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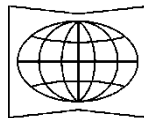
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YEARBOOK
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FOR HISTORY DIDACTICS (ISHD)

History Education
30 Years after the Cold War

History Education in Africa



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PREFACE

This issue of JHEC has been shaped by two main factors. First, the willingness of scholars from Africa to share their research and to present the situation of history education on their continent. It is a part of an on-going boom of history didactics in Africa but also in other parts of the world in relation to Africa. There is a growing body of research on the process of decolonization and post-colonial education, but also on other issues related to studying and teaching about the past in that part of the world, which is reflected in both the articles and book reviews included in this issue of our journal.

I am particularly grateful to Elize van Eeden, member of the board of the International Society for History Didactics and of the editorial board of our journal who was coordinating the efforts of the African team of authors, and to Denise Bentrovato for her help in developing this section of the journal. More Africa-related contributions have already been planned for the issues to come.

Second, the COVID-19 pandemics forced the organizers of the International Congress of Historical Sciences scheduled for 2020 in Poznań in Poland to postpone it, first until 2021, and then until 2022. So was the annual conference of the International Society for History Didactics. In these difficult times and complicated circumstances that all the scholars, including the ISHD members, have to face on daily basis, I am even more grateful to the authors who responded to our last year's call for papers seeking for texts on history education 30 years after the Cold War. This topic, represented in this issue by the articles referring to four countries of the former Soviet bloc, would certainly benefit from the contributions from other regions, including Western Europe and America. They would help to see the connections between the post-colonial and post-communist issues, and provide even deeper insights into the fuller picture of post-Cold War history education worldwide.

The topic of museums in history education, placed in the Varia section, is a recurring topic in didactical research. My own text on the 'Museum Lessons and the Teacher's Role' was published in JHEC 39 (2018). Further research on this and other areas of intersections between history didactics and public history in the changing circumstances is more than welcome.

I wish to express my gratitude to Terry Haydn for the English language proofreading of the articles and to Priska Kunz and Dorota Wiśniewska with Teresa Malinowska for the German and French translations, respectively.

Joanna Wojdon

VORWORT

Diese Ausgabe des JHEC ist von zwei Hauptfaktoren geprägt: Erstens von der Bereitschaft von Wissenschaftlern aus Afrika, ihre Forschung zu teilen und die Situation des Geschichtsunterrichts auf ihrem Kontinent darzustellen. Sie ist Teil eines anhaltenden Booms der Geschichtsdidaktik in Afrika, aber auch in anderen Teilen der Welt in Bezug auf Afrika. Es gibt eine wachsende Zahl von Forschungen zum Prozess der Dekolonisierung und zur postkolonialen Bildung, aber auch zu anderen Fragen im Zusammenhang mit dem Studium und der Lehre über die Vergangenheit in diesem Teil der Welt, was sich sowohl in den Artikeln, als auch in den Buchbesprechungen widerspiegelt, die in dieser Ausgabe unserer Zeitschrift enthalten sind.

Mein besonderer Dank gilt Elize van Eeden, Vorstandsmitglied der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Geschichtsdidaktik und des Redaktionsausschusses unserer Zeitschrift, die die Arbeiten des afrikanischen Autorenteam koordiniert hat, sowie Denise Bentrovato für ihre Hilfe bei der Entwicklung dieser Rubrik der Zeitschrift. Weitere Beiträge mit Afrika-Bezug sind für die kommenden Ausgaben bereits geplant.

Zweitens zwang die COVID-19-Pandemie die Organisatoren des für 2020 in Poznań (Polen) geplanten internationalen Kongresses für Geschichtswissenschaften, diesen zunächst auf 2021 und dann auf 2022 zu verschieben. Dies betraf auch die Jahrestagung der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Geschichtsdidaktik. In diesen schwierigen Zeiten und unter komplizierten Umständen, mit denen alle Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler, einschließlich der ISHD-Mitglieder, täglich konfrontiert sind, bin ich den Autorinnen und Autoren, die auf unseren letztjährigen Aufruf zur Einreichung von Beiträgen zur Geschichtsdidaktik 30 Jahre nach dem Kalten Krieg reagiert haben, umso dankbarer. Dieses Thema, das in dieser Ausgabe in verschiedenen Beiträgen aufscheint, die sich auf vier Länder des ehemaligen Sowjetblocks beziehen, würde sicherlich von weiteren Artikeln zu anderen Regionen, einschließlich Westeuropas und Amerikas, profitieren. Sie würden helfen, die Zusammenhänge zwischen den postkolonialen und postkommunistischen Themen zu erkennen und noch tiefere Einblicke in das umfassendere Bild des Geschichtsunterrichts weltweit nach dem Kalten Krieg zu geben.

Das Thema Museen in der Geschichtspädagogik, platziert in der Rubrik *Varia*, ist ein wiederkehrendes Thema in der didaktischen Forschung. Mein eigener Text zum Thema ‚Museumslektionen und die Rolle des Lehrers‘ wurde in *JHEC* 39 (2018) veröffentlicht. Weitere Forschungen zu diesem Thema und anderen Schnittstellen zwischen Geschichtsdidaktik und Public History unter den sich verändernden Umständen sind mehr als willkommen.

Ich danke Terry Haydn für das englischsprachige Korrekturlesen der Artikel und Priska Kunz und Dorota Wiśniewska mit Teresa Malinowska für die deutsche bzw. französische Übersetzung.

Joanna Wojdon

PRÉFACE

Ce numéro de la revue JHEC a été façonné par deux facteurs principaux. Le premier, c'est la volonté des chercheurs africains de partager leurs recherches et de présenter la situation de l'enseignement de l'histoire sur leur continent. Cela s'inscrit dans le cadre d'un essor continu de la didactique de l'histoire en Afrique et dans d'autres parties du monde en relation avec l'Afrique. Il existe un nombre croissant de recherches sur le processus de décolonisation et d'éducation post-coloniale, ainsi que sur d'autres questions liées à l'étude et à l'enseignement du passé dans cette partie du monde, ce qui se reflète dans les articles et les critiques de livres inclus dans ce numéro de notre revue.

Je suis particulièrement reconnaissante à Elize van Eeden, membre du conseil d'administration de la Société internationale de didactique de l'histoire (International Society for History Didactics, ISHD) et du comité de rédaction de notre revue, qui a coordonné les efforts de l'équipe d'auteurs africains, ainsi qu'à Denise Bentrovato pour son aide dans l'élaboration de cette section de la revue. D'autres contributions liées à l'Afrique ont déjà été prévues pour les numéros à venir.

Le second facteur, c'est la pandémie COVID-19 qui a contraint les organisateurs du Congrès international des sciences historiques (Congress of Historical Sciences), prévu pour 2020 à Poznań en Pologne, à le reporter, d'abord à 2021, puis à 2022. Il en a été de même pour la conférence annuelle de la Société internationale de didactique de l'histoire. Dans ces temps difficiles et ces circonstances compliquées que tous les chercheurs, y compris les membres de l'ISHD, doivent affronter au quotidien, je suis encore plus reconnaissante aux auteurs qui ont répondu à notre appel à contribution de l'année dernière au sujet de l'enseignement de l'histoire 30 ans après la guerre froide. Ce thème, traité dans ce numéro par les articles relatifs à quatre pays de l'ancien bloc soviétique, aurait certainement tiré profit de contributions d'autres régions du monde, notamment d'Europe occidentale et d'Amérique. Celles-ci auraient permis de voir les liens entre les questions post-coloniales et post-communistes, ainsi que d'approfondir encore plus le tableau de l'enseignement de l'histoire après la guerre froide dans le monde.

Le thème des musées dans l'enseignement de l'histoire, placé dans la section Varia, est un sujet récurrent dans la recherche didactique. Mon propre texte sur les « Leçons de musée et le rôle de l'enseignant » a été publié dans la revue JHEC 39 (2018). Des recherches supplémentaires sur ce sujet et sur d'autres domaines d'intersections entre la didactique de l'histoire et l'histoire publique dans des circonstances changeantes sont plus que souhaitables.

Je tiens à exprimer ma gratitude à Terry Haydn pour la relecture des articles en anglais et à Priska Kunz et Dorota Wiśniewska avec Teresa Malinowska pour les traductions en allemand et en français, respectivement.

Joanna Wojdon

HISTORY EDUCATION
30 YEARS AFTER THE COLD WAR

GESCHICHTSUNTERRICHT
30 JAHRE NACH DEM KALTEN KRIEG

ENSEIGNEMENT DE L'HISTOIRE
30 ANS APRÈS LA GUERRE FROIDE

TEACHING THE COLD WAR IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA*

Barnabás Vajda

The present study raises the question of how the historical period of the Cold War is presented in current Slovakian history textbooks. The research intends to shed some light on the specifics of the topic, considering that the Cold War as a school history theme, had not been dealt with either at all in the pre-1989 period, or it used to be interpreted under the exclusive terms of the Soviet/communist ideology. How has the historical period between 1945 and 1991 been presented to Slovakian school pupils and young adults? Is it a 'well developed' theme (as might be expected due to the availability of numerous primary sources, artefacts, texts, images, films, music, etc.), or is it a 'neglected' or 'boring' topic which perhaps still 'smells' with an 'odour' of former ideology? Absolute answers are, of course, limited, however, the present study would like to provide a contribution to the textbook research, thus perhaps international comparative textbook studies can be encouraged by it.

1. Research Approach, Sources, and Scholarly Literature

Today, more than a generation after its end in 1991, how is the historical period of the Cold War presented in the history textbooks in Slovakia, in a former Communist country? In order to gain primary knowledge on the teaching of the Cold War, I have analysed six Slovakian school history textbooks that deal with Cold War times, and which were edited and published in the post 1989 period, between 1991 and 2021. The textbooks under survey are as follows, in chronological order:

- Letz, Róbert. *Slovensko v 20. storočí. Dejepis pre 9. ročník základných škôl* [Slovakia in the 20th century. History for the 9th grade of elementary schools] 2nd ed. Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo, 2000;
- Damakoš, Marián. *Svetové dejiny III. – 20. storočie 1914–1991* [World history, Part III. – 20th century 1914–1991]. *Nová Maturita. Učebné*

* Preferred citation: B. Vajda (2021) 'Teaching the Cold War in the Post-Cold War Era,' *International Journal of Research on History Didactics, History Education and History Culture. Yearbook of the International Society for History Didactics*, 42, 13–26.

- texty pre gymnáziá a stredné odborné školy*. Bratislava – Prešov: Eurolitera, 2005;
- Kodajová, Daniela and Mária Tonková. *Dejepis – svetové dejiny. Pre 3. ročník gymnázií* [History – World history. For 3rd grade of secondary schools]. Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo, 2006;
 - Kratochvíl, Viliam and Mlynarčíková, Hana. *Maturita po novom – Dejepis* [New school leaving exams – History]. Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo, 2007;
 - Kováč, Dušan, Viliam Kratochvíl, Ivan Kamenec and Herta Tkadlečková. *Pátrame po minulosti. Dejepis 9. Pre 9. ročník základných škôl a 4. ročník gymnázia s osemročným štúdiom* [Investigating the past. History for 9th grade of elementary schools and for the 4th grade of secondary schools]. Bratislava: Orbis Pictus Istropolitana, 2012;
 - Letz, Róbert, Mária Tonková and Anna Bocková. *Dejepis pre 3. ročník gymnázií a stredných škôl* [History for 3th grade of secondary schools]. Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo, 2014. Up to date, this is the latest school textbook in use in Slovakia.

The scholarly literature on history textbook contents, including ideological bias and impact in general is quite well known, such as Bodo von Borries's *Narrating European History* (2000); Arja Virta's *Empirical Research on Historical Learning and Thinking in Finland* (2010); and Terry Haydn's unique study on the British Empire *How and What Should We Teach about the British Empire in English Schools?* (2014). I could also find valuable research aspects either explicitly on the Cold War, such as in Nadine Ritzer's *'National Defence' and 'Peacekeeping' – History Education in Cold War Switzerland* (2012), or on textbook research in general, such as *Methods in Swedish History Textbook Research*, written by Anders Holmgren and Daniel Lindmark (2011).

In the last two decades, a group of renowned Eastern European history didacticians have produced a remarkable literature on textbook content analysis as well as on the relation of ideologies with history teaching. Several interesting approaches have been published on the ideological impact of history teaching in recent or present day Russia and Ukraine, such as Alexander S. Khodnev's *Empirical Research on History Learning in Russia ...* (2010); Karina Korostelina's *Defining National Identities – The Role of History Education in Russia and Ukraine* (2009); *Oktatáspolitikai és történelemtanítás a Szovjetunióban és Ukrajnában 1990–2010* [Education Policy and History Teaching in the Soviet Union and Ukraine 1990 to 2010] (2013) by Ibolya Nagy

Szamborovszkyné; or *Russian History Textbooks in the Putin Era: Heroic Leaders Demand Loyal Citizens* (2004) written by Tatyana Tsyrlina-Spady and Alan Stoskopf. Regarding Hungary, we can read Ágnes F. Dárdai's *A tankönyvkutatás alapjai* [Foundations of the textbook research] (2002), and *Textbook Analysis Methods for the Longitudinal Study of Textbook Contents* (2011) written by Ágnes Dárdai-Fischer and László Kojanitz, as well as József Kaposi's *Questions of Education for Democracy* (2020).

Quite a lot of books have been written particularly on teaching specifically the Cold War, as we can read in *Remembering and recounting the Cold War. Commonly Shared History?* (2017) written and edited by Markus Furrer and Peter Gautschi from Switzerland; or in Ibolya Nagy Szamborovszkyné's *Oktatáspolitikai és történelemtanítás a Szovjetunióban és Ukrajnában, Szovjetunió 1945-1991* [Education Policy and History Teaching in the Soviet Union and Ukraine 1945 to 1991] (2013). Also, there can be found some remarkable Slovak and Polish literature such as Slávka Otčenášová's *The Image of Slovaks and the Others in Czechoslovak and Slovak History Textbooks Published from 1918 to 2002* (2015) and Joanna Wojdon's internationally renowned book on *Textbooks as Propaganda. Poland under Communist Rule, 1944–1989* (2017).

In order to provide an understandable context for international readers, I regard it important to draw up the brief structure of the education system in Slovakia, focusing on history teaching. In the Slovak Republic, there is a strong dual chronological system, as far as the content of history teaching is concerned. This means that pupils learn history in two, strictly chronologically organized cycles. The first cycle runs during the 5th to 9th grades of elementary schools (these are 11 to 15 years old pupils) when pupils learn history in chronological order from the most ancient times to the present day. After this, the same chronological cycle starts again in the secondary schools (these are 15 to 19 years old pupils and young adults) during which students learn history again in chronological order from the most ancient times to the present. During both periods (cycles) the content of the school subject of history, i.e. the entire human history is organised strictly chronologically. This system means that the topic of the Cold War is taught/learnt at the end of each school cycle, i.e. in the 9th grade of the elementary schools and in the 3rd grade of the secondary schools.

2. The Cold War in the National Curriculum

It is important to point out that the Slovak curriculum and Slovak textbooks contained very little on the topic of the Cold War up until the late 1990s. This means that it took almost a decade after 1989 while the first chapters on the Cold War appeared in Slovak school history textbooks and consequently in teaching praxis. If we attempt to analyse textbooks edited in the 1990s, there is hardly any content in it on the topic. (See more on this at the beginning of the third paragraph.)

The Slovak National Curriculum deals with the Cold War period on both elementary and secondary level in the form of a separate chapter. On both levels, the curriculum defines not only the content of the subject (in Slovak: *Obsahový štandard*) but it defines certain skills (in Slovak: *Výkonový štandard*) in which pupils should be trained.

In elementary schools, the Cold War is prescribed/designated in the 9th grade, i.e. for 14–15 year old pupils. Here, the Cold War chapter bears the title: Divided World (in Slovak: *Rozdelený svet*). As to the content, schools are instructed to deal with the following key words and concepts: United Nations, superpowers, USA, the Soviet Union, Iron Curtain, Cold War, economic and military blocks, threat of nuclear war, decolonization, world as a global village. As to the skills, the national curriculum requires teachers to deal with the topic in order to ensure that ‘pupils at the end of the 9th grade can/are able to: recognize the influence of the bipolar world on everyday life; recognize forms of resistance in the Eastern Block; recognize basic milestones of the European integration process; work with historical sources from the period.

In secondary schools, the topic of the Cold War is designated in the 3th grade, i.e. for 17–18 year old pupils. Here, the Cold War chapter bears the title: Conflict of Ideologies (in Slovak: *Konflikt ideológií*). As to the content, it focuses on the following key words and concepts: Iron Curtain, Cold War, sovietisation [of Eastern Europe], containment, communism, economic and military groups, disarmament, decolonization, perestroika, glasnost. As to the skills, the national curriculum requires teachers to deal with the topic in order to ensure that ‘pupils at the end of the 3th grade can/are able to: determine the main reasons of the creation of the bipolar world; give evidence on relevant examples of Cold War crises between 1956 and 1989; determine regions of grave conflicts during the Cold War;

evaluate the consequences of perestroika and glasnost on international relations; determine of ways cooperation within the separated world; analyse historical sources from the period.

As is clear from the specifications of the National Curriculum, the Slovak state regulation on both school levels focuses on ‘classical’ political history of the Cold War period. Required content and skills on both levels are structured along a logically organized and taxonomically carefully planned way of thinking, starting with basic content and skills (e.g. what was the Cold War, who were its main protagonists), repeating certain topics (such as the phenomenon of the Iron Curtain), adding some new information (e.g. Cold War conflicts) as well as higher level skills such as analysing primary sources to the curriculum on secondary level. All in all, if and when any pupil finishes basic education in Slovakia, ideally, he/she is aware of:

- the concept of the divided world;
- the dynamics of international Cold War relations;
- the differences between political structures in Western and Eastern Europe;
- the character of power in global conflicts;
- the gradual process of European integration;
- the causes, character and nature of decolonization.

3. How is the Cold War Presented in Slovakian History Textbooks?

In the post-1989 period, one of the first Slovakian state approved history textbook, which was edited for the final (9th) grade of the Slovakian elementary schools (Letz, 2000), was written on the history of Slovakia in the 20th century. The content of this textbook stretches from the First World War until the creation of the modern Slovak Republic in 1993. This textbook was completed and distributed to schools in the year 2000, yet it does not contain any comprehensive chapter on the topic of the Cold War. Although it deals with the post-1945 period, and it does mention some factors of the Cold War period (such as ‘strained international relations’, ‘Soviet satellite countries in Eastern Europe’, ‘process of political thaw’, Slovak exiles in the World, Gorbachev, etc.), this particular textbook, written more than a decade after the fall of the Czechoslovak communist regime in 1989, has no special chapter on the period of

the Cold War. From the author's foreword, where Róbert Letz refers to 'historical events, often still alive and unclosed', we may deduce that perhaps he regarded it too early to assess the most recent past.

In further textbooks, however, that were issued into the 2000s (Damakoš, 2005; Kodajová & Tonková, 2006; Kratochvíl & Mlynářčiková, 2007; Kováč, Kratochvíl, Kamenec & Tkadlečková, 2012; Letz, Tonková & Bocková, 2014) we already find a very different approach; from year 2005, the theme of Cold War shows itself in a 'full gear'.

In these textbooks, the Cold War is defined as 'some-decade-long rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union' (Damakoš, 2005) and as an 'era of crises' (Letz, Tonková & Bocková 2014). The period is interpreted usually as 'the consequence/result of the Second World War'; some textbooks even use title 'The World after the Second World War' as a chapter title instead of naming it explicitly the 'Cold War'. According to the interpretations used by most textbooks, the Cold War meant 'a very strong caesura, a complete new era, a very strong break' in the history of mankind. Within this dramatic context, the European continent was a 'victim' of the events; it was a 'victim of the split between the two superpowers', and this is the reason why Europe, in a later phase of the era, was continuously seeking 'peace and detente'. (Kováč, Kratochvíl. Kamenec & Tkadlečková, 2012)

Beyond this point, all recent Slovakian history textbooks, both on elementary and secondary level, contain more or less the same narrative on the topic. The permanent Cold War themes, which can be found literally in all history textbooks in Slovakia, are as follows here:

- The Cold War was a series of continuous conflicts, both diplomatic and military ones; as examples and proofs, Berlin, Vietnam, Cuba, Afghanistan, and sometimes also several other spots of international crises, such as the Near East, the Arab-Israeli conflict, etc. (Damakoš, 2005) are addressed in the textbooks.
- All Slovakian history textbooks write extensively about the creation, existence, and fall of Eastern European communist/sovietized regimes. Political exiles and anti-Soviet movements are referred to in some detail, including Lech Walesa, Václav Havel, and other Eastern European 'opposition politicians'. This feature of the Slovakian history textbooks – and as far as I know, of most

Hungarian, Czech, and Polish textbook too – is perhaps not surprising. In fact, it is quite understandable that in these Eastern European countries, key events like the ones in 1956, 1968, or 1981, are indeed important, even heroic, milestones of the period. It is also perfectly appropriate that school history textbooks present these ‘landmark national events’ in the context of the broader Cold War.

- Decolonisation is one of the Cold War related topics that are present in all Slovakian school history textbooks. In most of them, the chapter on decolonisation includes not only post-1946 India, the French and Brit involvement in Indo-China, the Bandung conference and Africa in the 1960s, but it often refers also to the black human rights movement in the United States, and sometimes to the apartheid regime in South Africa (Letz, Tonková & Bocková 2014). It is much less typical in terms of what we experience in the textbook by Kodajová & Tonková (2006) where there is an extended focus on the post-colonial Peoples Republic of China, and it is a successful way of stepping up onto the international stage as the third world power. Interestingly enough, almost all books devote a remarkable amount of space for India, and especially to Gandhi, sometimes along with Javaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi.
- As to the didactic apparatus, how this rather pro-European historical narrative is supported, the images of the textbooks, attached to the descriptive text, faithfully complement the main narrative: Harry Truman, George C. Marshall, John F. Kennedy, Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan; from the Soviet side Joseph Stalin and Nikita Khrushchev; from the European theatre, Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman, Konrad Adenauer and Willy Brandt; as to the Asiatic theatre, Ho Chi Minh, the Gandhis, Mao Zedong, Kim Il-Sung; Fidel Castro; from the Eastern European communist countries Marshall Tito, János Kádár. Also, as to the non-figurative images in the Slovakian textbooks, it is surely the image of the Berlin wall which is the most common picture and metaphor as a very concrete form of division in Europe. It is probably no exaggeration to say that this set of portraits of Cold War politicians and physical relics in themselves suggest a ‘classical’ interpretation of the Cold War, in other words they reflect the most traditional historical narrative on it.

There are some features in the Slovakian presentation of the Cold War that seem to be special and seem to be worth noting.

All Slovakian history textbooks, without exception, include post-1951 European integration into the period of the Cold War. I think it is worth pointing out here that in Slovakian school textbooks, European integration is unanimously considered to be a part of the Cold War, i. e. it started in it, its first three decades took place within it, and the economic and political integration of Western Europe was certainly massively influenced by it. As it was said in connection with the Eastern European events (1956, 1968, etc.), it is no surprise that a 'young' country like Slovakia puts a privileged stress on presenting European integration as a highly successful historical process, purposefully presenting for elementary pupils and young adults a rather attractive story of the integration. The analyst is probably not wrong to say that this is Slovakia's attempt to make sure that the next generation understands the vital importance of economic and geopolitical stability of a vulnerable and small country such as Slovakia, within the European context.

The phenomenon of the Cold War as a determining geopolitical context for the European integration is palpable to such an extent that at least in one textbook (Letz, Tonková & Bocková 2014) the post-1945 European cooperation and all the Western integration, commencing with the post-war recovery, is interpreted as a process that was initiated and managed primarily by the United States. While Slovakian textbooks contain extensive passages on the 'Truman Doctrine', the 'Marshall Plan' and so forth, it is the domain of the Soviet Union, on the other end of the period, which greatly contributed to the end of the Cold War conflict.

I find it quite interesting to observe the diachronic perception of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. What we can observe here is a 'split narrative' regarding the USA and the Soviet Union as Cold War superpowers. Under the term of 'split narrative' I have in mind a phenomenon that, according to the interpretation of the Slovakian textbooks, the United States was mostly responsible for the beginning of the Cold War, while the Soviet Union is interpreted as the one which ended or helped to end it. What is remarkable here is that, from the perspective of the United States, the US is hardly involved in the end; on the contrary, the end is almost entirely a Soviet 'merit, commencing with Brezhnev and ending with Gorbachev. I find this 'split narrative' interesting because

it contradicts the rich historiographical output which retrospectively says that both superpowers hold certain historical responsibility for the Cold War. Even the most revisionist views, that hold that (put metaphorically) ‘Greedy Uncle Sam’ was the ‘main villain’, admit that the Soviet Union had its own share of responsibility for starting a conflict that lasted for more than four decades. For an unbiased Cold War researcher, it would be much more acceptable to present the era in terms of a ‘mutually assured destruction’ and ‘shared responsibility’. In the Slovakian textbooks, however, the narrative is split to ‘Soviet good guys’ and ‘American bad guys’.

To sum up our analysis, Slovakian history textbooks of the last thirty years show a rather ‘traditional’ interpretation of the Cold War. This ‘classical’ narrative goes along the following line of key events:

- a bipolar world as a ‘result of the Second World War’;
- United States under Truman undertaking international challenges;
- Germany as the most important factor in the European affairs and tensions;
- successful Western European cooperation;
- Eastern European communist countries ‘behind the wall’
- in the 1970s, a gradual thaw in the multi-lateral relations;
- Gorbachev and the ‘flexibility’ of the Soviet Union in order to end the Cold War.

4. What is Missing from the Interpretation of the Cold War?

From our analysis we can conclude that the general image of the Cold War in recent Slovakian history textbooks is rather straightforward, meaning ‘classic’, ‘conservative’ or ‘traditional’. However, if we take into consideration the most recent international historiography, and we check whether Slovakian history school textbooks are able to present the most recent scientific discoveries of the most recent international historiography, then we arrive at an annoying conclusion.

In the last thirty years a significant number of scholarly books, studies and articles have been published, both nationally and internationally, on the Cold War period. In this respect, the Cold War differs from other (earlier) historical epochs in that this period is in vivid contact with the present, regarding both the events themselves and the historiographic output describing the events. In other words, historical evaluation – based on new sources that researchers ‘dig up’

literally every week throughout the entire world – has been in progress, in fact, it is massively being done right in our own times (Gaddis, 2006; Hurst, 2005; Mazurkiewicz, 2019; McCauley, 2017; Michálek & Štefanský, 2019) Pons & Romero, 2005; Savranskaya, Blanto & Zubok, 2010, and many others).

Yet, only a minority of the Slovakian history textbooks deal with the Cold War period in depth, and practically none of them is able (or willing?) to ‘grab’ the topic according to the most up-to-date literature. As to the better examples, for instance, concerning the end of the Cold War (who lost? who won?), in the textbook by Kodajová & Tonková (2006) authors operate very competently with relevant terms like ‘new superpowers’ and ‘new strategic balance’; they even use expression ‘from cooperation to antagonistic conflicts’, a very specific descriptive Cold War term describing both superpower rivalry and the ‘transitional’ character of the ‘endgame’. In Damakoš (2005), George F. Kennan and his key role regarding the creation of the ‘containment policy’ is quoted, very rightly. Similarly, the textbook by Kováč, Kratochvíl, Kamenec & Tkadlečková (2012) can be counted as a good example, where ‘balance of fear’ and other modern expressions are in active use. If we consider how important it is that history school textbook contain the most up-to-date knowledge (and teaching methods, of course) as possible, then it is good to conclude that at least some Slovakian textbooks are able to catch up with new trends; yet, they are a minority.

Regarding the question of whether Slovakian history textbooks are able to catch up with recent historiography, both on the level of the descriptive texts and primary sources, we should be aware that perfect synchrony between research and school textbooks is probably never possible. But on the other hand, I think it is legitimate to demand of any textbook research that focuses on a certain historical era, that an acceptable timespan until new scientific discoveries should be implemented in school textbooks. At a minimum, there seems to be a general agreement among textbook researchers that credible history textbooks should strive for implementing the most up-to-date knowledge sooner than later; of course, it might easily take several years. As we have seen above, in the Slovakian case it took almost fifteen years after 1990 when the first history textbook included a comprehensive chapter on the Cold War (Damakoš, 2005); and since then, the topic has been present in Slovakian history textbooks in rather diverse length and form.

Finally, it has to be said that there are some features, some specific historical actors, and some core events, as well as some indeed determinative processes regarding the Cold War that are painfully missing from Slovakian history textbooks. Which are the typical Cold War topics and features that are not at all mentioned in Slovakian history textbooks? I pick only three of them which I regard the most characteristic ones.

Firstly, it is the key question of 'real' or 'fake' international crises. This problem has been discussed by the most renowned scholars (first and foremost Békés, 2019 but Gaddis, 2006; Hurst, 2005 and others, too) who have been trying to identify the real driving forces behind Cold War international events, i.e. not just the most 'attractive' ones (Berlin, Cuba, Vietnam, etc.) but those which indeed meant a decisive factor or a significant turning point in superpower relations, such as the Sino-Soviet split and Sino-American relations consequently. Such 'real' international crises should be distinguished from 'fake' international crises (intentionally luridly presented in the contemporary press) in order to understand the true historical importance or relevance of events, which had dramatically overwritten the heading of the Cold War. Yet, such explanation of 'real' and 'fake' international crises is completely missing from all Slovakian history textbooks.

Secondly, we can mention the terminology on 'Eastern Europe' and/or 'Central Europe'. This might seem for a first glimpse as a mere terminological haggling, thus a good reason for not referring whatsoever to the terminology. Was Czechoslovakia during the Cold War part of Central Europe or Eastern Europe? And does the terminology carry any message for pupils and young adults if we name it as Eastern or Central? Pushing aside the current political and cultural debate over this issue (which has been high profile in the press in recent Slovakia, Hungary, Poland and Czechia), we should consider that consistent use of these terms can contribute practically to the regional identity of Slovakian pupils who live in a geographical area which has been struggling to form and shape its own cultural (and perhaps geopolitical) identity.

Thirdly, there are no words whatsoever on the 'dynamics' of the Cold War in the Slovakian school history textbooks. I point out this problem because as a Cold War researcher, I constantly have to face a rather simplistic presentation of the Cold War studies. What I mean here is a trend which falsely suggest that this era was nothing more

than the ‘A bomb’, the ‘USSR – USA conflict’ and the ‘Vietnam war’; as if the ‘Berlin Wall’, ‘Stalin and his Eastern European comrades’ caused the Cold War, etc. As a result, more precise and more complex Cold War interpretations are lost underneath these oversimplified (and in my understanding, very untrue) presentations and approaches. All continuous changes, all mutual accommodations of international partners, all mutual (even if secret) cooperations of the peoples involved, many twists and turns of the international cooperation during the Cold War times, that altogether add up the whole complex process of Cold War international relations in the 1945 to 1991 period, are totally absent from Slovakian textbooks.

To be fair it has to be said that all these Cold War events and processes have long been well known. They have been published by researchers, and practically all of them have been available in Slovak (sometimes in Czech) language. The most up-to-date literature has been accessible and available for all those involved, including school textbook authors, who are (at least in the Slovakian case) traditionally renowned university experts.

5. Conclusions

The analysis of the ways and methods as the Cold War is presented and interpreted both in Slovakian elementary and secondary school history curriculum and history textbooks shows us that it is a ‘classical’ interpretation in which the school textbook authors stress the military and the ideological side of the Cold War rivalry, and they correctly point out to the close link between the European and the German question. This is basically the general context for the most recent Slovak national history, which has practically not changed since the early 2000s, and which is fully justified from the point of view of the traditional Cold War historiography. We can and should judge it as a correct way of presentation.

On the other hand, the most up-to-date trends are hardly (or very rarely) expressed in Slovakian school history textbooks, even three decades after the end of the Cold War. Even if we admit that it is not at all easy to stay up-to-date with the already huge and constantly growing quantity of most recent Cold War historiographical output, after thirty years of the end of the Cold War, it seems fair to raise this problem. Especially if we find that most Slovakian history textbooks refer to (even if briefly), the fact that many severe recent problems of

the human race commenced in the Cold War period, such as ‘environmental issues’, ‘the widening of the gap between rich and poor’, ‘modern age terrorism’, and others.

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DIFFERENT WAYS OF PRESENTING HISTORICAL EVENTS IN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS FROM THE CZECH REPUBLIC AND OTHER COUNTRIES: THE 1938 MUNICH CRISIS*

Denisa Labischová

This paper presents the results of a comparative analysis of history textbooks from the Czech Republic and other countries, focusing on the different ways in which they present a particular historical event – the Munich crisis of 1938. The analysis traced the changing ways in which this key event has been presented and interpreted in Czech textbooks published during the past three decades. The paper also explores how the Munich crisis is presented and evaluated in textbooks from several other European countries. The research used the method of qualitative content analysis; the criteria for comparison included the length of the texts, the factual information selected for presentation (people, dates etc.), the interpretation and evaluation of the historical events, work with historical sources, the use of didactic media, and the overall standard of the didactic tools used in the presentation of the Munich crisis (learning tasks, tasks for problem-based and project-based teaching, etc.).

In history teaching, crucial and controversial historical events are often interpreted and evaluated very differently in various eras and in various countries – not only due to the current political regime or state ideology, but also due to current preferences in the presentation of historical events, including the degree to which individual historical and social dimensions are accentuated and the didactic use of specific teaching methods. This fact is clearly visible in history textbooks, which function as a basic educational medium. Textbooks are theoretical curricular materials which mediate educational content, and a scholarly analysis of textbooks makes it possible to identify the main didactic approaches to historical topics, with a particular focus on the interpretative dimension.

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This paper presents the results of a study exploring how textbooks have approached the Munich crisis of 1938 – an event which took place 80 years ago and whose importance not just for Czechoslovak history, but also for global history is clearly evident. The comparative analysis focuses on two main areas. Firstly, a comparison was conducted of Czech history textbooks published between 1989 and the present day; this analysis was also informed by the interpretation of the Munich crisis in pre-1989 textbooks. Secondly, the presentation of this event in Czech textbooks was compared with its presentation in the relevant chapters of textbooks from other selected European countries. The countries were chosen to reflect their role in the events of Munich: France and Italy (whose representatives signed the Munich Agreement on 29 September 1938) and Austria (which became part of the German Reich following its annexation in March 1938). The detailed results of an analysis of textbooks from the United Kingdom and Germany (also countries which played a key role in the events) have already been published (Labischová, 2020), so the present study only discusses the broad outlines of these findings.

1. Research Aims and Methodology

The aims of the research were: (1) to identify the shifts in the presentation of the 1938 Munich crisis in Czech history textbooks published since 1989 (diachronic approach); (2) to determine how this topic is presented in history textbooks published in selected European countries (synchronic approach); (3) to compare the main tendencies and characteristics of the analyzed textbooks in terms of their content and didactic approaches to the events of Munich 1938.

Previous research has applied both quantitative and qualitative research methods (Morand, 2011; Holmgren & Lindmark, 2011; Fischer-Dardai & Kojanitz, 2011). The method used in the present study was qualitative content analysis (Gavora, 2000; Scherer, 2004), which has proved its value in various studies of history textbook didactics in the Czech Republic (for an overview see Gracová, 2013). Qualitative research is appropriate for relatively deep analyses of content and didactic approaches to a particular topic, and it is based on a set of criteria.

I. Content-related aspects of the presentation:

1. existence of separate chapters, length of text;
2. factual information presented (names, dates, geographical information);
3. interpretation of historical events and processes;
4. overall evaluation of causes, consequences and importance of events;
5. absent or inaccurate presentation of historical information.

II. Methodological aspects of the presentation:

6. analysis of textual didactic media;
7. analysis of visual didactic media;
8. analysis of graphic didactic media;
9. learning tasks, creative activities, points for discussion, projects.

The material analyzed for this study comprised 24 history textbooks for secondary-level students at general (i.e. not vocational) secondary schools: 4 textbooks from the Czech Republic, 6 from France, 7 from Italy and 7 from Austria. Due to the different educational systems in the individual countries, no distinction is drawn here between lower and upper secondary level. The selection of textbooks from other countries drew on the international library at the Georg-Eckert Institute/Leibniz Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig, Germany.

2. The Depiction of the 1938 Munich Crisis in Czech Textbooks

In the Czech context, the historical events of 1938 culminating in the signature of the Munich Agreement (often known as the ‘Munich crisis’) represent one of the most important milestones in modern history. It is obvious that the presentation of this topic in textbooks published during the communist era (1948–1989) was heavily influenced by ideological constraints. This is documented in an analysis of Czechoslovak history textbooks conducted in 2003 by Zdeněk Beneš.

In his study, Beneš identifies certain shifts in the approach to the Munich crisis during this era. Immediately after the Second World War, in the 1950s, and also during the so-called ‘normalization’ (the political crackdown that followed the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and lasted throughout the 1970s), the events

of Munich were presented in a highly emotive manner, interpreted as a hugely traumatic blow to the entire nation and as an act of betrayal both by representatives of the Western powers and by domestic traitors, especially Andrej Hlinka's Slovak People's Party. However, during the second half of the 1960s, and then in the 1980s, a somewhat more moderate and objective approach came to the fore, which sought to situate the events of Munich in their wider socio-historical context and to reflect the historical realities of the era (Beneš, 2003).

Since the fall of communism in 1989, the production of Czech history textbooks has been minimal; especially textbooks for secondary schools have been published very sporadically. It should be noted that textbooks in the Czech Republic are subject to state approval (the Ministry of Education issues official statements of approval for all textbooks that are to be used in schools). Four textbooks were selected for analysis in the present study – two from the 1990s, one textbook from Petr Čornej's series published at the turn of the 21st century, and the latest textbook issued by the Didaktis publishing house in 2014.

The textbook *Světové dějiny II* ('World History II,' 1993) is characterized by an attempt to avoid ideological interpretations and to present events in Czechoslovakia in the context of international history – an approach that is also evident in its title. It does not devote a separate chapter to the Munich crisis; instead the events of 1938 are incorporated into a lengthy chapter entitled *Politika kolektivní bezpečnosti proti politice appeasementu* ('The policy of collective security versus the policy of appeasement'), and they are covered in ten paragraphs of text. The presentation includes a very detailed factual description in chronological order. The causes of the crisis are identified as the weaknesses of the system established at Versailles, Czechoslovakia's deepening international isolation, unsuccessful attempts to maintain the Little Entente and to sign a pact of alliance with Germany, the Fascist regimes in neighbouring countries, and the activities of Konrad Henlein's Sudeten irredentist movement in the largely German-speaking border areas of Czechoslovakia (Čapek, Pátek, & Zwettler, 1993: 163–165).

The textbook emphasizes that Czechoslovakia's citizens and armed forces were prepared to defend their state's territory as well as the deep political and moral crisis into which the country was plunged following the Munich Agreement. The events are

summarized as follows: ‘Western diplomacy boasted that at Munich it had preserved peace, but it soon discovered that it had chosen war’ (p. 165). We can observe that the authors repeatedly refer to England and English, while later publications exclusively use the terms (Great) Britain and British. In terms of didactics and methodology, this is an unbroken passage of text, without any didactic media or learning tasks. The only accompaniments are an official photograph of the representatives of the four great powers following the signature of the Munich Agreement and a map of Czechoslovakia in 1938–1939 with the lost territories marked in colour (Čapek, Pátek, & Zwettler, 1993: 163–165).

The 1995 publication *Dějiny 20. století* (‘History of the 20th Century’) contains briefer factual information. It too does not devote a separate chapter to the events of Munich, and it describes them chronologically in four paragraphs. The presentation focuses on the behaviour of the Western powers; it particularly accentuates France’s breach of its alliance with Czechoslovakia, as the French government followed the same path as British foreign policy, and the text does not explicitly mention the term appeasement in this context. Besides a factual description, there is also an emotively charged evaluation: ‘in a war of nerves, aggression was the victor’ (p. 65). The text of the Munich Agreement is cited as a historical source, but it is not accompanied by questions and tasks for students (Kuklík & Kuklík, 1995: 64–66).

