing, others are running. Some children get closer to say hello and/or hug, I ask how they are doing. Most of the children ask me if I am working there and/or if I am coming back, I answer "no", if they ask further questions I say the reasons of my stay there. I ask a child, to confirm, if he is in first secondary school grade, he tells me that he is in the 1° of elementary school. I follow the game. Then he fails at information and accepts he is in secondary school. I ask about their brothers and so on.

It is around 11:00 and I am ready to leave. Responsible of ceremony is coming. He and SSHT are talking, then she asks to him <<Will we have ceremony? I think it is not needed>>,<<If we do not have it, children would say that [he does a facial expression, that in my culture and specially at school it is related to "lack of seriousness and laziness"]>> says him, looking at me.

11:20. I stand where escort should come out, a teacher gets close to me and tells me things that I do not listen due to my attention on what is coming, and I just nod. The boy who gives the order begins. This time when escort salutes, everyone salutes without the regular command from the person in charge of the ceremony. Music of flag anthem is on. I notice that the majority of teachers are standing behind me, I feel some kind of observation over me and I walk further where some children from 3° grade group are.

Nobody is singing. I see that a boy is in front of the line of girls, I remember that in past years he has been bullied with some nicknames related to homosexuality. He is showing a smile. The group has no teacher, just children from 3° and 1°.

The oath is given by a boy with the microphone, he does not wait "the repetition" from the audience, another boy is with him but he does not say anything. Teacher in charge of the presidium, Spanish Teacher, does not say anything on microphone but she is with the group.

National anthem music is on. I cannot listen anybody that is singing although I hear at some voices that follow the melody but I am not sure if they sing. I do not sing. Escort does the promenade to go back to the beginning while flag anthem music is on, nobody sings this time for sure. Sub secondary school teacher carries flag and disappears behind the buildings.

Historical events. 9 children gives information learned by heart. Two of them are even “talking” the information, among teachers “we” believe that when they do that it means that they comprehend information. In the half of the line those children someday starts to laugh and provokes that the rest laughs, they see each other smiling and laughing. Adults show faces of seriousness, children closer to me (2° secondary school grade) do not show any expression, like their attention was floating.

Applause begins in the presidium and is followed by teachers and children. <<3° right flank, advance! 2° right flank advance! 1° advance! Teachers, left flank advance! >> says the responsible of ceremonies, Tutor.

I walk after children, the same teacher who told me the stuff I did not listen says that it would be better if I make a video, these sentence sounds like question/suggestion. I thank for the suggestion. Sub head teacher 2 meters farther, “challenges” to tell him if I noticed something, like if there was something specifically to put attention on. I ask him what he sees, he tells me that we can talk later.

## 15.09.17 Independence Day

### Secondary School

I arrive 15 minutes before 9:00. I say hello to some teachers who are waiting in the door to go to the ceremony with their group.

At 9:00 secondary school and primary school students are in the ground on lines by group and gender. The silence is noticeable. I stand close to the lower left corner of the box with 4° grade children. Some of them say hello.

<<We are going to receive our patriotic labarum. *School pay attention! in standing position... now*>> says teacher in charge of the ceremony (who is the responsible for discipline in secondary school and tutor).

The class who apparently represent boy heroes are just arriving and stand in the center of the scenario.

In the right upper corner secondary school escort is receiving orders from sports teacher (and responsible for escort). They salute the flag and start to advance. The rest of the students makes the salute. Flag anthem’s music starts. Escort does the regular promenade through the playground. In the process I can hear the sings of children who are closer to me.

<<*In attention position, now*, Professor (sub-head teacher) will recite the oath>> Says MT.

<<Repeat all of you after me: Flag of Mexico. Legacy from our heroes. Symbol of the unity among our parents and our siblings. We promise to you to be always loyal to the principles of freedom and justice that make our fatherland an independent, human and generous nation at which we give our live.

In standing position, now! >>

<<With a lot of respect, we will intonate our national anthem>> Says MT. Music starts and children sing.

<<Salute.... Now! >> Children from escort close their distance and start the promenade to march back to their exit point.

Primary school secretary comes to me and asks me why I did not ask her support for interview primary school students. I explain that due to they are a lot of children and my schedule was not synchronized with hers (head teacher permitted to interview children only under the supervision of the secretary) I decided not to extend the research for primary school.

General head teacher and then elementary school head teacher greet me.

Boy heroes group (3° from elementary school) advance to the center of the box. Teachers bring cardboard boxes in front of the group. It serves as scenario.

3° grade teacher says that the following theater play is about the “Battle of Chapultepec” and she reads while children act.

<<Many years ago, in 1847, exactly inside the castle of Chapultepec was the military school. There were brave young boys who were studying. They used to share rooms, games and overall moral values such as respect and honesty>> Two groups of 3 children each walk to the front while they hug each other, in the center they greet each other by hand and go away from scenario.

<<This young boys wanted to make a career in the army: Juan de la Barrera, Juan Escutia, Agustín Melgar, Fernando Montes de Oca, Vicente Suárez and Francisco Marquéz>> each character marches to the front, does the military salute with the hand on the front head and marches back to the group line.

<<An evening in 3<sup>rd</sup> of September 1847, “with the flag at full-mast”, it happened something unexpected, from a far area it could be heard a noise that paralyzed of the inhabitants of the castle, immediately a bugle plays and a soldier shout...>> some children from the group go to the center, make a line and kneel.

A boy shouts <<soldiers we are under the attack of North Americans, take your weapons! >>. He gets out from scenario and another boy appears <<They come to take our flag, take the weapons and protect our castle>> the group who was outside the scenario gets in to “fight” against those who are kneeling. The former ones wear a blue hat while the later a red hat. Children from both groups wear the school sweater that has the school shield attached. Just until now I realize that not all the 3° class were hero boys but were both armies, Mexican and North American.

At that point children are not standing anymore, they are sitting in their spot under sunlight which is not very warm. A child sitting close to me says to other that he would like to be like that, pointing to the only actor who was wearing a jacket with several insignias and no hat.

<<The defense of the castle of Chapultepec was under the charge of the General Nicolás Bravo who has cadets from the school at his disposal and soldiers from the San Blas fort at the command of the colonel lieutenant Felipe Santiago Xicotencatl>>

A child from Mexican side gives the order to shot to the North Americans. One per one are falling dead in both sides. Children shot with toy weapons of different nature. Some of them have toys with sound.

<<North Americans attacked from the west and south of military school>> Children (who are dead) stand up.

<<Inside the castle the fight was hand to hand>> Children punch each other without apparent damage in slow motion.

<<Finally, North Americans who broke into the building made prisoners to the general Nicolás Bravo and several survivor students>> Children stop fighting, make “the detentions” and goes away from scenario.

<<Suddenly, the inhabitants of the castle felt the defeat and some of them were shouting>>.

A child shouts in the microphone that presenter gives <<Save the flag, save the flag or we will lose our fatherland>>.

<<A child called Juan Escutia took the flag and scaped from the North American army>>

Juan Escutia, who was also the boy with the largest weapon and apparently the leader in the Mexican side of the previous battle is running with the flag around the scenario. The flag is not the same that is standing in the middle of the boxes (castle) but one without pole. The one in the castle is the flag of the primary school, the same that its escort use for ceremonies.

The flag has being carried the whole performance by a girl and I realize that also during the whole performance girls from 3° grade (that where actors are from too) have being standing and do not participate in the play.

Juan Escutia goes back to the starting point. Teacher reads <<And, in a heroic dread, he covered himself with the flag and threw himself away from the highest point of the castle>> another teacher helps Juan Escutia to cover with the flag. He runs to the center of the scenario and throws himself to the ground.

I listen that children laugh, those close to me and in the opposite line behind the scenario (2° grade).

<<When the USA army saw such action and realized the braveness of these cadets and they recognized the triumph of the children because they prefer to save their flag instead of see their fatherland defeated>> Juan Escutia stands up and goes back to the starting point.

<<With the time, this history has been counted many times. The pride and courage of boy heroes it is always pointed out.

Today, we commemorate 170 years of the heroism and sacrificed made by boy heroes. Thank you very much for your attention>>.

People clap.

Two children in front of me discuss about the facts, one is confused about who is Juan Escutia (they say, “the one who threw himself away”), another child explains. The first one says: *I am the first boy hero*.

The actors make rows and march through the scenario with the flag while piano music that looks childish to me is being played.

Meanwhile, I can hear children who are fighting about “who is the first one” in relation to the boy heroes. The discussion ends when one child agrees to be not Juan Escutia but other who is hanging the flag with the protagonist.

Girls from that school class are still standing.

Almost at the end of the promenade that actors are doing a child shouts “Viva México” and others follow him. The number of followers turns such large that their teachers screams to them *hey! It is not time yet*. I am not sure if children got confused about the moment they must shout “Viva Mexico” (in the representation of Independence War) or if they were feeling “such a patriotism” with the theater play that they follow the cheers.

When actors leave the playground children from audience start to talk. The noise is so loud that it is impossible to listen the secondary school teacher responsible of the ceremony. It seems that he is introducing a group of children that are standing waiting to perform. They are from primary school. Boys are wearing cowboy hats and girls long colorful dresses. They perform a “banda” dance. Popular music that we can compare in its dances, musical composition and dress code with the USA country music. In the last 30 years it has been associated with narcoculture.

The next dance is performed by secondary school children and their dance teacher. They wear jeans and the polo shirt from their uniform, it has the secondary school shield in the left side. The shield is the symbol of Ichthys or the **Jesus fish** with the name of the school under it: “Socrates”. They have two rattles each.

The noise of the audience is lower but still difficult for me to listen. Sub-head teacher takes the microphone and explains the performance. <<... the first [period of Mexican history], thousands and hundreds of years before the Spanish invasion. The second, from the arrival of Spaniards to the valley of Oaxaca in 1521 to 1950. And the third one, from 1950 to the present>>

At the end of the performance I walk and stand close to secondary school groups. The majority of children are standing up. Scenario’s screen is ready, “La Alhondiga de Granaditas” or the place where declaration of Independence war was given. Actors from secondary school are getting ready.

Responsible teacher asks for silence without success. A boy that wears a jacket and jeans gets into the scenario and starts to narrate by microphone <<15<sup>th</sup> of September 1810. Another night in Queretaro when conspirators join in order to continue their plans for defeat the Spanish government. But this time they would be able to do it because they were discovered and the house where they joined was observed by authorities.

Josefa Ortíz de Domínguez prisoner in her own house finds the way to let Ignacio Allende know that is necessarily to hurry the plans. He rides during the whole night until he arrives to Guanajuato. There he meets the priest Miguel Hidalgo>> sound effect of neighing. Allende and Hidalgo meet and move like they were agreeing something.

<<Immediately the priest run to his church and ring the bells to call the people of the town>> Hidalgo shouts <<may the bad government die!! May the Gachupines die! Long life to the king Fernando! >> Bells ring and people get to the scenario.

At this point audience is in silence.

<<Hidalgo realizes that people who come are indigenous and slaves. In order to maintain their attention, he gets into the church and takes the image of Guadalupe to use it as banner. He accomplished to join an army without discipline nor weapons. People who accompany him just bring work tools such as machetes and pics.

The unranged army arrived to Guanajuato on September 28<sup>th</sup> 1810 with the intention to take the city due to Hidalgo has previously asked the authority of the city that he should surrender in a pacific way>> Hidalgo and people walk through the scenario in the clock's direction.

<<When he knows the answer from the quartermaster, Hidalgo decides to take the city by violence and goes to look for refuge in a warehouse that is located in the center and is called "Alhondiga de Granaditas". It offered a good way to contain the Insurgents.

Quartermaster, his fighters and criollos (sons of Mexicans and Spanish) from the city wait outside for the worst. When they arrived, Hidalgo faces this unexpected and apparently impregnable fortress against which he has no strategy.

Suddenly, a worker from the mines, with the nickname "El Pípila", got to the place>> El Pípila proposes to fire the door, it is hard to listen what he exactly says due to the distance of the actors.

<<Hidalgo accepts the proposal and El Pípila crosses through the rain of bullets. He sets the door on fire and waits until it carbonizes and falls down>> El Pípila dodges the bullets with a stone that he carrying back. He goes to the door of the fortress and sets the door on fire. Fire sound effect. El Pípila pushes the door of kraft paper that falls to the ground. Some children laugh. Maybe because it was expected some action that depicts a door that falls because of fire.

Hidalgo's group and quartermaster's stand in lines against each other. They begin a fight with machetes and others pull their opponents. Audience's children from my side are looking the battle with deep attention. In the background, sounds effect that depict swords (instead of machetes) and horses is played.

The battle ends when quartermaster group is defeated and they lay on the ground "dead". When this happens, secondary school children laugh. Hidalgo step front to secondary school audience and shows Guadalupe's banner.

<<Time later on September 27<sup>th</sup> 1821 [11 years after the battle] Agustín de Iturbide in charge of the Insurgent Army gets into Mexico City right after he signed with the last New Spain's viceroy Juan O'Donojú the "Treaty of Córdoba" that recognized the "treaty of Iguala". It contained 3 guarantees: *Independence*, *Union* and *Religion*. >> De Iturbide gets into the scenario, he is not wearing any outfit like other actors. He stands while the narrator ends this fragment.

De Iturbide runs outside the scenario and comes back, children from "the people" walks to stand in front of him. Audience children start to speak. He explains to the people that they are free from the Spanish Crown and that the government will be restructured.

People goes, narrator and de Iturbide exchange words that I cannot listen. For a moment there is no scene running, some children from first grade of secondary school start to whistle.

<<10 years of war ended in this way. We will remember the heroes and soldiers who fell in battle. September 27<sup>th</sup> 1821, end of the Independence of Mexico [he says it in this way. Nobody seems to notice it]>>

Actors and 2° class students get into the scenario. Responsible teacher ask applauses for them. Applauses are long and smooth.

The choir of the school sing a song related to the independence. When it finishes, teacher announces the end of the ceremony. Audience children clap loudly and scream "bravo" as if they were happy about the announcement.

