

FROM HISTORICAL RESEARCH  
TO SCHOOL HISTORY:  
PROBLEMS, RELATIONS, CHALLENGES

VON DER GESCHICHTSWISSENSCHAFT  
ZUM SCHULUNTERRICHT: PROBLEME,  
BEZIEHUNGEN, HERAUSFORDERUNGEN

DE LA RECHERCHE HISTORIQUE  
À L'HISTOIRE SCOLAIRE:  
PROBLÈMES, RELATIONS, DÉFIS



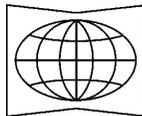
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SOCIÉTÉ INTERNATIONALE POUR LA DIDACTIQUE DE L'HISTOIRE

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## PREFACE · VORWORT · AVANT-PROPOS

### PREFACE

The annual conference of the International Society for the History Didactics (ISHD), taking place in 2011 in Basel, Switzerland, and organized by Elisabeth Erdmann, chairwoman of the ISDH, was held in cooperation with Umbrella Organisation of the Swiss Societies for History Didactics (UOSSHD) and Center for Civic and History Education, College for Teacher Education at the University for Applied Sciences of Northwestern Switzerland. The topic of 'From Historical Research to School History: Problems, Relations, Challenges' picked up on fundamental research issues of the ISHD. Many of the conference's presentations are gathered in this volume. Even some of the thematically unattached essays, which can be found in the 'Forum', additionally underline the current relevance of international research work on the transformation of concepts, knowledge, and methodology of academic history into 'school history'.

The magazine will continue the well-tried and proven three-parted structure – 'Focus', 'Forum', 'Miscellanea' – in its 33<sup>rd</sup> volume (2012). This 33<sup>rd</sup> volume is the second that only features essays written in English. Nevertheless, the upcoming articles will still be attended by abstracts in all three languages of the Society. This development follows a decision of ISDH's board. This measure acts successfully as a stimulus to emphasize international standards of scientific journals, to increase the magazine's international academic perception, and its ranking in international journal quality lists. Conclusively, it should be mentioned that contributions to the magazine of the International Society for the Didactics of History up until the year 2000 can be found on the website of the ISHD: [www.int-soc-histdidact.org/publications.html](http://www.int-soc-histdidact.org/publications.html). SP/JS

### VORWORT

Die Jahreskonferenz der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Geschichtsdidaktik (IGGD) fand im Jahr 2011 in Basel (CH) in Zusammenarbeit mit der Schweizerischen Dachorganisation der geschichtsdidaktischen Gesellschaften (SDGD) und dem Zentrum Politische Bildung und Geschichtsdidaktik an der Pädagogischen Hochschule der Fachhochschule Nordwestschweiz statt. Die Tagung, die von Elisabeth Erdmann, der Vorsitzenden der IGGD, in Zusammenarbeit mit Béatrice Ziegler (Fribourg, Aarau, CH) organisiert worden war, befasste sich mit dem Thema „Geschichtswissenschaft und Schulunterricht: Probleme, Beziehungen, Herausforderungen“ und wandte sich damit einem grundlegenden Forschungsanliegen der IGGD zu. Viele der Tagungsbeiträge sind in diesem Band versammelt. Aber auch einige der thematisch ungebundenen Artikel im „Forum“ unterstreichen die aktuelle Relevanz der wissenschaftlichen Auseinandersetzung mit der Transforma-

tion der Begriffe, Inhalte und Methoden der akademischen Disziplin in ein Schul- und Unterrichtsfach.

Im 33. Jahrgang führt die Zeitschrift die erprobte Gliederung in drei Teile – „Fokus“, „Forum“, „Miszellen“ – fort. In diesem 33. Jahrgang (2012) wird unverändert der Beschluss des IGGD-Vorstandes umgesetzt, nur noch englische Artikel wiederzugeben, die jedoch von Zusammenfassungen in den drei Sprachen der IGGD – Deutsch, Englisch, Französisch – begleitet werden. Diese Maßnahme zeigte bereits recht gute Erfolge, was die internationale Wahrnehmung der Beiträge und die Aufnahme der Zeitschrift in gelistete internationale Journal-Aufstellungen betrifft. Abschließend soll darauf hingewiesen werden, dass die Beiträge der Zeitschrift der IGGD bis zum Jahr 2000 im Internet auf der IGGD-Website zugänglich sind (<http://www.int-soc-hist-didact.org/publications.html>). SP/JS

### AVANT-PROPOS

La conférence annuelle de la Société Internationale pour la Didactique de l'Histoire (SIDH) en 2011, organisée par la présidente Elisabeth Erdmann et Béatrice Ziegler (CH), en collaboration avec la Coordination nationale des associations de didactique de l'histoire en Suisse (CODIS) et le Centre de didactique de l'éducation politique et histoire, Haute école pédagogique, Université des Sciences Appliquées Suisse Nord-Ouest, a eu lieu à Bâle /CH). Le sujet de la conférence « De la recherche historique à l'histoire scolaire: Problèmes, relations, défis » s'est consacré à un domaine de la recherche essentiel de la SIDH. Beaucoup d'articles qui ont fait des efforts d'un bilan de la recherche internationale sont rassemblés dans ce volume. En plus, on trouve dans le « Forum » plusieurs articles libres en ce qui concerne le sujet qui soulignent aussi l'importance et l'actualité d'une recherche sur la transformation de l'histoire scientifique à l'histoire scolaire.

Dans sa 33<sup>ième</sup> année la revue continue la nouvelle structure en trois parties – « Focus », « Forum » et: les « faits divers ». D'après la décision du comité directeur ce 33<sup>ième</sup> volume (2012), comme le 32<sup>ième</sup> volume, ne contiendra que des articles en anglais, qui pourtant seront accompagnés de résumés en trois langues – allemand, anglais et français. Le but de cette mesure est de souligner les standards internationaux pour des publications scientifiques, d'améliorer la perception internationale de cette revue et de supporter l'accès aux foires de classement international de la qualité scientifique de journaux. Pour conclure nous voulons encore une fois indiquer que les contributions de la revue de la Société Internationale pour la Didactique de l'Histoire (SIDH), à partir de l'année 2000, sont accessibles sur le site web de SIDH :

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## **‘BRING THE NOISE’<sup>1</sup> – THE ISSUE OF ‘SOUND’ IN HISTORY EDUCATION**

Sebastian Barsch

*This paper deals with a topic hardly noticed to this day by historical scholarship: the history of hearing, regarding in particular the sounds and noises in the reconstruction of past mindsets and forms of governance. The potential this quite new approach offers to historical scholarship is outlined on the basis of recent articles. Accordingly, the benefit of integrating this position into historical scholarship is described. The current state of research on the subject is briefly addressed and possible ways of treating noises as topics in history education are indicated. Finally, some ideas how this approach could affect the way how children with low educational achievements think historically are presented. It is assumed that especially pupils from this group could benefit from a ‘sensual’ approach of history education.*

‘Wir sind zu Ihnen gekommen, um Ihnen mitzuteilen, dass heute Ihre Ausreise... [rousing cheers from the crowd, author’s note]’ (‘We have come to you to tell you that today, your departure...’ Announcement of former German minister of foreign affairs Hans-Dietrich Genscher at the German embassy of Prague addressing East German citizens willing to leave their country, dated from 30th September, 1989).

Historical statements like the above quoted one and many others are not only perceived by simply reading them. Those who are familiar with the historical context which is linked to these statements also ‘hear’ them internally. ‘We know the voices of their originators as well as those of many others in contemporary history, from Adolf Hitler to Willy Brandt’ (Morat 2011). By assuming that these ‘inner voices’ also shape historical imagination of those who are reading historical speeches of the recent past: What are the additional meanings of sources, which evolved in times when recordings have not existed yet? Wouldn’t they have caused acoustic representations? While you read and analyse speeches of Bismarck the question comes up if anybody fancied the falsetto voice we know he had (Müller 2011: 14)? Considering another example discussed by Müller: how is it possible that famous commanders in bygone times talked to their

armies without using megaphones? What did the audience really hear? What did they understand? Finally, what does it mean for historical imagination to be aware of the ‘sound’?

Despite the fact that nobody can state a lack of ‘turns’ in recent historical scholarship, some scholars note that history needs to be open for a new turn, which has emerged from different fields of the humanities and cultural studies: the ‘acoustic turn’. Although authors like Daniel Morat question the usefulness of continuously embracing new ‘turns’ in historical sciences, they underline the usefulness of analysing the phenomenon of ‘sound’ for historical reflexion at the same time (Morat 2010).

In this paper I would like to show how the school subject history can benefit from new approaches in historical scholarship apart from mainstream writings of history. I would like to show that ‘breaking the sound barrier’ (Bailey 1996: 49) can be a helpful link between academic history and the history taught in schools.

There is an enormous number of pupils with small reading capabilities. Focusing on ‘ad fontes’ – which means in fact ‘to the written sources’ – is a central position of contemporary history didactics, thus it should be discussed if that position matches the requirements of reality in schools. Beyond that, if we assume that historical thinking is linked to processes of imagination (Henke-Bockschatz 2000), how can we skip the issue of sound then? Unlike other papers (Klenke & Wunderer & Sydow 2007) I would like to focus on the advantages of an acoustic approach not only for history lessons in general but also for lessons with groups where educational achievement is low.

## **1. Sound and History**

‘It’s a fact that we cannot hear history; at least most parts of it’ (Müller, 2011: 4). Müller notices that most historians ‘act deaf’ while they are doing their work. Only few scholars deal with issues of noise and sound in history. Unlike the visual sense – leading to the ‘iconic turn’, the sense of hearing which is essential for most people’s perception have not influenced theory and practice of historical research. There is only little spadework realized, mainly without a coherent theoretical framework. Approaches to this field expose

different practices: Accordingly, focusing on sound from a historical perspective can be done in various ways. Peter Bailey mapped 'noise as a significant chunk of the soundscape with determinating powers and thresholds' (1996: 49). Referring to Lucien Febvre, he argues that the 'early modern period in the West was an era of crucial shifts in the sensorium' while 'pre-modern societies were predominantly phonocentric, privileging sound over the other senses [...]'. This situation changed with the emerge of typographic print which 'gave a dramatic new saliency to visual perception' (Bailey 1996: 55). Furthermore, he vividly points out that 'control and selection of sound was articulated in other ways than in the definition of genteel identity' (Bailey 1996: 56). For this purpose he quotes an amusing excerpt from the text 'On Civility in Children' by Erasmus (1530): 'The sound of farting is horrible [...] especially of those who stand on elevated ground' (Bailey 1996: 56). Apparently, this example shows the process of constructing boundaries between social groups by rating the ability to control sounds of the body. In general, Bailey points out different soundscapes and their link to the social class, even to the category of gender: upper-class dining rooms of the 18<sup>th</sup> century with gendered spaces, 'Victorian suburban villas and backgardens, hopeful invocations of rural peace and strongholds against the sounds of the cities'. Furthermore, he highlights differences of soundscapes between rural countrysides and industrialised cities (Bailey 1996: 56-8).

Canadian composer R. Murray Schafer, who shaped the term 'soundscape' in the 1960s, established a theory of a shift from environmental hi-fi-soundscapes in pre-modern times to lo-fi soundscapes in modern era. According to this interpretation, people in pre-modern times were more capable of differentiating between certain sounds. Which doesn't mean that the environment in pre-modernity was simply more silent. It means that modern industrial conditions are characterised by persistent background noises in which individual sounds lose their distinction (Morat 2010: 5). Morat, following Alain Corbin's book 'Village Bells – Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-century French Countryside', concludes that sounds were even used to discipline citizens, e.g. by secularising the toll of churchbells during the French Revolution (2010: 2-3). Similarly, Horst Wenzel worked out that reign in medieval Europe (among

other things) was based on designed acoustics for physical and symbolic spaces like courts and churches (Wenzel 1995: 143). In general, Müller outlines in his very comprehensive state of the art that studies are rare for all periods before 1900 (2011: 19-24). Thus, the reconstruction process of sounds from times in which audio recording was simply not available requires support from written sources.

Some other studies reconstruct everyday life sounds from ancient cities. But, of course, one big area of sound studies which has not been mentioned yet, is music. Due to the concept of sheet music it is easy to reconstruct historical music. Indeed, it is more complex to find out what music meant for different groups. The Opera for example could on the one hand be analysed as a piece of art. On the other hand it could be explored with regards to its political and social meaning (Müller 2011: 23). The same is true for music in recent times. Punk is not only sound, it used to be a political statement as well.

Consequently, it can be summarized that historical research can benefit from a turn towards sound. The results which are shown briefly above need to be limited by some main aspects: It's not merely important to reconstruct historical sounds, but it is important to analyse their meaning for contemporaries. As historical sounds are political and social artefacts, they need to be analysed in their social, political and cultural context (Morat 2010: 4-6). Integrating sounds into historical reconstruction means an extension of current conceptions of history.

## **2. Sound and Historical Imagination**

‘The exhortation ‘Use your imagination!’ is an exhortation to ask knowledge we already have’ (Lee 1984: 93). How could a link between sound in history and history education look like? Regarding that pupils’ access to history which is being evoked by imagination, the sense of hearing then is a part of it. Although imagination can’t arise without knowledge, like Lee insists, it is expected that the process of knowledge acquisition itself is already accompanied by imagination.

There are a couple of studies in the field of history didactics dealing with the term 'imagination'. In fact none of these studies is linked to sound. Although the issue of storytelling under terms of narratology became an essential part of how we think that 'historical thinking' should look like. Empirical research usually focuses on oral output rather than examination of intrinsic voices (e.g. VanSledright & Brophy 1992). 'The trouble is that 'imagination' covers a wide range of activities and achievements in history, and implies connotations deriving from the arts which in some cases appear to conflict with the fundamental tenets of history' (Lee 1984: 85). Further to narrative approaches, some theoretical works converge to 'imagination' as pictorial imagination (Schörken 1994; Henke-Bockschatz 2000). Here the mind's eye is focused on the transfer from reading a text (or viewing a picture) to a mental image. Wineburg, for example, introduces the chapter 'Picturing the past' from his book 'Historical Thinking' with a little 'dream vacation' (2001: 113): 'Clear your mind and try to conjure up images of two historical figures, a Pilgrim and a Western Settler. Does your Pilgrim wear a tall black hat with a buckle? Or a small lace cap? Is your Settler herding cattle in bandanna and chaps? Or tending chickens on the prairie in a sunbonnet? Why do these particular images come to mind? And why do some of these images come to mind more easily than others?' Comparing these two historical figures, other questions of imagination could be asked as well: Does the Pilgrim speak with a British accent? Is he murmuring a prayer? Do you hear the moo of the cattle?

Nevertheless, while Schörken is referring to an excerpt from Herodotus's description of the battle at Thermopylae he vividly shows that sound affects imagination: 'The calm and the sudden swish of leaves [in Herodotus's description, author's note]' acts as a sensual moment of intrinsic imagination (1994: 39-40).

A couple of works deal with music in history education. Klenke underlines that music needs to be a part of history education as it is a sensual media effecting emotion (2007: 407). However, music here is considered quite similar to written sources. Wunderer addresses sound in a more open way (2007: 468-506). In this way, he anticipates new approaches of historical scholarship which have been described above. He points out that listening to a political speech or a poem evokes other impressions as analytical reading, because in the latter

case the internal and external voice is put to silence (Wunderer 2007, 473). Sydow shows that working with sound can be a reconstructive work as well, e.g. by producing audio dramas in history lessons. Here the advantages of sensuality are emphasised again (2007: 497). However, the small number of publications dealing with sound shows that this issue is still very unconsidered in history didactics.

### 2.1 *Historical Thinking of Children with low Educational Achievements*

There are only few specific works dealing with historical thinking of pupils with low educational achievements. Most of them originate in special education and deal with autobiographical approaches of people showing learning difficulties (e.g. Dias et. al. 2012; Manning 2010). Beyond that, there is a lack of further research. No study is explicitly focusing on the historical imagination of this group.

But what exactly does ‘low educational achievements’ mean? By using the example of the German school system this could be the group of pupils outside the ‘Gymnasium’ or the ‘Realschule’. They are the two more prestigious types of schools out of three different branches of mainstream schools in most German states. These three branches also cover the needs of special education learners. The whole system is very tricky indeed. In Germany, there still is a very high grade of student separation. The selection of pupils for each school is made on the basis of their academic achievement and aptitude. Usually, their teachers decide on their placement at the end of their primary school years. So, one could say that the group with low educational achievements consists mainly of pupils who need more support to learn. If this would be true, it could be assumed that diagnostics could lead to valid classifications. However, several studies have shown that this selection is in fact based more on social status than on ability (Pfahl 2010).

A better way to describe this group is provided by assessment programmes like the ‘Programme for International Student Assessment’ (PISA). Here affiliation to a certain type of school is a second-order condition. Although dismissing historical learning, this study provides information about educational aptitudes of certain groups. It shows indications for a link between learning outcomes and the socio-economic background of pupils. ‘In many countries, variation in socio-economic background is closely related to variation

in performance across and, to a lesser extent, within schools' (OECD 2010a: 86). Especially the results in the area of reading literacy could be of great interest for history education. It shows that 18.8% of 15 year old pupils in OECD countries have very low reading skills (OECD 2010b: 194). At the same time a great number of pupils from this group is attending schools where history is taught to a lesser extent than in academic high schools (which is in fact the 'Gymnasium'). This is true at least for Germany.

So how could history education promote historical thinking among this group if many of them show underachieved reading skills? It seems to be odd to teach them how to work with written sources. It's odd to believe working with this material can evoke historical imagination. 'Ad fontes' isn't an option here. Looking at the entire problem, sensual approaches to history could be more helpful. Although history didactics turned towards pictures as major sources as well, the theories beyond that approach are still very academic. In the following paragraph I would like to point out how the integration of 'sound' could be a part of a sensual approach like this.

### **3. How to Work with Sound in History Education**

As shown above turning towards 'sound' could be a valuable issue for history education. Especially children with low educational achievements could profit from a sensual access to history. History as a school subject mediates the impression of a subject that conveys facts. This would also mean that history teachers themselves do not effectively present the constructivist and narrative character of history in general. Using ways to teach beyond analytical strategies could be helpful to change this.

According to Sydow there are basically two ways to work with sound: A productive and a receptive one (2007: 498). In the following I would like to highlight some ways to work with sound in history lessons, both in a productive and a receptive way. Of course it's not the issue to offer comprehensive material for history lessons. I would merely like to suggest first possibilities to show the link between narratology, constructivism and historical thinking. Furthermore, I'd like to show that 'sound' addresses many other aspects of historical

thinking: namely otherness, empathy, consciousness for social inequalities and cultural artefacts.

Receptive ways to work with sound are numerous. A lot of material deals with music and its meaning for different social classes. Müller (2011) suggests another approach for historical research which could be decisive for history education as well: The question how music was used as noise for political purposes. His example is Camp Guantanamo where prisoners have been confronted with music at full volume, obviously to bring them down. Guards played the American anthem, music from AC/DC, Barry Manilow and songs from 'Sesame Street'. Issues to deal with are multiple: what does a proceeding like this mean for cultural understandings, respectively cultural conflicts? What is the difference between sound and noise for different cultures (Müller 2011: 25-6)?

The topic of sound pollution since the industrialisation could be a productive topic as well. Here we face the problem that there are no audio sources available, which is indeed true for all periods before the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. But it's Müller again who shows that there are still many artefacts which could be used to recover soundscapes from the past. Old church bells sound as they did centuries before. Steam engines allow some kind of listening to the past as well, equally as old typewriters or music produced with abandoned instruments (Müller 2011: 11). This could all be done in history lessons, at least by leaving the classrooms. Dealing with sound in context of industrialisation also means inevitably to turn towards issues of social inequalities. Which social groups were exposed to incessant noise? Which people had to live next to sources of noise? For the contemporary relevance it might be interesting to have a look at google maps to find out if prosperous people still live far away from motorways, roadbeds or air corridors. Is silence affordable for everybody?

Productive ways can be various as well. The production of audio drama is already mentioned. Recordings of interviews with contemporary witnesses offer a sensual way to history as well. Old music could be addressed in music lessons (whereby 'old' is a loose concept. Punk music, to use this example again, could be an excellent access to mentalities of the 1970s).

But what efforts can be made to reconstruct older soundscapes before 1900? According to Schafer's theory of hi-fi-soundscapes in

pre-modern times a good way to reconstruct a typical soundscape from those times might be: Silence! For young people today the experience of complete silence could be a moment of alterity at all.

While Müller states that there is no way to reconstruct human vocal utterance in historical research – he thinks about ancient debates or the sound of crowds from the French Revolution (2011: 11) – it can be productive to simulate them in history lessons e.g. while doing role playing games.

Finally, recordings of written speeches with different voices and intonations could easily illustrate the impact of sound on perception. This method could also be used to show how historical documentaries in television profit from background music. It's interesting to watch different versions of Genscher's speech mentioned in the beginning of this paper. Yet, the different effects between a version with background music and one without is crucial.

## **Conclusion**

Although there might not be a new turn in historical scholarship, the awareness of sound in history is an emerging field of historical research. History didactics can benefit from these developments. Of course, 'sound' isn't a completely new aspect of history education. But by addressing this issue the promotion of historical thinking of children with low educational achievements could be boosted. Possible applications within history lessons are manifold. History in schools is challenged by the gap between academic claims and reality of children's approaches to history. Sensual approaches could help to get more children into historical thinking processes.

## **Notes**

<sup>1</sup> 'Bring the Noise' is a song by the Hip Hop group Public Enemy from 1987.

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# DEVELOPING AN UNDERSTANDING OF HISTORICAL THINKING THROUGH ONLINE INTERACTION WITH ACADEMIC HISTORIANS: THREE CASE STUDIES<sup>1</sup>

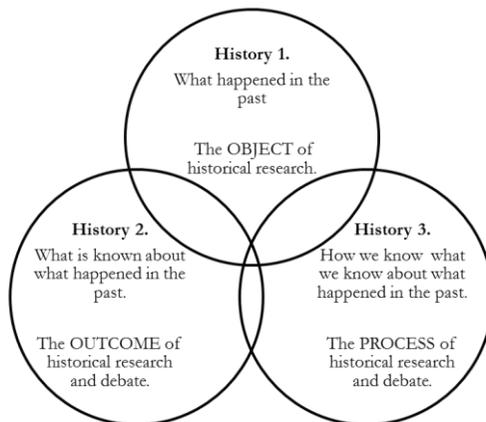
Arthur Chapman

*This paper explores relationships between school history and academic history, first, by modeling what such relationships might consist of in conceptual terms and, second, by exploring three case studies of projects in which academic historians worked with 16-19 year old history students to develop the students' historical thinking. These case studies are described and evaluated in terms of their potential to enhance students' learning experiences.*

## 1. Introduction

'History' is a word with many meanings. On the one hand, it refers to the past (History 1) and, on the other, to the representation of the past in the work of historians (Tosh 1984, cited in Harris 2004: 16). This last sense of history has two components: what is known as a result of historical research (History 2) and the practices through which historians establish this knowledge (History 3). These distinctions are modeled in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Senses of History



It is helpful to make these distinctions when thinking about the proper relationship that should obtain between historical research and the history that is taught in schools. It would be easy, if we did not, to frame our thinking about this relationship entirely in terms of historical content (History 2) and in terms of knowledge transmission and to think in these ways would be to diminish the discipline of history and to denude history's 'know that' (the propositional knowledge that the discipline generates) of its 'know how' (the procedural knowledge that grounds the propositions that historians advance).<sup>2</sup> To conceptualize school history solely in terms of the 'outcomes' of research would also be pedagogically disastrous: when school history is defined simply in terms of content knowledge there is little for school children to do other than to consume it and, as has long been understood, 'a subject to which the pupil is not... always contributing soon ceases to excite' their 'interest' (Keatinge 1913: 4).

This paper is concerned with History 3 — with history as a set of practices and modes of thought (Wineburg 2001 and 2007) — and it is focused on interaction more than transmission and on the practical development of the proposition that school history is about actively engaging children in knowledge construction, or, to put the same thing less controversially, in making meaning (Chapman 2009a).

This paper argues by example and seeks to show that historians have a great deal to offer school history as models of expertise in historical thinking and that the relationship between school history and historical research can be greatly enhanced if academics and school history students are brought into close contact and, ideally, into dialogic relationships with each other.

This paper reports a number of projects that have aimed to build relationships of this kind and that have involved history academics working in universities and history students in the 16-19 age range.<sup>3</sup> In all cases the relationships between academics and school and college students have been virtual and mediated through email or through discussion fora. These projects will be presented in two categories, based on the modes of interaction that they enabled, and they will be described and evaluated.

In the projects reported here, academic historians took on teaching roles in discrete learning activities embedded within school and college curricula. In the first two cases, the academics acted as assessors, evaluating students' work, and also as models of expert historical practice, demonstrating key aspects of expert historical

thinking through their feedback. In a third case study, of an evolving and on-going project, academics acted as models and assessors but also engaged in dialogue with students, posing questions that aimed to develop student thinking (Chapman 2009b and 2011d). In all cases, these interactions had positive outcomes in terms of student engagement and, demonstrably, in elements of the last case study at least, a clear impact on student thinking.

The case study analysis below draws heavily on previous work and, in particular, on Chapman & Hibbert (2009), in the case of the first case study, on Chapman & Facey (2009), in the case of the second case study, and on Chapman (2009b), (2011c) and (2011d), in the case of the third case study.<sup>4</sup>

## **2. Assessing and Modelling Historical Thinking**

### *2.1 Case Study 1: An Online Debate*

The first of the two cases in which academics acted as assessors and as models took place over a two week period in May 2005 and involved classes of 18 and 19 year old students in two parts of England in an online debate. The students were coming to the end of their Advanced Level studies in history and the exercise that they completed was modelled on the examination paper that they were about to take. To complete the exercise students had to read a number of extracts from primary documents and from historical writing. Working with criteria specifying both what a good answer should look like and how academic debate should be conducted, the students worked in small groups to compose an answer to a question that asked them to state ‘how far’ they ‘agreed’ with a judgement expressed by one of the historians in the materials that they were asked to read.<sup>5</sup>

Student groups from each of the two colleges were paired up and, once each college group had posted their answer to the question, they were asked to reply to the answer posted by the student group that they were paired up with, using the debate criteria. At the end of the debate, an academic specialising in the topic based in New Zealand adjudicated the debate, identifying strengths and weaknesses in students’ answers and an overall ‘winner’, and, in the process, modelling aspects of historical reasoning.

Figure 2 exemplifies one student groups' initial post and their paired group's reply to this post.

Figure 2: An extract from one groups' initial answer and from feedback that they received from their paired group in one student debate (Cooper & Chapman 2009d)

Initial post (extract)

Wednesday, 11 May 2005, 03:58 PM

An examination of the plebiscites taken during Hitler's reign suggests that the population supported the policies of the Nazi regime. For example following Hitler's assumption of head of state after Hindenburg's death, people were asked if they approved of the merger of the offices of chancellor and president and 90% approved. However, it was Hitler's foreign policies that attracted the largest amount of support from the general population. Historian Detlev Peukert claims that Hitler's foreign policy 'won considerable support even amongst members of the erstwhile labour movement'. It is important to realise that before Hitler came to power Germany was in the middle of an economic crisis and had been humiliated by the war guilt clause and reparation payment imposed upon it by the treaty of Versailles. It is because of this that the reoccupation of the Rhineland, the 'Anschluss' of Austria and Germany's withdrawal [from] the league of nations received over 90% support from the general population in the plebiscite that followed each event.

It is also important to examine what groups in society supported the Nazi party. They were popular amongst workers as they demanded a transformation from the profit motivated economy to one that would benefit all German workers. An example of this popularity can be seen in the picture of workers in the Hamburg shipyard giving the Nazi salute.

Reply (extract)

Tuesday, 24 May 2005, 11:35 AM

In general, we agree with your answer. However, some of your arguments could have been developed more and we feel some points have been missed. For example, no reference is made to the depression as a whole; other countries were in crisis, like Germany, and so this is not the only argument for Hitler coming to power.

Similarly, there is no reference to the Nazification of the workers' front which greatly impinged on the idealistic liberal platforms of the workers. Although we agree with your view of the Gestapo's ineffective nature and the reliance on public denunciations, there is little shown on the harsher aspects of terror although a percentage would have seen this as a good idea, those in a target group or in close relation to one of these target groups e.g. The Nuremberg laws on marriage those who would have built a home and life with a Jewish partner would have had their homes shattered, as well as ideologically opposed members of the community like priests or clergy. Many of these people would have resisted, a point you did not address much.

The student posts as a whole demonstrated a range of types of historical argument and the examples cited in Figure 2 do not exhaust the range of approaches taken. They are, however, typical of the student posts as a whole and also of the level at which many Advanced Level students argue. The student feedback cited is focused on content – on History 2 or on what is and what is not included in the initial student post. This is, of course an entirely legitimate form of historical argument, but it does not raise questions of method (History 3) unless we construe its comments on 'points' that 'have been missed' as an argument about contextualisation.

Figure 3 exemplifies the historians' feedback and reproduces their comments on the debate exemplified in Figure 2.

Figure 3: The historian's assessment of one debate between student groups (Cooper & Chapman 2009d)

#### Judgement Debate 2

Wednesday, 1 June 2005, 10:26 AM

Though both groups make a number of good points, there are also certain weaknesses in the cases that they present.

The [first group], for example, does not always exercise due caution in its use of evidence. [They] place quite a lot of weight on the results of Hitler's various plebiscites, but, given the political circumstances in Germany in the 1930s, I think it is rather dangerous simply to assume that the results of the plebiscites give an accurate reflection of public opinion. Similarly, the [first group]

uses the photo of the Hamburg shipyard workers as evidence of working-class enthusiasm for the Nazis. Again, this is rather a dangerous assumption to make, given the great pressure that was placed on individuals to conform [...]. What the photograph tells us is not necessarily that workers supported the Nazis, but that workers who publicly demonstrated their opposition to the Nazis were few and far between.

The [second] group, though presenting a similar case, makes more of an effort to engage with the sources provided [...] However, [the second group]'s case is also, in places, rather difficult to follow. Key points are not made with sufficient clarity [...]. Some of the points [...] for example that the Nazis revived 'traditional values and lifestyle', are very debatable.

On the whole, this was an interesting debate in which both teams arrived at sensible and plausible conclusions. I found the case developed by [the first group] to be more convincing.

By contrast to the students' posts, the historian's post does focus directly on methodological questions (History 3) rather than on substantive matters (History 2): the historian's comments illustrate the kind of probative interrogation of evidence that Sam Wineburg has shown to be key to historical practice and models this for the students (Wineburg 1991).

Impact data was not collected in this study, other than informally through discussions with the students. It was evident, working with the students on this exercise that they found it simultaneously challenging — since they were committing their thoughts in public, in front of students that they did not know and in front of an expert — and motivating. They would, in the normal course of their studies, have completed exercises like this on paper and individually and this exercise provided a much more stimulating and interactive way of developing their abilities to argue historically. Through the exercise they were exposed to expert historical thinking as well as to the thinking of their peers and they were able to view all of these examples of historical argument and counterargument as they prepared for their examinations.

## 2.2 Case Study 2: Historical Website Construction

The second case study in which an academic acted as an assessor took place in the spring of 2008. In this case, one class of 16 and 17

year old English students in the first year of their advanced level studies worked in small groups to create websites through which they articulated answers to an historical problem. The web design was merely one aspect of the sequence of learning, which also involved a visit to an historical site about which the student groups constructed documentary films. As well as collaboratively designing websites and writing web text, the students also worked in groups to research the topic that they were studying (the English Civil War). Throughout the exercise, as well as developing their substantive understanding of the content that they were studying (History 2), the students were encouraged to focus on text composition and on developing their mastery of historical argument and of other aspects of historical thinking such as causal reasoning (History 3). The websites were intended to answer a question (“Why did Parliament win the Civil War?”) and the students were encouraged to ensure that they considered both form and content when designing their sites. An exemplar page from a student group’s site is reproduced in Figure 4.

Figure 4: A page from one of the student group’s websites (Cooper & Chapman 2009b)

## English Civil War

Possession Of The Tower Of London  
'page3'

◀
🏠
▶

The significance of the Tower to Cromwell and the Parliamentarians

The possession of the Tower of London provided parliament with a source of trade, power and wealth which gave it an advantage over the Royalists. It provided parliament with:

- 1) Money- from the royal mint and melting the crown jewels – to pay for a professional army.
- 2) Weapons from the armoury to equip the army
- 3) The control of London, giving a permanent garrison in the Tower, prison & army base
- 4) Propaganda- making use of the dominance of the White Tower & the ownership of the ravens legend

It therefore proved to be a big Royalist Mistake to lose the Tower. Charles did not seem to realise its significance, since the Parliamentarians seized the Tower early on in 1643.

"The loss of the Tower, and London as a whole, was a crucial factor in the defeat of Charles I by Parliament" [Tower of London official guidebook\*]



▶

Again, as in the 2005 case study, the historians' input came at the end of the exercise: an eminent academic specialist in the field assessed the websites, identifying strengths and weaknesses in students' knowledge and arguments, and emailed this assessment to the students' teacher for dissemination. The websites were also evaluated by 18 and 19 year old students in another institution in the country and these comments were forwarded by email as well.

An example of student writing from one of the student groups' websites is reproduced and analysed in Figure 5, in terms of its qualities of argument and in terms of the outcomes we were hoping to achieve.

Figure 5: An analysis of web text extracted from one of the student groups' websites. Words and phrases that indicate analytical argumentation have been underlined for analytical purposes (Cooper & Chapman 2009a: 108).

The New Model Army was an important reason for victory because they had many advantages over the Royalist army [...].  
The New Model Army was planned to comprise Pike men, Dragoons, Musketeers and Horseback. This gave it an advantage over the Royalists because it was better organised, and had more discipline. If the army had not been used, the Cavaliers would have reigned supreme in battle and the civil war would have had a different end [...].  
Because the New Model army was well equipped, they had an advantage over the Royalists, because they had a plentiful amount of munitions and this showed they were ready to fight. It showed determination.

There is no doubt that this student writing could be criticised in analytical terms. It is clear, however, as the underlined phrases show, that the students developed an explanatory argument, something that many students in this age group do not do, and that their web text successfully developed qualities of causal reasoning (History 3) of the kind that we were hoping to encourage (for example, counter-factual reasoning).

The exercise was evaluated in a number of ways (Chapman & Facey 2009: 101–117) by critically evaluating the writing on the

student websites, by comparing the standards of student work before and after they had completed the exercise, by asking the students to reflect on the exercise in focus groups, and also, although of course this cannot be strong evidence of impact, by looking at the students examination results. Outcomes were very positive on all these measures for almost all the students, and, in a number of cases, students made much greater progress that might have been expected. It is hard to pick out the specific contribution of the involvement of the historian to the success of the exercise, although, as in the 2005 exercise, and as the extract below indicates, the students benefitted also in this case from expert feedback and modelling. It was also apparent from student comments in class that the involvement of an 'expert' whose work the students were aware of had a real impact on their motivation, giving the exercise of constructing an historical argument much more meaning and 'reality' than normal class work constructed on paper.

The historian provided extensive feedback to the students and considered a wide range of factors in evaluating the websites. Figure 6 reproduces two short extracts from this feedback, demonstrating expert input on historical argument (History 3) and on content knowledge (History 2) respectively.

Figure 6: Extracts from the historian's feedback on the students' websites (Cooper & Chapman 2009c)

Websites, like history essays, need good introductions that explain the 'problem' or the question being tackled. This can be done in many different ways, but one way to do this in this case would be to explain to the reader or user of the website that, in order to discover why the English Civil War ended as it did, other questions need to be addressed, like whether the outcome of the war was determined more by 'military' factors or by factors that are to be found off battlefields in the resources held by both sides. Another question that could be raised is whether the parliamentarians won the war or was the war *lost* by the king and the royalists, raising for consideration the suggestion that what Charles I. did or did not do contributed to his own defeat [...]. All three of your sites refer in passing to the king's 'faulty command structure' without explaining what is meant by this. If you think about it, from the point of view of the command struc-

tures of both sides Charles ought to have been at a great advantage. The command structure of his opponents was riven by divisions (between English parliamentarians over whether the war should be pursued vigorously before peace negotiations began, and divisions between English parliamentarians and Scottish Covenanters, which became very great especially after Marston Moor when the major differences about religion between them became apparent). In contrast the king was in sole command [...].

As well as providing advice on text composition, and perhaps more importantly, the first of these two extracts focuses students' attention to the importance that questions and questioning have in history and, also, to the ways in which addressing one problem entails addressing a series of other problems that are embedded in it.

### 3. Questioning and Challenging Students' Historical Thinking

The case studies explored so far have focused on historians acting as assessors and as models. These are valuable roles, however, in both these case studies the input that the historians provided came *at the end* of a learning exercise and was *summative* and there was limited scope for this input to impact what the students did during the exercises. The case study that follows involved historians giving feedback in these ways. However, it also involved *formative* input and interaction between historians and students *during* the course of an exercise and thus greater scope for dialogue and for the historians' input to impact student outcomes.

#### 3.1 Case Study 3: the History Virtual Academy

The case study in which historians engaged in dialogue with students is an on-going project — the History Virtual Academy (HVA) project — that has been through three iterations to date.<sup>6</sup> The project aims to engage 16-19 year old students with problems of historical interpretation in dialogue with historians. The project is delivered through an online virtual learning environment with facilities to embed documents and materials for students to read and contains secure discussion boards to which participating students and academics can 'post'.

The first iteration, in 2008, involved one school and one college, 15 student log-ons and two historians. The second, in 2009, involved

one school and two colleges, 30 student log-ons and two historians. The third, in 2011, involved five schools and four colleges, over 90 student log-ons and five historians.<sup>7</sup> The discussion fora were open for a number of weeks in all cases: the 2008 and 2009 iterations took place over approximately five weeks and the 2011 iteration over approximately 4 weeks.

There were common components in all three iterations. In all three iterations the focus was on historical controversies and, thus, on how historians construct history (History 3). In all three iterations the students were asked to read, evaluate and debate paired texts representing contrasting interpretations of an historical topic. The questions that the students were asked to answer in all iterations focused on (a) explaining why a particular historical disagreement may have come about and (b) evaluating the contrasting historical interpretations that they were asked to read. In all three cases, students were asked to read and to make evaluative posts on each other's answers and students also received feedback — in the form of evaluative comment on their work and in the form of questions designed to challenge their analyses — at least once in each exercise. In all cases, the historians modelled aspects of historical thinking (History 3) through their posts.

Despite these similarities, the design of the tasks, their content focus and the form of interaction between students and historians differed in a number of ways in the three iterations, for example:

- the first iteration included primary source materials as well as historians' arguments;
- the second iteration began with a generic question about disagreement rather than a question tied to a text;
- in the first and third iterations historians replied to individual posts whereas in the second iteration the historians posted generic responses to the discussion boards as a whole;
- the first and the second iteration focused on the same controversy (about a group of seventeenth century English religious radicals), whereas the third iteration involved a number of different discussion fora that took place simultaneously and that focused on five different topics from early modern and modern history.

A notable difference between the 2011 iteration and the previous two was that in 2011, as well as feeding back on student arguments, the historians presented their own arguments on the topics that the

discussions were focused on, and, as a result, in a number of the discussions, there was greater scope for the students to challenge the historians' claims and thus greater scope for dialogue. The variations in the design of the discussion fora reflected particular features of the circumstances of each iteration — such as the courses that participating students were following — and also reflected the fact that the discussion tasks in each iteration were collaboratively constructed by participating teachers and academics. The discussions in the 2011 iteration are yet to be systematically analysed. The discussion that follows below will focus on the 2008 and 2009 iterations and draws on analyses that have been completed (Chapman 2009b, 2011c and 2011d).

### 3.1 (a) *Process: Questioning Student Thinking*

In all three iterations of the HVA, the historians provided feedback on student posts but also challenged and questioned the students' thinking during the processes of discussion on the boards. The following historians' posts, from the 2009 HVA, respond to students' suggested explanations of why the differing historical interpretations that they were examining may have arisen.

Figure 7: Examples of historians' replies to student posts in the 2009 HVA (Chapman 2011d: 18-19)

#### Historian 1

I wondered whether the authors of the Group 2's post were being a little unkind to the 'subjectivity' of historians. You almost give the impression that historians 'choose' their sources on purely prejudicial considerations. Take also your German example. Isn't it likely that some German historians will go against the grain of national sympathy, particularly when that 'sympathy' was refracted through a national socialist lens? Group 5's response to the original statement was interesting.

The authors of the Group 4 post wonder whether historians who have lived through a particular period may have 'better insight'. This is possible, of course, but circumstances can alter perceptions. Some historians might have been too close to events to be objective as historians when they were strongly influenced (for example in response to a humanitarian crisis) as observers. It's

worth noting that there is a long tradition of history being written by key participants in events.

Historian 2

We're generally agreed that historians' political views influence what they write, but how does this work? Is it like cheering for Arsenal or creationism, where supporters defend a fixed conclusion against every challenge? Or is it more about viewpoint, where (for example) being black or female or royalist makes one aware of issues that have been overlooked without necessarily leading one to fixed conclusions?

Does seeing things from a different viewpoint make one a better or a worse judge, or just a different one? If a football referee asks the linesman who has seen something different, does this introduce bias (after all, the linesman has only seen one side of what happened), or does it help the decision to have a different view point available? Would it matter if the linesman wrote the match report instead of the referee?

What both these posts clearly do is draw attention to complexity. The students, as we shall see below, often tended to offer fairly simple explanations of why contrasting or conflicting accounts of the past might arise. What these posts do is challenge these explanations by drawing attention to the complex issues that simple explanations fail to consider and by posing questions in order to encourage the students to develop their thinking further.

### 3.1 (b) *Outcomes: Developing Student Thinking*

There is good evidence to suggest that many of the students who took part in 2008 and 2009 iterations of the HVA developed their thinking in response to the challenges or the questions contained in the historians' responses to their initial posts.

The exercises were designed such that posts expressing students' initial thoughts could be compared with posts made after they had received feedback from the historians. Student post data was analysed through a process of inductive coding through which broad categories of explanation were developed to enable students' explanations for differences in historical interpretation to be compared (Chapman 2011d). Figure 8 reports and summarises the codes that were developed to model students' explanations.

Figure 8: Code Categories developed to interpret the data sets (Chapman 2011d: 23)

Student posts were coded under one or more of the following categories if they explained variation in the accounts in terms of the considerations explained below.

<b>Code Category</b>	<b>Explanation</b>
Sources of evidence	The quantity or quality of the source materials available to the historians.
Subjectivity	Aspects of historians' subjectivities — such as their backgrounds, their ideologies or values.
Present context	Aspects of historians' present context — such as the climate of opinion and the consensus prevalent at the time of writing and their nearness / distance from the past in question.
Innovation	Historians' desire to innovate and be distinctive in their accounts of the past.
Genre	The style of writing used or the type of history being written.
Analysis	Historians' techniques or the depth of their analysis.
Mode of enquiry	Historians' purposes or aims and the questions historians asked.
Meaning construction	Historians' evaluation or interpretation of source materials and their conceptualization, classification and contextualization of these materials.

Figure 9 reports an analysis of the explanations for variations in historical interpretation offered by students in their initial and final posts to the 2009 HVA, using these codes, and it gives an indication of the extent to which the explanations that the students offered changed over the course of the exercise. There is not space to discuss equivalent data for the 2008 HVA here. However, an analysis of those posts suggests similar patterns of change (Chapman 2011d: 25-32).

Figure 9: A comparison of the incidence of different kinds of explanation for variation in historical interpretation coded under the code categories in all respondents' posts in the first and last stages of the 2009 HVA. (Chapman 2011d: 26)

N = 71 (Stage 1) and 40 (Stage 2)

	2009 initial post explanation count	2009 final post explanation count	Column 3 minus column 2
Sources of evidence	11	4	-7
Subjectivity	30	6	-24
Present context	13	0	-13
Innovation	6	2	-4
Genre	1	1	0
Analysis	3	0	-3
Mode of Enquiry	3	0	-3
Meaning construction	4	27	+23

The figure indicates some dramatic shifts in student responses, most notably, a decline in the incidence of explanations for variation in interpretation in terms of historians' subjectivities (-24) and present contexts (-13) and an increase in the number of responses explaining variation in interpretation in terms of meaning construction (+23). Figure 10 exemplifies the nature of this shift in the data set.

Figure 10: An example of an initial and a final student post from the 2009 HVA (Chapman 2011d: 33)

Initial post extract 2009 Student 4:

Historians could come to different conclusions regarding historical events because of the sources that the historian had used. Different sources have interpretations of events and this can affect what the historian using them concludes. Also the historian may have a better insight into an event if they were there or have access to first-hand account rather than using other historians' conclusions. Another factor in drawing different conclusions is the personal bias of the historians. This can include the social back-

ground, which can affect interpretations of movements such as Chartism, where a historian with a working class background would be more inclined to favour the Chartists.<sup>8</sup> The political background of the historian can affect their conclusion. A communist historian would have a very different conclusion of the Russian Revolution to a socialist.

Final post extract 2009 Student 4:

Some historians choose to interpret sources in a more subjective light, being more critical of any inferences that can be drawn. Historian A suggests that the four sources about the Ranters suggest that they did exist, whereas historian B claims that four sources is not a satisfactory amount to draw a feasible conclusion from. Some historians may choose to accept the attributes of the sources, for example historian A uses pamphlets written by Ranters to argue that they did exist, whereas historian B does not seem to think this is relevant. Furthermore, it is the interpretation of the sources that determines the conclusions which are to be drawn.

This post is typical of many of the posts in both the 2008 and 2009 HVA data sets in that it illustrates a shift from a ‘passive’ model of historians as ‘acted upon’ by their sources, by their personal biases, by their backgrounds so that, for example, ‘[t]he political background of the historian can affect their conclusion’, to an ‘active’ model of historians as ‘acting’ and making choices about how to interpret source materials, about how to evaluate source materials, and so on, so that, for example, ‘it is the interpretation of the sources that determines the conclusions which are to be drawn’. It would be rash to over-interpret these differences. However, the difference in the ‘grammar’ of thinking here is suggestive as is the fact that the second post develops the idea of ‘using’ sources, apparent in the first post, in much greater detail and in a way that foregrounds the language of reasoning (inference, conclusion) rather than the language of witnessing and testimony (‘if they were there... first hand account’).<sup>9</sup>

### 3.1 (c) *Outcomes: Students’ and Teachers Perceptions of the Project*

There is evidence then that student thinking developed over the course of these discussion exercises. How did students and teachers evaluate the HVA?

Evaluation data on student perceptions of the process, collected through student questionnaires in 2009 and 2011, suggest similar conclusions: 82.4% (2009) and 78% (2011) of questionnaire respondents agreed that the exercise had helped them develop their thinking about historical interpretations and controversies. 64.7% (2009) and 77.5% (2011) of questionnaire respondents agreed that interacting with academic historians had been a useful and enjoyable experience.

I will end with one teacher and one student observation from 2008 which gives a flavour of reactions to the exercise.

Figure 11: Exemplification of student and teacher evaluations of the 2008 HVA

Student comment (Chapman 2009b: 100)

I found this a very useful and beneficial activity, it helped me to explore more deeper historical perspectives and sources. Hearing responses from historians helped stimulate me to think more broadly on the issue than the straightforward approach I previously would have taken.

Teacher comment (Chapman, 2009b: 75)

I thought the HVA was a valuable exercise to get the students thinking historically out of their specific exam content. It meant that we were having conversations in class on the nature of evidence and historical interpretation which would otherwise not have occurred, and which developed their thinking.

#### 4. Conclusions

These case studies show that interactions between university academics and school and college history students in the 16-19 age range can readily be facilitated.<sup>10</sup> The case studies also demonstrate how such interaction can be used to model expert historical thinking and to challenge students to develop their understanding of the discipline of history (History 3). All the case studies suggest that these are worthwhile objectives to pursue and the third case study also shows that exercises of this nature can have a demonstrable effect on how students approach historical problems.

In recent years, in England at least, concern has often been expressed that ‘links between schools and higher education are no longer as strong as they once were’ (IHR 2005). These case studies model ways in which the gap between the parallel ‘worlds’ of school history and academic history (Booth 2005) might be narrowed and they also argue for the proposition that narrowing the gap is both an achievable and a desirable objective.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> I would like to acknowledge the many contributions made by the wide range of people who collaborated in or facilitated the case studies reported here, including, in chronological order, my ex-students at Truro College, Dr Jane Facey and her students at Esher College, Dr Gareth Pritchard, University of Canterbury, New Zealand, Professor Barry Coward, Birkbeck College, University of London, Katy Allen and her students at Lancaster Girls’ Grammar School, Judith Smith and her students at Godalming College, Dr Robert Poole, University of Cumbria, Professor Eric Evans, Lancaster University, Lisa Lavender, History Subject Centre, University of Warwick, Libby Bond and her students at Lampton School, Dr David Brown and his students at Farnborough College, Matt Harwood and his students at Preston College, Dr Elisabeth Pickles and her students at Highworth Grammar School, Daniel Magnoff and his students at Coombe Girls School, Rick Rogers and his students at Benton Park School, Antony Bounds, History Subject Centre, University of Warwick, Professor Justin Champion, Royal Holloway, University of London, Dr Alyson Brown and Roger Spalding, Edge Hill University, and Dr Marcus Collins, Loughborough University.

<sup>2</sup> These terms are developed by P. J. Rogers (Rogers 1979).

<sup>3</sup> In England, Wales and Northern Ireland, students studying history at this age typically follow ‘Advanced Subsidiary’ and ‘Advanced Level’ courses (Chapman 2011b).

<sup>4</sup> Further materials exemplifying student work and academic feedback for case studies 1 and 2 are available online (Cooper & Chapman 2009 b-d).

<sup>5</sup> The question was ‘Using your own knowledge and the evidence of all of the following sources, how far do you agree with Detlev Peukert’s judgement that the Nazi regime could rely upon ‘a certain basic consent [...] to the system on the part of the majority of the population’ in the years 1933–39?’ (Chapman & Facey 2009: 136).

<sup>6</sup> These projects have been supported by grants from the History Subject Centre of the Higher Education Academy in all iterations and also, in the case of the 2011 iteration, from Edge Hill University.

<sup>7</sup> An additional component of the 2011 iteration, not discussed here, involved a sixth historian and a differently structured task.

<sup>8</sup> Chartism was a working class political movement that flourished in the 1830s and 1840s in England and Wales.

<sup>9</sup> Chapman 2011a and 2011c explore related issues in greater depth.

<sup>10</sup> HSC 2010 provides valuable practical guidance on facilitating links between higher education and school history.

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# THE WORLD WAR II IN HISTORY DIDACTICS OF CHINESE MIDDLE SCHOOLS IN OUR NEW CENTURY CHARACTERISTICS AND REFLECTIONS<sup>1</sup>

Zhongjie Meng

*World War II (WW II) has become an important object in the Chinese history didactics and appeared with some new characteristics in the current century, here especially in middle schools. On first hand, the narratives of the WW II have changed from the traditional framework and identity structure to a united and global model. In the meanwhile, the aim of teaching WW II has moved gradually but strikingly from an ideologies-centered dimension to more reflective dimensions. However, this progress could still face with several unresolved problems, such as negligence of some intellectual developments in the course of the last twenty years, simplicity of methods of teaching WW II or the limitation of a global perspective on the common memory of WW II.*

## **Introduction**

The WW II was a particularly important historical event with global meanings. However, based on the different historical experiences and even paradoxical memory policies, its performances or narratives developed differently in all countries and in any time. This paper will summarize some basic characteristics of WW II narratives in the history didactics of Chinese middle schools since the year 2000, followed by the attempt to reflect its problems.