In 2001–2002 a team headed by Petr Čornej published a four-part textbook entitled *Dějepis pro gymnázia* (‘History for High Schools’). The most recent period of history was covered in a publication from 1998, which presents the events of 1938 in Czechoslovakia in just under six pages of text. Like other textbooks, it offers a critical evaluation of the naïve policy of appeasement, stating that the British and French governments ‘foolishly hoped that their conciliatory approach would succeed in preserving peace’ (p. 49). Other causes of the crisis are identified as the tense internal political situation in Czechoslovakia’s border regions and the activities of Andrej Hlinka’s Slovak People’s Party. Compared with the other textbooks, more space is devoted to the Czechoslovak army’s preparations for defending the country, including precise numbers of troops, weapons and military aircraft, the existence of an effective border fortification system, and widespread public support for the army, manifested in

public donations of 4 billion crowns to help fund the armed forces (Kuklík & Kuklík, 2002).

The text also emphasizes civic, cultural, social and youth activities. Compared with the previous textbooks, here we can observe a shift from highly objective, purely factual information towards a greater effort to evaluate and interpret the historical events. For example, the 10th Sokol Congress (Sokol was a Czech patriotic gymnastics organization) in the summer of 1938 is described as ‘one of the culminations of citizens’ spontaneous declaration of their faith in ‘their republic’ (p. 54). Writing about the negotiations in Munich, the authors use the common Czech phrase *o nás bez nás* (‘about us [but] without us’). The textbook also focuses on learning tasks which do not require merely the ability to reproduce information but which encourage independent thinking. Students are asked to express an opinion on the policy of appeasement, to describe the options that were open to Czechoslovak foreign policy, to explain why the *Karlsbader Programm* (a set of demands by the Sudeten irredentists) was unacceptable, and to deduce how the Munich Agreement violated international law (Kuklík & Kuklík, 2002: 49–54).

The textbook *Moderní dějiny* (‘Modern History,’ 2014) draws a strict distinction between the descriptive and explanatory text (contained in the textbook itself) and the tasks for students (in an accompanying workbook). The textbook gives detailed factual information accompanied by several additional passages – a text entitled *Krátkozraká důvěřivost* (‘Short-Sighted Credulity’) presenting Stefan Zweig’s views on the policy of appeasement; a text entitled *Předurčený nástupce* (‘A Predetermined Successor’) about the Czechoslovak President Edvard Beneš; explanations of the geographical term Sudetenland and the activities of the Sudeten German Freikorps; the demands made in the *Karlsbader Programm*; the anti-Nazi petition *Věrní zůstaneme* (‘We Shall Remain Faithful’); and the text of the Munich Agreement. The textbook also focuses on Czechoslovakia’s system of fortifications and the population’s determination to defend the republic. Emphasis is placed on evaluating the importance of the events; the subchapter *Mnichovský komplex* (‘The Munich Complex’) evaluates the signature of the Munich Agreement as a political and moral failing of the democratic system, and states that it had a traumatic effect on contemporary society. It mentions the propagandistic exploitation of the notion of the ‘Munich betrayal’ by the Communist Party in the 1950s, e.g. by the President Klement

Gottwald and his ally Václav Kopecký, who assigned the main blame for the events of 1938 to the Czechoslovak government of that time (Čurda et al., 2014).

	Světové dějiny (1993)	Dějiny 20. století (1995)	Dějepis pro gymnázia (2002)	Moderní dějiny (2014)
A. Hitler	✓	✓	✓	✓
K. Henlein	✓	–	–	✓
K. H. Frank	✓	–	–	✓
V. Mastný	✓	–	–	–
M. Hodža	✓	–	–	✓
General Syrový	✓	–	–	✓
Lord Runciman	✓	–	–	✓
E. Beneš	✓	✓	✓	✓
K. Čapek	–	–	–	✓
N. Chamberlain	✓	✓	✓	✓
B. Mussolini	✓	✓	✓	✓
E. Daladier	✓	✓	✓	✓
F. D. Roosevelt	✓	–	–	–
24.04.1938	✓	–	✓	✓
20.–21.05.1938	✓	–	✓	May 1938
12.09.1938	✓	–	–	✓
15.09.1938	✓	✓	✓	✓
19.09.1938	–	–	–	✓
21.09.1938	✓	–	–	–
22.09.1938	✓	✓	✓	✓
23.09.1938	✓	✓	✓	✓
29.09.1938	✓	✓	✓	✓
Karlsbad	✓	–	✓	✓
Berchtesgaden	✓	✓	✓	✓
Bad Godesberg	✓	✓	✓	✓
Munich	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 1. Occurrence of Factual Information in Czech Textbooks.

Supplementary information for the table: A. Hitler – the leader of Nazi Germany; K. Henlein – the Chairman of the Sudeten German Party (SdP) in Czechoslovakia; K. H. Frank – a politician from the SdP, later an SS Obergruppenführer; V. Mastný – the Czechoslovak

ambassador in Berlin; M. Hodža – the Czechoslovak Prime Minister; General Syrový – the Czechoslovak defence minister; Lord Runciman – a British diplomat who in 1938 led a diplomatic mission to determine the situation of the Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia; E. Beneš – the Czechoslovak President; K. Čapek – a Czechoslovak writer; N. Chamberlain – the British Prime Minister; B. Mussolini – the Italian fascist dictator; E. Daladier – the French Prime Minister; F. D. Roosevelt – the President of the USA; 24.04.1938 – a meeting of the SdP where the ‘Karlsbad programme’ of demands was presented; 20.–21.05.1938 – partial mobilization in Czechoslovakia; 12.09.1938 – Hitler’s speech at a Nazi party rally in Nuremberg; 15.09.1938 – a meeting between Hitler and Chamberlain at Berchtesgaden; 19.09.1938 – an official note from Britain and France to the Czechoslovak government, asking Czechoslovakia to cede part of its border regions to Germany; 21.09.1938 – the Czechoslovak government’s acceptance of Britain and France’s conditions; 22.09.1938 – general strike in Czechoslovakia; 23.09.1938 – full mobilization in Czechoslovakia; 29.09.1938 – signature of the Munich Agreement.

The authors note that even today, this topic still remains a subject for lively debate about whether Czechoslovakia should have put up more resistance, whether Munich was a betrayal, and so on. Three maps are appended to the text, depicting the political regimes in Europe, the national (ethnic) composition of Czechoslovakia and its territorial losses. There are also six photographs, including images of crowds welcoming Hitler’s arrival in the Sudetenland, Czechoslovak citizens listening to the radio, a portrait of President Edvard Beneš, and Daladier signing the Munich Agreement. However, no questions or tasks are attached to these maps and photographs. Most of the questions in the textbook itself merely require students to reproduce texts or to explain causes and consequences. The questions in the workbook likewise focus on factual information (correcting inaccurate information in a text), but they also include several tasks requiring students to analyze historical written sources. Students work only with texts (visual media are not included), interpreting newspaper articles, political memoirs, passages from scholarly literature, and statistics on electoral results. For example, students have to create newspaper headlines, describe the changing policies of the Sudeten German Party, identify the factors that influenced the

British approach to the Sudeten crisis, or describe the so-called 'Munich myth' propagated via communist propaganda (Čurda et al., 2014).

Table 1 shows the individual types of information featured in the presentation of the Munich crisis in Czech history textbooks (names, dates, geographical names). It is evident that the oldest and the most recent textbooks are somewhat excessive in their use of factual information (especially dates); it is debatable to what extent this quantity of information is appropriate for students from the target age group.

3. The 1938 Munich Crisis in Textbooks from Other Countries

A previous study (Labischová, 2020) has investigated British and German upper secondary-level history textbooks, finding substantial differences in how the Munich crisis is presented.

The study found that the British textbooks devote a relatively large amount of space to the topic, often in chapters covering several pages. At the centre of the presentations is an explanation of the policy of appeasement, in which there is a clear attempt at a multi-perspective approach (for more details see Stradling, 2003); in this approach, historical sources (the words of contemporary politicians and journalists) and evaluations by present-day historians are used to present substantially divergent standpoints on the events which led up to the signature of the Munich Agreement. Students thus learn to compare, assess and evaluate arguments, to decide which arguments are more convincing and to discuss them. With regard to the selection of factual information, the British textbooks tend to place greater emphasis on the political negotiations among the representatives of Europe's great powers rather than exploring the internal political situation in Czechoslovakia (for example, the name of the Czechoslovak President Edvard Beneš is rarely mentioned). An important role is played by iconographic sources (photographs, caricatures), which – like the textual media – encourage students to compare differing views of the situation and to empathize with the emotional experiences of ordinary people (e.g. photographs of weeping Czechs in the annexed borderlands or Sudeten Germans fanatically welcoming the German troops). Most of the texts also use cartographic materials (maps covering various amounts of territory,

from the whole of Europe to detailed depictions of the Sudetenland) and statistical data (e.g. the results of public opinion surveys).

In general, emphasis is placed on encouraging students to undertake creative activities. With regard to inaccurate information, there are occasional inaccuracies especially in the cartographic materials, e.g. distortions of the borders of European countries in October 1938. The analysis of the British textbooks showed that the authors draw on the concept used in textbooks published in 1995–2000 (Labišová, 2002), which are rooted in a long-standing didactic tradition based on working with historical sources and developing critical thinking, comparison and multiperspectivity.

The German textbooks devote considerably less space to the Munich crisis than their British counterparts – generally just two or three paragraphs. The topic tends to be incorporated into a broader-based chapter describing the development of Germany's foreign policy in the period 1933–1939. Emphasis is placed particularly on the demands of the Sudeten German population in Czechoslovakia, including notions of the right to self-determination and the restriction of the rights of national minorities in inter-war Czechoslovakia. The events of Munich are presented in the context of the policy of appeasement and the activities of the Sudeten German Party (SDP), which was funded by Berlin.

There are no factual inaccuracies in the German textbooks which were analysed. Although they generally place considerable emphasis on the analysis and interpretation of historical sources, they use only a small number of textual or iconographic materials in connection with the topic (several textbooks include a well-known photograph of Chamberlain returning to London after signing the Munich Agreement, but caricatures or posters are not used). In view of the relatively short length of the texts, learning tasks requiring higher cognitive operations are rare; among the most interesting of these are questions on whether France and Britain were entitled to negotiate with Hitler at the expense of Czechoslovakia, comparing the attitudes of Chamberlain and Churchill to the events of Munich, explaining the relevance of the Treaty of Versailles, discussing the statements of various politicians, or writing newspaper reports on the 1938 annexation of the Sudetenland (Labišová, 2020).

3.1 French Textbooks

The First Czechoslovak Republic (1918–1938) and France built up close and stable diplomatic links, and in 1924 and 1925 they signed a bilateral treaty of alliance. However, in the late 1930s France began to gravitate towards Britain's policy of appeasement, and this led to a gradual weakening of the Franco-Czechoslovak alliance. Czechoslovak politicians could no longer rely on the policy of collective security; in the words of the French Foreign Minister Georges Bonnet, 'France will not go to war for the sake of the Sudetenland' (Dejmek, 2002: 275).

The analysis of the French textbooks shows that the authors devote a relatively small amount of space to the events of 1938 in Czechoslovakia. Only the textbook *Histoire 1re S* includes a separate chapter entitled *La crise tchèque* ('The Czech Crisis'); the chapter covers two pages, and it also describes developments after the signature of the Munich Agreement up to the establishment of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia in 1939. This publication only gives very brief summary information; a single paragraph describes how the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye (1919) was breached and states that the Munich Conference in September 1938 decided that Hitler could annex the Sudetenland. The basic text does not mention the names of other key figures (Chamberlain, Daladier, Mussolini). At the centre of interest is Hitler's aggressive policy; the events are interpreted as a consequence of Nazi Germany's foreign policy ambitions and the expansion of totalitarianism (Ancel-Géry, 2013: 82–83).

The presentation includes two written historical sources (Hitler's speech in Berlin on 24 September 1938 and the text of the Munich Agreement) and two photographs (German women welcoming the troops in the Sudetenland in October 1938, and citizens of Prague watching in dismay as German troops entered the city in March 1939). There is also a map depicting Czechoslovakia's territorial losses, which shows the areas of Czechoslovakia with majority German, Polish and Hungarian populations. The map also includes dates: 1 October (the German occupation of the Sudetenland), 2 October (the Polish occupation of the Těšín region), 3 November (the Hungarian occupation of southern Slovakia), and 3 November (the declaration of autonomy by Czechoslovakia's easternmost province Subcarpathian Ruthenia, now part of Ukraine; this is

inaccurate, as the declaration was on 11 October and it became law on 22 November). Using the sources, students are asked to explain why Hitler claimed the Sudetenland for Germany, to describe what the content of the Munich Agreement was, and to compare the different attitudes of the inhabitants depicted in the photographs (Ancel-Géry, 2013: 82–83).

The topic of Munich is also touched on in the chapter *Les totalitarismes face aux démocraties libérales* (“Totalitarian Regimes versus Liberal Democracies”), which compares the main features of these different types of political regime with references to specific historical events (Ancel-Géry, 2013: 94–95). The text of the Munich Agreement is not reproduced, but the textbook does include an official photograph of all four signatories. A graphic systematic depiction of international relations in Europe is given in the form of two diagrams with the word Germany in the centre; the diagrams identify the signature of the Munich Agreement as one of the milestone events on the path that led to war (Ancel-Géry, 2013: 95).

The authors of another textbook choose a similar title for their chapter: *Les totalitarismes face aux démocraties* (“Totalitarian Regimes versus Democracies”). In it they describe historical developments in Europe from the Spanish Civil War up to the start of the Second World War; the Munich crisis only occupies a small number of lines in an additional text appended to the main presentation. On the basis of a quotation expressing the views of Léon Blum published in a newspaper on 20 September 1938, students have to outline the fundamentals of Blum’s attitude and explain how the Western powers responded to Hitler’s territorial claims in the Sudetenland (Airau, 2011: 174–175).

The other textbooks analyzed describe the historical context, Hitler’s growing ambitions on the European scene, and the inevitability of the war. However, they either give no specific information on the signature of the Munich Agreement, or they only mention it briefly as part of a chronological overview of events in Europe. All the French textbooks contain a map depicting the situation in Europe at the end of the 1930s, with the Sudetenland marked on the map (Fleury, 2010: 175; Billard, 2011: 159; Braun, 2008: 301; Lambin, 2007: 281).

An analysis of the French textbooks shows that their presentation of the historical developments leading up to the signature of the Munich Agreement is anchored primarily within a description of

Hitler's foreign policy ambitions and forms part of an emphasis on the contrast between totalitarianism and liberal democracy. The German annexation of the Sudetenland generally features in the text as one of the steps in the implementation of Hitler's policy of aggression, and the role of France is presented as negligible. The policy of appeasement is not mentioned at all in connection with the events of Munich; the long-lasting Franco-Czechoslovak alliance is likewise not mentioned; and the political negotiations by representatives of France and the United Kingdom are relegated to the background (many textbooks do not even contain the name of the French Prime Minister Daladier). The French textbooks also contain a minimum of learning tasks related to the Munich crisis – though French textbooks in general are characterized by a strong emphasis on working with historical (especially written) sources, interpreting statistical data and comparing various sources of information (Labischová, 2014).

3.2 *Italian Textbooks*

All the analyzed Italian textbooks take the same conceptual approach to historical developments in the 1930s and the events that led up to the signature of the Munich Agreement. The topic occupies one or two paragraphs within a chapter describing political developments in Europe between 1933 and 1939; they are thus similar to German and French textbooks in the brevity of their coverage. The core information communicated in the texts concerns Hitler's territorial demands in the border areas of Czechoslovakia (the Sudetenland), which had a large German-speaking population. As is the case of the French textbooks, certain specific 'national' features can also be found in the Italian textbooks. These textbooks place greater emphasis than their counterparts from other countries on Mussolini's role as a mediator and the fact that Mussolini (at Chamberlain's request) took the initiative and convened the Munich Conference in September 1938 (Banti, 2008: 438; Stumpo, 2010: 167). Mussolini's role as a mediator is mentioned only in the Italian textbooks; the texts from the other countries do not contain this information.

Unlike the German or French textbooks, the Italian textbooks usually contain at least one sentence stating that representatives of Czechoslovakia were not invited to the negotiations (Banti, 2008: 438; Calvani, 2009: 85; Griguolo & Fabris, 2011: 214).

Although the term appeasement is not explicitly mentioned in the chapters of the Italian textbooks dealing with the Munich crisis, the authors often note that there were attempts to preserve peace at all costs (embodied in the British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain), but that these attempts also met with opposition from the British public and politicians (primarily Winston Churchill). For example, the textbook *Finestre sulla storia* ('A Window on History') cites Churchill's well-known remark 'You were given the choice between war and dishonour. You chose dishonour, and you will have war' (Calvani, 2009: 85). Another textbook reproduces a British anti-appeasement poster with the slogan Czechoslovakia will live again (Bresich & Fiorio, 2010: 224). Students encounter the term appeasement mainly in connection with 1930s French and British policy in general; its connection with the Munich crisis is not explicitly mentioned in the Italian textbooks (unlike their British counterparts).

With regard to cartographic materials, with just one exception (Vicari, 2011) all the textbooks contain a map of Europe in 1938–1939 showing the territorial gains of the Third Reich, where the Sudetenland is marked as former Czechoslovak territory. It should be noted that the textbook *Il senso del tempo* ('The Sense of Time') shows substantially distorted borders of Czechoslovakia (Figure 1).

The Italian textbooks are heavily based on descriptive and explanatory texts; they are narrative in character, and contain only a small number of learning tasks for students (Griguolo & Fabris, 2011: 215). None of them works with historical sources. Any tasks in which students have to work with texts are in connection with the main text of the textbook itself; for example, students have to underline the provision of the Munich Agreement.

Visual didactic media (photographs etc.) mainly have a purely illustrative function; it depends on the individual teachers how they work with such media and what supplementary questions they add. The authors of the analyzed textbooks most frequently choose to illustrate the events with official photographs of the main politicians involved as well as the Italian Foreign Minister (Hitler, Mussolini, Chamberlain, Daladier, Ciano). In one case there is a well-known photograph depicting Chamberlain at the airport in London after his arrival from Munich, but the caption of the photograph makes no reference to the Munich Conference, and the photograph forms part of a different chapter (Griguolo & Fabris, 2011: 221).



Figure 1. Distorted borders of Bohemia and Moravia (the western provinces of Czechoslovakia) in 1938–1939 (Banti, 2008: 438).

3.3 Austrian Textbooks

Most of the analyzed Austrian textbooks for secondary-level students have a strong focus on developing historical thinking skills. They thus include separate chapters reinforcing and developing students' ability to analyze and critically evaluate historical sources and other educational materials (photographs, posters, movies, propaganda materials, statistics), e.g. in the passages entitled *Kompetenztraining* ('Skills training') in the series *Netzwerk Geschichte & Politik* ('Network History and Politics,' 2009). The Austrian textbooks are also conceived in accordance with modern trends, and besides dealing with political history, they also address issues such as the history of women's emancipation, everyday life and men in various eras, the changing lives of families and children, and developments in schools and education. However, this didactic potential is not fully exploited when presenting the Munich crisis, and the Austrian textbooks – similarly to their German, French and Italian counterparts – contain only brief factual information on the events in Czechoslovakia during 1938, condensed into one or two paragraphs and mainly forming part of a chapter on Germany's aggressive foreign policy in the 1930s, e.g. *Der 2. Weltkrieg – Katastrophe der Weltgeschichte* ('The Second World War – A Catastrophe of World History,' Lemberger, 2012: 46); *Aggression und Kriegsbeginn* ('Aggression and the Beginning of the War,' Donhauser & Bernlochner, 2009: 64).

Factual information on the events of Munich is usually incorporated (along with other historical milestones) into a timeline

tracing European history, beginning with Hitler's rise to power and continuing via the occupation of the demilitarized zone in the Ruhr, the Spanish Civil War, Germany's annexation (Anschluss) of Austria, the Munich Conference, the occupation of what remained of Czechoslovakia, and the invasion of Poland. A dominant role especially in the Austrian textbooks is played by the Anschluss of Austria in 1938, which is presented in considerable detail, accompanied by various source materials and learning tasks developing students' historical competencies. In terms of the Munich crisis, the textbooks all give a similar treatment of Hitler's territorial claims in the Sudetenland, referring to the Sudeten German population's right to self-determination. Unlike the textbooks from other countries, the Austrian textbooks include the slogan *heim ins Reich* ('back home to the Reich,' Vogel & Strasser, 2009: 62; Vocelka et al., 2010: 50), and all the texts emphasize the failure to invite representatives of Czechoslovakia to the negotiations in Munich.

None of the Austrian textbooks mention the term appeasement in connection with the events in Munich. Instead, some of the authors use the German term *Beschwichtigungspolitik* ('the policy of conciliation,' Gidl, 2012: 57; Monyk et al., 2010: 62), or they describe the concessions made by Britain and France using specific examples of the behaviour of British and French political representatives – the lack of strong condemnation following the German occupation of the demilitarized Ruhr region in 1936, the description of the Anschluss as an internal matter for Germany, or their complicity in Germany's annexation of the Sudetenland in the autumn of 1938 in line with the slogan *Frieden um jeden Preis* ('Peace at all costs,' Lemberger, 2012: 46).

Most of the Austrian textbooks include a similar map to those featured in textbooks from other countries, depicting Germany's territorial gains in the late 1930s. The textbook *Durch die Vergangenheit zur Gegenwart* ('Through the Past to the Present') additionally depicts the different types of political regimes in European countries; here Czechoslovakia is identified as the only parliamentary democracy in Central Europe (Lemberger, 2012: 47). The textbook *Geschichte und Geschehen* ('History and Events') includes a map showing that one month after Germany's annexation of the Sudetenland, Hungary annexed the southern part of Slovakia (Donhauser & Bernlochner, 2009: 66), a fact that is not featured in the other textbooks.

The large majority of the Austrian textbooks contain no iconographic material or written documents in relation to the Munich crisis. The only exception is the publication *Durch die Zeiten* ("Through the Times"), which includes an official photograph of the participants at the Munich Conference as well as a set of four photographs encouraging students to engage in critical thinking (two from the Sudetenland town of Eger/Cheb in 1938, two from Prague in 1939). The images show the contrasting emotions of the German-speaking and Czech communities; students have to compare the photographs and explain the different moods of the people shown in them (Vogel & Strasser, 2009: 63–64).

With regard to learning tasks, the questions mainly focus on reproducing knowledge and performing simple cognitive operations (e.g. assigning dates to events on a timeline, explaining how the Western powers wanted to preserve peace in Europe, finding words in a crossword configuration, looking at a map to see which territories were occupied by Hitler or marking the territory of the Sudetenland on a blank map, recalling when the German-speaking population settled in the Sudetenland, and so on). In rare cases there are tasks requiring students to interpret and evaluate events. For example, they are asked to explain the goals, options and disadvantages of the policy of appeasement and to argue why politicians and the general public still view appeasement as a controversial topic even today (Donhauser & Bernlochner, 2009: 67). There is also a stimulating creative activity requiring students to take a multi-perspective approach to historical events; as part of a group activity, students have to write short reports and describe European developments in 1938/39 from the perspective of Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Britain and the USA (Hofer & Paireder, 2012: 57).

4. Conclusion – Comparison

The aims of this comparative study were (1) to trace how the presentation of the 1938 Munich crisis has evolved in Czech textbooks published since 1989 (from the 1990s to the present day); (2) to identify similarities and differences in the content and didactic presentation of this topic in history textbooks from selected European countries; and (3) to compare the main tendencies and characteristics in all the analyzed materials.

A diachronic analysis of four selected Czech textbooks shows that the authors place strong emphasis on synthetic presentations of factual information and detailed explanations of chronologically ordered events. This strong emphasis on facts can be traced mainly to the older textbooks in the set, which attempted to remove the ideological bias that was prevalent in history textbooks published during the communist era, when the Communist Party closely monitored education and the factual information presented to students. The analysis indicates that this excessive quantity of factual information to some extent remains a feature of Czech textbooks even today; even the latest of the textbooks presents large quantities of terms, names and dates. History teaching in the Czech Republic is often criticized for its over-emphasis on knowledge and its neglect of skills; it remains to be seen how much the proposed reduction in the quantity of teaching content (part of the planned reform of the national curriculum) will be reflected in new textbooks. The comparative analysis indicated a diachronic shift especially with regard to interpretation and evaluation; the 2014 textbook also addresses the political manipulation of history in post-war Czechoslovakia, when the 'Munich myth' was exploited for propaganda purposes by the communist regime.

All the analyzed Czech textbooks share a major weakness: the absence of a structured analysis of visual and graphic media via sets of questions and tasks for students. The photographs and maps are not accompanied by any learning tasks, instead performing a solely illustrative function. Didactic media not used in the textbooks include caricatures, posters and statistics presented in graph form. The Czech textbooks also pay minimal attention to developing students' productive and creative activities, group work, argumentation skills, inquiry-based activities or project work. The authors make no use of personal narratives; the Czech textbooks do not present the life stories of the inhabitants of the Sudetenland who lost their homes and were forced to flee to what remained of Czechoslovakia after the German annexation. Stories such as these play an important role on the emotional level of historical awareness; they develop students' empathy, and here they would help students to understand the powerful feelings of disappointment felt by a large part of Czechoslovakia's population in October 1938.

Comparing the British, German, French, Italian and Austrian textbooks, it is evident that the British texts stand somewhat apart

from the texts originating in the other countries, which all share a largely similar approach to the Munich crisis. British textbooks display a strong focus on developing students' historical thinking skills and a critical approach to historical events, encouraging students to view these events from a range of different perspectives and developing their argumentation skills; the passages on the Munich agreement are no exception. An important part of history teaching – and thus also of history textbooks – involves working with historical sources of various origins, including iconographic sources.

Unlike the textbooks from the other countries, the British textbooks devote a considerable amount of space to the Munich crisis – sometimes several pages of text. At the heart of their approach is the policy of appeasement and the comparison of different opinions on Chamberlain's policy held by journalists, politicians and present-day historians. The large majority of textbooks published in Germany, France, Italy and Austria incorporate the topic of the Munich crisis into a chapter on Germany's aggressive foreign policy of the 1930s. Generally the events in Munich are covered quite briefly, ranging from several lines to a maximum of two paragraphs. Hitler's territorial demands in Czechoslovakia's border areas (the Sudetenland) are described with reference to the local German-speaking population's right to self-determination.

The analysis also revealed certain specific interpretations that were typical of textbooks from individual countries. The French textbooks primarily place the blame on Hitler's aggressive foreign policy, and they also emphasize the contrast between democratic and authoritarian regimes. The role of the French Prime Minister Daladier is somewhat downplayed (many of the textbooks do not even mention his participation in the Munich Conference), and the authors likewise do not mention the alliance between France and Czechoslovakia. The French textbooks also do not mention the term appeasement in connection with the events of Munich.

The Italian textbooks all shared the same approach to their educational content; probably more than their counterparts from any other country, they accentuate the chronological presentation of historical events rather than working with historical sources. They also mention Mussolini's role as a mediator and the convener of the Munich Conference. Most of the Italian textbooks also note that representatives of Czechoslovakia were not invited to the

negotiations and that the Sudetenland was thus ceded to Germany without Czechoslovakia's consent.

The absence of Czechoslovak representatives at the Munich Conference is also mentioned in some Austrian textbooks, but not in all of them. These textbooks give only brief information on the Munich crisis. It should be noted that the authors of the Austrian textbooks incorporate various chapters and passages encouraging students to analyze and interpret sources, and that they also emphasize the effect of historical events on everyday life, presenting individual life stories in the form of case studies; however, these aspects do not feature in the textbooks' coverage of the Munich crisis, instead being used e.g. when dealing with the Anschluss of 1938.

Factual inaccuracies are almost entirely absent from the non-Czech textbooks; they occasionally appear in maps, whether in the form of distorted borders or as inaccurate information in the legends of the maps. Most of the analyzed textbooks from outside the Czech Republic (with the exception of the British textbooks) contain predominantly explanatory texts in relation to the Munich crisis. Visual media (especially portrait photographs) merely play a supplementary role; they are not accompanied by questions and tasks for students. The number of learning tasks on this topic is small (usually 2–3), and the tasks focus predominantly on reproducing the information presented in the textbooks. There is a lack of tasks developing students' higher cognitive operations, encouraging them to compare and evaluate information or developing their understanding of international political contexts.

A comparative analysis shows that despite certain similarities, the textbooks published in various European countries differ widely both in terms of their content and in the didactic approaches they take. It is evident that divergent 'national' narratives cannot be entirely removed from textbooks' approaches to controversial chapters in European history; in any case, this divergence is in line with modern didactic trends, especially with the principle of multi-perspectivity. The primary aim of subject-specific didactic research should be to gain a thorough knowledge of these various perspectives and images of the past – which are passed down from generation to generation in different countries.

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HISTORY TEACHING AFTER THE COLD WAR: THE ESTONIAN EXPERIENCE*

Mare Oja

Revolutionary turning points in history have usually had a strong impact on a particular region or the world as a whole. The end of the Cold War had a stronger impact on countries which were given the opportunity for major developments, such as a change of regime. The restoration of Estonia's independence provided an opportunity to build a completely different social system, including education. The article examines the development of history teaching from the Soviet period to the present day, (a period of approximately 30 years), and the changes in teachers' understandings about the aims of history teaching. The article uses data from previous studies to compare the changes during the longer period and compare them with current ones.

1. Introduction

The Soviet system required history teaching in schools to mediate a conception of history that justified Soviet ideology (Ahonen, 1992 & 1997; Raudsepp, 2005; Nagel, 2006; Oja, 2016). In the development process of the national curriculum, the late 1980s and early 1990s, the role of Estonian history in getting to know the past of Estonians and rebuilding national identity was strongly emphasized (see, for example, Ahonen, 1992, 1997 & 2001; Oja, 2016). At the same time, since the early 1990s, the development of history teaching has been influenced by European perceptions of the subject's applications and opportunities: history teaching as a multi-perspective subject that encourages discussion and support development of critical thinking, that seeks to support understanding between different groups in society. These approaches have been mediated in Estonia through the development of the national curriculum for history, the national examination system, international projects, networks and training, and also through study materials (Oja & Piir, 2003; Reier & Riigor, 2014; Oja, 2016). The objectives of history teaching were set out in

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national curricula during the period covered by the article (1996, 2002, 2011/2020). Over the years, the content, perceptions of teaching and methodology, assessment and the role of the teacher have changed.

2. The Beginning of a Discussion in Educational Life: Transition Period

In the 1980s, stagnation deepened in Soviet society. Ideological pressures intensified in education. The Regulation of the Council of Ministers of the USSR 'On Measures to Improve the Teaching of the Russian Language in the Federal Republics' adopted in 1978 had begun the Russification campaign in educational life. (Eisen, 1998: 66–72). Between 1985 and 1991, the educational life of the USSR underwent radical bottom-up changes, provoked by the critical statements of teachers in the Union-wide press in 1986–87 and in Estonia at the Teachers' Congress in the spring of 1987 (Raudsepp, 2008: 68–72), which set the task of building a national and independent Estonian school system.

In his opening speech of the Congress, the Minister of Education, Elsa Grechškina, critically assessed the situation in education and cited over-regulation and a uniform curriculum for the entire Soviet Union as reasons for stagnation. Among the progresses, Gretškina highlighted the inclusion of Estonian geography, history and culture topics in the new curricula and the centralization of student development (EPAM R25458, 1988: 5–8, 11, 12, 14–17). The views expressed in the Minister's speech supported the reduction of centralization and the move towards Estonian-centered education. The need for democratic development was heard in congressional speeches, but the resolution was still party political. It was emphasized that the task of the school is to implement the policy of the communist party in preparing young people for work and life and to develop a high level of political awareness. However, the ideas expressed at the congress were a good starting point for launching innovations.

In May 1987, Minister of Education Elsa Grechškina opened a series of expert meetings on general education. The aims of the meetings was to critically evaluate the pedagogical experience of Estonia and other countries,' to restore national traditions, and to plan the main directions of general education. Several hundred

people from different areas of life were involved. Discussions highlighted the mismatch between life needs and school offerings, i.e. successful learning did not guarantee success in life, the low prestige and low value of the school and teaching profession, low funding for education, the upbringing of young people without the ability to think critically, the poor condition of school buildings and lack of equipment in schools, the centralization of education and bureaucracy. The solution was seen in shaping the face and traditions of one's school, creating schools with alternative pedagogy, differentiating, developing individuality and creativity, increasing the share of humanities and foreign language learning and stronger subject integration. The aim was to develop life skills and nature awareness, to take into account local peculiarities and national cultural traditions, to increase cultural awareness and ethical education. It was intended to abandon military teaching and norms of physical education and to improve health. It recommended reductions in the content and topics of subjects, to change the study week to five days, to start integrated treatment of different subjects in primary classes and to switch to subject teaching later. From grade VI (12-year-old students), and the possibility of choosing subjects was considered. The need for original textbooks, including alternative textbooks, and a diverse methodology was emphasized. (EPAM, K38484: 1–20). Differentiation of education and offering individual options to learners was already considered in VIII–IX classes (14–15-year-old students) (Unt, 1988: 4–6).

Based on the decisions of the February 1988 Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the CPSU, on March 31, 1988, the College of the Ministry of Education of the Estonian SSR made a decision to start a school experiment ('Eesti NSV,' 1988: 3). The State Education Committee, established in 1988, was appointed to lead the development of the education strategy and the implementation of the education policy (EPAM, R30052: 5–6). Thus, the renewal of education took place largely with the participation of active teachers, educators and citizens in the social order, but still with the approval of the government bodies of the Estonian SSR.

However, the key to the educational changes was still in Moscow. Concerns were expressed at the All-Union Education Congress (20–21 December 1988) in Moscow, that the Baltic States were striving for nationalism, which would lead to isolation (Rummo, 1989: 1).

The ideas for the development of Estonian education were summarised in the education platform, which was approved in 1988 by both educators and in 1989 by the State Education Committee (EPAM, R21472: 4–10). More attention was paid to the development of language skills, the acquisition of skills and the application of what has been learned. The idea was to develop a curriculum that provided for the integrity of learning, the use of methodologies that support learning objectives, and the differentiation of teaching and flexible assessment. (EPAM, R21472: 11–17, 19, 22–25, 27).

The education platform highlighted good ideas, but the project itself could not guarantee the implementation of innovations. This was done by the associations of teachers and schools that emerged in the process of the educational innovation through their working groups, but under the management of educational institutions.

Thus, in 1987–89, an enthusiastic school renewal took place on a broad societal basis, achieving relative independence from the educational institutions of the Soviet Union and creating an opportunity for self-determination on the basis of curricula. The planned changes reached school life in 1989/90, when the transition to a new curriculum began in Estonian general education schools. This took place during the Soviet era, before the restoration of Estonia's independence, which was made possible by the more open and flexible policy of Gorbachev. However, Soviet administration was still bureaucratic and the scope for action was limited, and major changes had to be sought from Moscow.

On April 1, 1991, the Institute of Pedagogical Research was established as a structural subdivision of the Tallinn Pedagogical Institute, which was given the task of developing the curricula of general education and fulfilling the research program – the content and process of education up to 2000 (Rannap, 2014).

3. The First Changes in History Teaching

The work of history and social sciences teachers was considered particularly difficult and important during this period. The salary of teachers working in secondary schools was raised to 15 % higher in 1988 than teachers of the other subjects, as the content of these subjects changed significantly. Soviet-era textbooks turned out to be largely unsuitable, and the teaching material had to be completed by the teachers themselves, which significantly increased the workload

of teachers. Among the preferred were also teachers of the Estonian language in schools, with Russian as a study language, who also received a 100 % higher pension (EPAM, R30052: 50–51).

In 1987/88 the final examination of history and social studies at the upper secondary school was canceled by the decision of the Ministry of Education (Liimets, 1988: 13–17). With this decision, the Ministry of Education acknowledged that Soviet-era history teaching had no value in verifying subject knowledge with an examination. The development of new content for subjects had only just begun and there were no agreements on what to teach and what should be the expected learning outcomes to be checked. History teachers at the time also said that the transition period was a very exciting time. There was freedom and the opportunity to decide on the content of history teaching themselves, but due to the heavy workload and responsibility, they would expect more support from the state and still do not miss that time. (Oja, 2016: 307).

In the think tanks organized after the teachers' congress, a history program group also emerged from the volunteers, who started to update the content and develop a new program together with the history study literature and program committee and the history and social studies subject committee ('Konverents,' 1991: 3). Teachers and academic historians worked together to develop history teaching.

However, the instruction material explaining the directions of history teaching sent to schools by educational institutions still used bureaucratic vocabulary and referred to the decisions of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party, although it was acknowledged that the past should be talked about openly and honestly. Humanity was placed at the centre of the teaching of history, but the justification for the changed concept was sought in the works of the classics of Marxism. The need to stimulate students' ability to develop and justify their personal opinions was also emphasized (*Ajalugu IV–XI klassile*, 1988: 3–4). It was acknowledged that the textbook was outdated. History teachers were asked to follow the press closely and use the latest views found in the media, published collections of documents, Estonian Broadcast programs, as well as writings and presentations by Mikhail Gorbachev and Alexander Yakovlev, as well as articles by prominent historians, including those published in the Union-wide press. However, Lenin's works, which were recommended for use in dealing with several historical themes, were still considered invaluable in teaching (EPAM, R20471: 7). Old-

fashioned suggestions and new ideas coexisted, as did Lenin's bust and the blue-black-white flag in the school halls.

Teachers remember that the renewal of teaching materials did not catch up with the changes that took place in society. However, finding the study material and putting it in a form suitable for the students was time consuming. Teachers tried to read as much as possible, and on the basis of the literature and materials published in the media, thorough synopses were prepared to replace the missing study literature. This fact explains why the teacher's lecture became the main teaching method during that period. Historical knowledge was also improved with the help of old school textbooks and historical approaches published abroad, for example, Toivo U. Raun's approach 'Estonia and the Estonians,' mediated to the teachers by relatives and acquaintances from abroad, but also by foreign colleagues. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, many new history books were printed in Estonia (reprints were also published). Russian-language magazines *Ogonjok*, *Argumentõ i Faktõ*, *Rodina* and *Literaturnaja Gazeta* published bold articles on the realities of Stalin's time and Soviet life. Recordings of radio and television broadcasts, especially debate programs with public figures, were good educational material. Folders with newspaper clippings were part of each teacher's work material, and many also had stacks of TV recordings.

The 1988 teaching plan also relied on central history programs (printed in 1986), where the wording was changed. The history of Estonia could still be studied only as part of the USSR history course. New programs were being developed. The biggest change was the teaching of history as a unified world history course with the topics of the history of the Estonian SSR (*Ajalugu IV–XI klassile*, 1988: 5, 21–26, 32–37). The general choice of topics, vocabulary and views of the program continued still to be Soviet and followed old traditions. The 'bourgeois' Republic of Estonia was discussed in 1920–40, but the USSR was still 'our country' and in 1940 'Soviet power was reestablished in Estonia and the lives of workers improved' (*Ajalugu IV–XI klassile*, 1988: 38, 83, 93). The first program did not yet bring any substantive or attitudinal changes in the teaching of history. Research has shown that for most learners, history was still an abstract set of facts, concepts, and stamps. A small proportion of students had an orientation to understanding history and explaining the development of society (Liimets, 1988: 13–17). The teachers considered the obsolete, forged content reflected in the textbooks,

the overload of study programs, the limited treatment of Estonian history and the lack of an opportunity to discuss historical events and phenomena to be the problems of history teaching (EPAM, K44268: 1–2). The first essentially new teaching plan was approved in the spring of 1989, according to which history studies began in grade V (11-year-old students) and were taught for two hours a week until the end of basic school (grades V–IX). In the last two grades of high school, even three hours a week. The number of history lessons showed that it was considered an important subject. It was also possible to study history in depth as an elective subject (EPAM, R30052: 28–29). Since 1989, there were also central programs prepared in Moscow in parallel, the choice of which depended on the teacher's decision. (EPAM, R29296: 3).

