A postcolonial discourse analysis of Finnish school textbooks: learning about the world from a tourist perspective

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Abstract: In this article, we ask how Finnish basic education school textbooks in social science portray tourism and countries with a big tourism sector. We have analyzed the textbook quotes from a postcolonial perspective, using discourse theory analysis. The idea is to challenge what is considered objective information about tourist locations in school textbooks. The results show that even if some ethical questions are at times debated openly, particularly environmental problems at tourist sites, tourism is considered as something predominantly positive. The textbook reader is assumed to be a potential tourist. Some textbook quotes resemble tourist brochures, while people living in tourist locations are given marginal importance. A key argument is that the unequal global power relations between tourists and those living in tourist locations are not challenged. Considering tourism from a postcolonial point of view brings a vital perspective to social science education. There is a need to challenge the positions that are appointed to textbook readers.

Key Words: social science education; geography education; postcolonial perspective; tourism; textbook analysis

Introduction

In social science, particularly – but not only – in geography, students learn about the world around them. In this journal, there has been a discussion about the need for education to start prioritizing issues concerning global awareness and global responsibility (Reynolds, 2016; Pike, 2013; Saada, 2014). This article examines Finnish school textbook descriptions of tourism and locations with a thriving tourist industry. The phenomenon of tourism is not easily described in academic terms (Hall & Tucker, 2004). We consider tourism to be symbolic of global inequality. Only a limited, privileged part of the global population has the opportunity to travel around the world. Bauman has suggested that tourism is a metaphor for contemporary life in Western societies (Franklin, 2003). The right of the rich in the West to travel the world is rarely questioned, whether in an educational context or in society at large. However, tourism needs to be considered as rooted in colonialism (d'Hauteserre, 2004; Hall & Tucker, 2004). As d'Hauteserre (2004, p. 237) suggested, "Exotic places are controlled and domesticated through a language that locates them in a 'universal' (meaning Western) system of references that visitors recognize and can communicate about." The field of tourism studies has seen a need for more postcolonial analysis, including questioning the material inequality and the power relations that have been perceived as natural (Bianchi, 2009; Chambers & Buzinde, 2015; Hall & Tucker, 2004; Echtner & Prasad, 2003; Mattsson, 2016). In this chapter, we turn the focus to school textbooks. From a postcolonial perspective, we ask: How are countries and places that are often considered tourist sites and attractions described in the textbooks?

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Studying School Textbooks from a Postcolonial Perspective

Postcolonialism should not only be seen as concerning colonial relations of the past, as the prefix "post" might indicate. Instead, the study of current global political and economic power structures would benefit from a postcolonial analysis (Hall, 1996). This also concerns education and the portrayal of the world as a subject of school knowledge. As Willinsky (1998) proposed, the educational project of postcolonialism in the West is only beginning. According to him, we "need to learn again how the past centuries of studying, classifying and ordering humanity within an imperial context gave rise to peculiar and powerful ideas of race, culture, and nation that were, in effect, conceptual instruments used by the West to both divide up and educate the world" (1998, p. 2-3). The need for postcolonial analysis in education is still present. According to Rizvi, Lingard, and Lavia (2006), this includes integrating postcolonialism with an understanding of contemporary globalization. For educational scholars, postcolonialism makes the history and legacy of European colonialism visible by showing how today's discursive and material global hierarchies are necessarily linked to historical power relations. Consequently, Rizvi, Lingard, and Lavia have suggested that there is a need within education to reveal and resist the continuing hold of colonialism on our imagination.

Lately, some scholars have joined the theoretical positions of postcolonialism with a critical view of education, showing the potential of postcolonial discourse analysis in teaching. Using concepts from postcolonial legends such as Said (1978), Fanon (2007), and Hall (1997), they suggest a need for more postcolonial thinking in social science education (Subedi & Daza, 2008; Saada, 2014; Lozic, 2011; Burney, 2012). A key argument is that hegemonic interpretations of the world that categorize people hierarchically need to be deconstructed. Andreotti and Pashby (2013) provided examples of critical questions to pose to educational texts, revealing the necessity to contextualize and historicize education and teaching.