### **Primary School**

I arrived 10 minutes before 14. Anyone is waiting outside this time. I wave head teacher, he wears a "guayabera" (traditional shirt from the south west of the country). School looks empty, a bunch of adults in upper platform, a few children, too much less than normal. I see my neighbor, I say hello, she is setting a stand to sell food, as other adults in that side.

I see a single adult in the main playground, she is sitting, I sit some meters away. 4 or 5 children are running. Stairs path to classrooms is closed. Two children I interviewed say hello to me.

13:58, no trumpet man, no war band. Escort's children are not complete, they are talking about something. Two children with a disguise related to Independence Day are standing in the presidium area.

14:00 bell rings, anyone takes a position in main ground. 3° teacher talks by microphone

<<Children, please come to the playground and stand in attention position>>

Gradually but with some chaos children made the box shape. Still noise of voices. Teacher asks to each teacher to rise his/her hand <<do not break balloons [children]>> she shouts. There are dozens of balloons tied to the tubes that surrounds the main ground and covers children against sun.

I stand in the corner close to 1° grade and escort. A lot of children carry hoops with flag colors, a girl is reading a card from behind, in front it has a drawing, she is dressed up like a general and has painted sideburns which is some kind of outstanding among the rest of the children of the crowd.

There are many adults, more than normally (they were invited by school) and some of them are in the main ground behind the groups of children. Microphone teacher asks to uncover heads to *pay respect to flag*. I notice that adults and older children avoid to walk through the center of the box. <<Do not cross through the playground>> asks teacher when a girl is running to reach her group, and ask other teachers to help in this.

<<"Boca-cerra..." (Shout up mouths)>> Teacher says.

<<"...da!" (Last syllable of shout up)>> Children answer.

The only signal to begin flag anthem is the singing of the teacher who leads. She sings aloud, children sing. Escort begins promenade, the flag crashes against line of balloons and children collide one to each other, they stop, do the line again, girl with flag carries it differently, it looks like it is heavy, they reach the center. The voice of teacher has several intonations which is difficult to follow for me. This time, I think less children sing.

<<We intonate our *glorious national anthem*... do not cross through the playground! >>

Oath is given by a girl, apparently from 5° or 6° and not 3° as it "should" be. Somebody cut a big portion of the line of balloons in order that escort can walk.

<<*A continuación* (and now) we give farewell to our fatherland's labarum>>

Escort goes back with some difficulties.

<< *And now* we will have our social ceremony, 4°B will recite a poem about Hidalgo priest>> A group of around 20 children recite choral poetry about Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, main character of Independence War. Meanwhile, a woman is speaking by cellphone, she is around 3 meters away from me. Several children from 2° grade are yawning.

<<...and now we have the history of Independence presented by 6°>>

6° teacher takes microphone and presents the topic then gives it to a child who wears in black, sideburns made of wool, tall hat.

<<I am Napoleon Bonaparte, I invaded Spain and with this New Spain passed to be under my power...>> says child who learn it by heart, he walks to the center and takes from his arms another child who wears a crown, teacher is explaining facts meanwhile <<this is a representation...>> He is not wearing any "Mexican sign", what surprises me because it contrasts with his discourse and presence during previous ceremonies that denotes that he is a figure of leadership in school... I associate institutionalism with nationalism.

After Napoleon, a girl speaks (by heart also), she represents "Peninsulares" (Spanish migrants in New Spain) and explains that they are the privileged caste. A boy speaks (reading from a card) on behalf of mestizos, who has no power but was the most important social force because of their number. They walk to the center, have some simulated fights, they represent the relation between Napoleon and New Spain.

Teacher from 2° grade children is arriving.

<<Now we have the song “México” by “Timbiriche” (Pop band of children that was popular during 80’s)>> Says teacher by microphone. Both groups of children from 1° grade dance and sing. They have “paliacates” (colored scarfs popular in Mexico) that move with hands and jump at the same time. Their teachers (2) lead them making circles and lines. The majority of children are smiling although not all of them are singing.

<<Now, 2° grade will present the “Heroes of Independence”>>

Each child from the row that was already made takes microphone and gives information, the majority learned by heart, about the character that he represents, this time the speech is in 3° person not in 1° like sixth grade children’s.

Firstly, a boy speaks about Morelos who was the Mexican leader of the military insurgency, he wears a military jacket simulating Morelos outfit (his image is in money paper). Secondly, Iturbide was a military leader of contra-insurgency... the boy forgets information and follows “Morelos”. Thirdly Aldama, followed by Hidalgo (it almost impossible to listen their voices by microphone). Allende was part of Independence movement, says a boy. Guadalupe Victoria, represented by the girl who wears the blue outfit and sideburns. Children make a line in the center of the playground while other children watch and some adults take photos.

1° grade children take a sit on the ground, 3° grade walks to cover under shadows. The majority of people are under shadows. Weather is hot and is quite sunny.

<<Now, 5° grades going to present the choral poetry...>> I do not put attention but I notice that it is about the call for Independence War. The group of children make rows in the center in form of a square looking to 4 sides, and recite the poem, just one child knows the whole lyrics by heart. All children make hand movements following what they say.

<<Now, the 3° grade will present an acrostic>> 14:35, practically everybody is under shadows, the center looks more open, there are no more rows but bunches of children. Is hard to maintain attention for me, noise everywhere. Children from acrostic say something hard to listen and understand and goes to the center but they look to the presidium and not to the audience, at some point it looks like the ceremony was between this group and the teacher with the microphone.

<<Now, 4° presents “La bamba” (the popular song is also a popular dance of the so called “Son Jarocho”)>> Each group take a spot in the center dividing in right and left, a female teacher stands in front of one group while a male teacher in front of other. The song begins and they start to dance, the “zapateado” is the only step but just a few children do it (it is hard to walk while doing zapateado with little practice). They form circles and lines, in the end of the traditional dance, they must tie a ribbon with their feet, 2 or 3 couples can make it and the other children couple finish it with their hands. Applauses are stronger and made by more people than other performances, teacher from dance are smiling. They curtsy to the presidium and audience without children who are standing. It looks like the only who deserve applauses are teachers.

<<... Let’s clap for them... well, our civic ceremony has ended, now we have our social ceremony, as you know we will have a parade... you remember how we are going to advance and let’s pay attention to your teachers>>

Children make a single row parallel to the presidium, teachers and parents get closer to them, most of them take and put a rope that surrounds children in front and sides, it serves as a way to avoid that children can go further from the group. The leader is the Sports Teacher, she blows the whistle while hanging a large card with a number and children react in a particular way.

The line of children advances with their teachers and parents, a few children say hello to me (I interviewed them), I try to avoid the relative of a friend of mine (mother apparently) and wait until children pass the door. Outside the line is through the closer street. We walked 3 blocks far from the school and do a square-shape parade. Adults in front stop cars, others like me, take a look in order that children do not get out from the rope line.

When sports teacher blows the whistle, children clap, march or shout something that I cannot understand, neighbors and people who is walking nearby look steady at them while we walk. Escort is in the very front, not covered by the rope, flag carrier carries it strongly.

Some blocks before school, I see that some children look tired, I asked to 2 how they are, they answer they are ok. A mother on the other side, who has been taking photos of his child, is holding his hand.

We arrive to school, I let pass children to check anyone is outside school, like other adults do, we get all inside and head teacher closes main door with keys. Some children are already eating. A child who I interviewed is eating, he says me hello, I ask how did it like it, he says it was good.

The school looks quite full, the majority of people are in the upper platform. Teachers are eating, the majority of children also while the majority of parents are selling the food. 2 children go to balloons line, they jump and break them, at least they do so with those that they can reach. The playground looks quite different, a lot of little papers from the material that children were carrying. I walk to the main door, 2 or 3 minutes later head teacher comes. I and other adults with children go out.

## ***Annex 4 Teachers' Interviews***

### **Spanish Teacher**

#### **1. What do you think is the function of school civic ceremonies?**

*To propitiate a national identity*

Something else?

*To propitiate a national identity because, to be honest, there is nothing else beyond [the ceremony]*

What is the national identity?

*National identity is to have... (She coughs) a sense and a "conception" of "who I am", where I go and why I have this nationality?*

*Why they tell me I must salute the flag when I could salute any other thing. [I assume that she refers to the ceremony]*

#### **2. What is the relationship between this function of CC and the education project you have as a school?**

*Moral values education... civism and ethics education in the values...*

#### **3. To what extent children understand CC and its elements?**

*In this stage for them, it is not meaningful, they do it as a compulsory activity or to avoid taking lessons but just a few have an identity or identify themselves with this process [ceremonies]...*

*The comprehension is not in all levels. For example, 1<sup>st</sup> grade children do not understand why they are there, those from 3<sup>rd</sup> understand "more or less" and have more or less a concept of fatherland, but unfortunately, this fatherland is saw from USA's point of view.*

#### **4. What is the aim of the escort?**

To carry the flag and to show it, that is its aim.

And what about its symbolic functions as the manual states?

*Symbolically? To represent the country. For them, it symbolizes that they will be awarded if they put effort at school*

#### **5. What is the aim to distribute children in rows?**

*A discipline.*

What do you mean?

*A military discipline, it is the way they do it. If children weren't in rows they can also be educated in this topic.*

Do you agree if they do not do rows in this school?

*No... sorry, I do agree they do not make rows because a row does not show you "respect", it is just a normativity but not a respect or love... or even a conviction*

**6. What is the aim to separate boys and girls?**

*I do not know, I have never understood it. Probably that tradition comes from revolution.*

*It is just a process, in 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> grade they become more organized... but I don't think it is relevant in their education*

**7. What is the relevance of anniversaries and the value of the month?**

*For children it is not important, and sometimes because of weather they just want to go to classrooms and it is irrelevant.*

*It would be important to give them in a more didactic way without falling in the "making education a business"... but maybe in making it from a business point of view it would be more useful*

How it would be?

*Through an advertisement, brief information*

*Even for adults, so much information is impossible to hold*

*The brain cannot process so much information in so short period of time*

**8. Would you quit or change CC?**

*I would not quit them, they are not important now but later, when they grew up. No for everyone but for many of them*

*I would change the way they make rows and give anniversaries' information*

**9. Anything you would like to add or ask?**

(She asks about the motivation of doing this research and I explain)

## Arts Teacher

### 1. What do you think is the function of school civic ceremonies?

*Firstly, is to inculcate the respect and also to inculcate the appreciation to the national fellows.*

### 2. What is the relationship between this function of CC and the education project you have as a school?

*Firstly, that is a project from the Ministry of Education and, as far as we are a school that is incorporated to this system, we must... we must fulfill that requirement. Besides the school by itself promotes its values and respect to the country.*

### 3. To what extent children understand CC and its elements?

*I consider that in that point a better job must be done. I consider that there is not a deep awareness in students, they see them (CC) as a repetitive actus that as an actus of consciousness that could reach their moral values, their emotions.*

*As we can see, in ceremonies there is distraction, playing, they do not give the importance "wherewith it must be done".*

Is this attitude generalized?

*It has decreased, I have been here for 4 years and I have noticed that, this "no-attention" has decreased but it is still observed.*

### 4. What is the aim of the escort?

*This has origins in the independence times... militarization... I have even experienced when I was in elementary school, in those times schools have that feature, we used to go "uniformed" (wearing a uniform) with military boots and military hair cut, a rigid discipline... the function of the escort was that, as an inheritance of that independence movement... I see it like that*

Do you find any other function?

*I think, it gives solemnity to the ceremony, bringing a flag through the whole space is "like a way to show the flag to students" in order that they feel that fervor, even related to (although it has nothing to do with).... With the religious tradition... its similar to show a Saint. The flag is shown as a symbol that we must venerate and respect like it were a saint. In the Mexican people this tradition is deeply rooted, there is a syncretism between those images*

### 5. What is the aim to distribute children in rows?

*We come back to the same. Firstly, it has a character of order and discipline, of space management.*

*It has the objective that the flag is surrounded by human beings that venerate it, it must be seen, otherwise is useless. Humankind and symbolism go together.*

### 6. What is the aim to separate boys and girls?

*To be honest, I do not know. Since I was a child, they separate between boys and girls. I don't know.*

Do you consider that school has an objective in maintaining this tradition?

(Silence)... *I don't know it either.*

**7. What is the relevance of anniversaries and the value of the month?**

*It must have a value in order to have, at least in that precise time, some national and historical information. But, to be honest, it does not have any relevance. I would choose to speak about more interesting facts for the community instead of about something from the past.*

**8. Would you quit or change CC?**

*I would keep them because they are part of "civic behavior" which is related to civilization, understanding the term as ordered and regulated society. I think that it gives civism to community, "civility" and in that sense, it is important...*

*Some years ago they were suspended... even "civic education" subject was quit that allows them [children] to know the norms that regulate "society behavior".*

*When that disappear, human being some kind of disappear, he doesn't have a frame where to act, and that is dangerous for any society.*

**9. Anything you would like to add or ask?**

*I think that, if at the end of your research, you can observe or detect attitudes or useful things to improve the social behavior (at the end, a school is a center of formation), it would be good you show here and public education too.*

(I explain I will share information in order to discuss the topics with teachers at school; nonetheless, three days before that plan, there was an earthquake)

## Secondary school Sub-head Teacher

### 1. What do you think is the function of school civic ceremonies?

*To teach moral values such as respect, tolerance, “feeling” of community, of identity... as a member of an active and “participant”<sup>30</sup> society*

### 2. What is the relationship between this function of CC and the education project you have as a school?

*To educate in moral values, the principal one is the respect... the respect and the tolerance that are the fundamental basis of the “formative” project that we have as institution. I believe that the ceremony is a pretext to “conform” such values...*

What do you mean with respect?

*Respect in the sense that “respect to the differences of thoughts... believes... respects to other and yourself, and also tolerance in the sense that, not only to accept differences but celebrate them and build a community feeling among students, teachers, parents... it goes beyond civic ceremonies.*

How is possible to see that in ceremonies?