Schools with Russian as the study language continued to work on the basis of the structure and content valid in the USSR, teaching only the history of the USSR and general history. Some topics of Estonian history were discussed in parallel with and on the basis of the course on the history of the USSR. (EPAM, R20683: 19). In schools with Estonian as the language of instruction 1989/90, the concept and history program of history teaching that came into force in the academic year was translated into Russian and teachers were invited to follow it (EPAM, R27501: 3–56). It was emphasized that every resident living in Estonian should know not only 'general history' but also the history of the country where he or she lived. With the transition to new programs, it was recommended to cover Estonian history for 35 hours in the 9th grade and as much in the 10th grade. Estonian history was assessed with a separate grade on the high school diploma (EPAM, R2753: 3–17), thus, it could not be ignored. At the same time, in 1990, 70 % of Estonian schools with Russian as the language of instruction still worked according to the curricula and programs of the Russian Federation, while 25 % had gone over to 12th grade, which required commitment and the opportunity to teach Estonian, history, geography, literature, etc. (Ruus, 1990: 81).

The new concept of history teaching provided that through teaching, people learn about the past both in the form of an overview and on the basis of the events and phenomena that most characterize the respective era (EPAM, R20683: 5). The choice of the depth of the topic had to be made by the teacher. The second goal was to make sense of the problems of modern society and make them

meaningful to the student (EPAM, R20469: 33). The assessment of history had changed, Soviet rhetoric and the central point of view of the USSR had been abandoned, also the Soviet periodization of history. It is noteworthy that the history study programs changed before the restoration of Estonia's independence in 1991, when society, including education, still operated according to Soviet laws.

In 1990/91, the academic year was completely switched to new programs. At the same time, development of programs continued. Based on the history program grade V–XII, approved by the Ministry of Education (*Üldhariduskooli programmid*, 1992) history was still a linear teaching of world history with a systematic course in Estonian history, which began in the 5th grade and ended in the 12th grade with the most recent history, but gave the teacher much more freedom in organizing studies compared to the Soviet era. The development of two concentrates in general education during the transition period had not yet been reached, but alternative program options were proposed for the content of one class. The biggest change was fitting Russian history into the unified process of world history (*Üldhariduskooli programmid*, 1992: 12–80). As a problem in updating the syllabus, the issue of Soviet periodization was raised, as well as the lack of a worldview on which to select facts (Jaanson, 1993: 2)

In order to learn more about the development of history teaching, the research group of the Tallinn Pedagogical Institute learned about the experiences of foreign countries. It was found that it is not possible to take over the effective study organization directly from elsewhere. The review concluded that in today's world, history is taught too little and is poorly understood. Estonia's advantage in the late 1980s and early 1990s was the great interest of the majority of the people in history (Püürimäe, 1992: 6, 10, 13). The Swedish example was intended to take over the idea of concentric teaching and a higher generalization, rather than continuing fact-based teaching on a country-by-country basis. The basic school was planned to pass the first concentrate of world history together with the history of Estonia from the oldest period to the present day; high school as the second concentrate again on world history. Studying Estonian history was envisaged as a separate course, but its integration into the world history course was considered in large blocks. Due to the Soviet past, the question of identity arose, the formation of which was seen as one of the most important goals of history teaching. When studying

Estonian history, it was recommended to address Estonian minorities – Baltic Germans, Swedes, Jews, Russian Old Believers, Russian refugees after 1917, Ingers and current ethnic groups, to introduce their role in time and their own views on their ethnic group and Estonian history. The aim was to create an understanding that the past was interpreted differently and to develop the ability to think critically without turning history into a propaganda tool (EPAM, K44268: 44–49, 81–97).

The students' knowledge in Soviet times was quite good, but they lacked the ability to think historically. It was therefore recommended to make teaching learner-centered, to focus on skills development, to use exploratory teaching to introduce students to a variety of views, and not to adopt the Soviet view of history that there is only one truth in history (EPAM, K44268: 99–109)

However, the described changes included only schools with Estonian as the study language. The schools with Russian as the study language continued 11th grade high school on the basis of Soviet textbooks. Information about the innovations and recommendations for working with the updated content, including the topics of Estonian history, were mediated through translated materials, but there was no obligation to follow it. The Estonian education system was finally connected by the Estonian national curriculum in 1996.

The changes began in schools with Russian as a language of instruction in the academic year 1989/90: the number of state language lessons was increased and after a year the subjects of the Estonian cycle started to be taught, including Estonian history (Lapikova, 1998: 9–10). In the same academic year, general education schools switched to a 12-year study period (The whole year, 1992). The school system was finally harmonized with the adoption of the national curriculum in 1996 (*National Curriculum of the basic school and gymnasium*, 1996). Transition to partial Estonian-language education at upper secondary level and language immersion programs took place in the later time. Since 2007, 60 % of upper secondary school subjects were taught in Estonian (*Amendment Act § 52, 1997*). In 2019–2020, a model of a unified Estonian school was developed within the framework of the national RITA-RÄNNE (integration) project, which is still to be implemented.

4. Development of History Teaching from the First National Curriculum to the Present Day

The structure of the history curriculum was concentric in the 1996 curriculum (*Estonian National Curriculum for the basic school and gymnasium*, 1996: 1201), which was reached by analyzing the experience of Swedish history teaching. This meant that the history of the world, especially Europe and Estonia, from the earliest times to the present day was studied in basic school, and the so-called second round was completed in upper secondary school. An independent course on Estonian history also covered the history of the countries surrounding the Baltic Sea from the oldest period to the end of the 19th century. The history of Estonia in the 20th century was part of a recent history course. The course of world history from ancient times to the beginning of the 20th century was built with an emphasis on humanity, society and culture. The course also included a history of mentality and everyday life and gave a picture of how people lived, dressed, behaved, etc.

The chronological, political, economic, social, cultural and ideas dimensions of history were introduced as areas of history teaching, (*Estonian National Curriculum for the basic school and gymnasium*, 1996: 2087) without favoring any of them. In order to follow one of the basic requirements of the curriculum, student development, problem-oriented and research-based learning was recommended, where the student must draw conclusions based on the source text (*Estonian National Curriculum for the basic school and gymnasium*, 1996: 2087) and to express and justify their opinion. In order to shape the concept of historical time, it was suggested to realize the chronological dimension as a chronological-thematic (*Estonian National Curriculum for the basic school and gymnasium*, 1996: 2088) giving characteristic examples from different parts of the world. Focusing on developing skills required in-depth learning of certain topics and reviewing certain topics. The principle of exemplarity was first included in 1990/1991 in the annual program.

The task of history teaching was to develop an understanding that without knowing the past, it is difficult to understand the nature of modern crises, as well as many problems related to Estonian history. The aim of working with historical sources was to see the connections between cause and effect, to notice similarities and differences, to recognize changes and consistency. The development

of empathy, the ability to look at the world from someone else's point of view and the introduction of different approaches to history, without imposing any of them, were considered important. To understand that the writing of history depended on time and the views of historians, it was suggested that it would be helpful for pupils to compare the treatment of historical events and phenomena in different textbooks and other publications. The formulated principles, including the requirement of multiperspectivity in history teaching, clearly indicate that history teaching does not seek to form a definite national position, but to develop the learner's critical thinking.

The 1996 syllabus of the history in the national curriculum summarized the development work in history teaching done so far. There have been principles in the past, e.g. to follow the principle for close to further (from home to the world) in teaching, to make the learning personally meaningful to the student, to focus on making connections and making generalizations, to develop students' critical thinking skills, etc. The changes were very substantial compared to the previous teaching tradition – for the first time the open curriculum was implicated, which left teachers the freedom to decide and the associated responsibilities at the same time. Many teachers were not prepared for learner-centered teaching and deciding the depth of curriculum topics. Their teacher training and previous work experience were different. Some support came from information days and methodological material. Teachers had used the freedom of several years to choose the content differently. Teachers who had already compiled the teaching material by collecting the material piece by piece and had to change the content of the teaching after the entry into force of the national curriculum were rather disturbed by the adoption of the curriculum by the force of law. However, most were glad that the frames were in place again.

However, teaching practice did not change overnight. The state exam on history, introduced in 1997, helped to change this (Oja, 2006: 28; Oja, 2016: 116–152; Hoole, 2019), whose tasks controlled the learning outcomes of history were skill-centred and of varying difficulty. Content analysis of the exam results provided important information about student learning and teachers' teaching. Every year, source analyze and reasoning skills improved. Essay e writing, however, remained the part of the exam with the lowest average score. Teachers considered the most positive effect of the exam to be

the transfer of teaching from being fact centred to an emphasis on the development of skills (Oja, 2016: 326).

In 2002, a second national curriculum was adopted, which did not bring major changes but corrected the shortcomings of the first. Ministers of education changed and curriculum development stalled due to politicization. The upper secondary part of the 1996 curriculum included 8 compulsory courses, while the 2002 curriculum left only 7 courses. This also necessitated a reduction in the compulsory content. Reducing the compulsory content created an opportunity for choices to be made by each school. It was also possible to teach history on a larger scale than compulsory, either through additional elective courses or by deepening the compulsory study content.

Curriculum development in the intervening years will not reach a new national document. The third national curriculum, which is still in use, was adopted in 2011 (*National curriculum for the Basic school 2011/2020*; *National curriculum for gymnasium 2011/2020*), which found both support and criticism among teachers. The curriculum fixed the compulsory general education courses for all students/schools (63 courses out of 96). The school retained the right to decide on study fields and elective courses. There were six compulsory history courses left in the gymnasium: general history, two Estonian history, and three recent history courses. In basic school, history teaching began in the 5th grade (11 years old) with an introductory course and continued until the end of basic school, 9th grade (15 years old). The content is general history, within which the topics of Estonian history were also discussed. The general part of the curriculum formulated the possibility of studying outside the school premises as a study environment, i.e. study visits and studying in a museum.

In the list of study goals of basic school history teaching, arousing interest in the past is at the top. Emphasis is placed on learning about the history of students' near surroundings (home area), valuing cultural diversity and understanding the students role as a custodian and transmitter of cultural heritage, but also on developing skills through history, recognizing concepts and different connections, recognizing differences in views and situations and forming and justifying personal opinion (*National curriculum for the Basic school 2011/2020*: 21). In upper secondary school, the development of critical thinking and analytical skills and the ability to defend one's

position with arguments are also important (*National curriculum for gymnasium 2011/2020*: 5–6).

Similar to the British tradition, second-order concepts are understood as skills developed through the teaching of history. Development of empathy is also stressed (*National curriculum for the Basic school 2011/2020*: 22; *National curriculum for gymnasium 2011/2020*: 7). Although the curriculum retained subject teaching, greater coherence between subjects in the field was sought, as well as the development of general competencies described in the general part of the curriculum to support the development of students' holistic worldview.

Curriculum development is currently underway again, but the curriculum document for public discussion has not yet been denied. Development activities take into account 21st century skills and other concerns identified by international instruments, such as environmental issues, migration and the needs of the changed labour market. The future of schools where Russian is the study-language also needs to be resolved, in which no consensus has yet been reached. History teaching emphasizes a multiperspective and inquiry-based approach and supports teachers in dealing with methodologically sensitive topics. Both education as a whole and history teaching are affected by the wider digitalisation, which quickly became important due to the conditions of distance learning in 2020–2021.

5. Approach and Methodology in History Teaching

In addition to ideologisation, Soviet-era history teaching was criticized for focusing on knowledge and learning „historical truths.’ In retrospect, teachers evaluate that the importance of the content, teaching methodology and history as a subject has changed the most. Instead of the final truth, today’s school concentrates on learning about different understandings and perspectives. The teacher can use interactive tools, a lot of domestic and translated literature, handbooks, the Internet, films, etc. (‘during the Soviet era we had chalk and a blackboard’). Active learning methods are used. Today, it is important to form the student’s opinion and justify it with the help of arguments, as well as the opportunity and the right to express it. The biggest change in history teaching is the implementation of student-centered learning.

At the request of the national curriculum, basic school teachers must carry out creative work and upper secondary school students must carry out research. Longer projects integrating themes or different subjects are encouraged to use. According to the teachers, arousing interest in history has had a great impact on learning about family history, compiling family trees. Creating a personal connection is the best motivator in learning.

Teachers have also considered that fulfilling traditions and folk customs, celebrating anniversaries, explaining what one or another practice means, and why this custom is fulfilled helped raise interest towards history. In this way, an intergenerational connection was created and the value system of different times was interpreted.

Progressive teachers have been trying to support the development of students' understanding of history through a long tradition of country study since the second half of the 1950s. At the end of the 1980s, the movement for Heritage Protection collected memories of forbidden topics in Estonian history. The biographies of the Estonian people were collected, in an attempt to restore and preserve the history of the nation. The tradition continued with an international competition for historical research, which continues to this day (Ojala & Rohtla, 2014: 9).

Through the History Olympiad, students were motivated to deal with history in depth and read history books. The Olympiads took place during the Soviet era, lasted during the transition period and still take place today.

According to the current curriculum (2011/2020), the expansion of the study environment into memory facilities or historical environments, such as urban space, places related to history, buildings, etc., is gaining popularity. Instead of a textbook narrative, out of school education allows you to rely on authentic sources and involve and engage students as guides who teach fellow students. Museums and archives support inquiry-based historical learning, for example the Archives School of the National Archives. 8.7 million archival repositories can be used to revive history lessons. Web applications, the archive information systems

A lesson in a museum enables experiential learning, diversification of teaching and the integration of subjects. Whenever possible, history teachers try to integrate museum lessons into their teaching in different ways: through self-study, a museum lesson or a virtual museum lesson. What is learned in memory institutions will be

remembered longer than the classroom due to the different environment and the involvement of different senses.

Expanding the learning environment in time that develops historical empathy is also gaining popularity – time travel. Active teachers organize time travel to schools on various topics, for example, playing through the school day in Soviet times gives students a better idea of the specifics of the era (Rohtla, 2014). Heritage centers, such as the Wittenstein Time Center in Paide, Central Estonia, also offer schools the opportunity to travel in time. Moving from ancient times to the contemporary one with a time machine, the student can live in any timing and see humorous films about the people who lived at that time. It is an example of how entertainment can support education with raising an interest of students.

More and more technology was used in teaching. The project of computerising the schools was implemented in the years 1987–92 (*Reviews of national education policies*, 2001: 97–100). The results of the research showed that a large part of the teaching staff was not ready to work independently, but needed samples and instructions (Reinsalu & Ruubel, 1988: 30–32). In 1992–1996, IT tools were distributed to schools every year on the basis of projects, and the search for and Estonianization of software suitable for Estonian study programs was started, but also the creation of original software. In 1997, the Tiger Leap Program was announced (1997–2000) and a foundation was established to modernize schools' ICT infrastructure. In 1996–1998, the computer equipment of all Estonian schools improved (*Reviews of national education policies*, 2001: 97–100). In 2002/2003 online tests were prepared for schools. As more and more information reaches the user electronically, the teaching must take this into account. The advantage of the electronic format is considered to be flexibility – the teachers can choose the teaching material themselves and change it if necessary (Tohver, 2002: 5).

In 2006, the Ministry of Education adopted the e-learning development plan in general education 'Learning Tiger' 2006–2009 and approved its implementation plan. The aim of the development plan was to improve the quality and efficiency of learning through the use of ICT, to make e-learning a part of everyday learning (HTM, sari 1.1.–2/2006, E-learning development plan in general education 2006–2009). Complementing the current national curriculum, a requirement to develop students' digital competences was added in

2016, (Explanatory note *Regulation of the Government of the Republic of 6 January 2011 ...*, 2014) as the digital revolution in lifelong learning is laid by general education. All these decisions affected history teaching as well. Distance learning 2020–2021 has accelerated educational innovation in the electronic field.

6. Renewal of Educational Literature

The textbook is the most important teaching tool in school. Often the teacher is guided primarily by the textbook and not by the guidelines of the curriculum. The content, approach, assessments and methodology of the subject are taken from the textbook. Therefore, textbooks can be used to change teaching quickly and at once. At the same time, based on the analysis of textbooks, it is possible to assess what is really going on at the classroom level of history teaching. The authors and publishers of textbooks must follow the curriculum, but also take into account the expectations and wishes of teachers so that the textbook can be used.

The reputation of history textbooks was low in the late 1980s. The facts were skewed by the ideological concept of history textbooks. In Soviet-era historiography, including textbooks, Estonian history was presented as the history of the minority of the Russian Empire. It was not taken into account that Estonian history is a separate whole and a part of world history (Valter, 1989: 2). That is why the process of updating textbooks focused on Estonian history. In half a year, with the participation of 18 authors, an Estonian history teaching aid was compiled for a secondary school (published in 1989), and as the editor said: ‘to present as true historical facts as possible from the point of view of the Estonian people’ (Õispuu, 1989: 4). ‘Estonian History’ is rather a factual handbook for teachers, which does not contain methodological parts, maps, word explanations or illustrations for students. The second part of the textbook contains quite a lot of statistical information: economic indicators, demographic data, emigration, cultural creation and its consumption. Considerable attention has been paid to culture at different times. There is a thorough overview of the emigration of Estonians to Russia and to the West and the settlements that have developed. The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact has been discussed. The secret protocol of the non-aggression pact is presented as an annex to the text. The post-ultimatum introduction of additional Red Army troops has been

called an occupation. However, the period of the Second World War is still called the Great Patriotic War (Õispuu, 1989: 3, 86–87, 89, 118, 141), which refers to the Soviet-era historical writing tradition. Despite its shortcomings, it was the first overview of Estonian history that teachers could rely on when teaching history.

In 1989–1994, the first textbooks corresponding to the renewed concept of history teaching were compiled. The main innovation was overcoming the Soviet-era approach to history and developing an independent course in Estonian history. As the authors had no previous experience and it was difficult to obtain the source material, the authors of the first textbooks were mainly academic historians and textbooks were scientifically inclined, factual, voluminous and with complex wording, which was not compensated for by a weak methodological part. The influence of the Soviet era was felt both in evaluation and the use of terms. There were also problems with design and print quality. Over the years, the circle of authors expanded, the professional level of the study material increased.

The format of textbooks has also changed. Different types of sources are used more than before, not only documents but also pictures, cartoons, audio and video files. Learning materials e-environment Koolielu (school life) gave teachers the opportunity to download and use electronic learning materials. Today, the study material is distributed in a specially developed e-school bag, which was created in 2016. There can also be found study materials prepared for all upper secondary school history courses (2018–2019), including lessons in memory institutions, methodological instructions and assessment models. Some publishers distribute textbooks in an opiq environment, PDFs of all published textbooks are available on publishers' websites, which contain active links to various types of sources and additional material. In 2019, a team of Tallinn University handed over to the ministry of education and research digital learning material for all history courses for gymnasium/high school level. In addition to the teaching material, the teacher's book included methodological guidelines and assessment models was developed.

Russian as a study-language schools used textbooks translated from Estonian. The translated text was accurate but boring. In the 1990s, dissatisfaction and disagreement also arose over the interpretation of history. It took time to get used to the changed history teaching. Translation textbooks were accused of imposing a

European understanding on students (Grigorjan, 1996: 12), but also from an Estonian point of view (Tohver, 1999: 2).

7. History Teachers about Challenges, Expectations and History Teaching

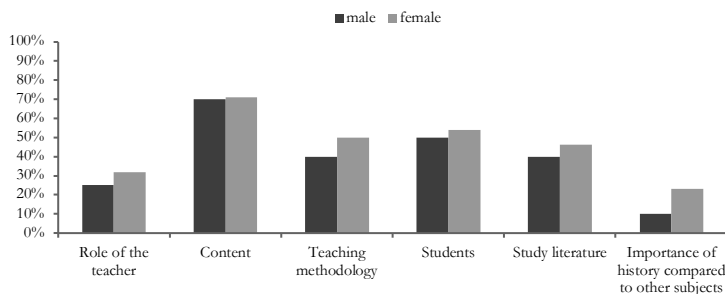
There is no general national study on the success of history teaching. Some conclusions can be drawn on the basis of the questionnaire, sent to history teachers 2004, which was answered by 205 teachers. Teachers found that there were few lessons to study history. More time would be needed to develop thinking, analysis and argumentation skills. Among the study results of the upper secondary school, the teachers found it easier to analyze the information of the media, more difficult to critically analyze historical sources and different points of view, and to develop empathy. The most popular teaching method among respondents was a school lecture, which teachers considered effective. Independent work and discussion followed. Project training was the least used, and study visits and research were not popular. Among the goals of learning history, the teachers considered the development of critical thinking, analysis and reasoning skills the most important. The teachers influenced the student's interest, but also the history syllabus and the state exam, to a lesser extent the textbook (Oja, 2005: 9; Survey of history teachers 2004). Students emphasized learning and knowing historical facts more than teachers (Tannberg, 2005: 9).

The second survey in 2008 showed that history ranks VII among all subjects (more than 15 subjects) (Pallas, 2008: 49). Research has shown that the content of history has changed more than teaching practice in 20 years.

The implementation of the current curriculum (2011/2020) was checked with the study of history teaching at the second school level (12-year-old students) in 2016. 65 teachers responded to the survey, who considered the development of both general competencies and the skills described in the history syllabus important in history teaching, but stated that they remain conservative in both teaching and assessment, ie the teacher's story and oral answer. A variety of methodologies are used in teaching, but support is needed in the form of didactically well-thought teaching material, as one should always be able to find suitable examples.

Katrin Kello (autumn 2009 and spring 2010) asked history teachers from Tartu and Ida-Virumaa (26) how they describe the aims and applications of their work (Kello, 2010: 32). The results showed that teachers are well acquainted with the formal syllabus or it corresponds to their beliefs. The researcher even concluded that teachers could review curriculum goals and emphases just before the interview. The most unanimous were the teachers in the importance of knowledge and its analysis, but also the importance of creating interest in history. Opinions differed on the importance of historical knowledge and the other aims of history teaching. Development of analytical skills, critical thinking, subject matter interest, information retrieval skills, independent learning, tolerance and discussion skills dominated. Cooperation skills, diligence, dignity, civic participation, kindness and caring were also represented. Teachers with Russian as a study-language schools emphasized loyalty. Some teachers emphasized systemic knowledge. Rather, teachers did not support traditional history teaching that mediates only one correct interpretation, but were aware of the conditionality of knowledge and the role of teachers and students as interpreters (Kello, 2010: 33–36). 2013–2014 a survey was conducted with teachers who worked at the school in 1989, when the Soviet system was abandoned in history teaching, and did so in the year of the survey. 187 teachers responded to the survey. All subsequent estimates are from the same study (Oja, 2016: 300–302).

Teachers answered that the content (88), student (64), teaching methodology (57), teaching literature (53), role of the teacher (37) and the importance of history as a subject compared to other subjects (25) have changed the most compared to the Soviet time. The society in which we live is completely different. All of this affects a student who is a child of his or her time: ‘values and perceptions of life are different.’ Attitudes towards learning have changed, motivation to learn has decreased. Today’s student is more aware of what and how much to learn. The possibilities for finding information have expanded.

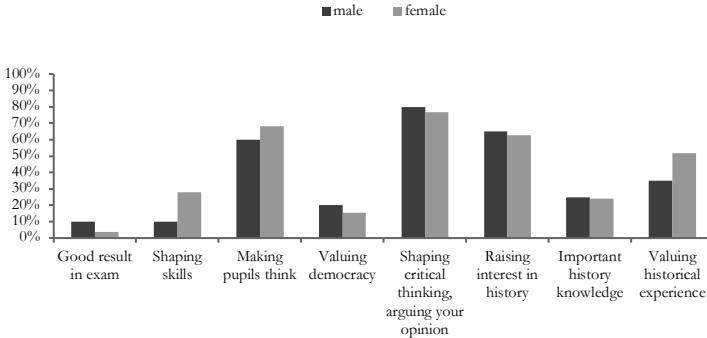


Graph 1. What has changed the most since Soviet times?

During the transition period, teachers had to re-evaluate and expand their knowledge of history. Today, it is difficult to understand that young people educated during the Soviet era believed in the narrative taught at school. Many families tried to save children from living ‘the two truths,’ either out of fear or for other reasons. However, there were also very informed young people who had been told about the past at home or who had the opportunity to read literature, forbidden in Soviet times. Teachers argued that the knowledge and historical memory of the Soviet-era required reassessment. ‘Even then, there were a lot of people who remembered how it really was, but we taught as the state needed. I talked at school about how people went to the collective farm in this village in 1948, voluntarily. How bad were kulaks and they had to be sent away. [...] One parent who had been spoken to at home asked after lessons, if you still knew what you were talking about. I began to suspect that the book was still not the source of truth.’ Many of the teachers who responded to the survey admitted that they believed in, or at least were influenced by, official history and that their previous knowledge was turned upside down. For some, the revaluation of history was a shock. There were also cases where revalued concepts were not believed. Some teachers were not ashamed of their ignorance: ‘That’s how I studied with the students, without being ashamed.’

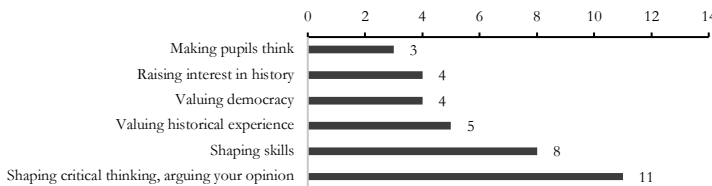
Teachers, participated in the study had to select three most important aims of history teaching. They saw the formation of critical thinking and the substantiation of students’ personal opinion, the development of students’ thinking skills, arousing interest in history, valuing historical experience, and developing skills as the most important emphases of modern history teaching. Less important was

the introduction of important historical knowledge, the valuing of democracy and, lastly, a good examination result. The valuing of democracy is not associated with the teaching of history. This is taken for granted by students.



Graph 2. What is of the greatest importance in history teaching today? (2013)

However, learning about the basic facts and concepts of history is not considered insignificant. The emphasis has changed. Without knowledge, there is no discussion or analysis, but at the same time, after learning a single historical fact, a coherent picture is not formed. In January 2021, alumni acting as supervisors of students' pedagogical practice answered the same question (11). As only three could be chosen again, the most important aim what was selected was to develop critical thinking and justify one's position, the importance of which was noted by all 11 respondents, which was also the most valued 8 years ago. Development of skills has become more important and importance of making pupils think decreased. Or it is included into development of skills by opinion of alumni.



Graph 3. What is of the greatest importance in history teaching today? (2021)

Teachers emphasize that the implementation of student-centred learning is a big change compared to the past. Instead of the ultimate truth, one learns about different understandings and perspectives. The teacher can use interactive tools, a lot of domestic and translated literature, reference books, the Internet, films, etc. – ‘during the Soviet time we had chalk and a blackboard.’ Active learning methods are used more. Today, it is important to form the student’s opinion and justify it with the help of arguments, as well as the opportunity and the right to express it.

The curriculum has changed less the oldest period and more recent history. The number of compulsory history courses has decreased giving students greater choice, which cannot be offered as an additional burden, but at the expense of something else.

Opinions differ when evaluating the study literature. There are views that the quality of textbooks and supplementary materials is better today. Others say textbooks have gotten worse year by year. ‘Too many pictures, too colourful, visually tiring, but the content is more and more confusing, illogical, difficult for students to understand.’

The role of the teacher has changed. ‘Today, a teacher must be a social worker, a family counselor, a security guard, a police officer,’ but professionalism is important in every age. The teacher is more of a guide and supporter, a student a seeker and a finder. The results are born of collaboration. There is more freedom and right to decide. ‘I dare to discuss with children, do not give anyone’s opinion, it could not be done during the Soviet era.’ Changes in roles are due to changes in society. In order to cope with life, one must be able to find information oneself, evaluate it critically, apply knowledge, be able to make connections, form and justify one’s opinion, cooperate, etc. This requires a change in teaching practice.

The increase in freedom and choice also brought new challenges: fragmentation and lack of student interest, low reading, superficiality, inability to concentrate and deepen, and overcrowding. It is becoming increasingly difficult to attract students’ attention. Learning history requires thinking, but thinking is unpleasant for the student, takes time, demands concentration. It is preferable to listen to ‘stories about history.’ Knowledge is gained from celestial channels (History, Discovery, etc.), which present the material more excitingly and create a great contrast with the study material. ‘History is wanted as entertainment.’ Low reading causes vocabulary problems, students do not understand the era or the background of historical events.

Emphasizing special needs obliges the teacher to differentiate teaching. There is a lack of knowledge, time and strength to do so. Teachers need constant support to acquire new knowledge and skills. Teachers of Russian-language schools see a problem in the transition of subject teaching to Estonian at the upper secondary school level. Students' poor language skills suffer from subject knowledge. Studying in Estonian, which goes beyond force, tunes students against the subject, one cannot even speak of interest.

According to the teachers, the Estonian History and Civic Teachers' Association, founded in 1993, has also had a great influence on history teaching. In the year of the foundation of the society, he immediately became a member of the international organization EuroClio. Belonging to the society has ensured teachers more extensive communication with colleagues both at home and abroad. The events support the professional development of teachers, and the website provides teaching materials and information on the mailing list. EuroClio membership has provided an opportunity to participate in international discussions on history teaching.

Although the teaching profession is still not popular in society today, young teachers, who value and enjoy the teaching profession, are increasingly expressing themselves. Their retention for the teaching profession was based on the creativity and novelty of the teachers' profession, the opportunity to learn and develop all the time, to constantly test oneself and to feel that much-needed work is being done. In addition, teaching is diversified by compiling teaching materials in the classroom, working in a subject union, organizing events, mentoring students or young teachers, and participating in educational life (Reier, 2014: 13). It is important to participate in external projects with students (Comenius, UNESCO Joint Schools Program) (Ossipov, 2014: 13). Teaching develops leadership skills (Kaarlõp-Nani, 2014: 13). The teaching profession expects unexpected and difficult situations to be resolved, which is why a teacher can cope very well in any profession (Rohi, 2014: 13). In their opinion, young teachers are the transmitters of the narrative of national history, who also consider it important to shape active citizens. The main goal of history teaching is to develop thinking skills (Roos, 2007: 70).

In 2019–2020, 13 teachers interviewed in the framework of the RITA-RÄNNE (integration of society) project. They said that the

aim of history teaching is to understand the past, history is a story of a person (suffering) in time, it is a story of repeated mistakes from which it is possible to learn. There were also views that history is a study written by historians, or that history was understood from both perspectives, both as the story of the earth and people and as a critical study of it. The aim was also to form an empathetic and cooperative person, to support the student's cultural and state identity, to teach cause-and-consequence relations, and historical facts. Of the skills of historical thinking, everyone considered source criticism and empathy important, as well as the consequent emphasis on connections. Half of the teachers pointed out that teaching must be based on the learner and that learning must be meaningful to the student, the student's cultural identity (e.g. to interpret different family stories) and the state identity must be supported. Teacher self-reflection, awareness of one's own cultural identity and values and its impact on students are important.

First-year students, studying to be history teachers, pointed out in their feedback of the didactics course (December 2020), that knowledge of history helps to understand the causes and consequences of changes in society, both in the Estonian context and throughout the world. Interpreting the past in today's context develops students so that they can cope well with their lives in society. Through history teaching, we learn to understand that history is also the students' own story. They learn to value other cultures and understand people's behaviour at different times. The most necessary qualities of history teacher were considered to be humanity, empathy, adaptability, justice, broad knowledge and interest in learning, pedagogical professionalism.

I asked alumni (January 2021) who act as supervisors for students and have remained associated with the university, which they see as the main goal of history teaching. They were 11 professional teachers. The prevailing view was that the main goal of history education is to develop students' knowledge, skills, attitudes and values that would help them meet the challenges of the future, with a view to the sustainability of both society and the environment. Coping with one's life in society was highlighted by all respondents. The ability to make connections, develop critical thinking and analytical skills was also mentioned. As well as asking critical questions about the historical narrative, valuing historical experience, forming one's opinion, skills of searching, analysing and using information. The qualities of a good

history teacher were the purposefulness and meaning of the work, but also curiosity, openness, ingenuity, diverse interests, flexibility and adaptability, demandingness, friendliness, tolerance and caring. Thorough knowledge of history and education, democratic value, wide horizons, and the ability to use different methods and learning environments were also highlighted.

Teachers' responses show that Soviet-era ideological pressure no longer burdens teachers. There is a new generation of teachers in schools who are autonomous professionals who, when organizing the learning process, follow the learner and the aspirations of history as a subject, dare and want to make their own choices, decisions and responsibilities.

8. Conclusion

The changes in history teaching and education as a whole during the period under review began after the Teachers' Congress (1987). The abandonment of Soviet traditions was of revolutionary importance – the ideological approach to substance was abandoned, teachers had to refresh their knowledge and rethink their understandings. The central task of history teaching was to formulate the focus and goals of subject teaching and to balance historical knowledge, skills, values and attitudes in the study process. The first focus was on learning little-known historical topics, so-called 'white spots,' and then on changing teaching practices. During the Soviet era, it was inconceivable to study the history of the independent state of Estonia in 1918–1940 or to gain knowledge about the abuses that took place during the Soviet occupation, such as deportations, arrests, etc. In teaching practice, the direction of research was taken over from the old one, which made it possible to deal with history in depth during the Soviet era. At that time, the history and archival sources of the family were studied and study visits were organized.

The conceptual foundations of history teaching were developed in 1988–1991, and several perspectives, such as the development of critical thinking and analysis skills, the development of time orientation, historical empathy and other skills, have been the basis for curriculum development to this day. Changes in teaching and didactic interpretations due to the development of society (integration into Europe) and changes in pedagogical principles (learner-centered school) have been added. Research-based learning

and multi-perspective approach became keywords in the teaching of history. The expansion of the learning environment outside the classroom strengthened cooperation with memory institutions and the use of authentic sources in teaching. Experiential learning was applied to develop empathy and the ability to orientate at different times and to get to know the past better. The potential of information technology is increasingly being used with the aim of supporting students' historical, critical thinking and analytical skills so that the younger generation is prepared to interact with society.

Less than content and learning objectives, teaching practice has changed over the last 30 years and is still quite conservative. Teachers are aware of the need to organize a learner-centred learning process, but it is probably very difficult to change teaching practices if the current results are good by their opinion – learners' knowledge, which is most often measured, is good. Today's teacher training curriculum pays attention to getting to know the learner: pedagogical-psychological subjects help to understand the development of students' thinking, the need to develop social-emotional skills, theoretical knowledge is linked to practical examples through subject didactics studies. Changes in teaching practice have brought a young generation of history teachers to history teaching. It takes more time for the beliefs of the older generation to change.

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CHANGING HISTORY TEACHING IN HUNGARY (1990–2020): TRENDS, MOSAICS, PATTERNS

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The study aims at presenting the educational policy and pedagogical history framework of history teaching in the last thirty years. It also presents the theoretical and practical characteristics and milestones of the transformation of learning-teaching methodology in Hungary. The purpose of this article is to inform the domestic and international professional public about the innovations and changes affecting history teaching in recent decades thereby strengthening the legitimacy of the history didactics profession. In summary, the authors conclude that there were significant changes in central curricula, exam requirements and textbooks over the past thirty years. Key positive changes were the following: the ideological hegemony of Marxist history teaching has vanished, competence development has become the focus of teaching and learning, the contents have been modernized. The significance of the Modern Ages has increased and new values (e.g. democracy) have been defined. The plural, multiperspective, source- and activity-based approach has appeared in regulators and textbooks, the spread of learner-centered learning-teaching strategies and intelligent use of ICT tools has also started. A new approach has been established in higher education as well, however, it is a hindrance that the acceptance of history didactics as an independent field of science is still pending in both the academic and higher education spheres. Against the fortunate processes the account of the procedures is controversial, since the positive changes provided only partial results and have not brought widespread and extensive reform of history teaching.

1. Introductory Thoughts

The study aims at presenting the educational policy and pedagogical history framework of history teaching in Hungary in the last thirty years. It also presents the theoretical and practical characteristics and milestones of the transformation of learning-teaching methodology in Hungary. The purpose of this article is to inform the domestic and

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international professional public about the innovations and changes affecting history teaching in recent decades thereby strengthening the legitimacy of the history didactics profession. The authors were, on various levels and to various degrees, participants, and at times influential actors, in the processes presented in this study. From this, and as a consequence of their convictions, they advocate the aspect of continuity in the interest of maintaining Hungarian traditions, as well as the perspectives of renewal in the interest of implementing new Hungarian and foreign thinking, approaches and innovations.

2. Historical Background

Trends in history teaching in the past decades have been influenced by Hungarian historiography, which is undergoing a transformation, and reflection on international history didactics, in addition to the changing policy of remembrance and education.

From the end of the 1980s, on the eve of the change of system, the ideology-free approach to the historical past gained ground, the need for pluralist approaches became more evident as the silencing of earlier taboo topics (e.g. the Soviet occupation) became untenable. The study of history experienced the change of system as a liberation, because it could be freed from the compulsory ideological weights required in Marxist historiography.

The perspective of Europe became an important aspect that meant, on the one hand, the new legitimization of classical ideological-social and economic traditions (e.g. Judeo-Christian teachings, the principle of separation of powers, private ownership) and, on the other hand, a declaration of belonging to a geographic, economic and cultural area.

The reputable professional workshops of historiography systematically, in a far-reaching manner at institutional level, did not deal with the theoretical or practical scientific questions of history teaching, but a number of historians, at various levels and to varying degrees, participated in the preparation of and discourse over textbooks defining the rules of content (curricula, matriculation requirements) in public education.

The newest journals reporting and popularizing the latest results in the study of history (*História*, *Rubicon*) supported the professional training of history teachers. The new products of historians' research were presented not only in scientific journals and popular history

magazines, but at a number of conferences, teachers' events and seminars that mobilized history teachers. Most of these were initiated and organized by civil organizations in the profession (Teachers' Chapter of the Hungarian Historical Society; History Teachers' Association).

After the change of system, most history teachers expected from the study of history a simple knowledge, free of ideological biases, that they could pass on to their students. Today, it has become clearly evident that was an illusion at the time, and remains so today as well.

In the last 30 years, a lot of processes have been launched in the field of history teaching, which aimed to keep the processes in Hungary in sync with international trends.

Recent discourses on the teaching of history indicate that at least three or four contradictory, and in some ways mutually exclusive, historical interpretations of the past more than 100 years are present in parallel in daily practice. The struggle for the past seems to be ongoing, and each generation is looking for and offering more and more frameworks of interpretation. Unfortunately, in this struggle, simple 'sign shifts' dominate – what used to be positive to negative, and vice versa – rather than narratives trying to interpret the complex contexts of the past.

The problem is compounded by the fact that the various groups in the history and history teaching profession unfortunately do not debate the acceptance of cooperation, common basic values, but want to dominate the particular interests of the beneficiary group politically.

3. History Teaching in a Hungarian and International Context

In the past three decades, a number of new processes – often connected to each other, but also sometimes conflicting or opposing – in the area of history teaching can be diagnosed.

In the 1990s, points of view and theories which were earlier unfamiliar in practice in Hungary became known all at once. With regard to the regulation of content, the theory of curriculum was of defining significance. On the one hand, it placed the perspective of the students' development in the focus when selecting teaching materials; on the other hand, it introduced the core curriculum as a type of thing that increases professional autonomy at institutional

level. Furthermore, it stressed not only a more complex approach to subjects (e.g. areas of education), but the perspective of integrative learning, too.

In addition to the conventional chronological approach, room was made for other topical, synchronous approaches, too, but the legitimacy of the chronological principle was really never questioned. That is when – in relation to the spread of constructivist pedagogy – the so-called in-depth approach (Chambliss-Calfee, 1998; Knausz, 2003: 8–11) to historical topics gained acceptance.