### **1. New Trends in the World War II Narratives**

Immediately after the first teaching program of world history in 1956, seven years after the People's Republic of China has been established, WW II became the major part in the history didactics of Chinese middle schools. In fact, the resistance war against the Japanese appeared in the Chinese history curriculum for the first time in 1932; then, in the version of 1940, the WW II became the main object of history lessons in China (Institute of Curriculum and Textbook 2000:

54, 86, 193). Apart from the involvement of the rising pressure of globalization in China (China entered into WTO in 2001), or the increasing popularity of the Internet since 1999 and some other changes of memory policies in the government, especially focusing on the new perspectives of participants in the resistance war against the Japanese, two new things appeared in the WW II narratives:

- The Resistance War against the Japanese' has been reconstructed and integrated into the whole framework of the WW II narratives as part of the structure of new history textbooks: 'The resistance war against the Japanese' (1931-1945) as one part of the WW II is definitely a memorable event for the modern Chinese society. However, the WW II narratives regularly have been divided into two categories before 2000: 'the resistance war against the Japanese' belonging to Chinese modern history; 'the WW II' has been arranged under the label 'World History', even though it has always been pointed out in the teaching programs that 'all resistance wars against invaders in China and other states had strong effect on the whole war' (Institute of Curriculum and Textbook 2000: 185). The main controversy concerns the change from an independent story to a subordinate part of 'the WW II' since 2001. Some new textbooks have started to put 'the resistance war against the Japanese' into the so-called 'one part of struggles against fascism'. For instances, the resistance war against the Japanese in China from 1931 to 1939 and the resistance war against Italians in Ethiopia from 1935 to 1936 as well as the Spanish Civil War in 1936 are all combined under the label of 'local struggles against fascism' in one new textbook (People's Education Publisher 2005: 50-2).
- The global meanings of the Chinese battlefield have been emphasized much more than before: Traditional narratives have always been limited in the dichotomous category so that the global dimension of the war remained more or less underestimated. After the turning point of the new century (precisely since 2001), the Chinese Expeditionary Force (Burma) has been emphasized in the textbooks (Wang Yamin 2010: 40). Readers could feel more emotionally moved, when they read the following narratives in one textbook, which summarizes the contributions of the Chinese Expeditionary Force (Burma) just as 'giving an unbelievably blow to the Japanese invaders since the Pacific War, taking a powerful

aid to the British army in Burma, realizing perforation of the international transportation in the southwest China, coordinating strongly with allied forces in the counterattack and devoting itself to the success of the ally in Burma at the end' (Yu Weimin 2009: 40). In this version, the editor additionally used the striking picture of an hero, the general in charge of the Chinese Expeditionary Force (Burma) who devoted himself to the battlefield in 1942. More interestingly, this general was memorized by both Kuo Ming Tang and the communist party. Moreover, the global position of 'the resistance war against the Japanese' has been drawn into the focus.

## **2. The Aim of Teaching World War II Moved from Ideology-centered to Reflective Dimensions**

The aim of history didactics, in particular the teaching of WW II has never been just ideology-centered, but started to become improvable for reflection under some universal values based on the development of human society. I'd like to explain this in the following 3 points.

### *2.1 Contribution of the Former Political Rivals in World War II has been Accepted*

As soon as 'the resistance war against the Japanese' is concerned, the frontline battlefields influenced by Kuo Ming Tang of China (Chinese National Party) are accepted again. In the traditional history didactics, the battlefields behind enemy lines led by the communist party of China have always been the outstanding ones in the war; consequently, the armed forces of Kuo Ming Tang then could have been described as 'useless and usually defeated' (Shen Qiwei 1992: 142). However, in comparison with other textbooks in the same time, this version seems more objective, because it obviously points out the successful examples of a victory by Kuo Ming Tang in a war against the Japanese invaders in Changsha, an important city in the Center of China.

It obviously contributed to the popular memorial policy, just as Jiang Zemin, the chairman of the republic at that time (1993-2003), said in a declaration of the conference for memorizing the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of WW II (3 September 1995), which emphasized the role of the communist party in the resistance war against the Japanese: 'At the beginning of the resistance war, the armies led by

the communist party entered into the battlefields behind enemy lines, organized people established the Anti-Japanese base areas there. Then the war stepped into the second period, in the confrontation, the battlefields behind enemy lines led by the communist party gradually became the main battlefield in the whole war, and the Eighth Route army, New Fourth army and People's Anti-Japanese Armed Forces had become the pillar in the resistance war. The communist party and the people's Anti-Japanese Armed Forces led by the communist party is the mainstay of the resistance war against the Japanese in China.<sup>2</sup>

Ten years later, the current chairman of the republic, Hu Jintao discussed the equal effects of 'frontline battlefields' and 'battlefields behind enemy lines' in the conference for memorizing the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of WW II (3 September 2005): 'The armies which have fought against the Japanese, led by Kuo Ming Tang and communist party have undertaken the different responsibilities in the frontline battlefields and the battlefields behind enemy lines so that Chinese people could finally fight united against the Japanese invaders.'<sup>3</sup> Under this new memory policy, new narratives appeared in the textbooks.

### *2.2 A New Approach on the Periodization of World War II*

As soon as 'periodization of WW II' is concerned, traditional qualitative analysis was replaced by a new approach. In former times, the resistance war against the Japanese in China and the resistance war against Italians in Ethiopia belonged to 'just wars', but the wars from 1939 to 1942 between Germany and western states have been both 'unjust wars' and imperialistic predatory wars. However, the war changed to a 'just war' after the ally against fascism was established. Usually, such a periodization is considered as one important cognitive object as well as one part in the 'Thinking and Excise' (Shen Qiwei 1992: 40).

Nowadays, the periodic characteristics have changed and have been summarized as local wars before 1939, which broke out in 1939 and escalated from 1941 to 1942, including Stalingrad as the turning-point in WW II.

### *2.3 Pacifism has become the Main Perspective in the New Textbooks*

As soon as 'the educational aim of WW II' is concerned, the new ideas in the textbooks after 2001 could be described as motivated by

pacifism. In some parts of the exercises, the authors of the new textbooks constantly suggest the young generations to ‘reconsider over’ the relationship between ‘peace and development’, when they have finished the reading of the text about WW II (Wang Side 2004: 87-8). It is recommended that pupils should ‘know the fundamental reasons how WW II broke out, know about the main disasters for the human beings caused by WW II, know all the economic and technological effects of WW II’, and finally ‘know the importance and necessity to stop the predatory war’, at last ‘admit that people could not realize the peace without the unity and cooperation between just powers and strong will against fascism in WW II’ (People’s Education Publisher, 2005: 81).

### **3. Reflections on the Current History Didactics of World War II in the Chinese Middle Schools**

#### *3.1 Some New Ideas from the Academic Progress are still Excluded from the Textbooks*

For example, both the position and effect of the resistance war against the Japanese have been debated in China since 1978, but only a few conclusions have made their way into the published textbooks. The Chairman of the association of Researchers on WW II in China, Hu Dekun has pointed out that the position of Chinese battlefields in the world anti-fascist war remains from a perspective, developed almost twenty years ago: ‘Chinese battlefields were the only ones in the worldwide anti-fascist war before 1937 to 1939, when WW II broke out. Secondly, Chinese battlefields were the only oriental ones in the anti-fascist war before the pacific war broke out. After then, Chinese battlefield should be considered as the most important ones in the oriental war’ (Hu Dekun 1990). Obviously, it could help the young generations to catch the global meanings of the resistance war against the Japanese, which is surprisingly not mentioned by the current history textbooks.

Moreover, the new textbooks already mentioned the contribution of the Chinese Expeditionary Force (Burma), but still not precisely enough to point out that the whole Chinese battlefields served as important intelligence and airplane centers as well as counterattack bases for the Ally in the Asian-pacific areas, which has been the main perspective amongst the Chinese scholars (Zhao Wenliang 2007).

### 3.2 *Forms of History Didactics in Chinese Middle Schools Seem to be too Simple*

Besides history textbooks, students in China could gain the information about WW II through active participation in some memorial festivals and touring on the cemeteries or memorials. Of course, recently some good schools started to offer a few exploratory courses, in which students are steadily encouraged to search for first-hand materials by themselves and try to write a report on the theme. However, we will find experimental forms (such as war and death in the concentration camps in Germany) or conversational forms (such as interviews with the survivors of the Holocaust in the U.S.A.), if we compare it with other nations.

### 3.3 *Common Memories of World War II Have not Become Part of*

#### *History Didactics in Chinese Middle Schools*

It is well known that WW II is a global event, which can only be understood in a multidimensional framework, in which all different forms of memory from all over the world could be exchanged, debated and admitted. But the ‘war of memory’ is still popular in and between several nations (Popp 2009). Because of various reasons, the textbooks that are written and edited by German and French Scholars in the last five years, are still ignored by Chinese historians.<sup>4</sup> As a result, the memory of WW II is further based on the nation-state perspective and has not yet been pushed forward to the narratives which are based on the global perspective.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> This paper is from my presentation in the international conference about ‘Representation of the world history from 1945 up to now. Comparing the characteristics of Asian and European textbook’, which was held in East China Normal University in November 2011. Thanks for useful information and suggestion from Prof. Yueqin Li of ECNU and Prof. Dr. Susanne Popp of Augsburg University.

<sup>2</sup> Jiang Zemin, Speech at the Conference of Memorizing the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Resistance War against Japanese as well as the World Anti-fascist war in the Capital. See <http://politics.people.com.cn/GB/8198/46867/46869/3380530.html> (19 July 2011).

<sup>3</sup> Hu Jintao, Speech at the Conference of Memorizing the 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Resistance War against Japanese. See <http://politics.people.com.cn/GB/1024/3665666.html> (19 July 2011).

<sup>4</sup> Only the writer introduced the project in an academic journal. See Meng, Z. (2010) 'A Formation of Collective Memory: The Franco-German History Textbook. An Interview with Professor Etienne François', *History. Didactic. Problems* 198 (3), 36-9.

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## FROM THEORIES OF HISTORY TO TEXTBOOK PRESENTATIONS: THEMES OF IMPERIALISM

Daniel V. Moser-Léchet

*This contribution intends to determine, how theories of history can provide criteria on the selection and presentation of subjects and problems of history for schoolbooks and history classes. In order to illustrate this, we have chosen the subject 'new imperialism' (also 'classical imperialism') between 1870 and 1914. We foreground questions about the causes of imperialism. In the first part, I shall provide insight into developments in theories of imperialism of the last decades and present the most important scientific consensuses and dissents in this area. Therefore, the subject here is object theories and not history theories. Jörn Rüsen differentiates three levels of object-related theories: a) the categorical basic terminology, b) the explicit frame of reference of the historical interpretation and c) the general periodification. In the second part, we shall see how far Swiss history school books for secondary school level I take up the discussion of imperialism theories and if they also display these explicitly. According to several scientific surveys, schoolbooks remain important guiding instruments for classes, which can be supported by practical teaching examples. In the third part, I shall present some conclusions on the relation between scientific history theories and schoolbook presentations.*

### 1. On the Discussion of Imperialism Theory over the Last Decades

A first glance at the critical literature shows that Wolfgang J. Mommsen's presentation of imperialism theories from 1987 continues to have a strong influence.<sup>2</sup>

Also later authors did not divert from Mommsen's proposed content classification, especially in German speaking parts. Mommsen differentiated between classical economist theories (such as those of left-liberal Hobson or Marxist theoreticians like Marx, Lenin, Luxemburg etc.) and the political imperialism theories (e.g. in Max Weber). Additionally, Mommsen describes the basic features of social imperialism theory (Solution of the industrialized state's problems by imperialistic expansion<sup>3</sup>) and of free trade imperialism ('The flag follows the trade'<sup>4</sup>), as well as the 'periphery-orientated imperialism theories' (Fieldhouse 1973) which also illustrate the part of the vic-

tims of imperialism. The term ‘periphery’ has largely established itself in the discussion of imperialism theory and is based on the theory of the modern world system by Immanuel Wallerstein (1986 and 1998). Although the term ‘periphery’ in this theory presents a Euro-centric perspective, Fieldhouse stressed non-European views.<sup>5</sup>

In his presentation, Mommsen not only discusses theories on the causes of imperialism, he also includes theories on colonialism, neo-colonialism and under-development. Such connections can also be found with more recent English authors, such as Bush (2006) and Kiely (2010). Concerning the categorization of imperialism theories, the Dutch H. L. Wesseling (2004) largely takes on Mommsen’s propositions. A different classification is proposed by Afro-American historian Godfrey N. Uzoigwe (1987: 39-41): He distinguishes between economic theories (Hobson, Luxemburg, Lenin), psychological theories (Social Darwinism, Christian Mission, Social Atavism according to Schumpeter), diplomatic theories (National Prestige, Balance of Powers, Global Strategy) and finally theories of the African dimension (Hopkins 1973). Catherine Coquéry-Vidrovitch (2009) stresses the African views in a similar way.

Philip Pomper (2005) discusses more recent developments of imperialism theories. Apart from liberal and Marxist theories, he also mentions ‘soft-marxist-postmodern hybrid theoreticians’ which also highlight the cultural aspects of expanding capitalism and the continuing effects of imperialism in the post-colonial era; he particularly refers to the publications of Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2002 and 2004). Hardt and Negri present the hypothesis that ‘sovereignty has assumed a new form, connecting a series of national and supra-national organisms which are united by a single logic of ruling. This new global form of sovereignty is what we call empire’.<sup>6</sup>

Therefore, Hard and Negri – and also Pomper – do not longer suggest a historical definition of imperialism, but use the term ‘empire’ which is not the same as ‘imperialism’. In more recent imperialism theory since 2000, political studies and studies of international relations play an important part. Moreover, Pomper refers to new approaches in imperialism research which highlight aspects of gender, as for example with Philippa Levine (2004). Gender describes the culturally constructed roles of women and men and is defined as socially and historically produced and situational.<sup>7</sup> Barbara Bush (2006) stresses gender aspects mostly in theories on imperialistic ruling, less in theories on the causes of imperialism.

In recent years, the discussion on imperialism theory has been revived, particularly in English speaking countries, by theories on post-colonialism and the US foreign policies with the interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan. Bush (2006) and Ray Kiely (2010) do not limit themselves to 'new imperialism' or 'classical imperialism' and its epoch, but also include today's questions on globalization. Such views are important with respect to the foregrounding of the long duration, but they shall not be pursued further here, since we focus on theories on the causes of classical imperialism.

Barbara Bush (2006: 23-5, 83-7, 115-45) presents in great detail cultural-historical approaches in the imperialism discussion: again and again, there have been efforts to legitimize imperialistic politics by referring to the cultural mission, in France the spreading of the French language and culture, in Great Britain the spreading of the Enlightenment, modernization, Christian mission and introducing of an orderly legal system. Politicians in Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Great Britain and the US have always highlighted the cultural mission in their speeches to defend their foreign policies.<sup>8</sup>

'Civilization/superior religion was pitted against barbarism/paganism' (Bush 2006: 24). And: 'Conduits of cultural imperialism included Western medicine, science and technology, Christianity, European education and languages and Western principles of business, law, taxation and accountancy' (Bush 2006: 125-30).

The fight against the slave trade was also part of the legitimization of colonial rule. The same author points out the importance of imperialism for the national identity of the ruling powers (Bush 2006: 21).

Similarly, Schöllgen and Kissling (2009: 163) direct the discussion to cultural-historical approaches in imperialism theory. They mention the military-strategic motives of imperialism with the example of Great Britain's securing of the Suez canal and of the sea route to India; military also plays an important part in France's conquests in West Africa. Pomper calls this 'an aristocratic warrior culture which had been at the core of imperial projects'.<sup>9</sup>

Schöllgen and Kissling (2009: 51) make a clear temporal delineation (periodification) of the term 'imperialism' by setting 'early imperialism' for the time after 1815 and 'high imperialism' for the time from 1884 (Berlin conference) to 1914; Wesseling (2004: 3) proposes 1870 as a starting point, Bush (2006: 21) suggests 1880 – 1914 as the end of this phase is largely agreed on. The political

studies scholar Kiely (2010: 5) limits his ‘classical imperialism’ to the years between 1880 and 1945. The different types of periodification point to different concepts of imperialism.

A different discussion, which also deals with specifying the term imperialism, addresses the issue whether imperialism only concerns overseas expansion or also continental ones (especially with regards to Russia). Wesseling (2004: 142) refers to the continental Western expansion of the US and offers the opinion that, if continental expansion is also called imperialism, then even the conquest of Brittany and the Languedoc by France during the Middle Ages would have to be called imperialism. Research shows a beginning consent to limit the term imperialism just to overseas expansion. The Russian, the Austrian-Hungarian Empire and the Western expansion of the US are excluded by this limitation.

Finally, Schöllgen and Kissling (2009: 166) discuss the national peculiarities of imperialism and hereby implicitly try to make attributions: In this way, British imperialism seems to be directed more by economic interests, while political motives dominate in French imperialism. Doubtlessly, the history of British and French imperialism cannot be separated from the history of the metropolis of power. Osterhammel (2006) proceeds similarly by showing the characteristics of the different colonial systems. Osterhammel differentiates between ‘imperialism’ (attempt to gain control over the world) and ‘colonialism’ (dominion of certain overseas territories). According to him, only the USA and Great Britain are fully developed imperialist powers, while France, Germany and Japan are only limited powers. However, there is a close connection between imperialism and colonialism if it is accepted that imperialism designates overseas expansion.

Wehler (1972: 23) writes: ‘imperialism is understood to be [...] that direct-formal and indirect-formal rule, which the occidental industrialized nations, with their specific economic, social and political problems, extended over the less developed regions of the earth, thanks to their many-sided superiority.’ The less developed regions were often potential colonial territories.

Kiely (2010: 2) says: ‘imperialism is a term closely linked to, but distinguishable from empire and colonialism [...] imperialism is often used to refer to the processes whereby empire is maintained and expanded.’

Indeed, not every empire was or is imperialistic and not every

colony is part of an empire. These distinctions are important for an exact terminology.

Also, the difference between informal and formal imperialism is doubtlessly of importance, as it was made known by Robinson and Gallagher's theory of free trade imperialism (1953).

If we take a look at the scientific discussion on imperialism theories, some aspects like the temporal limitation on 'new imperialism', the spatial limitation on overseas expansion and the importance of economic and political motives for the 'new imperialism' are largely undisputed.

Cultural motives as a authorization for imperialistic expansion and the 'periphery-oriented' imperialism theories were less intensively discussed in scientific discussion. These two elements also offer didactical possibilities for history classes, since they enable a change of perspective and facilitate the access to insights to diverse causes of imperialism.

## **2. Presentation of Imperialism in a Selection of Schoolbooks**

Between scientific presentation and teaching, the schoolbook still plays an important part, directly or indirectly. There are probably certain 20<sup>th</sup> century issues, where the schoolbook plays a less important role, because teachers have access to great amounts of other materials (Hodel & Waldis 2007: 129). For the era of high imperialism, I suggest that schoolbooks often decisively influence both the selection of contents and the didactic structure in class (Haydn 2011: 67). In connection with the research project 'History and Politics in Class' (Gautschi & Moser et al. 2007) two video recordings of classes with issues of imperialism were made and in both cases the teachers held their lessons in close relation to the selected schoolbook.<sup>10</sup> Naturally, the empirical basis is too thin to verify the hypothesis mentioned above.

In my analysis I shall discuss the following Swiss schoolbooks for secondary school level I:

- 'Durch Geschichte zur Gegenwart 2' (DGG) (Zürich: 1986)
- 'Menschen in Zeit und Raum 8, Unterwegs zur Moderne, Industrialisierung bis Imperialismus' (UZM) (Buchs: 2006)
- 'Histoire générale' (Lausanne: 1999)
- 'Histoire' (Fribourg: 1992)<sup>11</sup>

My five questions in the analysis of the schoolbooks are:

- How closely do the authors follow the temporal and spatial limitations of ‘new imperialism’ as proposed by scientific research?
- Are economic and political motives of ‘new imperialism’ presented?
- Are cultural motives of ‘new imperialism’ taken into account?
- How is the perspective of the colonized shown?
- Does the schoolbook contain theoretical statements on ‘new imperialism’?

It is clear, that there are close interactions between economic, political and cultural motives on imperialism which cannot be further pursued here. Some schoolbooks try to present information on imperialism on different levels: on the one side, on a relatively abstract, theoretical level, on the other side by giving specific examples of imperialist powers and their colonies.

### 2.1 *Presentation of Imperialism in ‘Durch Geschichte zur Gegenwart’ (DGG)*

(1) The authors make a clear temporal limitation of the term ‘new imperialism’ and focus in their presentation on the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (with the exception of India in the 18<sup>th</sup> ct.): the climax of imperialism is set in between 1880 and 1914. The spatial limitation is less clear, since the authors also define the continental expansion of Russia as ‘imperialistic’ (Meyer & Schneebeli 1986).

(2) DGG mentions both political and economic elements of imperialism (with graphics, authored and source texts). In the depiction of the colonization of India, remarks on the role of the East India Company and direct and indirect rule are missing. In the texts on German-East Africa and Nigeria, the trade interests of the colonial powers are clearly expressed. It is also worth mentioning that the authors also included the role of the Swiss economy and the Basle Mission in the colonies. One chapter briefly mentions the history of China and the informal imperialism in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century.

(3) The authors mention the fight against slave trade, the Christian mission as well as the spreading of Western civilization as cultural motives of imperialism but the economic and political motives are considered more important.

(4) The perspective of the colonized is only marginally mentioned in this textbook: African resistance is briefly mentioned, without discussing the reasons for its failure. A letter from the Nabib of Bengal from 1733 is the only partially quoted source text from the perspec-

tive of the colonized.

(5) Theoretic statements on imperialism in the schoolbook: ‘The Romans called the power they had over the people in their realm, Imperium. Therefore, we still call great realms where one people rules over others, Empires. The wish to gain power over other people is called Imperialism.’<sup>12</sup>

In the Zurich schoolbook we find this theoretical statement already at the beginning of the chapter. Etymologically, the recourse to antiquity is not wrong, but ‘imperialism’ becomes almost timeless in this definition and by that also imprecise because the different forms of imperialism are not made clear. Experts on antiquity mostly reject the comparison of the Imperium Romanum with 19<sup>th</sup> century imperialism. Bush (2006, 10-20, 23-5, 41-2) repeatedly expresses criticism on the comparison of antique empires with the empires of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century to merely define imperialism as the ‘will to rule’ and not as a process that creates further ambiguities.

In another text the authors state that next to Great Britain, Russia and France also the German Empire, Belgium, the Netherlands and Portugal had become ‘core empires’ which consist of a ‘motherland’ and dependant colonies (Meyer & Schneebeli 1986: 241; Cooper 2005: 153-71).

This theoretical statement shows how imprecisions are created, if there is no clear terminological distinction between ‘empire’, ‘imperialism’ and ‘colonialism’ (cf. Osterhammel 2006: 19-21, Kiely 2010: 2). There is imperialism without colonialism and colonialism without imperialism. Belgium and the Netherlands belong without any doubt to this last category. These states possessed productive colonies but not world empires. Although parts of the Portuguese colonial realm are located in Africa and Asia, these are exploited largely by English capital.<sup>13</sup>

## 2.2 Presentation in the Schoolbook: ‘Unterwegs zur Moderne’ (UZM)

(1) The authors of UZM refrain from a precise definition of the era of high imperialism and remain fairly general by referring to ‘in the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century’. The development of colonialism is illustrated by maps of Africa (1830-1890-1914) and clarified in the authored text on Africa and Asia. In the glossary, a more detailed definition of the imperialistic era (1880-1914) is given, however the term ‘overseas expansion’ is not used. The continental Russian expansion is described as ‘colonialism’ (Boller et al. 2006: 152).

(2) In the above mentioned glossary of the book, only ‘aggressive economic and military competition’ is mentioned but not the political conflicts. This is corrected by the authored text: imperialism ‘describes the policies of super powers that search to make international politics by the creation of colonial realms’. Here, only politics is mentioned, whereas a further section presents the most important elements of different imperialism theories, such as economics, social imperialism, nationalism and cultural mission.<sup>14</sup>

Similarly to DGG, UZM is trying to show problems of imperialism with the help of selected examples: India, China, Congo, Algeria and (atypically) Liberia. The case of India is much more precisely presented than in DGG, especially considering the economic aspects. In the more detailed presentation of the situation in Congo, economic aspects are foregrounded as well. In the case of Algeria, the authors deal in detail with the problems created by European settlements. The chapter ‘China and the Opium trade’ includes an example of informal imperialism. Other examples, like South America during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, are not explored.

(3) The cultural motives of imperialism appear in contributions on the technological superiority of the Europeans, the Christian mission, the civilization mission and the ‘scientifically’ legitimated racism. In the section on Algeria, the class book highlights the cultural mission, with its manifestation in French law and the French language.

(4) In the chapter ‘Critical statements on colonialism’, UZM presents opinions of Nehru, Nigerian historian Jacob F. A. Ajayi and Nkrumah.

(5) On a theory of imperialism, the glossary contains the following entry: ‘Imperialism, imperialist, imperialistic (lat. imperium, global realm): Expansion policy of a state with the goal of gaining colonies and join these in one realm. The time between 1880 and 1914 is called the imperialistic age, which was dominated by aggressive economic and military competition among the colonial powers.’<sup>15</sup>

This definition primarily focuses on political imperialism theory; ‘aggressive economic [...] competition’ is only mentioned in the second phrase as a characteristic of the imperial age.

The authored text places the real imperialist powers on the same level as simple colonial powers without imperialistic ambitions, like Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Denmark.

### 2.3. *Histoire Générale*

(1) This book's author chose the title 'L'expansion européenne: la seconde vague' for the chapter in question. 19<sup>th</sup> century imperialism thus appears as a 'second wave' – after the 'first wave' of European trade colonialism, prior to the French Revolution. The 'wave' metaphor is problematic, since it blurs basic differences in the development of European imperialism. For the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Bourgeois deals with the opium war in China (as a form of informal imperialism) and the beginnings of the French conquest of Algeria. In the following texts, the main focus of the presentation lies with issues of high imperialism. Bourgeois does not make a spatial limitation of the term imperialism, as he prominently presents the English territorial expansion in Canada with an authored text and map (Bourgeois 1999: 804).

(2) The author underlines the importance of the individual trading companies' economic motives in general terms, without addressing the connections to imperialist powers. However, he also mentions the political motives (power, nationalism, prestige) and refers to the fact that in French colonialism military leaders were leading the way in expansion and presented the politicians with a 'fait accompli' – this is a fact that can also be found in scientific texts, but is barely mentioned in imperialism theory (Le Cour Grandmaison 2009: 8).

(3) The cultural motives of imperialism appear only marginally – with a very general remark on the 'cultural mission' of the imperialist powers and the 'scientific' racism (Bourgeois 1999: 822).

(4) The perspective of the colonized is only presented briefly in two places: First, the resistance of Abd el Kadr in Algeria and second the colonized stance towards European civilisation.

(5) The glossary features the following definition on the theory of imperialism: 'impérialisme: politique d'un Etat qui vise à placer d'autres Etats sous sa dépendance politique ou économique.' This definition remains too general to precisely describe the phenomenon of high imperialism. Particularly, it does not mention the important connection between political and economic motives (Bourgeois 1999: IV).

The authored text in 'Histoire Générale' mentions political motives like power, competition by other forces, strategic considerations as well as economic motives like markets and investments. The issue of natural resources is omitted (Bourgeois 1999: 804).

## 2.4 'Histoire'

(1) The authors limit the time of high imperialism from 1870 to 1914. The spatial limitation is less clear: Below the title 'Grandes puissances et impérialismes' appear also the continental expansions of Russia and the USA (Bugnard et al. 1992).

(2) The authors focus in different ways on the economic motives of imperialism, while the political ones are just mentioned in passing. The remarks on migration movements in America and Australia are rather confusing, since these areas were no longer colonies in the original sense. A graphics showing the flow of capital from Europe to other continents clarifies the relatively small importance of colonial territories with regards to investments. The political and economic interests of Great Britain, France and Germany are presented differentiated, which also brings forward national particularities.

(3) A short authored text mentions the national pride of great imperial powers, the civilization mission and racism (Bugnard et al. 1992).

(4) The views of the colonized is not presented in this textbook.

(5) The theoretical explanations in this book start with a problematic comparison between Greek and Roman colonies in Antiquity and European colonies in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In further texts, imperialism appears as a solely political phenomenon but shortly afterwards the following statement is made: 'De 1870 à 1914, les Etats européens se partagent le monde; ils s'y taillent de vastes empires coloniaux. Les causes de cette expansion sont à chercher dans le domaine économique et social' (Bugnard et al. 1992: 76). The term imperialism does not appear in the glossary.

## 3. Conclusions

The analysis of schoolbooks on the subject 'new imperialism' shows that the types of periodification are mostly relatively precise. Economic and political motives are foregrounded, even though with different emphases. Cultural motives and the perspective of the colonized appear less frequently in the analyzed textbooks. A particularly differentiated presentation of the motives of 'new imperialism' appears in 'Unterwegs zur Moderne'. Most schoolbooks distinguish insufficiently between the terms 'imperialism', 'empire' and 'colony' which leads to a vague definition of the term imperialism.

High imperialism is a complex area of research and its multiple forms of appearance are not facilitating the formation of theories. The following seems crucial to me: 'I am all for minute and diligent archival work that will trace a concrete historical series of events in terms of immediate complexities. But the point of either is to enable us to see better what has happened and what is happening. For that we need [...] models with which to weigh significance, we need summarizing concepts with which to create the knowledge which we then seek to communicate to each other.'<sup>16</sup>

These 'models' and 'concepts' are also needed especially in history didactics as criteria for the selection of topics as well as their emphasis in curricula, schoolbooks and in class. A selection according to general didactical criteria is not sufficient, subject-specific criteria have to be taken into account and historical object theories can contribute here. It is remarkable, how little the importance and function of subject-specific object theories is discussed in history didactics writings.

It is self-explanatory that theories on imperialism are subject to scientific controversies; at the least, there are a few statements where a far reaching consensus has been reached. I think for example of the temporal limitation of high imperialism and the importance of economic and political factors (with different emphases). Other questions from the discussion on imperialism are not so clearly answered, for example the limitation to overseas expansion and the following exclusion of the continental expansion of Russia and the USA.

It is not without reason that some authors highlight the close connections between imperialism theory, colonialism theory and theories of post colonialism (e.g. Bush 2006). It is my opinion that such long term connections should also be considered more strongly in the creation of curricula and schoolbooks. This could be done, for example, by including historical longitudinal cuts as they have been applied for the history of the USA.

The recourse to subject-specific theories can provide us with certain clues as to which statements are important in a schoolbook presentation and which ones are not. The consideration of elements of more recent imperialism theories, such as culture theory and particularly the periphery-oriented imperialism theory remain desiderata to curricula, schoolbooks and history lessons.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Rüsen, J. (1994), *Historische Orientierung*, Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 78.
- <sup>2</sup> Mommsen, W. J. (1987), *Imperialismustheorien. Ein Überblick über die neueren Imperialismustheorien*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- <sup>3</sup> Wehler, H.-U. (1970), *Imperialismus*, Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch.
- <sup>4</sup> Robinson, D. (1988), *La guerre sainte d'al-Hajj Umar. Le Soudan occidental au milieu du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris: Karthala.
- <sup>5</sup> On critiques of the term 'periphery', see also: Bush (2006: 79).
- <sup>6</sup> Hardt, M. & Negri, A. (2002), *Empire. Die neue Weltordnung*, Frankfurt am Main: Campus.
- <sup>7</sup> Butler, J. (1990), *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, London: Routledge, 22.
- <sup>8</sup> See the quotes in: Boller et al. (2006: 158); Meyer et al. (1988: 249-50).
- <sup>9</sup> Pomper (2005: 5); Pomper's statement is especially true for France. In the Third Republic's army, many noblemen can be found among the officers. The conquests of the French expeditionary corps in Western Africa often presented the governments in Paris with 'faits accomplis'. See also: Coquéry-Vidrovitch, C. & Goerg, O. (eds) (1992), *L'Afrique occidentale au temps des français. Colonisateurs et colonisés 1860-1960*, Paris: Editions la Découverte; Diouf, M. (1990), *Le Kajoor au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Pouvoir cédés et conquête coloniale*, Paris: Karthala; Robinson, D. (1988), *La guerre sainte d'al-Hajj Umar. Le Soudan occidental au milieu du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris: Karthala.
- <sup>10</sup> In one video the schoolbook was DGG 2: 247, in the other 'Weltgeschichte im Bild 8'.
- <sup>11</sup> The selected schoolbooks are in use in many schools in both German- and French-speaking parts of Switzerland. The older schoolbook 'Weltgeschichte im Bild 8' (Buchs, 1985, Aargau: Lehrmittelverlag des Kantons) can only be found in smaller numbers and was not taken into consideration.
- <sup>12</sup> Meyer & Schneebeli (1986: 225); for a differentiation of the term imperialism, see also Osterhammel (2006: 26).
- <sup>13</sup> Boller et al. (2006: 208) and Glossary.
- <sup>14</sup> Boller et al. (2006: 152). Until 1917, Denmark was in possession of St. Thomas Isle in the Caribbean and Greenland.
- <sup>15</sup> Wallerstein, I. (1998), *Das moderne Weltssystem II – Der Merkantilismus. Europa zwischen 1600 und 1750*, Wien: Promedia, 166.
- <sup>16</sup> See also: Bush 2006: 'Imperialism and Postcolonialism'.

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## BETWEEN 'NATIONAL DEFENSE' AND 'PEACEKEEPING' – HISTORY EDUCATION IN COLD WAR SWITZERLAND

Nadine Ritzer

*Officially, Switzerland was one of the neutral states in the Cold War. In fact, however, economically as well as ideologically, Switzerland was a part of the West. This was accompanied by a widespread fear of Communism, which had impacts on Swiss schools too. This article focuses on the question, how schools became the vehicle from which to launch a 'National Spiritual Defense'. To master the challenges of the present, the goal of teaching history in a 'scientifically correct' manner receded in importance. Other 'functions' were discussed – three of them, found throughout the discourses in teachers' journals and curricula are presented in this article: the defense function, the promotion of peace and the strengthening of democracy.*

### 1. Introduction

During the Cold War, Switzerland remained a neutral state, but, economically as well as ideologically, it was a part of the West.<sup>1</sup> This led to a widespread, but somewhat diffuse fear of Communism, which had, as for instance Michel Caillat et al. (2009) have shown, in different contexts, distinct roots in Switzerland. This Cold War atmosphere also influenced schools. One question, which society has to answer, is, which cultural content and techniques – understood as a part of the 'cultural memory' (Assmann, 2007) – should be transmitted from the older generation to the younger one. In educational journals, curricula or schoolbooks, aims and objectives of the culture are made explicit.<sup>2</sup> During the Cold War, discursive battles took place to clarify, what kind of history teaching – concerning contents, methods and objectives – could face the 'challenge of Communism'. Should teachers use 'historia' as 'magistra vitae' to strengthen the 'National Spiritual Defense' (Geistige Landesverteidigung)?<sup>3</sup> Was it reasonable to perpetuate the national master narrative? Or was it more effective to teach contemporary history? Was it enough for the pupils to be receptive to teachers' presentation or should democracy find its way into the classrooms?

The objective of the doctoral project, ‘The Cold War in Swiss Schools 1945-1989’, of which some findings are presented in this article, is to investigate how far the ‘social reality’ (Vierhaus & Chartier 1995) of the Cold War was represented in the context of Swiss schools, especially in the discourses of history education. With a qualitative-interpretive method, this study analyzes school curricula and history textbooks from different cantons of Switzerland as well as the records of the Conference of Swiss Directors of Education (EDK). Furthermore, the study examines contemporary Cold War discourses by looking at the content of the two main educational journals of Switzerland. It looks at the ‘Swiss Teacher’s Journal’ (Schweizerische Lehrerzeitung, SLZ) which served as the official organ of the confessionally and politically neutral Swiss German teachers’ organization. It also analyzes a lesser-known journal, the ‘Swiss School’ (Schweizer Schule, SS), the association journal of the smaller ‘Roman Catholic Teacher’s Union’. To complete the findings, I also carried out 16 face-to-face interviews with former teachers.

## 2. A Cultural Historical Approach

Theoretically, the study follows a cultural historical approach. According to the well known definition of Clifford Geertz (1973: 89), culture is ‘a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life’. For Oexle (1996: 25) culture is the ‘totality of the creation of man in all areas of life’ and their interpretation, transformation, appropriation and rejection. One can sum up, that culture is all sort of ‘symbolization’<sup>4</sup> or ‘representations’ (Vierhaus & Chartier 1995) and the context of the backdrop against which certain events and processes as well as institutions, dealings and practices are described.<sup>5</sup> Even the process of teaching itself, the methods and the relationship between pupils and teachers – what Bourdieu labels a part of the ‘social practice’ – can be seen as part of culture.

The analysis starts from the premise that school is part of society that it has the task of passing on culture and that at the same time schools produce culture. With Assmann we can say, school transmits an important part of the ‘cultural memory’. Therefore, judgements concerning the contents and portrayals of history teaching are

influenced by the current political situation. Analyses of the ongoing Cold War were, especially in the 1950s and 1960s, connected to a teleological master narrative of Switzerland's national history. The cultural memory was seemingly designed to strengthen the 'Swiss spirit' against the temptation of Communism.

### **3. The Functions of Teaching History**

As an important task, schools should, in many eyes, support the 'National Spiritual Defense', a position, which continued to be propagated officially until the late 1960s. In fact, this way of thinking can be found through the end of the Cold War. What was this 'Spiritual National Defense'? This political and cultural concept aimed to strengthen 'Swiss cultural values' against all sorts of external and internal enemies – against the totalitarianism of Nazi Germany, later against Communism but also against cultural imports from the U.S.A. like movies, Jazz or 'trashy literature'.<sup>6</sup> Most discourses in the teacher's journals didn't define precisely what constituted the 'Swiss cultural values' even if various authors paid lip service to neutrality, freedom, democracy, the rule of law, a vague sense of community as well as the so-called 'Christian west'.<sup>7</sup> To support the defense of 'Swiss values' was only one challenge of history education throughout the Cold War period. There remained the question of what were the most important functions of school in general and history instruction in particular.

In the newly-formulated education reforms and legislation of the 1950s, the awakening of 'love of homeland' and 'loyalty to the fatherland' were given as the central goal of teaching. The canton of Lucerne promoted the education of youth to become 'people of character and good, loyal citizens' while St. Gallen thought of educating them to become 'efficient, Christian people and loyal citizens'. In contrast, the canton of Zurich called for 'responsible Europeans who are prepared to defend their ideals of and for humanity'.<sup>8</sup> The 1940s and 1950s curricula treated 'love of the homeland' as a central teaching objective in history and social sciences at the primary level too.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, pedagogy periodicals published articles to the questions of the objectives of history instruction. Schematically simplified, various lines of discourse can be

derived from this literature, which go beyond imparting knowledge and ‘culture’, for instance:

- Foundation of cultural coherence
- The teaching of ‘cultural values’ which encompass freedom, democracy, rule of law and a sense of community as well as a Christian occidental culture
- Disposition and character training
- Strengthening of the will to resist and defend the country
- Explanation of the present – preparation for the future
- Promotion of peace and democracy within a global community
- Promotion of independent thought and the freedom to form one’s own opinion

The categories overlap one another and were more than sometimes combined within discourse. Here, the research demonstrates three functions found throughout the discourses named above as examples of what could have been instrumental in the Cold War: the defense function, the promotion of peace and the strengthening of democracy.

### 3.1 *Spiritual National Defense through National History?*

Those who focused on the defense function of history education gave Swiss history a high priority. This appeared in discourse as an eternal battle against an outside enemy. The ‘liberation tradition’ was emphasized, and the overarching national narrative was updated from the era of the crusading hero of the Middle Ages to the glorification of the successful ‘resistance against fascism’. The adaptation of the master narrative of a kind of ‘traditional Swiss self-defense’ to the ‘new enemy in the East’ succeeded easily, especially since, as Kurt Imhof wrote (Imhof 1996: 36), in the 1950s, a ‘renaissance of Spiritual National Defense’ was being experienced within society. Contemporary discourses present this struggle as an especially Swiss characteristic, a part of the cultural heritage, one, which should be preserved and defended. Writers speak of a ‘national character’<sup>10</sup>. The idea was common, that the Swiss ‘political will’ had for centuries embodied the ‘western spirit as a centre of moral resistance.’<sup>11</sup> A centre of resistance of this kind, however, has a need of enemies. In school history texts, depending on the historical period, these were

the Habsburgs, the Nazis or the Communists. A certain degree of sacrifice belonged to preparedness. It was a kind of 'modern heroism', which was supposed to support the instruction of history. In the SLZ, in 1949, an author promoted one of the most impressive votes for this challenge of history lessons: 'The most important of the practical goals of history instruction for youth is teaching about the heroic. Heroes have built our nation's buildings in states of turbulence. Only heroes have maintained their standing. The last years have shown us again that we are a small nation, which relies entirely on itself. There is no one to help us! This fateful solitude requires the education of a heroic dynasty. [...] An education that supports the steadfast readiness for sacrifice – this is the most urgent duty of history instruction today.'<sup>12</sup>

Even if such an exaggerated apotheosis of the heroic was rare, the discourse was central. The question of how a strengthening of 'Spiritual National Defense' could come about is one upon which authors largely agree: 'heroic courage' and 'loyalty to the fatherland', developed throughout course of the history of Switzerland, were regarded as worthy qualities to form and shape young people for a future that, as ever in the past, could become 'dark and full of victims'.<sup>13</sup> History should literally become a 'magistra vitae'. Within this discourse, the figures of 'William Tell' and 'Arnold of Winkelried' were important. Articles concerning the deconstruction of the myth of William Tell were published in the journals,<sup>14</sup> but even if it seemed to be obvious, that the most famous 'Swiss hero' had never existed – the same is true for Winkelried – teachers advocated the exploit of this treasure of the cultural memory to strengthen the 'Swiss Spirit'.<sup>15</sup>

These 'nonscientific' national master narratives generally came under pressure after the World War II. International organizations such as UNESCO or the Council of Europe criticized the one-sided focus of European history on national history.<sup>16</sup> The same was true for Switzerland, where the UNESCO Commission criticized the overwhelming focus on national history already in the 1950s.<sup>17</sup> But while individual teachers and textbook authors followed by UNESCO's call for increased cultural- and social history-oriented teaching of history in the 1950s and therewith tried to portray a kind of more objective 'world history' from different perspectives, others broke away quite late from the one-sided national-liberal dominated overarching national master narratives. As Markus Furrer (Furrer 2004: 309-30) showed in his study, the teleological interpretation of

Switzerland dominated the textbooks until the 1970s. The same is true for the teacher's journals and for additional teaching material for history classes.

As late as 1959, when the demands of the UNESCO had already begun to make way for reforms to national curricula standards, the textbook author Konrad Bächinger vehemently promoted 'accounts of battle victories' being taught at the primary level.<sup>18</sup> Referring to Schiller's 'William Tell', he called for youth to be educated, 'to prefer death to slavery' in order to promote patriotism and the willingness to make sacrifices. Inspired by Henry Roth's study 'Child and History' (1955), Bächinger collected 'some one hundred students responses'<sup>19</sup> to the subjects being taught in history in Switzerland in his own 'empirical' investigation and had come to the conclusion that ten to twelve year old students were interested in William Tell, Arnold of Winkelried, Brother Klaus, Columbus and medieval battles. The question, whether the Swiss heroes were real or invented, was not discussed at all. Important was their function as a role model. Bächinger quoted the comment of a twelve year old student to underscore his conviction: 'I liked the battles of the Confederates against the Austrians the best and they have given me the most to think about, and yes it certainly brought the lesson across to me. If there is ever a war, I should be so brave and loyal in fighting for our country.'<sup>20</sup>

In 1963, a famous publishing house for young people lanced a booklet called 'How did St. James see them?'<sup>21</sup> St. James was a battlefield of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the title a quote from the old national anthem (till 1961). This book, which the federal military helped to produce, was distributed to all most advanced classes of the public schools and used in history lessons as well.<sup>22</sup> It showed the young people the 'modern battlefields' of their time. Like William Tell, Arnold of Winkelried and brave Gertrude Stauffacher (this was also a matter for women!) the young people could fight for their homeland – not with 'halberds and machine guns', but with the help of their intelligence. As threats, the author identified the seductive arts of the consumer society, and above all foreign American films, magazines and trashy literature. Furthermore, the communists were shown as the enemies that wished to conquer the world.

In the 1970s, heroic discourse was no longer socially acceptable. According to the teacher Karl Heim, the school trip to 'Rütli', the supposed 'birthplace' of Switzerland, the location of the legendary

'establishment' of the Confederation of 1291 was still part of the standard program for sixth graders. However, well-prepared teachers were no longer quite able to awake the 'love of the homeland' in the students. In regard to the heroes, Heim said: 'I am afraid, however, that most did not care at all about Winkelried and battlefields. They said 'ah' and 'oh', just so the teacher would have peace and certainty that the class had received its patriotic ritual.'<sup>23</sup> The appearance of Max Frisch's 'William Tell for School' in 1971, which unmasked the myth, was again cause for outrage and Bächinger was enervated again in 1973 about the fact that Tell was made fun of in a Mickey Mouse comic.<sup>24</sup> In this way, the call for the support of the 'heroic' through teaching history could no longer expect acceptance. In 1978, the history teacher Kurt Messmer summed up: 'The heroes, some of them entwined by dust and fanned by steam wafting from bloody battles are glorified uncritically by astonishing blindness and have no place in our thinking anymore. [...] The hero had to exit the stage, although, according to some, this is an error.'<sup>25</sup> Should the heroes of old Switzerland indeed have been omitted from the teaching materials?

A change in dealing with the hero shows just that in fact. As Furrer (Furrer 2004: 244-9) was able to prove, the myth of Tell was presented as historical fact in some cases till the late 1960s. Then it was – as a historical fact – not present at all in the common teaching materials of the 1970s. The newer teaching materials were designed so that the learners themselves could make their own picture on the plausibility of the narrative. In the 1980s, the first deconstructions of the myth slowly began to appear in textbooks. One meta-discussion was discussed but did not achieve a breakthrough until the 1990s. Winkelried's departure from school textbooks was later than Tell's. The narration of his willful self-immolation was still presented in curricula without question in the 1980s, often in the context of the accounts of battle. The function of the figure as a role model for the commitment of the individual to society remained significant in the context of the Cold War. In addition to supporting this defense function, Winkelried served to provide a role model as well to the Swiss sense of community and the foundation and maintenance of cultural coherence. According to Furrer (2004: 251), Winkelried's sacrifice fit in with the Cold-War society and how people related heroically to their country.

### 3.2 *Military Defense as a Topic for School?*

After the unrest in France and Germany in 1968, questions began to be raised about the Swiss state, its authority, its neutrality and its national defense. As growing numbers of young men refused to do military service, the federal military authorities were forced to react. In 1971, the state commissioned a report that attempted to explain why opposition to the army had become so radical.<sup>26</sup> Amongst other things, the report criticized teachers who presented 'one-sided anti-military and pacifist ideas' to their students. In a speech at the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Education directors in 1975, the President of the Federal Military Department and Federal Council Member Rudolf Gnägi entrusted schools with the task of motivating young people for national defense.<sup>27</sup> He insisted that schools not only transmit an important part of the cultural memory but prepare young people for their roles as citizens and soldiers too. Two years later, Gnägi attacked teachers who refused to do military service on political grounds.<sup>28</sup>

Military service and defense were important subjects in the teachers' union in the late 1970s. Writers in the teachers' journals defended national service, and questioned, as Gnägi did, whether conscientious objectors to military service could ever be faithful teachers, capable of fortifying the young for the fight against Communism. After the Hungarian uprising and again after the founding of the left-wing party POCH (Progressive Organizations of Switzerland), in the 1970s, a number of leftist teachers were dismissed or refused jobs.<sup>29</sup>

In 1978, the Central Office for Total Defense (*Zentralstelle für Gesamtverteidigung, ZGV*) presented a report entitled 'Youth and National Defense'.<sup>30</sup> It is clear from the report that the Cold War and the thinly disguised ambitions of great powers to dominate the world were still seen as important threats. On the basis of this report, the committee 'Youth and National Defense' established a draft syllabus for use in teacher education colleges, secondary schools and technical colleges. The working group provided a number of suggestions for teaching spiritual and military defense. History teachers were to explain through references to World War II why it was necessary to defend the nation. The Berlin Crisis, the Hungarian Uprising and the Prague Spring were to be used to underscore the value of national defense. In addition, teachers were to take advantage of events such

as Army Open Days and provide their students with opportunities to visit civil defense facilities.

The report and the syllabus were forwarded to the cantonal directors of education by the Federal Council, which had examined it closely. However, the report's recommendations were not made binding. The government justified its position by declaring that the report's proposals were too strict and did not take account of the diversity within Switzerland. As part of the history curriculum, civic education was to deal with national defense, but not by conforming to a systematic model and resorting to blatant propaganda.<sup>31</sup> Even if the committee 'Youth and National Defense' only drew up blueprints for how to integrate military defense within the schools, and even if their proposals were not implemented, they show how intensely the Cold War influenced the contemporary debates over history teaching and learning.

Besides the 'defense function', other goals of history education were important. The demand for peace education continued throughout the Cold War – one of the few constants in the discussion of history education.

### *3.3 Peace Education through 'Model State Switzerland'*

'That peace can be secured through public education; this is only a small hope. But it is the only one.'<sup>32</sup> This exemplary quote shows that, in the wake of World War II and at the beginning of the forming Cold War, teachers, directors of education and international teachers' organizations from East and West as well as international organizations such as the Council of Europe and UNESCO declared peace education in the school as an urgent task. Despite some skepticism, many educators believed that the school and through its instruction of history could contribute to support peace. In this context, it was not only UNESCO who demanded the abandonment of strong 'hatred provoking national history',<sup>33</sup> but it was an important voice.

From 1952 to 1956, an Investigation Commission headed by Georges Panchaud (Lausanne) and Wilfried Haerberli (Basel) conducted an analysis of Swiss teaching materials according to UNESCO's education guidelines, which led them to findings that resulted in requirements for change to content and pedagogical methodology of teaching materials.<sup>34</sup> The Commission required the above-mentioned curricular focus on medieval heroic battles to be

abbreviated to one-quarter of the textbook and instead place more content and focus on the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and so with this shifted focus also strengthen the instruction of ‘world history’ to support peace education: ‘We must teach the child to recognize the unity of our human nature as well as the diversity of humanity. All these measures strengthen the spirit of tolerance, which is one of the most essential conditions of international understanding.’<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, Panchaud promoted history lessons, which were vibrant and free from any propaganda. The requirements were clear, but to omit propaganda utilized for building national defense in the context of the Cold War could be misinterpreted. Haeberli was forced to emphasize that the Commission members were not ‘unrealistic internationalists and pacifists’, and that the ‘Swiss confederacy myth’ in times of war could offer people a ‘strong support’. The Commission directly expressed support of the teaching of Swiss history, but distanced itself from the awakening of ‘low instincts’, from a certain exaggerated patriotism, from an idealization of the warlike and a distortion of history.<sup>36</sup> Haeberli further emphasized that the ‘Spiritual National Defense’ would not be supported by teaching the common accounts of national battle victories and heroes but that it could be supported by demonstration of commitment of people to peace and freedom.<sup>37</sup>

Also the discourses on peace education could contain anti-Communist semantics, not least because many authors in Switzerland distrusted the assurances of peace ‘from the East’. The coexistence rhetoric of Khrushchev was mistrusted. It was branded as a ‘smokescreen’<sup>38</sup> and George Thürer warned against false peace rhetoric in his own country: ‘because journeymen are running around the country that speak of peace and give it a sleeping pill.’<sup>39</sup>

To make the distinction between the wrong, Eastern and honest, Western peace rhetoric visible, the Associated Press combined peace semantics with the concepts of ‘freedom’, ‘rule of law’ and ‘democracy’ that were not realized in communist countries. Switzerland was regarded, sometimes within a kind of ‘Western European Tradition’, as a model country for the realization of these values. The history of Switzerland was again resorted in order to show the manifestation of an uncompromising commitment to freedom, peace, rule of law and democracy throughout its history. Even basic human rights were projected by authors back to the ‘Helvetians’<sup>40</sup> or from the ‘founding years’ of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>41</sup> As

for instance Ulrich Imhof (1991) and Guy P. Marchal (2007) have shown, this struggle for freedom, the love of peace of Switzerland is, as well as the myth of Tell or Winkelried, an important part of the current identity construction. Another important element is 'democracy'. This discourse also impacts the social practice of teaching.