*Each of us think in a different way and we have a particular concept of “nationality”, among adults (that even we have different positions) but among students... probably, they have several conceptions that are not necessarily recognized in “evaluative terms”, during lessons patriotic symbols can be seen... the concept of nation, a promotion of a national identity; nevertheless, the common factor that put together (I am talking about the differences of thinking at home) is the value of respect. Beyond the concept that each of them have, these get together in order to venerate <<more than to a piece of textile, a piece of music>> it is a time of sharing, to see one to each other to the face, to practice those values that teacher try to “form” in them. Moreover, because not all ceremonies follow the protocol, anniversaries, values of month are shared.*

*It is a space to participate... to develop skills in front of an audience.*

### 3. To what extent children understand CC and its elements?

*In some way, I do not have the instruments and I have never done a formal evaluation in that regard but I would take the risk to say that the comprehension is diverse and also the interpretation.*

*After talking with some children, there is a variety of opinions. There are some of them who have analyzed (probably because of personal interest, or because of their parents or classmates) the lyrics of anthems or the sense of the oath, and probably they have an specific position but I think that generally, from my own point of view, it is not something that is analyzed but, through “school contents”<sup>31</sup>, this tradition is promoted and its respect... to the constitution of national identity but far to be seen through an analysis, nor to a critical analysis.*

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<sup>30</sup> Instead of “Participative” as is usual in Spanish language.

<sup>31</sup> This term is synonym of educational written Project in basic education teachers argot.

*This has been just talked in history course. They way that, in official history, these symbols have been developed. In some cases, they have done comments on social context. But I think that no one has made an analysis of the meaning, phrases and concepts of civic ceremonies.*

Do you think that children understand the language of CC?

*It depends on the level...*

In secondary school.

*Oh, ok. In secondary school, I think they understand the general meaning...*

(elementary school head teacher interrupts)

*Specifically, I don't know if some terms, some words are comprehensible for them because, probably the language is associated to a historical context, besides it is a poetic language that is not understood by every children in spite they are secondary school children. Generally, I think it is comprehensible but I don't know if "every and each" phrase and word is understood.*

#### **4. What is the aim of the escort?**

*Finally, escort represents... the custody of a symbols that is important for a specific group, in this case, for Mexico and Mexicans. I think that the escort is a small group with military traits... in some way, it represents caring, caring and carrying something, that in this case is the flag and I think that the importance that comes from it is more than the literal meaning.*

*I think that in some cases, at least in our school, in the beginning it was an honor for children who have the best grades could be in the escort; nonetheless, lately there were some children that have accessed to it without having good or the highest grades. That was something important because it was an exercise of participation and inclusion, and it has have an improvement in the perception of the meaning to be in the escort*

(Someone interrupts)

*... And that implies to exercise democracy...*

How did you all select children for escort this year?

*This year it was... I would not call it backward trend, but this time it has not be done this "looking that other children participate", the decision of escorts was in the traditional way; nonetheless, in improvement terms, it had to do with time and not with other logistical facts, the idea is to walk steps and that children can access because of will than because of obligation; nowadays, it is still an obligation.*

*We are "forming" responsibility and respect, the responsibility and respect are not tied to obligation necessarily. It is a commitment.*

#### **5. What is the aim to distribute children in rows?**

*In my “personal case” and personal understanding, everything has to do with “organization and structure... order, discipline and respect”<sup>32</sup>, nonetheless, I consider that that “order, discipline and respect” can be acquired in different ways and not in rows, nonetheless, I consider that through traditional ways, it has been worked in that way, and I consider that, it is always important, when someone is close to a goal, to give small steps, to achieve those goals. As an institution, we have given those steps to transform our reality, from a traditional focus to a more balanced focus, not necessarily “alternative”<sup>33</sup>, because this is not the objective of our school, nor the institution profile, I do consider it would have a benefit to incorporate some alternative pedagogic principles, among them we can find discipline and order and ways to acquire and promote them; but I think, until now we have not reached that point, and it is still important (rows) to achieve that structure and that discipline.*

#### **6. What is the aim to separate boys and girls?**

*That is another question that we have tried... along the History to change and improve it. I think that now we are in a... balance point; nonetheless, it does is an area of opportunity that is related to gender equity. Not just in this separation between girls and boys but in other aspects on that topic we still need to keep working on.*

*Definitely, the formation through girls and boys, from my point of view, should not be like that, it is not adequate because it stimulates approaches of discrimination and lack of equity; nevertheless and saying it again, referring to “this development in the institutional history”, there are still steps that we must walk, the objective is to walk them in the future and break those schemes of exclusion in order to propitiate, in some way, to find more equitable approaches.*

#### **7. What is the relevance of anniversaries and the value of the month?**

*To be honest, the reception has been good. In the past, the anniversaries an value of the month were a pure formalism and protocol, as well as the rest of the ceremony and currently they have been a participation strategy due to it has open the quantity of children that participate. Along the school year, every of them participate in some way, practically.*

*And that has raised the interest, on the one hand; not (the interest) on all ceremony but at least in that part. Besides, it has raised the development of personal skills that can be used in other fields such as to speak in front of a public... to do something.... Something that is hard to do in those ages, in teenagers is easy to find the fear to be “the butt of everyone’s jokes”.*

*This (participation in ceremony) has allowed them to overcome that fear, and we have seen it in children that at the beginning are very shy but as long as they are achieving successes, they are more animated. It is not that this strategy is the only that has helped but it has collaborated. And not just in children but to all the community, it has been given the opportunity to different institutional areas and it has enhanced the “sense of institutional community” beyond the work in sections.*

#### **8. Would you quit or change CC?**

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<sup>32</sup> Among teachers, these two words are used usually as an argument to defend status quo.

<sup>33</sup> In basic education, alternative education discursivity is the goal for those who reject traditional education.

*Are you asking me in the personal or the institutional way?*

Both.

*Personally speaking I would quit them. I would like, if I could, to develop another kind of aspects that are more attractive than a simple ceremony. Moreover, I don't agree with the protocols nor with their meanings as I said it, although behind those protocols there is something important, which is the value of respect... to the differences and ways of thinking.*

*In the institutional way, I would not. Because the superior interest, beyond the "personality differences" is more important. Nonetheless, I would change things. Probably I would change things that are within the accepted norm, according to the constitutional terms and to the institutional ones. I would do that ceremony were more attractive and that, that sense of community, were better promoted and do ceremony as an space of reflection and critical thinking, of community and emotional expression, a space of more participation, a space were the respect, tolerance and communion were more important.*

#### **9. Anything you would like to add or ask?**

*As well as religions, nationalities have something in common. If something is useful to join people, and to make better people for life, this must be promoted. If that is not useful to do better people and join them, it is useless. Beyond the ways, the most important is the objective. In an educative institution, the most important is this, it could be romantic and not too objective but actually, in practical term, with our everyday actions that is what we are doing: "forming" people. The question is where do we want to arrive? That is the sense of our activity, consciously and unconsciously you are "forming" your students, better it could be consciously.*

## **Zone supervisor teacher**

### **1. What do you think is the function of school civic ceremonies?**

*To provide an identity to students. It is important to have an Identity...*

*They want to keep off ceremonies<sup>34</sup> ... I think, there is political reason.*

*A people without identity is a people who can be manipulated, for example, with other contents such as those that are in TV and children watch. Nowadays technology is different, they watch what in internet is.*

*Among children in school you can find those who are interested and those who are not. We must consider that there are religions groups such as those who are Jehovah witnesses, and do not follow civic ceremonies. They say that they do not venerate, symbols and not a "piece of textile".*

*Have you had problems because of that?*

*Some teachers ask them to salute the flag but if they reject we cannot push them to do so.*

### **2. What is the relationship between this function of CC and the education project you have as a school?**

*The way nationalism is followed depends on how teacher takes into account during class what is made in ceremonies.*

*It is important that teachers recover the information given in ceremonies and apply to every-day lessons in order to transmit those moral values.*

### **3. To what extent children understand CC and its elements?**

*I consider that it depends on the age...*

*The most important is that they have them in mind and when they grew up they can understand.*

### **4. What is the aim of the escort?**

*To transmit the values of discipline and that with effort in school they (the rest of the children) can achieve a place in it.*

### **5. What is the aim to distribute children in rows?**

*Discipline, otherwise it is impossible to have them quiet. Sometimes it is difficult to have them quiet when they are already in rows.*

### **6. What is the aim to separate boys and girls?**

*This is a tradition that has been made for many years...*

*Do you think it was an aim?*

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<sup>34</sup> Supervisors refers to higher education authorities as "they".

*Well, traditions have a lot of aims, in this regard I think is just to show who is a girl and who is a boy.*

**7. What is the relevance of anniversaries and the value of the month?**

*It is very important, without history there is not identity, as I mention before. Let me bring something...*

(She shows me the Institutional agenda. This is given to higher position teachers in Normal School hierarchy and it contains the official anniversaries' dates and information)

*This can be useful to detect the important days for your research period.*

(I ask to take photos and she agrees)

**8. Would you quit or change CC?**

*It would be dangerous if you (3° person plural) want to take off ceremonies... I do not know your point of view<sup>35</sup>... probably, I am wrong and now children require this (no ceremonies) if there is a good purpose, for example in the way the understand things and world.*

**9. Anything you would like to add or ask?**

*I still consider that if you do not have an identity, from your family from your social circle, it is easy to steal the other, kidnap him, kill him, do not give him respect... you do not do that with your own family who gives you identity.*

*Some people want to quit CC because of globalization. As long as borders are not put away and everybody advance in the same line, we, the teachers inside schools, must take care of nationalism.*

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<sup>35</sup> Following what she says later. I interpret that she thinks I am of the "side who want to keep them off". As long as the intonation is not of a question and she does not wait for an answer, I don't say anything.

## ***Annex 5 Discussion Group***

**September 11<sup>th</sup> 7:00**

Questions do not have correct or incorrect answers. The clearer your answers, the better. If you do not know the answer, you can say so. Although you have different point of views, all the answers are correct ones. [I give an example about the characteristics of the table from different perspectives].

The person who wants to answer the question, please raise his hand. If you want to add something on other's answer, also raise hand. If there are several hands raised, the last who talked will chose the next one.

You have any question?

(They negate with head).

I: Let's start. Could you please tell me **what is the meaning of being a Mexican?** Please raise hand.

Manuel (12): *it is to pay respect to your patriotic symbols.*

What else?...

Manuel: *to eat*

To eat?

Manuel (12): *yes, Mexican food*

(some children laugh)

Bernardo (13): *have a Mexican nationality*

Does anybody want to say the difference between what he (Bernardo) and he (Manuel) said?

Eduardo (13): *that one thing is the law and the other traditions, what we learn*

Exactly, one thing is what law says and the other is culture. What else is to be a Mexican?...

Who from here does not consider himself as a Mexican? It could happen that here is you do not feel Mexicans and I am forcing to ask so...

Manuel: *There are some people here that do not feel as a Mexican...* (he looks to others faces)

(no more answers)

Well, if everybody considers themselves as Mexican and there are no more to say, I will continue with the next question.

Do anybody from here do not know the oath that is recited during civic ceremonies? Raise hand that who does.

(Everyone raises hands).

Well, there is a fragment where it is that "we give (to the flag) our life [in Spanish is written *existencia*, existence]", and then we must raise hand pointing to the flag.

**Who of you really would give his life to the flag?**

Manuel: *Me... Because it is my flag.*

And what is the relation between your flag and your life? Why it would be important?

Manuel: *I do not know, I would like to know how it would feel.*

Ok. To know how it would feel. Someone else? ... What about you Renata?

Renata (12): ... *I do not know...* (then she negates with head)

Tell me, what does it mean to “give the existence”?

Mari (12): *The life of the person.*

Ok. Would you give your life then?

Mari: *No, to be true, I would not give it.*

Eduardo (13): *It depends on...*

Ok, remember to raise hands in order to be able to listen each other

Manuel (12): *like the cadets, the boy heroes, the cadet Juan Escutia or I do not know exactly. But one of them gave his life for the flag. But some people say it was an accident, it is said that he stepped on the flag and fell.*

Ok. Your example is interesting because it is what is said in ceremonies. If it has not been an accident, any of you would do it by your own? You (to Manuel) tell me that it is because you want to know how does it feel, but any of you have any other reason in case you would do it?

(Some children negate with the head).

You have something to say?

Eduardo (13): *It depends on the way you see it, for example, Manuel could feel inspired by boy heroes but, for example, he would think better for her own integrity.*

Ok, a personal decision, maybe.

Please, raise hand, who of you would really give his existence to the flag?

(3 confirm, 9 negate and 2 say that “it depends”).

And you? (His facial expression looks confused and I ask)

Mauricio (14): *I would.*

Why?

Mauricio (14): *I like the culture of the country, for all the facts that had to happen in the history of Mexico and... I would like to be in that history.*

I got it.

And you why?

Gacer (13): *because I was born in this country, I love* (the verb “querer” is less than to love but there is no equivalence in English)... *hm, because I was born here, and I pay too much respect to traditions, also because of our relatives.*

Manuel: *on the one hand maybe I will give my existence but on the other hand no because I dislike Peña Nieto and la Gaviota* (President and first lady) *but I would do it for the constitution.*

So, those who would agree they would do it because of history, attachment to family and culture and even emotions related and those who would not do it, it is because of political matters, for Peña Nieto or the political systems that governments... (Children raise hands) Choose Manuel. Who is the next?

(He starts to play a game to choose someone. I ask him to stop and to select someone. He does it).

Georgina: *it also depend on the events, it can happen like before, with the war. If that happens we probably react.*

Bernardo: *it also depends on the place you are. It could be that you are a Mexican and naturalize your status as a North American, it could happen that he also changes his culture.*

Ok. Thanks for giving your opinion in this regard. I would like to add that, as far as you know, “swearing” [in Spanish swearing has a positive meaning and has the sense of promising something to a spiritual entity] has a strong meaning in our culture, hasn’t it?

(Children confirm with heads)

And, in this regard, to swear the life to a flag, it is also something with a strong meaning, probably you want to think about it in another time.

Next question. **What is the relation between ceremonies and god?** In a fragment of the national anthem it says

“...when inscribed [by the finger of god] in the heavens eternal blessed peace for all the land thou dost see.”

Do any of you want to answer this question?

Georgina (14): *because of the belief that they had before it happens*

What do you mean with “the belief”? “What” happened?

Georgina: *that one before Christ... Well, after Christ is when Mexican Revolution happened, and I think, it was from there that they took that idea* [to write the national anthem]

Bernardo: *Because of the catholic religion of the country*

Must we have god to be Mexicans? Raise hands those who agree.