At this time, stress on social and cultural history, and history of mentalities increased in historiography – in connection to the spread of the postmodern approach – and the processing of topics earlier addressed on the periphery (areas outside of Europe, the history of women and children, minorities, natural environment) all became more common.

Following this change in method of approach, the emphasis of the personal horizon in remembrance policy increases, the appreciation of oral history grows, and the appearance of cultural diversity, as a value, becomes more widely accepted as well as the multiperspective and controversial approach. The so-called ‘narrative competency,’ which puts stress on thinking about alternatives, willingness to debate, the ability to form and shape opinions independently, and the development of problem-solving thinking, was placed high up in the hierarchy of history instruction goals (Kaposi, 2016).

During the period around the turn of the millennium, the competency-based way of thinking and the learning-teaching strategies based thereon became one of the defining features of educational theory. Instead of ‘explicit’ knowledge, ‘tacit or passive’ knowledge embedded in the personal or social competencies of the student were brought to the forefront (European Commission, 2007). The prevalence of this mindset was also manifested in the placement of so-called key competencies in the focus of discourse.

As a result of the competency-based approach, greater emphasis was placed on so-called key concepts, as these created the chance for students to become able to recognize the connections, similarities and differences between events, to systematize their processed historical knowledge, and to identify repeated historical patterns and generalities (Stradling, 2001; Kojanitz, 2017: 13–30).

In the past decade, in discourse over history didactics, it has become generally accepted that the development of historical

thinking¹ is one of the most important tasks of history teaching. One of the most important goals of teaching history in schools is to shape a kind of adaptable framework of interpretation with which ‘events that have been processed and known trends can be effectively applied in well structured, new situations to support the understanding of the past or the present, and interpret changes in the future’ (Kojanitz, 2013: 28–47). Furthermore, dealing with history helps them to understand those who are historically and culturally divergent, different and dissimilar and ‘apply the kind of knowledge, skills, attitudes and values that enable the individual to effectively take part in an everyday life founded on democratic values in a civil society’ (Hoskins: 2008). In practice, such an approach to teaching ‘promotes the development of students’ competencies to act (learning by working) ahead of the mere interpretation of the events of the past (frontal learning)’ (Fischerné, 2010). In recent years, the scope of problems related to inclusion and cultural diversity has come to the fore (Barsch, et al., 2019).

This attempted overview, which is by no means complete, shows that a number of international theories and practices regarding history teaching have appeared in the professional discourse in Hungary in the past decades, not infrequently in harmony with the recommendations of ISHD and Euroclio. Ideas for reform have emerged especially in the area of content regulation, but these novelties could not be put into pedagogical practice in Hungary in a coherent manner amid the challenges posed in the system of coordination by the frequent changes to education policy and the new pedagogical paradigm.

4. History Teaching

An encompassing assessment of Hungarian history instruction in the past decades has not been undertaken (Ranschburg, 2004: 161–141), so in this section, we present changes that have taken place in curricula, examination requirements and the area of textbooks in addition to showing the overall picture. These show well, both separately and together, those tendencies and contradictions that can be traced back to the ideological-spiritual consequences of the change of system, the turnarounds in education policy, the ‘top-down’ will to reform and the challenges of changing approaches to pedagogical thinking.

The political change of system could not handle those problems that were already present in the Kádár system, be they active or latent (e.g. students' lack of motivation, disinterest; a lack of reading and problems understanding texts). From the mid-1990s, some teachers felt that their professional prestige had become tarnished as their earlier approach to history, adopted either voluntarily or through compulsion, had, in whole or in part, been eschewed. The underlying reason for this was that public opinion as well as some people within the profession had interpreted the political changes simply as a precursor to change. A telling example of this was the teaching of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution which was treated as a counter-revolution before the change of system, then afterward – within a period of a few months – was required to be taught as a revolution. The sudden appearance of various historical approaches also posed a challenge, as did the unsustainability of the deterministic, single-perspective approach to history. These changes were understandable, but a less fortunate side effect was the exclusion, from the early 1990s, of any kind of historical interpretation, explanation or value judgment from the teaching process, with the justification that after the earlier ideological constraints, teachers didn't want to burden teaching with new shackles of thinking.

In the spirit of the developing and expanding 'fact fetishism' (which held that only historical data should be processed), many teachers returned to the earlier outdated monologic methods, to frontal teaching, and even in extreme situations to classroom dictation, as a result of which teaching practice was characterized by the 'processology' of the deterministic approach.

In the period connected to the change of system, the attitude of teachers of subjects was characterized by confidence in the expected transformation of subject matter, both in relation to the goals and the methods of history teaching. The foundation of that confidence was primarily the opportunity offered to import topics that were earlier taboo and prohibited approaches, and to win back the professional autonomy that was earlier restricted or taken away entirely by the powers that be. In the meantime a lack of analysis on debates beyond the matter of subject content, about interpretation of history and the practical effects of the knowledge revolution taking place in the world, unfortunately contributed to the fact that the international practice based on so-called narrative tendencies, intended to address the challenges of the age, didn't make it to Hungary at all, or did not

arrive in the kind of context that would have allowed the further organic development of local traditions and the creation of a sort of synthesis that could have represented Hungarian heritage and new European requirements and trends at the same time.

The change of system significantly reduced the opportunity to influence directly the practice of everyday teaching with external means (e.g. with professional overseers). This led to a strengthening of the professional autonomy of schools and teachers of subjects. On the practical level, that meant that institutions themselves drafted their pedagogical documents and local curricula, but a resulting change in approach was produced either not at all or to a negligible degree.

The expected subject pedagogical changes did not take place. This was confirmed by observations conducted on the impact of content regulation by the Hungarian Institute for Educational Research and Development (HIERD) in the 1990s which examined how history teachers were affected by the professional challenges presented by the introduction of the NCC (1995) and the curricula that followed (2001).

The observation confirmed that subject teachers continued to use the methodologies applied earlier in their classroom hours. The evaluation also showed that textbooks and knowledge-related requirements were dominant, while processing and interpreting sources played a small role.

Later assessments also confirmed that we could see a very differentiated picture in the area of history teaching in practice, too. The new matriculation examination introduced in 2005 – as a strong outcome requirement – was perhaps most able to effect change of content and methodology at the classroom level. That activity confined to merely transferring information was reduced in teachers' work, while the share of source- and activity-centered teaching practice increased, complemented by new, interactive organizational learning methods (e.g. projects, pair work, drama pedagogy) and new textbooks with new approaches (reading sources, criticizing sources, multiperspective and controversial approaches).

Naturally, this pedagogical culture shift previously described did not become widely adopted in everyday practice. Frontal and dictation methods continue to be present in classrooms as confirmed by evaluations conducted in recent years. An online survey for a recent study (Kamp, 2019) shows that a pronounced change has not

taken place in the area of everyday practice with regard to activity-centered education.

The researchers/surveyors also reported that the teachers, including history teachers, do not take advantage of the new pedagogical challenges and activities arising from changes to the role of teacher – or the spread of digitalization – as a positive opportunity, but rather as a burden, and do not see it as necessary for the knowledge they have acquired until now. For teachers using the dominant method of knowledge transfer, the new requirements (motivating and interactive methods, active student participation), that is, the so-called role of facilitator does not appear to be attractive, they are not prepared for it, nor are they convinced that it will be more effective from the point of view of preparing their students.

The pedagogical thinking about knowledge and learning has changed a lot in recent decades and putting it into practice is a long and complicated process. Learning-teaching paradigms with different approaches have been congested and different perspectives have slipped on top of each other, as a result of which practicing educators often lose their orientation skills.

A presentation of the situation of history teaching would not be complete without a look at experiences regarding students' level of preparedness (knowledge, skills, attitudes). Unfortunately, our knowledge in this area is severely lacking. The main reason for this is that in the past 30 years, there has been no broad collection of data or evaluation, based on scientific norms, seeking to discover the level of students' interest in history, their interpretation of concepts connected to the covered topics, their multilevel cause-causal associations, and their nuanced interpretation of historical figures or events. Of course, local and regional evaluations (Szebenyi-Vass, 2020: 135–167), of varying size, have taken place, but none of them were repeated a number of times, and all of them involved only a single question.

To the fundamental question of how students' attitude toward the subject of history has changed in the past 30 years, how their historical consciousness has been shaped in the course of processing the past, and the nature and the size of the role played by history instruction in the scholastic framework, we can offer no scientifically-grounded answer. That is unfortunate because during that time, the central curricular requirements have been changed six times, and as a

result the textbooks, and the requirements related to teacher training have changed three times. This is problematic, too, because a system of intervention that precedes facts and data could become the accepted paradigm, and that would put the necessity of scientific research into question in the long term.

The activities of professional history teaching organizations remain an area that has not been digested. The Hungarian Historical Society and its Teachers' Chapter have the longest standing tradition of close to one-and-a-half centuries. During the time of the change of system, the History Teachers' Association, which celebrates its 30th anniversary this year, was established, along with the History Educators' Union.

According to the 2019 statistics of Hungary there are 8000 history teachers in schools. 25 % of them teach in the capital city, Budapest. 75 % work in state schools (maintained by the school district system) 25 % teach in private and religious institutions. There are 10 universities in Hungary providing history teacher training which train ca. 550 history teachers on the average of the last 8 years. Admission data suggest that the high school students applying for history teacher training possess average skills and background knowledge, since the minimal score of admission to the university training is between 300 and 350 scores of the 500 total points of the admission system. 75 % of the admitted students choose secondary level training and 70 % of them receive certification. Among the 10 mentioned universities which train history teachers, 3 institutions provide serious training in history didactics. The other institutions consider it a secondary task.

The tradition of the methodology-themed journals of earlier years was continued, with a broader perspective and a wider focus on history didactics, by the online periodical *Törénelemtanítás* (History Teaching), established in 2010. The journal, available exclusively online, was a private initiative, enjoying no institutional support, organized through the cooperation of experts in history didactics at the University of Pécs, University of Eötvös Lorand (ELTE) and Pázmány Péter Catholic University, creating a professional forum for the improvement and renewal of history teaching for researchers, PhD students and practicing teachers.

There are a number of reasons that the necessary changes did not take place but exploring those requires further research. The predictability of educational policy, the strengthening of professional autonomy for institutions and teachers, support for development of

school organization, and the spread of knowledge-sharing systems and networks could do much to give impetus to the effectiveness of the process of reform in the short term. It would also be of benefit if the stress on educational policy decisions and support would shift from the so-called macro level to the micro level. Instead of system-level intervention, greater attention should be paid to and more resources ensured for support of processes in the classroom, and the professional work of teachers. One of the keystones of the process of support could be bringing society on board with regard to central innovations (e.g. educational-instructional programs, textbook development), while promoting and sharing local good practices.² This process would also serve the recovery of the original intentions of the system of professional advising, with the involvement of teacher training institutions (Kaposi, 2015: 153–166).

4.1 *Curricula*

The restructuring of educational content regulation started in 1988, parallel with the process of the change of system. The changes were the subject of debates, of various depths and on various levels, lasting years. The 1995 National Core Curriculum (NCC) defined only the ‘core’ of requirements for subjects for tenth-graders. It modified the conventional subject frameworks (establishing complex areas of literacy) and placed the development of the students in focus, not the teaching material. The subject of history became (along with social studies and the study of humanity) a part of the integrated approach to social sciences called Human and Society Literacy Area.

As a result of this curricular concept, the volume of the earlier required content and lexical knowledge was significantly reduced. The integrated approach meant that historicity became a defining principle for various disciplines regarding society and humanity, while the complexity (Kinyó-Molnár, 2012: 289–326) suggested that the focus of the area of literacy was basically the processing of the historical past and familiarization with the foundational structures of society. Consequently, general development goals were simultaneously focused on the formation of narrative competencies (Fischer-Dárdai, 2006: 14–29) and the application of a social sciences approach.

The structure and content of the area of literacy clearly showed a significant shift from the conventionally exclusive history teaching-

centered approach to the complex social sciences approach dubbed ‘civic education.’ Consequently, the core curriculum simultaneously presented the two forms of collective memory: the communicative and the cultural memory (Assmann, 2004: 51, 53).

Taking this division into account, the curriculum, although concentrating mainly on the necessity of shaping cultural memory, also made space for the perspective of the present. The changes were experienced by a significant part of history teachers as a dismemberment of history instruction, or, as some put it, ‘the Trianon of history teaching.’ At the same time, advocates for the modernization of content saw the changes as a success (Jakab, 2003). It must be emphasized when looking at the elements of the NCC related to history instruction that content earlier focused almost exclusively on political history was significantly restructured, and the history of society, of ways of living and of culture were given significant space.

The 2003 version of the NCC updated the 1995 document on the basis of new insights created from knowledge and the increasingly accepted paradigm of lifelong learning but did not include the concrete content (the detailed requirements) of literacy areas, placing them at the level of the framework curricula. It encouraged the creation of a wide variety of framework curricula to allow the needs of the increasingly differentiated school system to be satisfied (Vágó-Vass, 2006: 197–278). In 2007, European key competencies (e.g. digital, social and civic competencies, as well as the competency of effective, independent study) that support lifelong learning were included in the NCC.

The structure and form of changes to the 2012 NCC mainly demonstrate continuity, as the supplement of the detailed content requirements (public literacy content) marked a return to the detailed requirements of the 1995 NCC. Maintaining a common cultural coding system in the spirit of the complexity of the social sciences was made the focus of the core curriculum concept (Kaposi, 2012: 5–22; 2015: 69–110). The document outlines the goal of history teaching as the understanding of the present through a processing of the past, the importance of ‘civic education,’ and, through this, the achievement of an active and aware participation in everyday public life. It stresses the application of the method of understanding narratives, the creation of a motivating learning environment and the

significance of using key ideas (Stradling, 2001) to support meaningful learning (Kaposi, 2016; Kojanitz, 2016).

The review of the curriculum process shows that a dilemma, in large part connected to the change of system, became the focus of discourse: how and to what degree should the perspective of public commitment, concentrating on society at the time, be present in addition to the traditionally culture-centered (e.g. academic and value neutral) approach of the subject of history (Kinyó, 2012). The debate played out against the backdrop of the tradition, in place since curricula were first regulated in Hungary, of the subject of history serving as the most emphatic sphere for education for citizenship, as well as playing a defining role in shaping national identity for more than a century. The subject of history retained this function even after the change of system and Hungary's accession to the European Union.

It is the main goal of history teaching in Hungary to shape awareness of national identity, but also important is forming a feeling of belonging to Europe.

These processes also bear witness to the increasing supplementation of traditional history instruction content and requirements with the elements of education for democracy, including a shift in focus to strengthening a complex problem-solving manner of thinking about social integration and social cohesion (Halász-Lannert, 2004: 23–26). The advancement of this kind of approach in content regulation can be easily traced, as evident in both the 2003 and 2007 National Core Curriculum, and in the requirements of the 2005 matriculation examination. The intensity of the process is also shown by the fact that social studies 'grew up' to become an independent subject during the period and also appeared as a matriculation examination subject which some institutions of higher education accepted as a substitute for history when meeting admissions requirements.³

4.2 The Matriculation Examination

Examination development launched in 1995, after the issue of the National Core Curriculum, resulted in a significant restructuring of content and structure. Managing the secondary school expansion, which triggered admissions to higher education, was a priority goal of social policy. To this aim, the examination system was split into two

levels, in which the so-called mid-level sought to serve the function of a matriculation examination, while the higher level aimed to serve as a selection tool for institutions of higher education. In addition to the introduction of the unified, dual-level examination, examination development goals were set to present new knowledge content, make competency development a focus, establish and broaden standardization, widen the opportunity for individual students to choose their paths (flexibility) and create fairer conditions for continuing studies in higher education.

For this reason, the new matriculation examination requirements aim to recover an internal balance between the trinity of knowledge transfer, skills development and mediation of standards with regard to the educational goals of the subject. A key role in the requirements was assigned to competencies ensuring historical learning, e.g. acquisition and use of knowledge, spatial and temporal orientation, the exploration of factors that shape events, source processing, and the ability to empathize and communicate. The renewal of content served primarily to place more emphasis on social, economic and cultural trends, and on content necessary for the complex and true to life presentation of various periods, in addition to knowledge of historical events. The ratio of Hungarian and universal history topic areas reached 60:40 %, and the weight of 19th–20th century history grew. The area of lexical knowledge was reduced, because students could only be asked to recount lexical data contained in the framework curricula on the given topic in examination tasks.

In the case of the subject of history, the defining element of the examination reform was the introduction of the written portion of the examination, with the intent of achieving comparability of overall examination results, the amalgamation of examination requirements and conditions, the broader adoption of new – considered novel even from an international perspective – assessment and evaluation practices, and the application in practice of methodological reforms in terms of approach and content. The new type of written examination tasks sought to focus on the assessment of applied knowledge rather than the conventional data-centered approach.

The tasks demanded the (productive) application of what was learned in new situations rather than a reproduction of what was learned.

The requirements of the oral examination focused on the problem-centered approach to historical phenomena and events. This

was served by the thematic topic areas (economy, economic policy, material culture; population, settlements, way of life; individual, community, society; international cooperation and conflict; political institutions, ideas and ideologies; the operation of modern democracies) and the requirement that students explain, analyze and interpret the correlations of a historical problem.

An important element of the evaluation system for the matriculation examination became the pursuit of comparability. A comprehensive assessment was replaced by analytical evaluation according to competencies which express the required quality and scale of knowledge with measurable criteria. The novel correction and evaluation aspects also signaled that the criteria outlined in the task apply first of all to the operation performed (e.g. collection of information based on the given aspects, the formulation of simple conclusions from the causes or consequences of historical events) and not just the required concrete content (concepts, historical data). The matriculation examination requirements introduced in 2005 clearly focused on the formation of competency development and lifelong learning skills, as well as the aim for multiperspective and activity-based teaching. The matriculation examination started good trends in everyday teaching practices. The changes to the rules undoubtedly advanced source-centered history teaching, the new type of skill development tasks, and the development of various teaching materials supporting problem-solving thinking, as well as changes to the methods of approach in history teaching in schools (Fischer-Dárdai & Kaposi, 2006: 85–99).

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The significance of the changes was assessed in the following study from 2006, Report on Hungarian Public Education: ‘Among the teaching subjects, there is just one, and we highlight here history, considered to be rather traditional, but in which significant modernization advances have taken place: in terms of content, with the strengthening of the history of the 20th century, the study of

current affairs and civic awareness, and through the methodological enforcement of the use of sources.’ (Vágó-Vass, 2006).

5. Summary

A struggle for the acceptance of history didactics as an independent discipline has continued, with varying degrees of success in Hungary for the past three decades. It can be seen as a success that the modern aspects and recommendations mediated by history didactics have been included in content regulations (curricula, examination requirements) and textbooks, too, in the wake of top-down and centrally controlled reforms. History didactics workshops have been established, although their influence on the academic sphere has remained marginal. The operation of professional journals (and the continuation of various professional conferences, supported mainly by civil forces in the profession, have made possible, with some interruption on a smaller or larger scale, regular discourse on the theoretical and practical issues of history teaching.

If we look at the process in terms of unrealized goals, then we see that history didactics were not fully accepted as an independent discipline in either the academic sphere or the sphere of higher education. In the study of history, the conventional approach with regard to the goals system of history teaching continues to dominate according to which awareness of the content and connected facts selected within the school framework are the most important goal of teaching. In the past three decades, the professional ties between the profession of history and history teachers, which may be said to have been well ordered before the change of system, have loosened. If we look back considering the results of the restructuring of history teaching, we can establish that significant changes can be diagnosed from the aspect of content and methodology in documents, curricula, examination requirements and textbooks, too.

With regard to content regulation, the defining element of the era was the 2005 reform of the matriculation examination, from a number of aspects. First, the process of preparing the regulation stretched over several government terms, and it involved the airing of opinions of a wide professional circle in full view of the public. Second, this reform brought into practice the mandatory written examination, which emphasized competency-centered teaching and

the importance of sources, as well as emphasizing in the essay section the process of thinking rather than facts.

On the whole, changes in content regulation advanced the development of a various kinds of teaching materials supporting source-centered history teaching, the new types of skill-development tasks and problem-solving thinking, as well as the changes to the manners of approaching history teaching in schools, and the drafting of various interactive and reflective methodologies, alternative programs and novel textbooks.

As one of the authors claimed a few years ago, at a history teacher conference in Hungary the instruction of history in Hungary is contradictory, as, both in the area of theory and practice, the educational characteristics of various historical dimensions of time slip over each other, and these often contradictory phenomena function in parallel in everyday practice. In history teaching in Hungary today, the single point of view, narrative-centered teaching based on conventional teacher presentation/dictation are present as well as the educational practice that uses the question method and multiperspective approach, is source-based, activity- and experience-centered, and builds on project work while often taking form in digital networks. Thus the general picture of the everyday practice of history teaching offers and allows for different interpretations when examined from various perspectives.

Long-term social policy goals (national and European identity, social solidarity, commitment to democracy), the ever-changing culture of remembrance and diverse historiography, as well as the changed perception of knowledge, induce history teaching with a complex approach, of which the ultimate goal is establishing historical literacy. Stories that are experience-based and that pique students' interest, that contain the building blocks for establishing a narrative way of thinking, must become the center of school study. For this reason, the designation of historical content processed in the school framework must be made more flexible, allowing the power to motivate students' interest to organically connect with the purpose of passing on the traditional national cultural code system. The further increasing weight of the modern and present time in the practice of history teaching, as well as finding a new balance between global and local topics, appears to be unavoidable. Developing historical and key competencies as well as thinking must be made a priority, and the learning of basic comprehension skills necessary to interpret

documents, linguistic or other communication (e.g. visual) codes, and the recognition of tools and techniques used for manipulation are becoming ever more important requirements.

Our paper presents mainly a review of the main trends of history teaching in the quarter of a century starting from 1990. These were defined especially by a commitment to European values and the resulting attempt to implement intentions to modernize: differentiated culture of remembrance and historical thinking, multiperspective approach, competency-based activity-centered learning practice. We have attempted to present those changes that aimed to bring Hungarian practices (theoretical, practical) in sync with international trends. The process of public life and educational policy in recent years – the ongoing intense political struggle for the past, the more pronounced role taken by the state – have produced new perspectives and policy intentions, emerging amid divergent circumstances and forms of practice both at the central administration and local levels. An evaluation of these new phenomena, tendencies and problems – in possession of sufficient historical perspective – can be the subject of a later analysis.

Notes

¹ International literature on the subject uses the expressions historical consciousness or historical reasoning, and sometimes historical literacy is the designation.

² This was confirmed by the 2018 Save As and 2020 First Hand conferences of the Teachers Chapter of the Hungarian Historical Society, <https://tanaritagozat.tortenelmatarsulat.hu> (21.03.2021).

³ The process of curriculum development in the period 2016–2020 and the content regulations ordered in 2020 as well as the context of their introduction are not addressed.

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HISTORY EDUCATION IN AFRICA
GESCHICHTSUNTERRICHT IN AFRIKA
ENSEIGNEMENT DE L'HISTOIRE
EN AFRIQUE

**A SILVER LINE IN CURRICULUM REFORM:
REFLECTIONS OF TEACHERS OF HISTORY
ON THE INTEGRATION OF HISTORY
IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM
AT JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOL
IN LUSAKA, ZAMBIA***

Yvonne M. Kabombwe and Nelly Mwale

The article explores the views of teachers of History on the integration of History in the Social Studies curriculum at the Junior Secondary School level in Zambia for the subject. The article draws on a qualitative case study research design which included 20 purposively selected teachers of history from Lusaka province. The study adopted the concern-based adoption model and employed interviews as the main method of data collection. Data was analyzed using thematic analysis. The findings of the study revealed that although the views of the teachers on the integration of history in Social Studies were varied, they were characterised by both negative and positive perspectives. The challenges included the content being bulky and poor performance by learners while the opportunities were centred on reduced workload and enabling teachers to gain new knowledge and skills. Based on the concern-based adoption model, the article recommends that teachers' concerns be taken into consideration for the Social Studies curriculum to be implemented effectively.

1. Introduction and Background

In this article, the following twofold research question is addressed, 'what were the views of teachers of History on the integration of History in Social Studies following the 2013 curriculum reforms; and what were the views of teachers on the opportunities (if any) associated with the integration of History in Social Studies in Zambia? Before the 2013, curriculum revision, History was a standalone subject at Junior Secondary School. Central and Southern

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African History was taught at Junior Secondary School. Following the 2013 curriculum review, History at Junior Secondary and Primary School in Zambia was integrated into Social Studies, while at secondary school History is a stand-alone subject and it is an optional subject.

This article focuses on the integration of History into Social Studies at the Junior Secondary level for purposes of depth from the perspective of the teachers who are deemed as key players in the implementation of the integrated curriculum. The aim of the Social Studies curriculum is to inculcate the desirable basic skills, values and attitudes among learners so that they could become responsible citizens. The purpose was to produce an all-rounded developed learner who is capable of making meaningful contribution to society. Thus, Civic Education, Geography and History have been integrated into Social Studies because some content in the subjects are interrelated and some competences are similar (Social Studies Syllabus, 2013). The 2013 historical curriculum content in Social Studies comprises of Central African History. It accentuates themes like how to learn the past; the origins and development of man; pre-colonial societies of Zambia; the scramble for Africa and the colonisation in Zambia (Social Studies Syllabus, 2013: 2). Southern Africa History was removed. Thus, it is clear that some content was slashed in order to merge it with the content from other subjects. The curriculum is integrated so that learning occurs appropriately (Bredekamp & Rosegrant, 1992). Learning and teaching is viewed in a holistic way and reflects the real world, which is interactive (Shoemaker, 1989).

The Zambian School Curriculum was revised to an Outcomes Based Education (OBE) type of education. The purpose of adopting an outcomes-based curriculum was to make the education system in Zambia to be up-to-date with global trends in the job market. Outcomes Based Curriculum focuses on learners acquiring competences that they will use in future in the job industry. Education, skills and knowledge were increasingly perceived as key assets for economic competitiveness, and most countries and regions in the world are aspiring to become leaders in knowledge economies in the global economy (Gouviás, 2007). Teachers are expected to design teaching and learning activities that can enable learners acquire desired outcomes. These teaching and learning activities could be time consuming (Kabombwe, Machila & Sikayomya, 2020).

However, Köksal (1995) argued that any unexpected or big change in the usual role of teacher was likely to elicit some form of resistance. Hence, it can be noted that teachers do not accept changes easily.

Different scholars have addressed the integration of social studies in the Zambian school curriculum from different perspectives. For example, scholarship on Social Studies in Zambia from 2015 to 2020 indicated that there several challenges in the implementation of Social Studies in Zambia. These challenges included teachers' mixed emotions of the integrated Social Studies curriculum, inadequate time allocated for teaching Social Studies, bulky content for the curriculum, lack of qualified teachers to teach social studies, use of teacher centred methods and lack of adequate teaching and learning materials for learners to use in the teaching and learning process (Moobola, 2020; Kabombwe & Mulenga, 2019; Silonga, 2019; Isiteketo, 2019; Musilekwa, 2019; Mambwe, 2019; and Samwimbila, 2017). The findings of these studies seem to suggest that some teachers had not fully embraced the social studies curriculum in Zambia.

Additionally, some studies which focused on the performance of learners in Social Studies in the National examinations indicated that the performance of learners was poor and below 50 % from the time the curriculum was being implemented in the country (Moobola, 2020; Kabombwe, 2019; Silonga, 2019 and Isiteketo, 2019) and as shown in Table 1.

Year	Mean Score
2015	36.72
2016	39.65
2017	40.98
2018	32.55
2019	33.89
2020	29.77

Table: 1 Percentage Mean Scores Comparisons for Social Studies – 2015–2020. Source: Examination Council of Zambia Percentage Mean Scores Comparisons for Social Studies 2015–2020.

Literature also reveals the different ways in which teachers have reacted to curriculum reforms. For example, studies on curriculum reform in Africa in the Sub-Saharan region in countries such as Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Kenya, Tanzania, Namibia, revealed that teachers were overwhelmed with the new curriculum reforms in their countries (Kabombwe, 2019; Mwanza, 2017; Muneja, 2012; Ndemuweda, 2011; O'Sullivan, 2004; Mtika & Gates, 2010; Jansen, 1998). Teachers were not happy because they were not consulted or involved during the process of curriculum development and resisted the curriculum reform. Some teachers felt confused and disoriented on their new roles and decided not to be affected by the new changes in the curriculum by teaching using the methods they were familiar with in the classrooms. It is for this reason that Hargreaves and Fullan (2009) have argued that change is war but a war in disguise, therefore school reforms could not be accomplished against the will of the teachers, but only with the teachers. Given that current scholarship had focused on the challenges of implementing the history curriculum as part of social studies, this study sought to explore the reflections of teachers of history on the integration of history in Social studies to contribute to existing studies on history education in the country.

2. Statement of the Problem

Despite the integration of history in social studies at the Junior Secondary School with the aim of fostering appropriate teaching and learning of the subject in 2013, the implementation of the revised curriculum continued to be associated with challenges and different forms of resistance. A curriculum design that sidelined teachers' views faced resistance from teachers and could not be implemented effectively. Therefore, this study sought to explore the views of teachers of history on the integration of history into Social Studies. This is deemed significant given that studies that have been done on social studies have revealed only the challenges in the implementation of the integrated curriculum to the neglect of teachers' reflections on the integrated curriculum.

3. Research Questions

The study was guided by the following research questions:

- (1) What were the views of teachers on the integration of History in Social Studies curriculum at the Junior Secondary School level?
- (2) What were the views of the teachers of History on the opportunities (if any) in the integrated Social Studies curriculum that could be exploited for effective implementation of the curriculum at the Junior Secondary School level?

4. Approach to Curriculum Integration and Theoretical Framework

Curriculum integration is understood as the combination of subjects that are similar in content and the breaking down of subject barriers to form wide-ranging subject areas such as general science, and social studies (Bishop, 1985). Similarly, Malik & Malik (2011) have both argued an integrated curriculum refers to teaching and learning in which themes from different disciplines are interrelated. It helps learners have a unified view of commonly develop learners' power to perceive new relationships and thus to create new models, systems, and structures (Dressel, 1958). On the contrary, Muller & Taylor (2000) contend that integrated curriculum has been criticised for wearing away disciplinary knowledge by focusing on personal and social meanings (Muller & Taylor 2000). Beane (1995) also argued that although critics of integration argue that integrated curriculum wears away the disciplinary nature of knowledge, learners can be guided on the disciplinary boundaries.

In view of the above conceptualisation of curriculum integration, this study adopted Concern-Based Adoption (CBA) Model curriculum which advocates that a curriculum could be effectively implemented once teachers "concerns have been adequately addressed" (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009: 262). Teachers were agents of change and would support change if they saw benefits in the curriculum. Zhidong (2012) argued that teacher resistance was the main reason that the curriculum change was a failure or only accomplished surface changes. Resistance has different effects to curriculum change. Gross (1971) argued that the first situation could be teachers understand and accept the change. The second situation would be teachers resist the curriculum change based on the

understanding change. The third situation is that teachers do not understand the change, but still accept the change and the fourth situation is that teachers not only do not understand the change, but also do not accept the change. Mutch (2012) argued that undermining what teachers knew to be effective pedagogical practice created a dissonance which reduced their effectiveness in a subject area. It was important to understand the dynamics of teachers experiences of curriculum change. The concern-based model curriculum was adopted because the interest in the study was not only to understand the teachers' views on the integration of history in social studies but also emphasise the need to take on board the teachers' perspectives on the subject as part of going evaluation of the curriculum reforms of 2013 in the country.

5. Methodology

The study used the qualitative method approach (Creswell & Creswell, 2017), specifically a case study design. The case study approach can offer additional insights into what gaps exist in its delivery or why one implementation strategy might be chosen over another. Yin (2009) argued that a case study can be used to explain, describe or explore events or phenomena in the everyday contexts in which they occur. The qualitative research method was appropriate for this study, because it enabled teachers to narrate their stories (Dakwa, 2015). The qualitative method allows the actual voices of participants to be heard, which represent real-life situations that expose perceptions and attitudes in a social context (Check & Schutt, 2012). The qualitative method captures the participants' lived experiences in complex, multiple realities (Check & Schutt, 2012: 189; Hao & Lin, 2016: 157). Opened ended interviews were used to solicit data from teachers of History on their perspectives on the integration of the History component in the social studies curriculum. The research was carried between 2019 and 2020. Interviews provided great opportunity to gather in depth data about teachers of History's views about the historical content in the social studies syllabus. 20 Teachers of History were purposively selected from Lusaka District. The 20 participants were deemed significant for providing insights on the opportunities of integrating history in social studies and were not for purposes of generalisation. Thematic analysis was used to identify and interpret pattern and themes (Clarke & Braun, 2013).

6. Findings and Discussion

The findings are presented and discussed based on the study's research questions.

6.1 The Teacher's Views on the integration of history in Social Studies

Teacher's views on the integration of History in Social Studies were related to their overall impression on integration and learner's performance in the subject. With regard to the perspective of teachers on the integration of History in Social Studies, it was revealed that the integration of History was a good development although associated with numerous challenges. For instance, the teachers said:

The integration of History in Social Studies was not bad as portrayed. The goodness is that most of the topics that were not necessary were removed. It was now summarised and easy to handle in the classroom because the topics were not too many. It would be easy to pass the subject.

The integration of History, Geography and Civic was good. Learners could still get the desired concepts related to History in the integrated curriculum. The problem is that there is a lack of appreciation of the curriculum by teachers. We teachers are fond of complaining instead of looking at the whole picture holistically.

Teaching and I only teach Civic Education and Religious Education yet am I made to teach all the components of Social Studies. I get embarrassed when my learners ask me questions that I do not understand from Geography and History. This is because I do not have any background in those subjects.

All in all, Social Studies was not a bad at all. Teachers just had a bad attitude towards it because of the transition. I believe the challenges in Social Studies can be worked out. Teachers needed to change their mindsets so that learner's performance should not be affected.

While the challenges which the teachers brought out were in line with conclusions in existing literature in Zambia (Moobola, 2020; Kabombwe & Mulenga, 2019; Silonga, 2019), the study argues that any effective implementation of the curriculum needed to take on board the negative and positive perspectives of teachers as key players in the implementation of the curriculum. At the same time,

the responses from the teachers indicated that most teachers felt that integration of social studies was not bad at all. It is just that teachers had a negative attitude towards the subject. This resonates with the observation by Kotter (2010) that curriculum developers should build and establish a clear message that creates a sense of urgency and a direction for the change. Appropriate incentives of motivation could provide the driving force for teachers to be involved in reform (Armstrong, 2011). Curriculum designers should seriously pay attention to the renewal of the attitude by teachers towards the concept of the new curriculum and provide for teachers to understand the innovation (Zhidong, 2012).

The seemingly negative attitude of teachers towards the implementation of the integrated curriculum is also in line with Selepe's (2016) argument that one of the implications of an integrated curriculum is that it dismantled the world of the teachers who have lived and identified themselves through the disciplines they teach. For instance, where a teacher had developed their career as a History teacher, the implementation of a new reform could mean that the focus should not be on History as a discipline but on an area within which History falls, this seems to strip the teacher's identity and could hinder smooth implementation (Porter et al., 2015). Contested teachers felt the policy change made them feel like it is their first year of teaching as they had to acquire a lot of new knowledge and which affected their jobs. In accordance with the CBAM, the trouble surrounding a new change or innovation possibly increases concerns and fears among staff members. Therefore, there was need to address teachers fears before the curriculum was implemented. The main reason behind this negative reaction is due to pressure, stress and uncertainty coming with change (Armenakis & Bedeian, 1999). In this regard, it could be argued that the concept of social studies was it just that teachers were not certain about the changes in the curriculum.

The findings of the study correlate with (Malik & Malik, 2011) who argued that sometimes teachers had lack of will to understand and accept the process of change in curricular matters. Mutch (2012) argued that teachers complained, struggled, or made changes in their own way and at their own time. Teachers might respond to top-down change with immediate outrage, deliberate avoidance, partial adoption, major adaptation, sneaky subversion or even quiet revolution (Mutch, 2012). Nonetheless, the concerns of the teachers

affirmed that any effective implementation of a curriculum needed to taking into account the concerns of the teachers as stressed in the concern-based adoption model (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009: 262). This approach had the potential to minimise resistance that is often associated with curriculum reforms from the teachers.

Additionally, the teacher's perspectives on the integration of history in social studies were tied to the performance of learners in the subject. As indicated in literature, learner's performance in the last five (5) years for social studies was generally poor across the country. Participants were asked to explain why learners were not performing well despite the view that social studies curriculum was good. The respondents noted that the low performance had nothing to do with the content but with the way the examination was prepared. The teachers said that:

It was surprising that while we taught using the new curriculum, the questions that came for examination were from the old syllabus. This caught our learners unaware and did not perform well in the final examination. Thus, we are forced to teach using the old syllabus.

We teach a lot of topics and only few questions came in the examination. Our learners were disadvantaged if the topics they studied for did not come in the examination.

The findings of the study indicated that learners did not do well because there was a mismatch between what was taught and what came in the exams. Research on integrated curriculum which indicates that learners should perform well because what is learned and applied in one area of the curriculum is related and used to reinforce, provide repetition, and expand the knowledge and skills learned in other curriculum area (Bonds, Cox & Gantt, 1993). There was no loss of learning of subject matter and that, overall, students in the integrated programs did as well or better than students in separate-subject programs (Brauer & Ferguson, 2015; Malik & Malik, 2011).

Surprisingly, the case was different in Zambia. Most learners did not perform well. Biggs & Tang (2007) postulated that the intended learning outcomes, teaching and learning activities and assessment tasks ought to be aligned. Alignment of assessment practice with curriculum goals was very important. If assessments are misaligned

with learning objectives, the results for learners would be poor. Assessment in the form of examinations influences curriculum implementation tremendously can affect the broad goals and objectives of the curriculum (Okoth, 2016). Therefore, it is clear that once the teaching was aligned to assessment, learners in social studies might start performing well. Learner's performance in curriculum implementation and evaluation was cardinal for policy makers and educationists. Learner's performance could help curriculum developers to adjust the curriculum to meet learner's needs. This signifies the need to take concerns of teachers on board for the effective implementation of the curriculum as emphasised in concern-based adoption model.

6.2 Opportunities for Teachers in the Integration of History in Social Studies

Teacher's knowledge and skills were very important in curriculum implementation. If teachers gained the right knowledge and skill, a curriculum could be implemented well. The researchers sought to find out the opportunities for teachers who were teaching Social Studies at junior secondary school. Most of the participants said that they gained some knowledge and skills to handle the other components there were not conversant with. The integration of the subjects made them to appreciate the concepts they were teaching from different angles.

The participants said:

I know now a lot about Geography and Civics. Previously, I was just concerned about issues in the subject of History. Now I have been able to make proper connections in the subjects and deliver the subject well to learners.

The continuous professional development meetings helped me to understand other concepts I was not understanding from geography. I teach each component differently. It has made me very knowledgeable. I was even appointed as a chief marker for Social Studies in my district.

I used to have a negative attitude towards Geography, but I have begun to love Geography now because I interact with teachers from Geography section more. I would say my attitude towards geography has improved.

The workload for teachers has been reduced now since the introduction of Social Studies. Instead of marking and preparing lessons for two subjects, teachers only marked one subject. This allows me to have more time for other subjects.

History component in Social Studies Curriculum was too bulky and it was difficult to finish the syllabus on time.

The findings of this study revealed that despite the many challenges in the social studies curriculum, teachers were able to gain some skills and knowledge. An integrated curriculum opens doors and opportunities for teachers to connect and assist one another on common themes (Brauer & Ferguson, 2015; Malik & Malik, 2011). Kyndt et al. (2016) argued that teachers work together to reduce the feelings of isolation they often experience. The findings are also in line with the conclusions drawn by Coldwell (2017) that Professional Development increased skills knowledge, which enabled teachers' confidence in specific content areas; this in turn led to increased job satisfaction and professional motivation. One benefit of Professional Development includes teachers' increased comfort and skill levels for implementing new curricula (Lia, 2016; Nevenglosky, Cale & Aguilar, 2019).