### *3.4 Education for Democracy through Democratic Education?*

For some authors in the teaching magazines, a global order of peace could only be achieved on the basis of rule of law and democratic order. They condemned the eastern 'sham democracies' and mistrusted the young democracies in the decolonization areas. In 1957, Prof. Werner Kaegi formulated in his address to the Swiss Teacher's Union different tasks to promote democracy: educating the will and decision-making processes, promoting of critical thinking, fostering willingness to actively participate in politics, supporting the acquisition of knowledge about the form of government and informing political participation.<sup>42</sup>

While there was no great debate about the content requirements, in the postwar period there were already doubts about the current teaching methods. It was a bitter blow to the face, as an American observer after World War II judged the 'barracks style' of the Swiss schools. According to Mr. Lindsay, in Europe, Switzerland and Russia maintained an outdated image of education, especially with an overabundance of drill and discipline – too much erudition, too little humanity, was the conclusion. While other countries were reforming their schools in the wake of the war that had ended, Switzerland stagnated. In contrast to the transforming world around it, Switzerland found itself in a 'terrifying deathly silence' in regards to school matters.<sup>43</sup> The fact is that the things, which were criticized about the communist school system in the Swiss educational journals, were very similar to what Lindsay criticized about Switzerland: It was authoritarian, made thinking impossible.

In some anticommunist-discourses, one suspected that the USSR exploited both the teachers and the teaching materials to support communist ideology. According to the suspicion and prejudice, schools in the USSR served mainly to educate and create party faithful citizens and to coordinate economic needs of the state apparatus. The USSR taught 'absolute devotion and loyalty to the Soviet state'.<sup>44</sup> Thinking was forbidden. According to the 'Swiss

School' in 1962: 'The Soviet schools are the type of pure learning schools: learning is crammed into students, not discussed. For specific questions, there are exactly prescribed answers, even in the higher classes; the discipline utilized and engaged should be referred to as a military style.'<sup>45</sup> Whoever shared this criticism of the USSR, must also be critical of their own school system. More democratization was needed in Switzerland too.

Stronger self-regulation of the classes in the SLZ was supported already in 1946 and was repeatedly reinforced over the years. The 'Lausanne Theses' which constituted the result of coordination of Welsh cantons in the early 1950s, called for a school, which enables self-education of the learner within a community of children.<sup>46</sup> The proposals were often associated with 'Civic Education' – in Switzerland as part of instruction in history. A resolution of 'International Organization of Teacher's Associations' (FIAI) recommended in 1958, that the learners experience the essence of democracy itself by the 'realization of the civic virtues in the classroom community'.<sup>47</sup> Also, one of the Council of Europe's resolutions from 1964, which was supported by Switzerland, called for a more active participation of learners.

As an effective means to promote civic thought and action, a 'state school' design was valid, the creation of a 'national community' or a 'confederation in miniature' in the school. A 'student government' election in various positions and the distribution of different tasks such as setting up and managing a class fund, development, enactment and enforcement of 'class legislation' or the discussion of penalties allowed practicing civic processes and the assumption of responsibility for the community.<sup>48</sup> Even group work found quick friends, because the mutual acceptance of responsibility was exercised. The inclusion of students into such community groups such as a 'Mini-Confederation in the classroom', could, depending on the viewer, be understood as a preparation for whatever style 'world citizenship', or, in the discourse of the eternal cold-war warriors, as strengthening the community spirit within, as a means of fighting against anything threatening.

## Conclusion

For a long time, Swiss history served teachers as a point to strengthen the spirit and will for the 'national defense of land and country' in

students. To master the challenges of the present, the goal of teaching history in a 'scientifically correct' manner was hardly discussed. The heroic battles from medieval times and the (fictional or real) old Swiss history heroes as William Tell or Arnold of Winkelried were, till the late 1960s, exploited to support the anti-communist struggle.

After World War II and in context of the Cold War, the promotion of peace through the teaching of history gained significance. In particular, the requirements of the UNESCO Commission in the 1950s had led to a gentle change in thinking. Less noise of battle, more cultural and social history was included in the teacher's journals, and, later, in the history books.

Peace education and especially democracy education demanded new methods as well as new content in teaching. If the Swiss school after the Second World War II was still a 'military operation' in many respects, the demand for democratization of the school has not only occurred after 1968.

For peace and democracy education on the other hand, the history of Switzerland served as the ideal model for some teachers. Thus the circle closes with the aforementioned overarching national narratives. The fact can partially explain why a departure from the traditional national history appeared to be unnecessary to some teachers and textbook authors. The 'new' requirements of UNESCO or the Council of Europe perceive it as being realized in the Swiss tradition.

The discourses of the analyzed teaching materials, journals and textbooks most readily demonstrate the 'simultaneity of the non-simultaneous'. While some teachers were already living and teaching the democratic forms of education and 'world history' in the 1950s, others persisted in teaching the overarching national narrative until the 1980s. To what extent this concerns the 'generational issue', remains to be researched.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> For instance, Switzerland joined in the United States's embargo of the Eastern Bloc in 1951 under the 'Hotz-Linder Agreement'. Jost, H.-U. (1999), *Europa und die Schweiz 1945-1950. Europarat, Supranationalität und schweizerische Unabhängigkeit*, Zürich: Chronos, 113-4.

<sup>2</sup> Maurer, M. (2008), *Kulturgeschichte*, Köln, Weimar, Wien: UTB, 119.

- <sup>3</sup> See also: Ritzer, N. (2012) 'The Cold War in Swiss Classrooms: History Education as a 'Powerful Weapon against Communism?', *Current Affairs and their Impact on History Education since 1789, Special Issue of the Journal of Educational Media, Memory and Society* (will be published in April/May 2012); concerning the 'Spiritual National Defense', see: Perrig, I. (1993), *Geistige Landesverteidigung im Kalten Krieg* (PhD diss.), Fribourg: University of Fribourg.
- <sup>4</sup> Motzkin, G. (2010) 'Culture and Conflict from the Point of View of the Philosophy of History', in R. Enno (ed) *Konflikt und Kultur*, Zürich: Orell Füssli, 115-30.
- <sup>5</sup> Hunt, L. (ed) (1989), *The New Cultural History*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 10.
- <sup>6</sup> Perrig, I. (1993), *Geistige Landesverteidigung im Kalten Krieg* (PhD diss.), Fribourg: University of Fribourg.
- <sup>7</sup> The Federal Council of Switzerland presented a kind of 'official definition' in: Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Organisation und Aufgaben der schweizerischen Kulturwahrung und Kulturwerbung (1939), *Bundesblatt*, 90, 985-1035.
- <sup>8</sup> Bosshard, H. (1952) 'Die Zweckbestimmung der schweizerischen Volksschule', *Schweizerische Lehrerzeitung SLZ*, 97 (9), 189-94, here 192.
- <sup>9</sup> It must be stated that numerous curricula still date back to pre-war times; Bächinger, K. (1950) 'Ein Weg zur Heimatkunde', *Schweizer Schule SS*, 37 (1), 14-30; Nationale Schweizerische UNESCO-Kommission (1957) 'Lehrpläne und Schulbücher für den Geschichtsunterricht. Vorschläge zu ihrer Verbesserung', *SLZ*, 102 (20), 543-54.
- <sup>10</sup> H. H. (1950) 'Zur geschichtlichen Heimatkunde', *SLZ*, 95 (23), 510.
- <sup>11</sup> Egli, G. (1951) 'Idee der Schweiz — bedrohtes Erbe?', *SLZ*, 96 (19), 409.
- <sup>12</sup> Spieß, E. (1949) 'Die Forderungen der historischen Methodenlehre an die geschichtliche Darstellung', *SS*, 36 (8), 218-35, here 235.
- <sup>13</sup> No author given (1948/49) 'Gedenkfeier in der Geschichtsstunde', *SS*, 35 (5), 139-42; No author given (1948/49) 'Ein schwyzerischer Partisan', *SS*, 35 (5), 142-7.
- <sup>14</sup> For instance: Müller-Guggenbühl, F. (1950) 'Wilhelm Tell im Spiegel der Dichtung', *SLZ*, 95 (39), 794-7; Gruber, E. (1965) 'Wilhelm Tell, Sage oder Geschichte?', *SS*, 52 (14/15), 409-14.
- <sup>15</sup> Wyrsh, F. (1956) 'Zur Urschweizer Befreiungstradition', *SS*, 43 (10), 309-22.
- <sup>16</sup> For instance: Nygren, T. (2011), *History in the Service of Mankind. International Guidelines and History Education in Upper Secondary Schools in Sweden, 1927-2002*, (PhD diss.), Umeå: University of Umeå; Nationale Schweizerische UNESCO-Kommission (1957) 'Lehrpläne und Schulbücher für den Geschichtsunterricht. Vorschläge zu ihrer Verbesserung', *SLZ*, 102 (20), 543-54.
- <sup>17</sup> Nationale Schweizerische UNESCO-Kommission (1957) 'Lehrpläne und Schulbücher für den Geschichtsunterricht. Vorschläge zu ihrer Verbesserung', *SLZ*, 102 (20), 543-54.

- <sup>18</sup> Bächinger, K. (1960/61) 'Sollen die Schlachtenschilderungen zurückgedämmt werden?', *SS*, 47 (1), 27-30.
- <sup>19</sup> Bächinger, K. (1960/61) 'Der Geschichtsunterricht in der Volksschule', *SS*, 47 (1), 9-22.
- <sup>20</sup> Bächinger, K. (1960/61) 'Sollen die Schlachtenschilderungen zurückgedämmt werden?', *SS*, 47 (1), 27-30, here 28.
- <sup>21</sup> Knobel, B. (1963), *Wie sie St. Jakob sah*, Rorschach: SJW.
- <sup>22</sup> Trüb, R. (1963) 'Geistige Landesverteidigung – in der Schule?', *SLZ*, 108 (47), 1356-7.
- <sup>23</sup> Heim, K. (1970) 'Die Reise auf das Rütli, eine Humoreske', *SS*, 57 (14/15), 543-5.
- <sup>24</sup> Bächinger, K. (1973) 'Was hat Wilhelm Tell mit Micky Maus zu tun?', *SS*, 60 (22), XIII/3-4.
- <sup>25</sup> Messmer, K. (1978) 'Gründung und Ausbau der Eidgenossenschaft im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert', *SS*, 65 (4), 85-100, here 85-6.
- <sup>26</sup> Schweizerischer Aufklärungsdienst (SAD) (1971), *Jugend und Landesverteidigung. Eine Gemeinschaftsarbeit der SAD-Fachgruppe für Wehrpolitik*. More details to this chapter in: Ritzer, N. (2012) 'The Cold War in Swiss Classrooms: History Education as a 'Powerful Weapon against Communism'', *Current affairs and their impact on history education since 1789, Special Issue of the Journal of Educational Media, Memory and Society* (will be published in April/May 2012).
- <sup>27</sup> Rudolf Gnägi quoted in: Zentralstelle für Gesamtverteidigung (1979), *Jugend und Landesverteidigung. Bericht und Anträge der Kommission Jugend und Landesverteidigung*, Staatsarchiv Luzern, A 1270/2029.
- <sup>28</sup> Gnägi, R. (1978) 'Verantwortung der Lehrerschaft gegenüber der Landesverteidigung', *SLZ*, 123 (29/30), 469-73.
- <sup>29</sup> For instance: Gewerkschaft Kultur, Erziehung und Wissenschaft (1976) *Die Freiheit die sie meinen*, Basel.
- <sup>30</sup> Zentralstelle für Gesamtverteidigung (1979), *Jugend und Landesverteidigung. Bericht und Anträge der Kommission Jugend und Landesverteidigung*, StaLU, A 1270/2029.
- <sup>31</sup> No author given (1980) 'Die Landesverteidigung im Schulunterricht', *SS*, 68 (5), 296.
- <sup>32</sup> Loeliger, E. (1946) '9. Internationale Konferenz für Erziehung', *SLZ*, 91 (14), 253-5, here 254.
- <sup>33</sup> For instance: Thürer, G. (1945) 'Erziehung zum Frieden', *SLZ*, 90 (1945), 721-7 und (1955) 'Weltkongress der Fraternité mondiale in Brüssel', *SLZ*, 100 (49), 1394-7.
- <sup>34</sup> Nationale Schweizerische UNESCO-Kommission (1957) 'Lehrpläne und Schulbücher für den Geschichtsunterricht, Vorschläge zu ihrer Verbesserung', *SLZ*, 102 (20), 543-56; Zehnder, J. (1955/56) 'Probleme des Geschichtsunterrichts. Wie können Unterricht und Lehrbücher den heutigen Anforderungen angepasst werden?', *SS*, 42 (21), 720-2.
- <sup>35</sup> No author given (1951) 'Die Schulklasse als Stätte der Erziehung und der Völkerverständigung', *SLZ*, 96 (49), 1035-44, here 1037.

- <sup>36</sup> Nationale Schweizerische UNESCO-Kommission (1957) 'Lehrpläne und Schulbücher für den Geschichtsunterricht, Vorschläge zu ihrer Verbesserung', *SLZ*, 102 (20), 543-56, here 549.
- <sup>37</sup> Haberli, W. (1957) 'Antwort des Präsidenten der Geschichtsbuchkommission der Nationalen Schweizerischen Unesco-Kommission', *SLZ*, 102 (20), 676-7.
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## THE TEACHER: A DECISIVE VARIABLE FOR INNOVATIONS IN TEACHING HISTORY

Manfred Seidenfuß & Markus Daumüller

*The history teacher has to interpret and define his or her actions between the conflicting priorities of highly diverse requirements. This article is focused on role- and teaching concepts of history teachers which develop over time during their vocational practice. The job biographical prospect of teachers are a fundamental issue in dealing with social and historical cultural demands: What do you think is the task of history lessons? Which part plays the analysis of historical questions for the acquisition of competence according to your mind? Do the expectations fulfill the standards of a modern history class, which gains its legitimation out of current issues, which often arise out of contradictory expectations, that a teacher is supposed to handle in classroom? Out of an on-going research work, vital key categories for the construction of self-concepts are going to be developed by qualified teachers.*

### 1. Introduction

‘Nobody is forced to become a teacher. However, those who want to become a piano teacher have to be able to play the piano.’<sup>1</sup> E. Sprangers dictum from the year 1920 can be interpreted such that a teacher must not complain about the efforts of everyday life. Once the decision has been made and the course through the institutions of teacher training is completed, the gift of vocational autonomy and a safe post for a lifetime is happily accepted. Autonomy is a precious good which can be found when transferring responsibility and power to the following generations by politics and society. And of course – as we all know and might have experienced ourselves – autonomy is an exercise between abuse and educational tact.

The autonomy of a history teacher stems from a social agreement which is why it is more than justified that the teacher should be accountable for it. Multifaceted, controversial and partially contradicting are the standards and expectations of those social forces extending directly or indirectly into everyday’s school life and building up lines of conflict successively. Therefore, autonomy is necessary such that the teacher does not have to become some kind of ‘superman’ but some kind of ‘tank-buster’ who does not

incorporate the summed up impositions from the exterior (parents, recipient, scientists, politicians for education, scientists for education, school administration, etc) but who is able to bear with them and to balance them.

Specialists for history didactics too, formulate demands and expectations ranging from a thought through usage of sources to developing student skills.<sup>2</sup> However, why should teachers provide competencies like a methodically lead usage of written sources, if this only leads to frustration, aversion, overtaxing and a bad mood in the classroom? Why should teachers demand personal judgement on historical events from the students and discuss the reasons for the given judgement by considering the life circumstances of the respective student, if this only entails teasing and peals of laughter instead of furthering the identity? Simplified: Should a teacher search for new sources and take into consideration new products of history culture and generate a research habitus if schoolbooks and lever arch files or the habitus of copying offer enough to satisfy the purpose?

A history teacher fulfilling the expectations of experts and laymen would – drastically speaking – be unable to survive. It is about breaking them up, i. e., to endure the contradictions which exist ‘about’ history lessons, to balance the demands ‘on’ history lessons with one’s private projections on history lessons. Therefore we do not examine/research certain parameters or beliefs and attitudes of history teachers but the individual teaching conception of history teachers. This teaching conception is to be set equal with the kernel of significant teaching decisions: Why do history teachers perform in a certain way? What part of this performance is especially important to them? Why do they teach history and to what aim are they directing their actions to? And – not less important – how does that change or intensify in the course of time and by organizing the experience?

What specifies our approach? Comparing and contrasting can facilitate characterizing the personal approach in the field of teacher and history teacher research in which – just like with the example of the piano teacher – performance and competency count the most. We do not lean on already formulated knowledge reports,<sup>3</sup> which are moreover not theoretically founded but elaborated by means of Delphi-surveys, and allocate our data on this board. For example we differ in history didactical work from the approach of Michael Jung and Holger Thünemann<sup>4</sup> who formulate standardized teacher

competencies based on Hans-Jürgen Pandel.<sup>5</sup> It says: A history teacher needs subject didactical competencies (competency for genre/category ‘Gattungskompetenz’), interpretation, narrating, history culture and subject scientific competencies. That is perfectly all right and everybody can see that such teacher competencies cannot be harmful for lessons. They become trivial and questionable though if they get concretized. Trivial: Within the frame of the teacher training (‘Referendariat’) one should (a) hold at least one lesson based on the genre/category differentiated media basis of a schoolbook, (b) formulate and hold one lesson focusing on a classical source or version interpretation, (c) write a history report once and integrate it into planning and holding of a training lesson and (d) make a history cultural conflict the theme of a training lesson.<sup>6</sup> As we can see, well-known practices of a schoolbook based, source and research literature equipped, teacher narrating orientated or public controversial teaching are being offered. Questionable: Practices which are set equal to competencies lack a functional allocation within the subjective teaching idea/conception and in the individual learning of the students.

Monika Fenn’s research the ‘implicit theories of history didactics students for the teaching and learning of history’ leans on the research of the project ‘History and Politics’ of the Swiss research group around Peter Gautschi and finds amongst others that the probands rather tie their subjective theories of learning to experiences from their own school time and to epistemological beliefs about the subject and teaching, than to subject didactical theories and empirical findings.<sup>7</sup> Another example: Helmut Messner and Christian Buff are much closer to our approach.<sup>8</sup> They refer to Franz E. Weinert<sup>9</sup> and other researches which proof that not single actions or methods are responsible for success but ‘rather complex teaching styles or didactical orchestration patterns which consist of several different single actions’. Subsequent to this, Messner and Buff do not face up to the complexity of subjective teaching conceptions but isolate – based on Joachim Rohlfs – general teaching patterns (differentiation, standardization), role conceptions (teacher as inter-mediator or learning coach) and learning conceptions (independent (self-directed) learning) which again lead to the construction of categories and catalogues for rating.

We are interested in exactly this complexity of the subjective role and teaching conceptions and hold the thesis that role and teaching

conceptions are conditioned by biography though not in a linear action-reaction-ratio but as a structuring conception. An example to this stems from the research of Markus Daumüller: A proband – in the following called Mr. ‘H.’ – states that he discusses the thesis that history is written by the victors with his students.<sup>10</sup> His aim though is not for the students to learn student competencies but to present himself as a modern student orientated history teacher who is able to distance himself and his lessons from external demands by means of an educational impetus. Choice of content, teaching system, interpretation of history are therewith minor functions in order to create consistency for the vocational biography.

What interests us is to what extent a history teacher is able to balance the tension between subject habitus and peripheral demands. Less interesting to us is to what extent a history teacher fulfils certain competency areas from science or demands from educational policy and if this results in consequences (good or bad) for the learning accomplishments of the students. Our further interest is how history teachers construct present, their own vocational biography and thereby give sense to their actions. Getting back to our example, in addition to the performance of our piano teacher (view from the exterior) we are much more interested in knowing what playing the piano means for the self-conception of the piano teacher and the development of his vocational self-conception.

### *Vocational Biography*

How do we collect the vocational biography and what do we mean by vocational biography? A biography is the description of the life of a person. A vocational biography aims at the description of the vocational life and its effects on the description of a person's life. A biography is not a curriculum vitae in which events are simply listed and certain time periods are made visible. A curriculum vita becomes a biography by telling it because then events will be assessed and put into relation as well as gain meaning by telling. History teachers telling their vocational biography do not only tell what they have experienced. They present in this tale how they deal with their experiences such that an image of their vocational achievements is created which they can accept – the vocational biography.

Owing to the fact that our interest in vocational biographies shall lead to scientifically usable findings we have to collect them by means of qualitative procedures. A biography is naturally constituted by

telling which ideally should be an autobiographical telling. As we all are also historians and take serious the findings of memorization research we know the connection between memory and history and their special functions. History researchers file these tales (sources) analytically and exercise source critique. Source critique in this context does not mean to identify the truth of the vocational biography but to determine the strategies of processing experiences in order to distil repeating patterns. We therewith differ from a procedure which would press the tales into a categorical grid of an analysis of the content or into an interpretation scheme.

## **2. Methods and Design**

In this research project ‘Teaching Stories, Learning Stories, Life-Constructions (Lehrgeschichten, Lerngeschichten, Lebenskonstruktionen)’ we ask, how history teachers learn, considering their vocational biography.<sup>11</sup> Between 2007-2010, narrative interviews were conducted in order to answer this question. During the interview, history teachers told us about their everyday professional life and how they were confronted with didactical questions that are often difficult to answer. For example, the problem of being forced to estimate historical thinking as proficiency or how dealing with popular historical culture can be integrated meaningfully in subject-didactic context and be arranged to use in lessons. To minimize usual features due to variations in specific types of schools and to establish possible correlations/conditions for education as well as to formulate potential consequences for the education of teachers, we decided to interview only experienced history teachers from secondary schools in the state of Baden-Württemberg. After twelve interviews, we determined there was enough data to make logical conclusions. The results of the interviews were evaluated with the biography analysis tool developed by Fritz Schütze.<sup>12</sup> These results led to the ‘theory of vocational biographic learning of history teachers’, which has been developed based on a methodical procedure, known as the Grounded Theory.<sup>13</sup> This theory was the basis for the questionnaire that was sent to one out of four secondary schools in Baden-Württemberg in 2009. In addition to personal and vocational biographical facts (namely gender, motivation to study history, and the period of a professional career, etc.) the questionnaire also asked about attitudes and preferences considering historical learning. Furthermore, it

inquired about the understanding of one's role, perceptions on historical terms, historical awareness, teacher reactions in specific cases in classrooms, and the usage of learning techniques, methods, and media, as well as how their daily work routine had changed over the years. Thus, the history-didactic research on teachers had been specified.

These data served as an additional perspective in order to understand the concept of 'job-biographical learning'. These facts enabled us to form conclusions based on people's experiences and gender-specific differences in the area of the historical thinking of history teachers. (diversity)

### **3. Example of Frank McCourt: Teacher Man. A Memoir<sup>14</sup>:**

After writing the bestseller 'Angela's Ashes' in 1996, the Pulitzer-award winner Frank McCourt (1930-2009) made use of his increased popularity to describe to the public his work-related experiences with New York high schools. The story 'Teacher Man. A Memoir' is a autobiographic narration and thereby differs from a narrative interview where a researcher is able to canvas and inquire outside opinions. As with a narrative interview we, as knowledge-seeking people, are dependent upon written material. Why does McCourt choose singular events, which connections does he make via time? Does he lean on constant and repeating patterns and are we able to spot a super ordinate sense in these connections and patterns?

On his first day of work McCourt already experienced a disaster:<sup>15</sup> '[...] professors of education at New York University never lectured on how to handle 'flying-sandwich' situations. They talked about theories and philosophies of education, about moral and ethical imperatives, about the necessity of dealing with the whole child, the gestalt, if you wish, or the child's feelings or needs. However, they never discussed or taught about critical or unexpected moments in the classroom.' After being confronted with the 'flying sandwich' situation, McCourt chose the nonprofessional action i.e. to eat the sandwich that was prepared by an Italian mother from Brooklyn. The newcomer had managed to silence the classroom in a short time. However, he had not taken into account the 'system', in the form of

the director, who coincidentally observed the action from a distance: 'Out in the hallway, he [the director, M. S./M. D.] said, I'm sure you understand, Mr. McCourt, it isn't seemly to have teachers eating their lunch at nine a.m. in their classrooms in the presence of these boys and girls. Your first teacher experience and you choose to begin it by eating a sandwich? Is that proper procedure, young man? It's not our practice here. It gives children the wrong idea. You can see the reasoning. Think of the problems we'd have, if teachers just dropped everything and began to eat their lunches in class, especially in the morning when it's still breakfast time. We have enough trouble with kids sneaking little nibbles during morning classes and attracting cockroaches and various rodents. Squirrels have been chased from these rooms, and I won't even mention rats. If we're not vigilant these kids, as well as some teachers, - your colleagues, young man, - will turn the school into one big cafeteria.'

McCourt's colleagues, although more moderate and friendlier, ultimately shared the director's perception i.e., that the lessons should be concentrated upon the realization of the traditional content of the curriculum. McCourt's action does not distinguish his role as facilitator or methodologist, but rather in his teaching philosophy, which is based on a respectful cooperation between student and teacher. He follows the advice from the 'system' He is motivated and possesses the cognitive skills to put it into practice. Nevertheless, these attempts cease at the reaction of the pupils about this mindless learning.

Given this situation and the unsolvable contradiction for McCourt, he initiates a repetitive teaching concept of telling stories, the sharing of ideas, creating meaning, and eventually giving meaning, which he was allowed to do as a teacher of constructive writing at his last station, the well-respected Stuyvesant High School.

He writes impressively about the estrangement from the 'school system'. Due to his unique teaching philosophy McCourt gets dismissed from teaching service or he resigns because he cannot cope with the tensions anymore. Even his private life, overall very lacking in conversation is affected. His marriage dissolves.

The various responses indicate that even these drastic changes of the basic conditions, are not able to resolve the contradictions. At all professional levels similar index-linked stories can be seen repeatedly. The 'weak' teacher who gives up resistance in the beginning becomes, at the end of the book, strong, persistent, and steady, but still a faint-

hearted personality. Mr. McCourt protects his teaching philosophy and his interpretation of education against all claims from parents, teachers, and principals. Nevertheless he does not offensively defend his ideas toward the 'external system'.

Despite the conclusions of the narration, the New Yorker, with his Irish genes of telling stories, consigns an individual ego-document or a source, which is not representative of other cultural systems. The events are unique, but not the experiences. The search for one's own concept or teaching philosophy, individual success, or the effects/results of precise instruction has been revealed in this autobiographical narration.

#### *Sense of the Vocational Actions or Giving Sense to the Vocational Biography*

McCourt tells at least two tales which belong together. One of them talks about failure. Repeatedly he is frequented by educational forces, superiors and most of his colleagues argue on the basis of tradition and curriculum. McCourt should teach the adolescents the classical contents of their mother language and the classic literature. Parents on the contrary as well as some students confront his teaching conception with expectations of the future. At the very least good application letters should be written and for the rest they would be satisfied with a literacy based on their future vocational lives.

For the teacher it is impossible to convince his critics. Even worse: He does not even engage in confronting the exterior demands and holding his points of view offensively. Accordingly meagre is his communicative competency as well as the cognitive competency to found and defend argumentatively teaching based on comprehensive principles or theories. Unable to use the critiques constructively, he repeatedly chooses the drastic measure of last exit and changes the school where the will to change drains quickly though while the old patterns prevail. McCourt substantiates this circle of failure with his second tale, a tale of success. He is not an intermediary but some kind of attorney for the adolescents. It is not the future vocation or the tradition of the curriculum which generate his vocational performance and his vocational self-conception but the distance and the rejection his students have towards these demands. Equipped with magnificent diagnostic competency they know when a teacher is not authentic and sacrifices learning to the artificial or the demands. He uses the learning requirements of his students at present as a basis and demands for their creative abilities.

#### **4. Excerpts from Narrative Interviews: Mr. 'H.'**

At this point we ask ourselves which stories, which reconstructing patterns are used by history teachers in order to construct their own biography. And beyond that which events and knowledge base do they refer to and which correlations do they establish.

*Course of Action: Narrative Interviews – Type Formation to Organize Hypotheses – Quantitative Review (standardized questionnaire)*

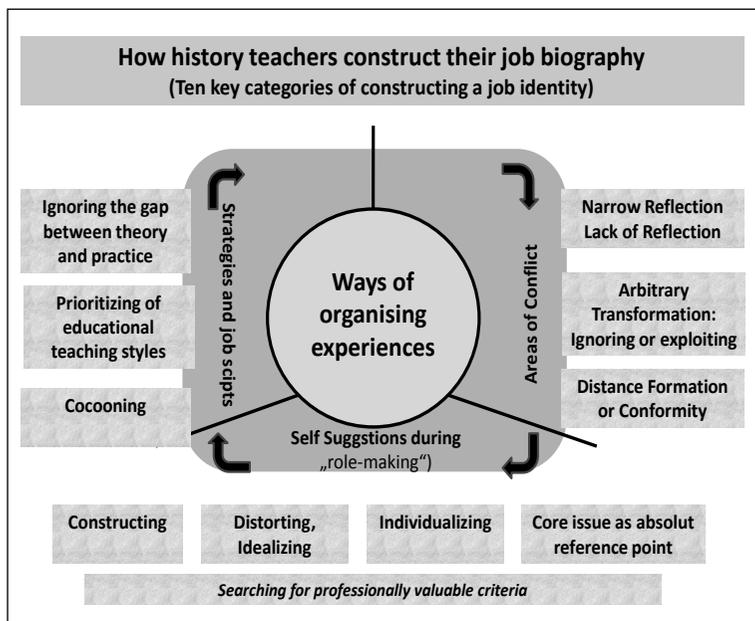
We introduce Mr. 'H.'. He is one of 12 history teachers who are asked in narrative interviews. They tell their vocational biography and while they are doing they reconstruct and re-evaluate their vocational self concept.<sup>16</sup>

It is similar as in the case of Mr. McCourt's vocational autobiographical work. Basing on the data of a total of 12 interviews the interpretation allows generating different types such as: 1. expert/scientist, 2. seeker of truth, 3. educator, 4. helper for (everyday) life, 5. discussing type and 6. resignation type.

*Searching the Centre of Self-concept or the Recurring Main Theme*

Mr. 'H.' introduces himself as a history teacher who appears to be reflective, systemically independent, free of deceptions as well as political demands, who acts self-dependently. Finally, at the end of his career he can claim that he was a good and successful history teacher.

Similar to McCourt he synthesizes his demands with exterior demands and with everything which has really happened in his vocational life. He levels or evens out contradicting teaching attitudes and approaches. Therefore we come to ask: How does he do it and how does he organize his vocational experiences?

Table 1: Ways of organising experiences<sup>17</sup>*The Construction of a Vocational Biography*

Mr. 'H.' talks of a profound biographical conditioning which has guided him towards an urge to teach students social democratic values. He wants to achieve an educational aim by means of dealing with history which is not a part of history didactics or the social demands or the curriculum which he wants to integrate as well. This main theme of his vocational performance ('power by people over people') is his island of sincerity/honesty in the midst of a sea of various interests. Within this history theoretical conception he feels at home and as an expert. At the same time, this main theme helps him to give meaning to his vocational performance as well as to defy demands from his exterior environment and finally to emancipate himself. But this idealistic transformation of systems like democracy or values like justice to which his educational efforts are dedicated is clearly opposing his performance in history lessons because there is a lack of theoretical foundation. And still coherence between these two levels is established if he sticks to the main theme as a measure for his performance even if only in a cognitive way.

It therefore has to be noted that Mr. 'H.' suggests an emancipator development of his vocational performance. He wants to be perceived as an open minded, progressive teacher as far as his didactical attitude and his methodical approach are concerned. The 'modern history teacher' who is obliged to certain values and acts 'student orientated', is a role model which can explain his emancipation from formal curriculum demands and expectations of school bureaucracy. For him this also explains that normal teaching such as 'task-based learning', 'working with sources' or 'role games' are convincingly sold as innovations.

#### *'Tools' for the Construction*

- **Figuration (Norbert Elias):** Which tools does a history teacher apply for the construction of his vocational biography? Here, I am referring to the term of the (social) figuration of Norbert Elias:<sup>18</sup> 'Within figuration analysis the individuals present themselves to the highest degree as one is able to observe them: as open auto poetic systems which are aligned via various interdependences and due to that built specific figurations.'

'Figuration' in this context is understood as a mode of organizing experiences of history teachers. They construct a social environment with conditions, demands, requirements and styles of behaviour from which they appear to dependent. At the same time all these circumstances are suited to explain their vocational performance and actions. They are set together like building bricks in order to create the image wanted. This desired image helps to create coherency within the own vocational biography.

Mr. 'H.' presents the school system, his students and his colleagues in a way that the construction of his vocational biography seems authentic. He describes the school system as rigid, patronizing, boring, manipulative, unprogressive and afflicted with constraints. In such an adverse job environment the 'mission' of his main theme has to appear especially innovative and truthful. Despite the lack of time and the abundance of subject matters he works incessantly on his students' ability to give and receive criticism and thus manages to outsmart the school system. The fact that he himself remains caught up in systems thinking and that he has been socialized by vocational restraints – as it becomes visible by means of his language ('unit',

‘passing’, ‘chronological dealing’, ‘subject matters’) – escapes his awareness.

Mr. ‘H.’ describes his students as curious and able to give and take feedback and critique. A lack of motivation doesn’t occur in his tales. But he nevertheless believes he is responsible that his demands don’t overextend their abilities (‘I cannot work scientifically with students of a secondary modern school’) and is easily willing to reduce the work with sources (‘which can easily be too much for students’). Basically, this does not suit his demand to cultivate political orientation of adolescents by means of historical learning because emancipation could also mean to come to own conclusions, to distance oneself from and to differ from general interpretations and even from the interpretations of the history teacher. Nevertheless this figuration is necessary for Mr. ‘H.’. He wants to present himself as an expert with his main theme to his students. He wants to be perceived as a successful ‘history educator’.

This means: He describes students of a secondary modern school as a little limited like others of the interviewed history teachers, limited in their cognitive abilities, needy of help and unable to go into the depth of a matter. Therefore it is necessary to convey basic knowledge to build a foundation for historical thinking and learning. It is not about historical learning in the process of acquiring knowledge, but about historical contents which have a very specific and in this case an ideological function in order to establish a specific value orientation.

- **Prioritizing of Educational Teaching Styles:** Contrary to what Mr. ‘H.’ wants to make the audience believe, he does not think on the basis of the historical learning process of his students but on the basis of his demand to teach his students social democratic values. He tries to realize this by selecting historical contents which he presents as moral sermon. At the same time, he also wants to be perceived as a modern student orientated history teacher who simultaneously fulfils the expectations due to current educational standards. He realizes this aim by displaying an immense diversity of methods, e.g., the students can choose topics themselves and make contributions. He takes them ‘to external learning places whenever possible’ or encourages discussions. ‘Student orientation’ is the magic word for his vocational success. Although his story is penetrated periodically with a thinking style which is stuck in the transfer of

'units' and 'subject matters' (e.g. he reproves his fellow examiners if contents of the 20<sup>th</sup> century are missing); he presents all seemingly modern methods and shapes of history teaching as relevant for the image of a 'modern, student orientated history teacher': He who puts education above the subject matter is likely to be better understood by most addressees and is regarded as a 'good' history teacher who knows to approach the students at their present level.

Mr. 'H.' is only marginally interested in the development of competencies regarding historical thinking just like his addressees. It is neglected by favouring visualization, clarity, concreteness and comprehensibility within a 'subject matter' orientated lesson. Multi perspective thinking becomes impossible. He who teaches 'modern' history lessons – even if they satisfy neither educational scientific nor subject specific didactical demands – appears to satisfy all demands by pretending 'educational proficiency': 'Inculturation' by conveying culturally anchored knowledge and value basis and the interests due to specific social roles. His lessons are 'suitable for children' and therefore motivating, entertaining and fun. Content orientation keeps up a clear learning structure which is important for parents wishing to verify the marks. At the same time, his superiors and the ministry of education and sports are convinced that he is educationally speaking; up to date, progressive and therefore oriented at the latest state of the arts in this case science. He avoids complaints by suggesting teaching 'children, not classes'.

The term 'student oriented' is newly defined and 'labelled' by Mr. 'H.': 'visiting external learning places' is legitimated by liveliness and enthusiasm and copying tools and 'narration' is enthralling. Practice is justified via practice: It works, the students have fun. If this has been historical learning in the sense of subject didactics is not important. The historical learning in situations has served more to motivate through illustration of history than to explore situations of an historical occurrence in search for understanding.

He even interprets 'problem orientation' as subject didactical model in an educational way. For example, he talks about the behaviour of Martin Luther during the Peasants' War. While he wanted to convince people to believe he was encouraging violence. That was a lie in terms of moral. Mr. 'H.', however, judges Luther's behaviour from an absolutely social democratic point of view made which in vain seeks for solidarity and coherence. So he does not try to dissolve the problem by taking the circumstances of the epoch

into account but condemns the actions from a moralizing present point of view. He uses 'problem orientation' as a method of motivation and not as a concept for historical learning. For him an opening of chronologically progressing history, e.g. asking his students what they would have done, already means 'problem orientation'.

Mr. 'H.'s educational mission is subjectively connected with subject contents as it gets transferred via educational and subject didactical catchwords. This shows his dilemma: He has to keep up a rigid gap between students and teacher to keep up his image as a successful history teacher. However, this contradicts his 'student orientated' attitude which cherishes social democratic values in the classroom.

His ultimate dilemma is that he is not aware of the dilemma: In retrospective, the only thing that remains from the most multifaceted demands on a 'good history teacher' is his educational competency. This way, vocational biographic learning, vocational success so to speak, is not to change role images or vocational self-conceptions or the enquiry of 'teaching competencies'. Vocational success manifests by developing strategies for a construct that allows to keep the role and teaching conceptions that you acquire shortly after starting your career is possible even if changes in educational science, specific didactic, social and politic occur and produce new challenges.

Mr. 'H.'s strategy creates the illusion of a strong, a successful vocational development whenever he looks back. He has to keep up this role and teaching concept because it represents his individually successful efforts to occupy a position in a job field which has become intransparent and is affected by a variety of demands and expectations which cannot be met. Wherever specifications about a history teacher's didactical and methodical developments and changes as well as his attitudes are assessed in a quantifying questionnaire the purpose and aim in the construction of his job biography has to be taken into consideration from a biographical point of view. And if this serves to construct vocational success by conserving one's own role and teaching concept the professionalization thesis has to be regarded critically.

## 5. Prospect

The job biographical prospect does not only contribute an input for the reconstruction of the mentality of history teachers. Likewise, it is a reference for a quantitative oriented research, which concentrates, for example, on the efficiency of teacher training or the professional competence of history teachers.

Once, test persons indicate something like, to adopt in class specific principles, such as problem-orientation in the present and in the future, this answer can be understood in the case of qualitative evaluation techniques as a strategy to build a successful job biography. At the same time shows this type of survey, the understanding and spectrum of history-didactic principles or categories through which history teachers in general do not need to cover the academic conceptualities.

The survey of professional competence usually occurs through definition of tasks. Teachers may use qualified subject-didactic principles. More important might be:

- Whether the teachers actually want to adopt these principles.
- Whether these principles match with their vocational self-concepts.

The job biographical perspective illustrates the limited sustainability of historical-didactic innovations. The history teachers are the one's who ultimately decide, if those history-didactic concepts will at all become reality in classroom. During the teachers training, the teacher's biography itself and the importance of the teacher's biography for history lessons become an issue.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Spranger, E. (1920) 'Gedanken über Lehrerbildung' in E. Spranger (ed), *Gesammelte Schriften III. Schule und Lehrer*, Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 27-73, 59.

<sup>2</sup> A good introduction of the german discourse: Hasberg, W. & Erdmann, E. (2011) 'Historical Culture, History Didactics and History Teaching in Germany', in W. Hasberg & E. Erdmann (eds), *Facing Mapping Bridging Diversity* (Foundation of a European Discourse on History Education), Part 1, Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau-Verlag, 291-328, 304-5.

<sup>3</sup> Baumert, J. & Kunter, M. (2006) 'Stichwort: Professionelle Kompetenz von Lehrkräften' in: *Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft*, 9, 469-520, 482.

<sup>4</sup> Jung, M. & Thünemann, H. (2007) 'Welche Kompetenzen brauchen Geschichtslehrer? Für eine Debatte über fachspezifische Standards in der Geschichtslehrausbildung', *Zeitschrift für Geschichtsdidaktik*, 6, 243-52.

<sup>5</sup> Pandel, H.-J. (2005), *Geschichtsunterricht nach Pisa*, Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau-Verlag, 45-9.

<sup>6</sup> Jung & Thünemann 2007 (cf. Note 4), 248-9.

<sup>7</sup> Fenn, M. (2010) 'Implizite Theorien von Studierenden der Geschichtsdidaktik als wichtige Komponente der Entwicklung von Lehrerkompetenzen – die Relevanz der Sprache', in S. Handro & B. Schönemann (eds) *Geschichte und Sprache*, Berlin: LIT, 79-92.

<sup>8</sup> Messner, E. & Buff, A. (2007) 'Lehrwissen und Lehrerhandeln im Geschichtsunterricht. Didaktische Überzeugungen und Unterrichtsgestaltung' in P. Gautschi et al. (eds) *Geschichtsunterricht heute. Eine empirische Analyse ausgewählter Aspekte*, Bern: h.e.p., 143-75.

<sup>9</sup> Weinert, F. E. (1999), *Konzepte der Kompetenz*. Gutachten zum OECD-Projekt 'Definition and Selection of Competencies: Theoretical and Conceptual Foundations (DeSeCo)', Neuchatel: Bundesamt für Statistik; Weinert, F. E. (2001) 'Vergleichende Leistungsmessung an Schulen - eine umstrittene Selbstverständlichkeit' in F. E. Weinert (ed) *Leistungsmessungen an Schulen*, Weinheim/Basel: Beltz, 17-31, 27; Weinert, F. E. (2001) 'Concept of Competence. A Conceptual Clarification', in: D. S. Rychen & L. H. Salganik (eds) *Definition and Selection Key Competencies*, Göttingen: Hogrefe, 45-66.

<sup>10</sup> For more information on dates and interviews Daumüller, M. (2012 or 2013, in preparation), *Lebengeschichten. Lerngeschichten, Lebenskonstruktionen*, Habil. Heidelberg.

<sup>11</sup> Daumüller (cf. Note 10).

<sup>12</sup> Schütze, F. (1983) 'Biographieforschung und narratives Interview' in: *Neue Praxis*, 13 (3), 283-93; Schütze, F. (1987), *Das narrative Interview in Interaktionsfeldern. Erzähltheoretische Grundlagen*, Teil 1: Merkmale von Alltagserzählungen und was wir mit ihrer Hilfe erkennen können, Hagen: Studienbrief der Fernuniversität Hagen; Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1991), *Basics of Qualitative Research. Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*, Newbury Park: Sage.

<sup>13</sup> Glaser, B. & Strauss, A. (1967), *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*, Chicago: Aldine; Glaser, B. & Strauss, A. (1979) 'Die Entdeckung gegenstandsbezogener Theorie: Eine Grundstrategie qualitativer Sozialforschung' in: C. Hopf & E. Weingarten (eds) *Qualitative Sozialforschung*, Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 91-111; Strauss, A. (1991), *Grundlagen qualitativer Sozialforschung. Datenbildung und Theoriebildung in der empirischen soziologischen Forschung*, München: Fink 1991.

<sup>14</sup> McCourt, F. (2006), *Teacher Man. A Memoir*, London et al, 16-9.

<sup>15</sup> McCourt (cf. note 14), 16-9.

<sup>16</sup> Daumüller (cf. note 10).

<sup>17</sup> Daumüller (cf. Note 10).

<sup>18</sup> Elias, N. (1986) 'Figuration' in: B. Schäfers (ed) *Grundbegriffe der Soziologie*, Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 88-91.



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## BRINGING GLOBAL HISTORY TO THE CLASSROOM

Urte Kocka

*Globalisation continues to develop and research in history is increasingly about global issues, and yet, in Germany and some other European countries, 'global history' is hardly ever taught in schools. Many other trends of historical research (such as everyday life history and the history of gender) were much more readily integrated into classroom teaching. When teaching Global History it is not enough to simply cover the history of other countries, one by one. A change of mind-set is necessary to apply global perspectives, questions and problems to the traditional history topics. Only in this way can local, regional and national history be globalized. Since this problem-orientated questioning approach touches the lives of young people and deals with today's culture of history, Global History classes in schools can bring about three changes: history lessons become more interesting for both teachers and students alike, young people will be better orientated in this world and everyone in the classroom, both immigrant and non-immigrant students will be integrated.*

### **1. Why Should Global History be Taught in the Classroom?**

Everybody agrees that nowadays our world is becoming more and more globalized, that it is increasingly interconnected: we can see this in today's political and economic life, from global environmental changes that are under way and in our everyday-life, especially in communication. Global historical research is carried out at a university level, it appears in papers given at conferences and has found its place in discussions in the media. In the U.S. both Global History and World History have been practised for decades. With the publication of McNeill's 'The Rise of the West' in 1963, this year is often referred to as the starting point for such research. After World War II fundamental changes were taking place in U.S. society: ethnic minorities spoke out publicly and research was done about their histories, immigration to the U.S. became increasingly diverse, and not solely from European countries. On an international level decolonization took place and changed the world as did the confrontations of the Cold War and real wars that marked this period. All these changes contributed to early Global and World

History (Sachsenmaier 2011: 62-102). In Germany, this shift took place later, in the 1990's with the end of the Cold War and the experience of increasing immigration (Sachsenmaier 2011: 132-44). Today, global historical research is growing rapidly, also in Germany. Relevant today, this kind of research is dealing with new topics and relations with a particular transnational perspective. There are for instance studies dealing with the history of international trade and all its implications in political, social, and cultural realms. The spatial dimension and chronological order are readjusted in order to accommodate a more global understanding. Ecological problems are seen as a global question. The history of colonization and decolonization has become a field of research about encounters and international relations.

University historians do different types of work. Mostly they deal with research on specific empirical topics, sometimes they deal with historical theory and methodology or programmatically discuss which topics and problems should be covered by historical research today. In the didactic of history some try to identify which historical topics and problems should be taught in the classroom and how best to teach them (Mütter 1995: 351). It is evident that new fields of academic research, for instance social history, everyday-life history, culture and gender history, have come to feature in classrooms. Although often with some delay, they were eventually incorporated into curricula and teaching materials, when history textbooks introduced new topics and questions. Now we must ask ourselves: when will history with a global perspective finally be taught in classrooms?

There are plenty of good reasons to do so. Nowadays students are confronted with opportunities and problems of global dimensions: their parents loosing jobs and their own encounters with strong competition on the job-markets, they are frequently in multicultural classroom settings, they are faced with changing moral values and the existence of multiple identities that reach beyond the boundaries of a national country. In addition, the media presents them with the diversity of the world beyond their local, regional and national settings. Students have to deal with all these phenomena daily. All this ought to be taken into consideration when teaching history at school. History lessons need to include global perspectives and dimensions.

Much consensus seems to exist on the general purposes of teaching history in schools: it is widely agreed upon that history lessons should help to give students an orientation in the world in which they grow up, and to prepare them to become good citizens that participate responsibly in the social and political life of their communities. Such aims are present – in one way or another – in many curricula, not only in the German ones.<sup>1</sup> How can such aims be achieved, when students do not learn anything about the major global dimensions of their lives?

There is another reason for bringing global history into the classroom. It is often documented that students complain about history lessons being boring or not interesting enough. Teachers similarly comment that students are not interested in history lessons (von Borries 1999; Joseph 2008: 161-3). Maybe both sides would complain less, if history lessons were taught with more contemporary questions and problems in mind.<sup>2</sup>

Today's problems are interesting for students and have transnational dimensions included, e.g.: labour and leisure, environment and ecology, illness and epidemics, financial systems and crisis, religion and government, migration and integration etc. (Dunn 2000: 408-10). History classes could pick up traditional topics and teach them, while simultaneously embedding them into issues of a more global dimension. Such issues and related questions could help motivate students to study topics which they might otherwise find boring. Topics that could provide insights on their present life and motivate them to discuss related questions and follow them up outside the classroom. This way history would not just be learned off by heart, it could open up more interesting discussions and would encourage more open thinking from students. History teaching of this kind invites students to reflect on their own perspectives as well as on other's perspectives. It offers students good opportunities for learning, studying and memorizing, independently.

In addition and more specifically, if history classes stressed global history and applied interesting, and current questions with an openness for diverse perspectives, students of different origins, including those with migration backgrounds, would have the chance to feel included. In this very way, history classes could contribute their part to a better national integration of students from different backgrounds.

## **2. What is 'Global History' and How Can it be Brought to the Classroom?**

By looking to the U.S. where historians have been pioneering World History for decades, we can start to find some answers to these questions. In the U.S. there are currently three types of history courses being taught alongside each other, simultaneously or one after the other in high schools, in colleges, and at universities with repeatedly revised and reformed curricula.

1. National history courses are of no interest here. 2. Since the 70's and 80's World History Courses have been offered as Western Civilization Courses in which the roots of American history are set in ancient Mediterranean and European traditions. The history of a few, non-European countries that are considered important are added to the curriculum. This model of teaching is still about the nation's history, even though it emphasizes the roots of U.S. history as situated in Europe. 3. In contrast and in addition to this kind of history, in which so called 'important' countries are add-ons to a primarily national historical curriculum, a new curriculum was proposed in the U.S. in 1995 under the label of New World History. This curriculum is very close to the kind of history, which is intended here with the term: Global History (Dunn 2009: 55-69).

The novelty of this curriculum of New World History or Global History was the following: the traditional concentration on national history was to be transcended and overcome not by adding new, appended data and facts, but by combining common topics and data with new questions which include global perspectives. Ross E. Dunn explained these claims with example questions: Why were Muslim traders in Asia and Africa once so successful? Why did western Europeans in the 15<sup>th</sup> Century successfully circumnavigate the world and not the Chinese who had much better conditions for doing so? Why have certain diseases spread worldwide, and not others? (Dunn 1996: 31-9) With this New World History approach a crucial step towards Global History was taken: History should no longer be taught 'as it once was' and learned off by heart. Until then unquestioned national history should be transcended and globalized with present-related questions and viewpoints.

When studying the history of other countries, spaces, and societies the emphasis has to be on relationships and encounters between nations and cultures, as well as comparisons. The changes and

modifications in the history of nations and cultures are important, not just incoherent information about their history.

Eurocentric concepts must pay attention to their inadequate analysis, for instance: with its narrative on the ‘discovery’ of America (Dunn 1996: 31-9).

The globalization of national histories helps to modernize and update history lessons. The effects of this will be that national histories become more credible, understandable, and interesting. Teaching materials for this global curriculum are continuously put together in the U.S. There is also a free website where issues and materials are accessible.<sup>3</sup>

### **3. Five Steps to the Classroom**

1. Jürgen Osterhammel wrote that Global History starts in the mind of those who study and teach history. Their concepts and notions decide, whether historic phenomena are put into a global perspective or not (Osterhammel 2005: 453). In the classroom, questions with global relevance and resonance have to be applied to historical topics. It takes some training to ask questions with global pertinence. Teachers and students should develop an awareness of global issues and world-wide problems, and teachers should try to bring tasks and impulses for learning in a globalizing direction. This proved decisive in the U.S. with the change from World History to New World History, when the emphasis was placed on change and encounters on a global scale. In Germany and some other European countries, history teaching should be rethought to include globalized history topics.<sup>4</sup> Questions and problems of global interests can be fathomed from our current day contexts, from young people’s contexts and from society’s historical culture. It is easy to find current problems with global consequences, some have already been mentioned here. In the meanwhile, classroom materials for teaching history classes with global issues have already been edited. For example, the topic of migration exists as a longitudinal study through the centuries or decades, with cross sections for well-defined periods, countries and areas. Also the environmental questions of pollution, climate change, water and wood resources etc. are covered by published materials. Globalization as a spreading process of change in different times and regions has been put together for classroom use. Topics like: disease, slavery, industrialization, democracy, as well as the cotton, coffee and

chocolate trade and much, much more have made their way into classroom resources too. However, to teaching a global perspective it is not enough to give some factual information about such topics and it is not sufficient to describe a particular trade, an environmental problem or a phase of globalization. Simultaneously questions about entanglements and interdependencies need to be posed alongside questions about their global significance for the present and the future. On this basis I would encourage that concepts and topics should be rethought.