(No one)

Who rejects it?

(Everyone raise his hand)

As you know because it is part of the “slogan” of the majority of schools and this one, it is said that “school must be secular and for free”. What is your opinion about this contradiction?

Esmeralda (13): *Not all of us believe in the same things, I think that we just sing the anthem to pay respect, not because we really believe in that.*

Who of you sings automatically, without reflecting in what you are saying?

Mauricio: *what if I do not sing at all?*

That is a good remark, who of you really sings it? (0), who do not sing at all? (0). who do it sometimes?

(All children raise hands but not totally up, as in other questions).

I understand it better. Anyone else want to add something on regard the relation between god and civic ceremonies?

Gacer (13): *I think that when they did the oath... it was the oath? Oh, no. When they did the national anthem, they wanted to give hope to the people.*

It is an interesting point.

Someone else wants to add something?

(No answers). Ok. I would add something. After that fragment that speaks about god, it says “*when inscribed in the heavens eternal blessed peace for all the land thou dost see. But if stranger and foe in their boldness dare to tread on thy soil, they must perish, then, oh my country, this thought only cherish every son is but a soldier for thee*” what does it mean to you?

Mauricio: *That our destiny is war.*

Bernardo: *That for some reason we will protect our flag.*

Manuel: *That our destiny is to protect the flag.*

Thank you. Who of you agrees with this statement?

Manuel: *I agree. Just I don't agree with Peña Nieto but I would do it for the constitution.*

(only Manuel agrees partially, the rest do not).

Ok. Let's go to the next question. Who can tell me what has been the importance of boy heroes?

Manuel: *they fought in Chapultepec* [at the time where boy heroes' history is situated, it was the military school, nevertheless, it has been always the symbolic center of political power since pre-Hispanic history] *and they risked their life to save the flag.*

Do someone else has an opinion on this regard?

Manuel: *He was drunk.*

(Laughs, then silence that I interpret as uncomfortable)

Manuel: *it is also possible that he felt desperate, if you see that everyone is shooting you probably prefer to throw yourself to the emptiness* (in the history of boy heroes, the boy who saved the flag, had to throw himself to the ground from the highest point of the Chapultepec's Castle).

Georgina: *You would do it in order to save your fatherland.*

Who of you considers that the country was saved just with avoiding that North Americans took the flag?

(No one raise his hand).

Any of you do not consider this is true?

(Several children raise hands).

If you consider so, do any of you want to say why this history is told in ceremonies?

Manuel: *Because in case that a country declare war against us, for example North American, somebody must take the risk for save the fatherland.*

Georgina: *They fought against France.*

Ok. If there is no other opinion on this question, we change the topic a little bit. Next question is **would you change your row? And why?** (With this I ask them if they would go to the boys' row in case of girls or girls, in case of being boys).

Do you want to say something? (I ask a boy who looks at me and raises his hand partially).

Alberto (14): *I would.*

Why?

Alberto (14): *Because we all are equal, and a gender do not distinguish us each other.*

Have you ever done it?

Alberto: *Yes.*

Is it difficult?

Alberto: *Well, some courage is needed and do not take into account what the others think about you*

Who of you have done the same?

(2 raise hands)

Who of you would not do it definitely?

(no one)

So, tell me, why is it important to maintain rows of boy and girls?

Georgina: *Because sometimes things are misinterpreted. Sometimes they are hugging and even kissing... I say so* (from the cultural point of view, this expression is used to give force to a personal statement)

Manuel: *Yes, sometimes there are "little couples" [couple of children who date] and teacher need to separate them.*

Mauricio: *it is old-fashioned.*

But, does that happen in civic ceremonies? When rows are already divided by sex?

Manuel: *Yes, sometimes that happens. The head teacher arrives and scold children in order that they (couples) are divided.*

Renata: *That does not happened in ceremony, it was during break time.*

Bernardo: *it is done by tradition.*

And what do you think it could be the objective to do this?

Esmeralda: *Sometimes, even in the family, they follow and consider what they have learn through years and that never changes*

So, you have said that it is old-fashioned and it is related with costumes. Do you consider that separation by gender is related with “being a Mexican” due to it is compulsory during civic ceremonies?

Manuel: *no!*

No what?

Manuel: *that should not happen (be separated) because it is an act of discrimination...*

Who of you consider it as discrimination?

(6 children raise hands)

Adrian (12): *Because what if a person has other likes (sexual orientation)... why should he cannot change the row?*

Who considers that it does not discriminate?

(4 raise hands)

Sergio (14): *Simply because sometimes we talk a lot, so it is better to separate each other*

So, if you are separated you behave well, better than if you are together (women and men)?

Sergio: *No, I think that in our social groups we usually separate by sexes, that is not discriminatory.*

Thank you. Someone else would like to add something?

(No answer)

### **Would you change something about the Ceremony? And why?**

Manuel: *That teachers and head teachers do not observe you during ceremonies. I do not like it, because they look at you as you were a thing to manage you.*

Can you explain that further?

Manuel: (He raise his shoulders and cross arms) *like this.*

You mean, in order to behave yourself?

Manuel: *Yes! If you do know how to do it. Why they still watch on you?*

Mauricio: *I do not like it either.*

Bernardo: *it should be more dynamic instead of remember important dates. Now, one could ask any date, and anyone would not know it.*

Esmeralda: *it is a waste of time.*

Someone else?

Who would cancel ceremonies?

(4)

Mauricio: *For me it is boring.*

Wendy (14): *I would!*

Bernardo: *And who will carry the flag?* [Wendy is the standard-carrier of the escort].

(Laughs)

Wendy why you would remove it?

Wendy (14): *Because sometimes is boring and tiring.*

Who definitely would not remove it?

(8)

Does someone want to tell why you would not remove it?

Santiago (12): *Because we lose class time.*

(Laughs)

Mauricio: *That is a reason why I would not remove ceremonies.*

Who from you would not remove them due to a different reason?

(No one answers).

Alberto: *I prefer to attend to ceremony instead of attending to English class.*

(Several children say “me too”).

Does any of you want to add something?

If there is no one else and the time that head teacher gave us is close to end, then I want to thank you for your time and for coming to discuss.

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**1. I: What happens during civic ceremonies?**

*Listening, saluting the flag and knowing what happens during each month (anniversaries announcements).*

I: Why do you think they exist?

*To have "a better value".*

What do you mean?

*To respect more the flag and to know Mexico... and to love it.*

Do you love more Mexico after ceremonies?

*I like the country, and the solidarity... I was not born here... I was born in Atlanta [USA] and people there is different... After ceremonies I appreciate more the flag.*

When did you arrive?

*When I was a toddler.*

Have you come back there?

*No.*

What nationality do you prefer?

*I like more the north-American one.*

Why?

*Because when I get older I can have more opportunities of work or study there than here.*

**2. I: could you explain me what do the anthems talk about?**

*About paying respect to the flag and the country...*

**3. I: What does the oath speak about?**

*I do not know... about the flag?*

**4. I: Why does escort exist?**

*It is important because you represent your country*

You are there, aren't you? What is your place?

*The standard-bearer*

What do you think about being the standard-bearer?

*That is important to have good average.*

How many children you have in escort?

*I think they are 8*

Why exactly 8?

*I do not know.*

Does the flag is heavy?

*Not too much but is hard to handle it.*

**5. I: Why children stand in rows?**

*So that, we give respect... and not to be on our own, putting attention in other places. To pay attention in what the escort is doing.*

**6. I: Why boys and girls are separated?**

*I do not know... because girls control better themselves, and put more attention*

**7. I: Do you remember any anniversary of event?**

*No... something about a poet but I do not remember.*

Do you remember the value of the month?

*No.*

Why should it be a value per month?

*To practice that value more during that more.*

You thing that this month the value (gratitude) is practiced this month?

*Some schoolmates but just a few.*

**2 Armando (14/3° secondary school grade)**

**1. I: What happens during civic ceremonies?**

*During ceremonies if we must speak about an anniversary of an event, we always say a day and try that our schoolmates can understand it. Otherwise, if we are those who listen, we try to understand what is said in an anniversary of event remembrance. To listen in order to know what has happened. Actually, that is the general idea of a ceremony. To try to learn what they say. That helps you to have culture general knowledge.*

I: Why do you think they exist?

*To inform about historical events and to make aware the population about dates and places, things that happen someday and influenced the history, like in the case of the revolution, the independence, important dates.*

**2. I: could you explain me what do the anthems talk about?**

*They speak about the country, how it liberated itself and the war that Mexico suffered during that time.*

Which time?

*Viceroyalty's time to independence Mexico... it is like an anthem of battle that speaks about all the fights and all what happened during that time.*

**3. I: What does the oath speak about?**

*It speaks about the loyalty to the fatherland and the respect to our patriotic symbols, that we must behave according to the rules.*

Which symbols?

*Shield, flag and anthem.*

Is that in the oath?

*Not like that, only the part of the flag.*

#### **4. I: Why does escort exist?**

*To reward those who made an effort, to give them the honor to carry the flag and that they show at the same time that they make their best in order to achieve that goal.*

Would you like to take part?

*No, I prefer to say some anniversary information or to recite the oath.*

Why?

*In elementary school I was in escort and I did not like that experience.*

Why?

*I was the standard-bearer, it was a lot of responsibility to coordinate everyone and some mates did come.*

#### **5. I: Why children stand in rows?**

*Because there is an order, and that order is respected and that order helps us to maintain discipline*

What if there are not rows?

*It would not be order*

Could you have ceremony?

*No because they would not listen or pay attention, for that it is needed to have order*

#### **6. I: Why boys and girls are separated?**

*Because they get distracted, they act differently. It is different how we get along between boys than with girls.*

How is it?

*Between boys there is more punches, and abrupt games. With girls you cannot do that, you must respect them more*

Does that influence ceremonies during 15 minutes?

*Not too much*

Would you put them together?

*To be honest I wouldn't*

Why?

*Because girls complain that we disturb them, so it is better to let it be. To avoid interruptions.*

Why you think they must be separated?

*Because there must be an order, to avoid a fight*

But they still fight, girls with girls and boys with boys, don't they?

*Sometimes*

Some other reason?

*I do not know*

**7. I: Do you remember any anniversary of event?**

*September 16<sup>th</sup> the "independence shout" (independence declaration) in Dolores' City, march 18<sup>th</sup> about the petrol expropriation... February 24<sup>th</sup> flag's day... may 10<sup>th</sup> mother's day...*

What kinds of events are worth to present in ceremonies?

*There must be a fact and a date*

So, anything?

*Yes, but that has influenced history in an important way in some country or society in general*

And how mother's day has influenced?

*With celebrations...*

Do you remember the value of the month?

*I do not remember*

**8. Something else that I have not asked?**

*No*

**9. Do you want to ask me something?**

*No*

**3 Uri (14/3° sec)**

**1. I: What happens during civic ceremonies?**

*To pay respect to the flag... to see how the escort goes and how the flag is*

I: Why do you think they exist?

*It is like some kind of respect or something related to our country?*

*And it talks also about it*

**I: could you explain me what do the anthems talk about?**

*A war*

Which war?

*I do not know exactly about which war but it can be listened (the word) "Canonry" and other stuff*

**2. I: What does the oath speak about?**

*... It is like giving something to the country, to the flag*

What do they give?

*Effort... something*

Are you in the escort?

*Yes, in the middle*

**3. Why does escort exist?**

*I do not know...*

Why it is important?

*... It is just important that the escort makes its promenade and children see the flag*

**4. I: Why children stand in rows?**

*Because respect*

Without lines there is no respect?

*Maybe it would be but it would not be the same... also for having order*

**5. I: Why boys and girls are separated?**

*So that, there is no laugh*

Is there laugh if they put them together?

*Maybe*

And there isn't laugh even when they are separated?

*Maybe... I do not know what is it... probably in order that boy do not bother girls*

**6. I: Do you remember any anniversary of event?**

*I remember that they have mention Mexican writers...*

Do you remember any?

*I just remember Diego Rivera*

Who was him?

*A painter...*

Do you remember the value of the month?

*I do not remember*

Why it is important to mention a value?

*Because it happens something related with the value in this month?*

4 Gacer (13/ 2° sec)

**1. I: What happens during civic ceremonies?**

*Normally we salute the flag, the obligation should be... besides, to have a good behavior and respect the flag*

How it is respected?

*In silence, in our position, saluting and putting attention*

I: Why do you think they exist?

*In my opinion they exist because it is a way to respect the flag, it is like a tradition*

If we don't follow this tradition we don't respect the flag?

*Anyway we do not respect it "too much", at least I've seen it here but I consider that if there are no ceremonies, respect will be even less.*

Why we must respect it?

*It's part of the nation, something that represents us as Mexicans and... that's all.*

**2. I: could you explain me what do the anthems talk about?**

*As far as I understand, it is like a war where thousands of lives are lost for the fatherland and the flag*

How many anthems are?

*3... 1 is when the flag comes and then when the flag stays...*

[Long interruption by the responsible of the laboratory, the place of the interview]

**3. I: What does the oath speak about?**

**4. I: Why does escort exist?**

*It is not important, they can put in the ground a pale and that is enough, there are students that behave, not always but they do. Anyway I consider it is important to put in a place instead of the escort*

Where?

*In the middle*

Do you thing they will respect it better like that?

*Yes*

Do you know that there is already a pale for that? Have you seen it?

*No, I do not know where it is exactly*

Do you know the name of that?

No

(I explain the name and the place where it is already)<sup>36</sup>

*Oh, ok [I am not sure if he knows]*

Flag would be ok there?

*It will catch more attention*

Would you like to be part of the escort?

*Yes but I would need a better average to be there*

So, you don't consider that escort is important but you want to be there?

... *Yes!*

### **5. I: Why children stand in rows?**

*Otherwise it would be a total chaos, every students is different but... they can be in chaos and be wherever they want, that why there are lines...*

### **6. I: Why boys and girls are separated?**

*I do not know*

Why you think?

*In order that they do not speak too much*

If there are boys with girls they speak more?

... *Maybe*

And do they don't speak in the contrary way?

*Well, they do, but it is less than before*

Would you put them together?