Furthermore, the study showed that there seemed to be no agreement on the content of the social studies curriculum. Some teachers claimed that the content had reduced, while other teachers said that content was too bulky. The irony was that despite the components that were removed from all the subjects, some teachers still claimed that it was very bulky. Hence, it can be argued that while a lot of teachers were complaining over the content, some teachers gained knowledge and skills because of teaching social studies. These dissenting views were important in the effective implementation of the curriculum as stressed in the concern-based model.

Besides the opportunities centred on skills and knowledge acquisition or professional development, the teachers also highlighted the benefit on teacher recruitment. It was revealed that the integrated curriculum would reduce the number of teachers that would be employed by the government. The teachers said that:

Instead of employing three teachers, only one teacher would be employed to cover one three subjects. The government would save more money for other expenses.

The Social Studies curriculum is cost effective in terms of teacher training and teaching and learning materials for learners. The government should just work on the challenges in Social Studies.

This was significant given the growing challenges surrounding recruitment and financing qualified teachers as affirmed by Bourdon, Frölich & Michaelowa (2007) that many developing countries are facing serious difficulties in recruiting and financing qualified teachers. While it is true that a lot of Teacher Education Institutions have graduated a lot of teachers in Social Sciences in Zambia, most of those teachers are not yet employed by government. Banja (2019) noted that most school teachers were not qualified for subject-based teaching in Grades 8 and 9 in Zambia. These teachers were promoted or seconded to go and teach at a level higher than their academic and professional. Similarly, Mulkeen (2010) noted that there was a mismatch between the national requirement for new teachers and the output of newly qualified teachers in Africa. The proportion of secondary teachers specialized in each subject was poorly matched with needs, resulting in oversupply in some subjects and shortages in others. Systems for management of supply were often weak and, as a result, intake to teacher colleges was often not adjusted in response to the national needs. Thus, it is evident that the social studies curriculum could provide a solution to the government of the republic of Zambia that was still struggling with financing the education system in Zambia.

7. Implications of the Findings

The findings of this study are in line with the Concern-Based Adoption (CBA) Model that teachers' concerns were important in curriculum development and implementation. Teachers resisted curriculum reforms because of uncertainty that comes up with changes. At the same time, teachers embraced the curriculum reforms based on the opportunities inherent in the curriculum reforms. Therefore, it was important for curriculum developers to get to be aware of both sides of coin so that they could keep what was working and improve what needed attention. Hence, resistance was not failure of a curriculum but an eye opener for the concerns that were not taken into consideration during curriculum development.

8. Conclusion

Using insights from teachers of History in selected schools in Lusaka province of Zambia, the study explored the views of teachers on the integration of history in social studies at the junior secondary level. Given that the views of teachers on the integration of history in social studies was characterised by an awareness of the challenges and opportunities which the integration came forth, it is concluded that the integration of history in Social Studies was considered as a welcome development except it was accompanied by some negative attitudes.

In relation to the views of teachers on the opportunities presented by the integrated of History in Social studies, the article concludes that opportunities for teachers resolved around professional development, reduced workload and recruitment. Despite the several challenges in the Social Studies curriculum, there were positive aspects which could be further utilized in the implementation of the Social Studies curriculum. Given that existing literature had tended to focus on the challenges of the integrated curriculum, the findings of the study agree with the principles of the concern-based adoption model by pointing to the need to consider both negative and positive perspectives of teachers as key players in the implementation of the integrated curriculum. This is because teacher's views were not only important during the development process, but also the during the implementation stage. It is important for curriculum developers to be aware of both the negative and positive sides of a curriculum so that they could improve what needed to be improved and discard what was not working. This would help curriculum developers to come up with a curriculum that would be effective.

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**THE EVERYDAY ELLIPSIS IN THE EDIFICE:
THE TRUNCATION OF A UNIFYING
NATIONAL NARRATIVE COVERING
AND REVEALING SILENCED REALITIES
IN HISTORY EDUCATION
IN POST-INDEPENDENCE BURUNDI***

Denise Bentrovato

This article provides a distinct, Global South-focused perspective on the challenges of history teaching as a tool for nation-building as experienced in post-colonial African settings. Its analysis of a widely used teacher's guide on Burundian history, issued in the 1980s, illuminates the clash between an official narrative with a unifying thrust and intent, institutionalised through formal education, and a divisive reality involving identity-based violence. The guide enacts a selective truncation of the nation's history; while celebrating the 'sacred monarchy' of the distant past and the struggle for independence, it omits more recent events and silences the 'ethnic' question. Its evocation of the grand and monolithic past, read alongside the 'hidden curriculum' of everyday division and violence characterising life in post-independence Burundi, highlights the potential gaps and flaws in official history education faced with traumatic experiential realities.

1. Introduction

History education has historically served as a fundamental instrument in the promotion of political nation-building projects, often entailing the top-down transmission of national or indeed nationalist narratives (Berger & Lorenz, 2008; Berger, 2012; Carretero, Asensio & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012). The experience of the two World Wars brought this traditional function of history education under fire, with a groundswell of international calls for more global and critical historical perspectives in school curricula and textbooks worldwide to the end of instituting intercultural understanding and peace. This

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notwithstanding, we have begun to see a reversion to more national histories in a number of countries around the world (Grever & van der Vlies, 2017; Lerch, 2016), notably where nationalism has experienced a revival and identity politics have become a heightened issue (May & Maissen, 2021).

In this context, this article will critically examine the role of national narratives, particularly as transmitted through school history, in the construction and preservation of today's globalised system of nation-states. State-sponsored processes and mechanisms which historicised concepts of the nation and formed narratives around them first emerged in Europe, as 'the birthplace of the nation-state and modern nationalism[,] at the end of the eighteenth century' (Brubaker, 1996: 1), and academic study likewise first took note of them there. This article will seek to widen the view, shedding light on the manifestations of these processes in relatively young nation-states that attained their political independence, notably from European colonial powers, during the twentieth century's second half. Adding to a growing body of research on the Global South that complements and expands the largely western and Global North view of extant scholarship, this article centres on an African case. The teaching of national histories in Africa, a political and educational priority in the wake of independence processes, has faced challenges including the need to decolonise primarily Eurocentric and prejudiced narratives which had disregarded and distorted local histories and realities (Bentrovato & Wassermann, 2021). Due to the long years of neglect to which colonial powers had subjected tertiary, and even secondary, education in an attempt to prevent the rise of a local intelligentsia which could challenge colonial rule, professional historiography was yet incipient in these states (Neale, 1986), hampering the revision of school curricula and textbooks. Further, post-independence African education systems had been called to help build inherently diverse nations in the wake of the colonial imposition of state borders that cut across different cultural, ethnic and political communities. This endeavour, involving the forging of national identities and the nurturing of patriotic citizens, frequently found itself facing the severe challenges of competition for power and privilege which often ran along lines of identity and engendered, in some instances, further historical injustices which those in power either legitimised or concealed (Oloruntoba & Falola, 2018).

In exploring the case of Burundi, this article provides a distinct perspective on the challenges of history teaching as experienced in post-colonial African settings. Its analysis of a popular teacher's guide authored and used at a time of socio-political tension presents an illuminating manifestation of the traditionally cohesive, nation-building function of official national narratives as taught in schools and of its undermining by the dissonance of local, everyday violent realities.

2. Background to the Study

This article's focus on Burundi, to which scholarly attention has been markedly less overall than that devoted to neighbouring Rwanda, supplements and complements previous work by its author on history education in the two states (e.g. Bentrovato, 2015, 2016, 2019, forthcoming 2021). Burundi, in contrast to most post-independence countries in Africa, is culturally and linguistically homogeneous, yet suffered recurrent cycles of intergroup conflict and violence between its Hutu and Tutsi communities. The cultural legacy of the colonialism it experienced until its independence in 1962 was an ethno-history that purported to identify an opposition between an autochthonous Bantu majority (the Hutu) and a foreign, dominant Hamitic minority (the Tutsi). After first coming to power in 1966, a succession of Tutsi-dominated regimes in post-independence Burundi replaced this narrative with a unitarist ideology and discourse centring on the notion and slogan that 'we are all Burundians,' and criminalised references to ethnicity as dangerous divisionism of colonial origin. This 'protective theme' of the then ruling and dominant Tutsi minority (Ndarishikanye, 1998: 137) arguably aimed to consolidate a 'system of apartheid' entailing the systematic exclusion of the Hutu from all major spheres of life (Ndarishikanye, 1998: 144; see also Reychler, Musabyimana & Calmeyn, 1999: 79; Lemarchand, 2002: 557).

The dominant political force in the period commencing in 1966 was UPRONA, the Union pour le Progrès national, a nationalist political party that had led the country's struggle for independence against the Belgian colonisers and became the monopolising power within the dictatorial state established following a military coup by Michel Micombero in 1966. The party dominated throughout the First, Second and Third Republics, headed respectively by Presidents

Micombero (1966–1976), Bagaza (1976–1987) and Buyoya (1987–1993), three Tutsi military men from the southern province of Bururi who succeeded each other through overthrow and whose ethnic group came to dominate the party and gradually concentrated power and wealth into their hands. Despite its defeat in the country's first democratic and contested elections, to the formerly underground Hutu-dominated party Front for Democracy in Burundi (FRODEBU) – the assassination of whose leader Melchior Ndadaye sparked a decade-long civil war in 1993 – UPRONA's political preeminence continued until 2003, when the war officially ended. At this time, UPRONA President Buyoya transferred power to FRODEBU's Hutu leader in accordance with the 2000 Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement. This accord sanctioned the institutionalisation of ethnicity through quotas in the allocation of political and military posts and the ethnic alternation of the presidency within a transitional government, in line with the principle of ethnic balance and equal representation. The country's second-ever democratic elections in 2005, which brought victory for the former Hutu rebel movement CNDD-FDD (Conseil National Pour la Défense de la Démocratie – Forces pour la Défense de la Démocratie), sealed UPRONA's decline to a minor opposition party. CNDD-FDD remains in power despite contested elections in 2010 and again in 2015, with the latter producing a 'deep security, political and humanitarian crisis' marked by massive human rights violations (International Federation for Human Rights, 2016).

René Lemarchand (1994: 32) suggests that, by creating an 'illusion of ethnic harmony' and 'abolishing ethnic "otherness" as a socially relevant frame of reference, Tutsi regimes removed the critical issues of ethnic hegemony and discrimination from the realm of legitimate debate'. It is the role of school history education, specifically of the content foregrounded in state-produced educational media, in shoring up this official discourse during the period of UPRONA's dominance that this case study will explore.

3. Conceptual and Analytical Framework

The article is embedded in scholarly work on national historical narratives and related concepts of master narratives and grand narratives (Brescó de Luna & van Alphen, forthcoming 2021; Carretero, 2011; Carretero & Bermudez, 2012; Wertsch, 2004;

Wertsch & Rozin, 2000). More specifically, it complements research on the role of school curricula and textbooks as instrumental mediators of 'official knowledge' about the national past (see, e.g., Apple, 2000; Ferro, 1984; Foster & Crawford, 2006; VanSledright, 2008), pointing to facets of state uses of national pasts and to interrelationships between national politics and the history classroom.

This case study's central focus is an analysis of official national narratives, defined here, in the words of Grever and van der Vlies (2017: 287), as '(often canonized) stories about a nation's origin and achievements, and the perceived characteristics of a national community, produced to make sense of past events and to create cohesion in the present with a view to the future'. As Wertsch (1997: 5) reminds us, narratives about the past may serve 'as a kind of "cultural tool" in "mediated action" that creates and re-creates identity,' and to instil in the members of a nation a sense of attachment and loyalty to a supposedly natural and primordial community. While scholars disagree as to whether nations 'exist only in the narratives of their purveyors' or also 'outside the discourse and artefacts that represent them to an audience' (Smith, 1991: 14), research in the field generally acknowledges the significance of national narratives. Schools in particular serve as primary sites of young citizens' everyday encounters with particular state-sponsored narrative conceptions and visions of nationhood, and as mediating devices facilitating their acquisition and reproduction by citizenries.

This aspect of schooling as a social and socialising practice directs us to Michael Billig's (1995) concept of 'banal nationalism,' which posits that people can absorb a sense of nationhood effectively unconsciously, through a routine of everyday acts and exposures. The interplay between the political desirability and the potential ubiquity of the national narrative, particularly in a school history context, may cause significant interference with the disciplinary aims of history which have attained scholarly consensus today. Work in this field has indeed found master narratives to 'enable national identity construction but constrain historical understanding' (van Alphen & Carretero, 2015: 515). There is a caveat on this potential of national narratives, which manifests in the identification by various scholars of the difference 'between the intentions of their producers and the readings made of them by their audiences' (Cohen, 1996: 804) and to the dynamics whereby the production of narratives by 'real people with real interests' (Apple, 2000: 43) does not necessarily and

automatically translate in their appropriation by their audiences (Wertsch, 1998). It is this moment of dissonance between official narratives and everyday realities, and its impact on the absorption of the former by successive generations of Burundians, which this article will attempt to capture, pointing in turn to potential structural weaknesses of national narratives in their history classroom incarnations as girders in the post-colonial nation-building project.

In examining the Burundian experience, the article presents a situationally contextualised historical case of a young African state's attempt to construct a particular 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1983) via school history teaching, which appears, more generally, as a preferred channel for a typically romanticised, and distinctly truncated, 'collective memory grounded in "state-approved civic truth"' (Wertsch, 2002: 71). This selective truncation, in the Burundian case, combines celebratory commemoration of more remote history and utter silence on the turbulent post-independence recent past and present. In this way, the study of the national narratives that carried these historical accounts draws our attention to the phenomenon of the clash between an official narrative with a unifying thrust and intent, institutionalised through formal education, and a divisive and violent reality. The conflict here is one between the grand and the banal; it reveals the limits to the 'ideological and cultural potency' (Foster & Crawford, 2006: 1) of school textbooks in the face of actual dissonance and casts light on the pedagogical gaps filled by everyday experience and the intergenerational transmission of memories and trauma. The official silences underlying these narratives induces not forgetting, but the return of the repressed.

4. Source Material and Methodology

The empirical data for this article are drawn from Burundi's official guide for history teachers, *Histoire du Burundi*, which served for a long period of time as a standard source in the country's history classrooms. Intended for use in the first year of lower secondary level education, the 176-page work presents an exclusive focus on the country's national history, a topic long overshadowed, in the colonial and immediate post-independence years, by a prominent curricular emphasis on the outside world. The material, which does not name its authors, was developed by Burundi's national Ministry of Education under the one-party state dominated by UPRONA.

Histoire du Burundi was first published in 1978, soon after the rise of Bagaza's military dictatorship, and a revised edition appeared in 1987, the year marking the fall of his regime. Teachers and school heads I met in Burundi during field research confirmed that this document found long use in schools, as specific curricular topics relating to national history remained largely unchanged. This article analyses the 1987 edition, whose re-issue in 1998 following the curriculum revision of 1992 did not bring about any significant difference in content. A chronic lack of textbooks, today as in the past, has obliged students to spend much of their history classes copying down from the blackboard teachers' notes which were themselves usually copied from available materials, notably the guide analysed here, by typically under-resourced, poorly-trained and poorly motivated teachers. These limitations have facilitated the frequently verbatim dissemination of the guide's content in the history classroom.

The 1987 edition of the guide proposed the use of a participatory pedagogy, although discussions with history teachers and students during fieldwork indicate that its application failed to come to full fruition. Its content was likewise refreshed, drawing on recent academic research. Among its principal sources was *Histoire du Burundi. Des origines à la fin du XIXe siècle* (Mworoha et al., 1987), a publication of significance on the country's pre-colonial past and the fruit of a major historiographical project in whose course a team of Burundian and French academics had sought to tackle the lack of adequate reference works and pedagogical materials on the country's history stemming from the late inception of academic historical research in Burundi (Chrétien, 1993: 9). Other chief sources of the guide were the *Cahiers d'histoire du Département d'Histoire* of the University of Burundi and *Culture et Société*, the journal of the Centre de Civilisation Burundaise, an organisation with links to the Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture. A further significant change in the guide's revised edition was the reorganisation of its content on the basis of a periodised, five-part chronological structure, evidently created as a decolonising measure: 'Prehistoric Burundi,' 'Pre-dynastic Burundi,' 'Burundi's sacred monarchy,' 'Burundi under foreign domination' and 'Burundi after independence'. Following an introductory chapter on the discipline of history and the concept of civilisation, the guide encompasses five chapters, each covering one of these *cinq grandes périodes*' The first of them is particularly striking, seemingly positing the existence of Burundi as antecedent to the

record of history and therefore effectively of a perpetual Burundi, an eternal nation.

The article approaches its data source via systematic, in-depth qualitative content and narrative analysis. It identifies the structural features and constitutive elements of the narrative it presents and its dominant narrative arc, while casting light on the particular 'chosen glories' and 'chosen traumas' (Volkan, 2001) it features, alongside the corresponding heroes and villains, and the meanings and roles assigned to these elements of the narrative. In pinpointing central themes and arguments, this process will discern inherent emphases and omissions. The inductive text analysis took place with a concomitant iterative coding process from which three key themes emerged, which will structure the analysis. Crucially, the analysis read the text in conjunction with the local realities of the time, as recorded by existing scholarship on Burundi's post-independence history. In doing so, it uncovers a conflictual, dissonant relationship between the grand and monolithic past to be taught officially, as set out in the guide, and the banal, everyday experience of post-independence Burundi.

5. Underlying a Professed Unity: A Hidden Curriculum of Everyday Violence

The reality of sustained ethnic discrimination and violence which characterised much of UPRONA's rule in post-independence Burundi severely undermines the credibility of the emphasis on unity which dominated the official discourse, and school history, during this period and which the guide that is the subject of our analysis exemplifies. While the discourse of unity sought to mask and obscure that reality, the contradictions become apparent upon analysis. Wider educational practices at this time helped perpetuate a system founded on the systematic marginalisation of the Hutu, which gave rise to tensions culminating especially during the Second Republic that had prescribed the curricular content analysed above. Kay (1987: 7) regards discrimination in the education system as having become 'a hallmark of the Second Republic' alongside the repression of freedom of expression and the banning of all references to ethnicity in the context of deepening ethnic, as well as regional and clan-based, divisions (Chrétien & Dupaquier, 2007) under a regime described by Lemarchand (1994: 114) as 'the epitome of Tutsi ethnocracy'.

Existing statistics point to 'Hutu [being] significantly less educated than Tutsi by the time of independence and relatively even less qualified after three decades of independence' (Obura, 2008: 63). Educational marginalisation, pursued by stealth, proved a particularly efficacious strategy of limiting Hutu participation in the country's political, social and economic life, and as such became a primary cause of Burundi's post-colonial conflicts (Jackson, 2000: 25), seen 'as the source of all other inequities in the nation' (Obura, 2008: 26). Covert mechanisms of discrimination reportedly included ethnic profiling of students, their filtering into specific schools and specialisations on this basis, the manipulation of examination results, the discouragement of private education, the reintroduction of school fees, a generally higher standard of educational provision in Tutsi-dominated regions (Chrétien, 1993: 32, 465; Cochet, 1996: 75; Jackson, 2000: 28; Lemarchand, 1994: 109, 112–4, 123; Mariro 1998: 49, 90; Ndimira, 1995: 141–2, 147–51; Ndimurukundo, 1995: 132–3, 511–34; Reyhler et al., 1999: 94–5), and a language education reform through which, '[b]y insisting on the use of Kirundi as the sole medium of instruction in primary and post-primary schools, the Second Republic restricted access to the language of the elites to those "privileged" families where parents already spoke French, in short to Tutsi families' (Lemarchand, 1994: 109).

More efficacious still were recurrent episodes of harassment and violence against Hutu students, teachers, school heads and educated professionals (Barampama 1998: 52, 61; Cochet 1996: 74), at times with the active involvement of their Tutsi peers (Greenland 1980: 120; Lemarchand, 1994: 93, 97–9). The most notorious of these cases are the 'events' of April 1972 – also referred to as *ikiza* (catastrophe) (Chrétien & Dupaquier, 2007; Lemarchand, 1994, 2002). Defined by some as an 'intellectual genocide' committed against educated and semi-educated Hutu, it allegedly took place in compliance with a plan drawn up by the former Minister of Education, Simbananiye, whose aim was to decapitate a potential counter-elite. A Hutu-led insurgency and a violent uprising aimed at overthrowing the ruling minority, during which thousands of Tutsi were killed, provided the context for military repression during which 100,000–300,000 Hutu disappeared and 200,000 sought refuge abroad. Lemarchand (1994: 97) argues that, by August 1972, 'almost every educated Hutu was either dead or in exile'. As a result, he notes, '[f]or the next fifteen years, only Tutsi were qualified to gain access to power, influence, and wealth'

(Lemarchand, 1994: 103). The psychological trauma caused by the events reinforced this state, as did rumours of new impending violence which reportedly led to ‘many Burundian parents pull[ing] their children out of schools’ (Sommers, 1999: 12) and to ‘the reluctance of many Hutu parents, mindful of the pattern of the killings in 1972, to allow their children to submit themselves for the higher level [of education]’ (Ray, 1987: 7). These ‘events’ subsequently fell foul of official public amnesia; Chrétien and Dupaquier (2007: 465) observe that, for a long time, threats of severe punishment, including imprisonment and ‘disappearance,’ strongly discouraged even the most subtle reference to this crisis and led to a level of fear that left ‘parents [...] even wary of their children and their imprudent language.’ Lemarchand (2002: 551, 558–9) speaks of a ‘conspiracy of silence’ accompanied by ‘a vast enterprise of disinformation’ through which the state propaganda machine denied the existence of an ethnic conflict between Hutu and Tutsi, pointing the finger at an external conspiracy by ‘criminals’ – also referred to as ‘rebels,’ ‘terrorists’ and ‘enemies of the people’ (Chrétien & Dupaquier, 2007: 145).

Albeit to a lesser extent than in 1972, Burundi’s educational institutions and their population sustained profound impacts from the country’s subsequent crises, during which schools once again became major battlefields and places of violence (Chrétien, 1997: 171; Lemarchand, 1994: 122, 155, 164). This was particularly the case during the 1993 civil war, ignited by the killing of large sections of the Hutu political leadership, including the first democratically elected President, Ndadaye, which led to what some have described as a ‘Tutsi genocide’ orchestrated by FRODEBU authorities and to subsequent anti-Hutu repression by the Tutsi-dominated army. 80,000 reportedly died, and hundreds of thousands were displaced. During the civil war, massacres also took place at the national university in 1995, notably against Hutu (Chrétien, 1997: 190), while ‘[d]uring the period 1996–1997, the army probably doubled in size [...], mainly by recruiting from secondary schools and institutes of higher education’ (Reyntjens 2009: 171). Cochet (1996: 76) reports that, ‘[i]n the 1993 pogroms, when tens of primary and secondary Tutsi schoolchildren were killed, there seemed to be a sense of revenge for the killing of [Hutu] secondary students in 1972 and for all the peasant families who never saw a single one of their children pass the primary leaving examination and get into secondary school

from that time on'. In this way, the later unrest and atrocities appear as manifestations of the transgenerational transmission of trauma, the perpetuation of a cycle covered over in accounts of national unity that render these events literally unspeakable.

6. *Histoire de Burundi*: Ancient Unity, Imposed Disunity, Abrupt Truncation

6.1 The 'Sacred Monarchy' of the Kingdom-Nation as a Prelapsarian State of Unity

The authors dedicate half of the 178-page guide to Burundi's pre-colonial history, with an emphasis on the period of the 'sacred monarchy' from the foundation of the kingdom by Ntare Rushatsi in 1700 to Mwezi Gisabo's defeat by the German colonisers in 1903. In the authors' view, this historical juncture corresponded to 'two centuries of political and social construction, and of formation of national consciousness,' which eventually led to Burundi's evolution into 'a true nation-state with a cultural and linguistic unity' (p. 56). Arguably, the guide treats this period of time as the site of a 'myth of origin' (Smith, 1991), invoking concepts such as age-old ancestral tradition and exceptionality; in contrast to the theme of freedom from colonial rule encountered in the narratives of numerous other post-colonial societies, this approach centres the original, prelapsarian, pre-colonial state of the Burundian nation. The guide's text exalts Burundi's kings, especially Ntare Rugamba (1796–1850) and Mwezi Gisabo (1850–1908), lauded for their 'intelligence' and 'ability'. The text depicts the former as Burundi's greatest monarch whose exceptional military and administrative qualities brought the nation an unprecedented process of territorial expansion and political consolidation and saw it develop into a powerful and feared state (p. 74). In the authors' words, 'Ntare Rugamba's troops make absolutely tremble neighbouring regions' (p. 70), establishing 'Burundi's hegemony in the region' (p. 74). While recognising the adversities occurring in Gisabo's reign, notably factional rivalries, natural calamities and foreign invasions, the guide likewise eulogises this king, especially for the heroic defence he organised against Arab slave traders, and notes the 'fierce and successful resistance' by which 'the Burundi distinguished themselves by defeating Rumaliza's troops in 1880' (p. 79–81). Notwithstanding the eventual defeat by and capitulation to the German colonisers that saw Burundi lose its

sovereignty in 1903, the authors declare, in a telling use of the future tense, that 'Mwezi Gisabo will remain a worthy monarch of Burundi until his death' (p. 83). Reminding readers that Burundi had been the last kingdom in the region to fall under foreign domination, and attributing this in part to the unity of its people, they assert that, for a long time, 'nobody had ever succeeded in subjugating Burundi' (p. 124).

The theme of unity likewise makes a prominent appearance in the guide's celebration of Burundi's 'brilliant' traditional civilisation and culture, described via accounts of various traditional practices; '[g]athered around their kings, the Barundi, during these five centuries, have constituted a united people, speaking the same language, Kirundi, which has been used to express an extremely refined culture and which underlies an ideal of life "ubuntu ubupfasoni" and agro-pastoral activities across the hills' (p. 86). The reference to 'five centuries' here appears to be in line with a now discredited dynastic chronology that situated the birth of the kingdom at the beginning of the sixteenth century (Chrétien, 1993), and contradicts the guide's own placing of the kingdom's foundation in 1700. In a section outlining the course of a lesson on Burundi's social structure, the guide calls on history teachers to encourage students' 'discovery' of the ancient historical and socio-cultural foundations of Burundians' unity, manifest in 'the same language, the same culture, the same social and economic relations,' and instructs them to have students illustrate this unity with 'examples from everyday life' (p. 94) – notwithstanding the conflictual nature of much of 'everyday life' in Burundi at this time.

Remarkably, and significantly, the guide's description of Burundi's traditional society omits references to Hutu and Tutsi, thus implicitly reiterating the contemporary official message of the irrelevance of such identities in Burundian society. The scholarly literature on Burundi defines Hutu and Tutsi identities as social in nature and determined by a hereditary occupational vocation, i.e. pastoralism, agriculturalism, and exercise of political power. The guide erases them from its historical account, focusing instead on such social identities as family, lineage and clan and simultaneously minimising the present-day salience of the last-mentioned by explaining that contemporary relationships emerge at the level of profession and neighbourhood (p. 116–17). The only reference to 'ethnic' groups can be found in a map taken from Mworoha et al. (1987), which

reports the delegation of administrative power to *butu and tutsi fidèles* in certain regions in a context of rule largely by the Ganwa 'noble class' (p. 86). While hierarchies of power and privilege in pre-colonial Burundi seem to have cut across 'ethnic' groups (Chrétien, 1993; Mworoha et al., 1987; Lemarchand, 1994), the omission of these identities, in the light of later events, remains telling.

6.2 *The Colonial Encroachment of an Exogenous Disunity*

Most of the guide's remaining pages address Burundi's history 'under foreign domination,' particularly Belgian colonisation. While acknowledging the colonisers' socio-economic contributions, the text characterises their rule as self-serving and oppressive (p. 126), marked by 'brutal' and 'barbaric' military expeditions during which they 'raid[ed] cattle, burn[t] the royal estates, massacre[d] the king's supporters' (p. 121). It convicts the colonial administration of practices of exploitation, forced labour, systematic spoliation (p. 130, 139), the eradication of traditional values, and ideological manipulation (p. 119). In asserting that '[t]he coloniser knew well' that Burundians' national unity 'jeopardised colonial domination' (p. 174), it sets out how '[t]he coloniser laid the foundations of the division of the population' (p. 124), 'oppos[ing] the chiefs to their subjects, the chiefs among themselves, and the population among itself' (p. 122) and breaking 'the bonds of mutual aid and solidarity' (p. 139). Describing worsened relations between local authorities and the population, the guide largely exculpates local chiefs of any responsibility in the abuses in which they had assisted in their new function as colonial agents, emphasising that 'the "indigenous" authorities did nothing but follow the orders of the Belgian authorities,' the new 'real' power-holders (p. 157). Again, the erasure of 'ethnic' identities as a factor in Burundian history generates a partial narrative; the guide accuses the colonisers of fuelling tensions between Ganwa princes (p. 124–25, 168–69) but fails to specify, for instance, the colonisers' gradual dismissal of Hutu chiefs in favour of Ganwa princes, and, to a lesser extent, of Tutsi chiefs (Gahama, 2001) and their introduction of 'ethnic' identity cards.

6.3 *The Independence Struggle Extolled – and a History That Ends with Its Consummation*

The guide's coverage of Burundi's more recent history is limited to only five pages and dominated by a celebratory lauding of Burundians' struggle for independence, having initially 'suffer[ed] in silence the oppressive colonial rule' (p. 158). The guide's declaration that '[t]he nationalist spirit thus survived colonial domination' (p. 174) reasserts the narrative of ancient unity resurrected in the fight for independence. The guide pays special tribute to the indispensable role of UPRONA, which it names as 'among Africa's truly nationalist parties' (p. 29), in freeing Burundi from foreign domination, having sought to 'lead all the Barundi, without ethnic, social or religious distinction, to independence' (p. 178). By contrast, UPRONA's political opponents come in for denunciation as colonial collaborators, co-responsible for the assassination of Prince Rwagasore, the party's leader and a national hero, in 1961 shortly after his appointment as Burundi's first Prime Minister. According to the guide, the Parti du peuple (PP) 'wanted to be friends with the Belgians'; the text does not note that PP had called for the rule of 'the (Hutu) people'. The Parti Démocrate Chrétien (PDC), meanwhile, was 'UPRONA's fierce enemy,' 'at the service of the Belgian cause,' propelled to power by 'flawed' elections and acting as a 'puppet' regime 'put in place by the Belgians' (p. 177). Within UPRONA, the guide centres on Prince Rwagasore, son of King Mwambutsa, emphasising his ability to bring Burundians from all backgrounds together around the nationalist cause and acclaiming him as a 'great politician who enjoyed immense popularity among all of Burundi's social classes' (p. 175). These references to 'ethnic [...] distinction' and 'social classes' are the guide's sole, oblique, allusions to Hutu and Tutsi here, and it is noteworthy that they occur in a context which denies their practical relevance ('without ethnic [...] distinction'; 'among all [...] social classes').

The guide ends by dedicating less than one third of its last page to the proclamation and celebration of independence, marked by the raising of a new flag and the radio broadcast of the new national anthem (p. 178), which the guide reproduces in its entirety (p. 179). Ending on this resonant note of demonstrative unity, it effectively omits Burundi's subsequent, and particularly controversial and sensitive, history, restricting itself to a brief list of significant events

that appears in an introductory historical overview at the beginning of the guide and includes the end of the monarchy, the establishment of the First and Second Republics, and the demise of the latter at the hands of a Military Committee of National Salvation in 1987, the year of the edition's publication. For a treatment of more recent events, the guide refers teachers to newspapers such as *Le Renouveau*, *Ubumwe* and *Le Burundi en images* (p. 28), publications which 'faithfully expressed th[e] monolithism' (Barnabé, 1995: 56) imposed particularly by the Bagaza regime via the suppression of freedom of expression and a monopoly on the press and the media. The guide, slightly revised in 1998 to include references to the Third Republic, remains silent on the bitter power struggle within UPRONA and on the rise of 'ethnic' tensions and mass killings that had torn the country apart since the first half of the 1960s. There is no mention of the 1965, 1972, 1988, 1991 and 1993 crises, which had seen the targeted assassinations of Hutu leaders, a succession of Hutu uprisings and mass killings of Tutsi, and ensuing state repression against Hutu, including prominent leaders (Chrétien, 2008).

7. Discussion and Conclusion: Official History Education Facing the 'Learning Experience' of Societal Trauma

The analysis in this article of the popular official teachers' guide *Histoire du Burundi* reveals this educational medium as containing a carefully selected curricular national historical narrative figuring Burundian history as a continuity of national unity and harmony, built on the foundations of an idyllic and glorious ancient past. In this narrative, the temporary disruption of this cohesion by colonial divide-and-rule policies came to an inevitable end as the 'nationalist spirit' reasserted itself. This approach to Burundian history centres an essentialist conception of national identity, discursively framed and mediated through a nationalist rhetoric emphasising, to speak in Brubaker and Cooper's (2000) terms, 'a sense of overriding oneness' (p. 19) and fundamental 'sameness' (p. 7) and transmitting a concept of 'groupness,' that is, a 'sense of belonging to a distinctive, bounded, solidary group' (p. 20). In centring the concepts of 'nation,' 'unity' and 'anti-imperialism' (Chrétien, 1993: 442–3) that had characterised the official discourse during Burundi's three UPRONA- and Tutsi-led Republics, the guide remarkably omits any reference to 'ethnic' questions. The taboo subjects on which its silence is eloquent include

the 'complex, at times obscure and often tragic' (Chrétien, 1993: 447) history of Hutu-Tutsi relations and the violent post-colonial crises, kept out of the narrative because of the threat they supposedly posed to the power and privileges of a historically dominant and otherwise threatened Tutsi minority.

In explaining the importance of studying history, *Histoire du Burundi* referred to its potential to warn society against the mistakes of the past (p. 7–8). Arguably, by truncating the national history it told and cutting off the troubled recent past, the guide precluded the emergence of any such warning in the history classes taken under its auspices. Here, we might see official education failing in the face of the lessons taught by emphatic unofficial means. The violence of Burundi's recent past itself served a strong pedagogical function in the country's society, constituting, as Lemarchand (1994) observes, a 'traumatic [...] learning experience' (p. 177); Lemarchand notes that, '[i]n a time of crisis, Hutu and Tutsi emerge[d] as the only relevant defining characteristics of group identities' (p. 14). Ndimurukundo (1995: 130) similarly argues that, in the context of imposed amnesia regarding the country's troubled history, '[i]n the postcolonial period, it is mainly the ethnic wars that are at the base of racist lessons,' as such experiences 'only exacerbate ethnic consciousness, especially among the more educated'. The study thus points to the challenges to official, external identifications posed by the reifying, performative power of everyday violence to shape individuals' 'situated subjectivity,' defined by Brubaker and Cooper (2000) as 'one's own sense of who one is, of one's social location, and of how [...] one is prepared to act' (p. 17). This influence serves to insistently undermine the 'illusion [...] of bounded groupness' (p. 26) that the guide sets out to communicate. In this sense, the study's findings support the argument that '[t]he formal institutionalization and codification of ethnic and national categories implies nothing about the depth, resonance, or power of such categories in the lived experience of the persons so categorized' (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000: 26–7).

Regime change notwithstanding, and most notably since the accession to power of the former Hutu rebellion CNDD-FDD in 2005, Burundian schools, alongside attempts fraught with difficulty to revise and update educational materials, have largely continued to present a national historical narrative characterised by overtly positive depictions and distinct lacunae. Available evidence seems to indicate that young people in Burundi have been largely left to try and make

sense of a complex history, the subject of multiple and often conflicting accounts circulating in society, by themselves. The prominent Burundian historian Mworoha (2008: 9) considers that failures in history education have left ‘the youth terribly ignor[ing] [in the sense of not knowing] the historical realities of this country,’ leading many to accept the ‘simplified and subjective reading of the conflict’ transmitted to them by those around them (Batungwanayo & Vanderlick, 2012: 14). Eva Hoffman (2003: 291) saliently notes the risks of rendering younger generations thus unequipped to handle violent pasts. In the context of this article, we would draw particular attention to her assertion that ‘[this] is the generation that inherits the experience of violence as still living memory; and which moulds and converts this remembrance into some form of collective memory or historical knowledge. It is in this crucial interval that the past can be frozen into fixed mythology, or comprehended in its historical complexity; and in which the cycles of revenge can be perpetuated or interrupted [...] a moment of real danger; but also of genuine hope and possibility’. The argument of this article has been that the ‘danger,’ in the Burundian case, lies in continuing to truncate history and amputate its troubling, recent, sensitive components, while ‘hope and possibility,’ and a path to genuine historical thinking, may issue from awareness of processes of silencing and their eventual reversal.

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FROM DECOLONIZATION TOWARDS INCLUSIVITY: THE EVOLUTION OF PRESENTATION OF KENYA'S HISTORY AT THE NAIROBI NATIONAL MUSEUM*

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Museums in Africa started as a colonial imposition founded on the western concept of heritage whose value-judgement was based on objects' monumentality, antiquity, authenticity and exoticness. Most of these museums started as cabinets-of-curiosity which displayed the scientific marvel, or antiquity of mostly natural history, and prehistoric specimens of the continent. When they featured Africans' cultural artefacts, it was for the purpose of displaying the backwardness of Africans, who were perceived by colonialists to have no history. Upon gaining independence, many African countries inherited the colonial museums which largely disregarded Africans' cultures and histories. The colonial legacy and post-political sensitivity have made representation of the histories of the African nations in the colonially-founded museums very contentious many years after independence. In most cases, these museums have offered little as reference resources in the teaching of history in their respective countries. This paper gives an analytical view of the evolution of the representation of Kenyan's history at the Nairobi National Museum from the colonial era to post-KANU era.

1. Introduction

Nairobi National Museum (NNM) is located at the Museum Hill in the country's capital city, Nairobi. It is the administrative and research hub for heritage matters in the country. It is also the headquarters of the National Museums of Kenya (NMK), the organization that has historically spearheaded the management of heritage in the country including over twenty museums and hundreds of sites and monuments across the country. To adequately understand how representation and teaching of Kenya's history at the Nairobi National Museum has evolved over the years, one needs to

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explore the socio-political dynamics through which the museum has evolved from its inception up to the post-KANU era.

2. Origins of Exclusion of ‘Kenyan’s histories’ in Nairobi National Museum

The concept of ‘Kenyan’s histories,’ in the plural form is deliberately used at this juncture. This is in recognition that Kenyans associate with, and commemorate various histories at different levels (ethnic, community, regional and national). This is hinged on the appreciation that there are more than 43 ethnic groups, which have existed in what is now Kenya since the precolonial period. Going by the primordial theory, each of these ethnic groups could be considered as an ‘ethnic nation’ identified by unique customs and a myth of origin (Kellas, 1991; Smith, 1994, 1998; Van den Berghe, 1994). Hameso (1997) considers such ethnic communities as the Igbo of Nigeria and the Kikuyu of Kenya as the real nations of Africa. Likewise, Oommen (1997: 40) contends that the various African peoples of ‘common descent, history and language’ would have continued dwelling together as nations had they not been colonially disrupted.

Like in all former colonial territories, colonial delineation of Kenya disrupted communities’ cultural landscapes and histories (Alesina et al., 2011), with some communities such as the Somali, Maasai, Kuria and Teso being split right in the middle (Ndege, 2009). As they arbitrarily lumped the more than forty ethnic communities together (Ogot, 2000), the colonialists had no intention of creating a sense of common history or destiny among the colonial subjects. To the contrary the colonialists antagonized the communities against each other through divide-and-rule strategies. This diminished the communities’ chances of coming together in a nationalist formation. Besides inhibiting the foundation of a common Kenyan history, the colonialists also instigated the disregard and distortion of the histories of the various ethnic groups. Ngugi wa Thiong’o as quoted by Ogude (1997: 86) decries the disregard and distortion that has been meted on Kenyan ethnic and national histories by colonial writers and Western-trained Kenyan historians. This ‘historical’ distortion and misrepresentation has been evident at the Nairobi National Museum as illustrated in this paper.