School textbooks have a powerful position in society (Apple, 2004; Schissler & Soysal, 2005). Studying these can be seen as a way to study society at large. School textbooks include information that is commonly considered objective and useful (Loftsdóttir, 2010). Since they portray what is considered "common sense," it can be demanding to see the ideological power perspectives that are reflected as natural in textbooks. Discourse theory analysis, as articulated by Laclau and Mouffe (1985/2001), emphasizes that what is considered objective can be seen as the outcome of an ideological struggle. By analyzing how seemingly objective knowledge is portrayed in textbooks, it is thereby possible to see ruling ideologies in textbooks and society at large. Discourses are constructed in society, but they also construct reality. This is central for the study of how school textbooks present the world: representations of places as tourist locations construct and confirm our understanding of them as mainly being there for tourists.

Discourse Theory Analysis of School Textbooks

This study is linked to a thesis project (Mikander, 2016). The material for the research project consists of a total of 76 Finnish textbooks in geography, history, and social studies for grades 5 to 9 (11–16-year-olds), comprising all the textbooks published in these subjects in Finnish and Swedish by the six major publishing companies in Finland between 2005 and 2010. The main focus of the analysis is based on ten textbooks that discuss international tourism or tourists. Nine of these are geography textbooks and one is a history textbook. The textbooks are based on the 2004 curriculum (Finnish National Board of Education, 2004), which promotes key concepts such as democracy, human rights, and equality as

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the underlying values for education. Equality, as in the equal value of all human beings, could be assumed to mean a portrayal of the world as consisting of human beings of equal value, not one where Westerners are superior to others.

Laclau and Mouffe (2001), who have provided a methodological inspiration for this study, do not offer any step-by-step analytical tool for their discourse analysis; however, they suggest a set of concepts for conducting the analysis. This research considered the texts, pictures, and assignments that involved the relation between the West and the surrounding world to be what Laclau and Mouffe call articulations. The articulations in the textbooks were documented and categorized according to certain topics that were seen as nodal points (Winther, Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). Nodal points are privileged signs around which other signs are ordered. Descriptions of "tourism" or "tourists" were regarded as a nodal point.

The results of the analysis are presented in three parts. The first examines ethical issues related to tourism. The second concerns descriptions of the tourist and the "local people." The third looks at the possibility for postcolonial change in the textbooks.

Tourism and Ethics

In the material, several geography textbooks included at least some kind of ethical discussion about tourism in general, or about the relations between tourists and the people living in places with a large tourism industry. The ethical discussions in the textbooks revolve around three issues: ecological, economic, and cultural. These are often intertwined in the textbook descriptions. However, as we see it, there is a fourth ethical issue, concerning tourism and power, which is not discussed in the textbooks. In the following, we start by focusing on how ecological, economic, and cultural issues are brought up as topics of ethical discussions in relation to tourism.

Ecological, economic, and cultural questions are often interwoven in descriptions about the ethics of tourism. The ecological damage caused by tourists is often mentioned, but it is repeatedly seen as of marginal importance, as in the following:

> Safari tourism protects the nature of the Savanna (headline) […] Tourism may cause local destruction of nature, but it is also a very significant source of income. The income from foreign safari tourists is used to maintain national parks and to protect endangered animal species (Leinonen, Martikainen, Nyberg, Veistola, & Jortikka, 2010b, p. 128). [1]

Since tourism is understood to bring money and employment to the area, the ecological damage is here considered less important. The idea that tourism actually saves nature rather than threatens it is, however, fairly common in the geography textbooks examined. The economic value of tourism is often mentioned as something positive, suggesting that the tourism sector brings employment. This is not a clear-cut issue. For instance, in a UNESCO manual on the impact of tourism, Pedersen (2002, p. 33) listed some of the possible risks related to it. Tourism is likely to benefit foreign companies more than local populations. The revenues from tourism that remain with the local population tend to be

[1] All the quotes were translated by the authors and later checked by a language reviser.

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unfairly distributed, disadvantaging those who bear the burdens of the cost of tourism. Additionally, the job opportunities provided by tourism tend to benefit the well educated from capital cities rather than people from the local areas. Furthermore, since tourism is often seasonal, there are rarely any job opportunities other than temporary jobs. Liu (2003) showed how even what is considered sustainable tourism can be criticized. As an economic source, tourism is still particularly vulnerable to external events, such as the weather or political/economic insecurity.