No

Why?

*Because they speak to much... maybe I would put them together because between men they also chat a lot, also between women.... But... but that is why they do the rows in 3, to separate them*

3 lines of each sex?

*Yes, besides put them between people that do not like each other*

Do they do that every time?

*No they do not do it*

---

<sup>36</sup> The flag pale is just in front of the shop, from far it looks like it divides it in two. Moreover, many children have to step on its base in order to reach the seller and buy their food.

**7. I: Do you remember any anniversary of event?**

*No*

Do you remember the value of the month?

*According to me it is... I don't remember either*

Why they are important?

*The value it is important due to is part of our life but anniversaries are not because me and my classmates do not listen, and I never remember them*

Do you think that the value of month is followed? (I say it is "gratitude")

*No they do not follow it at all. They should do it more interesting.*

Would you take off ceremonies from schools?

*No because it is a tradition and a way to respect the flag and our nation. I would not take it off.*

**5 Eduardo (13/2° sec)**

**1. I: What happens during civic ceremonies?**

*You "keep" respect to the flag and do it in a proper way...*

I: Why do you think they exist?

*To keep respect to the people who died in the edge of... and a way of respect*

**2. I: could you explain me what do the anthems talk about?**

*One about the war and the other... I do not know them by heart but they speak about the war and so on*

Which war?

*According with what I know is the war of independence*

And the other anthem?

*It is the same*

**3. I: What does the oath speak about?**

*... it speak about the flag and to pay respect to it*

Why it is important to pay respect to the flag?

*Because of those who fell in combat and because it is our patriotic symbol*

Does the flag have people fell in combat?

*A lot of people gave his life because of that cause and it is (flag) what represents us as Mexico*

**4. I: Why does escort exist?**

*It is important because is for people who have a good average...*

Would you like to take part of it?

No

Why?

*Well, it is good to be there but I don't like to be in those kind of groups... I don't like to... I don't like to show off my average to the rest of children, I know that it is good and knowing it myself is enough*

**5. I: Why children stand in rows?**

*To maintain the order*

Without rows there is no order?

*No... well, yes... well, it depends on the way to think about the flag, if keep silence or being a mess*

**6. I: Why boys and girls are separated?**

*It is possible that men can cause them something evil*

But in the classrooms they are together

*Well that would be other case...*

Would you put them together?

*Yes, but I would put the most mischievous in the front*

Besides, now that they are separated, do they not do "evil things"?

No

**7. I: Do you remember any anniversary of event?**

No

Do you remember the value of the month?

No

Why it must be a value and not 10?

*I don't know*

The value was gratitude, it is been followed this month?

*In some of them, only*

6 Esmeralda (13/2° sec)

**1. I: What is done during civic ceremonies?**

*Normally, by groups, they ask that we speak... for example, there is a person who says the oath to flag, there is other who is the ceremony leader, at the end we "say the phrases" and sometimes we present performances of important dates.*

Like what?

*For example, 15<sup>th</sup> of September*

Do you participate?

*yes*

I: Why do you think they exist?

*Because that is civic*

Why is the meaning civic?

*According to me is something not too important but that should be practiced*

Would you explain to me that again, please?

*Something civic is something that you practice but doesn't have too much importance for the audience*

So, ceremonies are not important?

*Well, they are important, but just for a specific place*

**2. I: could you explain me what do the anthems talk about?**

*About the flag*

And the others?

*About the anthem*

Do you speak about the anthem while you are singing the anthem?

*Yes*

Are you sure?

*Yes*

Do you know the meaning of "anthem"?

*No*

It is similar to a song, in ceremonies you sing, remember?

*Yes*

What about then?

*About some heroes*

Which ones?

*About some battles, like Puebla*

It speaks about Puebla battle?

*No, but it speaks about battles*

**3. I: What does the oath speak about?**

*... Symbol of unit, of our parents and siblings... to be loyal...*

And what does it speak about?

*About the flag... they saved the flag and you promise to the flag...*

Why is that important?

*Because they saved the flag (in the past) it changed the country*

Why?

*Because it was very valued and respected (the flag)*

Just because of that?

*Yes*

So if I say an oath to my jacket that changed the country?

*Well, the oath is to pay respect to the flag*

So, it wasn't respected before the oath?

*It wasn't... it was, that's why they saved it... (she laughs)*

**4. I: Why does escort exist?**

*in order that they pay respect to the flag*

**5. I: Why children stand in rows?**

*For the organization...*

And why for that?

*To protect the flag*

**6. I: Why boys and girls are separated?**

*I do not know*

**(She does not answer 7 and 8)**

Do you think that the value of the month is followed by children and teachers?

*No, anyone follows it*

Why you think anniversaries and value are important?

*I do not know*

Would you change something from the ceremony?

*Yes, I would put something to do it funnier*

Like what?

*Like performances*

7 Damiana (12/1° sec)

**1. I: What is done during civic ceremonies?**

*To respect the flag*

What else?

*To pay respect (in Spanish “to do honors”)*

What is that?

*I do not know*

I: Why do you think they exist?

*Because it is like to represent our country?*

What is to represent our country?

*To feel something for “him”*

**2. I: could you explain me what do the anthems talk about?**

*It speaks about the country, about god...*

What is the relation between god and the country?

*It is supposed that god created everything*

**3. I: What does the oath speak about?**

*To be brief, about respecting one to each other... they are words to tell us that we must respect the flag besides our environment*

*I do not know... to be “in order”*

Why?

*Because you are doing a honor, a “patriotic labarum” to the flag*

**8. I: Why boys and girls are separated?**

*I do not know...*

**9. I: Do you remember any anniversary of event?**

*Word day about the peace...*

8 Fernanda (12/1° secondary school)

**1. I: What is done during civic ceremonies?**

*We respect the flag, we must behave to respect the flag... and that is what is done there*

I: Why do you think they exist?

*To respect... the flag*

Why?

*Because of history*

Which history?

*Flag's history*

So, there are ceremonies where you respect the flag because the flag has a history?

*Yes*

Something more?

*No, it is what I think.*

**2. I: could you explain me what do the anthems talk about?**

*About the history of the flag*

Both?

*Yes*

Do you know them by heart?

*Of course!*

**3. I: What does the oath speak about?**

*About the respect to the flag*

Why it is done?

*To have respect for the flag...*

(We both laugh)

**4. I: Why does escort exist?**

*It has an important meaning in order to give respect to the flag, because it is an honor.*

Why it is a honor for you and others?

*Because... I don't know how to explain it... as long as it has history, it is important.*

Would you like to be part of escort?

*Yes*

What do you need?

*To do an effort in the school*

**5. I: Why children stand in rows?**

*... in order that they look "ordered" and to do it (ceremony) properly*

If they are in rows they do it properly?

*Yes*

Why they should look “ordered”?

*Because there is a respect (to give to flag)*

**6. I: Why boys and girls are separated?**

*... Actually, I do not know... I think because of the same, that they look properly*

Do you think it looks improperly if they are girls and boys together?

(She smiles) *No!*

It is unformal?

*No...*

Have you ever asked to yourself before?

*No...*

**7. I: Do you remember any anniversary of event?**

*The last one was made by teachers, and one before children.*

*Teachers talked about dates of this month...*

Do you remember any?

*Well, the “normal one” about September 15<sup>th</sup>*

Did they speak about September 15<sup>th</sup>? We are not in time yet.

*Yes, I think 3<sup>o</sup> grade*

Are you sure?

*No, I am not sure*

It is not bad if we don't remember the dates, I was just asking

Do you remember the value of the month?

*No*

Why it is important 1 per month?

*In order that each month has a value*

And why no more than one per month?

*To have one per month*

**9 Mariana (12/1<sup>o</sup> secondary school)**

**1. I: What is done during civic ceremonies?**

*We sing the national anthem and remember the flag.*

*We listen some anniversaries from our schoolmates.*

I: Why do you think they exist?

*Because we venerate our flag, and during those years happened the war of independence... they gave to us that flag, our own flag*

**2. I: could you explain me what do the anthems talk about?**

*I have not listened very well but they speak about what happened in the war*

**3. I: What does the oath speak about?**

*To respect our teachers, professors, schoolmates and so on*

Why?

*Because respect is important*

**4. I: Why does escort exist?**

*They carry the flag, it is a way to have the respect for it*

Would you like to be there?

*Yes*

What do you need?

*An average from 8.5*

**5. I: Why children stand in rows?**

*Otherwise we wouldn't have respect to the flag*

**6. I: Why boys and girls are separated?**

*Because some boys play very rude and can hurt us or something like that*

**7. I: Do you remember any anniversary of event?**

*I remember when the secondary school children presented what happened of September 2<sup>nd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup>, I think*

What did they say?

*I do not remember*

Do you remember the value of the month?

*No*

Why should it be important?

*To start practicing for life*

10 Adriana (11/6° grade) Standard-bearer

**I: What is done during civic ceremonies?**

*In the escort... In the ceremony we must dress properly, we must... well... we must listen. When the escort ends its parade, the historic dates announcement begin.*

I: Why do you think they exist?

*To represent the flag*

I: what is “to represent the flag”

I am not sure...

**I: could you explain me what do the anthems talk about?**

*About the Mexican flag.*

I: Just about the flag?

*It talks about all of us... I do not know about what else.*

**I: OK. What does the oath speak about?**

*It talks about it (flag)... almost it describes it... for example about its symbols, its colors...*

**I: Why there is an escort?**

*It is important... Actually, it is hard to be in the escort, it is through grades (children with the highest grades take part in it).*

*It is important because they are children that are carrying the flag in front of everyone.*

I: Are you in the escort?

*Yes*

I: I thought so. What is your position?

*I am the standard-bearer*

I: Oh that is true, I have seen you there.

What do you think about being the standard-bearer?

*I feel very nice (proud)*

Would you suggest all children to be standard-bearers?

*(Silence) Well.... Well, it could be.*

*Every of us are intelligent but we must put a lot of effort*

**I: Why there is a war band?**

*(She hesitates) They do the music when escort begins*

Do they just help to music?

*They help a lot in ceremony also...*

**I: Why you stand in rows?**

*I do not know... we are always put by groups*

I: Why boys and girls are separated?

*Because they always separate us*

**I: Do you remember any anniversary of event?**

*They are values...*

Do you remember the value of the month?

*No*

Do anniversary of events are only values?

*Some of them they are, some of them are not. Sometimes they remind us not to run and to maintain clean our places*

**Something else that I have not asked?**

*No*

**Do you want to ask me something?**

11 Ivan (11/ 6° grade)

**I: What is done during civic ceremonies?**

*They are for salute the flag and, more than everything, is pay respect to our flag.*

Why is that important? *I thing that is important because the patriotic symbol is a meaning for us*

Why do you think that CC exist?

*I think they created them due to what has happened in the revolution... Mexican revolution... that we wanted to be free. They are made for celebrate, more than everything to celebrate us*

**What do the anthems talk about?**

*About what has happened, about facts in the past... about what you could do... and about that only.*

What do you mean with “what you could do”?

*I mean that we could be free (after war)*

**What does the oath speak about?**

*That we never disrespect the flag.*

Just that?

*Yes*

What would happen if you don't respect the flag?

*It would be a punishment for you, if you disrespect it.*

Like what?

*Punishment... for example that you will not doing it well in job and at school.*

**Why there is escort?**

*Escort is for... that they take care of the flag*

Without escort, who would take care of flag?

*No one, it would be alone*

**Why there is war band?**

*For me its meaning is that, it is a sound (the war band itself) that our ancestors did...*

What ancestors?

*For example, those who discovered the flag*

(Aztec empire origin legend)

*...also the boy heroes*

**Why children most stand in rows?**

*In order that everyone celebrates flag and to put attention what they are singing*

If they do not stand in rows, don't they put attention?

*I think (that is because) they want... they have... they want that children are independent, girl aside boy*

What do you mean with "independent"? that they must not be together?

*No, it has happened that sometimes (someone) steals the cellphone to the girl, or she is beaten so, I think that it is because of that, that there is a row for each one*

So, if (they) are together? They will steal their money and beat them?

*Not exactly but there are some schoolmates who disrespect others, a lot*

And if they are separated, you think that would not happen anymore?

*It would, but the teacher puts a lot of attention on what we do*

**Ok. What anniversary you remember?**

...

Do you know what are they?

*A little but...*

I can explain you, it doesn't matter. (I explain).

*I remember. About boy heroes and about Miguel Hidalgo's death*

To what extent you think anniversaries in ceremonies are important?

*They are important*

What is the value of the month?

*It is about our flag, the symbol of our flag, and that we are free. (That is not true)*

(He does not add information and he does not make questions)

12 Juli6n (11/6° grade)

**What is done during civic ceremonies?**

*In ceremonies we must join all together in rows, then we must salute and some schoolmates are in front to present what is celebrated during the week... and other stuff*

Why you think they exist?

*For honor to the flag*

Why is that?

*Because it is a symbol for our honor.*

What is Honor?

*It is like respect.*

So, the flag is a symbol of respect?

*Yes*

Why is that important?

*... if there were no respect, it would be like you don't care about your country*

**What do the anthems talk about?**

*About the fatherland*

What is Fatherland?

*... It is a value.*

What is value?

*Value?*

What do you mean with value? Respect and kindness or to be brave?

*Kindness*

**What does the oath talk about?**

*About the flag's colors*

Only about that?

*Yes*

**Why escort exist?**

*I do not know, to be honest*

And what do you think it exist?

*It exists to do a reference*

What is “a reference”?

*It is like... to put an example, an example for all children*

Interesting, so...

*In order that you make a good effort and have good results in school*

Are you in escort? (The selection of children for interviews is random, I do not know them until I interview. I think I have seen him in escort and I ask)

*Yes*

How many you are?

*6... no, 5, 5.*

*5?*

*5 or 6... (he counts with fingers) yes, 5.*

Would you suggest all children to take part in Escort?

*Some of them*

Who of them you would not suggest?

*To those who do not want to work*

Being part of the escort makes you different?

*Yes... more respect*

And the rest of the children do not pay respect like you do?

*No*

Why?

*They would take escort as a game.*

**Why there is war band?**

*To play the music.*

And why they do not put music from an electronic player?