2. Local, regional and national history continues to be important, because they are also part of young people's lives, marking traditions and current events. The increasing variation of cultures, religions, and ethnicities also highlight this. But even such local and regional history can gain a lot when put in a transnational or global context. The industrialization of a small town e.g., being taught as local history quickly becomes an issue of broader regional, national and transnational consequences. Entanglements can be taught: why were immigrants attracted or recruited to a region? Where did they come from? How were they treated? There is a global aspect to these questions: What does the capitalist economy mean for the world? How did markets and the economy develop around the world, to the advantage and disadvantage of which countries? What did industrialization do for social change? What is meant by 'progress' or 'modernisation'? This context of local and global history is called glocal history. In respect to a traditional national curriculum a topic from the Middle Ages can be taken: 'Canossa' for instance. Of course this topic is worth being taught, while embedded in questions and problems of the present: 'church and state' or 'the influence of religion on societies and regimes' etc.

3. In history lessons, particularly in those being taught in globalizing ways, understandings for different standpoints and perspectives is encouraged and critical thinking and reflection is developed. This helps to better and more adequately compare, discuss and evaluate historical events. In a lot of history curricula and in didactic literature teachers are advised that their lessons should: a) be problem oriented, b) practice historical analysis and interpretation, c) create a reflective and self reflexive consciousness of history, d) deal with multiple perspectives, and e) contribute to the students' orientation in life and society. These standards of historical understanding and thinking skills are important for every history topic and when teaching a global

perspective: they are essential. History should be a subject for thinking and not a subject to be merely learned off by heart.

4. To teach a history with a global perspective a new periodization, chronology, and notion of space need to be established (Green 2000: 384-6). The Eurocentric periodization of ancient, medieval and modern times was established in the European Renaissance, but is no longer relevant in a globalizing world. The original Christian chronology is preserved in its secularized form of internationally accepted BCE and CE (Before Common Era and Common Era). By focusing on relations and boundaries, new spaces are unveiled, for instance the Atlantic Ocean.

5. With all these changes in mind it would be possible to create global history curricula that cover the very beginnings of human history up to the present time. Such a curriculum would differ from country to country because each country's encounters with the world will be different. Topics of national history can be brought in at points where they are relevant. In Germany and in a lot of other European countries there are traditionally curricula which start with the beginnings of humanity and go up to the present date. It should not be too difficult to supplement them with a global perspective and rearrange issues in order to embed national history into world affairs and to bring the world into national history classes.

Against increasing efforts to strengthen national, traditional history and to create a canon of national topics, which have to be learned – as a reaction to a perceived excess of internationalization this kind of curricula and the teaching that comes with it will have to assert itself in a lot of European countries.<sup>5</sup>

To conclude, I will re-iterate the three big advantages of gradually bringing Global History to classrooms:

- a) students will be better orientated in the world in which they live,
- b) history lessons will be more interesting, and students will learn and memorize more successfully and
- c) students from different backgrounds will have a chance to feel more included.

In summary: history lessons would become better.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> In Germany, in nearly all curricula this demand can be found. In the U.S. e.g. Stearns, P. N. (2000) 'Getting Specific about Training in Historical Analysis', in P. N. Stearns & P. Seixas & S. Wineburg (eds) *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History*, New York, London: NYU Press, 430; Nelson, L. R. & Waterson, R. A. (2007/8) 'Civic Knowledge and the Social Studies Method Course', in *International Journal of Social Education* 22 (2), 89-98, here 89.

<sup>2</sup> In Germany e.g. by Uffelmann, U. (1990), *Problemorientierter Geschichtsunterricht* Villingen-Schwenningen: Neckar Verlag. In the U.S. e.g. Vickery, P. (2007) 'Progressive Pedagogy in the U.S. History Survey', in *Radical Teacher* (83) 10, 13; Dunn, R. E. (1996) 'Central Themes for World History', in R. E. Dunn & D. Vigilante (eds) *Bring History Alive!*, National Center for the History in the Schools, Los Angeles: University of California, 31-9.

<sup>3</sup> The Center for History in the Schools at UCLA is editing a lot of material for classroom use, e. g. <http://worldhistoryforusall.sdsu.edu> (29 January 2012).

<sup>4</sup> In a lot of European countries history classes are taught in the way of the U.S. Western Civilisation Courses, with some non-European countries added to the national curriculum. For Germany it was shown by Popp, S. & Röder, D. (2006/7) 'Constructing Macro Perspectives – A Feasible Way to Introduce World and Global History into German History Classrooms?', in *Jahrbuch der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Geschichtsdidaktik*, 30, Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau Verlag, 75-6.

<sup>5</sup> It was discussed in articles on textbook-research for Scotland, Russia, Denmark and Poland (2006/7), in *Jahrbuch der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Geschichtsdidaktik*, 30.

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# FORUM



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## WORLD HISTORY IN THE COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION IN SHANGHAI

Chunmei Gu

*The history test is one part of the College Entrance Examination, which has been the most important method for Chinese universities to select candidates amongst middle school students. As a city with some independent rights to combine its own history curriculum standards and history textbooks, Shanghai has also been authorized to be prepared for the history test in the College Entrance Examination taking place every year. Recently, the experts-committee for the examination preparation in Shanghai has searched for some new ways to help students and also school teachers to identify the essence of history education more clearly, creating a so-called 'history consciousness'. With several examples from the test papers and analysis results, the progress as well as problems in the development of world history didactic in Chinese middle schools could have been showed and reflected.*

### 1. Overview on the Development of the College Entrance Examination in Shanghai

It is thought that the current Chinese College Entrance Examination system is the revival of the Imperial Examination system in ancient China, because the two aims at spotting talents for the higher education and selecting bureaucrats for the imperial government respectively are notable similarities between them. They are both nationwide examinations in which students are supposed to finish the same test paper within the same period of time and for which the central government retains the supreme authority of charting relevant policies. More importantly, the former is also trapped in the same dilemma of the latter — the contradiction between efficiency and effects. The College Entrance Examination, regarded as the most just talent-selecting mechanism in China today, is always accused of bringing about too much schoolwork and examination-oriented education.

College Entrance Examination was once cancelled during the Cultural Revolution but resulted in rampant corruption. During the first few years of China's reform and opening-up, it was restored as a basic national policy of strategic importance. In the following

years, the topic of reforming the College Entrance Examination system was put on the table again. In the early 1980s, the national authorities of education laid an ambitious plan and part of it was that Shanghai would be granted, in the year 1985, the right of independently designing the examination paper. At that time, educators in Shanghai argued that with advanced economic development, Shanghai didn't deserve to use the same examination paper with other areas and Shanghai should compile own textbooks according to its special circumstances. To achieve this end, they felt compelled to gain the right of independently designing the paper. This idea won support from the reformists in the Ministry of Education who hoped that the success of Shanghai in this respect could be generalized to the overall educational reform. This is how Shanghai's independently designed examination paper came into being.

Today dozens of provinces and cities have acquired the independent paper-designing right, for instances, in 2002, Beijing acquired the independent paper-designing right and in 2004, nine cities and provinces including Tianjin and Guangdong followed suit. By the year 2011, the number of provinces and cities having such right hits 16. However, Shanghai's practice in this connection still has its unique characters, i.e. it is entitled to lay down its own curriculum and compile particular textbooks. Moreover, Shanghai has its own system with regard to the test requirements.

## **2. History as One of Subjects in College Entrance Examination in Shanghai**

Among the subjects tested in Shanghai's College Entrance Examination, history is dedicated to resolving such a problem: now that it is an inexorable fact that current teaching activities are examination-oriented, how to lead them to a more efficient way through a reasonable testing system? With this end in view, three more questions need to be answered: what are the characters of history? What are the goals of history teaching? How to embody such goals in the examination?

### *2.1 Aims of History Education*

What is history? In the past, it is out of question. Most historians believed that history equaled to historical facts and what they did

was exactly the same as what the scientists did — presenting the facts objectively. However, the rise of analytic philosophy of history in the 20<sup>th</sup> century made the historians to give up such unrealistic expectation. They came to realize that they could not get rid of the subjective factors in historical comprehending and the so-called objective facts didn't exist. What could be done by historians is to interpret the facts frequently according to the epoch demands and their own standpoints. Such a revolutionary idea prompted us to reconsider the aims of the current history education. Nevertheless, we should teach the students to understand things from a historical perspective and acquire the capability of interpreting historical problems instead of simply focusing on telling them more facts or ready-made conclusions.

As it is known to all, historical researches have undergone profound changes during the past 50 years, thus giving birth to various new theories and research methods. These academic achievements are supposed to and absolutely can be employed by the history education in high schools. But the thing is: how to explain them in a simple language and make them understandable to the high school students?

## *2.2 New Trends in the History Test in Shanghai*

The attempts made by the history examination in Shanghai include providing new materials, encouraging diverse views and introducing new perspectives.

It is easy to see the importance of new materials. This is why Shanghai designed material analysis questions as early as the 1990s, intentionally importing new materials outside the textbooks. Today questions based on new materials cover nearly 90% of the test paper. Of course, just increasing the proportion of new materials is far from enough. The development of contemporary history reveals that the nature of historical materials is changing. Materials in other aspects, ordinary as they may appear, can probably be transferred into historical data from a brand new perspective. In other words, according to the New Cultural History theory, everything can be used as historical materials. Inspired by such an opinion, many new types of materials have been used in the history examination paper of recent years such as widespread discourses, symbols, advertisements, children cartoons concerning on environmental changes, private life shifts in a certain village, etc.

Nevertheless, experience of the past indicates that if new materials simply serve as evidences to certain conclusions in the textbook or some banal views, students can easily handle them with their practiced trick of 'scissors and glue'. Therefore, the introduction of new interpretations and new perspectives is all the more significant, and this is the major aspect treated in recent test papers.

### 2.3 *Practices in the History Test in Shanghai*

Great innovations have been made to the research of the world history in the aspect of historical theories and methods. Therefore, using the world history as a point of departure is a judicious action. Here I would like to take several test questions concerning the world history as examples to illustrate how the new methods of historical research are reflected and what is the result.

#### **Test question 1 [2007. 36]**

Read the following passage reflecting the conditions of British working class during the Industrial Revolution and answer the question.

- I. Workers, including children laborers, shall work for at least 12 hours per day.
- II. The entrance door will be shut ten minutes after the machines are set in motion in the morning and no textile worker is since allowed to enter the factory.
- III. Any textile worker, if absent from his duty while the machine is still running, will be fined three pennies for each hour and for each loom he takes charge of; any textile worker who leaves the workshop without the permission from the supervisor will also be fined three pennies.
- IX. The textile worker shall pay for any damage done to the shuttle, brush, lubricator, wheel and window.
- XI. Any textile worker, once found talking, whistling, singing or sewing clothes, will be fined six pennies.

**Question:** What do you think were the conditions of textile workers in that era? (9')

This is a question in the history examination of 2007. It presented a typical passage concerning the factory rules and students were required to figure out the conditions of the working people. This question, although not complicated in its form, aroused strong response in that year. Because it was the first genuinely ‘open’ question in the history of Shanghai’s examination: a question defying any accurate answer.

In the past, some questions in the history examination also appeared quite open. However, take a closer look and you will find their answers are still closed. The hypothesis for such closed system is that when it comes to the interpretation of history, there is a standard answer which is more ‘objective’ and thus more superior than others. We know that some of these deep-rooted ideas are out-of-date, then what do we need to do so as to encourage diversified answers in the examination? By means of multidisciplinary researches, we find an effective theory — the SOLO Taxonomy. It is originated from an empirical study on subjects such as history, mathematics and writing. The findings demonstrate that the responses in all these subjects show the similar thinking pattern. In the case of history, it represents as follows (Biggs & Collis 1979):

- **Prestructural**  
Student avoids the question (denial), repeats the question (tautology), a firm closure based on transduction
- **Unistructural**  
An answer is based on only one relevant aspect of the presented evidence so that the conclusion is limited and likely dogmatic
- **Multistructural**  
Several consistent aspects of the data are selected, but any inconsistencies or conflicts are ignored or discounted so that a firm conclusion is reached
- **Relational**  
Most or all of the evidence accepted, and attempts are made to reconcile. Conflicting data are placed into a system that accounts for the given context
- **Extended abstract**  
There is recognition that the given example is an instance of a more general case. Hypothesis about not given examples are entertained, and the conclusions are held open.

This evaluating criterion, characterized by grade description, is quite effective in evaluating open questions. It focuses on the thinking features reflected by the answers instead on specific knowledge. To encourage diversified answers, the SOLO Taxonomy is used for reference in this question. Specific standards are as follows:

- Level 1: the answer is irrelevant to the question. E.g. the working class was very poor.
- Level 2: conclusions are given but not proved. E.g. the working class was oppressed or the working people were undisciplined.
- Level 3: conclusions are given and proved by related materials. E.g. the working people were oppressed. They had to endure long working hours, go to work on time, pay for damaged tools and be fined for absence, etc. Or some workers were undisciplined, leaving without permission and whistling, singing or sewing clothes while on duty.
- Level 4: conclusions are given and proved from two contradictory perspectives according to the material. E.g. on one hand the working people were oppressed and on the other hand they were not. Under such conditions, more than two pieces of the material should be used as the evidence.
- Level 5: conclusions are given and proved in a more coherent structure according to the material. E.g. the material shows that the working people were oppressed. They had to endure long working hours and got fined for, no matter to what extent, breaking rules. However, the material also indicates that the strict rules imposed upon the workers were not just the product of the capitalists' exploitation and oppression, but in a sense, were self-induced. Some workers hadn't yet adapted themselves to the working code of the factory. Some left without permission; some talked, sang and whistled while on duty; others even caused damage to the machines. Therefore, no simple conclusion concerning the conditions of the working class can be drawn from the material.

Almost all the students felt somewhat at a loss while answering this question. Because for the first time, they found that the answer 'was not there'. No one was sure whether his answer 'measured up to the standard'. Just as expected, the result was less than satisfactory. The

full score of this question was 9, the average was 3.85 and the difficulty coefficient and correlation were 0.43 and 0.32 respectively. Obviously, this question was quite difficult for the students and their scores didn't differ much from each other.

If we make further analysis on the data, we can get an idea of what is the problem. The following table shows the performance of the students.

Figure 1:

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Level-1	154	0.8	0.8
Level-2	3469	18.8	19.6
Level-3	14853	80.3	99.9
Level-4	12	0.1	100.0
Level-5	7	0.0	100.0

From the table, we can see that most answers fall into the first three levels, particularly the third one (multistructural). This implies that history education in high schools has enhanced students' knowledge in terms of quantity instead of quality. The strategies employed by the students in answering the question show that they hope to win higher scores by quantitative superiority. In order to cover a larger proportion of the full score, many of them cobbled together various events occurring in the long history from the Enclosure Movement to the rise of the proletariat but almost didn't answer the question. Others, affected by habitual thinking, made their own judgment even before reading the passage: the working people were oppressed. Exploited by capitalists, they lived in dire misery. Confined to such a perspective, they ignored the indiscipline of the workers reflected by the material. Therefore, no matter how they expounded on their views, they couldn't connect all the evidences and the answers still belong to 'multistructural'.

This is why only 0.1% of the students gave answers that could reach the standard of level 4 and 5. Additionally, we also found that among these 19 students, only 2 were from key high schools,

yet as many as 12 were from the general ones. The other 5 were repeaters of the senior year. Such a phenomenon draws our attention to the education in traditional ‘good schools’. These schools, under the pressure of the College Entrance Examination, are more prone to encourage students to learn by rote and form a thinking set, which actually restrain the thought of outstanding students.

### Test question 2 【2006.18】

As regards historical studies, people’s explanations of historical events always differ from each other due to different stances and viewpoints. For example, as for Columbus’ voyage to America: in the past, the Europeans, while discussing the event, always attached the utmost importance to Europe; American natives saw it from the perspective of their own interests; today, influenced by the globalized conception of history, a renewed understanding of the event has been formed.

According to the material, which one of the following options is correct [...]

- A. Europe/discovery, America/encounter of civilizations, globalized conception of history/intrusion
- B. Europe/encounter of civilizations, America/intrusion, globalized conception of history/discovery
- C. Europe/intrusion, America/discovery, globalized conception of history/encounter of civilizations
- D. Europe/discovery, America/intrusion, globalized conception of history/encounter of civilizations

If the focus of test question 1 is to encourage diversified understanding of the material that of test question 2 is to introduce a new angle – the globalised conception of world history.

The material of this question shows an important fact: people’s interpretation of history is always determined by their standpoints. Columbus’ arrival at America is a typical example. The seemingly neutral expression ‘Columbus discovered America’ actually indicates the Europeans’ point of view. It assumes that America was a continent in the dark without any history and needed to be ‘discovered’ by the white. However, natives living in America had created splendid

civilization. From their point of view, the arrival of Europeans was nothing less than sheer intrusion. The end of the material implies that we should discard the traditional view with the West at its core and abandon racial and geographical bias so as to interpret human history from a global perspective.

The following table shows the four levels, in an ascending order, of the students' score in result, which reflected the selection rate of each option at each level.

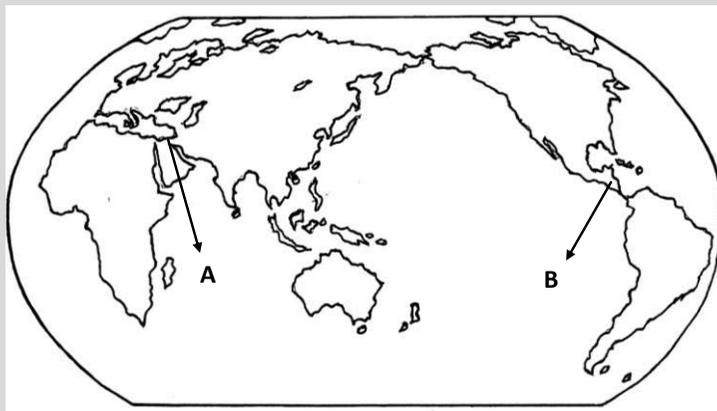
Figure 2:

Type of Students	A	B	C	D	no choice
All Students	3.1	3.9	23.6	69.3	0.1
Level-1	6.0	8.6	33.5	51.6	0.4
Level-2	4.0	4.2	27.8	64.0	0.1
Level-3	1.8	2.3	21.4	74.4	0.0
Level-4	0.8	0.5	11.4	87.3	0.0

From the table, we can see that option A and B had an impact mainly on the first two levels, namely, students who got relatively low scores. That is to say, these students probably had little difficulty in understanding the globalized conception of history which held that Columbus' arrival at America was the encounter of civilizations and thus excluded option A and B. Nevertheless, option C interfered with students' judgment to a great extent. Even a large proportion of students from level 3 and 4 selected it (we assume that students who can get higher scores are of higher ability). This indicates that they couldn't distinguish the other two perspectives, which partly due to their inadequate understanding of the question and also because they are not aware of the bias reflected by different interpretations.

**Test question 3 [2010.35]**

World history is not the accumulation of the history of all kinds of nations, states and regions, but a process that human gradually developed from isolation and dispersion into a whole of intimate association.



Questions: (15 points)

- (1) Write down the two ancient civilizations represented with A and B in the map. (2 points)
- (2) Since 1500, human has begun to walk out the dispersal predicament, and the world has been united as one in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Give an account of the major historical events and their influences in this process (13 points).

This is also a question concerning the globalized conception of world history. It makes a further inquiry into the question: what is the world history? In the past, we held that it was just the combination of histories of individual countries except China. Currently, studies of it, abandoning such a view, shift the focus to regarding the history of human society as a whole.

The material displayed a general picture of the development of the world from a separated existence to an integrated whole. To answer the first question, students were required to identify

independent regional civilizations in ancient times, while as for the second, students were supposed to explain how the historical events starting from Europe, e.g. the outbound colonial movement, industrialization drives, capital expansion, etc., contributed to the formation of today's 'integrated' world.

Notably, such an idea runs through the question: the basic knowledge acquired in the class is still important. However, through introducing new perspectives, we can remold the relationship between knowledge and views so that new historical implications could be generated from the old framework of knowledge. In doing so, students can constantly renew their understandings of the world history.

Apart from the rearrangement of knowledge, presentation strategies are highly crucial. Traditionally, students always tried to list as many historical facts as they could so as to cover necessary points, some answers even didn't include any complete sentence. To improve such an undesirable condition, students are encouraged to transform the point-listing pattern into a descriptive one. While grading the paper, we adopted a method of dividing the historical facts and organization of the answer and evaluating them separately. Merely listing the facts couldn't guarantee the score for the organization, while students simply enumerating relevant details in a temporal order could only get a relatively low score for the organization. Only those providing detailed statements regarding major phases of the globalization process got the highest score.

Figure 4: Distribution of scores for historical facts

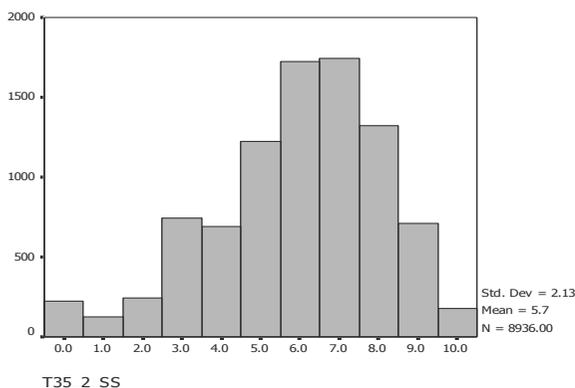
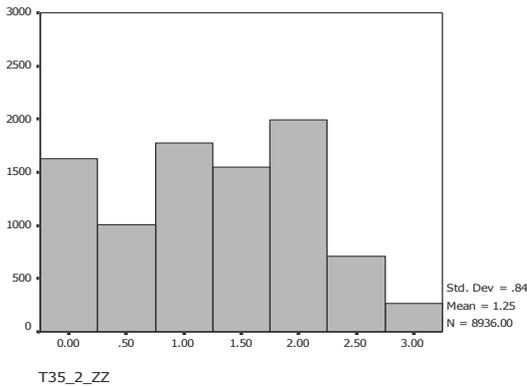


Figure 5: Distribution of scores for the organization of the answer



We can see from the statistics that students' score for historical facts is higher than that of the organization. It shows that students were better at memorizing historical facts but somewhat lacking in the ability of structuring the answer. However, many students, familiar with the opening of the new sea route and the Industrial Revolution as they were, didn't understand the significant role played by the evolvement of capitalism from free competition to monopoly in the globalization process. Therefore, students who got the full score for historical facts were just few and far between. In terms of the structure, quite a few students just listed the historical facts, a great majority enumerated the facts in a temporal order and only a small proportion paid attention to the overall structure.

#### Test question 4 [2006.18]

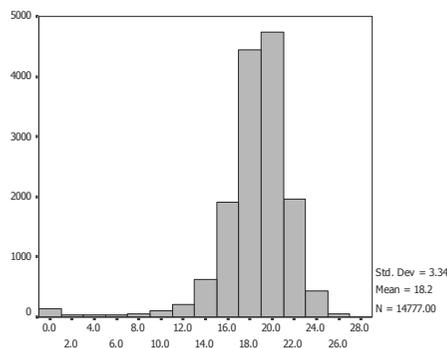
After WW II, the International Military Tribunal prosecuted fascist war criminals for 'crime against peace' (planning, preparation, initiation, or waging of wars of aggression), 'war crime' (serious violations of the laws applicable in armed conflict giving rise to individual criminal responsibility, including the murder or ill-treatment of prisoners of war, hostages or laborers and the wanton destruction of cities, towns and villages, and any devastation not justified by military, or civilian necessity) and 'crime against humanity' (murder or enslavement of civilian residents of an occupied territory and other offenses against

humanitarian laws prior to and during the war).

This year marks the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the victory of the Anti-Fascist War and the whole world is immersed in deep reflection. Please, in accordance with historical facts, write a short paper on WW II with the theme of brutality trod upon civilization but civilization prevailed over brutality

In 2005, commemorative activities were held all over the world to celebrate the victory of WW II. Under such circumstances, we designed the composition with a given topic. In doing so we hoped that students, through laying out the atrocities committed by fascists in WWII, could define the concepts of civilization and barbarism, consider what kind of system is civilized and what kind of system is barbarian, as well as form the understanding and recognition of human dignity and human rights.

Figure 6: Distribution of students' score



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This histogram shows that medium scores took quite a large proportion. Most of the scores fell into the bracket of 18 to 20. Only a tiny minority of students got high scores. This is probably because most students, without knowing exactly what was civilization and barbarism could only list the causes, process and results of World War II. Actually, relevant knowledge has never been missed from the textbooks. For example, in the chapters discussing English Revolution and French Revolution, theories of human rights are among the most highlighted. The problem is, the

teacher just explains the events as they were instead of putting them into the general picture of modern civilization.

**Reference**

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## CLOSED OR BROKEN NARRATIONS? WORK-ORDERS AS ELEMENTS OF HISTORICAL NARRATIONS IN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

Wolfgang Hasberg

*The following article deals with a methodological aspect of history textbook research, which was neglected until today. Work-orders, their designs as well as their functions were only rarely investigated, at least in the German discourse. Yet, to analyse the functions of work-orders in single chapters of history schoolbooks, it is necessary to obtain an overview of the schoolbook market and the efforts in the field of schoolbook research in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), as the functions of work-orders cannot be explored without observing this framework. Therefore, firstly, there will be a description of these circumstances. Secondly, the article will shed light on the methods and some of the results of the textbook research — with a special view on the investigations of work-orders in history textbooks. Thirdly, a methodological outline will be given along with an example to demonstrate an approach of textbook research that pays attention to the fact, that a chapter of a history textbook is a historical narration by itself. Although some history didacticians deny this, the question<sup>1</sup> should be asked: Why do they deny the narrative character of history textbook chapters? The answer to this question will be discussed, including the outlines of the schoolbook market and in particular, the types of schoolbooks existing in Germany today.*

### 1. History Textbooks in Germany

Germany is a federal republic, consisting of 16 states, from Lower Saxony in the North to Bavaria in the South, from the Saarland in the West to Saxony in the East. Each of these states has the sole responsibility and the authority in cultural affairs, including the educational system. In fact, there are not only 16 curricula for history lessons in Germany, but many more, because there are special curricula for various school types and school stages. There is a special curriculum for the Gymnasium, sometimes divided into two parts (for Secondary Level I and II), and there is a special curriculum for history in schools for people with special needs, for grammar schools, for Haupt- and Realschulen and so on. Those who would like to count them will find more than 100 curricula for history education in the German federal states.<sup>2</sup>

### 1.1 *Schoolbook Market in Germany*

It is nearly the same with the textbooks. There are textbooks for all types of schools and for each level of schooling. Because the use of history textbooks in schools has to be authorised by the federal government,<sup>3</sup> the number of textbook editions for history teaching can not be enumerated exactly.

There were 34 publishing companies in 2002, which produced textbooks and teaching aids for history lessons.<sup>4</sup> Today the number is not smaller — and of course: their aim is, to sell as many as it would be possible to maximise profit. In the face of the expectable sale volumes, due to the high number of pupils, the production of textbooks — for history as well as for other subjects — is an economic business.<sup>5</sup> The consequence is that solely those books will be produced that seem to be more profitable as those books which are of didactical value. On the side of the textbook publishers there is hardly any quality assurance. The main parameter is economic success. In 2007 schoolbooks were evaluated by the 'Stiftung Warentest',<sup>6</sup> a company which usually tests consumer goods such as bicycles, washing powders, shampoos and toothpastes. It could not be more clear: schoolbooks are merchandise products in Germany.

But this dark side of the schoolbook market in Germany is opposed by another side — there are nearly no public quarrels about schoolbooks — like in Greece for example<sup>7</sup> — as no publisher has a monopolist position. And it seems to be a matter of unspoken consent, that the tone of history textbooks should be as neutral as possible. When history textbooks are reviewed, the critique sometimes refers to didactical aspects,<sup>8</sup> but more often it is directed towards the topics and the content as far as the reviewers are regarded.<sup>9</sup> They discover that rather important facts are missed out or the account is not in accordance with the historical. In the past years, no conflict about the issue of a history textbook has been registered. Beside the already mentioned, one reason may be that history textbooks are mainly concentrated on the development of the historical consciousness, which means that they do not intent to transfer a special estimation, but enable the pupils to form their own opinion, or better, historical narration, by dealing with historical sources and creating historical coherences.

### 1.2 Types of History Textbooks

This is the reason why history textbooks in Germany have changed their appearance. Until 1970, the dominant form, a history textbook offered, was a continuous account of historical events, structures and coherences, enriched by pictures and other materials which had the function to illustrate the linguistic account. Sometimes sources were included, but only for illustration purposes. Materials were absent as well as work-orders. This kind of textbook is called 'Lehrbuch' (horn book) in German, because it is qualified to transport content, which has to be learnt by the pupil who does not become active otherwise. The 'Lehrbuch' is able to partially substitute the teacher.

During the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s the social upheaval and paradigmatic changes in historical sciences effected changes in history didactics and history teaching, too. History as school subject mutated from a learn-subject to a work-subject. In German this is a fixed phrase: Vom 'Lern- zum Arbeitsfach'.<sup>10</sup> Consequently, the textbooks had to be modified as well.<sup>11</sup> It was necessary to produce a workbook. One of the best known workbooks, published in 1974, is *Fragen an die Geschichte*.<sup>12</sup> It solely contains sources and materials. Only a few texts from the authors were included. The concept was innovative, but was not become accepted by teachers as the book could not be used for preparation of lessons. Therefore it was established as additional material collection in the class. More successful than this workbook was the combination of learn- and workbook, which exists in two variations.

As an example for the first version, *Geschichtliche Weltkunde* from Wolfgang Hug can be mentioned, which was successful in various forms of schools for a long time.<sup>13</sup> In this book the continuous text of the author is interrupted by a multitude of sources and pictures, tables and excerpts of historiographical books.

When Hug published a new textbook, titled *Unsere Geschichte*, several years later,<sup>14</sup> he used long passages of his texts and of the former used materials, too. But he followed a widely spread trend, when he divided the authors text and the materials into two distinct parts in each chapter. This principle is applied in *Geschichte und Geschehen*, published by Klett,<sup>15</sup> and *Geschichtsbuch* by Cornelsen.<sup>16</sup> It is a textbook for gymnasias, and is divided into three parts: an introduction, followed by the extensive author's text and then a third part which consists of materials, completed by work-orders. This type

of history textbook is the most common type. But self-evidently, the type of the integrative history textbook still exists. And it can be found especially in the cases, where history is a part of an integrative subject as History – Social Sciences – Geography like in Bavaria.<sup>17</sup> To subsume, there are three types of history textbook:<sup>18</sup>

- Teaching book (Lehrbuch)
- Workbook (Arbeitsbuch)
- Learn- and workbook (Lern- und Arbeitsbuch);
  - a) Integrating author's text and materials
  - b) Dividing author's text and materials

It is obvious, that the accounts, summarised in each teaching book, are closed narratives, which transport historical sense. The pupils have nearly no possibility to criticise and disclaim this opinion. This does not agree to the thought, that history lessons should enable the pupils to form historical sense by themselves, while they deal with sources or while they analyse historical narrations.

It is also obvious, that workbooks are broken units of narration, wherein the pupil finds impulses to question and to criticise the author's opinion. It seems so at first, but if we take a closer look the case is not as clear as it seems.

### 1.3 *Closed or Broken — History Textbooks Chapters as Units*

When Hans-Jürgen Pandel asked 'What makes a schoolbook to a history textbook?', he stated, on the one hand, that a history textbook on the level of events builds a coherence of events and on the textual level it builds a narration.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand he denies that textbooks produce narrative coherences in fact, because they would not accomplish an intertextual combination between the various elements, like the authors texts, the scientific texts included, the sources in the work elements and the exercises. Therefore the pupils would be forced to build the narrative coherence by themselves.

But to counter, we have to realise that the historical narration arises while working with different materials offered by the book. And if there is a historical narration including the book in fact — what cannot be refused as simple as Pandel does, then this narration would not be transported into the minds of the recipients, exactly in that way the authors intended. In the mind of each pupil would be rather produced an own history — and, which is much more important, in the mind of the teacher, too. Based on his lecture of the

textbook supplemented by other information, he has, a historical narration grow up, which is the basis for his strategy of teaching. In Germany at least, history textbooks are no materials, which can be handled by the students without help, as often is supposed.<sup>20</sup> They are proposals, which have to be converted into historical narrations during the lessons.

Nevertheless work-orders play an important part in this process. Because — as Pandel remarks rightly — they are not part of the historical narration, even it is presented in the book or developed by the participants of history lessons. Thus, the answers to the questions are and have to be integrated into the plot, which is offered by the book or/and the teacher and reorganised in the minds of the pupils. If the questions, the work-orders, are deficient or dysfunctional for creating a narrative coherence,<sup>21</sup> an interpolation problem grows up, which can not be solved by the students — and not by the teacher, if he does not understand the intentions of the authors.

Because work orders are integrative elements of history textbooks in Germany since the 1960s, they are important elements of textbook concepts, which should be addressed. Therefore, attention should be paid to an early example of history textbooks, which includes all elements, history textbooks consist of today.

For example, take a look into Hug's *Geschichtliche Weltkunde*, which has been previously mentioned. The book is 'lernzielorientiert', which means, it is orientated on the theory of operationalising teaching aims or targets in form of observable changes in behaviour. Therefore at the beginning of each chapter the aims of the units are formulated. In the chapter about the Crusades you can read:

- 'In former times people remembered the Crusades proudly; today we are critically. You can try to form an opinion by yourself, while you get information on which reasons were made for the several operations and as which aims of the expeditions were in line with their outcome.
- By dealing with the Crusades you can broaden your view on foreign cultures and you can get a picture about the connection between Europe and the Orient in the Middle Ages.'<sup>22</sup>

The latitude, opened for the pupils, is not very wide. On the one hand, they shall get information, for example about the connection between Europe and the Orient in the Middle Ages. Shouldn't they

reflect relations today? And they shall form their own opinion, but first they get the information that we are critically of today.

Confronted with the control items at the end of unit the latitude of pupils becomes smaller and smaller:

- ‘Describe the reasons, the processes and the outcomes of the first Crusade.
- Declare the interests of the Pope, the Emperor of Eastern Rome, the knights, the Venetians.
- Formulate your opinion about the Crusades in few sentences.
- Explain the changes in Asia Minor, on the Balkans and in Northern Africa since the end of Crusade until 1500 AD with the aid of a landscape.
- Register some examples, which show the cultural exchange between the Orient and Europe.’

Exercise 1, 2, 4 and 5 requires pupils to reproduce information given by the author in his own text or in the materials offered. When they are asked to formulate their own opinion, they are limited twice: Firstly, they only have the information the author selected and wrote. And secondly, they are defined by a biased opinion: today we are critically inclined towards the Crusades. It seems unnecessary to confirm that the information supports this opinion.

In summary, the units of learning — and workbooks are not broken at all, at least the integrative version of learn- and workbooks can present a closed narration, which hinder the pupil to build historical sense or narrations independently. We will have to give proof, if this applies to the non-integrative version of history learn- and workbooks, too.

## 2. Schoolbook Research Regarding Work-orders

Before this attempt can be made, we have to reflect on the schoolbook research in Germany, as far as it deals with work-orders. First of all, it has to be asserted, that most of the research made until today, did not refer to didactical aspects, but examines the scientific value of textbooks in the way, the accuracy and adequacy of the books are proven. Consequently, there are only few investigations related to the work-orders.

The first one was published by Stephan Lipski, who presented his results of a study in 1979, in which he explored on which level the work-orders are formulated:

- if they ask for knowledge (level I),
- if they ask the pupils to arrive to conclusions (regarding the historical events respective coherences) (level II) or
- if they ask the pupils to evaluate the historical coherences in relation to the presence or rather the children’s subjective situation (level III).<sup>23</sup>

Level III – appraisal, statement	163	=	6,5%	Hypotheses Speculations  51 = 2%
Level II				
1. causations, motives, outcomes	264	=	10,6%	
2. historical comparison	257	=	10,3%	
3. exercises of definition	87	=	3,4%	
4. interpretation, conclusion, cognition	450	=	18,0%	
5. operations	156	=	6,2%	
Total	1214	=	48,7%	
Level I – Knowledge	1037	=	41,6%	
Leading questions	23	=	0,9%	

Figure 1: Table from S. Lipski (translation W. H.)

The sample consisted of four then current textbooks — among them the mentioned *Geschichtliche Weltkunde* — and evaluated 2.488 work-orders. Of those, 41.6% were content based as they asked for information given in the books. It is a little bit surprising, that the majority namely 48.7% asked for reasons and interests of the actors in the past and for definitions and interpretations and for mental operations. The results seemed to be positive. But one has to consider — as the example of *Geschichtliche Weltkunde* made transparent — that reasons and interests and as well as comprehension and even conclusions can be learnt as facts. For example: The pupils receive information about the motives of the crusaders, they do not conclude them from the sources. They are informed that the Crusades have to be reflected upon as crucial — they do not gain this appreciation by themselves. In fact, the results

are not valid because the items and categories are not selective clearly enough — as Lipski concedes, too.<sup>24</sup>

	Concepts of History	Rules and methods of History	Historical account	Contents of other subjects	Contents of extra-curricular locations	Contents of every day life	Actions because of historical consciousness	total %
Knowledge	176 5,1	50 1,4	1643 47,1	93 2,7	39 1,1	189 2,3	0 0	2185 62,7
Understanding	33 0,9	11 0,3	521 14,9	5 0,1	12 0,3	31 0,9	2 0,1	615 17,5
Application	2 0,1	8 0,2	189 5,4	22 0,6	3 0,1	16 0,5	4 0,1	244 7,0
Analysis	10 0,3	6 0,2	187 4,8	9 0,3	1 0	65 1,9	5 0,1	263 7,6
Synthesis	1 0	0 0	78 2,2	11 0,3	2 0,1	24 0,7	16 0,5	132 3,8
Evaluation	0 0	0 0	49 1,2	0 0	0 0	3 0,1	0 0	44 1,3
N = 3485	222 6,4	75 2,1	2639 75,6	140 4,0	57 1,6	325 9,4	27 0,8	3485

Figure 2: Results of M. Moosbrugger (translation W. H.)

A second study was made by the Austrian Marian Moosbrugger in 1984. Moosbrugger inspected the cognitive level of work-orders only by creating a two-dimensional matrix, wherein she distinguishes between the complexity of the content and the level of request, the last on the basis of Benjamin S. Bloom's well-known taxonomy (fig. 2).<sup>25</sup> It is doubtful if the levels of content complexity are not based on the taxonomy. In which other way the content levels are build is relatively unknown. This is one of the reasons, why the dimensions of cognitive request in this study are not exactly distinguished. Therefore the results are not reliable at all. But Moosbrugger subsumes as the following results:

There is a high dominance of cognitive questions,

- but they are concentrated on knowledge and understanding.

- Regarding the content complexity the results are not clear, but only sometimes the pupils should recognise rules or get methods/skills by master the work-orders and
  - most of the work-orders shall or can be solved as individual job.
- The results — so Moosbrugger states — are in contrast to the high aims of the curriculum, insofar as effective tasks are left out (only 2.8%, while the curriculum registers 40%) and because the majority of the work-orders only ask for reproducing historical information.

	Average		bsv		GuG		GB		UG		ZuM <sup>26</sup>	
	A	b	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b
Political events, developments and structures	35	44	39	45	50	59	3	5	31	43	51	64
Social and economic developments and structures	26	24	28	18	12	4	38	48	37	34	16	20
Environment an mentalities	13	8	8	9	17	10	13	8	11	6	16	6
Art	7	3	7	4			12	11			4	5
Non-integrated groups	22	22	18	23	21	28	34	29	21	16	10	7
Among them:												
Labour movement	12	13	12	19	10	14	13	11	21	16	6	5
Catholics	4	4	5	2	10	10	3	5			1	
Jews	3	2	1		1	4	11	8			3	2
National minorities	1	3	*	2			7	5				
Among them												
Persons		21		16		22		5		25		35
Bismarck		19		14		16		2		19		28

Figure 3: Historical dimension regarded in history lessons (H. Günther-Arndt, translation W. H.)

When Hilke Günther-Arndt published another study in 1988, she called it a pilot study, but it was not continued until today. Her issue was to emphasise the importance of work-orders for the whole of a unit as she followed the proposition, that there has to be an adequacy between ‘the didactical structure of a chapter and the structure of work-orders’.<sup>27</sup> Therefore she compared the author’s text and the

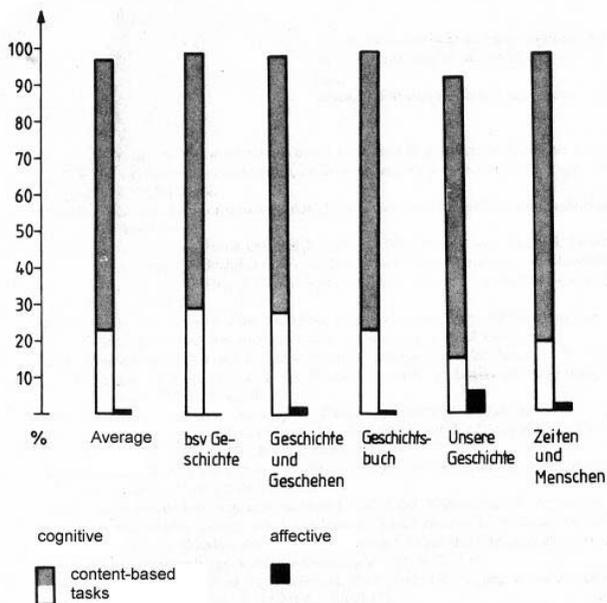
work-orders in one chapter (German Kaiserreich 19<sup>th</sup> century) of five textbooks. Her view was focused on three categories and she examined:

- which kind of history (cultural, economic, gender history) dominates in the texts and which dominates in the work-orders,
- in which way the pupils shall act, if the work-orders are content- or method-orientated,
- which level of historical thinking — according to the terminology of Karl-Ernst Jeismann or Jörn Rüsen<sup>28</sup> — is aimed by the work-orders. Shall the pupils enumerate events and coherences (analyse), shall they reasoning by combining facts and creating historical coherences (interpretation) or shall they evaluate the importance of historical events and coherences in relation to actual situations (judgment)?

One principle of historical thinking is multi-dimensionality that means, that the past cannot be explained by only one factor, the political, the cultural, the economic or the gender-dimension, for example. The authors of the textbook, which were in Günther-Arndt's sample, did follow this principle in their texts, but most of the work-orders did not. Therefore the political dimension is very dominating. So the work-orders do not support the didactical attitude of the author's text, but thwart it. Obviously, the text and the work-orders are contradictory. Günther-Arndt concedes, that this result may be an effect of the content, because she analysed a chapter dealing with the German Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. But the difference between the text and the work-orders still exists.

It is hardly surprising at all, but it is surprising in its clarity, when Günther-Arndt discovers that 98% of the questions regard the cognitive dimension. Nearly no work-order requests the pupil to perform methodical skills. In this case, the results would differ, if a replication would be conducted today

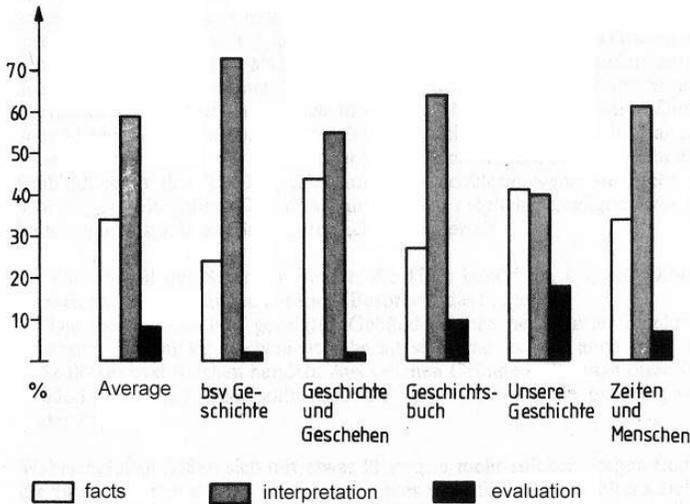
Figure 4: Content- or task-orientation of work-orders  
(H. Günther-Arndt, translation W. H.)



The third find confirms the results of Lipski. The first column (of fig. 5) shows the average, thus only 8% of the work-orders provoke the pupils to evaluate the historical events, structures and coherences and to apply them to their actual situation. The result is disappointing as it evokes the conclusion: *Historia non mihi agitur* — History does not touch me.

While exploring work-orders in the medieval chapters of history textbooks in 2002 and 2007, on the one hand, it had to be stated that the questions do not pay attention to the material, especially to the sources they are related to. For example: medieval chronicles are used as factual accounts, without to observe that they did not intend to describe past reality, but to suggest a Christian view of the world.<sup>29</sup> If the work-orders are not accurate, the pupils can master the task, but automatically lapse into the mistakes made by the textbook publishers. The example shows: work-orders produce cumulative effects, regardless if the question is correct or incorrect

Figure 5: Level of historical thinking intended by work-orders  
(H. Günther-Arndt)



When analysing the religiousness in units about the Mediaeval Ages, religiousness was not regarded as content but rather, as a dimension of historical thinking, which influences the historical re-construction (or better: the historical narration building). By researching this, the results of Lipski and Günther-Arndt could be replicated.<sup>30</sup> The exploration — which included textbooks from Austria, England, France and Germany — demonstrated that more than a quarter of the explored work-orders, as many as 556 from 1,927, were concerned with the religious dimension. This is more than was expected. But most of the questions refer to religiousness as content of historical learning (namely 336). Nearly no question (only 2, that is 0.1%) asks the pupils to consider, if the individual religious attitude is a — presumably — important factor of historical reasoning or narrating. However four (also 0.2%) questions ask the pupils to embrace their religious disposition into their historical argumentation. The religious dimension is only one dimension, by which historical reasoning is influenced. It is only an example, which can be substituted for the political, economic or gender dimension or for others. But the study

attested once more, that history education is often limited on the transportation of content and that it only partly tries to practice and cultivate historical reasoning or narrating, yet rarely reaches the areas, where history is reviewed and evaluated for the present. In this regard, work-orders could play an important role, because they can initiate historical thinking, which breaks open the borders of the textbooks.

But caution is advised, as Andreas Michler argued in his study about work-orders.<sup>31</sup> His sample consisted of nine textbooks from England, France and Germany, where he discovered 120 work-orders. Similarly to the design of Moosbrugger, he used a two-dimensional matrix for analysing. He distinguishes three common target levels:

- Reproduction of content (level I),
- Reorganisation and transfer (level II),
- Reflecting and solving problems (level III).

These target levels are taken from the *Uniform Requirement for the German Abitur* in Germany (EPA),<sup>32</sup> which was decreed by the KMK, the *Conference of all German Ministers of Education*. Therein, so-called ‘operators’ are indicated, which shall help to identify the target level of work-orders. Michler uses this approach in combination with a second class of categories, the principles of historical thinking (multiperspectivity, controversy, alterity, reciprocity) and historical competencies (to ask, to present).

It is not necessary to report the outcomes in detail, because, although the design differs, the results presented by Michler, are not astonishing. But his interpretations are remarkable and of considerable value.

A special issue of Michler’s investigation was, if work-orders realise the opportunity to interest the pupils for the extracurricular evidence of history — the same question, we mentioned already. But when he found out again that nearly no work-order take this chance, he is not disappointed, but tries to explain the output. He asks, if the textbook really has the chance, to go into the actual living world (Lebenswelt) of the children. Perhaps this expectation can not be achieved by a book, because of its small interactive possibilities. He says: ‘Freilich darf nicht die Schwierigkeit verkannt werden, Reflexionsfragen zu formulieren, ohne die konkreten Orientierungs-

bedürfnisse und Lernsituationen der Schülerinnen und Schüler zu kennen.<sup>233</sup>

Therefore Michler is not disappointed, too, when he registers, that most of work-orders are focused on level I and II (reproducing and reorganisation of knowledge). Obviously, he resumed, the editors are concentrated on this level, and he accords, that this may be the primary function of textbooks, while expounding the problems may be a primary task of the lessons. Nevertheless, there is one more result, which has to be considered. ‘Auffällig ist die geringe Anzahl von Arbeitsaufträgen, die sich auf die jeweiligen Gesamtkapitel der untersuchten Lehrwerke beziehen, nämlich nur 5 Prozent.’<sup>234</sup>

In respect to these results one has to be cautious. If the work-orders do not intend to open up the author’s text or the concept and structure of a whole unit, the pupils will have no chance to build their own narration, which, perhaps, is opposed to the author’s one. One can say, this would be the task of the lessons, not the task of the textbook. But if the textbooks chapters are closed, they may present an obstacle.

Therefore in the following an example and several hints regarding the analysis of work-orders are given.

### 3. A Case Analyses and General Hints

The exploration of the chapter ‘Die deutschen Könige: Auftrag und Herrschaft’ (German Kings: Orders and Regency)<sup>35</sup> discovers three parts: introduction, author’s account and working part — as already mentioned. The introduction pointed out the complexity of the Medieval Ages and offers an overview in text, time table and pictures on a total of two pages. The author then accounts the events and structures, complemented by a few illustrations. The political history from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> century is told. The third part consists of sources (Widukind v. Corvey, Otto v. Freising, Friedrich II., Karl IV.), maps (itinerancy of kings) and a table, where the dynasties are noted. And, of course, it has a total of twenty work-orders. The function of the materials is to deepen the author’s disposition and the function of the work-orders is to explore the materials. None is dedicated to the author’s text. None is related to the chapter as a unit. This is not the way to instruct the competence of narrative deconstruction.<sup>36</sup> The pupils are not enabled to question the historical narration of the author.

In this case, it is easy to assert that the chapter is a content-orientated and closed narration, which does not exhibit anything. This example supports the assumption, that learn- and workbooks which separate the material, may be closed narrations, too.

In the following, no results of empirical research are presented, yet a special approach of textbook analyses is proposed. This approach focuses on the work-orders that all units of history textbooks include and is based on the assumption, that all chapters of history textbooks are historical narrations, in the sense of the Analytical Philosophy, e.g. Arthur Danto.<sup>37</sup> In this issue, historical explanations are given in a narrative form which explains the change(s) between points of time. To detect the narration — in other words: to make the narration transparent — is easy as well as is difficult. It is easy because the topic is mirrored in the title — but this case is not given at all. The chief or main difficulty lies in the variety of materials. A textbook chapter consists of: author-text, scientific texts, sources, pictures, tables, figures of all kinds, and — not at least, but often considers as marginal — work-orders, which are related to one or to several of the enumerated elements.

The main request of the presented approach — not to say: methodology — of textbook analyses is to clear up the coherence of these elements based on the work-orders and intends to discover how a historical narration is constituted by the connection between the single elements. This approach is a kind of narrative deconstruction, yet not in a post-structural sense, because it aims to discover how historical sense is built by combining several textbook elements or in other words: it shall expose the strategies of textbook editors to present historical coherences in such a way, that enable the pupils to find the sense (of the author) or a/their sense by themselves.

One possibility is to investigate the work-orders, from which it may be presumed, that they are a kind of hinge in the historical narrations, leading in two directions. On the one hand, they connect the narrative elements so that a narration arises — on the other hand, they are the narrative elements, which enable an interactivity that allows involving the pupils (and the teacher) in the narration-building.

Therefore the main question, which has to be answered, is, if work-orders achieve this hinge-function.