One geography textbook series shows a particularly non-challenging attitude to tourism. One chapter on global tourism (Leinonen, Martikainen, Nyberg, Veistola, & Jortikka, 2010b, p. 53-54) lists the benefits of tourism for people in the "industrialized countries": "Nowadays, many of the inhabitants of industrialized countries are wealthy and knowledgeable about languages, and they have more leisure time." The benefits include the aspect that tourists leave money at the destination (for lodging, services, and purchases), providing the locals with employment, but also that tourists bring "new ways and ideas." It is further suggested that:

> On the other hand, the old traditions in the target states might be strengthened when the local populations's own culture is presented to visitors. The travelers experience and learn new things. With this increasing knowledge, the feeling of unity between nations grows and prejudices decrease (ibid.).

The text suggests that tourists have a positive impact on the culture of their destination, whether this means bringing in new ideas or a demand for the local people to show their "own culture." This is problematic in many ways. It starts from the idea that culture is something that needs to be shown to others in order to stay viable. This is a static, even stereotypical view of culture as something that is performed to tourists. Simultaneously, the text suggests that the new ways and ideas that tourists bring benefit the local population. The idea that the unity between nations is strengthened when people from different corners of the world meet is honorable; however, in the case of tourism, the meeting between tourists and people living at tourist destinations is often unequal, since one often serves the other. Bauman (quoted in Franklin, 2003, p. 216) suggested that tourism might not be the best way to get to know others, that people might have a better chance of really meeting others in their own cities than at a faraway Holiday Inn.

In the same textbook series book about Europe (Leinonen, Martikainen, Nyberg, Veistola, & Jortikka, 2010a, p. 64), a discussion about the ethics of tourism focuses on the environmental problems involved. Regarding tourism in the Mediterranean, it states that "Tourism in the Mediterranean countries has brought many negative consequences." As examples, the textbook mentions that hotel villages have been built at the expense of old coastal cities, that waste and waste water facilities have not been built to accommodate the rapid construction, that the Mediterranean coasts are "severely contaminated," and that tourists "waste water carelessly." It also mentions that the slow lifestyle has become hectic, and that tourism has brought along with it criminality and drugs. Similarly to the example above, the chapter, however, then turns to the brighter sides of tourism:

> On the other hand, the tourists of today demand clean beaches and swimming waters, and because of this, in a way they improve the quality of the environment, too. The local inhabitants benefit from many renovations that were initially made to cater to the needs of tourists, such as good traffic connections, sewage and water treatment plants. Historical sites are being repaired continuously, so that they stay attractive (ibid.).

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Despite the stated negative consequences, the quote suggests that tourists indirectly improve the environment by their demands for clean beaches and waters to swim in. It also suggests that historical attractions are repaired in order for them to stay attractive (for tourists). The quote includes some descriptions of people that can be seen as problematic from a postcolonial perspective. The text does not challenge the seemingly neutral, objective suggestions that waters are kept clean and attractions are repaired only because "the tourists of today" demand it. This assumption, however, strengthens the idea that some people's needs or wishes are more important than others'. Even though this might often be the case, social science teaching, in this case geography textbooks, would need to keep a distance from such claims, bearing in mind the core values of the curriculum, which state that all teaching should be based on equality, human rights, and democracy (FNBE, 2004). As Zilliacus, Holm, and Sahlström (submitted) show, however, a problematic aspect of the 2004 curriculum is that it generally takes as its point of departure Finnish and European perspectives on both local and global issues. This creates a basis for unequal discourses focusing on Finnish perspectives also in social science teaching. The new curriculum of 2014 shows a shift towards highlighting global perspectives parallel to local perspectives. It also emphasizes ethical reasoning and the need to see things from the viewpoint of other cultures and to value cultural diversity both in their local community and in the world. However, this curriculum still does not include questions of dominance and power between different cultures and groups within society. This leads us to the fourth key issue in the discourses concerning tourism.

Whose Beaches?

In addition to the discussions on the economic, environmental, and cultural concerns regarding tourism, the fourth ethical issue to be debated regards the portrayal of certain geographical locations as "being there for tourists." This concerns the unquestioned power position that people in the West have in places that are considered tourist attractions. The issue of power links to the fundamental questions of how concerns for ethics and the respect for others are constructed. The previously mentioned textbook quotes do not challenge the position of power that Western tourists have. Some textbook texts, however, more explicitly connect tourist locations to the tourists in a way that more or less directly claim ownership of them. This attitude can only be seen as colonial:

> Nowadays, the beaches and islands of Central America are wealthy tourists' tropical paradises, where the white sandy beaches bordered with palm trees, as well as the warm water with its coral reefs, the exquisite conditions for sailing and the fishing offer unforgettable experiences (Leinonen, Nyberg, Veistola & Jortikka, 2010, p. 72).