*I do not know.*

**Why you stand in rows, and separated in girls and boys?**

*In order that they are not playing...*

*Sometimes they relate to each other like this... (he does not say how) and they start to fight.*

So, when you are together you fight but you never fight when you are separated?

*Right!*

### **Why there are anniversaries?**

...

Do you know what anniversaries are?

*Yes. When for example, they say a date and then what has happened...*

Yes! Do you remember any of them? It doesn't matter if you don't know the date but the event...

*Yes. 1952 Benito Juarez inaugurated the reform law...*

Did you said in in a ceremony? (Last one before)

*Yes*

(we both laugh)

(He does not remember any other event and I correct him about the year)

What is the monthly value?

*The day of fatherland?*

No. Is there anything you want to add?

*No*

### **13 Pepito (11/6° grade)**

### **What is done during civic ceremonies?**

*It is made every Monday and for example this month, in every ceremony children show cards and explain something that happened before.*

Why do they exist?

*I do not know*

### **What the anthems talk about?**

*About the independence*

Where? Which part?

*I do not remember*

What else?

*The director is introduced*

When you sing anthems, director is introduced?

*Yes*

You sure?

*Yes*

**What does the oath speak about?**

*Independence*

(I think he does not remember what is it and we recite a fragment together in order to prove it)

So, are you sure it speaks about Independence?

*Yes*

**Why does escort exist?**

*To help national anthem*

In what?

*In everything*

**Why there is a war band?**

*In order that we can listen the anthems.*

**Why children must stand in rows?**

*In order that we can listen*

**Why girls and boys separation?**

*In order that we do not mistake*

Mistake in what?

*Sometimes some schoolmates dislike others...*

Why they separate the children?

*I do not know*

Would you join them? And ask head teacher to do so?

*Yes*

**Why there are anniversaries?**

...

Do you remember anyone?

*No*

He neither asks nor adds anything else.

14 Vanessa (11/6<sup>o</sup> grade)

**What is a civic ceremony?**

Hm ...

Do you know what a civic ceremony is?

*No*

Ok. You call them “respects to flag”.

*I know now. We march.*

What else?

*To respect the patriotic symbol.*

Something else?

*Not to say bad words*

From your own opinion why do they exist?

*To respect patriotic symbol*

Why is that important?

...

What is the patriotic symbol?

*It is...*

**What do the oath speak about?**

*About our flag*

**Why there is an escort?**

*It serves to represent the meaning of the flag*

What is the meaning of the flag?

...

Are you in the escort?

*Yes*

What is your position?

*In the side of the standard-bearer*

Do you like it? Why?

*Is a responsibility that you do in order to be there*

Should be there every child?

*... just those who prepare themselves*

How they should “prepare themselves”?

*Studying a lot*

**Why is there a war band?**

*... in order that they play the songs*

If we take off war band what could happen?

*Nothing*

If we take off escort what could happen?

*We would not have the patriotic symbols*

What are the patriotic symbols?

*... no*

(I notice her nervous) that is not a problem, this is not a test. We continue with next question?

*Ok*

**Ok. Why children stand in rows?**

*In order to put attention*

Why girls are separated from boy?

*Because boys are more mischievous and the can do something to them*

Like what?

*Like beat them*

Would you join boys with girls?

*No*

She neither remember an anniversary, nor adds or makes a question.

**15 Chabelo (10/ 5° grade)**

(He did not want to be audiotaped)

**I: What is done during civic ceremonies?**

*Marching, singing, saluting the flag*

I: Why do you think they exist?

*They exist in order that we sing to the flag*

**I: could you explain me what do the anthems talk about?**

*About paying respect to the flag, the shield... about paying respect to boy heroes, to Hidalgo and Corregidora*

**I: OK. What does the oath speak about?**

*It is used to pay respect to boy heroes (He tells me he recited it in last ceremony before)*

**I: Why does escort exist?**

*They go out and march.*

**I: Why does war band exist?**

*For singing and playing*

**I: Why children stand in rows?**

They must stand straight. They are in rows in order that they do not run. It is secure for them.

**I: Why boys and girls are separated?**

*They should not be together because sometimes girls snitch that they are touched (by boys)... girls are a little bit little liars.*

**I: Do you remember any anniversary of event?**

*No...*

*In the last ceremony I remember that my friend didn't remember the anniversary when he was in front of everybody, but he knew it before...*

(He doesn't remember value of month and does not add any information)

16 Noemí (10/ 5° grade)

**I: What is done during civic ceremonies?**

*Singing... we say...*

What do you say?

(she recites fragments of the oath and national anthem because she does not know their names)

**I: Why do you think they exist?**

*In order to remember boy heroes.*

Why boy heroes and no other people?

*Because they saved our flag.*

How do you know that?

*In artistic education.*

**I: could you explain me what do the anthems talk about?**

*About Benito Juarez...*

**I: What does the oath speak about?**

*We sing first, then they go to the front and they explain...*

I understand now, you do not remember (I help her to remember)

*I remember now. It speaks about the boy heroes*

**I: Why does escort exist?**

*I do not know.*

**I: Why does war band exist?**

*Without war band it is possible that ceremony cannot be hear.*

And without escort what could happen?

*We could not sing the oath or anthems*

Would you like to be part of escort?

*Yes.*

What do you need?

*To study a lot.*

**I: Why children stand in rows?**

*In they are not in rows they do not fit in the playground.*

**I: Why boys and girls are separated?**

*I don't know.*

Is it bad that we put together boys and girls?

*No.*

So, why you think they are separated?

*I do not know.*

**I: Do you remember any anniversary of event?**

*Benito Juarez...*

What is that about?

*That he died.*

(She does not remember value and does not add anything else)

17 Jean Paul (10/ 5° grade)

**I: What is done during civic ceremonies?**

*Saluting...*

What else?

*To be quiet... we do like this (he raises his hand), what is that?*

The oath to flag

*Yes, we do that.*

I: Why do you think they exist?

*Because is something that was created by Mexico.*

Why it created it? For what?

*In order that... everybody stay quiet* (in Spanish to be quiet is to be also in order)

Interesting. Why they should be quiet? (I think that he refers to the “order” meaning)

*In order that they are calm.*

They do not come calmed?

*Yes, but calmer.*

**I: could you explain me what do the anthems talk about?**

*About Mexico.*

What about Mexico?

*The flag and about some soldiers*

Who are those soldiers?

*They are those who defend Mexico.*

Against what?

*Against in case of an attack.*

**I: What does the oath speak about?**

*About to pay respect to the flag.*

If you do not respect the flag, what could happen?

*They can scold me.*

What kind of scolding?

*I do not know.*

**I: Why does escort exist?**

*I do not know.*

If we take it off what would happen?

*There would not be ceremony*

Why?

*Because they would take it off.*

Would you like to take part in escort?

*No.*

Why?

*Because... we also must carry the flag.*

What is wrong with that?

*It could be heavy.*

If the flag were not heavy, would you like to take part?

*Yes*

What do you need to take part?

*To study.*

**I: Why does war band exist?**

*In order that it looks better (ceremony)*

*... that it looks "In the same level" (In Spanish it means "to be in order")*

If we take off escort what could happen?

*I do not know.*

**I: Why children stand in rows?**

*In order that they do not get lost and know where their group is*

Only because of that?

*yes*

**I: Why boys and girls are separated?**

*In order that they do not get lost in the crowd*

If we do that, what happens?

*They would lose their place*

But, are there established places?

*No*

So, what happen if we join them together?

*I do not know*

So why you think the separate them?

*In order to know who are girls and boys*

Can't you distinguish between girls and boys in your schoolmates?

*I can distinguish*

So, what does that happen?

*I do not know*

**I: Do you remember any anniversary of event?**

*No*

Did you say an anniversary during the last ceremony?

*Yes*

What was it about?

*About a man who died*

Who was that man?

*And old man*

What did he do?

*I do not know*

Did you draw something in cards?

*No, I take it from an image and pasted it*

Why it is important to say anniversaries' information?

*To remember them*

And why we should remember them?

*We can remember everybody*

Do you remember the value of the month?

*No*

**Something else that I have not asked?**

*That national anthem is important*

Why?

*I do not know*

**Do you want to ask me something?**

*Yes. Why they separate girls from boys?*

I do not know either but I am curious about what are you thinking in that regard

*... Ok*

18 Barbara (10/ 5° grade)

**I: What is done during civic ceremonies?**

*Pay respect to the flag because... I do not know why exactly but we pay respect to the flag. Sometimes the war band cannot attend to school and teachers must raise their voices in order that we listen... they speak*

*normally sometimes but as well, I cannot hear because I am in the back side well, there are two girls that are repeating the course, they are taller than me but anyway, they put me (teachers) to the very back and I do not know why.*

*We also have a time were others present project that are being done or will be done in the "College"...*

Oh, you know very much about it. Let's see what you can tell me about their existence, why do they exist?

*... To reconstruct the history of the country...*

I think you have a high grade, don't you?

(she laughs) *No... 9.8. (The top is 10)*

**I: Ok. Could you explain me what do the anthems talk about?**

*About Mexican Independence because Spain wanted to gain territory in Mexico and then slavery came and Mexico did not give up and then came the independence.*

**I: What does the oath speak about?**

*About the promise to the flag of Mexico.*

What is the promise?

*It is promised that it will be Justice... The government is not fair but to the flag it is promised freedom, justice and more things that I don't remember*

**I: Why does escort exist?**

*Because, I think that it represents, more or less, boy heroes... and at school they are the children with the highest average.*

Do you want to be there?

*Yes*

What do you need aside from good average?

*As far as I am concerned, just good average*

**I: Why does war band exist?**

*They do the little sound (music) of national anthem*

What if we take it off?

*It does not happen anything, it will be the same national anthem*

**I: Why children stand in rows?**

*To have order. Some children do not put attention and teacher put them in front of everybody...*

**I: Why boys and girls are separated?**

*I do not know*

Would you put them together?

*No, I would not put them together because... I do not know... I think that, it is for separate genders, girl is a gender a sex, and boys are another sex.*

And what if you put them in the same space?

*Nothing happens, simply, that if you put them together, sometimes they chat but it does not happen anything*

Would you ask teacher to join them?

*No*

Why?

*Because we are OK like that, besides, some children say bad words, sometimes they push each other and they can injure girls because we are more sensitive*

To what you are more sensitive?

*I do not say that we are more intelligent, I just say that they have more force than girls and they can injure us*

**I: OK. Do you remember any anniversary of event?**

*No*

What is the moral value of the month?

*I think it is independence because we are celebrating soon...*

(I explain what I am asking)

*Oh, I think they said freedom but I am not sure*

19 Elena (9/5° grade)

**I: What is done during civic ceremonies?**

*We pay respect to the flag, we must sing the national anthem and salute the flag.*

I: Why do you think they exist?

*They are for... our nation?*

Why? Why for our nation?

*To pay respect to the flag, because we must respect it*

Why is that important?

*... it is for learn how to appreciate...*

What it is appreciated?

*Well, to learn how to respect*

And... for what?

*When we get older we teach our children*

And that, why is that important?

*In order to we know a little bit more about the past...*

**I: could you explain me what do the anthems talk about?**

*They talk about the independence, about the war, about the Spaniards against... North Americans?*

Where does the anthem speak about independence?

*Almost in the middle*

**I: What does the oath speak about?**

*... it is like a little history, I consider that they take it from a book in order that we can say it*

**I: Why does escort exist?**

*In order that we sing more to the flag and we learn to respect it*

Without escort, what would happen?

*Everybody will be screaming, nobody would sing and would not be ceremony*

Would you like to take part in the escort?

*Yes*

Why?

*Because... I have always been in the escort, in 1°, in 2° too... in 4° too but this year not... I have not put enough effort... well I have put enough effort but we do not have results of test yet*

**I: Why does war band exist?**

*To do accompaniment to the national anthem*

What if there is no war band?

*Sometimes there is not war band and we still sing, we sing by ourselves*

Would you like to take part in war band?

*No*

Why?

*Because at that time we eat, and I must be there before 1 pm and I would not have time if I go to war band's practices*

**I: Why children stand in rows?**

*In order that we are not in a crowded space... and to appreciate the flag*

They would not appreciate it without rows?

*No, everybody would be chatting*

So people who are sitting although they sing and salute, are not appreciating it?

No

(I explain her about the people from the upper platform) Do they still not appreciate the flag?

... *They stand up when teacher asks, nobody stays sit*

**I: Why boys and girls are separated?**

*Because if we are together we would be chatting so, it is better boys for one side and girls for the other*

So, if they are separated they don't speak anymore even with girl-girl and boy-boy?

*No because teacher would scold them*

Would you put them together?

No

**I: Do you remember any anniversary of event?**

*About the days of independence... and about Benito Juarez and Miguel Hidalgo*

What do they talk about Benito Juarez?

*That Miguel Hidalgo died in 19... and something...*

But you talked about Benito Juarez

*(she laughs) well, him*

What did he did?

*He fought... in the independence war...*

(I explain her that the main role of Miguel Hidalgo was the declaration leading of Independence war from Spain and that Benito Juárez was not part of this war but a President famous due to he banned the Church to their administrative and juridical jurisdiction on the State)

But that does not matter here because I am not applying a test of history. Do you remember the value of the month?

No

20 Rodolfo (9/4° grade)

**I: Tell me what is done in civic ceremonies?**

*To salute and when the music is on, you must sing*

Why do they exist?

*It exist because, it is a flag of Mexico... and a lot of years ago, they created it*

**What do anthems talk about?**

*About the flag and I think that also about boy heroes*

What do they say about boy heroes?

*Well, just that the boy heroes... I do not know anything about boy heroes* (it appears to me as he feels overwhelmed because of questions)

There is no problem, I am not asking you knowledge just your opinion. Do you want that we go to next question or you want to give me your opinion about the last question?

*Next question*

**Ok. Why there is escort?**

*Why?... if there were not escort on Mondays, we would've not known the flag and there were no drums playing, nor trumpets.*

You know what the escort is?

*Where 5 or 6 children march and carry a flag.*

**Why do war band exist?**

*Because of war of independence.*

*Without that there were no drums nor trumpets played by children.*

**Why children stand in rows?**

*If they do not stand in lines but in circles and bunches, neither teachers nor head teachers would know who their children are, and who are not.*

Why separate them in boys and girls?