The Nairobi National Museum dates back to 1909 when a group of colonial settlers and nature hobbyists founded the East Africa and

Uganda Natural History Society (EAUNHS). In 1910, they housed their pioneer natural history collection in a small room in the middle of Nairobi (Karega-Munene, 2014: 17). In 1922, the collection growing collection was moved to a larger space about half a kilometer from the original location. In 1929, the collection was moved into the Coryndon museum that was purposely built on what came to be known as the museum hill (Karega-Munene, 2014: 18). It was named in honour of the late colonial Governor, Sir Robert Coryndon, who was a nature enthusiast and a great supporter of the EAUNHS. It was built with equal contributions from Coryndon's memorial fund the colonial Government (Karega-Munene, 2014: 20). After remaining a private undertaking for two decades, the museum opened its doors to the European 'public' in 1930. Asians and Africans only got access into it in the 1940s after Louis Seymour Bazett Leakey, the world-renowned paleoanthropologist and archaeologist became its curator (Cole, 1975). From the onset, the museum fitted Monreal's (2001: 187) description of an elitist museum 'accessible only to a minority of initiates, under the ritual pontification of a clique of directors and curators.' Evidently, the western-based museum served the Europeans' need for recreation, enjoyment, and scientific exploration.

Like in other colonial museums in Africa, natural history dominated the Nairobi museum's displays as a testament of African pristineness and European conquest. With the museum's initial collection having mainly consisted of trophies from game-hunting, archeological and paleontological materials started being included in the 1920s and early 1930 as they prominence in East Africa (Karega-Munene, 2014: 21). They included Louis Leakey's landmark fossil-finds at Olduvai, Tanzania, in 1931, as well as other such finds in the western Kenya. Meanwhile, the museum gave little regard to the local communities' histories and cultural practices which the Europeans disregarded as mere superstitions (Nkomazana & Setume, 2016: 33–34). The Africans who were perceived as potential destroyers of what the Europeans considered as valuable heritage (Beinart, 2003) had no opportunity to tell their own histories (Abungu, 2001; Pwiti & Ndoro, 1999). Karega-Munene (2014: 24) contends that 'The privileged position natural history was given in museum exhibits plus restricted access to monuments and antiquities by Africans were informed by settler interests and belief that Africans were inferior beings.'

Kenyan's histories and cultures were further suppressed through the establishment of a western-based heritage preservation policy in the country. In 1927, Governor Edward Grigg, Coryndon's successor who was also a nature enthusiast and supporter of EAUNHS drafted the first heritage preservation policy in Kenya (Hart, 2007: 42). 'The Ancient Monuments Preservation Ordinance,' was largely a replication of the British India's 'An Ordinance to Provide for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments and Objects of Archeological, Historical or Artistic Interests.' The ordinance exclusively mandated the Governor to identify and protect antiquities and monuments, and acquire those 'in danger of being destroyed injured or allowed to fall in decay' (Karega-Munene, 2014: 19). It therefore alienated and precluded Africans from managing and celebrating their own cultural heritages and histories.

The heritage conservation policy was amended in 1929 and 1934 resulting to 'The Preservation of objects of Archaeological and Paleontological Interest Ordinance.' This provided legal backing for the archaeological and paleontological research and collection whose significance had continued to grow in the East African region particularly due to the seminal work of the world-renowned Paleontologist couple, Louis and Mary Leaky that popularized East Africa as the cradle of humankind (Karega-Munene, 2014: 28) and bequeathed the Nairobi national museum with some of the most authoritative hominid collections in the world. By the time Kenya gained her independence in 1963, the country's heritage policy had undergone two more amendments (in 1938 and 1962) resulting in two complementary laws namely; the Preservation of objects of Archaeological and Paleontological Interest Ordinance, and the Museum Trustees Ordinance, which became Chapters 215 and 216 of the Laws of Kenya respectively (Karega-Munene, 2014: 25). While Chapter 215 underlined the significance of Archaeological and Paleontological research, Chapter 216 established the Museums Trustees of Kenya, a white dominated body, to be responsible for the 'general management and control of all museums in the colony' (Karega-Munene, 2014: 25–26).⁷ As such, the legal amendments did not acknowledge or endeavor to conserve local communities' histories and cultures, which according to Karega-Munene (2014: 27), would have negated the derogatory identities the colonizers had assigned the communities.

3. The Post-independence Challenge of Creating and Representing Kenya's History

After Kenya acquired her independence in 1963, the museum continued focusing on natural history as part of colonial legacy. Despite having its name changed from Coryndon to the National Museums of Kenya in 1964 (Cole, 1975; Kanguru et al., 1995), there was no initiative towards creating 'exhibitions that would have promoted debate on nationhood' (Karega-Munene, 2014: 29), or including the Africans in the museum's management as 'the highest ranked African by 1968 was a ticket clerk' (Karega-Munene, 2014: 26). As such, the museum did not become a symbol of the Kenyan nationhood (Karega-Munene, 2014: 30). Rather, it remained a place of research in natural history under the direction of western experts. While describing the museum, Robert H. Carcasson, the museum's head from 1961 to 1968 asserted that it was 'the most important natural history museum in Tropical Africa' (Carcasson, 1963: 183), with the role of 'impressing upon the population the need to preserve the surviving remnants of wildlife and wild habitats' (Carcasson, 1963: 185). An idea of conserving tribal cultures in village cultural museums was muted by Carcasson in the mid-1960s but it never came to fruition (Karega-Munene, 2014: 30). This diminished chances of communities' cultures and histories being showcased even locally.

Despite having acquired a maiden donation of ethnographic collection in 1963 (Lagat 2017: 3), the museum did not put up a historical or ethnographic exhibition throughout the first decade of independence. The socio-political atmosphere in the newly-independent nation made the formation and representation of a national history complex. At the center of this complexity was the socio-political aftermath of the Mau Mau freedom struggle. Upon the end of the anticolonial guerrilla war which lasted from 1952 to 1960 and attainment of independence in 1963, the freedom fighters who had spent years in the forest demanded compensation and official recognition as national heroes. The veterans, who were mainly from the linguistically related Gikuyu, Embu and Meru communities that live around Mount Kenya went ahead to advance 'their hegemonic claim that only they had fought for Uhuru and therefore that only they should rule' (Otieno-Odhiambo, 1987: 193)

To neuter the 'unrealistic' claims from the veterans, Kenya's founding president, Jomo Kenyatta pronounced that all Kenyans had fought for independence and that they needed to 'forgive and forget,' as they joined hands in building the nation. Clough (1998: 46), refers to Kenyatta's disregard of the fighters thus, 'in his own Uhuru speech that night Jomo Kenyatta did not mention Mau Mau fighters at all.' In 1962, just before independence, Kenyatta had declared that 'Mau Mau was a disease which had been eradicated, and must never be remembered again' (Jomo Kenyatta, 1968: 189). Under his rule, the ban that colonialists had placed on the Mau Mau movement in 1952 remained in place. For President Kenyatta, recognizing the war veterans as national heroes would have given them legitimacy and boldness to claim for reparations and possibly challenge his assumed position as the supreme leader and hero of the nation. To endear himself to all Kenyatta espoused himself as the foremost elder of all the communities, 'a father figure of the country' (Aseka, 2001: 40)

Right from the onset, President Kenyatta's nation-building project became dogged by manipulative ethno-political dynamics. Soon after independence, Kenyatta and his majoritarian party, the Kenya African National Union (KANU) reneged on the regionalist (majimbo) government which had been negotiated by the minority party Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) during the 1960–62 independence negotiations in Lancaster (Anderson, 2005: 1955–64). When KADU merged into KANU, the majimbo government that was meant to safeguard the small communities was replaced with a centralized government dominated by the majoritarian Kikuyu and Luo communities. The political coalition between the Luo and the Kikuyu did not last long after independence following the 1966 fallout between the communities' respective leaders Jomo Kenyatta and his Vice President Oginga Odinga. When Odinga formed the opposition, Kenya People's Union Party (KPU), transforming Kenya into a de facto one-party-state in which the Luo community became marginalized (Atieno-Odhiambo, 2002). KANU would rule continuously for 40 years until President Moi left power at the close of 2002. Within this period, formation and representation of a Kenyan national history remained complex.

The challenge of representing Kenyan national history became evident through an exhibition that was installed in the Nairobi national museum in 1973 to celebrate Kenya's tenth independence anniversary. The exhibition which featured some freedom fighters

had several of its photographs removed as Kenyatta's administration deemed them politically incorrect. According to Lagat (2017: 6), this left the exhibition 'one sided.' The exhibition brought to the fore the contestation about which individuals and ethnic groups had contributed to the attainment of the country's independence, hence deserving the country's leadership and state resources.

When the first 'permanent' ethnographic exhibition was installed in the museum in 1974, it highlighted neither the foundational histories of the various Kenyan communities, nor the vision of a common Kenyan history and destiny. Instead, the exhibition which largely used ethnographic materials donated by colonial collectors with augmentation from other collections made in the late 1960s and early 1970s focused on distinctions among the various ethnic groups, which Lagat (2017: 4–5) sees as perpetuation of the colonial legacy. It also demonstrated the country's leadership's unpreparedness to spearhead and promote representation of an inclusive national history.

In a fashion that is used by societies to 'create' their ancestors (Le Goff, 1992), President Kenyatta 'historised' his position as the supreme ruler of the nation through national imagery, celebrations and monuments. Immediately after independence, Kenyatta gazetted October 20 as a national day and named it Kenyatta day. That symbolically sidelined five other freedom heroes with whom Kenyatta was arrested and incarcerated in Kapenguria, a remote region in the northern Kenya, on October 20 in 1952. In 1966, he replaced the portrait of the British monarch on the currency with his own. In 1973, he launched two symbolic monuments of himself in the country's capital city to commemorate 10 years of independence (Larsen, 2013). In the process, the creation of an inclusive national history was suppressed.

When President Daniel Arap Moi took over leadership in 1978 after Kenyatta's death, he also suppressed of recognition of other heroes. Like Kenyatta before him, President Moi embarked on 'historising' himself as the country's supreme ruler through national imagery, celebrations and monuments that surpassed Kenyatta's both in number and size (Larsen, 2013). His portrait replaced that of Kenyatta on the currency. When launching one of the monuments to commemorate 10 years of his rule in 1988, Moi declared 10th October a national day, and named it 'Moi day.' He went further and stifled any public representation that seemed to challenge his position

as the nation's supreme hero. This included bringing down what Kenyatta's administration had left of the 'Struggle for Independence' exhibition (Lagat, 2017: 6) outlawing ethnic welfare organizations (Chesang 2015) and banning the display of Kenyatta's portrait in offices as a way of curbing revivalist Kikuyu nationalism which was challenging his rule.

4. Renewed Search for 'Historical Relevance'

After staying 'for 20 years [of independence] without a single amendment, let alone revision' (Karega-Munene 2014: 31), Kenya's heritage statutes finally got reviewed in 1982 giving rise to the Antiquities and Monuments Act and the National Museums Act whose implementation began in 1983. The Antiquities and Monuments Act, Section 3, defined monuments to include places or immovable structures of historical value, while the National Museums Act, Section 3, include 'things of scientific, cultural, technological and human interest;' and 'knowledge in all fields of scientific, cultural, technological, and human interest' as part of heritage. However, despite the inclusion of historical value as part of heritage, 'like the preceding colonial legislation, the [1983] law privileged archaeological and palaeontological heritage' (Karega-Munene, 2014: 31–32) and 'the accent on human and cultural origins both in terms of research and museum exhibits continued to persist' (Karega-Munene, 2014: 33).

As part of continued search for societal relevance, the museum expanded its mandate in the 1990s beyond preservation of antiquities, sites and monuments to include biodiversity conservation (Karega-Munene, 2014: 33). This was in line with the institution's mission statement which read, 'the National Museums of Kenya are the Custodians of our nation's heritage, revealing the hidden order of nature and culture for the common good' Isahakia (1991: 226). As this expansion continued, the museum's lack of representation of Kenyans' 'histories' became more evident. It was only towards the end of President Moi's regime that a temporary 'historical' exhibition on the Asian African Community featured at the Nairobi National Museum as elaborated below.

In 2000, Dr. Somjee, a Kenyan of Asian descent, who was the Head of the museum's ethnography department curated an exhibition titled, 'The Asian African Heritage: Identity and History.'

It traced the identity and history of the Kenyan Asian-African Community and their contribution to the country's socio-economic development. According to the exhibition's brochure compiled by Pherowze Norwejee, a seasoned Kenyan lawyer of Asian descent, Dr Mohammed Isahakia, the then NMK's Director General opined that 'Almost 34 years after Independence our National Museum here has no part of its entire exhibitions focusing on any aspect of Asian history. This must be corrected' Norwejee (2000: 1). According to Norwejee, 'The preparation for the exhibition [...] revealed that there were no places [...] where access to social records of any of the communities in Kenya were located,' and there was therefore the need for the country's National Museums and Archives to gather and preserve 'Documents, photographs and oral histories [...] for a proper remembrance of the past and understanding of the present; and [...] national heritage' (2000: 10).

It can therefore be observed that during Kenyatta's and Moi's tenures, the museum largely avoided the themes of Kenyan nationhood and national history. The museum's management preferred to retain the museum's focus on natural history rather than engage in the political sensitivity and contestation that surrounded the articulation and representation of Kenyan national history. Karega-Munene (2014: 38) observes that, 'natural heritage is a politically safe area because it is not as contestable and contested as some aspects of cultural heritage.

5. Restructuring for Relevance

A series of workshops conducted from the early 1990s had revealed dire need for the NMK to review its organizational structure and update its exhibitions and education programming so as to cultivate relevance to the Kenyan society. As a follow up, the NMK sought funding from the European Union (EU) to undertake comprehensive restructuring of its organisational structure, exhibitions and public programmes. The EU's support started with the commissioning of an evaluation study in 1998. Among other things, the study observed that the Antiquities and Monuments Act (Cap 215), and the National Museums Act (Cap 216), under which NMK was operating had become outdated, while the exhibitions and the public programmes in place needed revitalization. The study recommended restructuring of NMK's organizational, legal and public-programming frameworks.

The EU therefore provided funds under the auspices of the National Museums of Kenya Support Programme (NMKSP), which came to be popularly known as the 'Museum in Change' Programme.

Before commencing the restructuring of the museum, several workshops and baseline surveys were undertaken to inform the process. During one such workshop held in August 1998, the mission of the museum's public programming was defined as, 'To promote people's understanding and use of natural and cultural heritage by enhancing access to the museum's collections, research and exhibitions' (National Museums of Kenya, 1998: 1). Another workshop held in November 2003 to develop a policy on NMK's Public Programmes emphasised the need to link the past and present heritage 'as a means of maintaining the museum's relevance to the public' (National Museums of Kenya, 2003: 5) In another workshop held in August 2004, NMK's public programmes vision was defined as, 'to promote the appreciation, conservation and sustainable utilization of our heritage,' while 'promotion of cross cultural understanding and unity in diversity,' was identified as a core value (National Museums of Kenya Support Programme, 2004: 1). A visitor survey done just before closing the Nairobi museum for renovation highlighted the 'conspicuous absence of history as a distinct theme' in the museum. The need to include 'History of Kenya' as a key theme in the museum was further emphasised during a workshop held in March 2005 to develop, Strategy and Policy for NMK's Public programmes (National Museums of Kenya Support Programme, 2005: 5-7).

Ultimately, on 15 October 2005 Nairobi National museum closed down for renovations that took three years up to 31 March 2008 when it reopened (Mboya, 2008: 1). When the museum reopened, it had six exhibitions namely: the Hall of Kenya – highlighting the country's natural and cultural diversity; Birds of East Africa – showcasing the diversity of East African birds the Great Hall of Mammals – showcasing adaptation and diversity in mammals; the Cradle of Humankind – showcasing human evolution; the Cycles of life – showcasing the cultural life stages of most Kenyan communities; and the Art Gallery showcasing contemporary arts. Three other exhibitions that had been envisioned were missing namely: Ecology – showcasing various Kenyan ecosystems; Cultural dynamism – showcasing dynamism in Kenyan cultures; and most

conspicuously, History of Kenya – showcasing Kenya’s history from precolonial period.

As part of the restructuring, the legal framework under which NMK was operating was also reviewed. The review process which involved various stakeholders yielded the National Museums and Heritage Bill 2002, which was reviewed until it was finally passed into law in 2006 as ‘The National Museums and Heritage Act 2006,’ effectively repealing the two Acts under which NMK operated before (Karega-Munene, 2014: 33). The National Museums and Heritage Act 2006, outlined NMK’s mandate as to: (a) Serve as a national centre of heritage for the repository of things of scientific, cultural technological, and human interest; (b) Serve as a place where research and dissemination of knowledge in all fields of scientific, cultural, technological and human interest may be undertaken; (c) Identify, protect, conserve and transmit the cultural and natural heritage of Kenya; and (d) Promote cultural and natural resources in the context of social and economic development. The Act identified NMK’s core functions as: (a) Heritage promotion collection and documentation; (b) Research; (c) Preservation and conservation; and (d) Information dissemination. Though not explicitly mentioned, research, preservation and dissemination of history as a subject of cultural and human interests was implied by the 2006 Act.

6. Presentation of Kenyan History in the Post-KANU Era

As President Moi’s exit in 2002 ended KANU’s forty-year reign, his successor President Mwai Kibaki brought about enhanced accommodation of subaltern histories. By unbanning the Mau Mau movement in 2003, he initiated the memorialization of the veterans and other heroes who had been shunned by the previous governments. This memorialization included renovation of Jaramogi Oginga Odinga Mausoleum; construction mausoleums in honour of freedom fighters Paul Ngei, Bildad Kaggia, and Achieng Oneko; and another one honouring Kisozi Muniyao, who hoisted the Kenyan flag atop Mt Kenya on the independence night. Kibaki’s government also installed statues to honour, Field Marshal Dedan Kimathi, the Mau Mau leader who was killed by the British in 1957; and the Luo cabinet minister and trade unionist, Tom Mboya, who was allegedly assassinated during Jomo Kenyatta’s reign. A memorial was also

installed in honour of Koitalel arap Samoei, who had led the Nandi resistance against colonial rule from 1890 to 1906.

President Kibaki's recognition of national heroes culminated with the establishment of a heroes (Mashujaa) square in Nairobi, and the enactment of the Kenya Heroes Act 2014. Buoyed by the government's official recognition, the Mau Mau veterans successfully claimed reparations from the British government in form of money, a monument in their honour and an apology that was relayed by the then British High Commissioner, Christian Turner who stated, 'The memorial is a symbol of reconciliation between the UK, the Mau Mau and all those who suffered during the emergency period' (Hughes, 2017: 372). The veterans, together with other hitherto unsung heroes were also memorialized in the country's first permanent national history exhibition, the *Historia ya Kenya* (History of Kenya) exhibition.

The 'History of Kenya' exhibition which was installed as part of the 'museum in change' programme ended what Coombes et al. (2014) have criticized as the country's long absence of a national historical display. The exhibition was conceptualized into three subthemes namely: (i) Kenya before Kenya (Pre 1895); (ii) Colonial invasion and resistance (1896–1963); and (iii) Independent Kenya (1963 onwards). According to Hughes (2014: 198–202), the exhibition's production was wrought with challenges which included shortage of funds, historical materials and expertise. When a public appeal for historical materials did not realize much success, old photographs, newspaper cuttings, paintings dioramas and audio visuals had to be used to augment the few documents and photos that were readily available from the NMK Archive. Regarding expertise, NMK had to hire a historian in 2005 and engage other historians from Kenya and outside to assist in script writing. The exhibition was only opened in 2010, two years after the museum had reopened.

In terms of representing Kenyan history and nationhood, the 'History of Kenya' exhibition received mixed reactions. On one hand it was positively appraised for giving Kenya's anti-colonial struggle a multi-ethnic dimension and 'address[ing] the creation and representation of national identity [...] by focusing on Swahili language, and contemporary media, culture and sports' (Lagat, 2017: 1). On the other hand, it was criticized for various inadequacies including 'only featuring interviews with Gikuyu veterans,' hence

reifying the notion that Kenya's freedom struggle was not a 'multi-ethnic' but Kikuyu affair (Hughes, 2014: 207).

The other permanent ethnographic exhibition, 'Cycles of Life,' that was installed during the 'Museum in Change' programme was equally criticized for deficiencies in representing Kenyan history and nationhood. For instance, Hughes (2014: 207) decries the exhibition's emphasis on the distinction of ethnic groups, which could be counterproductive to the representation of a common Kenyan nationhood. Karega-Munene (2011: 288) observes that by identifying artefacts according to their ethnic groups, the exhibition contradicts the objective of displaying 'unity in diversity' as a core theme of Kenyan nationhood or 'Kenyan-ness.' On the other hand, Kiprof Lagat (2017: 1) opines that '[...] the curation of new exhibitions [including History of Kenya] at the National Museums of Kenya could be seen to confront the challenges of nationhood.' He goes ahead to commend the 'Cycles of Life' exhibition for focusing on the aspects of life which are relatively common among most Kenyan communities as opposed to focusing on distinctions among ethnic groups.

7. The Museum's Search for Relevance in the Teaching of Kenyan History

At this juncture, it is evident that the Nairobi national museum has historically been of little relevance in the teaching of Kenyan history. As already elaborated, in terms of content, the museum's focus has for long been on natural history. In terms of clientele, the museum started off as a private entity with access reserved to the Europeans. When the museum theoretically opened to Asians and Africans in the 1940s, only a few elites from these communities could access its research and discoveries. The majority of Asians and Africans, as well as topics, such as Kenyan history, that would have been of interest to them were excluded in the museum's programming.

In 1964 a liaison office was finally introduced to cater for the Kenyan children who had started flocking the museum in what seemed like an exploration for iconic reference points for the commemoration of the country's newly gained independence. However, without any exhibition on nationhood and history, the museum did not have much to offer to the inquisitive learners in that area. When the museum expanded its education programmes in the

1990s and 2000s history did not feature (Mbutia, 2009). Rather, natural history remained the main focus of these programmes with the exploration of biodiversity and human evolution taking the center stage.

Another factor that might have contributed to lack of initiative in history learning in the museum is the fact that history subject 'is one of the most despised, despite its centrality to the wellbeing and the identity of a people' (Munene, 2012: 28). Many schools, parents and pupils have been observed to prefer 'learning of science and mathematics [which] results in the growth of skills which have direct relevance in life' (Ogutu, 1984: 26). This observation is in line with an evaluation by the Kenya National Kenya Examination Council (1982: 1), which revealed below-expectation performance among secondary school students. Infrastructural disregard of history learning in the country is illustrated by the fact that whereas 'Most schools of any importance have a science laboratory, upon which a considerable sum of money is spent yearly, for history lesson, few schools supply any apparatus but a textbook and a blackboard' Chang'ach (2011: 688). With the first historian being employed in 2005 (Hughes, 2014: 198), and the first permanent historical exhibition being installed in 2010, museum of the museum has arguably been of little relevance in teaching of history.

Whereas the 'history of Kenya' exhibition could be said to have increased the museum's general resourcefulness in the teaching of Kenyan history, its effectiveness in the production and transmission of national history has been criticized as wanting. For instance, while commending the exhibition for its success in achieving emotional response from Kenyan learners, through such aspects as the display of the real items used by the Mau Mau, Hughes (2014: 208) also criticizes its misrepresenting of some historical facts. Hughes (2014: 209) also decries propagation of inaccuracies and inconsistencies by the exhibition's guides, hence reinforcing inaccuracies found in Kenyan history textbooks. The manner in which teachers whisk groups of children through the exhibition has also been criticized (Hughes, 2014: 208).

8. Conclusion

This paper has elaborated how presentation of Kenya's history at the Nairobi National Museum has evolved from the museum's inception to post-KANU era. It has illustrated how the museum having been founded on the western concept of heritage excluded the Africans, their cultural values and histories as it focused on natural history. The paper has also illustrated how exclusion of Kenyans histories continued in the post-independence era due to the complexity that surrounded the formation and representation of a common Kenyan history. The paper has also highlighted the deficiencies that the country's first permanent national history exhibition installed in 2010 had in terms of representing Kenyan history and nationhood.

From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that the Nairobi national Museum needs to do much more to improve its representation and transmission of the Kenyan national history. As a national institution funded by the taxpayers, one of the Nairobi National Museum's objectives is 'to promote cultural resources in the context of social and economic development' (National Museums and Heritage Act 2006). The museum is therefore mandated to 'play a lead role in the creation and promotion of a national heritage and narrative' (Karega-Munene, 2014: 42). To effectively do this, the museum needs to develop exhibitions that highlight the experiences and aspirations that cut across the different Kenyan communities as opposed to accentuating ethnicities (Karega-Munene, 2014: 42). The museum should also develop awareness and education programmes aimed at promoting of nationhood and national history among all citizens. To achieve this goal, the Museum needs to employ well-trained guides and educators to share and discuss the national history narrative with the different museum visitors. The museum also needs to engage the media in the formation and transmission of the national history narrative. By adopting these approaches, the Nairobi National Museum would be able to create and transmit the country's history especially among the youth, providing what Chang'ach (2011: 668) refers to as 'the only glue that can hold us [Kenyans] together in our cultural diversity.'

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FORUM

EMBEDDING MUSEUM VISITS IN SCHOOL HISTORY EDUCATION*

Andrea Brait

In the history didactic literature, museums are assumed to be valuable places of learning. Museum visits should be conceived of as components of a teaching unit, thus requiring preparation and follow-up. Based on these assumptions, the article examines the extent to which museum visits are embedded in school history education. The six options of embedding described are based on the observation of museum visits on the part of eleven Austrian high school classes, as well as of the history lessons before and after such visits. These showed that the museum visits were very differently embedded in school history education in the different classes. Furthermore, it can be noted that not all options are bound to the promotion of subject-specific competences.

1. Initial Considerations

Historical learning can be understood as a lifelong process in which a respective individual image of the past develops (Schreiber, 2008: 199; Deile). As Klaus Bergmann points out, this takes place mainly in extracurricular contexts (Bergmann, 2000: 109). In this respect, the various forms of historical culture play a major role. These include museums, which in Austria reach more people than other cultural institutions (Institut für empirische Sozialforschung GmbH: 20, 23). As international research shows, museums are visited for educational purposes (Rombach, 2007, 124–5), in that they are perceived as places where information is presented in an interesting way (Packer & Ballantyne, 2002: 195), and largely classified by young people as ‘trustworthy sources’ for learning about history (Angvik & Borries, 1997: 44–5; Stoddard, 2018: 635–6; Kipman & Kühberger, 2019: 80).

In recent years, research in history didactics has dealt with museums as places of learning in various ways. Alan S. Marcus, Thomas H. Levine and Robin S. Grenier (2012), for example, studied teachers’ beliefs towards museum visits in the context of school

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history education; Joanna Wojdon (2018) also analysed the views of history teachers, as well as museum educators; Nicholas E. Coddington (2020) focused on teacher education in different learning sites; Christian Kohler (2016) and Berit Pleitner (2006) looked at children's beliefs about museums; Felicitas Klingler (2018) analysed, in particular, the educational offerings of museums; Stefanie Gerlach (2015) focused on educational cooperation between museums and schools; Hannah Röttele (2020) was interested in how pupils perceive objects in exhibitions; and Julia Thyroff (2020) researched the appropriation practices of adults using the example of a special exhibition.

The extent to which historical competences can be encouraged through museum visits has also been analysed. In this regard, it is assumed that a historical learning process can not only be stimulated but can also be completed and (temporarily) concluded by visiting a museum (Hasberg, 2009: 233). Stefanie Zabold and Waltraud Schreiber (2004: 222) emphasise that any guided interaction with history, including that in a museum, should ideally lead to the initiation or further development of competences. Although there are also critical voices that emphasise that museums were not founded to encourage competences in pupils (Borries, 2009: 100), it must be noted that exhibitions and museums can be used to achieve the goals of school curricula and, in particular, promote subject-specific competences (Göschl, 2020: 60), even if they are not oriented to curricula or even based on curricula (Heese, 2014: 13). Stéphane Lévesque clearly states: '[T]eachers need to plan and build museum trips as meaningful and complementary learning experiences that will enrich formal school history education and not as 'rewards' or end-of-the-year field trips disconnected from classroom teaching' (Lévesque, 2006: 46). The FUER competence model (Körber, Schreiber & Schöner, 2007), which is part of Austrian curricula (BGBl. II 113/2016; BGBl. II 219/2016), is particularly suitable for use in museums, as well as in other extracurricular places of learning (Niederhäusern, Brovelli, Fuchs & Rempfler, 2012: 146), especially since it does not only refer to learning history in schools (Schreiber, 2009: 46–7), as Bettina Alavi (2009), for example, was able to prove empirically on the basis of a case study.

All of these studies and theoretical considerations focus on learning in museums. In contrast, there are hardly any findings with regard to history lessons in connection with museum visits. This may

have to do with the fact that visits to museums or exhibitions can be for multiple reasons and are often not directly related to current school history education (Hartung, 2020: 96). Thorsten Heese (2021: 92), for example, assumes on the basis of observations that museum visits tend to be used as a stopgap before the school holidays. The study results of Kohler (2016: 122) show, that young people do not consider this problematic. The majority of those he interviewed did not believe that preparing for and following up an exhibition visit would help them to understand an exhibition topic. However, almost all publications on extracurricular learning places stress the need to embed all types of educational excursions in school teaching processes (Schulte, 2019: 52–5). As early as the 1980s, there was advice to follow a three-stage approach: the preparation for the learning location should be followed by a conscious discussion of it on the spot, and finally an evaluation of the experiences gained (Burk & Claussen, 1981: 26). For example, the visit to extracurricular learning places is considered to be particularly productive if the visit takes place in the middle of a teaching unit (Behrendt & Franklin, 2014: 242) and is a useful part of a teaching unit (Pleitner, 2012: 294). Based on these considerations, the project *Historical Learning between School and Museum* – among other questions that cannot be discussed here – examined the embedding of museum visits in the process of historical learning at school. The analysis was carried out on the basis of Austrian history education in high schools and provincial museums. Consequently, the question is pursued as to how museum visits were embedded into school history education and to what extent they served to promote the competences anchored in the Austrian curricula. In contrast to Heese (2021: 93), however, it is not assumed that the specifics of the museum as a place of learning are lost when a museum visit serves the goals of school curricula and that only school lessons are shifted to another location.

2. Methodological Approach

As part of this project, expert interviews were conducted with the heads of the cultural education departments of the Austrian provincial museums ($n = 9$) and history teachers ($n = 85$). In addition, observations of school classes ($n = 11$) were undertaken before, during and after the museum visits. In addition, short texts by the pupils ($n = 202$) were collected at the end of the observed

museum visits (for an overview of the results: Brait, 2020). This triangulation of methods, the use of which has recently been intensively discussed in terms of history didactics (Kelle, Kühberger & Bernhard, 2019: 14–7), enabled different perspectives to be obtained with regard to the research questions (Flick, 2011, 12). However, the following explanations refer exclusively to the observations made during the school lessons, before and after the museum visits.

The observations ($n = 11$)¹ were aimed at obtaining a closer view of the subject of the research (Robson, 2008: 310) as well as an extension and deepening of the subject-specific perceptions of the research subjects (Kühberger, 2021: 54). The focus was on the situational, practical, and socio-material dimensions of teaching processes (Ahlrichs, 2020: 2).

Observations are generally possible in a number of different ways (Döring & Bortz, 2016: 330). The observations conducted during the project Historical Learning between School and Museum can be described as being direct, non-participatory, open and partially structured observations in the field. It was essential to determine clearly-outlined observation goals in advance, for which rough categories were established, without restricting the openness too much (Lamnek & Krell, 2016: 536).

Unavoidably, such direct, non-participant observations imply a double selection: on the one hand, a researcher has only a limited ability to perceive something and, on the other hand, he or she decides to classify an observed aspect as relevant or not, and consequently to include it in the field notes or not (Reh, 2012: 119). Furthermore, perceptual errors (Döring & Bortz, 2016: 331–2) cannot be completely ruled out. Therefore, an attempt was made to note as many aspects as possible, and subsequently to evaluate them from the perspective of history didactics. In order to ensure that the quality of the observations was at least partially checked, two lessons and one museum visit were observed by a second person in addition to the researcher.²

An electronic transcript of the observations (Breidenstein, Hirschauer, Kalthoff & Nieswand, 2013: 94–5) was produced as close as possible to the observation; this transcript also included the thoughts written after the observation sessions, which helped to provide a record of everything that happened in as much detail as possible. It is clear, however, that data collection and analysis cannot

be sharply separated in the case of observations, as Georg Breidenstein (2012: 32) rightly points out. While in the field, and during the observations, decisive steps in terms of understanding and analysis took place.

The data was analysed with the use of qualitative content analysis using MAXQDA. This enables the identification of themes and sub-themes, their systematization, and the analysis of mutual relationships (Kuckartz, 2018: 123). The categories were defined partly inductively and partly deductively. The quality of the category system was proven by coding four observation protocols of school hours (two hours before the museum visit and two hours after the museum visit) and two museum visits, which corresponds to 18.18 % of the data. The intercoder reliability (Brennan & Prediger, 1981) showed on average a good value of $K_n = 0.86$.

3. Central Results

Based on the observations of the history lessons of eleven high school classes, before and after the museum visits, six options of purposefully conducted embeddings of museum visits in history education at school can be distinguished. Although cultural educators in the museum have the possibility to make connections to history education at school, the options of embedding described below refer to the activities of the teachers. They not only have detailed knowledge of history education at school, but also the opportunity to attend the classes' visits to the museum. They can therefore coordinate their history lessons with the museum visit, the exhibitions and the educational programmes.

In the following, the way in which these options of embedding the museum visit were observed in the project will be briefly described. However, these are not the only possible methodological options for teachers. After describing the respective implementation variants, an evaluation is made of the extent to which these serve to promote the competences anchored in the Austrian curricula. However, it cannot be verified to what extent the pupils actually developed their competences.

3.1 Option 1: Explanation of the Museum Definition

In six of the eleven classes, the essential tasks, or the characteristics of museums were explained and thus the museum definition³ was (at

least partially) explained. This was accomplished in very different ways.

In the NMS_Wien_B class the teacher only briefly asked what could be found in museums, whereupon the pupils named various examples of sources (NMS_Wien_B_VB: 11–3). The pupils of the AHS_Tirol_C class were given a brief insight into the history of the institution – a museum – by a lecture by the teacher in the lesson prior to the museum visit, who dealt in particular with the task of collecting (AHS_Tirol_C_VB: 16). However, other functions of museums were not discussed. In the lesson after the museum visit, the pupils dealt with the question of the extent to which museums are places of learning, and to what extent something can be learned about the past in them. The pupils were asked to write short analyses based on the museum they had visited (AHS_Tirol_C_NB: 13, 17).

In the AHS_NÖ_A class, examples of museums were collected during the lesson prior to the museum visit, as a result of which museums were distinguished from non-museums (AHS_NÖ_A: 9). Further hints about what defines a museum were given in the history lesson after the museum visit in a meeting with a person who had already worked for a special exhibition. Among other things, the discussion dealt with questions of exhibition design and the acquisition of exhibits (AHS_NÖ_A_NB: 4).

The AHS_Tirol_A and AHS_Tirol_B classes, which were taught by the same teacher, discussed the benefits and advantages of museums more generally in the lesson after the museum visit, and thought about the definition of a museum in this way; in particular, the value of original sources was discussed (AHS_Tirol_A_NB: 13; AHS_Tirol_B_NB: 9).

In contrast, the NMS_Tirol_A class dealt with the museum definition in great detail, both in the lesson prior to the museum visit and after it – as well as during the museum visit. In the history lesson prior to the museum visit, the pupils' prior knowledge was first collected. They were asked to leave notes on the blackboard about the following questions:

'What is a museum? (Definition)'

'What do you find in a museum?'

'Who works in a museum? (Professions)' (NMS_Tirol_A_VB: 4)

After this, the pupils were asked to work out details in the course of a carousel activity. At each station, an information text was provided to help them complete a worksheet. Again, the learners

dealt with the definition of museums, with exhibits, with professions in museums, and additionally with examples of museums in Innsbruck (NMS_Tirol_A_VB: 12–5).

All of these approaches carried out by the teachers were aimed at promoting historical subject matter competence as defined in the Austrian curricula, as the concept of a museum was discussed broadly. However, in all the cases observed, museums were treated in a very general way, but the history museum as a specific museum type was not.

3.2 Option 2: History and Location of the Museum Visited

In several classes, the museum visited, its history and its importance, were discussed. However, this often took place only very briefly. For example, the teacher of AHS_Wien_A class only mentioned in passing that the Wien Museum would soon be closing due to renovation, and thus only indirectly drew the classes' attention to the fact that the exhibition was not new (AHS_Wien_A_VB: 3; AHS_Wien_A_NB: 5). The teacher of the NMS_Wien_A class briefly explained the founding of the museum visited in the lesson after the visit (NMS_Wien_A_NB: 8–9).

The AHS_Tirol_C class looked more closely at the history of the museum they visited. The teacher first presented a historical painting of the Ferdinandeum via Beamer, and explained the goals that were pursued with the founding of museums in the 19th Century. Afterwards, the pupils were asked to compare the original building with the present one. Finally, the teacher explained which role models the architects followed when building the Ferdinandeum (AHS_Tirol_C_VB: 16) and then went on to explain in more detail, collecting as a central task of museums (see option 1).

The history of the museum visited, the Zeughaus, was also presented to the pupils of class NMS_Tirol_A in the form of a teacher's lecture. However, this took place during the lesson after the museum visit (NMS_Tirol_A_NB: 11–2).

The Tiroler Landesmuseen and the Zeughaus were dealt with in much greater detail in the case of classes AHS_Tirol_A and AHS_Tirol_B. The pupils had to research this topic in groups, and then present their results to the class (AHS_Tirol_A_VB: 3–4; AHS_Tirol_B_VB: 3–4).

Dealing with the history of the museum is an important prerequisite for promoting subject-specific competences, especially de-construction competence. For a critical analysis, it is central to know when, under what circumstances, and with what objectives, an exhibition was created. As Holger Thünemann (2021: 255–7) demands, pupils should be made aware of the constructive character of exhibitions, especially as this is rarely done by museums themselves. However, this opportunity, which undoubtedly existed in many classes, was not used, which is not surprising, especially since it also became apparent in the study by Daniel Münch (2021: 348) that teachers do not focus on the constructed nature of exhibitions and their historical interpretations. Thus, the approach of most teachers observed, with regard to the history and location of the museum visited, was only oriented towards the promotion of historical factual knowledge (Kühberger, 2012: 35), and did not serve to promote the competences anchored in the curricula.

3.3 *Option 3: De-construction of the Museum Narrative*

Only in the case of classes AHS_Tirol_A and AHS_Tirol_B did the study of the history of the Tyrolean provincial museums, and especially of the armoury (described under option 2) support the approaches of a de-construction of the museum narrative in the lessons after the museum visits. In the lesson prior to the museum visit, the teacher asked the pupils to pay attention to the perspective from which the museum presentation was made (AHS_Tirol_A_VB: 21) or to write down two or three questions in advance (AHS_Tirol_B_VB: 17). In the lesson after the museum visit, there was a teacher-led debate. In particular, the class discussed what the museum emphasises, the perspective of the narrative, and who the target audience is likely to be.

In both classes it was clear that the pupils critically examined the historical representation presented in the museum based on the teacher's questions. Thus, it is clear that the teacher was aiming to promote historical methodical competence (de-construction competence), as defined in the Austrian curricula.