Echtner and Prasad (2003) discussed how tourism is marketed, and they showed how the word "paradise" is often used to tempt potential tourists. It is a way to divert the attention from any problems such as poverty. This textbook is particularly explicit in stating that these places "are" the paradises of tourists. In textbook quotes such as these, there are no discussions that might link the right of certain people to move around the planet as a leisure activity with the restricted movement of others on the planet. The seemingly neutral idea that the tourist/textbook reader is expected to use his or her right to travel around the world is as unchallenged as is the equally neutral idea that other peoples' rights to travel should be limited (see author). This lack of a postcolonial global power aspect is fairly consistent in the revised textbooks.

The idea that certain places and attractions "are there" for tourists is noticeable in different ways in the descriptions. One grade 6 geography textbook chapter about Egypt (Palenius & Ulenius, 2008, p.

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87) lists the pyramids under the subheading "tourism" (as opposed to, for instance, "history"). This can be interpreted as an example of constructing an image of Egypt's pyramids as being mainly a tourist attraction. In its description of Thailand's beaches, one geography book (Cantell et al., 2008, p. 67) states that:" The least rainy period is conveniently in winter, when the inhabitants of rich industrial countries long for sunny, southern beaches the most." The word "offer" is used in several articulations when describing the old culture of Thailand: "In addition to the sun, the culture, which is thousands of years old, offers a variety of experiences, such as different foods, splendorous temples and palaces, or even riding elephants."

Obviously, geography textbooks about countries with a big tourist sector need to mention tourism in the descriptions of the countries themselves. It is also understandable that the focus is on attractions, such as pyramids or beaches, if these are important for the country in general. What we would like to point out, however, is that the perspective makes a difference. When suggesting that a country "offers" its beaches to "rich inhabitants of industrialized countries," the implication is that these beaches somehow naturally belong to tourists. The beaches, as well as various other elements such as the sun, temples and foods, even elephants, become something that the wealthy "consume."

One way to make this point more evident is to examine alternative ways to write about beaches; in this case, another geography textbook's description of the beaches of Rio:

> Many think Rio is one of the most beautiful cities in the world. […] The inhabitants and the tourists of Rio can relax on the famous beaches of Copacabana and Ipanema, which, combined, are almost 10 km long (Keskitalo et al., 2010, p. 104).

By initially mentioning the inhabitants of Rio before the tourists, the quote above serves as a reminder that the tourist perspective does not need to be the only approach to describing remarkable places on Earth.

You, the Tourist

One question to ask in connection with descriptions about tourism or tourist sites is: Who is the tourist? Some textbooks very explicitly assume that the reader is an intended tourist. In descriptions of places that are popular tourist sites, it is understandable that geography textbook authors might connect the descriptions of places with students travelling to them. For many young people in rich countries such as Finland, it is still possible to live without paying much attention to global inequality. Travelling to countries where global inequality is more explicit might provide the first notion that (young) privileged people get about the world as an unfair place. This might be one reason why textbook authors deliberately connect teaching about "tourist sites" with the students' experiences of tourist trips to these places. Yet, this is an issue that would sometimes benefit from a more critical approach. Some textbook descriptions are almost identical to tourist brochures:

> If you ever want to go for a holiday to a tropical destination where English is spoken as an official language, you should head for Central America. There you will find Belize, where English has remained an official language since colonial times. (Keskitalo, et al., 2010, p. 124).

and:

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> The time zones need to be taken into account …. If you plan to stay at the travel destination for several days, it is worth trying to adapt to the new daily rhythm as quickly as possible. (Leinonen, Martikainen, Nyberg, Veistola & Jortikka, 2010b, p. 54)

Using phrases such as ”you should head for” and ”it is worth trying to adapt” assume without questioning that the textbook reader has the right and the resources to travel around the world. The tourist is “you.” By assuming that the student is a potential tourist, the textbook reveals a middle class norm. Interestingly, the descriptions suggest that when tourists are described in an unfavorable light, they are not identified with the textbook reader. In the final chapter of a history textbook (Rinta-aho, Niemi, Siltala-Keinänen, & Lehtonen, 2009, p. 215), the focus is on global challenges for “developing countries” in the future. The text includes the following statement about human trafficking:

> Peasant families suffering from poverty may sell young girls in the cities. There, the girls are forced to work as sex workers. The risk of contracting AIDS, which affects the developing countries, is big. The wealthy Western countries are very reluctant to enact laws that would make it possible to punish those tourists who exploit children in developing countries (ibid.).