- Do they constitute narrative connections in textbooks?
- Do they request the pupils to reproduce only those facts presented in the text?
- Do they exercise skills to re-construct history?
- Do they ask to question the historical stories constructed in the text?
- Do they animate the pupils to build alternative narrations?
- Do they give impulses to pull together or to harmonise the past and the present or even the future?
- Do they instruct the pupils to transfer the historical findings in their own living environment?
- Do they encompass tasks to integrate historical considerations in the solution of actual problems?

Answers to these questions cannot be given by hermeneutic textbook research alone, but rather, active research in the classroom is needed for acquiring information about the use of work-orders in praxis and about the effects.<sup>38</sup> But until this active and practical research is implemented, the quality of work-orders should be proven in the demonstrated and proposed way.

#### **4. Conclusion**

Even the argumentation was exemplarily, some general conclusions can be drawn: The purpose of this article is to enhance the sensibility for the filigree structure of history textbook chapters, which are composed of various kinds of texts and materials. Their narrative character should be pointed out for demonstrating the pupil's difficulty to argue against the author's issue. Therefore the pupils have to be enabled to de-construct the offered narratives. For this reason, the arrangement of textbooks chapters has to be carefully explored. It has been attempted to make clear that the work-orders can play an important role in this arrangements, because they can function as hinges. In summary further research – in the sketched way, added to active research – is urgently needed to improve work orders so that they can achieve the important role they potentially have.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Pandel, H.-P. (2006) 'Was macht ein Schulbuch zu einem Geschichtsbuch? Ein Versuch über Kohärenz und Intertextualität', in S. Handro & B. Schönemann (eds), *Geschichtsdidaktische Schulbuchforschung*, Zeitgeschichte - Zeitverständnis 16, 15-37, here 15.

<sup>2</sup> Jeismann, K.-E. & Schönemann, B. (1989), *Geschichte amtlich. Lehrpläne und Richtlinien der Bundesländer. Analyse, Vergleich, Kritik* (Studien zur int. Schulbuchforschung 65), Frankfurt/Main: Diesterweg and Hasberg, W. (1994), *Kirchengeschichte in der Sekundarstufe I. Analytische, kontextuelle und konstruktiv-pragmatische Aspekte zu den Bedingungen und Möglichkeiten der Kooperation von Geschichts- und Religionsunterricht im Bereich der Kirchengeschichte*, Trier: wvt, 39-46; Verband der Geschichtslehrer Deutschlands e.V. Lehrplanausschuss (1995), *Geschichtsunterricht in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Lehrplanübersicht*. Now the curricula are online: <http://container.zkm.de/lfh/pdf/DSCHOOL3.PDF> ( 6 February 2012)

<sup>3</sup> In summary now Schönemann, B. & Thünemann, H. (2010), *Schulbucharbeit. Das Geschichtslehrbuch in der Unterrichtspraxis*, Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau, 104-6. With regard to the development cf. Sauer, M. (1998) 'Zwischen Negativkontrolle und staatlichem Monopol. Zur Geschichte von Schulbuchzulassung und -einführung', in *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 49, 144-56.

<sup>4</sup> Institut für Bildungsmedien e.V. (2000), *Schulbuch Kompass. Ein Führer durch das Schulbuchangebot für allgemein bildende Schulen*, Frankfurt/Main: Institut für Bildungsmedien e.V., 19. Unfortunately, this project was not continued. Today information about history textbook has to be researched by the internet.

<sup>5</sup> This view is confirmed by Björn Opfer (2007) 'Zwischen Markt, Politik und Wissenschaft. Wie entsteht ein Schulbuch für die gymnasiale Oberstufe?', in M. Seidenfuß & M. Clauss (eds), *Das Bild des Mittelalters in europäischen Schulbüchern*, Berlin: LIT, 117-24. Cf. Hessenauer, H. (2006) 'Die Produktion von Schulbüchern — Zwischen rechtlichen Vorgaben und unternehmerischem Kalkül', in *Geschichtsdidaktische Schulbuchforschung* (cf. note 1), 265-82.

<sup>6</sup> *Stiftung Warentest* 10/2007, 74-80. A total of 17 schoolbooks for Biology (10) and History (7) were tested. The history textbooks were adverted to the last stage of secondary education I. Not one of them was regarded as 'good' (cf. 78).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Repoussi, M. (2009) 'Battles over the National Past of Greeks. The Greek History Textbook Controversy 2006 — 2007', *Geschichte für heute* 2, 56-63. Otherwise, national textbook controversies seems to become more and more international, cf. Popp, S. (2009) 'National Textbook Controversies in a Globalizing World', in *International Society for History Didactics. Yearbook* 2008/09, 30, 109-22.

<sup>8</sup> An important exception, which has to be pointed out, is v. Borries, B. (1980), *Problemorientierter Geschichtsunterricht? Schulbuchkritik und Schulbuchrevision, dargestellt am Beispiel der römischen Republik*, Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, (AuA). The same appraisal now can be found by Schönemann & Thünemann 2010 (cf. note 3), 40-8, although didactical schoolbook research begun earlier than 1980.

<sup>9</sup> Hasberg 1994 (cf. note 2), 119-26. Several kinds of schoolbook research can be distinguished either if the research is regarded on the functions of schoolbooks: process orientated, product orientated or effect orientated schoolbook analysis, cf. Weinbrenner, P. (1992) 'Grundlagen und Methodenprobleme sozialwissenschaftlicher Schulbuchforschung', in *Schulbücher auf dem Prüfstand. Perspektiven der Schulbuchforschung in Europa* (Studien zur internationalen Schulbuchforschung 75) Frankfurt/Main: Moritz Diesterweg, 33-54, or on the functions of schoolbook research: historical, international, didactical schoolbook research cf. Schönemann & Thünemann 2010 (cf. note 3), 21-48.

<sup>10</sup> Wilms, E. (ed) (1986), *Geschichte — Denk- und Arbeitsfach*, Frankfurt/Main: Hirschgraben.

<sup>11</sup> It is not understandable, when Schönemann & Thünemann 2010 (cf. note 3), 72 state the arising of the learn-and-work-book would not be a result of the renunciation of the traditional hornbook, but a reaction on the adoption of the workbook. Than the first learn-and-workbooks were published in the 1960s. Obviously, the concept of learn-and-workbooks are inspired by the learning theory (e.g. Jerome S. Bruner), which reached Germany in this decade.

<sup>12</sup> Schmid H. D. et. al. (ed) (1975 ff.), *Fragen an die Geschichte*, vol. 1-4, Frankfurt/Main: Hirschgraben.

<sup>13</sup> Hug, W. (1975), *Geschichtliche Weltkunde*, Frankfurt/Main: Diesterweg. Cf. Hug, W. (1975): 'Geschichtliche Weltkunde. Ein Schulgeschichtsbuch im Schnittpunkt von Theorie und Praxis', in H. Süßmuth (ed), *Geschichtsdidaktische Positionen*, Paderborn et al.: Schöningh, 223-54.

<sup>14</sup> Hug, W. (1985), *Unsere Geschichte*, 4 vol., Frankfurt/Main: Diesterweg.

<sup>15</sup> Jahr, F. (ed) (1987), *Geschichte und Geschehen*, Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, since then consistently new editions and editions for the federal states.

<sup>16</sup> Martin, J. & Zwölfer, N. (eds) (1986), *Geschichtsbuch. Allgemeine Ausgabe*, 4, Berlin: Cornelsen. Cf. Günther-Arndt, H. 'Zur Konzeption des Geschichtsbuchs', in J. Martin & N. Zwölfer (eds), *Geschichtsbuch. Lehrerhandbuch*, 1, Berlin: Cornelsen, 5-12.

<sup>17</sup> Brucker, A. & Filser, K. (eds) (1997), *Begegnungen* 5, München: Oldenbourg, (new edition since 2005); Nebel, J. (1997), *Durchblick*, Braunschweig: Westermann; Autenrieth, N. et al. (1997), *Trio* 5, Hannover: Schroedel.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Hilpert, H.-E. (1989), *Geschichtsdidaktische Innovation in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Lehrpläne und Schulbücher am Beispiel ihrer Darstellung in der Kirchenreform und Investiturstreit*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 91-108; Hasberg 1994 (cf. note 2), 126-43; Schönemann & Thünemann 2010 (cf. note 3), 49-80.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Pandel 2006 (cf. note 1), 15.

<sup>20</sup> This is the opinion of Schönemann & Thünemann 2010 (cf. note 3), 111, too, who turns against Sauer, M. (2005), *Geschichte unterrichten. Eine Einführung in die Didaktik der Geschichte*, Seelze-Velber: Kallmeyer, 220, who means the textbook would be autarkic compared to the teacher.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. the list of possible deformations of work-orders, mentioned by Schönemann & Thünemann 2010 (cf. note 3), 93, which is insufficient and do

not attend to their functions in the textual coherence as well as in the lesson. Furthermore they do not observe that work-orders are elements, which appear not only in the exercises, but in the narrative part, too, wherein their function is another one.

<sup>22</sup> Hug 1975 (cf. note 13), 143.

<sup>23</sup> Lipski, S. (1979) 'Über Arbeitsfragen und Arbeitsanweisungen in Schulgeschichtsbüchern der Sekundarstufe I', in *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 30, 611-21.

<sup>24</sup> Lipski 1979 (cf. Note 23), 618.

<sup>25</sup> Moosbrugger, M. (1985) 'Das Niveau der Aufgaben in Lehrbüchern. Eine Analyse österreichischer Geschichtsbücher für die Hauptschule', *Unterrichtswissenschaft* 13, 116-29. Cf. Moosbrugger, M. (1984), *Die Qualität der Aufgaben in Lehrbüchern und ihre didaktischen Konsequenzen. Eine Analyse österreichischer Schulbücher der Hauptschule für den Unterrichtsgegenstand Geschichte und Sozialkunde* (phil. Diss. Salzburg).

<sup>26</sup> The table is taken from Hilke Günther-Arndt (1988) 'Arbeitsfragen in Schulgeschichtsbüchern. Mögliche Auswirkungen auf die Rezeption im Unterricht und das Geschichtsbewusstsein. Eine Pilotstudie', in G. Schneider (ed), *Geschichtsbewusstsein und historisch-politisches Lernen*, Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus, 193-204, here 198. The abbreviations in the first line connote bsv = bsv Geschichte 3, von Bruch, R. et al. (eds) (1986), München: Bayerischer Schulbuchverlag; GuG = Geschichte und Geschehen 9. Baden-Württemberg. Gymnasium, Birk, G. et al. (eds)(1986), Stuttgart: Klett; Gb = Geschichtsbuch 3. Ausgabe A, Günther-Arndt, H. & Kocka, J. (1986), Berlin: Cornelsen; UG = Unsere Geschichte, Hug, W. (ed) (1985), Frankfurt/Main: Diesterweg; ZuM = Zeiten und Menschen. Neue Ausgabe B., Bd. 3, Goerlitz, E. & Immisch, J. (eds) (1983), Paderborn: Schöningh.

<sup>27</sup> Günther-Arndt 1988 (cf. note 26), 194.

<sup>28</sup> Jeismann, K.-E. (1978) 'Grundfragen des Geschichtsunterrichts', in G. C. Behrmann & K.-E. Jeismann & H. Süßmuth, *Geschichte und Politik. Didaktische Grundlegung eines kooperativen Unterrichts*, Paderborn et al.: Ferdinand Schöningh, 76-107, hier 81ff.; Rösen, J. (2008) 'Erfahrung, Deutung, Orientierung', in J. Rösen (ed), *Historisches Lernen. Grundlage und Paradigmen*, Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau, 61-9.

<sup>29</sup> Hasberg, W. (2002) 'Ad fontes narrantes. Quellen — Quelleneinsatz — Quellenarbeit im Geschichtsunterricht über das Mittelalter', *Geschichte/Politik und ihre Didaktik* 30, 15-32.

<sup>30</sup> Hasberg, W. (2007) 'Das Mittelalter als christlich-kirchliche Zeit? Religion und Kirche in der Darstellung des Mittelalters', in Seidenfuß & Clauss 2007 (cf. note 5), 193-224.

<sup>31</sup> Michler, A. (2007) 'Arbeitsaufträge in den Schulbüchern. Anleitungen zum historischen Lernen über das Mittelalter? Eine vergleichende didaktische Fallanalyse aufgezeigt am Thema 'Die Kreuzzüge'', in Seidenfuß & Clauss 2007 (cf. note 5), 271-302.

<sup>32</sup> Beschlüsse der Kultusministerkonferenz: Einheitliche Prüfungsanforderungen in der Abiturprüfung Geschichte. Beschluss vom 01.12.1989 i. d. F. vom 10.02.2005 [http://www.kmk.org/fileadmin/veroeffentlichungen\\_beschluesse/1989/1989\\_12\\_01-EPA-Geschichte.pdf](http://www.kmk.org/fileadmin/veroeffentlichungen_beschluesse/1989/1989_12_01-EPA-Geschichte.pdf) (12 October 2011).

<sup>33</sup> Michler 2007 (cf. note 31), 295: 'At least the difficulty to formulate questions of reflection, without knowing the needs of orientation and the learn-situation of the pupils should not be disregarded.' (translation W. H.).

<sup>34</sup> Michler, 2007 (cf. note 31), 291: 'Noticeable is the small number of work-orders, which refers to the whole chapter, thus is no more than 5%' (translation W. H.).

<sup>35</sup> Martin & Zwölfer 1986 (cf. note 16), 26-59.

<sup>36</sup> Regarding to de-construction as a fundamental mental operation in historical thinking cf. Hasberg, W. (2007) 'Die Entzauberung der Hrosvith von Gandersheim — oder: De-Konstruktion als Akt entdeckenden historischen Lernens', in W. Hasberg & W. E. J. Weber (eds), *Geschichte entdecken*, Berlin: LIT, 211-42. This concept of historical de-construction differs from Munslow, A. (2008), *Deconstructing History*, London/New York: Routledge, as far as historical narration is not identified with the imaginations of historical continuities, which became manifest as written text, but is firstly adverted to this imaginations themselves, which can be expressed in various media, but which can persist as immaterial imaginations in the mind, too.

<sup>37</sup> Danto, A. C. (1974), *Analytische Philosophie der Geschichte*, Frankfurt/Main: suhrkamp, (engl. Orig. 1965).

<sup>38</sup> For example, the functions of work-orders were not explored by a team, which dealt with the using and understanding of history textbooks, cf. von Borries, B. et al. (2005), *Schulbuchverständnis, Richtlinienbenutzung und Reflexionsprozesse im Geschichtsunterricht*, Neuried: ars una.

## TRANSCENDING EUROCENTRIC AND SINO-CENTRIC PERSPECTIVES IN THE MIDDLE SCHOOL WORLD HISTORY CURRICULUM IN THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA SINCE 1945

Sun Joo Kang

*Since the 1940s, when world history was introduced in schools, historians and educators have been critical of its Eurocentric bias. In the 1980s, Sino-centrism emerged as another crucial problem because it influenced together with Eurocentrism the conceptualization of world history by identifying Europe and China as the two principal centers of cultural creation and diffusion. How did Eurocentrism and Sino-centrism emerge in Korean history education? What has changed and been retained in the latest world history curriculum revision? In addressing these questions, I explore the emergence and the changes of Eurocentrism and Sino-centrism in the middle school world history curriculum, the history of world history since its introduction to schools in the 1940s, and historians' and educators' criticisms of its Eurocentric bias. I suggest that when Korean history educators attempted to solve problems of Eurocentrism in the world history curriculum, Chinese history was expanded and as a result, Sino-centrism emerged as another crucial problem. Finally, I discuss the current issues and problems of the Korean world history curriculum.*

### 1. The Conceptual Framework of the Middle School World History Curriculum

#### 1.1 *Problem of the World History Curriculum: Eurocentrism and Sino-centrism*

Prior to the 2007 curriculum, middle school world history had been taught together with geography and civics in a 'Social Studies' course while Korean history was taught in a separate course called 'National History.' Historians and educators criticized on restricted Korean history that it was lacking any relation to world history and on world history that it was mainly Eurocentric and Sinocentric, not being relevant to Korean history.

They demanded the development of a new history course which would interconnect Korean history with world history. They also urged that nationalism, Eurocentrism and Sino-centrism could be reduced through the development of a new conceptual framework.

In the 2007 curriculum revision, implemented in 2011, world history was combined with Korean history in a course called History. However, Korean history and world history are in juxtaposition with two different themes:

- ‘How Korean people developed cultural traditions and kept their unity throughout history’;
- ‘how other people in the world developed their cultural traditions in the pre-modern times and how modern civilization has derived from Europe and spread all around the world.’

In other words, history curriculum developers failed to integrate Korean history into world history and at the same time they failed to eliminate both the nationalistic perspective and the decentralized approach regarding Europe and China. Additionally, in the most recent curriculum revision (2011), the structure of the history course still remains unresolved.

How could Eurocentrism and Sino-centrism emerge in Korean history education? What has changed and what has been retained in the course of the latest world history curriculum revision? Addressing those questions, I would like to expose the emergence as well as the swing towards Eurocentrism and Sino-centrism in the middle school world history curriculum. Furthermore the history of world history since its introduction to schools in the 1940s and historians’ and educators’ criticisms of its Eurocentric bias are analyzed. I assume that when Korean history educators attempted to solve problems of Eurocentrism in the world history curriculum, Chinese history expanded throughout that process and Sino-centrism emerged as another crucial problem. Finally, I discuss the current issues and problems of the Korean world history curriculum.

## **2. Emergence and Changes to the Conceptual Framework of Asia versus Europe since 1945**

### *2.1 The Origin of the Asia-Europe Dichotomy (Prior to 1945)*

In the twentieth century, Korean intellectuals simplified the world to a dichotomy of the East and the West. Baek (2000) suggested that the Asia-Europe dichotomy originated from the history scholarship during the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945). In the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century, the world was separated into two regions, ‘Dong-yang (East)’ and ‘Seo-yang (West)’, and was

apart from that frequently recognized in form of regional units to facilitate the understanding and analysis of issues and problems of the world. The East propagated that the civilizations of the Yellow race should be distinguished from the civilizations of the White race, namely the West (Baek 2000, 148-53).

Japanese intellectuals in the early twentieth century attempted to create an Asian identity including an unification of Asian nations. While the Western countries were portrayed as ‘the others’, threatening the survival and prosperity of the East, the East was defined as ‘us’, meaning all the nations of East Asia, trying to preserve their cultures and modernizing their nations at the same time. After World War II, Korean historians continued to perpetuate this by classifying their research into three independent parts: Eastern history, Western history and national history (Korean history) (Oh 2001). This discourse of East and West has had an impact on the conceptualization of world history for several decades.

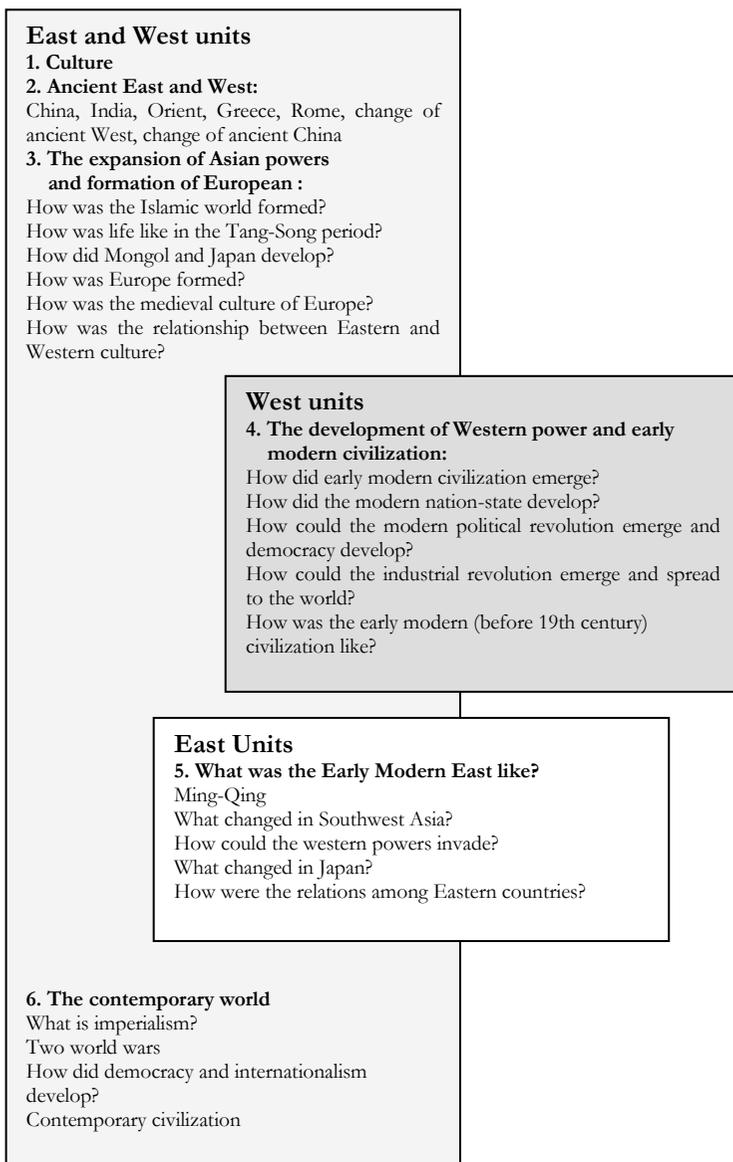
## *2.2 World History Identical with European History (To the 1970s)*

Before the establishment of a national curriculum in 1954, history unlike Korean history has been taught in two different courses as part of the National School Syllabus (1948): Eastern history and Western history.

With the first national curriculum(1954), world history was first taught in the middle school (Table 1). In the first national curriculum, Unit 1 and Unit 2 were addressing Chinese history, Indian history, Orient and Islamic history and European history (West) from ancient to medieval times without any differentiation between the East and the West.

More sub-units, however, were added to the variety of European history topics, more than in any other regions’ history. Furthermore, with the beginning of modern times, European history gained an independent unit, representing modern development. European history demonstrated historical continuity and change at the same time. It also displayed a clear organizational theme, modernity, which was conceptualized around events such as the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Enlightenment, the development of capitalism, the industrial revolution, political revolutions, liberalism and nationalism. These events enabled the construction of one coherent narrative portraying the modern transformation of Europe.

Table 1: Unit structure of World History in the First Middle School Curriculum(1954) (Department of Education, 1981)



Although Chinese history was presented throughout all its historical periods in every single unit, it was not more than the simple chronology of dynastic changes from Tang, Song and Ming to Qing, lacking any organizational themes representing historical progress. Islamic history and Japanese history were treated as footnotes to the main story. World history was virtually identical with European history.

Historians and educators criticized this Eurocentric bias of schools' world history with the introduction of the national curriculum. Lee (1957: 13), an historian, insisted: 'The world history curriculum that was Europe-oriented should be transformed into an Eastern-oriented one so that Chinese, Central Asian, and Southeast Asian histories could be understood with close relation to Korean history.' However, insufficient research in the field of non-European history caused an underrepresentation of the advancements of Asian societies in the pre-modern and modern periods in schools' world history.

### *2.3 Expansion of Chinese History and European History (the 1980s)*

After the Cold War had collapsed, world politics became multi-polarizing along with the growth of the Third World. Responding to this changing world, historians and educators in the 1970s and the 1980s increasingly claimed that Asian history was excessively neglected in schools' world history and urged that the scope of the world history curriculum should be expanded to encompass various non-European regions.

Since the 1960s history scholarship in the United States, Europe, Japan and Korea has shifted drastically towards investigation of the internal histories and domestic cultures of Asian regions. The development of Korean historical scholarship at the end of the 1970s and at the beginning of the 1980s gave educators a wider range of resources and information about autonomous developments in other parts of the world so that they could revise the world history curriculum and elaborate the cultures and histories of Asian people continually. Korean historians specialized on Chinese, Japanese, central Asian, and Indian history began to appear. They even had easier access to the academic works of Japan, Europe and the United States than ever before (The Korean History Education Society 1981).

Table 2: The Unit structure of World History in the Fourth Middle School Curriculum (1981), (Department of Education, 1981)



In consequence, the fourth curriculum (1981) included the expansion of Asian history. Not only modern times but also medieval times, Asia and Europe were treated in separate units (Table 2). Chinese history from the post-Han dynasty to the Qing dynasty became an independent unit as the center of Asian history. Aside from that, the attention spent on other parts of Asia increased simultaneously.

Nevertheless, Chinese history was presented with focus on its dynastic change missing its epoch-making transformations. Southeast Asia, India, and the Islamic world remained inert and isolated.

In the meanwhile, units displaying European history were also expanded and structured according to their chronological progress from ancient to modern times. The European states in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were depicted as adventurous agents looking abroad to discover the unknown world with advanced technology and economic development. However, in world history since the nineteenth century, they were portrayed as imperial states with aggressive colonial demands penetrating Asian and African societies, plundering their resources and oppressing their people to become the world's leading power. Kingdoms and civilizations in Africa and America, which had developed in isolation, came under the control of European powers.

For the construction of world history in the nineteenth and twentieth century, an organizing concept of 'European impact and Asian response' showing the modernizing approach was applied on a theoretical basis. This modernizing approach was based on the assumption that 'less developed countries' could adopt similar policies and follow Western states into modernity. The organizing concept of 'European impact and Asian response' and the modernizing approach prevented Korean students from the acquisition of an adequate understanding of the modern developments in non-Western societies. They frequently concluded in a description of non-Western societies as static cultures and a progressive image of Western societies.

In the middle schools' world history of the fourth curriculum two cultural centers emerged: Western Europe and China. Additionally, a conceptual framework, depicting Asia versus Europe, became common. Eurocentrism was highlighted and Sino-centrism began to emerge.

#### 2.4 *The Asia versus Europe Framework Refined (the 1980s ~the 1990s)*

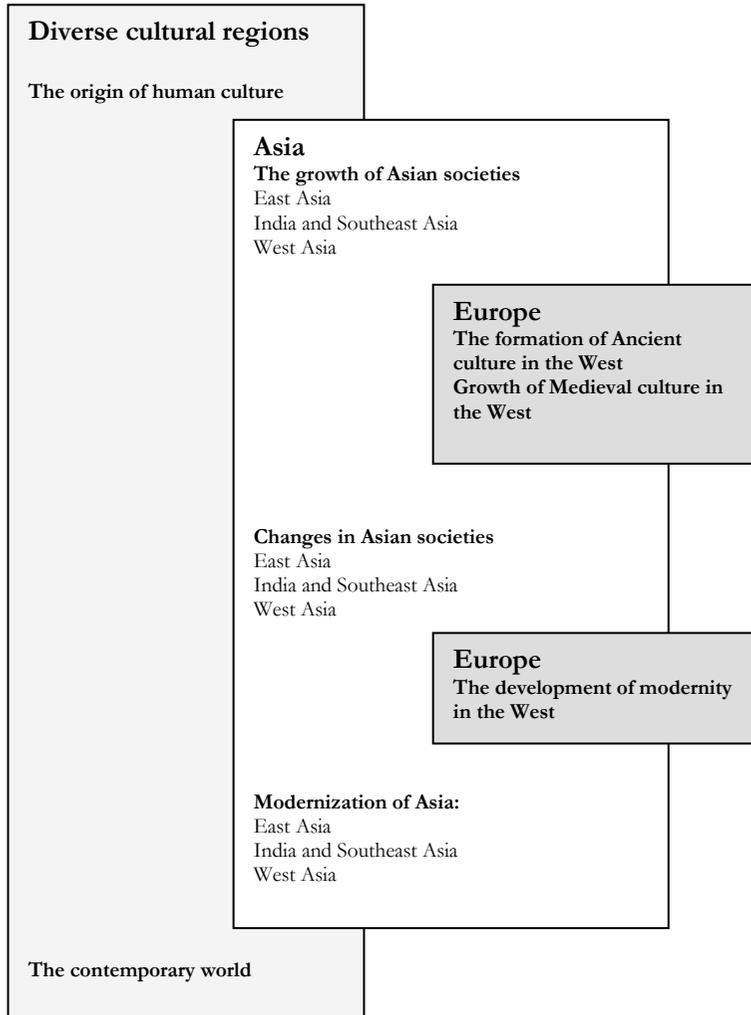
In the 1980s and 1990s the world history curriculum faced two questions: How could the centrality of European history be diminished and how could the Asian history be revised, showing explicit the continuing development of Asian states? By addressing the problem of the centrality of Chinese history, revising Asian history simultaneously, Yoon (1982: 14) a historian in Chinese history, pointed out: 'Unlike Western civilization, Asian civilization cannot be characterized by common cultural traits or a linear path of development. Therefore, the concept of Asian civilization as a counterpart of Western civilization cannot be valid [...] Asian civilization is composed of several civilizations that are equivalent to Western civilization.'

Yoon (1982) urged that the scope of world history should be expanded to include other major civilizations in Asia. Identifying Korea as part of the Third World, Lim (1986: 30) also argued: 'Western history emphasizes its American and British school curricula too much. Korea belonged to the Third World. Considering this status among world relations, Koreans should have more understanding of African, mid or south American histories.'

In conclusion of this perspective, world history curricula since the fifth (1988) approach have adopted the concept of cultural region, which was developed in the United States in the 1970s resulting from a unit studies' research. The developers of the world history curricula since the fifth curriculum stated this regional approach as an innovative way to expose students to the various cultural traditions and histories of Asia, America and Africa transcending from Eurocentrism (Department of Education 1992: 284).

Adopting this regional approach, the curriculum developers, however, revised only Asian history, not European history (Table 3). China, India and the Islamic world were replaced with East Asia, West Asia, India and Southeast Asia. Nevertheless, superficial historical continuity of India, Southeast Asia and West Asia emerged. For several decades, historians believed that by emphasizing Chinese history, world history would become relevant to Korean history. In the course of this the overwhelming influence of Eurocentrism should have been reduced as well.

Table 3: Unit structure of World History in the fifth curriculum (1988) (Department of Education, 1988)



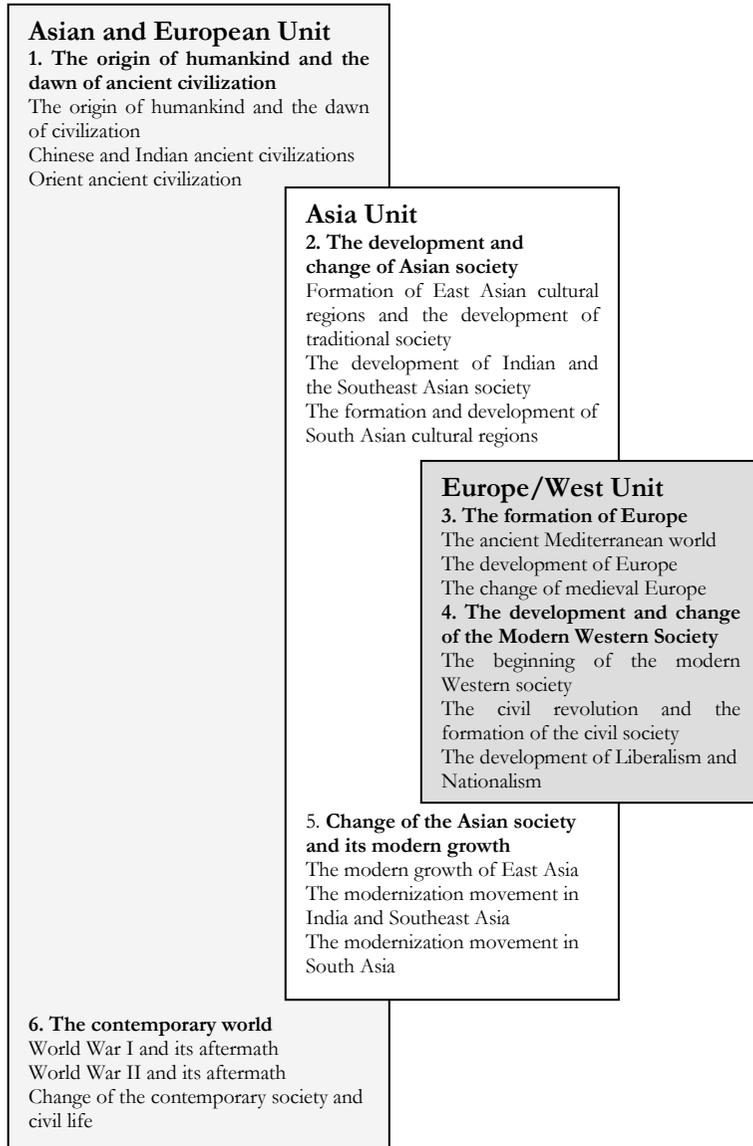
Finally, the curriculum developers in the 1980s and the 1990s attempted to enhance the East Asian perspective by giving priority to Chinese history. In every single period, the first sub-unit in Asian history was assigned to Chinese history, because it was considered as the cultural origin of East Asian countries including Korea. However, this expanded Sino-centrism.

The conceptual framework of ‘Asia versus Europe’ with a region-based structure was refined in the seventh curriculum (1997). The first two units focused on Asian history (Table 4). Unit 1 explored early civilizations of Asia divided into three sub-units: ‘The Origin of Humankind’, ‘Chinese and Indian civilizations’, and ‘Ancient Civilization in the Orient’. In ancient times, those major Asian civilizations developed classical styles, made great achievements in their own rights, and had a large impact on the societies within the boundaries of each civilization. Unit 2 treated political changes and celebrated cultural diversity in three sub-regions of Asia, East Asia, India, Southeast Asia and South Asia until the uprise of the European impact.

The next two consecutive units, Unit 3 and 4, were devoted to the historical development of Europe: The development of classical style, political and economic development in ancient times, feudal characteristics in the medieval period, which provided the foundations for modern European civilization and its transformation to a modern society.

Unit 5, ‘The Change of Asian Society and its Modern Growth’, shifted in its focus back to Asian history. At first, it described the encounters between Western states and Asian societies and how Asian societies could not identify the European transformation, whereas Asian societies were focused on domestic issues and problems. Accordingly, the unit then dealt with Asian societies’ attitudes and responses to European interests and the advanced technology and military strength of the various European states. Then, it describes how Asian peoples, at first, attempted to modernize their societies taking Western technology into consideration but keeping Eastern political ideals and cultures at the same time. It also explored how Asian peoples attempted to establish modern nation-states which independently could have resisted European imperialistic penetration.

Table 4: Unit structure of World History in the 1997 Curriculum (Department of Education and Human Resources, 1997)



Unit 6, the final unit, analyzed political and economic changes to the contemporary world since the turn of the twentieth century. Although this unit treated the events and issues of the contemporary world without regional distinction, topics were mainly focused on European perspective perpetuating the problem of Eurocentrism.

Asian history expanded gradually to conclude finally in the seventh curriculum, where the treatment of non-European history surpassed that of European history in the textbooks. However, within the 'Asia versus Europe' framework, the world is considered in the bias of two cultural regions: Asia and Europe. Only Europe is pictured as an integrated region of cultural and historical development while Asia is presented as split into three sub-cultural and historical regions: East Asia, India plus Southeast Asia and West Asia. In this framework, students may interpret Europe as a large region that made significantly greater historical contributions than the sub-cultural regions of Asia. The Eurocentric and Sino-centric fallacy continued to distort students' conception of the past. Apart from that, there aroused pressure to achieve a more balanced interpretation of other non-European regions.

### **3. Transcending Eurocentrism and Sino-centrism**

#### *3.1 Transcending the 'Asia versus Europe' Framework (the 2000s)*

During the early 2000s, many history educators demanded the restructuring of world history to keep it up to date with more relevant global changes (Kang 2002; Kim 2002; Bae 2003; Cho 2002; Jeong 2003; Cha 2007). The regional approach within the 'Asia versus Europe' structure became obsolete as I criticized, with the intensification of global interdependence and cross-cultural interaction in the late twentieth and the early twenty first century (Kang 2003). The region-based structure isolates regional or national history paying little attention to the large scale and long lasting impact brought in by inter-regional contacts and exchanges (Kang 2003).

In particular, the 'Asia versus Europe' structure prevents decentralization of Europe and China in the world's historical process. It rarely pays attention to cultural diffusion moving from Asian societies to Europe; compared to an exaggerating description of European creation of modernity the same contents regarding the rest of the world diffuse. This neglects the active historical participation of diverse participants in non-European regions' world

history while it exaggerates the European participation (Kang 2003). Thus, students gain the impression that world history was an outcome of exclusive activities of European peoples (Kang 2003).

Table 5: Unit structure of World History in the 2007 Curriculum (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, 2007)

Major Units	Sub-Units	Treatment of Regions
1. The formation of civilization and ancient chosen	-Mesopotamian civilization, -Egyptian civilization, -Indian civilization, -Chinese civilization -Ancient chosen	Korean history
2-6	Korean history	Korean history
7. The emergence of unified empires and world religions	-South Asia, Persia -India to Mauryan and Qusan State -East Asia to China and Han Dynasty -Greek police, Hellenism, Roman Empire -Diffusion of Catholic, Buddhism, Confucianism	East Asia South Asia and India Europe Interregional interaction (Silk Road)
8. The formation of diverse cultural regions	-Formation of the Islamic world and cultural commonalities of Islamic cultural Regions -Formation of the European World -Feudal societies in Western Europe and the Byzantine world -Transformation of medieval European societies and Renaissance -Political change of Gupta and Southeast Asia -Su, Tang -Cultural unification of East Asia and Japan's ancient state	East Asia South Asia and India Europe Interregional trade (Indian Ocean trade)
9. Expansion of trade and development of traditional Society	-Economic development of Sung Dynasty and Sea trade -Network -Mongol Empire -Development of the traditional society in West Asia -Mughal Empire and Southeast Asia -New sea route and Absolutism in Europe -Ming-Qing China and trade with other regions	East Asia South Asia and India Europe Interregional trade (Indian Ocean trade, Atlantic Ocean trade)
10-11	Korean history	

Major Units	Sub-Units	Treatment of Regions
12. Industrialization and Nation-states	-Industrial revolution -Political revolution, development of the civil society and the culture in the Nineteenth century -Independence of America from European countries -Civil War in North America and industrialization -Emergence of imperialism and colonization of the world	Europe America Africa
13. The modern Nation Building Movement in Asia and Africa	-Imperialist aggression in Asia and Africa -Modern Nation Building Movement of South Asia and Africa -Modern Nation Building Movement of India and Southeast Asia -Modern growth of East Asian countries -Japanese imperialist aggression and Chosen and Qing's Response	Asia Africa America
14. The Contemporary World	-World War I -Russian revolution -Anti-Imperialism movement in Asia and Africa after World War I -World War II -Independence of colonies and Cold War -Collapse of Socialism	Europe Asia Africa

Seeking for alternative organizing approaches and structures, I have argued that it is time to draw our attention to the interconnected growth of world civilization through which students could get a more integrated and dynamic conception of the past (Kang 2004; Kang 2006). New scholarship in world history emerged in the U.S. during the 1990s and the 2000s emphasizing that no state or civilization has grown in isolation and that trans-cultural and inter-regional encounters have been significant factors that brought up historical changes in most parts of the world (Bentley 1996).

Facing criticism on the 'Asia versus Europe' framework and presenting new trends in world history scholarship, the 2007 revision of the middle school world history curriculum abandoned the 'Asia versus Europe' framework (Table 5). World history until the eighteenth century was restructured to treat East Asia, Southeast Asia, West Asia and Europe as equally important and culturally

creative regions assuring each region one sub-unit in the major unit. ‘Interconnectedness’ has also emerged as one of organizational themes of world history putting more emphasis on cultural exchange.

The theme of ‘interconnectedness’ however, was reduced in the 2011 revision to middle school world history (Table 6). Following the argument that there was too much world history content to include cultural exchange contents as well. Consequently, the 2011 world history curriculum contains a world view that picture cultural regions as isolated and attributes the creation of modernity in the Asia-Europe structure only to Europe.

Table 6: Unit structure of World History in the 2011 Curriculum (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, 2011)

Major Units	Sub-Units	Treatment of Regions
1. Formation of civilization and ancient Chosen	-Mesopotamian civilization, -Egyptian civilization, -Indian civilization, -Chinese civilization -Ancient Chosen	World civilization Korean history
2- 6 Korean History	-From the Three Kingdom period to the first half of the Chosen dynasty	Korean history
7. Emergence of unified Empires	-East Asia to Chin and Han dynasty -India to Mauryan and Qusan state -South Asia, Persia -Greek police, Hellenism, Roman Empire	East Asia South Asia and India Europe Interregional trade (Silk Road)
8. Formation of regional world and development	-Su, Tang -Cultural unification of East Asia and Japan’s ancient state -Political change of Gupta and Southeast Asia and immigration of Indo-Europeans -Islamic world, its formation and expansion -Formation of the Western Europe and Byzantine World	East Asia South Asia and India Europe
9. Transformation of traditional societies	-Political change of Song, Won, Ming, Qing Dynasty and East-West exchange -Samurai Regime in Japan and transformation of East Asian countries’ relations -Development of Islamic states in West and South Asia -Expansion of Atlantic Ocean trade -Absolutism in Europe	East Asia South Asia and India Europe Interregional trade (Atlantic Ocean trade)

Major Units	Sub-Units	Treatment of Regions
10-12. Korean History	-From second half of the Chosen dynasty to contemporary Korea	
13. The growth and expansion of modern European societies	-Development of Industrial revolution -French Revolution and Napoleon war -American Independent War and building Nation-state -Independence of South American states -Literalism, Nationalism, development of Nation-state system -Concept of Imperialism	Europe America
14. Changes of Asian and African world and National movement	-China - transformation movement and Nationalist movement -Japan: Emperor's state -India and Southeast Asian anti Imperialism -West and North African transformation movement and Nationalist movement	Asia Africa America
15. Contemporary world	-The First World War and Russian Revolution -The inter-war period -The Second World War and efforts to resolute peace -Birth of Independence States since 1945 and Cold War -Growth of Capitalism and regional conflicts	Europe Asia Africa America

In the 2007 and the 2011 curricula, the region-based structure requires the idea of independently and isolated developing regions. Japanese history, Indian and Southeast Asian history, and Islamic history are expanded to satisfy the demand for more non-European history. The modern period is also portrayed with its beginning in the late eighteenth century closing with Industrialization narrowing down the concept of modernity to the economic and political features which originated in Europe. Europe is still shown as a creative place of modernity. The modernization approach continues to determine the topics in Unit 14, which focuses on Asian transformation to modernity.

### 3.2 *Issues in Teaching World History Today*

Redefining Korea's relationship with 'others' in postmodern times motivates educators and Koreans in general to create an identity larger than a national one. In this context, some history educators claimed an infusion of a global perspective to world history teaching (Kim 2002; Jeong 2003) and some historians in the field of East Asian history demanded that world history should be reorganized from an East Asian perspective (Oh 2001; Yoo 2002).

The global perspective, however, has a problematic side as well as it could obscure the power structure of the world, motivating students to consider the world from a simplified liberal perspective (Lee 2006). Simultaneously, as the interest on the development of an East Asian identity arose rapidly, a discourse on East Asian identity came up. Highlighting that Eurocentrism, the new essence, rather creates a new identity for Korean people as East Asians than for members of a global society. This trend of thought has led to an expansion of the attention for East Asian history: Chinese history as well as Japanese history in the middle school history curriculum increased. It has also caused the creation of an independent elective course called 'East Asian History' in the 2007 high school curriculum.

Some historians in the field of Western history, confronting the depreciation of European history, argue that it would be wrong to minimize European history and that its central place in world history should continue to be emphasized because the West (Western Europe-North America) is the most influential power in world politics and its social and cultural power is the drive-shaft of progress. Due to that realities the central place of European history in world history changed little in the 2007 and the 2011 curricula.

However, in the 2000s curriculum the interest in creating plural modernities or alternative modernity has increasingly grown as post-colonialist attacks on Eurocentrism intensify (Cho & Kim 2010). Historians including Charkrabarty (2000) and Dirlik (2010) have attempted to re-imagine modernity provincializing Europe and reconstructing alternative history of humankind to transcend Eurocentric discourse of modernity and humanity.

Constructing a new approach to narrate the history of humankind without marginalizing any group of people while seeking alternative modernity to appreciate multiple and overlapping processes of history emerged as a crucial research agenda. At the same time, embracing national issues is also significant for the development of a

new approach to history scholarship. Therefore a multi-layered narrative of humankind's history addressing global, regional, national and provincial issues became a substantial task in history education (Kang 2011).

Accordingly teaching history, without focusing only on the creation of a national identity, should enable students to get insights into complex and overlapping historical processes with new knowledge and tools. Finally aiming for a better identification, understanding and resolving of contemporary regional, national and global issues from diverse angles and perspectives.

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## CZECH HISTORY IN HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS OF STUDENTS AND HISTORY TEACHERS – EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

Denisa Labischová

*Professional didactic research in the field of history has been developing in the Czech Republic since the mid-1990s, mainly at the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ostrava. This study deals with the concept of empirical research on historical consciousness and the current state of teaching history in the Czech Republic implemented in 2011. Mixed qualitative and quantitative research methods were performed (focus groups, questionnaire surveys, in-depth interviews) in a group of 2,524 respondents (students of primary schools, secondary vocational schools, secondary grammar schools, history education students and history teachers themselves) from nine regions in the Czech Republic. The paper describes theoretical and methodological bases, and presents partial results of the research concerning selected aspects of the relationship of students and teachers towards history and specifically towards the history of the Czech lands.*

### **1. Context – Empirical Research in Professional History Didactics in the Czech Republic**

Professional history didactics in the Czech environment is distinguished by several specifics in comparison for example with history didactics of neighbouring Germany or Poland.<sup>1</sup> It is first necessary to mention the lacking institutional background of this scientific discipline: history didactics is indeed a part of pre-graduate preparation of history teachers for secondary education at all Czech universities and education-based colleges, but only in recent years it has been possible to study history didactics in a separate doctoral study program.<sup>2</sup> Academicians teaching professional didactics at universities, are mainly focused on other fields than on that ones they had originally focused on in their post-graduate studies (e.g. historiography, Czech history, pedagogy), and only exceptionally they could earn doctorates in history didactics at foreign universities (mainly in Slovakia). However, it is often the case that primary and secondary school teachers themselves lecture on didactics, profiting from their own practical experience. The Czech system is thus characterized by the widely varying quality of professional didactic

preparation, and one may generally see the absence of more systematic formation of a professionally specific methodology which would be essential for further development of the entire field.

The fact that history didactics has not yet become institutionally grounded in the Czech Republic as a recognized scientific discipline relates to another aspect. Mainly it is the non-existence of independent grant sections that would financially support empirical research (history didactics projects may only be awarded in either the field of history or the field of pedagogy, whereas obtaining a grant within other fields is very difficult). Another problem is the low motivation amongst academicians to deal with such history didactics topics in their scientific activity, because they do not have the prospects of qualification and career growth in this field.

The importance of empirical research in history didactics is undeniable, because it represents the foundation for history didactics awareness. Results of empirical research form the base for creating didactic theories and their testing. Until the mid-1990s, only a few unique research queries had been implemented, mostly within theses of history education students. The first significant research project was the extensive international research 'Youth and History',<sup>3</sup> in which the Czech Republic was also a participant. This same era saw the development of the Blažena Gracová research team at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ostrava in Ostrava.

The first research projects by the Ostrava School aimed at researching historical stereotypes and inter-ethnic attitudes (stereotypical images of neighbouring and other European countries in textbooks as well as the attitudes of youths in school. The Czech national auto-stereotype in the face of change and European identity and attitudes towards Europeanism was also monitored). Later, the center of focus became students' knowledge of history (Czech and European history, everyday life, gender dimension), as well as researching the current state of history education at Czech primary and secondary schools.<sup>4</sup>

In terms of methodology, existing research has focused mainly on the methodology of pedagogical, sociological or political research (dominated by quantitative examination — questionnaires and didactics tests); also linguistic methods, a semantic differential for ascertaining attitudes, and other types of scales were applied during research of national stereotypes and images. On the contrary, findings in psychology have not yet been applied (constructivism,

cognitive psychology, developmental psychology) for historical learning research, an area that is practically stagnating in the Czech environment.

Denisa Labischová summarized problem areas, upon which further historical learning research should concentrate in Czech history didactics:<sup>5</sup>

- creation of integral categorization for the research of historical consciousness (categorical system);
- research of receptive expectations of students and the initial level of historical pre-consciousness (e.g. what is the student's individual concept of the past created by family socialization, mythologized impressions in literature and media);
- dealing with individual components of historical consciousness, and apart from that with knowledge of historical events and chronological categorization of historical phenomena, research must be focused on the area of association and illustrative impressions, followed by the interpreting of history, its assessment, attitudes, judgments, identifying tendencies;
- in terms of methodological interconnection of the currently prevailing quantitative method and qualitative methods, which enables a more complex and flexible view of the researched phenomenon; qualitative research is also appropriate for validating less traditional questioning techniques — for example the use of projective questions;
- based on experience of didactics abroad, at least partial interconnection of visual illustrative impressions seems to be optimal, especially for research concerning a younger age group of those who are questioned (drawing, graphic expression of thoughts, mind maps).

## **2. Research Project 'Historical Consciousness of Czech Students and History Teachers and the Current State of History Teaching in Schools'**

In 2011, an extensive research project was implemented, focusing on selected aspects of historical consciousness and their correlation with reality of history teaching in primary and secondary schools.<sup>6</sup> This is the first more complex conceived research in Czech history didactics. The project researcher is Denisa Labischová, with Blažena Gracová

contributing as co-researcher, both working for the University of Ostrava in Ostrava.

### 2.1 *Theoretical Bases*

Historical knowledge is a multi-layered phenomenon, whose theoretical understanding a series of history didactics experts endeavour to grasp. Mainly the works of Hans Jürgen Pandel have provided fundamental theoretical bases for the concept of historical consciousness in the presented research. His structural-analytical concept of seven pair categories<sup>7</sup> was compiled by Michael Sauer, who also included the receptive expectations of the individual (age, socialization, interests, existing knowledge) into this historical consciousness model, patterns of the cultivation of historical consciousness (media, museums, schools), contents, components (chronological specification of events, associations, illustrative impressions, identification and refusal, judgments, practical application) and the level of communication community (individual, family, community, region, nation/state, religious community).<sup>8</sup> A publication by Zdeněk Beneš brought further valuable theoretical findings. He conceives historical consciousness as one of the categories of historical culture (besides historical learning and historical consciousness).<sup>9</sup>

The founder of Czech historical sociology, Jiří Šubrt, defined a more specific research which structured the content of empirical research on historical consciousness in the form of four prerequisites. According to him, it is necessary to research especially the people's interests and knowledge which are in relation to history, as well as impressions on the nature of the historical process (forces that influence it and tie between the past, the present and the future), an evaluative view on the history of one's own nation (or country), and not at least, the influence of the socio-political conditions on the transformations of historical consciousness throughout time.<sup>10</sup> These four premises are specified into question — groups relating to these problems:<sup>11</sup>

- interest in history (historical period, preferred information sources, methods of preserving monuments to our ancestors),
- view of history (cyclicity, causality, randomness, main movers of history),

- opinions on Czech history (assessing selected periods of the history of the Czech lands from various perspectives, perceiving high periods and periods of decline, assessing figures of Czech history, overall balancing assessment of the history of the Czech lands),
- perception of the influence of politics and media in interpreting history,
- importance of historical knowledge for individuals and society,
- assessing school history education (including personal experience).

Another basis for formulating research questions was formed by numerous research projects performed by the Ostrava School's team of Blažena Gracová and Denisa Labischová, mainly relating to cultural-historical identity, especially researching the state of the historical autostereotype and heterostereotypes of other nations (mainly neighbouring ones), inter-ethnic attitudes (sympathy and apathy to other nations and nationalities, consciousness of kinship, identification of problems in bilateral relations), positive and negative assessment of historical figures and events.<sup>12</sup>

At least you need to mention the aforementioned international research 'Youth and History', implemented in the Czech Republic in the years 1995/1996 became a valuable basis.<sup>13</sup>

## *2.2 Objectives of Research*

- To discuss selected aspects of historical consciousness amongst students at primary schools, secondary vocational schools and secondary grammar schools, history education (university) students and history teachers.
- To identify the influence of history's concept amongst teachers on how students perceive the past.
- To characterize the current way history is taught in schools and ascertain the level to which it corresponds to current theories of history education anchored in course curriculums (accent on the most recent history, reflections on selected themes — gender in history, history of childhood, the history of national minorities, history of everyday's life and sports history, critical analysis and interpretation of historical sources, mainly iconographic and audiovisual sources, spending preference on activating teaching

methods, such as dramatization, oral history and project education).