*Boys and girls cannot be together because if that happens, they must do a single row and there would not be space, that is the reason of having rows.*

**Do you remember any anniversary?**

*Yes about an earthquake* (in the last ceremony they mentioned that next week will be a celebration in regard of the 1985 earthquake, although this was not properly an anniversary of the week).

*... in Tizaflores there was a hurricane and people must remain in their houses, they cannot go outside* (there is not such a place but it was an hurricane 1 week and a half before) *if they were going to the shop they have to go by car and sometimes the water push their cars*

Where did you hear about that?

*In news*

Do you remember the value of the month?

*No*

**It is something that you want to tell me or ask me?**

(He asks me if an earthquake, like that one from the last week before the interview, could destroy a school)

**I: What is done during civic ceremonies?**

*To put attention and salute the flag*

I: Why do you think they exist?

*I do not know... To help... ourselves...*

**I: could you explain me what do the anthems talk about?**

(he sings a short part where) *it talks about a war*

A war about what?

*Mexicans vs. Mexicans*

**I: OK. What does the oath speak about?**

(He recites the whole oath) ...

And what does talk about?

*I do not know... Mexicans?*

Is that all?

*Yes*

**I: Why there is an escort?**

*To pay respect to the flag*

If there is not an escort, the flag would not be respected?

... *Yes.*

So why there is an escort?

*To pay respect....*

But you said it was not necessary to pay respect to flag

*It is*

So, without escort there would not be respect?

*Hm... no*

(He shows himself as having trouble to answer)

**I: Why there is a war band?**

*To salute the flag of Mexico*

**I: To what extent it is important to make rows?**

*To pay respect to the flag*

Without rows would it be respect?

*No*

**I: Why boys and girls are separated?**

*In order that they do not speak*

Do you think that they talk even between boys and between girls?

*Yes*

So, why they are separated if they talk anyway?

...

Would you join boys and girls?

*Yes!... No, if we join them, they will not pay respect to the flag*

He does not remember any anniversary nor value of the month

22 Fernando (9/4° grade)

**I: What is done during civic ceremonies?**

...

Do you know what a civic ceremony is?

*No*

(I explain)

*What the teacher asks to us*

And what is it?

*To raise the hand...*

*We sing the national anthem...*

I: Why do you think ceremonies exist?

*Because of the day... the Flag's day*

Just that?

*Yes*

Why should be a special day at week for the flag?

*To salute it...*

**I: could you explain me what do the anthems talk about?**

*About the flag...*

**I: OK. What does the oath speak about?**

(He sings the flag anthem then he says he does not remember the oath)

**I: Why does escort exist?**

*I do not know*

**I: Why does war band exist?**

*To play the songs*

**I: Why children stand in rows?**

*In order that they give room for... I don't remember its name... escort!*

**I: Why boys and girls are separated?**

*In order that we all fit, if we are together, there is no space.*

Why they do not do 4 rows or separate in groups where they put boys and girls?

*Because here we are more boys, so it would not be space*

Would you put together boys and girls?

*Yes*

**I: Do you remember any anniversary of event?**

*The battle of Puebla*

When was it?

*May 5<sup>th</sup>*

He does not remember value and does not add anything

23 David and Jorge (9/ 4° grade)

**8. I: What is done during civic ceremonies?**

*D: They march...*

*J: They salute... they take off the flag*

I: Why do you think they exist?

*J: To honor our country*

Why?

(no answer)

*D: I pass*

**9. I: could you explain me what do the anthems talk about?**

*D: About the flag and about the eagle*

Which eagle?

*That one from the independence.*

What else?

(no answer)

**10. I: What does the oath speak about?**

*D: that one where we do like this? (he rises his hand to the front)*

It is!

*D: it is about respecting the people.*

And why you do thing that is given in the oath?

*D: because we can fight each other and have trouble.*

**11. I: Why does escort exist?**

*J: in order to carry the flag.*

Without escort what would happen?

*J: nobody would carry the flag.*

But anyone else can carry, isn't it?

*Both: yes.*

Who would carry it?

*Both: the teachers?*

*J: or other students.*

Whom?

*J: those from 6° grade.*

*D: those form 4° ... whoever who wants.*

Would you like to be there?

*Both: yes*

*J: yes, because we march*

*D: because we carry the flag*

What else?

*D: because we march, the same*

**12. I: Why does war band exist?**

(Donovan moans what I interpret as frustration, due to they struggle to answer the majority of questions)

(no answers)

What if you don't have war band?

*Nothing, we can sing*

Would you like to be paprt of the war band?

*J: yes, because they play and I play*

Are you in war band?

*No*

*I would play the guitar*

And you Donovan?

*D: because of drums, it is fun*

**13. I: Why children stand in rows?**

*D: otherwise there would be a lot of children running*

What is the problem in running?

*J: they will pull those who are carrying the flag*

**14. I: Why boys and girls are separated?**

*J: in that way we don't make larger rows*

Let's suppose we do short rows of boys and girls. It would be ok?

*Both: yes*

So why teacher do not put them together?

*D: because the row would be larger*

But we can do it as I told you, keeping short rows. Why they do not do like this?

*J: because it requires a lot of space and the flag cannot go through*

*D: the same*

Would you put them together?

*Both: yes*

Are you sure?

*Yes*

Would you accept to be in a row of girls?

*J: Yes!*

(Donovan hesitates but as soon as Juan accepts, he does the same)

Would you accept that girls be in your row?

*Both: yes.*

**15. I: Do you remember any anniversary of event?**

*J: yes, when they walk (in ground center with cards) and they showed us flags*

What was it about?

*J: I think it was a day about flags*

[there is no such a day]

Do you remember the value of the month?

**16. Something else that I have not asked?**

**17. Do you want to ask me something?**

**24 Dalisa (8/3° grade)**

**I: What is done during civic ceremonies?**

*We sing, we salute and we do the oath to the flag*

I: Why do you think they exist?

*Because it is for the flag*

And why?

*Probably because we remember*

What do you remember?

*The battle of Puebla and so on and so fort*

What else?

*We remember and... I do not know*

**I: Ok. could you explain me what do the anthems talk about?**

*About the flag*

What is said about the flag?

*I do not know*

**I: What does the oath speak about?**

**I: Why does escort exist?**

*These are the children that represent the flag*

If there were not these children?

*Flag cannot go to parade*

What if there is no parade?

*There is no ceremony then*

So without escort there is no ceremony?

*yes*

**I: Why does war band exist?**

*I do not know*

In this case what happens if we take away the war band?

*Nothing*

Nothing? You sure?

*Sure*

**I: Why children stand in rows?**

*If that would not happen, it would not be "respect to the flag"*

Why? During ceremonies are people who do not stand in rows but they salute and sing? Do they respect?

*... hm... no, they don't*

**I: Why boys and girls are separated?**

*I do not know...*

*To distinguish who is girl and boy*

You cannot do that?

*Yes (she laughs)*

If they put them together, what happens?

*Nothing*

Would you do it?

*Yes*

*Sure?*

*Yes*

So, what do you think about how they are separated now?

*I don't know*

(She does not remember any anniversary nor value of month)

25 Efrén (9/4° grade)

**1. I: What is done during civic ceremonies?**

*To be quiet*

What else?

*To respect the flag*

What else?

*To listen*

What?

*To head teacher and the ceremony*

I: Why do you think they exist?

*I do not know*

**2. I: could you explain me what do the anthems talk about?**

(He struggles to identify what exactly I am talking about and I ask if he remembers any word from those “songs”)

*“Mexicans”... “to the shout”... “of war”... “that god has written”... and that is all*

Good, then you know what I am asking. What do those words say to you?

*I do not know*

**3. I: What does the oath speak about?**

*That we must respect the oldest ones, the adults... and the youngest ones*

**4. I: Why does escort exist?**

*To learn*

What?

(No answer)

**5. I: Why does war band exist?**

(No answer)

**6. I: Why children stand in rows?**

*To know the grades, to be able to see from a close point and to listen*

**7. I: Why boys and girls are separated?**

*In order that they don't push each other*

If they are separated they never push each other?

*Hm... no!*

Are you sure?

*... Yes*

**26 Vanessa (8) and Ernesto (8) (3° grade)**

**I: What is done during civic ceremonies?**

*Vania: salute the flag*

*Ezequiel: Stay quiet until it ends*

*Vania: be silent*

*E: until it ends be in attention position*

I: Why do you think they exist?

*E: to give honor to our Mexico*

*V: to salute Mexico*

Why is that important?

*E: ... Because Mexico is very beautiful*

In ceremonies they say so?

*E: No... but we support our flag*

**I: could you explain me what do the anthems talk about?**

*E: that god gave freedom to our flag*

*V: I do not remember more*

**I: What does the oath speak about?**

*E: We are going to have ceremony (he will recite oath) until September 15<sup>th</sup> and I have not learned it yet*

*V: yes, on 15<sup>th</sup>*

**I: Why does escort exist?**

*V: Because there is a flag for salute*

If we take it off?

*V: we would not salute to the flag*

Would you like to take part in escort?

*V and E: Yes!!*

(Their voice tone raises and facial expression shows excitement)

Why?

*E: To carry the flag*

*V: because we parade in front of all children*

Why you would like to carry it Ernesto?

*E: I would feel very "cool"*

Why you want to parade in front of all children Vania?

*V: to be close to the flag*

**I: Why does war band exist?**

*E: to give honor*

What if we take it off?

*E: it would be very boring... I like it more when there is war band because when there is not, cars from outside can be heard and we cannot hear what is inside... truck drives then other crashes...*

Would you like to be in war band?

*E: No... I do not know how to play those instruments... I would like to play guitar*

*V: I would like to. I like to play drums*

**I: Why children stand in rows?**

**I: Why boys and girls are separated?**

**I: Do you remember any anniversary of event?**

*V: Yes! I was dressed like a butterfly and I remember that I said: March 21<sup>st</sup>...*

*E: My best experience was about Lazaro Cardenas, I spoke with the help of a little piece of paper*

27 Oscar (8) and Ester (7) (3<sup>o</sup>grade)

**I: What is done during civic ceremonies?**

*Ester: We march... and we must carry a hoop and put in "in up, down and front" (that week they were practicing the parade for the Independence Day ceremony)*

*Oscar: we salute the flag. We march.*

I: Why do you think they exist?

O: *Because they are important for the flag*

Why?

O: *I don't know, I don't know... because, does it protect us?*

From what?

O: *from the terror... from stealing, from killing... just from that*

E: *Because it takes care of us*

From what?

E: *From the hurricane, it takes care of us from everything with [related to] god.*

**I: could you explain to me what do the anthems talk about?**

O: *They talk about our flag*

What else?

V: *... because it always took care of us and because it is from our country*

**I: What does the oath speak about?**

V: *It talks about our "parents and brothers" ... "we promise to be always loyal" (fragments)*

What about them?

O: *Loyal means to be kind with everybody*

**I: Why does escort exist?**

O: *because people from the past were like that*

V: *It is related with our country*

In which way?

V: *I do not know*

If we take off the escort what happens?

O: *There would not be flag with us*

And the flag cannot be standing there without escort?

V: *we can have flag but if there is no escort we cannot take care of our country*

Why?

V: *Because... I don't know*

Would you like to take part in escort?

(Both would like)

*O: I was once in escort in kindergarten. I liked it because I used to have a lot of fun*

Why?

*O: I used to march*

*V: I was in kindergarten too. I had to march and all people was there and I liked it because they were looking at me*

Why do you like to march?

*O: Because we do it for the flag.*

*V: Because marching is like an exercise.*

**I: Why does war band exist?**

*O: in order that we learn the songs for the flag.*

*V: they are for singing.*

**I: Why children stand in rows?**

*O: To obey the flag.*

*V: In order that flag can walk through school students.*

*O: in order that everybody can see how the flag is.*

**I: Why boys and girls are separated?**

*O: because boys are like warriors and girls are like warriors (In Spanish there are feminine and masculine genders for adjectives)*

*V: because they chat a lot, they play a lot and they do not obey to the flag*

Why feminine and masculine warriors are separated?

*O: because they play and do not obey the flag.*

If they get together, they don't obey?

*Both: Yes*

But I have seen boys with girls that are chatting, playing and do not obey

*O: In first grade they played a lot...*

*V: Because they....*

Would you put them together?

*V: No. They could play and not obey the flag?*

*O: Because they will do a disaster*

**I: Do you remember any anniversary of event?**

*O: we are going to make one. Each person must carry a letter.*

What letters do you have?

*O: the letter N.*

*V: letter Y.*

What are you going to do with that?

*O: we must say the letter....<sup>37</sup>*

Do you remember any other anniversary?

*Both: No*

Do you remember the value of the month?

*Both: No*

**Something else that I have not asked?**

*V: here (school) we are not allowed to have boyfriends, just friends...*

28 Ángel (8) and Ángel (8) (3° Grade)

**1. I: What is done during civic ceremonies?**

*A1: singing.*

*A2: Saluting to flag.*

*A1: Pay respects to the flag.*

I: Why do you think they exist?

*A1: To respect our world.*

*A2: To remember.*

To remember what?

*A2: (surprise facial expression and no answer)*

This is not a test, if you have in mind something you can say it

**2. I: could you explain me what do the anthems talk about?**

*About (he la-la-las national anthem) "... the war shout"...*

**3. I: What does the oath speak about?**

(No answer)

In case you do not remember, it begins like this (I say first sentence and they both continue)

What does it speak about?

*A1: about the flag?*

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<sup>37</sup> In Independence day celebration their group made an acrostic with the word "Indenpendencia" and each children said historical information

What does it say about the flag?

*A1: that... they used to say it was about the flag... I do not know.*

**4. I: Why does escort exist?**

*A1: To handle the flag.*

*A2: to March.*

What else?

*A2: to respect the flag.*

Why should we respect our flag?

*A1: to respect our country, and this is the flag of our country.*

What would happen without flag?

(no answer)

Would you like to participate in escort?

*A1: No.*

*A2: Yes.*

You, why not?

*A1: I do not know.*

And you?

*A2: because I like it.*

What do you like?