This quote, which is from a history, not geography, textbook, clearly articulates that there are drawbacks in tourism that are related to global power and the economic relations between people. The text shows a very different discourse around tourism, revealing unequal global hierarchies and ethical problems concerning the meeting between poor people in the tourist destinations and tourists. In these sentences however, “those tourists” are not really considered as “you.”

They, the “Local People”

In the geography textbook descriptions, it is also of interest to examine how people living in places that are considered tourist sites are described. It seems that they are frequently described as benefitting from the employment that tourism brings. Questioning the positions that “local people” are given in the textbook descriptions reveals notions of global relations. Sometimes the “local people” might be portrayed as playing a sort of supporting role for the main actors, the tourists:

> Many travelers in the Andes suffer from altitude sickness, which causes dizziness, vomiting and shortness of breath. The atmospheric pressure falls on the way upwards, causing sickness. Some get the symptoms quickly, others only at an altitude of 4 km. Local people are accustomed to the thin air (Agge et al., 2009, p. 71).

When discussing the circumstances of people in the Andes, the focus is first and foremost on tourists. The difficulties that the mountains pose to them are described in detail, while the position of the “local people” is secondary.

The same geography textbook includes illustrations in the form of postcards from different countries. The postcard from Tanzania strengthens the image of “local people” as passive actors, here described as an “experience”:

> Jambo from the Equator and the safari! Nature is wonderful in Serengeti national park in Tanzania. From a jeep we have spotted the most amazing animals of the savannah, or the big five: the lion, buffalo, elephant, leopard and rhino. In addition, we have seen

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> zebras and hippos. An equally great experience has been the really friendly people, who always greet us in Swahili, but luckily speak English, too! Regards, Mara (ibid.,p. 81).

The quote, which arguably might not sound very unorthodox for a postcard text, can be considered as an example of a colonialist attitude. Reflecting upon colonialized Algeria, Fanon (2007, p. 206) suggested that while the colonized people were seen as part of the landscape, the colonizers were always the human subjects. From this point of view, the postcard text is an example of a dehumanizing, colonialist attitude.

Towards Postcolonial Change?

It has been suggested that school textbooks are starting to leave the Eurocentric colonial perspectives behind (Grammes, 2011, p. 2). Mikander (2016) has noted that while old stereotypes about non-Westerners such as derogatory characterizations might have begun to vanish, other postcolonial challenges have remained or even strengthened. In the researched descriptions of conflicts, past as well as current, Western violence is systematically hidden (Mikander, 2012). There is also a tendency to portray the West as superior, essentially democratic, and egalitarian (Mikander, 2015).

As an example of how contrarily the same phenomenon can be portrayed in different textbooks, consider the following descriptions about Uluru in Australia, the first one fairly brief: “Here and there in the sand, big sand rock formations arise, the most famous of which is Uluru or Ayers Rock, a sacred rock of the Australian primitives” (Cantell, et al., 2008, p. 78). To describe the indigenous people, the textbook uses the Finnish word for primitive (alkuasukas), which is not the same as indigenous (alkuperäisasukas). The fact that Uluru has a sacred meaning to the indigenous people of Australia is emphasized in the following textbook excerpt, which includes a longer chapter about the place. While it mentions that many people come to climb it, the meaning of sacred remains ambiguous: “The rock paintings on Uluru, even the furrows of the rock, have some kind of meaning for the aborigines. They wish that travelers would respect their traditions and not climb the sacred rock” (Leinonen, Martikainen, Nyberg, Veistola & Jortikka, 2010b, p. 58).