3.4 *Option 4: References to Sources from the Museum*

Another approach focused on sources from the museum. Sources from the museum were mentioned in some classes, and photos of them were shown in two classes. However, the treatment of these was very different in each case.

In the lesson after the museum visit, the teacher showed the AHS_Wien_D class two historical posters that were on display in the museum via Beamer, and then asked the pupils to describe the second one. After correctly naming one element of the poster (missiles), the teacher explained that it was a poster showing the armaments industry during the war, and that it showed women working in this male domain. This was followed by a question about where the men had been, which was answered briefly by the pupils (AHS_Wien_D_NB: 7). An analysis of the source was not attempted, and any reference to the sources from the museum ended after this short dialogue.

In the AHS_Tirol_C class, reference was also briefly made to sources from the museum. The teacher used flyers from the museum and asked the pupils to mark on them the exhibits or exhibition areas they had seen during their visit. The results were then compared in the class. There was no analysis of any of the recognised objects (AHS_Tirol_C_NB: 10, 12–3).

The same can be stated for the AHS_NÖ_A class, where the teacher only read out two quotations from the exhibition (AHS_NÖ_A_NB: 9) and used these as a starting point for a discussion about the tasks of museums (see option 1). A very short reference to sources from the museum, without a closer analysis, could also be observed in the NMS_Wien_A class. The teacher briefly mentioned three exhibits in connection with historical developments (see option 5) (NMS_Wien_A_NB: 9, 11, 13). In the cases described so far, as there was no analysis or interpretation of the sources from the museum, the references to them could not serve to promote competence. Contrary to current theories of history didactics (Barsch, 2021: 69), the objects in these classes were only used for visualisation.

In the AHS_Wien_A class, some exhibits were also briefly mentioned in the lesson after the visit to the Wien Museum. However, one object was dealt with in more detail, namely a painting⁴ that was also printed in the class textbook. The class talked

in depth about the different appearance of the painting in the exhibition and in the textbook, in which only a section is printed. It is clear that the fascination of originals results in particular from the fact that, as Kolb (2014: 120) emphasises, they often look different from what pupils know or imagine from textbooks. Thus, the AHS_Wien_A class pupils became familiar with the difference between originals and replicas, which is a possibility to promote historical subject matter competence.

Sources from the Römermuseum were discussed in much more detail in the lesson following the visit to the museum by the NMS_Wien_B class. At the beginning of the lesson, the pupils received a handout with 13 photos from the museum. The teacher asked the class to name what they could see, and what information could be deduced from each object. With the help of the individual objects, not only was detailed knowledge confirmed and new knowledge promoted, but the pupils were also supported in re-constructing history with the help of the sources (even though these were only available in the form of photographs). Additionally, by asking the pupils to critically question a re-construction drawing photographed in the museum, the teacher also tried to promote de-construction competence. The integration of the museum visit into history education in this class clearly served the goals formulated in the curriculum. Thus, it can be seen that references to sources from the museum can be used to promote subject-specific competences. In school practice, however, references without such a claim can also be observed.

3.5 *Option 5: References to Factual Knowledge*

Although the museum visits were used by the teachers to promote subject-specific competences in only a few classes, it cannot be concluded from this that the factual knowledge provided in the museum was of great importance in subsequent history education. Only in four classes was this directly mentioned.

This was partly combined with the naming of objects. Thus, in the lesson after the museum visit on the part of the AHS_Wien_A class, numerous exhibits were named, although these were mostly only used as a reminder to reinforce the factual knowledge presented in the museum. Such reinforcement was the central concern of the teacher.

Even greater importance was attached to the factual knowledge presented in the museum by the NMS_Wien_A class teacher. This teacher announced a test before the visit to the museum, which was to relate to the knowledge presented in the museum (NMS_Wien_A_VB: 5). These test questions could be answered both on the basis of the previous history lessons and with the help of the explanations of the guide in the museum. After the history test, the teacher repeated some historical details that had been discussed during the museum visit, thus referring to factual knowledge from the museum in various forms (NMS_Wien_A_NB: 9, 11, 13).

A repeating of factual knowledge relating to the museum also took place in the lessons after the museum visit of the AHS_Tirol_A and AHS_Tirol_B classes. The teacher achieved this partly through the use of a work task, involving the pupils interviewing each other, and thereby relating to what they remembered. In this way, all learners reproduced the main detailed knowledge that had been provided in the museum. In the following discussion, the teacher also aimed to repeat detailed knowledge (AHS_Wien_A_NB: 13; AHS_Wien_B_NB: 4, 6, 8).

The factual knowledge that had been provided in the course of the museum visit was thus attributed a value in itself in these cases. This approach corresponds to the topic-specific subject matter competence described by Michael Sauer (2006: 10), according to which the pupils should be aware of important events, developments and structures in the respective topic areas, the causes and effects of these events and processes, as well as topic-related dates and names. However, such a competence is not integrated in the Austrian curricula.

3.6 Option 6: Thematic Connections

In contrast to the study by Janette Griffin and David Symington (1997), a thematic connection between the museum visit and the history lessons before and after the museum visit, could be identified in all the history classes observed for the Historical Learning between School and Museum project. In the AHS_Wien_B and AHS_Wien_C classes, however, the same historical topic (the Cold War) was the only type of connection between the history education at school and the museum visit. This is the minimal version, which comes close to not embedding the museum visit.

4. Conclusion

In the eleven classes observed, the museum visits were integrated into school history education in very different ways. While in two classes (AHS_Wien_B, AHS_Wien_C) only a thematic connection between the history lessons and the museum visit could be found, in two other classes (AHS_Tirol_A, AHS_Tirol_B) five options of embedding could be identified. The six options of deliberate embedding of museum visits in history education at school by the teachers (i.e. not random references or casual mentions) that could be observed, occur independently of each other, and can basically be combined in any way. The presence of all six options in one class was not observed during the project, but would be possible in principle. This could also be done gradually over the course of several visits to museums with a class. In this way, during several visits, pupils could increasingly get to know museums as places where they can reconstruct history through objects, but which also offer narratives of history that can be de-constructed.

With regard to all options, however, it should be noted that the intensity was very different. For example, in the NMS_Tirol_A class, a very detailed study of the museum definition was observed, while in the NMS_Wien_B class only a brief explanation of the tasks undertaken by museums was provided by the teacher. It should also be noted that the individual options are not connected with any statements about the promotion or lack of promotion of subject-specific competences. For the evaluation of the embedding of the museum visit from the perspective of history didactics, it is not decisive that as many different options as possible were combined, but to what extent historical thinking is promoted. In this regard, it should be noted that the options 5 and 6 are not directly oriented towards the development of competencies in the sense of the Austrian curricula. In addition, with regard to options 2 and 4, the promoting of competences does not result directly from the process of embedding. The promoting of competences, at least on a basic level, results from options 1 and 3. If an explanation of the museum definition is given, historical subject matter competence can be achieved and, in the case of deconstructing the museum narrative, historical methodical competence. However, approaches to deconstructing the museum narrative could only be observed in two classes, which confirms that many teachers do not perceive the

museum as a form of historical culture, and therefore do not intend to deconstruct it (Marcus et al., 2012: 87), but rather primarily pursue other goals associated with museum visits and the embedding of these in history education at school. Museums in general, the history and location of the museum visited, and the exhibits on display, play a greater role for history teachers. The study's findings thus correspond with those on teachers' views (Marcus et al., 2012; Wojdon, 2018).

Notes

¹ The data collected were anonymised; the province and the type of school can be recognised due to the citation method. For example, AHS_Wien_A_VB stands for the observation protocol for the hour before the museum visit of the first AHS class from Vienna that was observed. Before the observations were carried out, permissions were received from the respective education directorates.

² This is Jasmin Fischer, who was a student assistant at the Department of subject-specific Education at the University of Innsbruck.

³ Following the International Council of Museums (ICOM) the museum definition is as follows: 'A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.' <https://icom.museum/en/resources/standards-guidelines/museum-definition/> (24.02.2021).

⁴ Franz Geffels: 'Die Entsatzschlacht Wiens (12 September 1683).'

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BOOK REVIEWS

BUCHREZENSIONEN

LES CRITIQUES DE LIVRES

CONTEXTUALIZING RECENT DEVELOPMENTS ON SOCIOLOGY OF THE CURRICULUM AND HISTORY DIDACTICS

Eleni Apostolidou
on Arthur Chapman (ed) *Knowing History in Schools*,
London: U.C.L. Press, 2021

The question of what appropriate knowledge for teaching history would be, is not new for history education, at least in England: as Counsell noted 'In particular, the question of "what knowledge?" has been alive and hotly debated since the 1970s with the advent of the Schools History Project and its challenge to the dominance of conventional, high political, Anglo-centric narratives' (Chapman, 2021: 217–218) On the other hand, what one would remember from those years, would not be 'powerful knowledge,' but Lee's (2005: 37) 'powerful ideas,' those ideas that had to be developed by students in a way that their understanding of the past would be enhanced. One of Lee's chapter's sections in *How Students Learn* has the title 'History that works,' implying the existence of ideas of different levels, more and less powerful.

The originality of this book edited by Chapman is that it combines theory from two different areas 'theory/sociology of the curriculum' and 'history didactics,' an aspect that is especially emphasized by Young in one of the book chapters. According to Young this book attempts to bridge the division between 'foundation [pedagogy] disciplines,' (history/sociology/philosophy of education and psychology) and the 'subject methods' or 'didactics' (p. 235). Additionally, the clash discussed by most of the contributors between '[content and disciplinary] knowledge' and 'generic skills' seems to have closely occupied the history educators in England because of the precarious place of history as a curriculum subject (p. 217). Chapman, in order to contextualize the contributions in the book, refers to the *Disciplined Minds* edition of the *Teaching History* (2007) journal, as opposed to the *Opening Minds' Curriculum* published by the Royal Society of Arts (<http://www.rsaopeningminds.org.uk/about-rsa-openingminds/>), editions that discuss different priorities in education: knowledge as disciplinary product against 'key

competences' that favor 'integrated ways of thinking about education and the curriculum.' We cannot help but referring to Husbands (1996: 13–29) who, in his book *What is History Teaching*, explained the role of historical evidence in school history teaching. He argued that not only does the use of evidence identify with the discipline of history itself, but also justifies the inclusion of history in the school curriculum as students are trained to discuss conflicting ideas, the latter being an essential competence in the contemporary world characterized by a surplus of information, and also conflicting information.

Chapman in his introduction (p. 6) presents the Young and Muller typology of curriculum: 'Future 1' entailing the complete separation of school subjects, the latter perceived as substantive/propositional knowledge, 'Future 2' curriculum entailing the different school subjects' integration, finally 'Future 3' curriculum entailing once more the subjects' separation, but this time based on subjects' individual foundation disciplines, and with rigid boundaries between disciplinary knowledge and everyday knowledge. The three types of curricula are called 'futures' since they represent suggestions for curriculum organization. Young and Muller obviously favor 'Future 3,' asserting 'that specialized knowledge is the axis around which school education should be organized' (p. 179). Young (p. 234–249), answering the volume's contributors' questions about 'powerful knowledge,' explains that the term means the 'structure of knowledge in the curriculum, [...] this powerful knowledge is specialized and takes the form of academic subjects in which knowledge is sequenced and selected' (p. 242).

Despite the fact that the typology above revolves around the separation and integration of school subjects, other questions are also implied related to the aims of school education and history teaching more specifically. Therefore, the volume's contributors, first, attempt to define the concept of 'powerful knowledge,' second, comment on implied school aims that the suggested three curricula involve: within the context of Dewey's philosophy of education, schools ought to focus not only on students' cognitive development, but also on students' capacity to coexist in harmony with all the others, in a way that school programs of studies ought to be 'democratic' (Tsafos, 2014: 175).¹ The demand for democracy in education entails connections between students' everyday life and school, also teaching strategies based on students' experiences. Integrated subjects of

studies facilitate the above connections, since ‘disciplines’ as applied in school, do not get separated from life outside school.

In the next section of this presentation, I will roughly refer to how each contributor to the volume comments as regards the ‘powerful knowledge’ definition and the appropriate school aims. Biesta’s three domains of purpose (Bertram, 2019: 139): ‘qualification’ (disciplinary content), ‘socialization’ (enculturation) and ‘subjectification’ (school knowledge for emancipation), could correlate to separate Young’s ‘futures’ and can equally function as a context for the presentation that follows.

Harris (p. 97–121) identifies the ‘powerful knowledge’ with the disciplinary approach in the curricula while he ‘complains’ that many history teachers in England, adopt a ‘conceptual’ rather than a ‘procedural’ approach in teaching, an approach that he calls ‘disciplinary-lit.’ According to Dennis (p. 219), ‘powerful knowledge’ would be the ‘recontextualization of disciplines,’ but he explains that ‘rather than being distinct, staged or separate choices, the three futures outlined by Young not only coexist to deliver a ‘history’ curriculum, but they also appear to be necessary’ (p. 222). Kitson concludes (p. 33) that according to Young and Moore, ‘powerful knowledge is also disciplinary knowledge, where understanding the ‘product’ of a discipline (that is ‘substantive’ knowledge) is integrated with an understanding of its methodology and epistemology.’ Whereas Kitson (p. 32–51) comments on the distinction between ‘substantive’ and ‘secondary’ history knowledge, Nordgen comments (p. 78) on the ‘qualification,’ ‘socialization’ and ‘subjectification’ aspects of a curriculum and he calls for a combination of the ‘intrinsic structure of the subject and the extrinsic objectives in the curriculum’ (cf. Kitson et al., 2011: 20 for reference to ‘extrinsic’ and ‘intrinsic’ aims of school history). Burns is concerned (p. 129–130) with the aspect of what ‘powerful knowledge’ would be for school teachers with no close links to academia, and with how the ‘gap’ between the ‘production of new knowledge’ processes of the academia and the ‘transmission’ processes followed at school, could be bridged. She seems to adopt Seixas’ assertion that whenever school teachers construct pedagogical content for history, they end up functioning like historians, but addressing a different audience. McCrory (p. 52–71) calls us to distance ourselves from simplifying distinctions between ‘knowledge as disciplinary product,’ and as ‘practice.’ She alleges that ‘there is no conceptual knowledge in which

no form of reasoning is in play' (p. 64) and insists that our reasoning is never absent when our representations are present, since our knowledge seems to correspond to 'inferential accounts' (p. 69), in ways in which the knowledge expressed ought not to be understood at face value.

Chapman and Georgiou combine (p. 72–96) educational-conceptual constructivism with disciplinary realism, and through a comparison between students' historical accounts in England and Cyprus, end up with a description of students' different 'levels' ideas about accounts and historical explanation, a description that is based on an analysis of students' preconceptions and misconceptions (p. 93). They therefore overcome the opposition framed by Young and Muller between social constructivism and social realism and the rigid boundaries between everyday experience and disciplinary knowledge, basing their intervention on existing tacit or stated students' initial ideas. On the other hand, Smith and Jackson (p. 152–176) opt for focusing on the epistemological preconditions of the concept of 'power knowledge' according to Young and Muller, which is 'social realism.' They explain that both social realism and social constructivism occupy with the question about whether disciplines really exist or they are 'constructed.' Like Chapman and Georgiou that differentiate between types of constructivism, Smith and Jackson differentiate between a [more] 'Traditional,' or a [more] 'Radical' social realism and they go on describing the implications of the above two stances as regards politics, pedagogy, and curriculum. Politically speaking the tension seems to lay on whether we aim at students' historical thinking within the current status quo, or to social change as the outcome of students' development of historical consciousness. As regards pedagogy, the tension seems to lay on what extent one takes under consideration the students' previous knowledge and experience and to what extent we keep close to students' experience. The first stance which marks a T.S.R. (traditional social realism) emphasizes an emphasis on historical thinking which seems to exclude everyday students' experience. The second, R.S.R. (radical social realism), seeks to include students' experiences in history lessons, also to create relevance as regards students' lives. As regards curriculum, the question is 'how students learn': inductively, generalizing from their experiences, or do they hold prototypes of substantive concepts originating in different cultures? The traditional realists seem to claim that the 'remedy' for the weak historical

thinking on the part of students is more facts. The more facts one knows the more cognitive moves one will make, in a way that historical accuracy might be approached. As Willingham, cited by Counsell, put it, 'the more the pertinent material is secure in memory, the more mental space is freed up for thinking' (p. 171).

Finally, an interesting case is described by Sheehan (p. 202–215): it is New Zealand and its cultural diversity, where Anglo-Saxon, colonial, elements coexist with remains of the indigenous cultures, more specifically the Maori one. The differences in the perception of time and place among various cultures have for years been the focus of the literature while at the same time, disciplines seem to develop around an exclusively western point of view. The concept of historical consciousness seems to be more flexible to interpret the above differentiated perceptions (Maarker, 2021). In New Zealand, starting from a 'Future 2' type of curriculum that focuses on the inclusion of local differentiations in culture to develop a culturally responsive pedagogy, and at the same time in the context of the 'powerful knowledge' theory, a tension is created between the needs of the country and the local society on one hand, and the 'powerful knowledge' prerequisite of distancing from everyday ideas on the other. The latter is a political problem and that takes us to the second section of this volume presentation which is about the political implications of the powerful knowledge theory of curriculum as regards social minorities and their differentiated experiences. The latter political implications are usually discussed within the context of the curriculum's different aims. Critique from that point of view was exercised in this volume by Dennis: there seems to be a debate about whether history education should focus only on knowledge, concepts and disciplinary processes 'skills,' and not additionally on values and attitudes. Disciplines, as presented by Young, seem to function in an ideal, certainly not political, partial, way, they appear to be almost 'objective.' Another point, equally referred to by Chapman and Georgiou, Sheehan and Nordgen, is the issue of everyday culture: while Chapman and Georgiou emphasize the teaching advantages of using students' prior ideas, and misunderstandings, Nordgen and Sheehan suggest the inclusion of themes/topics relevant to the several countries' problem, thus, Nordgen refers to migration, where Sheehan to colonization processes. The latter strategy reminds us of relevant strategies for the social studies area (Barton & Ho, 2021).

On the whole this book, edited by Chapman, and ‘orchestrating’ contributions on the ‘powerful knowledge’ theory of curriculum, and its implications for history teaching, gives an overview both in the area of recent developments in the theory/sociology of curriculum, also in history didactics. Because the coexistence of the latter academic areas seems to be novel, and starting from an extremely helpful introduction written by Chapman, nearly all the contributors seek to contextualize recent developments both in the past and the future. That would be the reason why, this volume could stand as an excellent textbook for both pedagogy and history didactics students and at the same time very interesting, and pleasant, reading.

Notes

¹ Cf. also <https://blog.cambridgeinternational.org/reflections-on-the-100th-year-anniversary-of-john-dewey-s-democracy-and-education/> (16.08.2021).

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HOW HAS WAR BEEN DESCRIBED IN TEXTBOOKS?

Hanna-Liis Kaarlõp

on Eugenia Roldan Vera and Eckhardt Fuchs (eds)

Textbooks and War: Historical and Multinational Perspectives,

Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018

Educational media research is a rapidly growing interdisciplinary field of studies, influencing educational knowledge and practices and determines through the fostered ideals, which ways of living are considered worth craving for. Whereas previous research regarding educational media has been mainly discipline specific, interested in best practices and processes related to learning and concentrated mainly on digital technologies, the authors of this volume stress that educational media research should be interdisciplinary, taking into consideration the socio-political and historical contexts of its formation and concentrate besides also exploring digital solutions to other forms of educational media. The Palgrave Studies in Educational Media series' third volume, *Textbooks and War: Historical and Multinational Perspectives*, brings together different scholars, shows educational media as a field influenced both by cultural and socio-political forces and concentrates on historiographical interests in history textbooks in the case of representations of wars.

The volume is divided into 13 chapters, consisting of an introductory chapter and 12 original research works from different parts of the world. Due to the limited scope of this review, it is not possible to discuss all the contributions in great detail so only the most important aspects of the discussions will be presented here. The introductory chapter explains the context of the research work by first giving a brief historical overview of the textbooks' production; it then provides an extensive literature review of previous studies, highlighting that the original contribution of this volume lies in its historical and comparative points of view.

In chapter 2, Jan Van Wiele, university lecturer at Tilburg University, explores how war and peace are depicted in Belgian textbooks from 1910–60, comparing them to the historiography of war under the government of King Leopold I (1831–65). His

findings indicate that textbook authors had a clear objective to instill patriotism in students' minds, allowing Weile to argue that textbooks of that time can be seen as 'patriotic paraphrases' of Belgian academic historiography.

In chapter 3, Luis Alarcon Meneses, Professor of History of Education and Jorge Conde Calderon, Professor of History in Universidad del Atlántico, Barranquilla, Columbia analyse the education of armed citizens in 19th-century Columbia using different military training documents, including military manuals and treatises. They first provide an overview of 19th-century Columbian history, including challenges the state was facing (a lack of education and dispersed national identity). Then, they show how different documents, such as military instructions, school textbooks, teaching and military instructions, and manuals aimed at integrating individuals into the nation as citizens, ready to protect the country. The principles emphasized in Columbian military and educational materials also helped to modernize the country.

In chapter 4, Eugenia Roldan Vera, Professor of History of Education at the Department of Educational Research, Centre for Research and Advanced Studies (CINVESTAV), in Mexico City, compares how the Mexican-American War (1846–48) had been represented in both countries' textbooks between the 1850s and 1890s. She claims that the narratives of the war were alike in both countries at the beginning of the 1850s, but then evolved exclusively. While in the United States the initial representation of two equal nations at war was replaced with a narrative of American exceptionalism, in Mexico the narrative incorporated new patriotic emotions and value judgments. Vera explains that those changes were due to the rise of nationalism, but stresses that they were also influenced by the nature of history writing: distance in time and a writer's experience influence representation. Vera argues that even today the textbook genre faces these challenges.

In chapter 5, Limin Bai, Senior Lecturer in Chinese Studies at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand offers a comparative analysis of the 1894–95 Sino-Japanese War, as represented in Japanese and Chinese textbooks from 1897–1907. Whereas the Japanese narrative emphasizes their triumph in the Sino-Japanese War and stressed the need for loyalty to the emperor, Chinese textbooks concentrated on their humiliating loss of the war and a need for reforms. Overall, the author shows that although the two

narratives of the war differed in tone, focus and language, both countries aimed to transmit official ideology and patriotic sentiments.

In chapter 6, Efstratios Vacharoglou, a postdoctoral researcher and a Professor of secondary education in Aristotle University in Thessaloniki, offers an analysis of Greek secondary school history textbooks on the First World War from 1960–2010. He differentiates between two periods, 1960–1978 and 1979–2010, claiming that the main aim of teaching history in Greece has been to support national identity. The narrative of the First World War in Greece's curriculum followed this aim until 2003, after which this perspective was replaced by multiple perspectives that aimed to help students understand 'the Other' in a multicultural society.

In chapter 7, Denise Bentreovato, research fellow at the Department of Humanities Education at the University of Pretoria, South Africa, and Imke Rath, research fellow at the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Brunswick, Germany, analyse the role of former African colonies in the First World War as represented in European and African textbooks since 1990. They apply critical analysis and postcolonial theories to show that, whereas European textbooks provide a Eurocentric account of the war, African textbooks contest this view. Bentreovato and Rath argue further that European textbooks execute 'epistemic violence' by giving European experiences an advantage and depicting colonized countries as marginalized actors. This is contrary to African textbooks, which aimed at decentring and recentring European historical narratives; they stress the importance of integrating multiple and global perspectives in a just and inclusive way.

In chapter 8, Rose Fine-Meyer, a Senior Lecturer in the Masters of Teaching program at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, explores how Canadian history textbooks from 1921–2001 have shaped collective memories about the First World War. She starts with an historical overview of how textbooks have promoted state citizenship in Canada and influenced collective memory of the war. She claims that although the nation-building approach of teaching history was replaced between 1970 and 80, there were still limited opportunities for students to deconstruct the official textbook narratives. Her analysis shows that the First World War narrative was represented one-sidedly; for example, the perspectives of women, working-class Canadians and war opponents

were missing, as well as the impact of the war on the environment and people, both short and long term. Existing diverse perspectives were often not part of the general framework of the textbooks, and certain groups such as women were still represented in traditional roles. In closing, Fine-Meyer calls for a reframing of the commemoration of war, especially its influence on national identity.

In chapter 9, Rita Hofstetter, a Professor of History of Education at the University of Geneva and Xavier Riondet, doctorate in education science from University of Lorraine, analyse how in the 1920s and 1930s international organisations, such as the League of Nations and its technical agencies, disseminated pacifists' international message, analysing the communication of political and diplomatic structures, practices and strategies. They claim that the main tendency was to circulate pacifistic values by building consensus and establishing collective norms, which influenced not only some textbooks in France and Germany but also debates about the production of historical knowledge. Hofstetter and Riondet conclude that these efforts during the interwar period paved the road for post-war Franco-German textbooks and have much in common with current discussion on transnational approaches to teaching history.

In chapter 10, Mariano Gonzales Delgado, a Lecturer in History of Education at the Universidad de La Laguna and Manuel Ferraz Lorenzo, a Senior Lecturer in Theory and History of Education at the Universidad de La Laguna, Spain, analyse how the Spanish Civil War, one of the most controversial topics in Spanish 20th century history, was depicted in Spanish history textbooks from 1970–90. They discovered that representations of the war had both continuities and changes that were influenced by historiographical, didactic and thematic modifications, most strongly by the need to democratize society. They stress that school textbooks were complex, being influenced by curriculum and education policy.

In chapter 11, Dorena Caroli, Associate Professor at the University of Macerata, Italy, analyses how wars (especially the Second World War) have been depicted in Soviet textbooks from the 1940s and the 1950s. She stresses that history education had a crucial role in shaping the identity of the Soviet citizens, aiming to foster national historical consciousness and provide political education; this, in turn, was intended to help understand what developments had led to the triumph of the working class in the October Revolution. Caroli's findings show two different narrative strategies: whereas in

the 1940s the main strategy was to speak about the Second World War from the official perspective, after Stalin's death in 1953, this changed when perspectives from eyewitnesses were added, culminating in 1965 when the memories of war veterans were recovered and used to emphasize the 'Great Victory.' This was a one-sided story, which left out the story of human sacrifice made in the name of socialism.

In Chapter 12, Sylwia Bobryk from the Centre for European and International Studies Research (CEISR), examines how the Second World War was presented in Polish history textbooks from the period of 1989–2015. The main narrative of the Second World War in Poland stressed the victimhood, innocence and heroism of the Polish people, overlooking the fact that some Poles were responsible for war crimes. This narrative gradually changed, but certain sensitive aspects were missing, such as the Polish war crimes against Germans or the mental and emotional consequences of the war. Today, textbook narratives are in a state of change, reflecting the ongoing debates over collective memory in Poland.

Chapter 13 is written by Tran Thi Vinh, Professor at the Hanoi National University of Education, Ha Hai Hoang, Lecturer at the Faculty of History, Hanoi National University of Education and Tran Duc Tuan, Associate Professor at the Hanoi National University of Education (HNUE), Vietnam, who explore the Vietnam War from 1954–75, as presented in Vietnamese and American textbooks. Although both countries presented the same reason for the war (to prevent communism from spreading in the region), the rest of the narratives differed. Vietnam's textbooks focused on their country's brave struggle against the United States, stressing their opponents' mistakes; the American narrative concentrated on the suffering and sacrifice of their soldiers.

In summary, the chapters work together to substantiate the claim that textbooks should be analysed according to their socio-political and historiographical contexts. Each chapter exemplifies how textbooks and educational media, especially on sensitive topics such as war, always touch upon collective identity and shared norms, values, and aspirations for the future, which are dynamic over time and by place. On a critical note, the chapters in the volume are organised in a chronological order but approach the matter with different levels of precision – chapters do not follow the same internal logic, and some are missing explanations about the

methodology, data sample, or methods of analysis that were applied, making it difficult for the reader to follow the results and repeat the same study. The volume would have further benefitted from contributions that use other sources for analysis (e.g., maps, pictures, cartoons), and from other qualitative and quantitative research methods besides qualitative text analysis. Despite these critical notes, the book offers new and valuable perspectives on how conflicts in different regions have been depicted in history textbooks.

‘TEACHING HISTORY, CELEBRATING NATIONALISM’

Joanna Wojdon

on Krzysztof Jaskulowski, Piotr Majewski and Adrianna Surmiak, *Teaching History, Celebrating Nationalism: School History Education in Poland*, London: Routledge, 2021

Krzysztof Jaskulowski was one of the first students of the history didactics class that I taught as part of my PhD program at the University of Wrocław back in the 1990s. He pursued his career as a scholar, not as a teacher, however, and focused on the studies of nationalism, in particular in its Polish and Welsh version, and then on contemporary migrations. This shift notwithstanding, his interest in school history education apparently did not vanish, as he participated in research projects focused on nationalist attitudes of Polish history teachers and, more broadly, on nationalism in Polish history education. Jaskulowski and his colleagues, first under the leadership of the late professor Wojciech Burszta of the SWPS University of Social Sciences and Humanities in Warsaw, have already published articles in English and a book in Polish dealing with those issues. Their findings confirmed that Polish history teachers as a rule are preoccupied with the following of official, state-approved, curricula and textbooks and are reluctant to reflect on the goals of history education and of their own activities. When pressed to focus on the goals, they usually mention the patriotic upbringing of the young generation that Jaskulowski, Majewski and Surmiak deconstruct as promoting Polish nationalism, even though the teachers avoid this latter term as it has rather derogatory connotations in the Polish language if compared to English.

Teaching History, Celebrating Nationalism builds on that previous research but this time the researchers’ goal was to confirm the prevailing nationalistic attitude of history teachers in Poland. The findings are based on semi-structured interviews with 186 history teachers from different types of schools located in different parts of Poland. As the authors explained, this method of gathering data allowed them ‘to explore the threads that we were interested in while at the same time giving teachers the opportunity to raise topics that are important to them’. The interviewees did not reveal their goal to

the interviewees, however. They asked neither about nationalism nor about the goals of history education (the questions that had puzzled the teachers so much in their earlier projects). Instead, they were inquiring about teachers' opinions concerning history textbooks – the topic that Polish teachers like to discuss and to complain about. The trick worked and, as expected, the interviewees provided sufficient data to deconstruct their professional beliefs, the vision of history they present to their students and in particular their understanding of 'Polishness' or the (Polish) nationalism, to use the authors' concept. This second part of research was done on the basis of the recordings of interviews upon their transcription, anonymization and open coding, performed independently and then compared.

The analytical framework of the book has been based on the ideas of history education developed by Peter Seixas and Sam Wineburg. Unsurprisingly, the majority of teachers subscribed to the 'history as memory' paradigm not necessarily being aware of its existence. Jaskulowski and the team further distinguished three levels of nationalism represented by the majority of the Polish teachers who 'consider the nationalist construction of reality to be self-evident and natural': 'The conformists accepted the core curriculum and the textbooks [where traditional 19th-century historiography built on nationalism occupies quite a prominent position] without much deliberation. The radical nationalists believed that the core curriculum and textbooks were not nationalist enough and stressed the need to strengthen the national message. The moderate nationalists did not deny the national educational goals but at the same time stressed the need to develop more universal and local identities'.

The fourth, rather small, group of teachers consisted of 'opponents' who rejected the nationalist model, and the 'naïve realist epistemology' of history. Their intention was to teach history as a discipline, not as an instrument of nation-building, and thus, they could be regarded as proponents of Seixas' 'disciplinary' model.

The authors addressed in particular the issues of colonialism and non-European world, national minorities in Poland, gender issues and the representations of the lower classes of society in Polish history education. They confronted each previously identified cohort of teachers with each of those issues, pointing out to the similarities and differences in various teachers' approaches. Without going into too much detail, it can be said that colonialism is generally marginalized, as 'there is a widespread belief in Poland that the

problem of colonialism and racism does not concern this country' as 'Poland did not participate in the European colonial project.' So is, but to a bit lesser extent, the issue of national and ethnic minorities. As the authors write, 'their presence was used instrumentally to show the tolerance of the Polish nation, especially in modern times, in accordance with the myth of a state without stakes dominating the Polish collective memory', and 'to demonstrate the differences between 'us' and 'them'', with minorities always presented as outsiders or guests of the dominant (Polish) nation.

The researchers provide examples of open hostility towards the Roma expressed by the teachers interviewed, but also cases of teachers (especially coming from the borderland Silesia region) who were not satisfied with the Warsaw-centric, nation-oriented history education and instead opted for more emphasis, for example, a more nuanced and multifaceted presentation of Polish-German relations and German influences on Polish culture. Most teachers notice that women are underrepresented in textbook narratives but hardly do anything to overcome this shortcoming, especially that they are not sure how they could effectively do it. Social issues remain on the margins of teachers' interest, as the history taught at Polish schools is mostly the political history of 'facts' rather than of processes. It can be attributed to the legacy of the rejection of communist ideology, which emphasized the class struggle, and to the predominant noblemen's perspective dominating over Polish historiography, followed by school history both in urban and rural areas. The following citation illustrates how the national paradigm dominates over social issues: 'When asked about class conflict, a teacher stated that the nobility oppressed peasants and misused its power, which delayed the peasants' acquisition of national awareness'.

Among other findings presented in the book are those that: (1) The teachers' 'lack of distance to national representations of the past' is reflected, among others, in referring to Poland and the Poles in the past as 'we', 'us' 'our'. (2) The development of the cause-and-consequence aspect of historical thinking is limited by many Polish teachers to 'a linear cause-and-effect sequence, which leads from the medieval patrimony of [duke] Mieszko I to the contemporary Polish nation state' that pupils are supposed to learn by heart as 'the foundation of their national identity' and 'moral orientation in the world'. (3) Many teachers complained about the lack of time and the

pressure to prepare pupils for their final exams and regarded it as the main obstacle to introducing discussions on controversial issues (that they generally avoided). (4) Lack of time was also used as an excuse for focusing predominantly on the history of Poland, not the wider world. Arguments were also raised to suggest that Polish history was more important for the upbringing of the young Poles and that the Poles know more about the history of Western Europe or America than the pupils from those countries do about Poland.

I cannot say that the book is revealing or that it has surprised me, but this does not make the research irrelevant or wrong. On the contrary, the publication provides empirical, research-based confirmation of what was previously coming from anecdotal evidence and has already been addressed, also in my own papers and recommendations. Apparently, they were not effective enough to change the dominant teachers' beliefs. Perhaps, here, too, more research-based and indirect strategies need to be developed which I sincerely hope for. The book by Jaskulowski, Majewski and Surmiak provides a solid diagnosis and can serve as a good starting point for such projects, but it can be of interest also to scholars from other countries, serving as a point of reference for comparative studies, as an inspiration for further research or for reflections on the condition of history education, including its role and forms, goals and methods.

TEACHING AND LEARNING HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

Boitumelo Moreeng

on Elize van Eeden and Pieter Warnich (eds)

*Teaching and Learning History and Geography
in the South African Classroom*, Pretoria: Van Schaik, 2018

This anthology, on the teaching and learning of history and geography, addresses different key issues that affect and inform the teaching, learning and assessment of both history and geography. Though this is written from a South African context, the content thereof can easily impact and make sense to any specialist of history and geography education anywhere else in the world. This is because it addresses current issues affecting the teaching of social sciences, history and geography globally.

The book is divided into two sections: section A for history and section B for geography. For the purposes of this review, a discussion of the chapters that are not part of the bigger themes is presented first, followed by the thematic presentation of the common themes and issues from both the history and geography sections.

In the preface, the editors, Elize van Eeden and Pieter Warnich, identify key debates and ideas that have been preoccupying history, geography and social sciences education researchers in the past century, by providing a concise presentation of the forums, conferences and publications held in the field. From this, one begins to appreciate the efforts and strides that have been made thus far.

In Chapter 1, Rob Siebörger introduces the readers to the social sciences Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS). This is very important, especially within the context of South Africa where history and geography forms part of social science in the General and Training Band (GET) of schooling. Rob provides a brief history of how South African schooling curriculum has evolved over time to the current one. Most importantly, he focuses on the impact of such changes on the teaching and learning of history and geography. The nature and structure of both subjects in the post-apartheid South Africa also receives attention. This chapter has succeeded in laying the foundation for the subsequent chapters as they all refer to the contents of the CAPS document.

In Chapter 2, Elize van Eeden provides a reflection on the writing and teaching of history and geography in South Africa; from the precolonial, colonial, post-colonial and the current post-apartheid era. She highlights and engages thoroughly with some of the key issues from the different periods. Barry Firth in Chapter 3 takes a look at the textbooks and history teaching. He provides a glimpse of global perspectives, views and the role of textbooks in the teaching and learning of history. The value of, and the problematic blind spots in, the use of textbooks are also discussed. The author goes further to present different discourses, frameworks and philosophical underpinnings impacting on history textbooks. Barry ends by commenting on the use of the textbook as a tool to shape history teachers' practice, curriculum interpretation, and curriculum implementation.

A theme that deals with contextual knowledge is covered in chapters 4, 17 and 18. The authors successfully demonstrate how the CAPS document also foregrounds the need to contextualise knowledge. The focus in these chapters is on the use and value of contextualising knowledge. Elize van Eeden starts the discussion by conscientising the reader on the vague nature of the concept of local history which, in turn, can be global. The author presents local history as a powerful mechanism that can assist in addressing key historical concepts and historical skills. In chapter 17, Johan Dreyer addresses the issue of contextual knowledge through the use of Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) and Africanisation of the content and approaches to teaching. Care is taken to illustrate some valuable practices and knowledge systems from the past, that can add value to the current way in which meaning is created during the geography lessons. The teacher's ability to embrace other forms of knowing is emphasised and projected as a valuable asset in ensuring that the use of IKS, and the move towards a more African-centred approach to teaching, learning, assessment and meaning making, is realised. Flip Louw's chapter on fieldwork excursions follows a practical approach to taking teaching out of the classroom, and to engaging with the context; to bring to life some of the key geographical, academic, physical and social skills.

The other visible theme that runs across Johan Wassermann, Di Wilmont, Elize van Eeden and Siobhan Glenville-Miller's chapters is the role of issue-based teaching and learning in history and geography. These four chapters help the reader to develop a deeper

understanding and conceptualisation of issues-based teaching and learning. Wassermann exposes the fluidity of the concept 'controversial issues'; the value of teaching controversial issues; and possible strategies, knowledge base and values needed to teach controversial issues more meaningfully. Van Eeden demonstrates how audio-visual sources can be used to teach controversial issues by providing practical steps to consider when dealing with such issues. She highlights the opportunities provided by such sources in addressing critical historical skills and historical concepts, which need to be addressed during the teaching and learning process. Glenville-Miller's chapter moves beyond a focus on academic skills to the role of emotions in class. The author takes the reader through a differentiation of the concepts such as empathy, emotive empathy, historical empathy, and sympathy. This is important as it allows the reader to understand these concepts, their closeness and interrelatedness. Most specifically, the author focuses the attention of the reader on the ways in which emotions can shape how people make sense of what is taught to them. How it helps to shape the ways in which learners make sense of the past. Teachers are also made aware of the need to also check their emotions and relationship with the content that they are teaching, as this might also affect their learners. It is therefore, important for teachers to always be cognisant of the affective side and strive towards creating a warm and welcoming classroom. On this theme, Di Wilmont raises awareness of the link between the present-day issues on the environment, that present a challenge on how they need to be addressed and taught in class. The value of being aware of the existence and presence of issues is emphasised. The author goes further to recommend possible strategies that can be used to address the required knowledge, competencies, and skills.