*A2: what they wear here (he points to his arm, it is the place where escort children have the school insignia) like that guy... he also wears a "little virgin" (scapular)*

Have you noticed that is the same insignia that you have? But you have it here...

**5. I: Why does war band exist?**

*A1: to play the music.*

What if we take it off?

*A2: we won't listen to the songs.*

Would you like to participate in it?

*A1: I do*

Why?

*A2: no*

Why?

*A2: because they always will put me in a drum not in a trumpet... I have never played but I am very sure they will put me in a drum.*

And you?

*A1: I would like, in both (instruments) because they have different sounds*

#### **6. I: Why children stand in rows?**

*A2: because it is "a respect" to the flag.*

What if they don't do it?

*A2: there is no respect.*

What do you think about it?

*A1: ... nothing.*

#### **7. I: Why boys and girls are separated?**

*A2: otherwise boys would be girls*

*A1: to respect?*

What?

*A1: the flag.*

What if we put them together?

*A2: boys will become girls*

Do you consider that feasible?

(no answer)

*A1: that's is why I do not make friends from girls*

Why?

*A1: because if other boy sees that I play with her, he starts to bother me.*

*A2: that is true.*

#### **8. I: Do you remember any anniversary of event?**

*Both: yes!*

DO you remember something?

*A1: Mexican things.*

*A2: that they bring, for example, a representation of Benito Juarez or... Benito Juarez.*

*A1: and Cristopher Columbus. I talked once...*

What did you say?

A1: about Emiliano Zapata.

## 29 Cony (8) and Casimiro (6) (2°Grade)

### 1. I: What is done during civic ceremonies?

Cony: *we salute*

Casimiro: *We put "this"*

What is the name of "this"?

Caasimiro: *These from here go to there, those from there go to here* (With hand sings he tries to explain me how escort's children parade and take place in the playground, Concepción corrects him with the same language about the position of actors within the playground)

Ok. What else?

Ca: *we pay respects to flag* (he talks about the anthem) *but I remember just a part*

I: Why do you think they exist?

Con: *to sing, to salute*

What do you salute to?

Ca: *to the ceremony... then we do like "this"* (he raises the hand like they do during the oath) *then we do not say anything, then we do like "this"* (he puts hand down) *and then... oh yes, I do know a part* (of the oath)...

It is not a problem that you do not know it by heart... [question 4]

### 2. I: could you explain me what do the anthems talk about?

Cas: *Something about a cannonry*

Con: *something about god*

### 3. I: What does the oath speak about?

Cas: *I just know something about "we swear"...*

Con: *I think that is all* [question 8]

### 4. I: Why does escort exist?

Con: *What is that?*

Is the group of children who parade while you sing the flag anthem, it is what Carlos is talking about.

Con: *oh, I know now. It is to show the flag...*

Cas: *The Mexican flag, they do "like this" and walk "like this"* (he does like he were marching) *and they are showing us the Mexican flag*

**5. I: Why does war band exist?**

*Car: the battle of Mexico*

Do you know what is the war band?

*Both: Yes!*

*Car: Some of them do "like this", like drums and think those with trumpets, sing and those with drums, do "like this", with the sticks... "like this" (apparently to sing is to play music)*

What if we take them off? What happens?

*Con: We would not be able to sing anymore [question 2]*

**6. I: Why children stand in rows?**

*Con: to sing, we cannot sing if we are not in attention position and in rows*

*Cas: In order to have space for the flag, they show the flag*

**7. I: Why boys and girls are separated?**

*Cas: to give room to the flag*

*Con: I do not know*

**8. I:** Do you remember that at the end of the ceremony some children speak on microphone, say a date, information and then show a card with drawings. Those are anniversary of history events. **Do you remember any anniversary of event?**

9. *Con: No*

10. *Car: I used to remember that there was a man from Mexico who looks "like this", "like this" [He shows a rigid pose] but I don't remember anymore who was he... in first grade we do that but about numbers, I had to pass to the front, Concepción did not have to go, but I do not remember...*

Do you remember the value of the month?

(They both repeat days of the week (mon to sun) although I asked again and explained) [question 6 and 7]

**30 Amairani (7) and Merely (7) (2° grade)**

**1. I: What is done during civic ceremonies?**

*Michelle: Independence*

*América: I do not know what is that*

I remind you (I explain and use the term "paying respects to flag" and they say they remember)

*Michelle: We stand up*

*América: we wait*

I: Why do you think they exist?

*A: To make possible that all the children can see*

*M: to make possible that they learn*

Oh, are you talking about the escort?

*Both: Yes [question 4]*

**2. I: could you explain me what do the anthems talk about?**

*M: I do not remember*

*A: at 12 am national anthem begins (in radio)*

How do you know it?

*A: because sometimes I do not want to sleep and I wait until it plays*

Oh, and what does it talk about?

*M: that that song is song in all the countries*

*A: but in USA they do it differently*

How?

*A: in English*

And do they sing the same lyrics?

*A: No*

Ok. What else?

*M: they are too much people who march*

**3. I: What does the oath speak about?**

*A: (she recites "... our parents and brothers) That we must respect each other*

Who?

*A: our parents and brothers*

Is there something else about the oath?

*Both: No [question 6]*

**4. I: Why does escort exist?**

*M: to see when they grow up (spectators), and when they know how to do it, they do it*

*M: that we know how to do it*

*A: to study*

*M: To have 10 (of average)*

*A: I do not know what else*

**5. I: Why does war band exist?**

*M: to listen the music while escort children walk*

If we take it off, what happens?

*A: (the ceremony) it sounds ugly [question 2]*

**6. I: Why children stand in rows?**

*A: so that children do not get lost and to give space to those who are marching*

*M: I do not know*

**7. I: Why boys and girls are separated?**

*M: Because we get crowded otherwise*

*A: otherwise we would get crowded and we would not fit (in the playground) and we can fall*

Do you join both in case there were a lot of space?

*Both: No*

Why not?

*M: I don't remember why*

*A: Because sometimes there are boys and there are smaller girls that get crowded*

But if there is space, you would not get crowded

*A: it is possible that we push each other and we fall... and those who marches would not fit*

*M: someday someone pushed me, do you remember América?*

*A: Yes!*

And what happened?

*M: I fell*

And why that happened?

*M: because boys pushed me*

*A: because children from our class are very rude, they always fight, like Angel Adrian. He usually closes the door and fight with children who play with him and he slams them against the chair*

(They tell me about the actions of this boy for a while)

**8. I: Do you remember any anniversary of event?**

*Both: we do not remember.*

31 Murcia (7) and Javier (7) (2° grade)

**1. I: What happens during civic ceremonies?**

*Mia: we sing.*

*Jesús: we use the hands.*

Do you use hands?

*J: yes.*

What else?

(No answer)

I: Why do you think they exist?

*M: to sing to the flag*

*J: to sing...*

*M: to march...*

**2. I: could you explain me what do the anthems talk about?**

*M: about how to take care of Mexico...*

*J: how to take care of the country*

How do you take care of the country?

*J: I do not know*

**3. I: What does the oath speak about?**

*M: that we take care of*

What?

*M: the country*

*J: the country*

**4. I: Why does escort exist?**

*J: I do not know*

*M: to sing to the flag*

Why they need to sing if you already sing?

*Both: I do not know*

Would you like to participate in the escort?

*Both: yes*

What do you need to participate there?

*J: to stand in a line*

**5. I: Why does war band exist?**

*M: to sing to the flag and to play to the flag.*

Without war band what would happen?

*J: we would not sing to the flag.*

*M: no, we wouldn't.*

You sure?

*Yes*

Did you come last Friday? It was not war band

*M: I did not come*

*J: me neither.*

## **6. I: Why children stand in rows?**

*M: to give space to the flag*

*J: to give space to other children*

*M: that escort can march*

## **7. I: Why boys and girls are separated?**

*M: To give space*

Is it possible to put them together?

*Both: yes*

So, why they are separated?

*M: because the teacher do not want to*

Why do you think she does not want to?

*M: I don't know... because we are too much*

Would you take the same row than boys?

*M: No.*

Why?

*M: because it is for men.*

And what would be wrong with that?

*M: that I must be in the girls row.*

Would you be in girls' row?

*J: No, because they are girls*

*M: we must respect.*

If you are in their row you don't respect them? Do you threaten them in some way?

*M: I don't*

So?

*M: I don't, it is not hu...*

So, would you go to the other row?

*Both: No*

**8. I: Do you remember any anniversary of event?**

*M: yes, about the earthq... I do not remember*

You say something about “earthq...”?

*M: yes about the earthquake. That was one once... but I do not remember* (during the last ceremony a teacher spoke about earthquake of 1985)

Do you remember the value of the month?

## Kokkuvõtte

### Aktuste roll laste rahvusliku identiteedi kujunemisele Mehhikos.

See töö koosneb kolmest osast: mütoloogiast, kirjanduse ülevaatest ja analüüsist. Esimene peatükk selgitab lastega läbiviidud kvalitatiivse uuringu printsiipe, töö kavandit, uurimiskohta, millest tööd kirjutades juhinduti, õigustusi ja meetodite kasutamise eesmärke.

Teises peatükis kirjeldatakse teooriaid, milles analüüsitakse uurimiskohta puudutavat tööd-see on jagatud kolme alapeatükki. Esimene alapeatükk sisaldab põgusat ülevaadet koolides toimuvatest aktuste ajaloost. Teine alapeatükk räägib kultuurimälust konseptsioonist ning viimane alapeatükk on rahvusidentiteedi kujunemise kohta.

Kolmas peatükk sisaldab teise peatüki teooriate ja käesoleva uurimistöö tulemuste analüüsi. Analüüsile järgneb järeldus. Uurimistöö tulemused on lisatud töö lõppu.

Esimene osa lisab uurimistöö põhimõtete. Aktuseid on võimalik uurida erinevalt, olenevalt taustsüsteemist, uurimisobjektist ja lähenemisviisist. Kvalitatiivne uuring võimaldab subjektiivset lähenemist uurimisobjektidele. Kvalitatiivne uuring valiti seetõttu, et sooviti uurida ja kirjeldada aktuste mõju laste rahvusliku identiteedi kujunemisele. Selle uuringu tegemiseks on oluline uurimisobjekti vaatenurgast lähenemine. Veelgi enam, lastega seotud uuringud sisaldavad kindlat meetoodikat, mis peab olema kooskõlas laste sotsiaalsete ja kognitiivsete oskustega ning nende õigustega. Oluline on ka raporti haldamine ja arvestamine sellega, et lapsed on “ekspertide” positsioonis.

Plaan oli kahes Mexico City koolis pooleteise kuu jooksul viia läbi vaatlus, intervjuu nii laste kui ka õpetajatega ning grupivestlus. Maavärina tõttu 19. septembril Mexico Citys, kestis uuring kuu aega, 2017. aasta augustist septembrini, ning seetõttu ei jõutud algkoolis läbi viia grupivestlusi ja intervjuud algkooli õpetajatega. Uuringust on puudu ka intervjuu esimese klassi algkooli õpilastega.

Ma mõistsin rahvuslikku identiteeti, kui kõikehõlmavat ideed rahvusest, *habitus*’ist ja eraldamist “meid” “teistest”. Need elemendid on poogitud inimeste ellu ning seda märgistatakse väljendiga kultuurimälu. Veelgi enam rahvusliku identiteedi kujunemine sõltub paljustki koolist,

mis hoiab enda käes rahvusliku ideoloogia monopoli, mõjutades laste vaateid. Koolid õpetavad ja kinnistavad lastesse seda rahvusliku identiteedi protsessi, mis tähendab, et see loob nende rahvusliku identiteedi aktiivsel viisil, kaasates emotsioone, ideid, varasemaid teadmisi, kogemusi jne. Selles töös uuritakse aktuste rolli laste rahvusliku identiteedi kujunemisele.

Teine peatükk annab edasi teooriaid, mis tegelevad nende mõistetega. Pärast lühidat aktuste ajaloo kirjeldust, kasutan J. Assmanni, A. Assmanni, Tamme ja Wertschi ideid, et kirjeldada kultuurimälu põhilisi printsiipe. Aktused on ajalooliste sündmuste, müütide, pärimuse, sümbolite, moraali, väärtuste ja identiteedi informatsiooni kandjaks. Samuti vastab tõele, et see info on või peaks olema autokommunikatsiooni kaudu kogukonnale arusaadav- see konseptsioon tuleneb Lotmanilt. Lõpetuseks, see informatsioon võib olla taibatud individuaalide poolt, mida Wertsch järgnedes Vygotsky, nimetab internaliseerimiseks.

Viimane osa sellest peatükist keskendub sellele, kuidas me tajume rahvusliku identiteedi kujunemist. sotsiaalteadust ja sotsiaalhariduseteadust lähenemisega märgati rahvuslikku identiteeti ja selle erinevaid külgi: rahvusena territoriaalsuse-, ja suveräänsuse üksusega, *habitus*, mis on kujunenud emotsionaalelu, aksioloogia ja käitumusliku eelsoodumuseks, samuti maailma modelleerimine; ja ühenduses enese ja teisesuse konstrueerimine.

Viimane peatükk, mis on käesoleva töö tuumaks, hõlmab vaatluste, intervjuude ja grupivestluste tulemusi, mis on välja toodud kahes analüüsi kategoorias. Esimeses kategoorias või toimingus analüüsitakse aktuse elemente kultuurimälu vaatenurgast võrreldes sellega, kuidas õpilased seda ise kirjeldavad. Teine kategooria võrdleb rahvuslikku ideoloogiat, mida tseremooniad julgustavad. Võrdluses sellega, kuidas õpilased kirjeldavad enda identiteeti mehhiklastena. Lõpetuseks võeti kokku mõlemad kategooriad ja antakse vastus töö peamisele uurimusküsimusele: “Mis roll on aktustel laste rahvusliku identiteedi kujunemisele?”.

Sellel tööil on kaks eesmärki. Ühelt poolt panustab töö laste rahvusliku identiteedi uuringusse, pöörates erilist rõhku aktuste uurimisse koos metoodikaga, mis keskendub laste perspektiivile. Teiselt poolt panustab töö nende traditsiooniliste aktuste järjepidevuse diskussiooni.

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