The following textbook, however, focuses on the place as mainly a tourist sight of interest:

> The most famous of these is Ayers Rock, which changes color according to the sunlight. It is a rock that is over 300 meters tall, rounded by the windblown sand and by heavy rains. Hundreds of thousands of travelers come every year to admire Ayers Rock. The first rays of the morning sun color the rock a glowing red. The rock should be climbed directly after sunrise, since the temperature during midday often rises to more than 40 degrees. (Arjanne, Leinonen, Nyberg, Palosaari & Vehmas, 2005, p. 122)

This textbook does not mention that the indigenous people consider the rock sacred. The indigenous people are mentioned five pages later in a picture where they dance traditional dances. A new edition of this textbook was published in 2010. The description of the place was left the same, but the name of the rock had changed from ”Ayers Rock” to ”Uluru” (Arjanne, Leinonen, Nyberg, Palosaari, & Vehmas, 2010, p. 125). The last sentence with the advice to climb early in the morning had also been removed. The page now includes a picture of Uluru with the added text: “Uluru, which is located in the middle of the desert, is a sacred rock for the indigenous people of Australia.” The word sacred has therefore been added in the form of a text next to a picture. Nash (2002) discusseed what recognizing the sacred status of Uluru means for cultural geography, and suggested that simply naming it sacred does not necessary challenge postcolonial racism. The sacredness might instead increase its value as

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something exotic to consume. Textbooks are often considered conservative and slow-changing (Karlsson, 2011). This transition could possibly be seen as symbolic for how changes in textbooks take place: there are rarely radical changes; instead, old texts are revised and updated (Macgilchrist, 2014). Adding the "correct term" for the place, and removing an instruction about how to climb the rock, are seen as sufficient, even though the text itself can be seen as colonialist, even irrelevant from an educational point of view, since it places the visitors in focus, not the people who live around the rock. It seems that the changes made have been only a response to the need to accommodate political correctness rather than any epistemological change.

The understanding that textbooks are conservative has been challenged by Holmén (2006), who showed that history textbooks in three Nordic countries changed rapidly along with the Cold War climate. Holmén has suggested that textbooks closely follow political trends, and change quickly when it comes to politically charged issues; however, as he suggested, this is not true if the texts are "thought to be harmless, or of limited political interest" (Holmén 2006, p. 343). For social science teaching, it would be important to challenge assumptions that date back to colonial times. As Merryfield (2002) suggested, the "imperial framework" restricts learning in the social studies in many ways. As long as students are taught that their perspective of the world is the only one worth knowing anything about, social science cannot claim to be globally aware or responsible, let alone based on values such as human rights.

Concluding Discussion

In this article, we have asked how school textbooks portray the concept of tourism and how geographical locations with a large number of tourists are described. We have analyzed the textbook quotes from a postcolonial perspective. The results show that even if some ethical questions are at times debated openly, particularly environmental problems at tourist sites, the focus is on the benefits of tourism. A key argument in the article is that the unequal global power relations between tourists and people living in tourist locations remain unchallenged. This is something we wish to draw attention to. Considering tourism from a postcolonial point of view brings a needed perspective to social science education. This can be seen as a proposal for educators as well as textbook writers. There is also a need to challenge the positions that are appointed to textbook readers. Not all students in social science class can be expected to travel to places described as paradises for tourists. Some students might also have parents who have grown up in these locations and consider them from a completely different perspective.

Traveling the world is often seen as positive, and people who travel as more open-minded than those who stay at home, or are not interested in other cultures or people. We agree that learning about the world can never be wrong. However, there is a need to recognize other aspects to traveling, such as we have shown in this article. Critically examining the role of tourism in today's world might require criticism, not just of power relations but of the global capitalist economy (Bianchi, 2009).

Mainly, there is a need for textbook authors and publishers to keep in mind the aims of the core curriculum when in the process of writing textbooks. In the Finnish case, the core values of the curriculum include ensuring that equality, democracy, and human rights are promoted. If school textbooks begin to look like tourist brochures, which have a completely different aim, then it is likely that the textbook writers have deviated from their main purpose.

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It seems that the hegemonic status of the tourist's perspective needs to be challenged, even if this might be a demanding task. We have pointed out the importance of considering ethical issues in the description of the world. This includes the description of places and people who are considered to be linked to the tourist industry. More analysis of power relations, and linking tourism to global historical and current power questions, would help connect education about the world with the core values of the curriculum, such as equality, human rights, and democracy.

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