The next theme emanating from the different chapters in this book is one that focuses on how teaching and learning in history and geography can be organised and facilitated. This is covered in chapters 9, 10 and 20. Karren Horn starts the discussion under this theme by focusing on, and clarifying concepts such as historical thinking, historical context, and historical significance. Karren maintains that an inquiry-based approach to teaching and learning is the most appropriate one, and caters for the development of historical knowledge and historical skills. She is of the opinion that the inquiry-based approach enables teachers and learners to

interrogate historical sources and the information contained therein, to make sense of the past. Skills such as thinking chronologically, analysis, making decisions and reaching conclusions about the past, amongst others, are easily addressed using inquiry approach. This stance seems to be supported by the chapter by Byron Bunt in Chapter 10 which emphasises the need to focus on learners' cognitive development when dealing with the past. His emphasis is clearly on the use of skills-based approach to the teaching of history. Practical examples are provided using Bloom's taxonomy, the thinking maps and De Bono's thinking hats. The focus of the three frameworks is on how to develop learners' cognitive abilities and, in turn, address the aims and skills required for history, as encapsulated in the CAPS document. This theme of teaching and learning is then wrapped up by Aubrey Golightly's focus on the teaching and learning styles and strategies. In this chapter, teachers are taken through the different ways of facilitating lessons, the factors that need to be considered in choosing a specific style or strategy, and different and practical examples of how they can be used in the classroom. The author emphasises the need to have an effective teaching and learning environment.

The other theme evident in this book is one that focuses on ICT to enhance the teaching and learning process. Rika Odendaal-Kroon in chapter 9, starts by making teachers aware that even though ICT plays a very important role and adds significant value to the teaching and learning process, it must not be thought as something that replaces the teacher. This reaffirms the important role that teachers play and how they need to view ICT as a tool to assist them achieve the lesson goals. The value of blended learning and online teaching in addressing and developing the needs of the 21 century learners. The author also goes further to address the contextual factors that may impact on the use of ICT in the teaching of history. These include availability of resources, access to resources, knowledge on how to use the resources amongst other things. The chapter concludes with some practical suggestions and useful tips on the use of ICT in the classroom. In Chapter 19, Christo van der Westhuizen and Elfrieda Fleischmann focus on GIS, GPS, google earth and google maps as a way of demonstrating the use and impact of ICT on the teaching of geography. Unlike in history where the use of ICT is presented as a choice, in geography there are specific topics that require exposure to, and the use of ICT. Geography teachers are therefore, expected to

display understanding of ICT and its impact on the teaching and learning process. Geography teachers must develop learners' spatial and geo-spatial thinking. The chapter does well in tracing the development and use of GIS in the classroom, and the subsequent challenges of attempting to integrate GIS in geography education.

Chapters 12 and 21 focus on the theme of assessment. In both chapters, Warnich and Dreyer address the conceptualisation of assessment and what it means for both history and geography. Different philosophies and stereotypes influencing how assessment should be understood and implemented are also presented. Both chapters also go into detail about the different forms and types of assessment, assessment tools and instruments, as well as values and principles of assessment. The chapters provide practical examples of how assessment can be used in the history and geography classrooms.

Nomanesi Madikizela- Madiya, Joan Fairhurst, Luiza de Sousa and Schalk Raath affirm the need and place of geography in the school curriculum at all levels. Madikizela-Madiya goes further to address the issue of inclusive education and what that means for the teaching of geography. The concepts of space, time and place are used metaphorically to allude to their function regarding geography teaching. The concepts of space and place are taken further by Fairhurst as they relate to mapping and maps. The author goes in depth in addressing the map and mapping skills. Readers are taken through maps, their characteristics, and underlying skills required and those that can be developed through engaging with maps. Class application on how to deal with maps and to address mapping skills in the classroom is presented at the end.

De Sousa's chapter focuses on social sciences and education for sustainable development. The author goes into great length on the issue of sustainable development. The reasons and value of addressing and achieving the sustainable development goals is addressed together with the role that education needs to play in achieving the sustainable development goals. The chapter also addresses the role that education needs to play in achieving the set goals. De Sousa further suggests transformative learning and whole school approach as the most appropriate approaches to classroom teaching that would assist in achieving the Sustainable Development Goals.

This book makes a very important contribution to the field of history and geography didactics. The contributors have raised important issues that illuminate the current issues and possibilities for future research.

HISTORY IN AFRICAN SCHOOLS

Joshua Chakawa

on Denise Bentrovato and Johan Wassermann (eds)

Teaching History in Schools: Experiences from Africa and Beyond,

Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2021

The book focuses on history education from an ant-colonial and decolonial perspective. While it is impossible to cover the whole continent on a case-by-case study within a single volume, the book represents critical elements of what selected African countries have gone through in curriculum design and teaching controversial and sensitive topics in history. Given the extensive literature that covers studies from many countries across the world, this book is a masterpiece for students, teachers, lecturers and general readers concerned with history education in Africa and beyond the continent. The editors of the book highlighted what other history books and journals on history education have focused on so far. This was intended to enable readers to appreciate and understand the direction which this book took. Themes which are raised in the reviewed books and journals indicated a bias towards South Africa. That scenario cannot be surprising given the leading role that the country has played in the promotion of history education which by the direction it has taken can be considered as a new dispensation. While South Africa had a decent coverage, the book also seeks to address the general absence of Africa in books dealing with history education.

There is an extensive lack of books and journals that deal specifically with history education focusing on Africa. Rather, the literature available is mainly from Western countries. So far, only one journal housed in South Africa, *Yesterday & Today* has made Africa the major focus. Most of the articles in the volumes have had a South African bias. The strength of the book lies in the fact that the authors are from the African continent and outside. Contributors from beyond South Africa hail from Belgium, Rwanda, Malawi, Cameroon United Kingdom and Canada. South Africa is responsible for a fair share of 6 chapters out of the 10 in this book. The scenario emanates from the principal role which academics and teachers in that country have played in spearheading history education. All the authors in this

volume by virtue of their experiences and qualifications are worth the issues that that have invested their time in researching on.

The greatest lack in teachers training institutions across Africa is the shortage of literature grounded in African experiences. Theories which are used derive from Western experiences. By presenting data deriving from learners and teachers in Africa, this book is a representation of epistemic disobedience and decoloniality. It does so by deriving constructive data from people understood as non-beings under the colonial order. Through analyzing what goes on in their history classes, the book promotes what were previously not considered as subjects worth studying. That way, African history education has been moved from the periphery to the center. There is no doubt that institutions focusing on training history teachers should read this book in order to have a deeper understanding of issues involved in teaching history from primary schools to university.

The importance of the book lies in the themes that it covers relating to teaching history in African schools. These include the history curriculum, policy and representation of people with disabilities, post-colonial Africa as represented in history textbooks and silences in history education. Further, the book discusses challenges of teaching problematic or controversial topics in history. Some of the problem topics highlighted include Majimaji war in Tanzania, apartheid in South Africa and the genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda. A theme by theme analysis of the issues raised in this book will further highlight its value to history education.

Chapter 1 focuses on history curriculum documents with special reference to post- colonial Kenya, Rwanda, South Africa and Zimbabwe. It is argued in this chapter that knowledge in the curriculum is guided by logic which is internal to the discipline and ideological beliefs about the role of history. Knowledge considered as important from this perspective must be of national significance within the interests of preserving collective memory. Kenya and Zimbabwe thus had to change their history syllabi to align it with the new historical thinking after the attainment of independence. South Africa and Rwanda had a bumpy transition. The former got its independence in 1994 after decades of apartheid while Rwanda underwent genocide against the Tutsi minority in the same year. South Africa and Rwanda had a strong history of racism and ethnic tensions respectively. Experiences of these countries and many more

are important to any curriculum developer and more importantly for the teacher who actions the curriculum. The history of the 2 countries therefore demands intensive training of history teachers in sensitive topics which need careful handling. Rwanda is still traumatized by genocide while different races in South Africa understand apartheid differently.

Chapter 2 deals with the topic of people with disabilities (PWD) in as far as they are depicted in Malawi Junior School textbooks. This historical area of study is relatively new given that disability was hardly an area of special focus in schools. Since history is the mother of all disciplines, there is little room to doubt that PWD need special attention in historical narrations. As these people have always been part and parcel of society, it is vital to include them in historical texts clearly articulating their successes despite disability. This chapter which had a special focus on Malawi found out that none of the Junior School history textbooks included images of PWDs. Although there were topics where PWDs were mentioned for contributing to history, no ordinary characters are mentioned and neither are their images included. This is unfortunate because today, history also heavily focuses on the day to day lives of none title holders. The chapter thus highlights that discussing PWDs in the history class helps to increase awareness. In as much as policy incorporates PWDs for a variety of reasons, it is natural that history textbooks should do the same. Therefore, the chapter provides for textbook writers and producers to gauge the levels to which they include PWDs.

In chapter 3, Tamuka Maposa unravels the discourse used in discussing postcolonial Africa using the special focus of South African history textbooks. The representation of post-colonial Africa in South African textbooks provides a lens through which the whole subject of post colony can be understood country by country. History textbooks in South Africa depict the experience of Africa generally and South Africa in particular negatively. From a negative point of view, Africa is depicted as deficient and incapacitated. Positively, the continent is portrayed as having agency and capacity to achieve. Maposa uses discourse analysis of statements in school textbooks. Phrases and terms reflecting a negative portrayal include strife, unrest, civil wars, corruption, economic regression and epidemics. Positive references of Africa are very few from the 4 textbooks which were carefully chosen by Maposa for analysis. One text makes no positive reference of Africa at all. Negative

connotations are generalized across the continent while positives are specific to countries such as South Africa. The chapter by Maposa highlights that linguistic and visual choices in textbooks have a bearing on the consciousness of textbook users. By extension learners will tend to view Africa from a negative point of view through the texts which they use in schools. It is therefore important for textbook writers and producers to reflect on the image of Africa which they want learners to have.

Cameroon today continues to be plagued by remnants of the re-unification of British and French Cameroons in 1961 as presented here by Fru and Wassermann. British Cameroon was divided into northern and southern Cameroons. The northern part opted for unification with Nigeria and is not a subject of discussion here. The southern part takes a center stage because it re-united with French Cameroon and today it is part and parcel of Cameroon. In order to accommodate Anglophone and Francophone populations today, the country has 2 subsystems of education. The different systems of education are a source of divisions in Cameroon. The textbook analyzed by the 2 authors, *Decolonization and Problems of Independent Africa*, does not pay much attention to the 1961 re-unification yet it is very important historical phase in Cameroon. It is this event which created Cameroon as a nation state. This chapter is therefore about silences in history. Certain topics may be deliberately excised or may receive very little attention in writings. The book on *Decolonization and Problems of Independent Africa* was written by French authors and produced in France. It is clear that the authors wrote the book from their own locus of enunciation which emphasizes the role of France. As such while unification with the British South was important, the authors therefore deliberately decided not to emphasize on it. Re-unification was silenced in the book in order to prevent learners from coming to terms with the legacy and complexities of the event. This suggests that textbooks also serve a political agenda.

In chapter 5, focus is on challenges of teaching Majimaji war in contemporary Tanzania. Majimaji is a very important war in understanding resistance to the imposition of colonial rule. The way it is taught is a determinant of national memory. In this case, Majimaji is taught to Form 3 learners. The chapter identifies gaps and challenges in textbooks concerning the teaching of the topic. Names are not spelt correctly and places where important events took place

are wrongly identified. The books do not differentiate between the Majimaji war and resistance. Furthermore, community knowledge of the war is not included because of fear that the official narration of the war may be distorted by different local interpretations. Important figures who declared war on the Germans such as Mandai and Mcheka are not mentioned. Majimaji is not well-taught partly because teachers do not make effective use of research output.

Another challenging topic explored by Bentrovato and Buhigiro is genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda. In Rwanda, there is a shortage of material that can be used to teach the genocide. The classroom is presented here as a complex emotional arena when sensitive topics such as genocide are being taught. Genocide is taught as a single narrative in the name of national unity. However, the challenge is that teachers are sometimes not fully prepared to deal with situations they may encounter among learners when they teach genocide. The topic still traumatizes learners. Teachers are not exceptional as they testified a variety of fears when teaching genocide. Among the learners, there was a feeling of guilty arising among the Hutu and trauma among the Tutsi minority. Teaching genocide in Rwanda remains problematic. It does not include conventional participatory approaches as teachers may fail to handle reaction of students. Bentrovato and Buhigiro are throwing a challenge on the need for more research on how best the genocide can be taught in schools without negatively impacting on history teachers and learners.

Chapters 7 to 9 focus on apartheid which remains a complex and challenging topic to teach in schools. Nussey answers important questions about teaching controversial South African recent past using oral history. The most challenging of the topics is apartheid which is a source of shame to white students and humiliation to blacks. Among other races such as Indians and coloureds, it appears that there is still need for more research. Information on perspectives on apartheid was collected by teachers. This is a limitation which the author acknowledged. Although highly insightful, the content could have been improved by inclusion of direct responses from learners. Unlike genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda, in teaching apartheid, learners can actively participate. In teaching apartheid as a controversial topic using oral history, the teacher can play a number of roles such as risk-taker, container, avoider and enabler. Depending on issues to be deliberated upon, the choice is up to the teacher to deploy appropriate teaching strategies. In chapter 8, Whitburn and

Mohamud use a school in South Africa and another in London to explore challenges of teaching apartheid to a history class. The 2 authors outlined the role of different races towards ending apartheid thereby challenging preconceived perceptions that apartheid was exclusively the white race against blacks. Like chapter 7, Whitburn and Mohamud use the decolonial approach to challenge the Manichean conception of history which created a binary between races.

The 9th chapter looks closely at the teaching South African apartheid history through the lens of human rights in the context of a Quebec high school in Canada. Owing to controversies surrounding apartheid, teachers prefer to teach both sides of it in order to minimize conflict and emotions. When taught to a school in Canada which is thousands of miles from South Africa, apartheid does not create as much controversy. In this study, apartheid is taught as part of global history. The major reason is to inculcate notions of human rights as directed by the United Nations. In many countries of the world today, human rights are taught so that the world can have better future generations who respect the rights of others. Apartheid has thus become a key subject to understanding the world.

The book is both anti-colonial and decolonial. It brings about new ways of understanding complexities which are associated with teaching controversial topics in schools. The most prominent in this work appeared to be apartheid and genocide. The editors have brought to the fore a key volume to all historians generally and to history educationists in particular. Owing to the absence of well-researched books like this, one would find that there is very little difference at tertiary institutions between students specializing in history and those doing history education. This book makes the delineation very clear. Furthermore, all the chapters in this book are theoretically grounded indicating that the editors did thorough work towards better understanding of phenomena under investigation. For all the chapters in this book, there is overwhelming evidence to prove that fieldwork was diligently undertaken. Therefore, conclusions drawn by each author and the editors shows that the work is empirical. The greatest strength of the book is that it is based largely on African experiences and challenging topics. It is therefore imperative for this book to be on the shelf of everyone interested in history education.

ABSTRACTS
ZUSAMENFASSUNGEN
RÉSUMÉS

Denise Bentrovato

The everyday ellipsis in the edifice: The truncation of a unifying national narrative covering and revealing silenced realities in history education in post-independence Burundi

This article provides a distinct, Global South-focused perspective on the challenges of history teaching as a tool for nation-building as experienced in post-colonial African settings. Its analysis of a widely used teacher's guide on Burundian history, issued in the 1980s, illuminates the clash between an official narrative with a unifying thrust and intent, institutionalised through formal education, and a divisive reality involving identity-based violence. The guide enacts a selective truncation of the nation's history; while celebrating the 'sacred monarchy' of the distant past and the struggle for independence, it omits more recent events and silences the 'ethnic' question. Its evocation of the grand and monolithic past, read alongside the 'hidden curriculum' of everyday division and violence characterising life in post-independence Burundi, highlights the potential gaps and flaws in official history education faced with traumatic experiential realities.

Dieser Artikel bietet eine eigene, auf den Globalen Süden fokussierte Perspektive auf die Herausforderungen des Geschichtsunterrichts als Instrument der Nationenbildung, wie sie in postkolonialen afrikanischen Kontexten erlebt werden. Die Analyse eines weitverbreiteten Lehrerhandbuchs zur burundischen Geschichte, das in den 1980er-Jahren herausgegeben wurde, beleuchtet den Konflikt zwischen einem offiziellen Narrativ mit einer vereinheitlichenden Stoßrichtung und Absicht, institutionalisiert durch formale Bildung, und einer spaltenden Realität, die identitätsbasierte Gewalt beinhaltet. Der Leitfaden stellt eine selektive Verkürzung der Geschichte des Landes dar. Während die ‚heilige Monarchie‘ der fernen Vergangenheit und der Kampf um die Unabhängigkeit gefeiert werden, werden jüngere Ereignisse ausgelassen und die ‚ethnische‘ Frage totgeschwiegen. Die Beschönigung der großen und monolithischen Vergangenheit neben dem impliziten ‚heimlichen Lehrplan‘ der alltäglichen Teilung und Gewalt, die das Leben in Burundi nach der Unabhängigkeit charakterisieren, zeigt die potenziellen Lücken und Fehler im offiziellen Geschichtsunterricht angesichts der Realität traumatischer Erfahrungen.

Cet article offre une perspective distincte, centrée sur le Sud, sur les défis de l'enseignement de l'histoire en tant qu'outil de construction de la nation, tels qu'ils sont vécus dans les contextes africains postcoloniaux. Son analyse d'un guide de l'enseignant largement utilisé sur l'histoire du Burundi, publié dans les années 1980, met en lumière le conflit entre un récit officiel avec un élan et une intention unificateurs, institutionnalisés par l'éducation formelle, et une réalité de division impliquant une violence basée sur l'identité. Le guide opère une troncature sélective de l'histoire de la nation. Tout en célébrant la « monarchie sacrée » d'un passé lointain et la lutte

pour l'indépendance, il omet les événements plus récents et tait la question « ethnique ». Son évocation d'un passé grandiose et monolithique, confrontée au « contenu caché » de la division et de la violence quotidiennes qui caractérisent la vie au Burundi après son indépendance, met en lumière les lacunes et les défauts potentiels de l'enseignement officiel de l'histoire face à des réalités expérientielles traumatisantes.

Andrea Brait

Embedding museum visits in school history education

In the history didactic literature, museums are assumed to be valuable places of learning. Museum visits should be conceived of as components of a teaching unit, thus requiring preparation and follow-up. Based on these assumptions, the article examines the extent to which museum visits are embedded in school history education. The six options of embedding described are based on the observation of museum visits on the part of eleven Austrian high school classes, as well as of the history lessons before and after such visits. These showed that the museum visits were very differently embedded in school history education in the different classes. Furthermore, it can be noted that not all options are bound to the promotion of subject-specific competences.

In der geschichtsdidaktischen Literatur wird davon ausgegangen, dass Museen wertvolle Lernorte darstellen. Museumsbesuche sollten als Bestandteile einer Unterrichtseinheit konzipiert werden, erfordern also eine Vor- und eine Nachbereitung. Von diesen Annahmen ausgehend, wird im Beitrag untersucht, inwiefern Museumsbesuche in den schulischen Geschichtsunterricht eingebettet werden. Die sechs vorgestellten Einbettungsformen basieren auf Beobachtungen von Museumsbesuchen von elf österreichischen Schulklassen der Sekundarstufe sowie der Geschichtsstunden vor und nach diesen Besuchen. Diese zeigten, dass die Museumsbesuche sehr unterschiedlich stark in den schulischen Geschichtsunterricht eingebunden waren. Außerdem ist festzustellen, dass nicht mit allen Formen eine Förderung von fachspezifischen Kompetenzen verbunden ist.

Dans la littérature sur la didactique de l'histoire, les musées sont considérés comme des lieux d'apprentissage précieux. Les visites de musées doivent être conçues comme des composantes d'une unité d'enseignement, nécessitant donc une préparation et un suivi. Sur la base de ces hypothèses, l'article examine dans quelle mesure les visites de musées sont intégrées dans les cours d'histoire à l'école. Les six options d'intégration présentées sont basées sur l'observation de visites de musées de onze classes de lycées autrichiens, ainsi que des leçons d'histoire avant et après celles-ci. Ces observations ont montré que selon les classes, les visites de musées étaient intégrées de manière très différente dans les cours d'histoire. En outre, on peut noter que toutes les options ne sont pas associées à la promotion de compétences spécifiques à une matière.

Ágnes Fischer-Dárdai and József Kaposi**Changing history teaching in Hungary (1990–2010): Trends, mosaics, patterns**

The study aims at presenting the educational policy and pedagogical history framework of history teaching in the last thirty years. It also presents the theoretical and practical characteristics and milestones of the transformation of learning–teaching methodology in Hungary. The purpose of this article is to inform the domestic and international professional public about the innovations and changes affecting history teaching in recent decades thereby strengthening the legitimacy of the history didactics profession. In summary, the authors conclude that there were significant changes in central curricula, exam requirements and textbooks over the past thirty years. Key positive changes were the following: the ideological hegemony of Marxist history teaching has vanished, competence development has become the focus of teaching and learning, the contents have been modernized. The significance of the Modern Ages has increased and new values (e.g. democracy) have been defined. The plural, multiperspective, source- and activity-based approach has appeared in regulators and textbooks, the spread of learner-centered learning-teaching strategies and intelligent use of ICT tools has also started. A new approach has been established in higher education as well, however, it is a hindrance that the acceptance of history didactics as an independent field of science is still pending in both the academic and higher education spheres. Against the fortunate processes the account of the procedures is controversial, since the positive changes provided only partial results and have not brought widespread and extensive reform of history teaching.

Die Studie zielt darauf ab, den bildungspolitischen und pädagogischen Rahmen des Geschichtsunterrichts in den letzten dreißig Jahren darzustellen. Außerdem werden die theoretischen und praktischen Merkmale und Meilensteine des Wandels der Lern- und Lehrmethode in Ungarn vorgestellt. Ziel dieses Artikels ist es, die in- und ausländische Fachöffentlichkeit über die Neuerungen und Veränderungen des Geschichtsunterrichts in den letzten Jahrzehnten zu informieren und damit die Legitimation des geschichtsdidaktischen Berufsstandes zu stärken. Zusammenfassend kommen die Autoren zum Schluss, dass es in den letzten dreißig Jahren bedeutende Veränderungen in den zentralen Lehrplänen, den Prüfungsanforderungen und Lehrbüchern gegeben hat. Die wichtigsten positiven Veränderungen waren die folgenden: Die ideologische Hegemonie des marxistischen Geschichtsunterrichts ist verschwunden, die Kompetenzentwicklung ist in den Mittelpunkt des Lehrens und Lernens gerückt, die Inhalte wurden modernisiert. Die Bedeutung der Neuzeit hat zugenommen und neue Werte (z.B. die Demokratie) wurden definiert. Der pluralistische, multiperspektivische, quellen- und handlungsorientierte Ansatz hat in den Regelwerken und Lehrbüchern Einzug gehalten, die Verbreitung von auf die Lernenden ausgerichteten Lern- und Lehrstrategien und der intelligente Einsatz von Informations- und Kommunikationstechnologien hat ebenfalls begonnen. Ein neuer Ansatz hat sich auch in der Hochschulbildung etabliert, allerdings steht die Akzeptanz der Geschichtsdidaktik als eigenständiger Wissenschaftsbereich sowohl im akademischen als auch im Hochschulbereich noch aus. Entgegen den erfreulichen Prozessen ist die Darstellung der Verfahren umstritten, da die positiven Veränderungen nur Teilergebnisse lieferten und keine breite und umfassende Reform des Geschichtsunterrichts gebracht haben.

L'étude vise à présenter le cadre de la politique éducative et de l'histoire pédagogique de l'enseignement de l'histoire au cours des 30 dernières années. Elle présente également les caractéristiques et les jalons théoriques et pratiques de la transformation de la méthodologie d'apprentissage et d'enseignement en Hongrie. L'objectif de cet article est d'informer le public professionnel national et international des innovations et des changements qui ont affecté l'enseignement de l'histoire au cours des dernières décennies, renforçant ainsi la légitimité de la profession de la didactique de l'histoire. En résumé, les auteurs concluent qu'il y a eu des changements significatifs dans les programmes nationaux, les exigences des examens et les manuels au cours des trente dernières années. Voici les principaux changements positifs : l'hégémonie idéologique de l'enseignement marxiste de l'histoire a disparu ; le développement des compétences est devenu le point central de l'enseignement et de l'apprentissage ; les contenus ont été modernisés. L'importance de l'époque moderne a augmenté et de nouvelles valeurs (par exemple, la démocratie) ont été définies. Une approche plurielle, multi-perspective, basée sur les sources et les activités est apparue dans les programmes et les manuels ; la diffusion de stratégies d'apprentissage et d'enseignement centrées sur l'apprenant ainsi que l'utilisation intelligente des outils des TIC ont également été amorcées. Une nouvelle approche a également été mise en place dans l'enseignement supérieur, mais l'acceptation de la didactique de l'histoire comme domaine scientifique indépendant est toujours en suspens dans les sphères académique et de l'enseignement supérieur. Face à ces processus favorables, le compte rendu des procédures reste controversé, car ces changements positifs n'ont donné que des résultats partiels et n'ont pas apporté de réforme généralisée et étendue de l'enseignement de l'histoire.

Yvonne M. Kabombwe and Nelly Mwale

A silver line in curriculum reform: Reflections of teachers of history on the integration of history in the social studies curriculum at junior secondary school in Lusaka, Zambia

The article explores the views of teachers of History on the integration of History in the Social Studies curriculum at the Junior Secondary School level in Zambia for the subject. The article draws on a qualitative case study research design which included 20 purposively selected teachers of history from Lusaka province. The study adopted the concern-based adoption model and employed interviews as the main method of data collection. Data was analyzed using thematic analysis. The findings of the study revealed that although the views of the teachers on the integration of history in Social Studies were varied, they were characterised by both negative and positive perspectives. The challenges included the content being bulky and poor performance by learners while the opportunities were centred on reduced workload and enabling teachers to gain new knowledge and skills. Based on the concern-based adoption model, the article recommends that teachers' concerns be taken into consideration for the Social Studies curriculum to be implemented effectively.

Der Artikel untersucht die Ansichten von Geschichtslehrpersonen über die Integration des Faches Geschichte in den Lehrplan für Sozialkunde auf der Ebene der Junior Secondary School in Sambia. Der Artikel stützt sich auf eine qualitative Fallstudie, die 20 gezielt ausgewählte Geschichtslehrerinnen und -lehrer aus der Provinz Lusaka einbezieht. Die Studie

übernahm das Concerns-Based Adoption Model (das bedenkenbasierte Adoptionsmodell) und verwendete Interviews als Hauptmethode der Datenerhebung. Die Daten wurden mittels thematischer Analyse ausgewertet. Die Ergebnisse der Studie zeigen, dass die Ansichten der Lehrpersonen über die Integration von Geschichte in Sozialkunde zwar unterschiedlich waren, aber sowohl negative als auch positive Perspektiven enthielten. Zu den Herausforderungen gehörten der sperrige Inhalt und die schlechten Leistungen der Lernenden, während die Chancen in der Verringerung der Arbeitsbelastung und der Möglichkeit für die Lehrkräfte, neue Kenntnisse und Fähigkeiten zu erwerben, lagen. Auf der Grundlage des bedenkenbasierten Adoptionsmodells empfiehlt der Artikel, dass die Anliegen der Lehrkräfte berücksichtigt werden, damit der Lehrplan für Sozialkunde effektiv umgesetzt werden kann.

L'article explore les points de vue des enseignants en histoire sur l'intégration de l'histoire dans le programme des sciences sociales des écoles secondaires de premier cycle en Zambie. Il s'appuie sur une étude de cas qualitative qui inclut 20 enseignants en histoire, sélectionnés à dessein dans la province de Lusaka. L'étude adopte le modèle basé sur les préoccupations et fait des entretiens la principale méthode de collecte de données. Les données sont analysées à l'aide d'une analyse thématique. Les résultats de l'étude révèlent que, bien que les opinions des enseignants sur l'intégration de l'histoire dans les sciences sociales soient variées, elles se caractérisent par des perspectives à la fois négatives et positives. Les difficultés rencontrées concernent le contenu volumineux du programme et les mauvais résultats des apprenants, tandis que les opportunités se concentrent sur la réduction de la charge de travail et la possibilité pour les enseignants d'acquérir de nouvelles connaissances et compétences. Sur la base du modèle basé sur les préoccupations, l'article recommande de prendre en compte les préoccupations des enseignants pour que le programme de sciences sociales soit mis en œuvre efficacement.

Denisa Labischová

Different ways of presenting historical events in history textbooks from the Czech Republic and other countries: The 1938 Munich crisis

This paper presents the results of a comparative analysis of history textbooks from the Czech Republic and other countries, focusing on the different ways in which they present a particular historical event – the Munich crisis of 1938. The analysis traced the changing ways in which this key event has been presented and interpreted in Czech textbooks published during the past three decades. The paper also explores how the Munich crisis is presented and evaluated in textbooks from several other European countries. The research used the method of qualitative content analysis; the criteria for comparison included the length of the texts, the factual information selected for presentation (people, dates etc.), the interpretation and evaluation of the historical events, work with historical sources, the use of didactic media, and the overall standard of the didactic tools used in the presentation of the Munich crisis (learning tasks, tasks for problem-based and project-based teaching, etc.).

Der Artikel enthält die Ergebnisse einer vergleichenden Analyse von tschechischen und ausländischen Geschichtslehrbüchern, wobei der Fokus auf den unterschiedlichen Auffassungen

der Präsentation eines ausgewählten historischen Themas – dem Münchner Abkommen 1938 – liegt. Es werden sowohl die Änderungen in der Konzeption und Interpretation dieses Schlüsselereignisses in den tschechischen Lehrbüchern, die in den letzten dreißig Jahren herausgegeben wurden, als auch das Münchner Abkommen und dessen Bewertung in den Lehrbüchern von ausgewählten europäischen Ländern betrachtet. Bei der Untersuchung wurde die Methode der qualitativen Inhaltsanalyse angewandt. Zu den Vergleichskriterien gehören der Textumfang, die Faktenauswahl (Persönlichkeiten, Daten usw.), die Interpretation und Bewertung der historischen Ereignisse, die Arbeit mit historischen Quellen, der Einsatz von didaktischen Medien und das allgemeine Niveau der bei der Darstellung der Münchner Krise verwendeten didaktischen Instrumente (Lernaufgaben, Themen für den problem- und projektorientierten Unterricht) usw.).

L'article présente les résultats d'une analyse comparative des manuels d'histoire de la République tchèque et d'autres pays, en se concentrant sur les différentes manières dont ils présentent un événement historique particulier □ la crise de Munich de 1938. L'analyse a permis de retracer l'évolution de la manière dont cet événement clé a été présenté et interprété dans les manuels scolaires tchèques publiés au cours des trois dernières décennies. L'article explore également la manière dont la crise de Munich est présentée et évaluée dans les manuels scolaires de plusieurs autres pays européens. La recherche utilise la méthode de l'analyse qualitative du contenu ; les critères de comparaison incluent la longueur des textes, la sélection des informations factuelles (personnalités, dates, etc.), l'interprétation et l'évaluation des événements historiques, le travail avec les sources historiques, l'emploi des médias didactiques, et la qualité générale des outils didactiques utilisés dans la présentation de la crise de Munich (activités d'apprentissage, activités pour un enseignement par problème ou par projet, etc.).

David Mbutia

From decolonization towards inclusivity: The evolution of presentation of Kenya's history at the Nairobi National Museum

Museums in Africa started as a colonial imposition founded on the western concept of heritage whose value-judgement was based on objects' monumentality, antiquity, authenticity and exoticness. Most of these museums started as cabinets-of-curiosity which displayed the scientific marvel, or antiquity of mostly natural history, and prehistoric specimens of the continent. When they featured Africans' cultural artefacts, it was for the purpose of displaying the backwardness of Africans, who were perceived by colonialists to have no history. Upon gaining independence, many African countries inherited the colonial museums which largely disregarded Africans' cultures and histories. The colonial legacy and post-political sensitivity have made representation of the histories of the African nations in the colonially-founded museums very contentious many years after independence. In most cases, these museums have offered little as reference resources in the teaching of history in their respective countries. This paper gives an analytical view of the evolution of the representation of Kenyan's history at the Nairobi National Museum from the colonial era to post-KANU era.

Museen in Afrika waren zunächst eine koloniale Zumutung, da sie auf dem westlichen Konzept des Kulturerbes basierten, dessen Werturteil auf der Monumentalität, der Antike, der Authentizität und der Exotik der Objekte beruhte. Die meisten dieser Museen begannen als Kuriositätenkabinette, in denen wissenschaftliche Wunderwerke oder antike, vor allem naturkundliche und prähistorische Exponate des Kontinents ausgestellt wurden. Stellten sie kulturelle Artefakte der Afrikaner aus, so geschah dies mit dem Ziel, die Rückständigkeit der Afrikaner, die von den Kolonialisten als geschichtslos angesehen wurden, zu zeigen. Nach der Erlangung der Unabhängigkeit übernahmen viele afrikanische Länder die kolonialen Museen, welche die Kultur und Geschichte der Afrikaner weitgehend außer Acht ließen. Das koloniale Erbe und die post-politische Sensibilität haben dazu geführt, dass die Darstellung der Geschichte der afrikanischen Nationen in den von den Kolonialherren gegründeten Museen noch viele Jahre nach der Unabhängigkeit sehr umstritten ist. In den meisten Fällen haben diese Museen wenig als Ressourcen für den Geschichtsunterricht in ihren jeweiligen Ländern angeboten. Dieser Beitrag gibt einen analytischen Überblick über die Entwicklung der Darstellung der kenianischen Geschichte im Nairobi National Museum von der Kolonialzeit bis nach 2002. In jenem Jahr ging die Ära der Kenya African National Union (KANU) als Regierungspartei seit der Unabhängigkeit zu Ende.

Les musées en Afrique ont commencé comme une imposition coloniale fondée sur le concept occidental de patrimoine dont le jugement de valeur était basé sur la monumentalité, l'antiquité, l'authenticité et l'exotisme des objets. La plupart de ces musées ont débuté comme des cabinets de curiosité qui exposaient des merveilles scientifiques ou l'antiquité de spécimens d'histoire naturelle et préhistorique du continent. Lorsqu'ils présentaient des artefacts culturels africains, c'était dans le but de montrer l'arriération des Africains, qui étaient perçus comme dépourvus d'histoire. Après leur accession à l'indépendance, de nombreux pays africains ont hérité des musées coloniaux, qui ont largement ignoré les cultures et l'histoire des Africains. De nombreuses années après l'indépendance, l'héritage colonial et la sensibilité post-politique ont rendu très controversée la représentation de l'histoire des nations africaines dans les musées fondés par les colons. Dans la plupart des cas, ces musées ont très peu servi comme ressources de référence dans l'enseignement de l'histoire dans leurs pays respectifs. Cet article donne une vision analytique de l'évolution de la représentation de l'histoire du Kenya au Musée national de Nairobi, de l'ère coloniale à l'ère post-KANU.

Mare Oja

History teaching after the Cold War: The Estonian experience

Revolutionary turning points in history have usually had a strong impact on a particular region or the world as a whole. The end of the Cold War had a stronger impact on countries, which were given the opportunity for major developments, such as a change in the regime. The restoration of Estonia's independence provided an opportunity to build a completely different social system, including education. The article examines the development of history teaching from the Soviet period to the present day during the 30 years, and the changes in teachers' understanding about the aims of history teaching. The article uses data from previous studies to compare the changes during the long period and compare them with the current ones.

Revolutionäre Wendepunkte in der Geschichte hatten in der Regel starke Auswirkungen auf eine bestimmte Region oder die Welt als Ganzes. Das Ende des Kalten Krieges hatte stärkere Auswirkungen auf die Länder, die dadurch die Möglichkeit für wichtige Entwicklungen, wie z. B. einen Regimewechsel, erhielten. Die Wiederherstellung der Unabhängigkeit Estlands bot die Möglichkeit, ein völlig neues Gesellschaftssystem, auch im Bildungswesen, aufzubauen. Der Artikel untersucht die Entwicklung des Geschichtsunterrichts in den letzten 30 Jahren von der Sowjetzeit bis zur Gegenwart und die Veränderungen im Verständnis der Lehrer, was die Ziele des Geschichtsunterrichts betrifft. Der Artikel verwendet Daten aus früheren Studien, um die Veränderungen während des langen Zeitraums zu vergleichen und sie mit den aktuellen Veränderungen zu vergleichen.

Les tournants révolutionnaires dans l'histoire ont habituellement un fort impact sur une région particulière ou sur le monde dans son ensemble. La fin de la guerre froide a eu impact plus fort sur les pays qui ont eu l'occasion de connaître des évolutions majeures, comme un changement de régime. La restauration de l'indépendance de l'Estonie a offert l'opportunité de construire un système social complètement différent, y incluant l'éducation. L'article examine l'évolution de l'enseignement de l'histoire de la période soviétique à nos jours, au cours de ces 30 années, et les changements dans la compréhension qu'ont les enseignants des objectifs de l'enseignement de l'histoire. L'article utilise des données d'études antérieures pour comparer les changements survenus au cours de cette longue période, et les confronter aux changements actuels.

Barnabas Vajda

Teaching the Cold War in the post-Cold War era

Present study raises the question how the historical period of the Cold War is presented in current Slovakian history textbooks. The research intends to shed some light on the specifics of the topic, considering that the Cold War as a school history theme, had not been dealt with either at all in the pre-1989 period, or it used to be interpreted under the exclusive terms of the Soviet/communist ideology. How has the historical period between 1945 and 1991 been presented to Slovakian school pupils and young adults? Is it a 'well developed' theme (as it can be expected due to an availability of numerous primary sources, artefacts, texts, images, films, music, etc.), or is it a 'neglected' or 'boring' topic which perhaps still 'smells' with an 'odour' of former ideology? Absolute answers are, of course, limited, however, present study would like to provide a contribution both to the textbook research, thus perhaps international comparative textbook studies can be encouraged by it.

Die vorliegende Studie wirft die Frage auf, wie die historische Periode des Kalten Krieges in den aktuellen slowakischen Geschichtslehrbüchern dargestellt wird. Die Untersuchung soll die Besonderheiten des Themas beleuchten, da der Kalte Krieg als Schulgeschichtsthema in der Zeit vor 1989 entweder überhaupt nicht behandelt oder ausschließlich unter dem Aspekt der sowjetischen/kommunistischen Ideologie interpretiert wurde. Wie wurde die historische Periode zwischen 1945 und 1991 den slowakischen Schülerinnen und Schülern sowie jungen Erwachsenen vermittelt? Handelt es sich um ein 'gut erschlossenes' Thema (was aufgrund der Verfügbarkeit zahlreicher Primärquellen, Artefakte, Texte, Bilder, Filme, Musik usw. zu erwarten ist), oder ist es ein 'vernachlässigtes' oder 'langweiliges' Thema, dem vielleicht immer

noch der ‚Geruch‘ der früheren Ideologie anhaftet? Absolute Antworten sind natürlich begrenzt, doch möchte die vorliegende Studie sowohl einen Beitrag zur Schulbuchforschung leisten, so dass vielleicht auch international vergleichende Schulbuchstudien durch sie angeregt werden können.

La présente étude interroge la façon dont la période historique de la guerre froide est présentée dans les manuels d'histoire slovaques actuels. La recherche a pour but d'éclairer les spécificités du sujet, étant donné que la guerre froide, en tant que thème d'histoire scolaire, n'avait pas du tout été traitée dans la période antérieure à 1989, ou alors elle était interprétée exclusivement selon les critères de l'idéologie soviétique/communiste. Comment la période historique de 1945 à 1991 est-elle présentée aux élèves et aux jeunes adultes slovaques ? S'agit-il d'un sujet « bien développé » (comme on pourrait s'y attendre en raison de la disponibilité des sources, des artefacts, des textes, des images, des films, des morceaux de musique, etc.), ou est-ce un sujet « négligé » ou « ennuyeux » qui renvoie peut-être encore une « odeur » de l'ancienne idéologie ? Il est bien sûr difficile d'apporter des réponses absolues, cependant la présente étude voudrait apporter une contribution à la recherche sur les manuels scolaires, et peut-être encourager ainsi des études comparatives internationales sur les manuels scolaires.

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