- To define how educators perceive history course materials.

### 2.3 Research Design

The following table clearly defines basic data on the research:

<b>Type of research</b>	<b>Mixed (quantitative and qualitative) methods</b>
Applied methods and techniques	Focus group, questionnaire, in-depth interview
Type of questions in the questionnaire	Scaling, open, multiple choice, graphic
Scope of the questionnaire	5 variations of the questionnaire for 5 groups of respondents, scope of questionnaire for primary school students: 14 items, for secondary grammar school students and secondary vocational education students: 33 items for students of education fields: 46 items for history teachers: 62 items
Researched group	Total of 2,524 respondents: primary school students (aged 14-15, n=710), secondary grammar school students (aged 17-18, n=624), secondary vocational education students (aged 17-18, n=586), history education students at universities (n=347), history teachers at primary and secondary schools (n=257)
Place of research	Nine regions of the Czech Republic (always a city and smaller surrounding community): Prague, Ostrava, Brno, Olomouc, Pilsen, Ústí nad Labem, Český Těšín, České Budějovice, Hradec Králové)
Implementation	February — June 2011 (focus groups I and questionnaire examination), August 2011 — December 2011 (focus groups II, in-depth interviews)
Software for creating the database and data analysis	Remark Office OMR, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

Characteristics of the researched group of teachers:

- higher representation of women (women: 74.6%, Men 25.4%);
- age category representation: up to age 29 (12.5%), aged 25–29 (11.3%), aged 30–39 (24.6%), aged 40–49 (26.6%), aged 50–59 (25.0%), 60 and older (11.3%);
- type of school teachers work for: primary school (42.4%), gymnasium (33.5%), secondary vocational school (18.8%), other (5.3%).

#### *2.4 Research Approach*

For the most sufficient coverage of the researched problematic, mixed research methods were applied:

- The first phase saw implementation of six focus groups with university students and teachers. The aim of these focus groups was to identify the basic components of historical consciousness of the researched group, and to compile a well-structured questionnaire based on it.
- After analyzing the assembled data, five versions of questionnaires were created for the second phase of research. The questionnaire derived partly in its structure from results of the focus groups, and partly from technical literature (see 2.1).
- The third phase saw implementation of further focus groups (five) and in-depth interviews (six), focusing on deeper penetration into the examined problem based on results of the questionnaire examination.

#### *2.5 Research Concept Content*

Based on all the aforementioned theoretical concepts, the presented research in terms of content was structured as it is explained in the following (also see the research content diagram in Appendix No. 1):

##### **I. Historical Consciousness**

- family memory: interest in history of family, preserving heritage (photography, works of art, official deeds, books, letters, diaries, change, bank notes, jewelry, furniture, utility items, musical instruments, weapons), knowledge of family genealogy, oral history about the fates of ancestors, knowledge of family history (to what generation of ancestors the knowledge of family history

reaches back, tragic moments in family history and the influence of ‘major events’ in the fates of family members);

- relationship to history: motivation to learn history (what raised interest in the past, e.g. a motivating history teacher, stories from parents, reading, cinema, visiting monuments and museums, discussing history in the family and in the circle of friends), preferred periods of history (e.g. which historical period would you like to visit if it would be possible), preferred geographical perspective (local history, regional history, history of the Czech lands, European history, world history), preferred thematic perspective (political history, economic and social history, military history, the history of science and technology, art history, everyday life, history of mentalities, history of religion);
- cultural-historical identity: memorial places (symbols of Czech history), historical autostereotype and heterostereotypes of other nations, inter-ethnic attitudes (positive, neutral and negative attitudes, positive and negative assessment of historical figures and events (who and what raises a feeling of pride, or conversely, shame), assessing selected events (e.g. activities of the Mašín Brothers group, the events of 1968, Charter 77, the Velvet Revolution 1989, inclusion of the Czech Republic to the European Union), important years in historical consciousness;
- the concept of historical development patterns: identification of factors influencing social development (interests and decisions of powerful individuals, economic influences, exceptionally capable individuality, religion and churches, social movements, rules of nature, inventions and discoveries, art, higher will), development of human history expressed graphically – curve, identification of factors influencing historical consciousness of society (family, personal experience, legends, myths and stereotypes, media, literature, cinema, ideology, religion, membership in the European Union, history education in schools);
- information sources for history: reading fiction, reading technical literature, family, school, cinema, media, Internet.

## II. History Teaching

- teaching methods: explanation, discussion, dramatization, oral history, projects, didactic games, analysis of sources (text, visual, audiovisual), group work, papers;

- didactic media: work with textbook, text media, iconographic media, audiovisual media, graphic media, mind maps;
- selected themes: gender themes, regional history, history of ethnic minorities, everyday life, history of sports, family history, history of childhood;
- information sources used in teaching history: Internet, specialized magazines;
- identifying the needs of teachers: increased history education classroom hours, new, modern lab-type classrooms, independent methodical portals for history, specialized magazines for history education, specialized education courses, methodical educational courses, improved school technology and equipment.

### **3. Results of Research — Relationship of Czech Students and Teachers towards History with an Accent on the History of the Czech Lands**

In this text, the research findings of selected questions are presented paying attention to the relationship of respondents to history and especially to history of the Czech lands.

#### *3.1 The Impetus that Sparked Interest in the Past and Learning About it*

A partial goal of the research was to find out what raised the interest of respondents in history and learning history, namely students and teachers in the case of history education; what encouraged them to university history studies. Based on focus groups, a closed question of the questionnaire was formed. As seen in Graph 1 in the Appendix, individual groups' answers which have been surveyed differ to a significant degree. Only a marginal percentage of students and teachers (2.4% and 1.2%) claim that they are not interested in history at all. This probably concerns individuals who were motivated by the opportunity to study history as one possible field, even providing a university degree in the end. Interestingly, no major difference in answers was registered between secondary grammar school students (13.7%) and vocational secondary school students attending more practically-oriented technical vocational schools for construction, health care, or business academies (12.4%), whereas at secondary grammar schools focusing on general studies, we might

have expected greater interest. A lack of interest in history was further expressed by 21.4% of primary school students.

Overall, the highest representation amongst answers was found in watching a compelling historical film (half of all primary school, secondary grammar schools and vocational school students); however, teachers (60%) and university students (57%) more frequently chose visits to historical monuments and museums. There is an undeniable influence deriving from reading historical novels. A book became a motive for 43.5% of teachers, but for only 26% of university students, 21% gymnasium students, 12% vocational school students and for 10% of primary students. The result thus indicates a decline in reading amongst the younger generation, and there is also a significant difference between women and men (on an average of 8%, women choose books more frequently than men). We may also stop and consider the history teacher. These educators became the role model for 56% of teachers and 55% of history education students. Analysis of focus groups and in-depth interviews has shown that interest was mainly piqued by the teacher's passion for the field and style of explanation (discussing history using numerous interesting points). In this aspect, let us remember that trust in a history teacher and his/her way of telling patterns is traditionally very high in the Czech environment (one may refer to the international research 'Youth and History', which even proved that it is the highest amongst all engaged European countries).

### *3.2 Preferred Geographic Perspective of History*

The research results (see Graph 2) relating to the preference of a specific geographic perspective of history have also shown significant differences in answers from respondents. Students in primary school (61%), vocational schools (57%) and secondary grammar schools (65%) definitely prefer world history, thus indicating a certain shift in preference which opposes the research 'Youth and History' 15 years ago, when students tended to prefer national history. A lower frequency is indicated by the answers of university students (40.5%), while the interest into national history (41.6%) remained; of course, in the case of world history (21%), the frequency of answers amongst teachers is the lowest of all five possible answers. Teachers mainly chose the national history of the Czech lands (52%).

The European dimension of history education is mainly popular amongst university students (34%), whereas the frequency of answers

is low amongst teachers (29%), secondary grammar school students (27%), primary school students (22%) and vocational (20%) school students.

Currently in Czech professional didactics, there is a discourse about the importance of local and regional history, which enables the use of activating teaching methods aimed as creative activities for students (project teaching, working with sources, oral history) and development which is not only focused on knowledge, but also on skills and historical competencies. Regional and local history are most popular amongst educators (25%) and university students (22%), the lowest preference was surprisingly found amongst secondary grammar school students (9%), whereas that frequency is still lower than amongst primary school (16%) and vocational secondary school (15%) students. This result may be explained by the approach that secondary grammar school education in the Czech Republic is highly subordinated to the effort of preparing students for successful graduation examinations, which mainly focus on reproduction of factographic knowledge. Thus, insufficient space is provided for projects aimed on local and regional history in history education at Czech gymnasiums.<sup>14</sup> This result should become the impetus for increasing the quality of methodical preparation of history education in these schools.<sup>15</sup>

Respondents expressed the lowest interest into history of the wider cross-border region (e.g. Silesia, so-called Euroregions, Central Europe) with the exception of history teachers, amongst who the interest is 1.6% higher on that topic than on world history. This geographic perspective should also be applied in education more frequently, because it offers valuable potential for the intercultural dimension of history education applying the principles of a multi-perspective approach (multi-perspectivity).<sup>16</sup>

### *3.3 Preferred Thematic Perspectives of History*

For all groups of respondents, stories of major figures in history are very relevant (mainly amongst university students — 49%, rather less amongst primary school students — 32%), which also relates to a certain extent to the mentioned high preference of the way history is described by teachers (“good storytellers”) — see Graph 3.

Also attractive is the history of everyday’s life, mainly amongst teachers (56%), less amongst vocational school students (18%), apparently in regards to the low amount of classroom hours devoted

to history in general, everyday's life history does not receive enough attention. Similarly high (31% overall) is the popularity of art history.

The greatest differences between individual groups of respondents were ascertained amongst military history. While this topic is only popular amongst 6.3% of teachers,<sup>17</sup> its popularity begins first-hand with primary school (36%) and secondary grammar school (31%). A noticeable shift in the case of military history was registered in comparison with the research 'Youth and History', where the Czech Republic, Slovenia and Estonia noticed the lowest interest on this subject, military history.

All groups listed economic and social history to the last place (overall 12%).

#### 3.4 Preferred Periods of History

From Graph 4, we see that the interest of primary school, gymnasium and vocational school students (equally at 43%) focuses mainly on the period of the Second World War and Nazi occupation. University students (36%) and educators (39%) however prefer medieval history.

Ancient history is preferred the most by secondary grammar school students (40%), and the least by teachers (21%).

We see a quiet balanced result in the most recent history after 1945 (22% overall); significant opposing differences can be found concerning the First World War (not very popular amongst educators or university students — 7% and 11% in comparison with primary and secondary vocational students — 30% and 27%).

Overall, all the groups surveyed showed very little interest in 19<sup>th</sup> century history (7.5%).

#### 3.5 Czech Memorial Places in Historical Consciousness

The concept of a closed question in the questionnaire came from the analysis of focus groups, where respondents were asked to agree upon ten 'symbols' of Czech history — those places, most meaningfully in the memory of Czech history, should have been burned in their consciousness in terms of historical importance.

As Graph 5 indicates, the greatest reverence is felt for Prague Castle, the symbol of Czech statehood and the representative seat of Bohemian kings, Roman emperors and presidents of Czechoslovakia and later the Czech Republic, the most amongst teachers (88%) and university students (84%), the least however amongst primary school

students (44%), amongst whom frequencies of answers in the range of 41–49% also revolve on four other locations.

There is balanced representation (47% overall) of answers amongst all groups asked for the legendary mountain Ríp, by which's foot, according to the legend, the first Slavs settled, led by Forefather Bohemus. This indicates the importance of legends and myths for creating the state of historical consciousness for students and teachers (for teachers, frequencies of answers rose amazingly at this section, thus being one of the most important ones amongst all groups surveyed).

The numbers of answers were also increasing on the topics of Lidice and Terezín (47% and 46%), places linked to tragic events of the Nazi occupation (Lidice was liquidated on June 10, 1942 in retribution for the assassination of Reich-Protector Reinhard Heydrich, the Terezín ghetto served as a concentration camp and collection point for the Jewish population).

Traditionally, another symbol of Czech history was found to be the country's most visited castle, Karlštejn (for all groups of respondents it delivered figures above 40% with the exception of teachers — 32%), built by Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV to store and protect the holy relics and imperial coronation jewels.

White Mountain, the place of defeat of the Czech Estates revolt of 1620, is considered in romanticizing Czech literature as the symbol of the ensuing three centuries of 'subjugation' of the Czech nation under the Habsburgs.<sup>18</sup> This was most frequently stated by university students (46%) and secondary grammar school students (45%), rather less by educators (25%) and primary school students (26%).

Mainly teachers (38%) and university students (37%) also mentioned the legendary Vyšehrad, from where, along with Přemysl the Ploughman, Libuše ruled, also predicting the founding of a city called Prague. The next ones included Old Town Square in Prague (28% overall), the Hussite town of Tábor (20% overall), the archaeological locality Dolní Věstonice, an excavation site of remains of a mature Paleolithic culture and the famous statuette, the Venus of Dolní Věstonice (17% overall), and Slavkov (German: Austerlitz), the site of the Battle of the Three Emperors in 1805 (16% overall).

### *3.6 Pride in Events of Czech History*

Another research item (Graph 6) links to the feeling of pride in events in Czech history.<sup>19</sup>

Assuming the priority position amongst positively assessed events and periods was the cultural flourishing under the rule of Charles IV, mainly in the answers of teachers (71%) and university students (70%), which corresponds to the high preference for medieval history amongst these two respondent groups.

Also frequently regarded by all respondents was the declaration of the independent state of Czechoslovakia in 1918 (51% overall), or the period of the first Czechoslovak Republic in 1918–1938 (36% overall).

Enlightenment reforms of the Habsburg rulers Maria Theresa and Joseph II, a topic to which significant space is dedicated as evidence shows throughout analyses of Czech history textbooks and which were very highly regarded in previous analyses as well,<sup>20</sup> take third place in order of popularity, mainly in the answers of secondary vocational students (53%) and secondary grammar school students (51%), and less by teachers (23%).

Respondents (43% overall) favoured the national history to be the Czech National Revival in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, which was a process that forged a modern Czech nation. Significant room is also dedicated to this period in scholastic education, not just in history education, but also in the subjects Czech (language) and literature.

The importance of the Hussite tradition is reflected in the high assessment of the deeds of the Master Jan Hus, an important church reformer from the 15<sup>th</sup> century who criticized the moral decay of the church in those times (42% overall, topping amongst the group of educators — 48%).

The peaceful course of the so-called Velvet Revolution in 1989, which arose from a student protest and led to the fall of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia, was mentioned by 33% of respondents overall, the most by university students (39%), and the least by vocational school students (24%).

The bravery of Dr Milada Horáková, who became a victim of judicial murder during a staged communist political trial (hanged on 27 June 1950), was acknowledged by over a half of the teachers (53%), 39% of university students, 30% secondary grammar school students and 22% of vocational students.

Another positive assessed moment in Czech (Czechoslovak) history was the civic initiative Charter 77, criticizing the political and state power for not upholding human and civil rights in the period of so-called normalization; signatories to this charter included Václav

Havel, Petr Pithart, Jiří Gruša, Jaroslav Seifert (laureate of the Nobel Peace Prize for Literature) and other important figures of Czechoslovak cultural life. Most reasonable choosing this answer, students of secondary grammar schools (39%) and universities (37%) were evaluated, rather surprising is the lower percentage of answers amongst teachers (29%).

The assassination by Czechoslovak parachutists of the Reichs-Protector Reinhard Heydrich on 27 May 1942 was mentioned by 32% of all respondents without any significant differences amongst individual groups.

The greatest differences in answers of individual groups surveyed were found in the case of assessing the merits of the Czechoslovak Legion in 1914-1918 (mentioned the most by educators — 45%, the least by vocational school students — 9%).

Large differences amongst groups of respondents were recorded when the efforts for peace of George of Poděbrady († 1471), whose project was ‘Treaty on the Establishment of Peace throughout Christendom’, were considered. Though today it is considered an idea ahead of its time for a community of European nations, it was not comprehended by many in its time. His initiative was appreciated mainly by teachers (40%) and university students (34%), whereas only a low percentage of vocational school students chose this answer (8%).

### *3.7 Pride in Czech Historical Figures*

A positive or negative assessment of important figures in Czech history is repeatedly the subject of research projects of the Ostrava School. The results of the latest examinations (Graph 7) show that these attitudes are very stable, and no major shifts were registered.

Respondents are in unison when ranking the first Czechoslovak president and recognized as a great thinker, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, in first place; differences are apparently however in frequency (university students 70%, secondary grammar school students and educators 61%, primary school students 50% and vocational school students 42%).

Over half of the secondary grammar school, vocational school and university students and over 40% of teachers and primary school students chose King Charles IV, called the ‘Father of the Nation’, under whom the culture of the Czech lands greatly flourished (the Prague diocese was raised to an archdiocese, Charles University was

founded in Prague in 1348, the sovereign initiated the building of many important Gothic structures).

Other figures also raising the pride of respondents follow with lower frequencies of answers (less than 20%). This mainly includes the Master Jan Hus, whose name was seen also when assessing historical periods (19%), followed by the symbol of the Velvet Revolution, the first post-communist president, philosopher and writer, Václav Havel (17%), the important theologian, philosopher and pedagogue, John Amos Comenius (15%) called the 'Teacher of the Nation' (15% overall, with 26% of educators in the lead) and Maria Theresa (13%), ranked amongst Czech personalities mainly by young respondents, but only by 1.6% of teachers and 6% of university students.

Amongst negatively assessed personalities, there were only two with frequencies registering above 5%, and both are linked to the communist regime: the first communist president Klement Gottwald, who took office after communists assumed power in 1948 (20%), and the last communist president, Gustav Husák (8%).

## **Conclusion**

The empirical research of historical consciousness and the current state of history education holds irreplaceable importance for history didactics learning. Over the past fifteen years, it has also developed successfully in the Czech environment.

As the selected partial results from 2011 indicated and as they are presented in the study, the state of historical consciousness of Czech students has undergone many changes since the implementation of the international study 'Youth and History'. Interest of the younger generation is much more stucked to the world history (in 1995/1996, focus was rather on national history), and students differ to a certain extent with their teachers in this preference. Shifts were also registered regarding the attractiveness of individual thematic dimensions of history, such as in the case of the growth of popularity in the field of military history.

The relationship to Czech history is formed by varying factors, amongst which are the unmistakable position of myths, legends and historical stereotypes, regardless its age or type, supported by the answers of involved history teachers, who picked three localities

linked to national mythology when asked to list the ten most important places of Czech history.

Similarly as in previous studies implemented by the University of Ostrava, the peak eras in Czech history are considered to be the cultural flourishing under the rule of Charles IV and the origin of the independent Czechoslovak state in 1918. The exceptional importance frequently credited to the Theresian and Josephian reforms is the fact of special focus on this topic in history textbooks. The most valued figures were found to be the first Czechoslovak president, T. G. Masaryk and Bohemian King Charles IV.

For history didactics, the identification of motives, leading students to more intensive interest into history studies, provides inspiration. Fewer youths are taking the 'adventurous path to the past' through books, but the importance of film creation of history is gaining in importance. History education should reflect this by more intensive inclusion of audiovisual media and use of a didactic apparatus for analyzing and interpreting historically based feature films.

The research also proved the significant influence of the figure of the teacher and his/her approach to teaching history as an important hint for the identification of an possible professional career amongst education field students.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The system of Czech history didactics is clearly presented in the publication Gracová, B. & Beneš, Z. (2011) 'History Didactics in the Czech Republic', in E. Erdmann & W. Hasberg (eds) *Facing Mapping Bridging Diversity. Foundation of a European Discourse on History Education*, Part 1, Schwabach/Ts.: Wochenschau Wissenschaft, 139-72.

<sup>2</sup> At the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague, guarantor of the field is Prof. Zdeněk Beneš. The doctoral study program in history didactics has not yet produced a graduate.

<sup>3</sup> The Department of History of the Faculty of Arts of Masaryk University in Brno performed the research: Klíma, B. (ed) (2001), *Mládež a dějiny*, Brno: CERM.

<sup>4</sup> General study on implemented research projects in the Czech environment and detailed bibliography — see Gracová, B. (2007) 'Empirical Research Projects in History Didactics in our Country, their Need and Importance, in *The ninth National Congress of Czech Historians*, Pardubice: Association of Historians of the Czech Republic, 97-114.

<sup>5</sup> Labischová, D. (2011) 'Empirical Research on Historical Consciousness in History Didactics, its Possibilities and Perspectives', *The New Educational Review* 25 (3).

<sup>6</sup> The project was supported by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports of the Czech Republic within the framework of the subsidy program Support of Education in Languages of National Minorities and Multicultural Education in 2011.

<sup>7</sup> Pandel, H.- J. (1987) 'Dimensionen des Geschichtsbewusstseins. Ein Versuch, seine Struktur für Empirie und Pragmatik diskutierbar zu machen', *Geschichtsdidaktik* 12, 132. Pandel expresses the levels of historical consciousness with relationship pairs in the dimension of chronological consciousness (previously-today/tomorrow), reality consciousness (realistic/ historical-imaginary), historicism consciousness (static-changing), identity consciousness (we-you/ they), political consciousness (up-down), economic and social consciousness (poor-rich) and moral consciousness (right-wrong).

<sup>8</sup> Sauer, M. (2009), *Geschichte unterrichten. Eine Einführung in die Didaktik und Methodik*, Fulda: Klett/Kallmeyer, 10-1.

<sup>9</sup> Beneš, Z. (1995), *Historický text a historická kultura*, Praha: UK.

<sup>10</sup> Šubrt, J. & Vinopal, J. (2010) 'Kotázce historického vědomí obyvatel České republiky', in *Naše společnost*. Magazine of the Public Opinion Research Center of the Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic 8 (1), 10.

<sup>11</sup> Pfeiferová, Š. & Šubrt, J. (2009) 'Veřejné mínění o problematice českých dějin', in *Naše společnost*. Magazine of the Public Opinion Research Centre of the Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic 7 (2), 4.

<sup>12</sup> Selection from the bibliography on results of empirical research projects of the University of Ostrava: Gracová, B. (1998), *Obraz Čechů, Poláků a jejich minulosti u studující mládeže*, Ostrava: FF OU; Gracová, B. & Psík, R. (eds) (1999), *Školní výuka dějepisu a překonávání stereotypních obrazů sousedních národů I, II*, Ostrava: FF OU; Gracová, B. (2004), *Vědomosti a postoje české a polské studující mládeže*, Ostrava: FF OU; Labischová, D. (2005), *Čech zřávitelce — Rakušan byrokrat? Proměny obrazu Čechů, Rakušanů a jejich minulosti ve vědomí studující mládeže*, Ostrava: FF OU; Gracová, B. (2004) 'Das Bild der Deutschen und der deutschen Vergangenheit bei tschechischen Schülern und Studenten', in R. Maier, *Zwischen Zählebigkeit und Zerrinnen. Nationalgeschichte im Schulunterricht in Ostmitteleuropa* (Studien zur internationalen Schulbuchforschung 12), Hannover: Verlag Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 223-52; Labischová, D. (2005) 'Současné trendy v dějepisném vyučování: učení o Evropě, z Evropy a pro Evropu', *Historica* 12, 321-31; Labischová, D. (2002) 'Stereotypní evropanství v postojích české mládeže', *Acta Historica Neosoliensia*, Tomus 5, 210-8; Labischová, D. (2006) 'Das Polenbild im historischen Bewusstsein tschechischer Jugendlicher', in H. Doležel & A. Helmedach (eds) (2006), *Die Tschechen und ihre Nachbarn* (Studien zu Schulbuch und Schülerbewusstsein, 113/2006), Hannover: Verlag Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 157-69; Gracová, B. (2006) 'Das Wissen der tschechischen Schüler(innen) und

Studierenden über Polen und Polen', in H. Dolezel & A. Helmedach (eds) (2006), *Die Tschechen und ihre Nachbarn* (Studien zu Schulbuch und Schülerbewusstsein, 113/2006), Hannover: Verlag Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 129-55; Gracová, B. (2008) 'Poznatky z Výzkumu aktuální podoby výuky dějepisu na základních a středních školách', in Z. Beneš (ed), *Historie a škola VI. Klíčové kompetence a současný stav vzdělávání v dějepise*, Praha: MŠMT, 9-30; Labischová, D. (2009) 'Das Teschener Gebiet im historischen Bewusstsein tschechischer und polnischer Jugendlicher. Ergebnisse einer didaktisch-empirischen Untersuchung', in L. Udolf & Ch. Prunitsch (eds), *Teschen. Eine geteilte Stadt im 20. Jahrhundert*, Dresden: Thelem, 127-44.

<sup>13</sup> Von Borries, B. (1999), *Jugend und Geschichte. Ein europäischer Kulturvergleich aus deutscher Sicht* (Schule und Gesellschaft 21), Opladen: Leske und Budrich.

<sup>14</sup> This problem also became a subject of the presented research: 58% of university students stated that while studying at gymnasium, they never experienced project teaching, 26% claim that regional history was never taught to them, and 48% stated that if so, only in marginal cases.

<sup>15</sup> Today in the Czech Republic, an alternative version is being prepared of the Draft Educational Programme for Secondary grammar school (history education), which is a partial departure from the cyclic concept of chronological explanation of history (as of yet, secondary grammar students cover expanded learning material from primary school). A combined model is being created (connecting a chronological and thematic approach) accenting the events of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>16</sup> Stradling, R. (2003), *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching: A Guide for Teachers*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

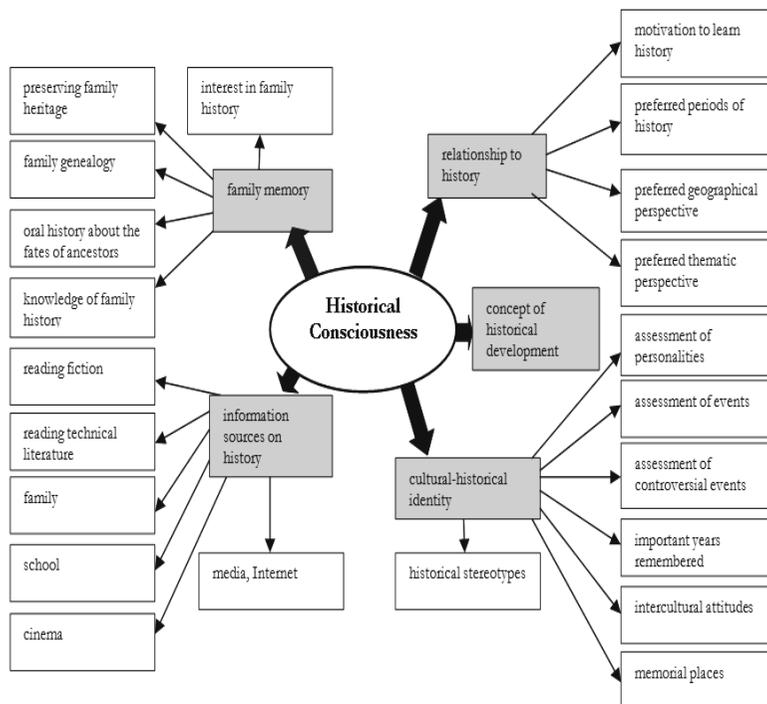
<sup>17</sup> This result is apparently influenced by the higher representation of women in the surveyed group of teachers.

<sup>18</sup> Rak, J. (1994), *Bývalí Čechové. České historické mýty a stereotypy*, Praha: H&H.

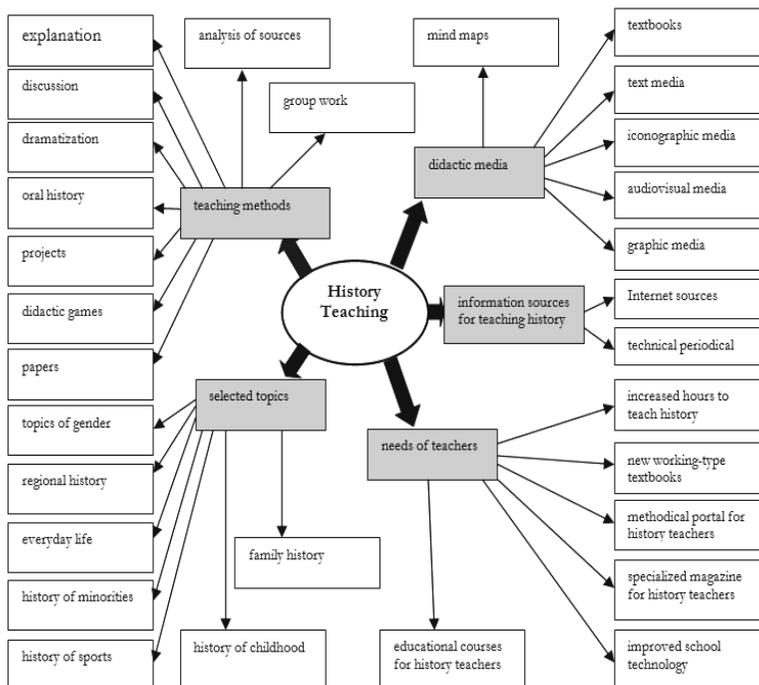
<sup>19</sup> In light of the questionnaire's scope, this question was not asked of the youngest respondents.

<sup>20</sup> Labischová, D. (2005), *Čech závistivec — Rakušan byrokrat? Proměny obrazu Čechů, Rakušanů a jejich minulosti ve vědomí studující mládeže*, Ostrava: FF OU, 106. Based on research by Labischová in 2003, implemented amongst Austrian secondary grammar and university students, the Theresian and Josephian Reforms are not ranked by young Austrians to be among the most important moments in Austrian history.

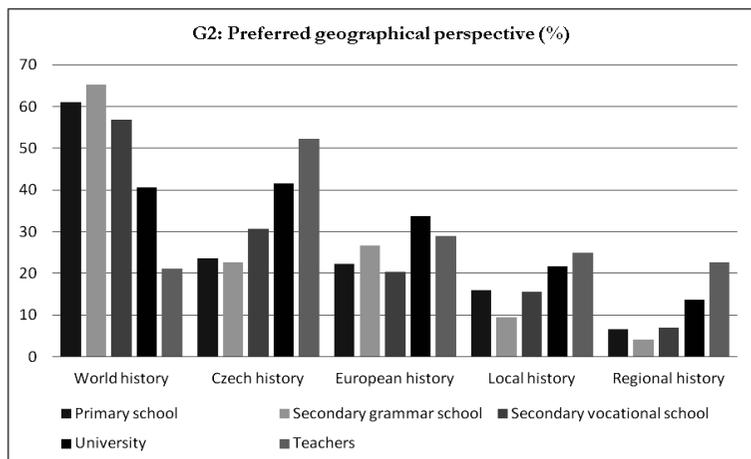
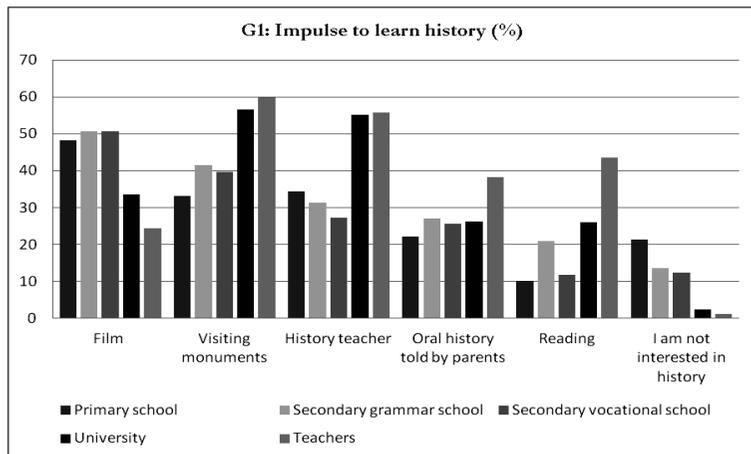
## Appendix 1: Research Content Diagram

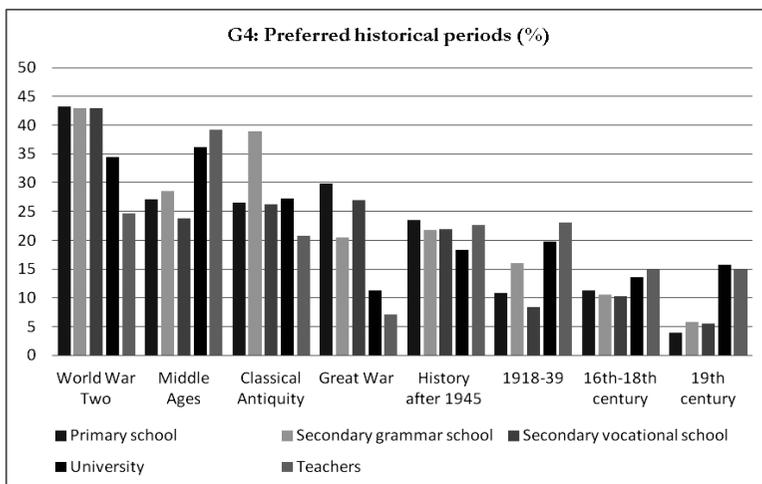
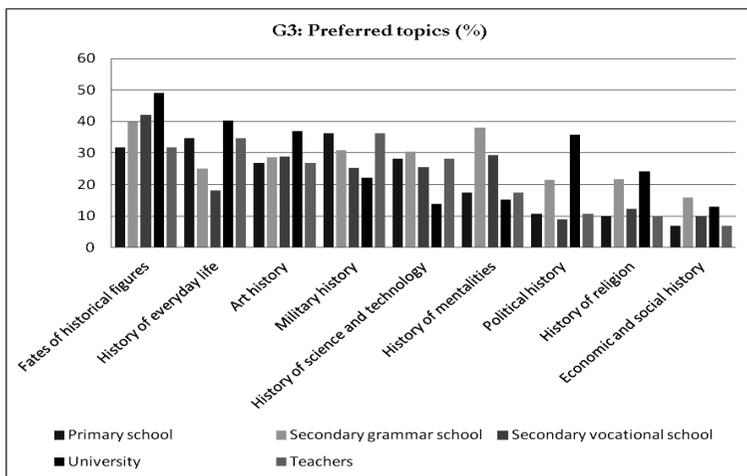


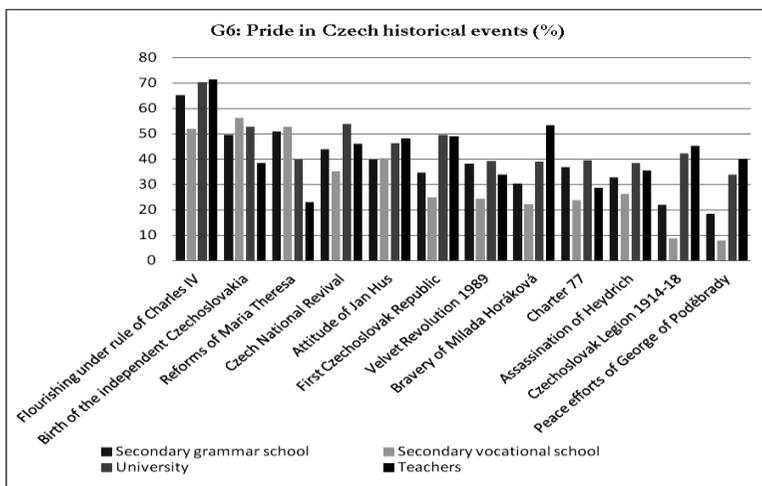
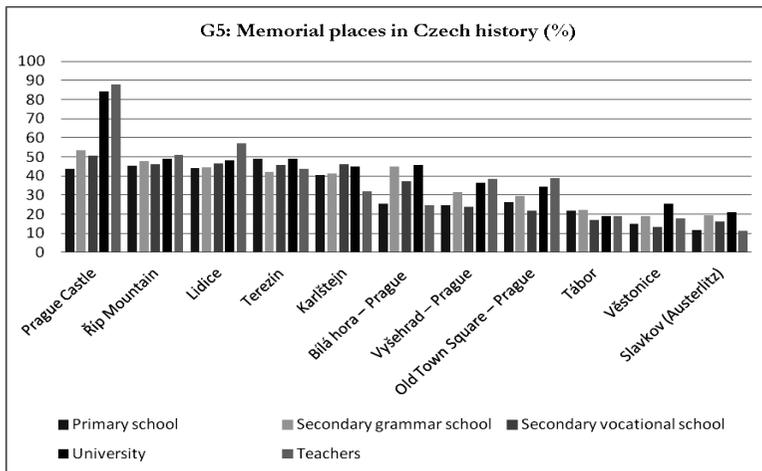
Research Content Diagram

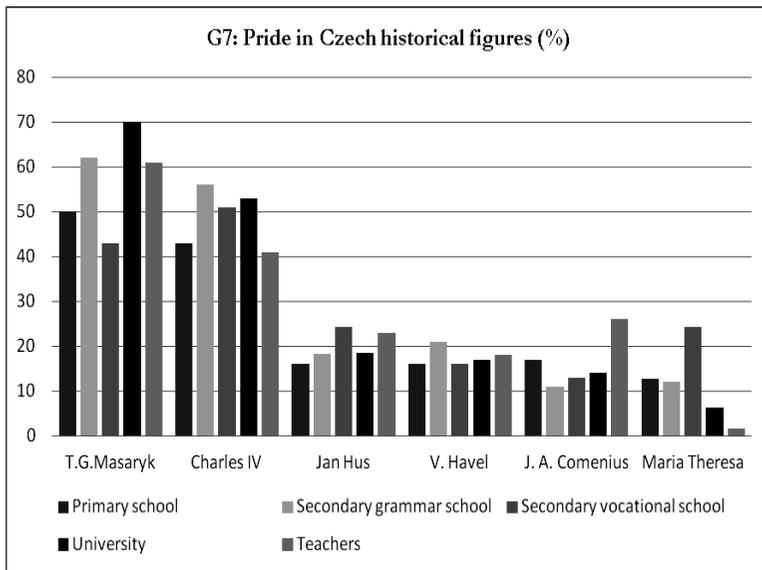


## Appendix 2: Results of Research











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## THE FINNISH HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS SPEAK ON HISTORICAL REPARATIONS: A NOTE ON A STUDY OF HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Jan Löfström

*History is filled with acts of injustice which have often been left in the margins of the representations of the past because they have been seen as embarrassing to the image and self-understanding of the culpable communities. It is important, however, that the citizens can address their countries' painful pasts constructively and reflexively. Also school history education can work for this goal. This article presents an account of an interview-based study of fifty-three Finnish high school students which explored how the students conceive of the notion and possibility of historical reparations. It seeks to identify the 'weak' points in their historical consciousness and offers suggestions as to how history teaching could make a more positive contribution regarding those points.*

### **Notions of Historical Reparation as a Window on Citizens' Historical Consciousness**

The issue of reparations for historical injustices has become prominent as a topic of public discussion in the last twenty years. In fact, the turn of the third Millennium has been characterized as the 'age of apology', due to the increased audibility of demands and offers of institutional reparations and acts of redress (Gibney et al. 2008). There are by now numerous studies on the philosophical, juridical and political dimensions of historical reparations, but so far there is a shortage in the analyses on how citizens conceive of the idea of such reparations and how they reason on questions about the feasibility and justifiability of such reparations. The topic is most interesting to study, however, because it provides a view onto some important aspects of citizens' historical consciousness. Namely, as we discuss historical reparations we are likely to end up with questions like the following which are highly relevant for how we relate to the past more generally:

- Who was responsible? Who were the guilty ones? Who was accountable for what happened, or were there many? Is it reasonable to blame somebody for what happened?

- Who are the descendants of the perpetrators and victims of past injustices? Who can speak on their behalf today if they are all dead? Why should we care about what some distant ancestors of ours did, or did not do, centuries ago? Or do the states and nations have an historical continuity which brings transgenerational moral obligations to their members?
- Can we in the present morally judge people of the past with our modern standards? Are the moral standards universally valid so that they apply not only across space but also across time? Can historians, following rigorously the methods of their profession, pronounce a moral verdict and declare, once and for all, who has acted morally right or morally wrong in a given situation in the past? Maybe this is even the historian's task, after all?

Answers to these questions are, in fact, comments on what are the valid explanations for historical development, how many historical continuities there are in the structures of contemporary societies and cultures, and what is the meaning of history to the people in the present: Existentially or morally? Regarding the last question, Jörn Rüsen (2004) has proposed that the narratives about the past are also narratives about right and wrong, good and evil, and they are reflected against the relief of what is considered morally right and wrong today. In that context, Rüsen suggests, there is always a moral or an ethical element involved in historical consciousness. The question of historical reparations, of course, is one where this moral/ethical element makes itself particularly visible and clearly. Rüsen (2006: 117-8) has asked whether people's historical thoughts could have changed, considering the fact that the issues of historical reparation have now become so pertinent. He left the question unanswered, though, the question deserves to be pondered upon.

My own interest in embarking upon a study on how Finnish adolescents relate to the notion of repairing historical injustices derives from my occupation with questions of history and social studies education. Historical consciousness has been considered to be one of the key concepts in history education and *Geschichtsdidaktik*, and as far as citizens' notions of historical reparation can serve as an avenue in analyzing citizens' historical consciousness more broadly they should be a promising topic for the study of history education as well.

## **Doing Focus Groups with Adolescents on the Topic of Historical Reparations**

In autumn and winter 2008/2009 I carried out a number of focus group interviews in high schools in Southern and in Central Finland, focusing on the topic of historical reparations. The decision to use the focus group method was motivated by certain inherent advantages that focus groups could be expected to have in this particular project. In focus groups the participants can easily respond and feed into each others' contributions instead of being prompted only by the questions of the facilitator, as in one-to-one interviews. The presence of a peer group is likely to conduce to an informal atmosphere during the interviews, which explains why focus groups are considered advantageous in particular when it comes to interviews with children or sensitive topics (Barbour 2007: 2-3; Berg 2004: 123, 127; Stewart & Shamdasani 1990: 15-6).

Additionally, focus groups support the elaboration of complex issues by the interviewees. To expect a well-articulated opinion on such complex issues among the interviewees is often to optimistic; that those interviewees set out to formulate their views on the matter more self-consciously is more likely to happen on the first occasion. Given the challenges of the advantageous interview situation, in the focus group the interviewees can take their time and sort out their thoughts without embarrassment. At first sight it may seem like a handicap that the members of the focus group may adopt each other's views and modify or suppress their own opinions in the face of assumed or real, opposition from their peers (Bailey 1994: 192). However this situation is faithful to the social nature of almost any process of opinion formation. In one-to-one interviews the respondent's social network is only ostensibly absent as she or he appears to speak uncontaminated by any social context. The opinions presented by interviewees in a focus group are not necessarily less authentic than those in one-to-one interviews (Barbour 2007: 19).

It is important to emphasize that in focus groups opinions or attitudes of individual participants are not 'mapped' and that the range of impact of some particular notions to the group is recorded. It is rather the point to look at the collective process of how the interviewees address the topic, construct arguments, negotiate them or also challenge each other's interpretations. Focus groups yield best returns in analyses of *how* people think and *why* they think as they do.

However this necessitates that in the reporting of the analysis of focus groups the quotes tend to be lengthy.

My study's focus group interviews took place in eight schools in Southern and Central Finland, six of them are university practice schools, one is a practice school but part of municipal school system, and one is a state school (Helsinki Finnish-French School). The number of sessions was fourteen and the number of students per session was four in all but three occasions where it was three. The duration ranged between 35 and 60 minutes per session, plus introduction and briefing. The interviews took place in the school premises in meeting rooms allocated to us and the interviewees were exempted from their history or social studies class for the interview. The total number of interviewees was fifty-three. I did all the interviews personally. The interviews were recorded digitally and subsequently transcribed in a professional way.

The interviews were structured around four large themes which were the following: Can injustices of the past be repaired? Who can make historical reparations, and to whom? What would be the best way of repairing an historical injustice? Why have institutional apologies for historical injustices become so frequent? Within the main themes also other related issues were touched, for example the possibility of official acts of forgiving as a response to acts of apology. The questions were discussed at both a general level but also in the light of particular historical cases, like the summarized acts of violence during and after the 1918 Finnish Civil War and the deportation of Jewish exiles to German-occupied Estonia in 1942. The latter were apologized for by the Prime Minister Paavo Lipponen in 2000, and the interviewees were requested to comment upon the act, the content, and the meaning of the apology. The protocol of those interviews is given in Table 1 (see Appendix). Note that the questions were not necessarily posed in the same order or in the same format as in the protocol below which primarily was serving as a reminder to the interviewer during the sessions.

The data from the interviews were analyzed, using the methods of qualitative content analysis, which means the interviewees' enunciations were coded and categorized under key words like historical continuity or discontinuity, individual responsibility, collective responsibility, ethical relativism, for example. Using this 'grid' one can analyze, for example, the arguments the adolescents made for or against institutional forgiveness or collective

responsibility. This article focuses on a topic which has a particularly clear connection with the issue of historical consciousness, namely the adolescents' notions of historical continuity, manifested in the reflection of the young interviewees on the possibility of transgenerational moral rights and obligations. In this article I give a rather brief summary of the findings and how these can be related to what we know about Finnish adolescents' historical consciousness and societal knowledge from earlier studies. But first I want to share an excerpt from one of the interviews to show what kind of data the interviews yielded and how it can be interpreted.

### **An Example: A Student Group Reflects on Transgenerational Obligations**

The following excerpt is from my interview number 13 which took place 22 January 2009, at the Joensuu University Practice School. The number of participants was four (one boy, three girls), all of them in their second year of high school, i.e. 17–18 years old. The exchange started with my question Q after which the students, marked M26 (the male student) and F22–24 (the female students), made their interventions.

- 01 'Q: [...] the events of that year [1918 Civil War in Finland, author's note], what happened then, could they be repaired afterwards in some way? How do you find the idea?
- 02 F22: Well...
- 03 M26: In a way it's a bit difficult since there isn't that kind of separation in Finland anymore...
- 04 F22: Yes, not anymore.
- 05 M26: [...] that there are the Red and the White. There is no White side, for example, who would apologize for those...
- 06 F22: Yes, who would apologize, and to who?
- 07 F24: Yes, to who should one make amend, and...
- 08 F22: Yes, it is a bit difficult anymore...
- 09 F24: Quite!
- 10 M26: Of course, as the White side is so strongly labelled as the party of the lawful Government [in 1918 author's note], it means today's lawful Government in Finland would, in a sense, apologize for it's own actions [in the case of an apology, author's note]...

- 11 F22: Yes, but is it [the Government, author's note] White either, anymore?
- 12 M26: Well, no...
- 13 F22: Because after all so much has happened since those days [1918, author's note].
- 14 F23: At least I think what has happened then has happened, one can not repair it because the people are different.
- 15 F22: Yes, and one can not repair it anymore.
- 16 F23: Yes, so that...
- 17 F22: It won't make things better to anybody anymore...
- 18 F23: Suppose, I could not go and apologize to somebody for what my grandpa has done, for example, or something like that, because in a way it is not my concern. It is really difficult to go and apologize when those people do not exist anymore.
- 19 F22: Yes, and those who have made the decisions then have been dead for a long time now, and in that sense it is really impossible to repair it to anyone anymore.
- 20 Q: Could the Finnish Government today apologize to those who became orphans when their Red parents were killed in 1918, for example?
- 21 F22: Well at least I think it doesn't sound too reasonable because surely there were orphans also on the White side, or... I don't somehow...
- 22 F24: Yes... It is such a distant thing, anyway. If you think of those orphans, surely some of them are also dead already...
- 23 F22: Quite so.
- 24 F23: Sure it is sad there are such orphans. They would like to see that someone out there is guilty that they became orphans, but I can't see how they could expect that somebody will come and apologize now.
- 25 M26: Well, I feel that somehow this state is the same as at that time [in 1918, author's note], also when those in power, of course, have changed dozens of times... After all, when you think there were quite clear war crimes afterwards, like executions of thousands of prisoners. Especially when you know your own relatives were there, carrying out executions. So you'd like someone to apologize, you feel a little ashamed of what the relatives did then on the White side.
- 26 F24: Yes, and maybe it would also clear the air if it would be talked about openly, maybe not blaming anyone because who is

- there to blame anymore, but one would talk about it openly. It could maybe make it easier for the nation to get over it and it [the Civil War, author's note] would not be a taboo anymore.
- 27 F22: Right!
- 28 F24: Yes. Or I don't know, it might be good that at least someone said something about this.
- 29 Q: If the wrongdoers or the victims are not alive anymore, can the descendants repair the injustice or demand for reparation in the name of their forefathers?
- 30 F24: I don't know, I don't think it is right that if some distant relative, or it is not perhaps so distant but if, like, my grandpa or his father had done something awful then... and even if he had, I don't know, I somehow don't see that it would be...
- 31 F22: Your responsibility.
- 32 F24: ...my responsibility or my problem...
- 33 F22: Yes, it is maybe more like a personal thing, feeling or not feeling that one is so closely connected to one's ancestors or some relatives... Well, I don't really know. Maybe it depends on the person, but some may feel their situation and what they have they due to their grandparents or should thank them for. Then maybe one could think that if they [their ancestors, author's note] have in some way done something wrong and have achieved a position, then they think they must repair something. Or I don't know, I don't believe it is of any help in any way.
- 34 F24: Somehow it does not concern them, or I mean...?

In the beginning the prevalent view in the group appears to be that it is not possible anymore to repair the events in 1918 because the historical witnesses are dead now. Also the student M26 doubts that Finnish citizens today do not identify themselves as Red or White anymore, hence it would be difficult to say who should be apologizing and to whom. However, he sets out to ponder tentatively on the continuity of the Finnish state and whether some moral responsibility for 1918 is actually transferrable to the Government today. F22 voices her misgivings about the interpretation, and also F23 takes a negative position, and M26 retreats. The others go on elaborate why historical discontinuity forecloses transgenerational reparations. When M26 again joins the discussion he first reiterates the idea that there is, after all, a continuous state from 1918 to the present, but then he raises a various point: he reveals he is ashamed for what

some family members of him did in 1918 when the defeated Red were being punished in mass executions (That such a connection really exists and is not a rhetorical device became evident in another context during the interview). Consequently, this is his explanation for his subjective desire that somebody would make some public gesture for the 1918 events. Now also F22 and F24 concede that perhaps there is something that remains unsettled and needs to be addressed openly to ventilate people's feelings about 1918.

M26's role is the catalyst, who brings his own feelings of involvement and his experience of transgenerational continuity and moral engagement into the discussion. Doing this, he invites his fellow students to consider the possibility that historical injustices may leave immaterial, 'intangible' (Elster 2004: 180-83) traces and that these can be treated with symbolic gestures. But this possibility becomes clearly difficult for the group to really grasp. Even though F22 and F24 concede for a moment that the memory of the 1918 Civil War may still haunt people at some level, the notion of transgenerational moral obligations remains difficult for them to handle as they probe their arguments for why their forefathers' conduct is not their moral concern. F22 seeks to construct an explanation why people may find transgenerational obligations not so convincing, but she ends up conjecturing that under certain circumstances such obligation might actually appear compelling, for example when the person feels some inherited undue advantage, which never was requited. However she shies away from her own conclusions when she is questioning the usefulness of such feelings of remorse. She is able to construct a picture of people being indebted to their ancestors for their social situation and, hence, morally involved in their community's past, but apparently her 'gut-feeling' cannot accommodate the conclusion that her reasoning brought her to.

### **The 'Thin' Points in the Students' Historical Consciousness**

The prevalent patterns in the interviewed adolescents' argumentation round up the issues of transgenerational obligations for reparation. They have been discussed more detailed and with interview examples elsewhere, in Finnish (Ljöfström 2010), and here I will only briefly summarize the main points before entering the interpretation of the findings.

The interviewed students would spontaneously and easily endorse an individualistic notion of moral responsibility and they would readily develop arguments to support the stand that one can only be held responsible for what one personally has done or has caused to happen. The students would thus, as their spontaneous reaction, find it difficult to think they should be held morally responsible for repairing injustices that their ancestors may have committed. This view effectively creates a rupture between the past and the present which de-historicizes the contemporary state of affairs in the world and also forecloses transgenerational moral obligations to historical reparation. However, the notion of citizens' shared moral responsibility was easier for the young to accept when they pondered upon citizens' moral co-responsibility in a democracy instead of a citizens' moral co-responsibility for their ancestors' deeds. In other words, they found it easier to expand collective moral responsibility in 'space' than in 'time'.

The interviewed students would spontaneously explain that past injustices should be remembered in order to prevent its repetition. The motive leading to remembrance of past wrongs was thus seen to be an educative message to the community at large, not its meaning to the victims of injustice or to their descendants. Even if it comes to the question how the proliferation of institutional historical apologies in recent years can be explained the students would see it as an outcome of the strategic or tactic calculations of political leaders in a situation where globalization has made the countries economically all the more interconnected and, hence, keen to earn good-will. The active role of the victimized groups in the rise of the reparation discourse was completely outside the students' explanatory horizon.

Though, the spontaneous reactions to the notion of historical reparation were clearly negative. Nevertheless, in the interview groups the students could find such reparations imaginable under certain circumstances. The situation that would most readily come to their minds, legitimizing transgenerational reparation was when the consequences of the injustices are material, as opposed to immaterial ones. Transgenerational immaterial injuries were apparently difficult to think of. It is symptomatic that in the interviews the students would spontaneously understand the Finnish word 'hyvitys' (redress) as synonymous to 'korvaus' (material reparation), ignoring the possibility of immaterial injury. This is worth the attention because

precisely the immaterial injuries are often the primary concern of the victimized groups in public debates on historical reparations.

How do these results resonate with, or differ from what we know from earlier studies of Finnish adolescents' historical consciousness and societal thinking? I would argue there are some important similarities in the way Finnish adolescents relate to history and society in my focus groups and how the test subjects in the quantitative and qualitative studies which have been made in the 1990's and 2000's argued. Some of these studies have focused on youths at the age of 14–15 years (Ahonen 1997; Hakkari 2005; Suutarinen 2002) and some on youths at the age of 17–19 years (van den Berg 2010). Additional support is found in the studies of younger class teacher students' historical consciousness and notions of history (van den Berg 2007; Virta 1999). The major points of interest in these studies of Finnish adolescents and young adults can be summarized as the following ones:

The young citizens have the opinion that personal success and failure depends on one's own effort and talent and that everyone is, in proverbial words, 'the artisan of his own fortune' (van den Berg 2007 and 2010). Their willingness to see individual political and civic participation as constitutive of 'proper citizenship' has been low in international comparison which suggests a lack of trust in the collective efforts to work for common good (Suutarinen 2002). When asked who should pay to former colonized countries in the hypothetical case of a world court of justice ruling such a reparation the Finnish youth has been, in international comparison, strongly against extending reparative responsibilities outside the former colonial powers, thus ignoring the point that also other Occidental countries (like Finland) have benefited from colonialism more indirectly (Ahonen 1997: 258; Borries 1997: 165-7). The field of moral responsibilities was limited only to the 'direct' agents of colonialism, as it were.

In the views of the youth the most important engines of historical development, and also present-day development, are impersonal structural forces like technology and economy, not individuals or collective acts (van den Berg 2007 and 2010; Ahonen 1997: 259; Hakkari 2005: 38-9). Such a view on the dynamics of social and political development and historical change limits considerably the space, to which individuals or collectives can be considered morally responsible for any historically significant processes or events.

Moreover, those major forces are in some sense material and have clearly observable material consequences. Distinction from 'immaterial' forces like ideologies, ideas, identities and cultural traditions may be added as well.

In the surveys in the 1990s and 2000s the Finnish youth have gladly supported the view that the historical field of study is important because its knowledge explains today's world events and circumstances; furthermore it gives examples of moral right and wrong, and it provides opportunities to learn from other people's mistakes. When asked about the personal meaning and relevance of history, however, the youths would consider history as not meaningful or not connected to their own lives. Also the role of history as a tool of gaining a sense of control over one's own life was regarded as very modest (Ahonen 1997: 258; Hakkari 2005: 32-4, 73-4). Interestingly enough, thus history is relegated as something outside the sphere of individual citizens' life-world, which is in discrepancy with how the youth, on the other hand, have gladly assured that history has relevance to one's orientation in the contemporary world. I would conjecture this implies that the youth easily conceive 'real history' as equivalent to macro level history and thus fail to think of individual citizens' lives as historically situated and historically conditioned.

To end this chapter I want to emphasize that the adolescents I interviewed were not unresponsive by any means. They would gladly engage in discussion and in debate with each other on morals, responsibility, or the correct interpretation of particular historical processes, and they could often elaborate their arguments clearly in response to my enquiries. What I have listed above should be regarded as the 'thin' areas within their historical consciousness. Saying this I am not suggesting that the interviewees were incapable of good historical thoughts; I am only suggesting that there are certain perspectives and possibilities of interpretation that they would not easily come to think of. Why this should be the case is difficult to say, but in the following chapter I will make some tentative suggestions regarding how Finnish school history teaching might contribute better to developing these 'thin' layers of adolescents' historical consciousness.

## **Implications for Developing the Finnish History Curriculum**

The individual citizen's historical consciousness develops in encounters with various actors in the field of history culture, and school history teaching is only one, and often probably not the most decisive of these actors (Jensen 1997: 49). However it should not be ignored as a potential source of explanations and images of history to the young citizens, in particular. From earlier studies in the 1990s and 2000s we know that Finnish social studies and history teachers themselves think that teaching in these school subjects is very much tilted towards transmission of factual knowledge, whereas education about values and active citizenship was considered to have a much more marginal position. The teachers however would like to observe the emphasis turning into the opposite direction (Suutarinen 2007: 106-8; Gullberg 2009: 256-9). In a study of the subject, teacher students in 2001 have shown that history teacher students conceived of themselves as factual knowledge mediators more than biology or mother tongue teacher students who saw themselves rather as citizenship educators (Virta, Kaartinen & Eloranta 2001). The class teacher students have also tended to subscribe to the rather traditional justification for history teaching, which says that history explains how the present-day situation has come about as an outcome of historical processes (Virta 1999: 105-10). Showing causalities, causes and effects behind the past social developments, this is put forth in the core curriculum for high schools as one of the objectives in history teaching (GLgr 2003: 178). Often this entails rather a structuralist approach where macro level dynamics and institutions are operational in bringing about historical change. For example, this has been a common feature in history textbooks as well (Ahonen 1989).

The national core curricula of the 1990s and the 2000s have paid more attention to the development of student's analytic skills in critical historical thinking, however a perspective which still remains outside the core curricula for history, is the ethical and political dimensions of history. The most recent core curricula for high schools, from 2003, lists among the objectives of history teaching human rights and democracy and the aim to act as responsible citizens (GLgr 2003: 178). Consequently, materials to construct this world view have to be provided to the students. This statement not only acknowledges but also encourages discussion on the moral and

political dimensions of history and its interpretations in history classes, yet among my fourteen focus groups there was only one where the students recalled having discussed the issue of historical reparations in history class. This suggests that such discussions on the moral and political level in history may not be too frequent in history teaching.

Given that the analysis above is correct I suggest history teaching at Finnish schools may contribute to improve the 'weak' points in students' historical consciousness by the following three approaches:

First, history teaching could more consciously raise awareness among students to reflect on how their own social and cultural situations are historically conditioned and what they 'inherit' from past generations, symbolically or materially. Being aware of the connectedness of the past and the present, also in individual citizens' lives, is a precondition that one finds the question of historical reparation and transgenerational moral obligation reasonable and relevant to pose in the first place. Focusing more on the issue of historical legacies teaching could also contribute to a more sophisticated conception of citizenship. More generally, the tendency among the Finnish youth to interpret society very much in terms of atomic individual agents could hereby become balanced with perspectives that draw attention to the collective and the social.

Second, an analysis of such historical legacies could be encouraged even more by unfolding into students reflections on the ethical and political implications of these legacies. Some political dimensions are always present when the developments of society and culture are interpreted, and history teachers should not abandon from making them explicit and a topic of debate and deliberation in the class. The Finnish history curriculum will probably continue to put the emphasis on teaching factual historical knowledge and the critical skills of historical thinking but it would be important as well to give space to problematizations that invite the students to reflect on the moral and political element and to the student's personal view on the past and their relation to it.

Third, in history textbooks social processes (economic development, industrialization, etc.) lead from causes to effects in a way which betrays a notion of society and human agency where rationalist calculations on power and wealth are the driving force for all significant changes. However one can suggest that there are also motives which are not as open to rationalist-materialist causal

explanations, yet they have had very real effects in the past, just as they still have today. I am referring to symbols, myths, fantasies, rituals, taboos — things which traditionally have been familiar to anthropologists rather than historians. Taking on board more anthropological perspectives and concepts and looking at the past as a ‘foreign country’, populated by people with dreams and fears, feelings of pride and shame, ties of love and hate, history teaching could perhaps help the students to get a deeper understanding of how traditions, identities and emotions and also example memories and stories have been relevant for the past and are still part of people’s lived social reality with great motivational force.

The agenda in my research is neither to find ways to make the students more supportive of just any idea of historical reparation nor to drive those topics in the public. Instead, my aim is to identify the qualities in their historical consciousness that restrain their view and understanding of the individual and collective meanings of the past, in this specific case a traumatic past. The interpretations and conclusions made in this study are, of course, probably dependent on the cultural, social and educational context of the study, hence it would be interesting to do similar qualitative studies to compare the specific features of adolescent historical consciousness in other countries. Such research could bring important new perspectives to the picture we have on the topic, based on the European quantitative study, ‘Youth & History’, in the 1990s (Angvik & Borries 1997).

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## Appendix

**Table 1: The interview protocol**

### *I The interviewees' relation with Finnish history and its painful chapters*

- How well would you say you know Finnish history? What is your grade in history at school?
- When you talk of Winter War 1939–1940, or Civil War 1918, or 1809, how often do you speak of 'us' and what 'we' did? How do you feel about the idea that you are part of a chain of generations that binds together the Finnish people today and in the past?
- What episodes in Finnish history do you feel proud of, and what do you think one cannot be proud of?

### *II The notion of repairing injustices of the past and its reasonability*

- Do you know if you grandparents were on either side in the Civil War 1918? Whose fault were the 1918 events, mostly? What was the morally worst thing that happened then? Can it still be repaired and how? How do you feel about the idea that the state should apologize to the former Red orphans?
- If those who committed a wrong or suffered from it are no more alive, can somebody on their behalf make a reparation or demands for one? How do you feel about the idea that Finland should get a reparation for the territory lost in 1940/1944, or that developing countries should get reparation from the Western countries for the time of colonialism?

### *III The meaning and motives of historical reparations*

The then Finnish Prime Minister Paavo Lipponen spoke in Helsinki, in 2000, at the monument for eight Jewish exiles, deported and handed over to Germans in 1942: '[...] on behalf of the Government of Finland and all Finnish people I apologize the Jewish community for it.'

- How well-motivated was the apology? Would there have been some other, and better ways, of dealing with the 1942 deportation?
- What do you think of the fact that the Prime Minister apologized on behalf of all the Finnish people instead of speaking on his own behalf or on the behalf of the Government only? How strongly do you feel his words morally obligate you personally? Who else could have made this apology? How should one define the group 'all the Finnish people' the Prime Minister referred to?
- Why do you think apologies for past wrongs have become more numerous?
- What do you think of that historical wrongs are repaired with money? Is it sometimes better or more convincing than an apology?
- What do you think of that historical wrongs would be forgiven officially? Who could have answered to the Finnish Prime Minister and give an official pardon?
- How do you react to the claim that there has been moral progress in the history of the humankind? Or to the claim that history is a judge and the research can tell who did right and who did wrong in the past?
- Have you discussed before the issue of repairing past wrongs, or have you heard or read about the issue being discussed? In what context?

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## ‘REMEMBRANCE EDUCATION’ AND THE HISTORIZATION OF HOLOCAUST MEMORIES IN HISTORY EDUCATION

Karel Van Nieuwenhuyse

*Remembrance education wants pupils to ‘learn from historic and present-day examples of intolerance, racism and xenophobia’ (e.g. through holocaust education), and deals with ‘memory’ in a very present-oriented way. An ongoing project, developing research seminars for final-year secondary school pupils, is explicitly conceived as a different, more specifically historical way of dealing with memories: to stimulate pupils to critically analyze public holocaust memories as a historical, evolving phenomenon. Central research question is whether this approach would leave some marks in pupils’ beliefs. The results show that pupils associate what they have learnt in the seminars with the central aims of remembrance education (which is much more in line with popular, unschooled beliefs about the nature of past ‘dark events’ and the meaning of history) rather than with those of the discipline, although a close examination shows, however, that pupils’ beliefs on the matter are often composite and sometimes somewhat contradictory.*

### 1. Remembrance Education and/in Society

Commemoration and remembrance are integral elements of postmodern Western culture. Library bookshelves have by now been filled with studies about the contemporary ‘memory boom’, the politics of remembrance and the troubled relationship between history and memory. Although academic historians are increasingly inclined to acknowledge that there is no hard and fast dividing line between collective memory and professional historiography, they do not always welcome the increasing pressure from national governments and international organizations to guide and sometimes even regulate collective memory in laws, like a number of *lois mémorielles* in France since 1990 (Megill 2007: 17-60; Blanchard & Veyrat-Masson 2008). This guiding of collective memory also occurs in history education or in so-called ‘remembrance education’. The rationale of remembrance education is that modern nations have a certain responsibility for crimes or suffering that has been caused in the past, and that recognition of this forms a component of

education in democratic citizenship. Remembrance education thus becomes a general umbrella for education about 'dark chapters' from the past, with the Holocaust as most evident example (Van Nieuwenhuysse & Wils 2012).

Remembrance education, thus being consistent with wider social developments, was also stimulated, in the Flemish and Belgian situation, in addition by three specific triggering factors (Van Nieuwenhuysse & Wils 2012). The first of these is the reaction by politicians from different parties to the electoral breakthrough of the extreme right in Flanders after the national parliamentary elections of 24 November 1991 (known as 'Black Sunday'), in which the extreme right Flemish-nationalist party *Vlaams Blok* gained 6.6% of the vote. In response, a *cordon sanitaire* was set up: all the other political parties promised not to cooperate with *Vlaams Blok* in any way. Moreover, the efforts to combat *Vlaams Blok* were not confined to politics. Immediately after the elections, there were widespread calls to fight the party and its views within society, and to involve both civil society and the education system in these efforts (Kavadias 2004: 535-6). The party's steady growth in all subsequent elections reinforced this process. The remembrance of the Second World War and more specifically the Holocaust was one of the means employed to warn against the dangers of the extreme right. The parliamentary elections of 24 November 1991 were immediately compared with those of 24 May 1936, in which the dramatic success of two fascist parties (*Rex* and *VNV*) had caused a veritable upheaval in the Belgian political landscape (Gerard & Van Nieuwenhuysse 2010: 342; Witte et al. 2009: 187). The jump from this comparison to the conclusion that we had lessons to learn from the past was swiftly made (Lagrou 2006: 68-9). As the Belgian liberal Minister of the Interior wrote in an open letter to the Flemish socialist Minister of Education in 2008: 'I am writing to express my concern about the intolerance among young people towards those with different viewpoints in general and about the increase in expressions of anti-Semitism in particular. [...] In my view, more of a focus is still needed on the mechanisms that led to that appalling drama [= the Holocaust], so that our young people can draw the necessary lessons from them. [...] I believe it would be appropriate to draw up an inventory of the initiatives that have already been taken in connection with remembrance education and to consider what other initiatives we can take in this area' (Dewael 2008).

During this same period, remembrance education acquired a second, international boost with the initiative by Swedish premier Göran Persson in May 1998 to establish a Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research. In January 2000, the Task Force issued the so-called Stockholm Declaration. This represented a commitment by national governments to promote and encourage education, research and remembrance about the Holocaust — both the commemoration of its victims and the honoring of those who sought to oppose it.<sup>1</sup> Belgium joined the Task Force in 2005. Its membership gave a powerful impetus to the integration of remembrance education in Flemish education.

Remembrance education received a third boost in Flanders from the Council of Europe, and more concretely from the recommendation on history teaching that it released in October 2001. It was argued that history teaching 'should be an instrument for the prevention of crimes against humanity'. On remembrance, the recommendation stated that 'while emphasizing the positive achievements of the twentieth century, such as the peaceful use of science towards better living conditions and the expansion of democracy and human rights, everything possible should be done in the educational sphere to prevent recurrence or denial of the devastating events that have marked this century, namely the Holocaust, genocides and other crimes against humanity, ethnic cleansing and the massive violations of human rights and of the fundamental values to which the Council of Europe is particularly committed' (Council of Europe Committee of Ministers 2001; Castryck 2009: 6).

## **2. Remembrance Education in Flemish Education**

Within the Flemish Community, which is the body responsible for education in Flanders and the Dutch-speaking schools in the federal Belgian capital Brussels, remembrance education has, since 2010, been an official part of the cross-curricular final objectives of secondary education (Goegebeur & Van Nieuwenhuysse 2010: 64-5). Like their predecessors (2002<sup>2</sup>), they constitute a set of minimum school targets that do not belong to specific subjects and which aim at preparing youngsters to participate actively in society and to develop their personality. One of the newly added themes is

‘remembrance education’, defined as ‘a means of instructively looking back to the own past and that of societies elsewhere in Europe or the world, in order to learn where society should go from here’ (Flemish Ministry of Education and Training 2010b). Translated into a specific final objective, it is formulated as to ‘learn from historic and present-day examples of intolerance, racism and xenophobia’ (Flemish Ministry of Education and Training 2010a).

With a view to the implementation of remembrance education in Flemish education, a Special Committee for Remembrance Education was established in 2008. This brings together actors from the educational world and associations and museums most of which are concerned with the remembrance of the Second World War. Despite this central position of the Second World War, but in line with the cross-curricular final objective, the committee has formulated its mission more widely than Holocaust education: ‘Remembrance education means fostering an attitude of active respect in contemporary society based on the collective remembrance of human suffering that is caused by forms of human behaviour such as war, intolerance or exploitation, and that must not be forgotten.’<sup>23</sup>

In anticipation of the centenary commemoration of the start of the First World War in 2014, the heritage institutions that keep the memory of the First World War alive have now joined the Special Committee for Remembrance Education. The Committee is striving to achieve a twofold goal. Firstly, in parallel with the Belgian Senate’s Platform for Democracy and Citizenship, established in 2005, it aims to ensure greater transparency with regard to the available range of remembrance education facilities by means of a user-friendly website and a database of all Belgian remembrance education sites and projects in the broad sense of the term. Secondly, it aims to support teachers and helps with the question of how you can work efficiently on remembrance education with a given target group, by providing practical tips and examples of good practice. Both goals are achieved amongst other means by creating a website [www.herinnerings-educatie.be](http://www.herinnerings-educatie.be) on which a lot of remembrance educational products can be found. Two examples will be examined here in a nutshell.

The first is the workshop ‘The Holocaust’ of the Center for Holocaust and Genocide, which wants to examine the causes and the course of the Holocaust. In elaborating the course of the Holocaust, the workshop focuses on the world of the concentration and death camps. ‘To what goals were these camps built? What purposes did

these camps have and how was surviving and suffering in these camps? It examines the intentional and above all almost industrial way the Nazis and their allies carried out this genocide.<sup>4</sup>

The content of this workshop can be questioned in a pertinent way. At first the makers of this workshop seem to be little or not aware of the discussions amongst historians on the causes of the Holocaust. They start from the intentionalist approach that directly relates back every decision in the Third Reich to the intentions of Hitler. In the meantime this intentionalist view has been replaced since the mid 1980s by a consensus vision between the intentionalist and structuralist or functionalist approach that explained in the mid 1970s the decision making from spontaneous dynamics of bureaucratic structures (Kershaw 1998: xix-xxx; Kershaw 2000: 92 and 131-3; Bessel 2003: 15-6). Historians like Ian Kershaw state that both intention and structure are an essential part of the explanation. This moderate position, now the standard explanatory paradigm amongst most professional historians studying the Holocaust, is situated however a long way from the interpretation of the collective memory, which still believes in the intentionalist paradigm.

A second remark is inspired by historian Timothy Snyder, author of *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*, 2009. He opposes the common view of the Holocaust being equated to Auschwitz, while most of the Jews killed were from Eastern European descent and did not only not die in Auschwitz, but not even in death camps, yet outside these camps. Moreover two-thirds of the European Jews had already been murdered by the end of 1942, when the worst of the Jewish genocide in the West (1943-44) had yet to begin. This important aspect of the Holocaust seems to be forgotten in the collective memory and is clearly not covered in this workshop, because collective memory is used as a starting point, instead of recent historical research.

Another example is the workshop 'World War II address unknown'. One of the assignments, a role play, goes like this: 'You are a minister of an imaginary country, and along with several other ministers you want to start a war. But first you must convince the other pupils of your class. Write some short speeches together and use the tactics of war propaganda, as you can find on the site.'<sup>5</sup> In another assignment pupils have to write a letter: 'Try to empathize with the situation during World War II and write a letter to your classmates from the camp of Breendonk [a German concentration

camp on Belgian soil]. What it is like being a prisoner in Breendonk? How do you try to survive? What is happening with your friends? Include facts, information and testimonies that you can find on the site.'

As one can notice these assignments show a complete lack of historical contextualization. For example, what are the reasons you want to start a war, and against who? What history do you share with that country? For a good understanding of the second assignment, it is important to know what kind of prisoner you were in Breendonk: a common criminal, a political prisoner, a member of the resistance, a Jew? For the treatment of prisoners depended in part on the reason why they were imprisoned. It is equally important to know about the time of the imprisonment. The camp regime was very hard and cruel from the beginning, but at first to some extent tolerable. The circumstances of imprisonment changed over time however, and evolved into a harder, more brutal and even potentially deadly direction (Nefors 2004; Van den Wijngaert et al. 2011).

Moreover in the second assignment there is no link to historical reality — as if it was possible to write just like that a letter to friends while imprisoned in a concentration camp —, and without any problematization an appeal is made towards an affective form of historical empathy, which is very discussable.

As one can learn from these two examples there are many difficulties with the notion of remembrance education. But some of these difficulties are applicable on secondary history education as well. The concrete context in which this initiative of remembrance education originated and is currently being developed, gives some insight into the complex relationship between remembrance education and history teaching. The differences and affinities between both become visible by comparing the position of the academic discipline of history in both fields, by comparing the position of the present, the way in which ethical questions are dealt with, the role of empathy, and by analyzing the pedagogy of activation (Van Nieuwenhuysse & Wils 2012).

For example concerning the position of the academic discipline of history in both fields, it is striking that both invoke science as a model, but are rather far removed from it. Remembrance education lacks historical contextualization and differentiation between collective memory and history. These deficiencies will probably be distasteful to the majority of history teachers. This does not imply,

however, that history teaching and academic historiography operate in symbiosis with each other. The gulf that divides them is a well-known phenomenon. Scientific historical insights trickle down only partially and after a delay in secondary history education (Seixas 1993: 313-5). Academically obsolete historical images often persist stubbornly and are handed down from textbook to textbook and from teacher to trainee (Tutiaux-Guillon 2007; Van Looy & Goegebeur 2010).

In short, remembrance education seems to parallel widely shared, 'unschooled' public understandings of history and its social role. Many of the tensions between remembrance education and history education, however, reproduce in magnified form the equally real internal tensions that characterize contemporary Flemish history teaching, with its simultaneous scientific and civic ambitions (Wils 2009). History teaching is supposed to sharpen their critical instincts and historical thinking and reasoning, yet at the same time to 'mould' future citizens in a certain direction. But unlike remembrance education history education does not regard memory as the starting point for knowledge or attitudes, but as a subject of critical historical research in its own right (Heimberg 2009).

### **3. Exploratory Survey Starting from the Project Junior College on 'Historicizing Holocaust Memories': Remembrance Education versus a Historical and Historicizing Approach**

An ongoing project in Leuven university precisely focuses on the latter: to stimulate pupils to critically analyze public memories as a historical and hence evolving phenomenon. This project constitutes the starting point of our explorative research. It is part of the so-called 'Junior College' of the K.U. Leuven, an initiative aimed at closing the gap between secondary and university education in different academic subjects, among which history.<sup>6</sup> The program consists of a wide array of thematic research seminars for final-year secondary school pupils of approximately 18 years old. Schools spend an average of 20 hours per year at the Junior College program. Pupils can in most of the cases individually choose to participate in a seminar. They are directly supervised by a teacher of their school who participates in the project but who is not necessarily an expert in the subject.

The theme of the sets of historical seminars, on which this presentation focuses, is the study of the evolving Holocaust memories of the past 65 years. Starting point is that our present-day society has a very different view of the Holocaust than the first postwar generation. Research is done by the pupils into how and why the Holocaust memories changed over the last six decades in Europe and the world. In short, we study the historization of Holocaust memory.

The specific seminars deal with the complex relationship between history and memory; the sometimes very diverse interpretations of historians on the holocaust; the evolving memories in monuments both national and international, press, films and documentaries, literature, museums, graphic novels like 'Maus', a comparison of evolving Holocaust memories in European countries, and the position of the holocaust in present-day society and contemporary history debates; and comparative 20<sup>th</sup> century genocide studies.

As this set of seminars on Holocaust memories is explicitly conceived as a different, more specifically historical way of dealing with the issue than is usually the case within the framework of remembrance education, we wondered whether this approach would leave some marks in pupils' beliefs. We asked ourselves whether pupils, after having accomplished a number of the seminars, would agree with the basic assumptions and aims of remembrance education concerning the Holocaust or whether they would rather agree with pronouncements which translate specifically historical approaches and concerns — even though, of course, there is no impermeable dividing line between both. With a view to this, a small exploratory survey was set up in which 104 pupils participated.

This exploratory character means the effects of the Junior College — with a measurement before and after — on behavioral change weren't measured. Because of the short timetable of the Junior College and the limited contact with the participating schools, teachers and pupils, a test phase for the survey first wasn't included neither. Lastly a view from the outside, survey results from pupils who didn't participate in the Junior College, isn't available or at our disposal. Nevertheless profound analysis of the survey results furnished some very clear results.

The survey consisted of 21 statements, grouped in seven themes that probed the views of pupils about historical empathy — moral judgments — history, the degree of insight into mechanisms and

strategies of violence, the position of suffering in Holocaust education, the awareness of the tense relationship between history and collective memory, the (im)possibility to learn from history, the tension between past and present in Holocaust education, and the degree to which students feel able to draw lessons from the past for their personal lives.

In the survey, a six point Likert type-scale going from total agreement to total disagreement was used. For seven statements, pupils were also asked to explain their point of view. For example 'from what I learned about the Holocaust in the Junior College, I now look with a different view to contemporary situations of war, intolerance, discrimination, exclusion, exploitation and serious violations of human rights' or 'From the perspective of the Junior College seminars, I think the Holocaust should be a compulsory subject in school curricula (e.g. in history class), because out of respect for the victims the horror from then should not be forgotten'. Starting hypothesis was that the assumptions and aims of remembrance education are so much in line with popular, unschooled beliefs about the nature of past 'dark events' and the meaning of history that many of them remain relatively unaffected by a seminar that is implicitly meant to take a more sophisticated stance. The results of the questionnaire generally confirm this hypothesis. A close examination shows, however, that pupils' beliefs on the matter are often composite and sometimes somewhat contradictory. The results can be clustered in seven themes.

#### **4. Results: Beyond Popular and Unschooled Beliefs?**

1. Past suffering forms the core subject of remembrance education. Academic historiography as well as secondary history education in contrast has a much broader interest in all sorts of past events. Academic historians focus for example also on historicizing memories (Van Nieuwenhuysse & Wils 2012). Pupils disagree with the opinion that suffering must be central in history education. Yet they are convinced that especially the 'black pages' of the past should be addressed, for contemporary lessons to be learned. One pupil states: 'It's more important to remember what happened then to avoid such events. I do think that other genocides may be interpreted and seen in class, because in the current curriculum it seems that the Holocaust is the only genocide.' About three quarters of the pupils

believe that not only the Holocaust should be a compulsory subject in history education, but this applies to any genocide from the past as well. Their motivation in this context has less to do with respect for the victims or the will to place human suffering in a central position, but is rather based on knowledge acquisition in atrocities — and especially in the motives and mechanisms at their basis — to be learned from it. Concerning these historical episodes, they are interested in the overall picture, including an objective, complete and balanced study of perpetrators and their motives, and victims. A pupil quotes: ‘We must see all perspectives to compare them and see influences, to understand why certain people do certain things.’ Another writes: ‘The Junior College has just learned that there are so many other interesting perspectives related to the Holocaust than only the suffering of the victims.’

2. Where many historians have difficulties with the concept of ‘timeless mechanisms’ (e.g. of violence) which is central to remembrance education and on the contrary stress the importance of historical contextualization, pupils follow this first view only partly. At a general level they consider the ‘timeless nature’ of certain mechanisms as problematic, and emphasize the importance of historical contextualization. 70% of the pupils even indicate that after having participated in the Junior College, they will less equal past and present to each other. At the same time, however, they tend in specific situations to treat different past events as equal, e.g. when dealing with the Holocaust and other 20th century genocides. As one pupil quotes: ‘The Holocaust will never repeat itself in exactly the same way, but there are plenty of examples of other genocides. I think it is important to know history so we can respond more quickly to do that kind of situations.’ Another pupil states: ‘No situation is a 100% identical to a different situation at a later time. But this does not mean we cannot compare. We must do this to learn from what went well or wrong in the past. Note: I have not learned this from the Junior College project.’ Or more: ‘I think the past and the present can be compared, we still live in the same world, just in time there have been changes.’ It is clear here that — concerning the relationship and tension between present and past — there is a contradiction in the minds of the pupils. On the one hand they are aware of the difference between past and present, but on the other hand in practice they quickly put both on a par, e.g. in equating a past genocide like the Holocaust with other more recent 20th century

genocides that occurred in a different time, place and circumstances. They still believe that — even if historical contextualization is important according to them — topical lessons from past situations can be drawn. Pupils bear very little witness to historical consciousness. Some — about 25% — even find that past and present can easily be compared. About the opposite a pupil writes: ‘Thick bullshit to me. There are only a finite number of conflicts in the world and they repeat themselves over and over again, but always different. Nothing is unique. Take for example Libya: resistance of the people against an authoritarian dominating regime. The first time this happens? Not at all.’

3. In their assessment of human behavior in the past, pupils want to be sensitive to the fact that historical actors are bound by time, place and circumstances. Here they agree with the opinion of professional historians like Richard Evans, who claims: ‘I cannot know how I would have behaved if I had lived under the Third Reich, if only because, if I had lived then, I would have been a different person from the one I am now’ (Evans 2003: xxi). Pupils recognize that the place that people occupied in society at that time in part conditioned their position of perpetrator, victim or bystander in the war. One pupil explains: ‘Most perpetrators were ordinary citizens who couldn’t do anything else, they could save their own lives with it. I’m not saying I approve this of it or something, they had to unite and hold a rebellion. But the problem is that Hitler has dealt with the war very smart and no one believed that a war was to follow when they voted for him.’ Or more: ‘Behavior: you cannot always choose what you do. Collaboration: perhaps you do this to survive.’ Nevertheless they oppose an extreme determinism. In their eyes, man has a certain degree of choice, and was/is able to choose not to participate in atrocities.

4. Remembrance education sees no problem in the possibility and feasibility of historical empathy. It considers it as a cornerstone and embraces it with ease. This contrasts strikingly with the weightiness of the debate about the possibility of empathy in history teaching (Van Nieuwenhuysse & Wils 2012). Central to this debate is the question of the extent to which historical empathy is a cognitive or an affective phenomenon, whether it should be confined to ‘perspective recognition’ or can also include the encouragement of identification, and how to harness imagination while keeping it tied to evidence and context. Many professional historians consider the

affective aspects of historical empathy as highly problematic (Lee & Ashby 2001; Barton & Levstik 2004: 206-43, Cunningham 2004 and 2009; Lévesque 2009: 146-52). The pupils for their part are sensitive to the problematic nature of the concept of historical empathy. One writes very concrete: 'I think we sometimes too easily say that we for example would hide Jews in our house. I think that when the moment would arrive, one would react quite different than one thinks of him/herself.' Yet in globo they find that the difficulties associated with historical empathy can be overcome if enough historical research is conducted. Or as one pupil puts it: 'We can partially empathize, but of course not totally! But because of that it is important to examine the events.' Another one says: 'It may be difficult for us to empathize, but the more we know, learn and understand about it, the more we can empathize.' Having attended the Junior College seminars, pupils are all the more interested in the question of how people can inflict each other such a horror.

5. In contrast to remembrance education that largely ignores the difficulties going along with ethical questions and uses absolute moral standards, many historians are very reluctant to make moral judgments (Van Nieuwenhuysse & Wils 2012). As historian studying the Third Reich Richard J. Evans states: 'It seems to me inappropriate for a work of history to indulge in the luxury of moral judgment. For one thing, it is unhistorical; for another, it is arrogant and presumptuous' (Evans 2003: xxi). History teachers are also more aware of the need to make a conscious distinction between passing judgment on the past from a contemporary and a historical perspective (von Borries 1994; Wils et al. 2011; Wineburg 2001; Van Drie & Van Boxtel 2008; Lévesque 2009: 152-68; Falaize 2008: 125-6). Although, in teaching the holocaust not all history teachers equally wary of moral judgment. Various British, French and American research in this regard suggests that many teachers take a moral, rather than an historical approach in their history lessons on the Holocaust (Russell 2008; Kinloch 1998; Husbands et al. 2003; Corbel et al. 2003; Salmons 2003). It should be noted here nevertheless that unlike the history teachers in this British, French and American research who teach in lower grades and are not academically trained in history, Flemish history teachers in the final two years of secondary education are virtually all academically trained historians, and thus more aware of the epistemic difficulties going along with moral judgment in history education.

Pupils, as other research shows, don't have that reticence (von Borries 1994; Wils et al. 2011). 70% are of the opinion that moral judgment of the past is acceptable and possible. But they attach a condition to this, namely that this may not happen in a frivolous manner. Thorough historical research needs to precede the judgment. As one pupil writes: 'It is necessary to do proper historical research first and examine different historical perspectives before starting to judge morally.' In their eyes judging the past is self-evident, even though it should be preceded by gaining insight into the past by looking at different perspectives — a vision which goes hand in hand with a naive ideal of objectivity. A pupil writes: 'I believe we are able to express moral judgments about the past. The facts are there and on this basis one cannot approve the events [of the Holocaust]. The time in which you live is not important.' Another one says: 'If you know well all motives, I believe moral judgment is possible.' The idea from many professional historians that a full 100% objectivity can never be achieved, that history is an interpretative construction and thus carries inevitably subjectivity and nuances within it — as partly determined by different points of view — is not supported by the pupils. On the other hand they fully agree with the fact that a historical-scientific view of the past needs to be realized based on solid historical research.

6. Pupils not only judge the past, they also indicate that it is possible to draw lessons from the past for today and tomorrow. Not a single pupil agreed with the statement: 'From the perspective of the Junior College seminars, I remember that history never repeats itself, the Holocaust doesn't either. Therefore we can't draw lessons from the Holocaust (and the past in general) for present and future conflicts and violence.' On the contrary, as the explanation of a pupil reads: 'The past is the bridge to the present and perhaps to the future. The past determines how we live today, what we have, the progress. We must study the past to understand the present and to learn things so that we can do something about it.' Another one makes this more concrete, when saying: 'The past repeats itself more often than we (or at least I) can think of. The United Nations were founded after World War II to avoid such situations (a genocide), but when it matters the UN plays mostly a negative rather than a positive role (Rwanda, East Timor, Bosnia, ...). We must learn to understand the past to compare in a better way contemporary situations with the past and to find further solutions.' Some pupils perceive even

improvement since man learns from the past: ‘The Holocaust helps us certainly understand that the people can be very manipulated. Several studies have shown that people often blindly trust their leader, even when he does wrong things. I believe that after World War II much more attention is paid to racism and other forms of discrimination. Man has become more vigilant AND compassionate. ‘One pupil reacts angrily on the abovementioned statement: ‘This is simply ABSURD. If I learned anything, it is certainly that the past holds lessons in life for man, and especially that man can be stone-blind for them. We MUST draw lessons from the past, because recurrence is always possible.’

Drawing lessons from the past applies to their personal life as well. 44% of the pupils indicate after having participated in the Junior College to feel encouraged to commit themselves in the fight against violence, war, intolerance, discrimination and human rights violations. What do we gather from this result? Is this a typical example of ‘anticipating the answer one wants’? Or are these pupils sincere and may lessons on the Holocaust actually inspire civic engagement? But what about the 54% that weren’t induced to civic engagement on the other hand? Are they already engaged? Are they not interested? Didn’t they experience an incentive from the Junior College? About this we grope in the dark. The explanations for this cluster of statements didn’t make us wiser in this respect.

7. Pupils show barely any awareness of the tension between history and collective memory. Even though they consider for example contemporary Holocaust memories a very interesting topic of research, they do not spontaneously handle the distinction between history and collective memory, even when the questionnaire refers repeatedly to this distinction. Almost 70% of them agree with the fact that the Holocaust must indeed be allocated a special place in the history curriculum, because — not surprisingly — pupils could learn and draw lessons from it. A pupil writes: ‘It’s important to remember what happened then, to avoid such events.’ In their explanation none of the pupils refer to the problematic relationship between history and collective memory, which, however, was treated in detail in several seminars of the Junior College. They do not make the distinction between the historicist approach and the collective memory that pursues a current past, where memories are no gateway to knowledge, but mobilize the past for a current political or social

project. On the contrary, in the eyes of the pupils both seem to smoothly go hand in hand.

## **5. Conclusions**

Pupils associate what they have learnt in the Junior College seminars with the central aims and sensitivities of remembrance education rather than with those of the discipline, except for the central position of suffering as subject of study and for their repeated (though not always consistent) adherence to contextualization as a historical virtue. This doesn't need to mean that they reject insights from a historical approach; it rather proves that they are less susceptible to it.

Reasons for this might first include the limited duration and the cognitive difficulty of the seminar series. The participating pupils worked on an average of 20 hours (ten weeks with two hours a week) at the historicizing Holocaust memories project. Their introduction to the historicizing approach was therefore limited. In contacts with the participating pupils and teachers, the high cognitive difficulty degree was frequently expressed. Especially the notion of 'collective memory' and the tension with history was experienced as very difficult to understand.

A second set of reasons are the rather naive epistemological beliefs of pupils and the present-oriented character of Flemish history education.

At first sight, this naive historical awareness seems surprising, since all pupils attended for already six years (over two periods per week) history education, that moves forward historical consciousness as a goal. On the other hand, it needs to be noted in this matter that secondary history education finds itself in a very ambiguous position, with its split between the teaching of critical sense and historical thinking and reasoning on the one hand and the social and political expectations with respect to the teaching of citizenship on the other hand (Wils 2009). Furthermore we can add here the whole issue of the tension between history and collective memory, and the fact that the historicizing of memories is not included in the attainment objectives (= minimum targets to be achieved for the subject of history formulated by the government) of history education (Flemish Ministry of Education and Training 2000). A large majority of history teachers is moreover not familiar with this issue and lacks sufficient

insights. Finally it needs to be said in regard to secondary history education that it carries a certain degree of presentism in itself, that obstructs a historicizing thinking. 'It might be argued that the dominant position of the contemporary perspective obstructs attention for such historical thinking, in which pupils learn to contextualize the circumstances and situations in which people lived in the past. In order to obtain in-depth knowledge about the past, pupils need to detach themselves from their contemporary perspective and their contemporary conceptual frameworks. They must learn to be open to the otherness, the 'strangeness' or even more the 'unrecognizable' character of the past. Pupils should learn to place historical events and phenomena within their historical context. The social requirement of attachment with the contemporary society can be an impediment for this historical thinking.' (Wils et al. 2011: 219)

Third and last reason is the cognitive profile of last-year pupils as 'philosophical thinkers', who strive most for knowledge of generally accepted truths (Wilschut 2004: 86-93). One pupil says in the explanation of a statement: 'When we know everything about the past, we can perfectly judge the past.' They cherish the belief that it is possible to determine *the* historical truth and grasp it in generally valid statements. In short they bear witness of a naive historical awareness and naive ideal of objectivity. Thus they go over certain epistemological difficulties too quickly, and they reason too few nuanced yet.

This conclusion might incite us to reflect on the usefulness to define remembrance education as a separate educational aim. Historian Lucy Russell writes: 'By learning about the Holocaust, students are likely to be moved to ask social and moral questions about what happened. But [...] the history of the Holocaust must come first.' (Russell 2008: 130) Terry Haydn on his part argues that history teachers, in teaching the Holocaust, should use 'the same questions we would ask of other historical events. So instead of this is what happened; wasn't it terrible?' we need to ask the usual general range of questions which the discipline of history requires, while remembering that there are differences between the purposes of academic history, and the purposes of teaching history to young people. We need to get beyond approach A [This is what happened; wasn't it terrible?] and towards approach B [asking historical questions]' (Haydn 2000: 137). We could add the following here

towards Flemish (history) education. As the objectives of remembrance education seem to be spontaneously adhered to by pupils who study the Holocaust, even when they do so from a different perspective, should we not rather spend energy on the more difficult and challenging task of teaching them the complexities of the past on the one hand, and teaching them to take distance by historicizing contemporary as well as past memories on the other hand?

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.holocausttaskforce.org/about-the-itf.html> (30 October 2011).

<sup>2</sup> See for an overview of these 'first generation' cross-curricular final objectives <http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/dvo/secundair/3degraad/index.htm> (30 October 2011).

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.herinneringseducatie.be/ADVISEERT/tabid/95Default.aspx> (30 October 2011).

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.herinneringseducatie.be/ModuleHerinneringseducatie/tabid/112/ctl/DetailActivity/id/266/mid/441/Type/detailactivity/Default.aspx> (30 October 2011).

<sup>5</sup> *Lesmap WO II adres onbekend*, 21; <http://www.adresonbekend.be/> (30 October 2011).

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.kuleuven.be/onderwijs/juniorcollege/jcgeschiedenis> (30 October 2011).

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**LIVIU REBREANU'S NOVEL  
'THE FOREST OF THE HANGED'  
AND ITS RECEPTION IN  
ROMANIAN HISTORY SCHOOLBOOKS**

Andreas Wagner

*The following article analyses the novel 'The Forest of the Hanged', published in 1922 by the Romanian writer Liviu Rebreanu. The novel thematizes the national division of the Romanian people before 1918 and was written to legitimize the national unity, which was a result of the First World War. The novel is also treated in current Romanian history schoolbooks. The essay tries to answer the question how the legitimation of Romania's national unity given in the novel is passed on Romanian pupils today.*

Liviu Rebreanu (1885-1944) is one of those writers who are not highly frequented by readers outside their own country. The works of the Romanian author, who received great international acclaim for his plays, short stories and novels between the two World Wars, are nowadays only known to the Romanian readers. In Romania, however, they are still part of the literary canon. Due to this importance, the writer Liviu Rebreanu is also part of the school curriculum in Romania. Naturally, his works are discussed in literary classes, but he is also an issue in history education. Thereby, his novel 'The Forest of the Hanged' is mediated to the pupils.

The novel is constructed around one of the most important periods of Romanian national history. Taking place during the First World War, the plot focuses on the disunion of the Romanian nation, whose members could not be settled in the independent Kingdom of Romania together – millions of Romanians, most of them living in Transylvania, possessed no national self-determination under the rule of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Considering the fact that the novel is still part of Romania's history education, one has to ask to what extent the contents of this work are part of the country's educational policy today.

The present study is based on the novel 'The Forest of the Hanged' and six Romanian history schoolbooks of secondary education, published in 2000 and afterwards, selected from the stock of the Georg-Eckert-Institute for International Schoolbook Research

in Braunschweig, Germany. All of these schoolbooks thematize the First World War and ‘The Forest of the Hanged’.

Thus, there is a dual connection of this fictional literary text: On the one hand with the illocutionary reality of the historical facts, on the other hand with the thematization of the novel in present Romanian schoolbooks as a part of historical culture.

At first, the following article gives information about the novel and its plot. The interpretation of Rebreanu’s work in chapter three cannot be analysed without quite detailed knowledge of the historical background, given in the second part. Finally, the article intends to offer an interpretation of the novel’s share in current Romanian schoolbooks.

## **1. Development and Content of the Novel**

Liviu Rebreanu published ‘The Forest of the Hanged’ in 1922 (Piru 1968: 153). The author got the idea for the novel from a photography showing Czech soldiers hanged by the Austro-Hungarian army for deserting (Scirdon 2000). The other reason for writing the text was a much more personal one: Rebreanu’s brother Emil, serving in the Austro-Hungarian Army like the main character in the novel, had been accused of deserting and was executed behind the Romanian frontline during the First World War (Scirdon 2000).

The novel<sup>1</sup> tells the story of the soldier Apostol Bologa, who is of Romanian origin and lives in Transylvania, at that time part of the Kingdom of Hungary. At the beginning of the First World War, he is enthusiastically serving in the Austro-Hungarian army. But after the declaration of war between the Kingdom of Romania and the Danube Monarchy in 1916, he is forced to fight his Romanian brothers. Inwardly befallen by military duty and the slowly increasing awareness of his national origin, he decides to defect to the Romanian army. However, he is caught by a patrol, brought in front of the martial court and sentenced to death through hanging.

At the beginning of the novel, lieutenant Bologa appears to be a dutiful soldier of the Austro-Hungarian army. As a member of the martial court, he defends the execution of the Czech deserter Svoboda<sup>2</sup> against the Czech captain Klapka. But very quickly, this posture is weakened: At first, he is informed through a letter from his mother that Romania has entered the war, then he finds out the reason for the defection of Svoboda – his father was executed by

Austrian soldiers. Finally he is motivated by the evacuation of his division from the Russian to the Romanian front line. At this point, the novel establishes Bologa's central moral conflict: He will have to fight and kill Romanians as an Austro-Hungarian soldier of Romanian origin. Now, he feels real Romanian patriotism for the very first time. This leads him to the desire to desert from his division, even if this attempt will mean joining the Russian army — the evacuation to the Romanian front is yet to come. His plan fails because of a sudden Russian attack, in which Bologa is badly injured.

After four months of convalescence, Bologa considers the evacuation to the Romanian front as a chance to desert directly to his countrymen. Immediately after his arrival at the front, his national feeling is devastated again. He encounters a group of prisoners of war from the army of the Kingdom of Romania. Bologa reveals himself as a Romanian, reaping nothing but contempt for being a soldier of the enemy's troops. As a result, Bologa starts a second attempt to defect. Unfortunately, he fails again, suffering a complete psychological breakdown. Completely exhausted, he leaves the front for vacation in his hometown.

Back to the front, his national feeling is charged for a third, decisive time. General Karg, commander of his division, transfers Bologa to the martial court to sentence Romanian civilians who are accused to collaborate with the enemy. Bologa decides to desert once more. This time, he seems to succeed, but a few meters away from the Romanian trenches, he is caught by a patrol again. Consequently, Bologa himself is now a case for the martial court. Sentenced to death for desertion and high treason, he is hanged from the gallows, dying under patriotic thoughts.

## **2. Historical Background**

### *2.1 The Situation of the Romanians before the First World War*

The main character's inner conflict can only be analysed under the consideration of the background of Romanian national history. When the Kingdom of Romania was founded in 1881 (Völkl 1995: 42-4) after centuries under Habsburg and Ottoman sway (Völkl 1995: 27-9), it did not comprise all Romanians — more than four million would have lived under Russian and (Austro-) Hungarian control. About 2.7 million Romanians lived in Hungarian Transylvania, representing over 50% of its population (Hitchins 1994: 202).

Because of the Austro-Hungarian ‘equation’ in 1867, Transylvania was under centralised control from Budapest (Scharr & Gräf 2008: 181). As a result, the Romanians had to suffer from a persistent ‘magyarization-pressure’. Budapest’s effort to discriminate the majority (!) of Transylvania’s population proved itself in several ways. The law prevented the Romanians from having a political representation in Hungarian parliament. Until 1905, not a single delegate of Romanian origin could be found in Budapest; only about 3% of the Transylvanian Romanians were entitled to vote (Kann 1964: 316). Much more relevant in daily life was however the very restrictive language policy. Hungarian was the only legal language in court and in front of administrative bodies. Furthermore, in 1879 a law made Hungarian an obligatory subject in primary schools. Many little village schools, representing the majority of educational institutions in rural Transylvania, had to be closed because no teachers could be found to teach the language (Bolovan 2006: 573). 600 schools had to be closed after 1907, when another law to ‘magyarize’ the Romanians was put into practice (Völkl 1995: 61; Roman 1989: 41). Using the Romanian language was also a problem outside of schools, especially when Hungarian authorities persecuted its ‘defiant use’ (Kann 1964: 316) in public.

But there was also political resistance against this discrimination. In 1882, the protest paper ‘Memorial’ accused the Hungarian policy (Bolovan 2006: 575); nine years later, Romanian students published the ‘Replica’ against a nationalistic manifesto of Hungarian fellow students (Hitchins 1994: 207f). In 1892, the ‘Memorandum’ was published by the ‘Romanian National Party’, who tried to denounce the suppression of the Romanians to the emperor Franz Joseph himself (Hitchins 1994: 208). The reaction was an explicit one: He refused to even meet the Romanian delegation (Bolovan 2006: 576), the government in Budapest sent the envelope with the ‘Memorandum’ unopened back to the forwarders (Kovacz-Betrand 1997: 26). The dispute reached its fever pitch two years later, when the ‘Memorandum Trial’ condemned the authors for the ‘Memorandum’, accompanied by protest from all over Europe (Bolovan 2006: 576).

Despite those political protest movements, the Transylvanian Romanians had not necessarily the urgent wish to become part of the Kingdom of Romania. The (very small) group of intellectuals in Transylvania did not claim to secede from the Austro-Hungarian

Empire, but strove for internal reforms in their multinational state, guaranteeing their ethnic group administrative and cultural rights, such as the freedom to use their own language (Hitchins 1994: 217). One of Transylvania's intellectual leaders, Aurel Popovici, expressed this in 1906 by the meaningful title of his exposé 'The United States of Great-Austria'. He wrote: 'Romania has, due to his instinct of self-preservation, a great interest in the continued existence of a powerful Austria, and this interest intrinsically bars any thought, any dream of an annexation of Austrian territories populated by Romanians' (Popovici 1906). The 'Romanian National Party' also stood up for Transylvania remaining a part of the Danube Monarchy (Völkl 1995: 61). As a result, on the political level, there was no condition to unite Transylvania with Romania.

Such a union also missed common support within the general population. More than 85% of the Transylvanian Romanians were poor, uneducated and antiquated peasants, who really had other problems than political affiliations. Among the intellectuals and great landowners, Romanians only amounted about 6% (Hitchins 1994: 218-9). The political and intellectual elite was only evident in this limited circle of people and consequently had only little effect.

In Transylvania, there was a very small and limited political resistance against the suppression, which under no circumstances tried to achieve unification with the Kingdom of Romania. In Romania's capital Bucharest, no one even thought of changing the status quo. Though Romania supported Romanian language, culture and heritage in Transylvania by generous donations (Hitchins 1994: 212), the political leaders tried to avoid any inflammable matter between their country and Vienna. As a neighbouring state of Russia, Romania was reliant upon the stabilizing function of Austria-Hungary (Völkl 1995: 60). Nevertheless, some newspapers in Romania explicitly criticised the suppression of the Romanians in Transylvania (Völkl 1995: 61).

In summary, no side showed a serious interest to change the status quo. The uprising war, however, should change this posture dramatically.

## 2.2 Romania's National Unification in Consequence of the First World War

Until 1916, Romania remained neutral (Völkl 1995: 73). Its entry to the war ended by defeat against the Central Powers (Höpken 2009: 806). The war obviously had changed the minds of Bucharest's political leaders: Hoping to affiliate Transylvania to Romania, the country joined the Allied Forces, who had promised to compensate Romania for its efforts by supporting national unification (Höpken 2009: 805). After two years of occupation by German troops, Romania returned to the war in November 1918, when the defeat of the Central Powers was inevitable (Höpken 2009: 806-7). In the end, Romania found itself on the winning side.

Considering the plot of Rebreanu's novel 'The Forest of the Hanged', the war's effects on soldiers of Romanian origin within the Austro-Hungarian forces is one of special concern. That army was – like the country itself – a 'melting pot' of ten different languages and cultural backgrounds (Rauchensteiner 2009: 897). Despite this fact, the number of desertions to the enemy was infinitesimal. An exception was the front between Austria and Russia, where Bologna's regiment is garrisoned at the beginning of the novel. The desertions in this area did not result from patriotism of the soldiers, but from the catastrophic supply situation of the troops (Rauchensteiner 2009: 898-9). Conversely, this means one cannot assume that many soldiers of Romanian origin had to suffer from the same moral conflict as Apostol Bologna.

Before the defeat against German troops in 1916, the Romanian army had succeeded admirably and had advanced far into Transylvania. Despite the suppression by the Hungarian government, the Romanians remained very cautious when their 'brothers' from Romania occupied their land (Arens 2006: 891). The political leaders neither changed their minds. Even in October 1918, the Romanian politician Alexandru Vaida read a statement in Hungarian Parliament in which he claimed self-determination for the 'Romanian nation of Hungary [sic!]' (Hitchins 1994: 281).

But in autumn 1918, the events precipitated. When the Hungarian administration collapsed in October 1918, a 'Romanian National Council' was formed to take over governance in Transylvania (Hitchins 1994: 281). On December 1, 1918 the great assemblage of Alba Iulia took place. On this day, the general populace claimed the unification of all Romanians for the very first time. More than ten thousand people decided this by acclamation (Arens 2006: 891). This

event really can be considered as a 'result of the moment', the epoch-marking breakdown of Austria-Hungary and the unique, unexpected chance for national unity. As shown above, no one really wanted the unification before, the Transylvanians not even during the short Romanian occupation in 1916.

The new 'Great Romania', a result of the Paris Peace Conferences, covered almost all members of the Romanian nation, but the new territories brought – besides a doubling of the country's size (Höpken 2009: 807) – new national minorities with them, in total numbers about 30% of the entire population (Müller 2006: 280). New Romania, territorially satisfied and rid of existence-threatening enemies, had to deal with another massive problem: forming a homogeneous country. The mental differences between the Romanians, who had been discriminated in Romania, Hungary and Russia before, were too big. The backwardness of a poor country dominated additionally by the primary economic sector came along (Hitchins 1994: 336-8). The political and administrative structures of the old Kingdom of Romania were transmitted to the new territories (Völkl 1995: 90). A centralistic structure of the state was considered as the best solution for the problems. Secondly, the political elite did not origin from the spot, but from the capital (Arens 2006: 892).

By a curious irony, the Hungarians of Transylvania now formed the biggest minority in Romania (Bernecker 2002: 237). The old principle now renewed with reversed roles: After the war, the Hungarians were the ones to be 'romanized' (Völkl 1995: 84-5). Despite the exodus of 200.000 Hungarians, the ethnic structure in Transylvania did not fundamentally change; the great landowners for example were still mainly of Hungarian origin (Hitchins 1994: 350). The low level of Transylvania's education and economy even turned out to be better than in many parts of the 'old kingdom' (Salagean 2006: 597). Now being part of 'Great Romania', some regions of Transylvania even had to suffer from a decline of the level (Roth 1993: 80).

The costs for national unification were high: Trying to implement unity and equality on an underdeveloped, heterogeneous country lead to disappointments and conflicts in the long term.

### 3. Short Interpretation of ‘The Forest of the Hanged’<sup>3</sup>

Regarding the outlined problems of post-war Romania, Liviu Rebreanu’s novel seemed to strike a nerve. The problematic national unity was termed in literature as the ‘ultima ratio’ of Romanian history. The Romanian soldier who is dying for his nation, without the ability to know that the dream of a united Romanian country would eventually come true – a more patriotic mentality can hardly be imagined from today’s point of view, particularly if one considers the fact that Rebreanu’s readers in the post-war-years actually suffered from the national unity Bologa gives his life for.

Furthermore, the novel’s hero is showing a pseudo-historical justification for the Romanian unity, which was unpopular until the very end of the war. The clear signal given by the novel: There were indeed soldiers longing for the unification, suffering from a divided nation. Rebreanu obviously meant Bologa to be a figure of identification, a symbol for national unity. The novel’s main character becomes a patriot and dies for a country he has never lived in. Bologa represents the outstanding sacrifice in the novel. Having finished the book, the reader will notice that he is almost the only one, too.

Surprisingly (at the first moment), the sacrifices the Romanian nation had to make during the war are not evident in the novel. Rebreanu actually managed to write a novel about the First World War in which the objective acts of war, pain, despair and death are barely mentioned. Strangely enough, the main character, which seems to have a total fixation about joining his country’s men, meets them only once. But at this point, the reason for his moral conflict does not come up. Because he meets the Romanian prisoners of war in his own military camp, he does not have to kill them. As a result, Rebreanu offered the readers a uniquely harmless fictional version of real history, treating the First World War as a rather bloodless event, ending by self-sacrifice of the hero. Reading the novel after the war, many Romanians certainly forgot about the real sacrifices their nation had to make during the war and the current problems of their country waiting for inner peace. This assumption is proven by the great success of the novel: From its publication in 1922, six editions were sold in Romania until 1930 (Piru 1968: 153).

#### 4. Reception of the Novel in Current Romanian Schoolbooks

'The Forest of the Hanged' has not disappeared from the literary canon after its prime between the two World Wars. This fact can be seen by its appearance in current Romanian schoolbooks. The prospected schoolbooks<sup>4</sup> offer a 'case study' to introduce fictional literature about the First World War to the pupils. Apart from Rebreanu's novel, the books give information about Erich Maria Remarque's world-famous book 'All Quiet on the Western Front'. All schoolbooks show a short summary of the novel's plot, explaining the nationalistic moral conflict, the desertion and the execution of the main character (Balutoiu 2000: 63-5; Bozgan 2003: 88-9; Buse 2000: 48-9; Ciuperca 2000: 70-1; Oane 2000: 56; Scurtu 2000: 58). According to that, the author gives an interpretation of Rebreanu's novel. These 'case studies' are mainly located at the end of the chapters concerning the First World War. Thus, one can assume that the young readers are familiar with the historical background.

It is striking to note that five of the six analysed schoolbooks explain the fate of Liviu Rebreanu's brother Emil,<sup>5</sup> whose attempt do desert, followed by execution through Austro-Hungarian troops, set up one example for the novel. Thus, the fate of the fictional character Apostol Bologa is linked to non-literary reality – the plot's base is legitimated by real history. With Emil Rebreanu being the brother of the author and no arbitrary, nameless soldier, the tragic of the story gains a special human component. Exemplarily, the quotes of two schoolbooks are considered in the following. 'The novel [...] was influenced by the tragic [...] end of the writer's brother Emil [...], who was executed for trying to desert to the Romanians during the First World War' (Oane 2000: 56). The personal tragedy of events outlined above is explicitly enhanced by the word 'tragic'. Balutoiu's schoolbook emphasizes, besides the 'fate of the author's brother', the nationalistic heroism of his desertion; for Emil Rebreanu 'did not want to fight those who were of the same origin' (Balutoiu 2000: 64). These passages give the delusive impression that Emil Rebreanu was one amongst many soldiers thinking the same way. Considering the historical facts, Emil must be considered as nonpareil. The question remains if Romanian pupils are familiar with that fact. This is also applicable to the moral conflict of Emil Rebreanu and Apostol Bologa. The young readers are confronted with two characters suffering from the diversion of their nation, ready to give their lives

for being with their brothers at the other side of the front. As mentioned above, this mentality did not prevail amongst the soldiers of the Danube Monarchy. The Romanian pupils, however, might get a different impression, not to mention the questionableness of picturing nationalistic self-sacrifice as a desirable aim in 21<sup>st</sup> century's Europe. Furthermore, the schoolbooks outline that Emil Rebreanu and Bologa were executed by Austro-Hungarian troops (Balutoiu 2000: 64; Bozgan 2003: 89; Buse 2000: 49; Ciuperca 2000: 71; Oane 2000: 56) – those two nations are presented as the 'hangmen' of two (fictional and real) Romanians.

But the Romanians' 'human and material sacrifices were not in vain', if the pupils believe the text in Buse's schoolbook, for the First World War entailed a '[Romanian] state within the national borders' (Buse 2000: 49). Thus, the war is justified. If the pupils are not aware of the problems Romania had to solve after 1918, the schoolbook conveys a glorification of the unification. If they are aware of the difficulties, the text rates the historical events for the pupils; a schoolbook should offer the knowing readership the possibility to decide whether the result was worth the sacrifices or not. In secondary education, the pupils should indeed be able to find their own answer.

How explicitly Bologa's compulsion to get to his country's men is, can be seen on the example of the following extracts. '[Bologa's] way is one of realization, it leads to death, though it is a way towards light in readers' awareness, the escape from a multinational mechanism and the rediscovery of the individual as a part of the Romanian people' (Ciuperca 2000: 71). Bologa's desertion as a 'way towards light'? This metaphorically inflated phrase glorifies Romania's national unity – the unity, as we have seen, almost no one wanted until 1918. The 'rediscovery of the individual', which was according to the schoolbook only possible within a reunified Romania, might lead the pupils to the misinterpretation, the First World War had saved millions of people from an unbearable state of oppression, caused by the 'multinational mechanism' of Austria-Hungary. Of course, the oppression of the Romanians in Transylvania is a historical fact – but the assumption, the only solution would be splitting off from the Danube Monarchy, is not true.

The schoolbook by Balutoiu is even more explicit. The pupils learn that the novel's central subject is 'the conflict between duty and conscience'. Furthermore, the book points out that this conflict,

which 'has haunted millions of soldiers of the army', was real (Balutoiu 2000: 64). That this reality never existed, as far as we know, is probably not known to the young Romanians, otherwise the schoolbook would disagree with its own content.

It can be considered as quite problematic that Bologa's deeds – his desertion for nationalistic reasons and his death as the last consequence – are described as a 'prove for outstanding sense of duty' (Balutoiu 2000: 64). Once more, one has to question if formulations like these back the Europe of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, a continent without borders Romania wants to belong to.

## 5. Conclusion

Considering the historical background, the prospected schoolbooks lead to the impression that Rebreanu's novel is still used to justify national unification. The wording of the text might lead the pupils to a questionable misinterpretation of history. The books' impact to the readers is a dangerous body of thought, rating the self-sacrifice of Apostol Bologa and Emil Rebreanu as a laudable deed. According to the books, the national unity was the central goal of all Romanians. Thus, the schoolbooks do not take the real history into account; on the contrary, they distort its facts. It seems almost ironic that the schoolbooks' misinterpretation of history is based on a novel, which again misinterprets history itself. Overall, in literature and in reality – the past seems to be very present in today's Romania.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> This study is based on Rebreanu, L. (1961), *Der Wald der Gebenkten*, Berlin: Verlag Volk und Welt. Due to limited space, the article does not include quotations from the primary text. A detailed analysis of the novel can be found in Wagner, A. (2009), *Liviu Rebreanu's Roman 'Der Wald der Gebenkten' und die nationale Einigung Rumäniens nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg vor dem Hintergrund geschichtsdidaktischer Reflexionen*, Augsburg: Ms., Universitätsarchiv, 158-60.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting that the Czech word 'svoboda' means 'liberty'. Thus, the Austro-Hungarian army is not just executing a human being, but metaphorically liberty itself.

<sup>3</sup> The following assumptions are a short summary of the results explained in Wagner (2009). For further information, please contact the author.

<sup>4</sup> For detailed citation, please see below.

<sup>5</sup> Merely Scurtu's (2000) schoolbook abstains from that information.

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MISCELLANEA

MISZELLEN

FAITS DIVERS



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## THE CROSS-CURRENTS OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

George Wrangham

The currents of historical research flow in two different directions, in entirely opposite directions, at the same time. How can this be? Looking for a metaphor to convey this truth, an analogy comes to mind of two rivers flowing side by side with their currents rippling along in opposite directions. Where the two rivers touch one another water from each joins, sustains and enlarges the other. But this is too esoteric an image, setting at naught as it does the nature of rivers and the pull of gravity that would sweep all that water along in one direction only. So let us abandon that metaphor and look for another.

I stood yesterday afternoon in an open field in the brisk wind of a perfect autumn day, as clouds streamed across the sky. At 5500 meters or higher drifts of cirrus were making their stately way from west to east. Much lower, barely 2000 meters from the ground, torn rags of cumulus betokening a rainstorm pushed their way past, driving from east to west: two streams of cloud flowing steadily in opposite directions. That is what happens with historical research and with school history, except that in this case the two streams contribute to each other.

The first stream, and really the most obvious, carries historical research down from the works of published authors of monographs and syntheses of significance to the whole world of historical study, down the line to the ways in which history is presented to children as they make their progress through the early years of school.

The second stream, less obvious and perhaps less known, concerns the way in which historical research projects even when undertaken by children in school, can affect the work of adult historians in their theses, be they at the undergraduate, graduate or doctoral level.

This paper will address both currents, providing examples, patterns and conclusions to make its point.

First then, let us consider the stream of professional historical research from graduate schools and educational institutes to the world of undergraduate study at colleges and universities, and thence to high schools and, with increasing filter in order to make the

subject matter comprehensible to ever younger minds, to the world of the elementary school. Two examples will suffice.

First, the renowned and prize-winning American historian Doris Kearns Goodwin undertook extensive research, virtually disappearing from public view for a couple of years or more, before presenting us with her magnificent study 'Team of Rivals' (Goodwin 2005).

In that book she had the courage to undertake a new study of Abraham Lincoln, about whom more than a thousand books have already been written. What more could there be for any author to write? She confined herself to an analysis of Lincoln's uncanny skill as a workaday, practical politician. Emerging as he did from the backwoods of the American frontier with little education and no experience of national government save a single two-year term as a congressman a long time before his election as president, so he was expected by few observers to make a success of his administration, especially since the task confronting him in 1861, preserving the Union, presented a greater challenge by far than any that had confronted any of his predecessors in the office of President of the United States.

He faced four great rivals within his own political party, William H. Seward, Edward Bates, Edwin M. Stanton and Salmon P. Chase, each of whom initially considered himself far superior to Abraham Lincoln and the natural choice to be the next president. Each of them decided to set himself up as Lincoln's mentor (or prime minister if America had had a parliamentary system). Lincoln then did something close to unbelievable, certainly entirely unforeseen. Instead of marginalizing this quartet of dissident politicians, he brought all four of them right into his cabinet, indeed into the inner circle of that cabinet (Seward as Secretary of State, Bates as Attorney-General, Stanton as Secretary of War, and Chase as Secretary of the Treasury). Lincoln succeeded with consummate acumen not only in persuading them to work together in the national interest in the hour of the Union's greatest peril, but to enjoy themselves in doing so, and to become filled with admiration and personal devotion to the President himself. This is well illustrated by an event hitherto unknown to the world, that Doris Kearns Goodwin discovered in her researches. When Lincoln was assassinated there was a plot also to kill that same day the Vice President, Johnson, and the Secretary of State, Seward. A would-be assassin stabbed Seward several times and escaped, leaving Seward drenched in blood and apparently about to

breathe his last. For many weeks he slowly struggled to recover, wondering why his very close friend Abraham Lincoln had not visited his sickbed. The first time Seward managed to cross the room to the window he caught sight of a flag flying at half staff – and he learned at that moment the dreadful news of the assassination of the President. No one had dared tell Seward before: the truth might kill him. Seward, who of all men had once upon a time looked scathingly down his nose upon Abraham Lincoln, then staggered back to his bed and collapsed, suffering so that his life was indeed once more in danger. It took the research skills and the determination of a professional historian at the height of her career to unearth this story. The anecdote is now well known, all the way down through secondary school. Students in high school need just such anecdotes to make history come alive for them and to fire them to learn and to understand more, often through their own historical research. The point is this: research at the highest level has flowed down from the magnum opus of a well-established professional into the world of the adolescent.

Let me give another other example of the same flow. Eamon Duffy has written a fascinating book on how the Reformation arrived in an English village, ‘The Voices of Morebath’ (Duffy 2001). Through letters and journals often very hard to decipher, and the records of court cases and of parish church finances, he has painted a picture rare and pure of how an entire traditional way of rural life was unseated. The remote and almost unknown village of Morebath in Devonshire was turned topsy-turvy as a result of the international machinations and marital problems of King Henry VIII. Here the reader is taken far beyond the well-known story of Luther’s teachings, the consequent divisions in the religious polity of Europe, and the dynastic ambitions of Henry VIII that led him to cast aside his first queen, Katharine of Aragon, in order to try his best to beget a legitimate son in the bed of his paramour and second queen Anne Boleyn. That story is part of the education of everyone in England, and it has proved itself to be a rich mine for the writers and directors of television dramas.

Duffy’s extensive and painstaking research over many years, in many corners of English churches and in collections of original documents from the sixteenth century, gives us a lively and entirely personal account of what happened in this particular English village on the slopes of Exmoor. Let us take a small example or two, details

really, from this research. Which local farmer, in the sixteenth century, would take on for one year at a time the care and pasturage of the parish church's flock of some twenty sheep, with some honor and some recognition but very little profit for his labor? That responsibility and that expense would be something that a young person today could readily understand and appreciate. A lad or lass in our time could not be expected to take on the reading of the entirety of 'The Voices of Morebath', but with guidance he or she could follow the story of those sheep through the troubled years until their care grew too much for the villagers as all the old familiar ways succumbed to the unwanted intrusion of the new, the King's Protestant agents who turned the church on its end and who raised the taxes in order to pay for King Henry's European wars. The flock was dispersed, the sheep slaughtered. Similarly the annual creation of elegant new costumes for the statues of the saints, an honor and privilege for the teenage girls of the parish and the centre of much of their social life, collapsed entirely when the incoming Protestants labeled the practice idolatrous. So the girls lost their reverent social hours together, and their friendships and their service to the church grew dim. Such gems are there to be found, ready to be discovered in research at the high school level, thanks to the prior work of an eminent professional historian. Young students today might seriously consider what might bring about an equally profound upheaval in their own lives and communities. Here is one reward of the flow of research from the top down.

Research travels in the opposite direction too, with the professional being assisted by the young. Children aged eleven or twelve can be asked to undertake research at the appropriate level of sophistication among members of their grandparents' generation. This is fairly common in villages in England, for example, where they ask such questions as these, tabulating the replies: How old were you when you first began to work? What meals did you have, and how different was your food from what we eat today? What was our village like, shops, village life, farming? What did your grandparents tell you about their life in this village or elsewhere when they were young? The questions can go on and on: the point is made. Schoolchildren undertake the primary research; the data is compiled and arranged by the teacher; and when many schools undertake the same study, then the children are actively providing the professional social historian with all the grist for his mill.

Another approach can be for children to fasten upon one particular event in the history of the community, something that everyone present would surely remember. In the United States the attack of 9/11 would be just such a topic. For my generation in England it was VE Day and then later the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. In my own family on both those occasions we decked the house from rooftop to rooftop with a stack of all the old naval signal flags we dragged out of a dusty chest in the attic, caring not a whit that we were announcing to the world that we were all suffering from yellow fever, that we were about to set sail from port (although we lived far inland), and that the entire Royal Family had taken up in residence in our household! The collection of such stories from many sources would be an intriguing challenge for a professional historian and could lead to an enlightening and amusing book.

Some forty years ago a local farmer approached Huntingdon Grammar School where I was teaching at the time, bringing with him overhead aerial photographs of his farmland. In one field in a small rectangle, perhaps three meters by four, the wheat grew thin and not as tall as all around, which was not something one could notice at ground level. Clearly had once been some small building on the site, and the farmer asked students at the school if they would like to undertake the necessary research. Yes, Sir! No maps, not even the oldest in the County Records and the archives of the County Historical Society, indicated that there had ever been any building on the site, so after the harvest was gathered in the farmer asked the archeological club at the school to dig – carefully! Rows of post holes around the periphery of the rectangle yielded traces of blackened ash at the bottom and stones set around to keep posts in place. Nothing else was found, alas, no pot of gold, no marble statue. The ash samples were sent to Cambridge University, fifty kilometers away, and proved to be Roman-British in origin (55 BC – 410 AD). So the students wrote up everything they had done, announcing to the world the discovery of a hitherto unknown Roman-British farm shed that had burned to the ground at some uncertain date and for some unknown cause. The County Historical Office took due note, thanking the students for excellent work in primary research that would be of value to professional archeologists in the future.

Student research does not need to take place in the field; nor need it be original in itself, so long as it is new to the student undertaking the task, and then it has its own special rewards. As a young boy,

fascinated like so many at that age by all kinds of monsters and mythical beasts, I was directed by my teacher of ancient history to undertake a personal study of the Chimera, a monster of Greek mythology with the body and head of a lion breathing flames of fire, with the head of a goat growing out of its spine, and a savage serpent for a tail. As far as I know, no professional has ever explained satisfactorily the origin of such a creature, but I took all the time I could find in research, becoming in the process the school expert on the subject, knowing considerably more than even the most aged and respected of my instructors. The rewards for me were my pride, and the fact that I was asked to lecture to the class on the subject. I had become a research historian! No matter that I had made no contribution to original scholarship – I was embarked upon a career, and research had shown itself to be indeed an integral part of history education.

This paper is written for the International Society for History Didactics, so it is safe to assume that every one of its readers is wedded to the study of history. But when, when did we fall in love? For many of us that came through our affianced engagement in research, whether in school or later in life as professionals. Either way we are lifted up and carried along by the cross-currents of historical research flowing steadily in those two directions, from graduate schools down to primary schools and from young people back up to again to professionals. To keep all this in motion is the responsibility of history teachers at all levels – and a most captivating, joyful and entrancing challenge it is!

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ABSTRACTS ·  
ZUSAMMENFASSUNGEN ·  
RÉSUMÉS ·

**Sebastian Barsch**

'Bring the Noise' – The Issue of Sound in History Education

*This paper deals with a topic hardly noticed to this day by historical scholarship: the history of hearing, regarding in particular to sounds and noises in the reconstruction of past mindsets and forms of governance. The potential this relatively new approach offers to historical scholarship is outlined on the basis of recent articles. Afterwards the benefit of integrating this position into historical scholarship is described. The current state of research on the subject is briefly addressed and possible ways of treating noises as topics in history education are indicated. Finally, some ideas how this approach could affect the way how children with low educational achievements learn historical contents are presented. It is believed that in particular pupils from this group could benefit from a 'sensual' approach of history education.*

*Der Aufsatz befasst sich mit einem von der Geschichtswissenschaft bislang kaum beachteten Thema: Der Geschichte des Hörens bzw. der Hinwendung zu Klängen und Geräuschen bei der Rekonstruktion vergangener Herrschaftsformen und Mentalitäten. Auf Basis einiger aktueller Aufsätze wird der Wert dieses verhältnismäßig neuen Ansatzes für den fachwissenschaftlichen Diskurs umrissen. Anschließend wird dargestellt, welchen Nutzen die Integration dieser Position in die geschichtsdidaktische Theorie hat. Dazu wird der aktuelle Stand geschichtsdidaktischer Forschung kurz skizziert und darauf aufbauend werden Möglichkeiten gezeigt, wie Geräusche im Geschichtsunterricht thematisiert werden könnten. Schließlich wird die These formuliert, dass ein 'sinnlicher' Zugang zu Geschichte gerade auch für bildungsferne Schüler von großem Nutzen sein kann.*

*Cet article traite d'un sujet à peine remarqué par la science de l'histoire jusqu'à présent: l'histoire de l'ouïe. L'intérêt pour des sons et des bruits pour la reconstitution des anciennes formes de pouvoir ainsi que des anciennes mentalités sera suscitée. À la base des articles récents, le potentiel de cette approche relativement nouvelle sera présenté pour le débat scientifique, puis le bénéfice de celle-ci pour la didactique de l'histoire sera décrit. En ajoutant brièvement l'état de la didactique actuelle, certaines manières d'intégrer des sons dans les cours d'histoire seront exposées. Enfin, la thèse sera formulée comment cette approche sensorielle peut faciliter l'accès des élèves à l'histoire, particulièrement les élèves issus de milieux avec un faible niveau culturel.*

**Arthur Chapman****Developing an Understanding of Historical Thinking through Online Interaction with Academic Historians: Three Case Studies**

*This article explores relationships between school history and academic history, first by modeling what such relationships might consist of in conceptual terms and second by exploring three case studies of projects in which academic historians worked with 16-19 year old history students to improve the students' historical thinking. These case studies are described and evaluated in terms of their potential to enhance students learning experiences.*

*Der Artikel untersucht Beziehungen zwischen Schule und Fachwissenschaft. Zunächst werden dabei konzeptionelle Rahmenbedingungen erläutert, um zu klären, welchen Nutzen solche Beziehungen haben können, um dann in einem zweiten Schritt ein Forschungsprojekt zu erläutern, das drei Fallstudien umfasst, in denen Fachwissenschaftler mit 16-19 Jahre alten Geschichtsschülern zusammengearbeitet haben, um das Geschichtsbewusstsein unter Schülerinnen und Schülern weiterzuentwickeln. Diese Fallstudien werden hinsichtlich ihres Potenzials zur Verbesserung der Lernerfahrungen von Schülern beschrieben und ausgewertet.*

*Cet article examine les relations entre la matière d'histoire à l'école et l'histoire universitaire d'abord par la modélisation de ce que ces relations pourraient consister en termes conceptuels et de plus en analysant trois études de cas de projets pendant lesquels les historiens universitaires ont travaillé avec les élèves d'histoire de 16-19 ans pour développer une pensée historique des élèves. Ces études de cas sont décrites et évaluées en termes de leur potentiel à améliorer les expériences d'apprentissage des étudiants.*

**Chunmei Gu****World History in the College Entrance Examination in Shanghai**

*The history test is one part of the College Entrance Examination, which has been the most important method for Chinese universities to select candidates amongst middle school students. As a city with some independent rights to combine its own history curriculum standards and history textbooks, Shanghai has also been authorized to be prepared for the history test in the College Entrance Examination taking place every year. Recently, the experts-committee for the examination preparation in Shanghai has searched for some new ways to help students and also school teachers to identify the essence of history education more clearly, creating a so-called 'history consciousness'. With several examples from the test papers and analysis results, the progress as well as problems in the development of world history didactic in Chinese middle schools could have been showed and reflected.*

*Eine Geschichtsprüfung ist Teil des Universitätsaufnahmetestes, mit dem chinesische Universitäten Bewerber aus der Schule auswählen können. Als eine Stadt mit einer gewissen Unabhängigkeit, die unter anderem das Verfassen eines eigenen Geschichtskurrikulums und*

*eigener Geschichtsschulbücher umfasst, ist Shanghai dazu berechtigt, die Schüler selbst auf die jährliche Geschichtsprüfung vorzubereiten. Vor kurzem hat das Experten-Komitee für die Prüfungsvorbereitung in Shanghai versucht, einige neue Wege zu nutzen, um Schülern sowie Lehrern zu helfen, sich noch klarer über das Wesen der Geschichtsdidaktik und des so genannten 'Geschichtsbewusstseins' zu werden. Dabei konnten mit mehreren Beispielen aus Prüfungsarbeiten und Analyse-Ergebnissen die Fortschritte sowie Probleme bei der Entwicklung der Didaktik der Weltgeschichte in der chinesischen Mittelschulen gezeigt und reflektiert werden.*

*Un examen en matière d'histoire fait parti du concours d'entrée à l'université. Par ce moyen les facultés chinoises sélectionnent les candidats issus des écoles. En tant que ville avec une certaine indépendance qui inclut l'édition de sa propre norme d'enseignement et de ses manuels d'histoire, Shanghai est autorisée de préparer les élèves au concours annuel d'histoire. Récemment, le comité des experts pour la préparation à l'examen à Shanghai a recherché de nouvelles méthodes pour aider les étudiants et aussi les enseignants des écoles à prendre conscience plus clairement de l'essence de l'éducation d'histoire et d'une soi-disant conscience historique.*

### **Wolfgang Hasberg**

#### **Closed or Broken Narrations? Work-orders as Elements of Historical Narrations in History Textbooks**

*The article, which traces back to a paper presented at the ISHD conference 2009 in Brunswick is an exemplary explication: Based on the conditions of the schoolbook market and the established types of history textbooks in Germany, chapters of history textbooks are analysed as narrative units. The functions of work-orders are analysed in consideration of the question if they operate or can operate as hinge-joints. An inventory of the German-speaking studies shows that the functions of work-orders are not yet inquired sufficient. Therefore it seems necessary to inquire the practical work with history textbooks in history lessons in the form of research (action research) regarding the question if work-orders can be able to interrupt the enclosed narrations of history textbook chapters, in order to enable the pupils to challenge the authors arrangement.*

*Der auf einen Vortrag zurückgehende Beitrag (ISHD-Tagung 2009 in Braunschweig 2009) argumentiert exemplarisch: Ausgehend von den Bedingungen des Schulbuchmarktes in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und den dort etablierten Typen von Schulgeschichtsbüchern werden Schulbuchkapitel als narrative Einheiten betrachtet, in denen Arbeitsaufträge eine Scharnierfunktion übernehmen (können). Eine Inventur der deutschsprachigen Studien zu den Arbeitsaufträgen in Schulgeschichtsbüchern zeigt, dass diese bislang unzureichend untersucht wurden. Dabei erscheint es notwendig, die praktische Arbeit mit dem Schulgeschichtsbuch durch anwendungsbezogene Forschung (action research) zu untersuchen und dabei zu ergründen, inwieweit Arbeitsaufträge dazu geeignet sein können, die geschlossene Narration von Schulbuchkapiteln für Schüler hinterfragbar zu machen.*

*L'argumentation de l'article présent, qui repose sur une conférence (congrès de la SIDH 2009 à Brunswick), est exemplaire. Au début le marché et ses conditions et les formes du livre d'histoire de classe en Allemagne sont exposés. Après il est expliqué, que les chapitres du livre de classe sont des unités narratives, dans lesquelles les instructions de travail jouent ou peuvent jouer un rôle capital. Un inventaire des recherches germanophones a découvert un effort insuffisant portant sur les instructions de travail. Ainsi il apparaît nécessaire d'explorer le maniement des livres de classe en cours d'histoire (action research) et d'examiner si les instructions de travail sont susceptibles de motiver les élèves à remettre en cause les unités narratives fermes des chapitres de leurs manuels.*

### **Sun Joo Kang**

#### **Transcending Eurocentric and Sino-centric Perspectives in the Middle School World History Curriculum in the Republic of Korea since 1945**

*Since the 1940s, when world history was introduced in schools, historians and educators have been critical of its Eurocentric bias. In the 1980s, Sino-centrism emerged as another crucial problem because it influenced together with Eurocentrism the conceptualization of world history by identifying Europe and China as the two principal centers of cultural creation and diffusion. How did Eurocentrism and Sino-centrism emerge in Korean history education? What has changed and been retained in the latest world history curriculum revision? In addressing these questions, I explore the emergence and the changes of Eurocentrism and Sino-centrism in the middle school world history curriculum, the history of world history since its introduction to schools in the 1940s, and historians' and educators' criticisms of its Eurocentric bias. I suggest that when Korean history educators attempted to solve problems of Eurocentrism in the world history curriculum, Chinese history was expanded and as a result, Sino-centrism emerged as another crucial problem. Finally, I discuss the current issues and problems of the Korean world history curriculum.*

*Seit den 1940er Jahren, als die Weltgeschichte in den Schulen eingeführt wurde, haben Historiker und Pädagogen sich kritisch mit ihrer eurozentrischen Einseitigkeit auseinandergesetzt. In den 1980er Jahren entwickelte sich der Sinozentrismus als ein weiteres entscheidendes Problem, da er zusammengenommen mit dem Eurozentrismus die Konzeption der Weltgeschichte durch die Identifizierung Europas und Chinas als wichtigste Zentren kultureller Diffusion und kulturellen Schaffens beeinflusste. Wie beeinflussten Eurozentrismus und Sinozentrismus die koreanische Geschichtsbildung? Was hat sich verändert und was wurde in der jüngsten Überarbeitung der Lehrpläne zur Weltgeschichte beibehalten? Bei der Behandlung dieser Fragen untersuche ich Entstehung und Veränderung von Eurozentrismus und Sinozentrismus im Lehrplan zur Weltgeschichte an Mittelschulen, die Entwicklung des Faches Weltgeschichte seit seiner Einführung an Schulen in den 1940er Jahren und die Kritik von Historikern und Pädagogen an der eurozentrischen Einseitigkeit des Faches. Ich denke, dass in Folge des Versuches koreanischer Geschichtsdidaktiker, Probleme des Eurozentrismus*

*im Lehrplan des Faches Weltgeschichte zu lösen, die chinesische Geschichte erweitert behandelt wurde und so als Ergebnis der Sinozentrismus als ein weiteres entscheidendes Problem entstand. Schließlich diskutiere ich die aktuellen Fragen und Problemen des koreanischen Lehrplans zur Weltgeschichte.*

*Depuis les années 1940, depuis l'introduction de l'histoire du monde dans les écoles, les historiens et les éducateurs l'ont critiquée pour sa partialité eurocentrique. Dans les années 1980, le sino-centrisme a émergé comme un autre problème crucial, car il a influencé avec l'eurocentrisme la conceptualisation de l'histoire du monde, en identifiant l'Europe et la Chine comme les deux centres principaux de la création et la diffusion culturelle. Comment l'eurocentrisme et le sino-centrisme ont-ils émergé dans l'enseignement de l'histoire coréenne? Qu'est-ce qu'a changé et a été gardé dans la dernière révision des curricula de l'histoire du monde? En abordant ces questions, j'explore l'émergence et les changements de l'eurocentrisme et du sino-centrisme dans le programme d'histoire du monde de lycée, l'histoire de l'histoire du monde depuis son introduction dans les écoles dans les années 1940, et la critique des historiens et des éducateurs envers sa partialité eurocentrique. J'affirme que lorsque les éducateurs d'histoire coréens ont tenté de résoudre les problèmes de l'eurocentrisme dans le programme d'histoire du monde, l'histoire chinoise a été élargie et, par conséquent, le sino-centrisme a émergé comme un autre problème crucial. Enfin, je discute des questions et des problèmes actuels de l'enseignement de l'histoire du monde coréenne.*

## **Urte Kocka**

### **Bringing Global History to the Classroom**

*Globalisation continues to develop and research in history is increasingly about global issues, and yet, in Germany and some other European countries, 'global history' is hardly ever taught in schools. Many other trends of historical research (such as everyday life history and the history of gender) were much more readily integrated into classroom teaching. When teaching Global History it is not enough to simply cover the history of other countries, one by one. A change of mind-set is necessary to apply global perspectives, questions and problems to the traditional history topics. Only in this way can local, regional and national history be globalized. Since this problem-orientated questioning approach touches the lives of young people and deals with today's culture of history, Global History classes in schools can bring about three changes: history lessons become more interesting for both teachers and students alike, young people will be better orientated in this world and everyone in the classroom, both immigrant and non-immigrant students will be integrated.*

*Die Globalisierung schreitet weiter fort, die Geschichtswissenschaft erforscht zunehmend Themen im globalen Kontext, nur im Geschichtsunterricht in Deutschland und einigen europäischen Ländern hat Globalgeschichte fast keine Resonanz gefunden. Und das, obwohl fast alle anderen aktuellen Trends der Geschichtsforschung im Geschichtsunterricht Berücksichtigung fanden, z. B. Alltags- und Gendergeschichte. Globalgeschichtlicher Unterricht*

*soll nicht bedeuten, dass es genüge, die Geschichte anderer Länder verstärkt im Unterricht zu behandeln. Vielmehr geht es um eine gedankliche Neuorientierung, die globalgeschichtliche Perspektiven, Fragestellungen und Probleme an die üblichen und traditionellen Unterrichtsthemen heranträgt und somit ein Globalisieren von lokalen, regionalen und nationalen Themen vornimmt. Da die Fragestellungen problemorientiert aus der Lebenswelt der Jugendlichen und aus der Geschichtskultur formuliert werden, kann globalgeschichtlicher Unterricht dreierlei bewirken: spannender für Lehrende und Lernende werden, Jugendlichen eine bessere Orientierung in der Welt geben und alle im Klassenzimmer mit Problemen und Themen von heute ansprechen, Immigranten und Nichtimmigranten.*

*La mondialisation continue à se développer et la recherche en Histoire se penche de plus en plus sur des sujets globaux. Néanmoins, en Allemagne ainsi que d'autres pays européens, l'« Histoire Mondiale » est rarement enseignée dans les écoles. Pourtant, presque toutes les autres tendances actuelles de la recherche historique (par exemple, l'histoire de la vie quotidienne ou l'histoire du genre) ont été intégrées dans l'enseignement scolaire. Pour enseigner l'Histoire Mondiale il ne suffit pas de traiter l'histoire d'autres pays de manière renforcée. Plutôt cette approche demande un changement de perspective pour traiter des sujets plus traditionnels avec des questionnements et des enjeux globaux. C'est seulement de cette façon que les histoires locales, régionales et nationales puissent être mondialisées. Puisque cette méthode de questionnement axée sur des problèmes touche la vie des jeunes gens et remet en question la culture de l'enseignement de l'histoire. L'approche de l'Histoire Mondiale apporte trois changements importants aux élèves: les cours deviennent plus intéressants pour les enseignants et les élèves; les jeunes s'orientent mieux dans le monde actuel et abordent ainsi des problèmes, pertinentes pour tous les étudiants, immigrés et non-immigrés.*

### **Denisa Labischová**

#### **Czech History in the Historical Consciousness of Students and History Teachers — Empirical Research**

*Professional didactic research in the field of history has been developed in the Czech Republic since the mid-1990s, mainly at the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ostrava. This study deals with the concept of empirical research on historical consciousness and the current state of teaching the subject history in the Czech Republic, implemented in 2011. Mixed qualitative and quantitative research methods have been used (focus groups, questionnaire surveys, in-depth interviews) in a group of 2,524 respondents (students of primary schools, secondary vocational schools, secondary grammar schools, history education students and history teachers themselves) from nine regions in the Czech Republic. The paper describes theoretical and methodological bases, and presents partial results of the research considering selected aspects as the relationship of students and teachers towards the subject history or specifically towards the history of the Czech lands.*

*Die geschichtsdidaktische empirische Forschung hat sich in der Tschechischen Republik bereits seit Mitte der 90er Jahre vor allem am Lehrstuhl für Geschichte der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Ostrava entwickelt. Diese Studie behandelt die Konzeption der im Jahr 2011 realisierten empirischen Forschung zum Geschichtsbewusstsein und zu Fragen der zeitgemäßen Gestaltung des Geschichtsunterrichts. Durchgeführt wurde eine Untersuchung, die qualitative und quantitative Methoden kombiniert hat (focus groups, Fragebogenuntersuchung, in-depth interviews) und mit einer Gruppe von 2524 Befragten (Grundschüler, Schüler der Fachoberschulen, der Gymnasien, Studenten des Lehrfaches Geschichte und Geschichtslehrer) aus neun Regionen der Tschechischen Republik durchgeführt wurde. Im Beitrag werden theoretische und methodologische Schwerpunkte erklärt und Teilergebnisse der Forschung anhand ausgewählter Gesichtspunkte wie etwa der Beziehung der Schüler, Studenten und Lehrer zum Fach Geschichte und speziell zur tschechischen Geschichte präsentiert.*

*La chaire d'histoire de la Faculté des lettres à l'Université' Ostrava a commencé dans les années quatre-vingt dix du siècle précédent à développer les recherches de la didactique d'histoire. L'étude proposée ci-dessus présente la conception de la recherche empirique de la conscience historique et l'état actuel d'assimilation d'enseignement d'histoire en 2011. On a réalisé la recherche hybride d'exploration qualitative et quantitative (des groupes assorties, des enquêtes par questionnaires, des entretiens profonds). Nous présentons l'échantillon des 2524 sondés de neuf régions de la République Tchèque (les élèves des écoles primaires, des collèges et des lycées et des écoles d'apprentissage, ainsi que les étudiants et les instituteurs d'histoire). La contribution présentée explique nos points de vue théorétiques et méthodologiques et en même temps elle représente les résultats partiels de la recherche des relations entre les élèves, les étudiants et les enseignants et l'histoire comme sujet et l'histoire de la Nation tchèque en particulier.*

### **Jan Löfström**

#### **The Finnish High School Students Speak on Historical Reparations: Notion of a Historical Consciousness Study**

*History is filled up with acts of injustice which have often been left in the margins of its representations because they were estimated as embarrassing to the image and the self-understanding of the culpable communities. It is important, however, that the citizens can address their countries' painful pasts constructively and reflexively. Also school history education can work on this goal. This article presents an account of an interview-based study of fifty-three Finnish high school students which explored how the students conceive the notion and possibility of historical reparations. It tries to identify the 'weak' points in their historical consciousness and offers suggestions how history teaching could make a more positive contribution considering those points.*

*Die Vergangenheit ist reich an ungerechten Handlungen, die oft an den Rand der Wahrnehmung von Vergangenheit gedrängt werden, weil sie als peinlich für das Bild und das Selbstverständnis der schuldigen Gruppen und Gemeinwesen angesehen werden. Es ist aber*

wichtig, dass Bürger sich auch mit schwierigen Phasen in der Geschichte ihrer Länder konstruktiv und reflektiert auseinandersetzen. Der Geschichtsunterricht in der Schule kann zu diesem Ziel beitragen. Dieser Beitrag präsentiert ein Forschungsprojekt, in dem insgesamt 53 finnische Gymnasiasten in Interviews dazu Stellung genommen haben, wie sie historische Wiedergutmachungen als eine Idee und eine Möglichkeit zur Verarbeitung auffassen. Der Beitrag versucht die 'schwachen' Punkte im Geschichtsbewusstsein der interviewten Jugendlichen zu entdecken und er eröffnet Ideen, wie der Geschichtsunterricht einen positiven Beitrag zu dieser Problematik leisten kann.

*Il y a beaucoup d'actes injustes dans l'histoire dont la plupart sont mis aux marges des représentations du passé. Souvent on les regarde embarrassant pour l'image et l'autoportrait des communautés coupables. Il est donc important que les citoyens puissent traiter le passé douloureux de leur pays à la façon constructive et réflexive. L'histoire enseignée à l'école peut aussi contribuer à ce but. Cet article présente une recherche pendant laquelle 53 lycéens finlandais étaient interviewés sur leur conception des réparations, l'idée et la possibilité des réparations historiques. Il cherche à identifier les points 'faibles' dans la connaissance historique des interviewés, et il propose comment l'enseignement en histoire pourrait faire une contribution positive à l'égard de ces points.*

### Zonghjie Meng

#### The World War II in History Didactics of Chinese Middle Schools in Our New Century — Characteristics and Reflections

*The WW II as one important topic in the Chinese history didactic showed some new characteristics since the uprising of the new century, especially in the middle schools. On one hand, the narratives of the WW II have changed from the traditional framework and identity structure to a united and global model. On the other hand, the aims of teaching the topic WW II have moved in the meanwhile gradually but strikingly from an ideologies-centered dimension to more reflective dimensions. However, the progress could still face several unresolved problems, such as negligence of some intellectual developments of the last 20 years, simplicity of methods in teaching the WW II, or a limited global perspective on the common memory of the WW II.*

*Der Zweite Weltkrieg als ein wichtiges Thema in der chinesischen Geschichtsdidaktik zeigt seit dem Beginn des neuen Jahrhunderts einige neue Facetten, besonders in den Mittelschulen. Die Narrative zum Zweiten Weltkrieg haben sich dabei von traditionellen Vorstellungen gelöst und befinden sich in der Umwandlung hin zu einem gemeinsamen globalen Modell. Außerdem wird das Thema bezogen auf den Geschichtsunterricht allmählich aber trotzdem auffallend von seiner ideologischen Zentrierung befreit und zunehmend stärker reflektiert. Doch der positiven Entwicklung stehen immer noch viele ungelöste Probleme gegenüber, wie z.B. die Vernachlässigung von Forschungsergebnissen der letzten zwanzig Jahre, die zu stark vereinfachte Nutzung didaktischer Methoden im Unterricht oder die begrenzte globale Perspektive bezüglich der gemeinsamen Erinnerung an den Zweiten Weltkrieg.*

*La Deuxième Guerre mondiale comme un objet important dans la didactique de l'histoire chinoise produisait quelques caractéristiques nouvelles depuis ce nouveau siècle, en particulier dans les écoles secondaires. D'un côté, les récits sur la Seconde Guerre mondiale ont été changés d'un cadre traditionnel et de la structure d'identité à un modèle uni et global. D'un autre, l'objectif d'enseigner la Seconde Guerre mondiale a, pendant ce temps, évolué progressivement, mais saisissante d'une dimension centrée sur les idéologies aux dimensions plus réfléchissantes. Néanmoins, un tel progrès pourrait encore s'affronter aux plusieurs problèmes non résolus, tels que la négligence de certains développements intellectuels, depuis vingt 20 ans, la simplicité des méthodes d'enseignement de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, et la limitation d'un point de vue global sur la mémoire commune de la Seconde Guerre mondiale.*

### **Daniel V. Moser-Lécho**

#### **From Different Theories of History to Textbook Presentations: Themes of Imperialism**

*This contribution intends to determine how theories of history can impact the criteria for selecting and presenting subjects and problems of history in order to prepare them in schoolbooks and history classes. To illustrate the mentioned topic, we chose the subject 'new imperialism', dealing with the period of time between 1870 and 1914. I foreground questions about the causes of imperialism. In the first part, I give insight to the developments of theories of imperialism deriving from the last decades and present the most important scientific consensus and dissents in this area. In the second part, I discuss how these imperialistic theories are presented in Swiss history textbooks for secondary school level 1 and how history textbooks display these theories especially with regard to the fact that several scientific surveys have proven that schoolbooks remain important guiding instruments for classes. In the third part, I present some conclusions on the relation between scientific history theories and schoolbook presentations.*

*Der Artikel versucht zu analysieren, inwiefern verschiedene fachhistorische Forschungsmeinungen und -theorien Auswirkungen auf die Kriterien haben, wie historische Themen und Probleme in Schulbüchern und im Geschichtsunterricht präsentiert werden. Zur Illustration wurde das Thema des Hochimperialismus in der Zeit zwischen 1870 und 1914 ausgewählt. Im Vordergrund standen dabei Fragen nach den Ursachen des Imperialismus. Der erste Teil des Beitrags geht auf Entwicklungen der Imperialismus-Theorien in den letzten Jahrzehnten ein und stellt die wichtigsten wissenschaftlichen Diskurse und Forschungsmeinungen dazu dar. In einem zweiten Teil wird aufgezeigt, inwiefern Schweizer Schulgeschichtsbücher für die Sekundarstufe I die Diskussionen zu den Imperialismus-Theorien aufnehmen und ob sie diese auch explizit darstellen. Dies geschieht im Hinblick darauf, dass nach verschiedenen wissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen Schulbücher nach wie vor wichtige Steuerungsinstrumente für den Unterricht sind. In einem dritten Teil werden schließlich Schlussfolgerungen zur Beziehung zwischen wissenschaftlichen Geschichtstheorien und ihrer Darstellung im Schulbuch gezogen.*

*Dans cet article je pose la question si des théories de l'histoire peuvent nous donner des critères pour la sélection des thèmes des manuels d'histoire et pour l'enseignement dans les classes. J'ai choisi l'époque de l'impérialisme classique (1870 –1914). Pour nous, les questions concernant les causes de l'impérialisme sont de première importance. Dans une première partie nous parlons du développement des théories sur l'impérialisme pendant les dernières décennies, des consensus et des divergences de vue dans le débat scientifique. Dans la seconde partie nous démontrons comment des manuels suisses d'histoire pour le secondaire suivent les discussions scientifiques sur l'impérialisme et de quelle manière ils parlent des théories de l'impérialisme. Après des recherches récentes les manuels gardent une grande importance pour l'enseignement de l'histoire dans les classes. Dans la troisième partie nous avons formulé quelques conclusions concernant les relations entre les théories de l'histoire et l'enseignement.*

### **Karel Van Nieuwenhuysse**

#### **'Remembrance Education' and the Historization of Holocaust Memories in History Education**

*'Remembrance education' wants pupils to 'learn from historic and present-day examples of intolerance, racism and xenophobia' (e.g. through holocaust education), and deals with 'memory' in a way, which is very relevant to present times: An ongoing project, developing research seminars for final-year secondary school pupils, is explicitly conceived as a different, more specifically historical way of dealing with memories: To stimulate the pupils' critical thinking abilities in consideration of the public holocaust memories as a historical, evolving phenomenon. The central research question is whether this approach would leave some marks in pupils' beliefs. The results show that pupils associate what they have learnt in the seminars with the central aims of remembrance education (which is much more in line with popular, unschooled beliefs about the nature of past 'dark events' and the meaning of history) rather than with those of the discipline, although a close examination shows, however, that pupils' beliefs on the matter are often composite and sometimes even contradictory.*

*Didaktische Konzepte zur Förderung der Erinnerung und des Gedenkens (remembrance education) wollen erreichen, dass Schüler sich 'anhand von historischen und heutigen Beispielen von Intoleranz, Rassismus und Fremdenfeindlichkeit weiterbilden' (z. B. durch Aufklärung über den Holocaust). Sie befassen sich mit dem 'Gedenken' in einer gegenwartsorientierten Weise: In einem laufenden Projekt werden Forschungsseminare für Abschlussklassen der Sekundarstufe entwickelt, die im Gegensatz dazu ausdrücklich eine andere Art des Umgangs mit der Erinnerung erproben: Mit einem spezifisch historischen Zugang sollen Schüler zu einem kritischen Denken im Hinblick auf die Holocaust-Erinnerungskultur angeleitet werden und diese dabei als historisch gewachsen und sich verändernd wahrnehmen. Die zentrale Fragestellung der durchgeführten Untersuchung war, ob dieser neue Ansatz Veränderungen im Hinblick auf die Überzeugungen der Schüler hinterlassen hat. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass Schüler Inhalte, die sie in den Seminaren erlernt haben, eher mit den zentralen Zielen der 'remembrance education' (dies steht im Einklang mit populären, ungeschulten Überzeugungen*

zur Geschichte als „dunkler Vergangenheit“) und weniger mit den Lehrinhalten der Fachwissenschaft verbinden. Eine genaue Analyse der gewonnenen Untersuchungsergebnisse machte jedoch auch deutlich, dass die Schüler oft verschiedene Positionen mischten oder sogar gleichzeitig widersprüchliche Überzeugungen vertraten.

*L'éducation commémorative veut que les élèves 'tirent la leçon d'exemples historiques et actuels de l'intolérance, du racisme et de la xénophobie' (par exemple l'éducation sur l'Holocauste), et traite la 'mémoire' d'une manière très axée sur le présent. Un projet en cours, développant des séminaires de recherche pour des élèves de la dernière année de l'enseignement secondaire, est explicitement conçu de façon différente, plus spécifiquement historique, pour le traitement des mémoires: pour stimuler les élèves à analyser de façon critique les mémoires publiques sur l'Holocauste comme phénomène historique et évolutif. La question de recherche centrale est de savoir si cette approche marquerait les croyances des élèves. Les résultats montrent que les élèves associent ce qu'ils ont appris dans les séminaires aux objectifs centraux de l'éducation commémorative (ce qui est beaucoup plus en ligne avec des croyances populaires, non scolarisées sur la nature des 'événements sombres' du passé et le sens de l'histoire), plutôt qu'à ceux de la discipline, bien qu'un examen attentif montre que les croyances des élèves à ce sujet sont souvent composites et parfois quelque peu contradictoires.*

### **Nadine Ritzer**

Between 'National Defense' and 'Peacekeeping' – History Education in Cold War Switzerland

*Officially, Switzerland was one of the neutral states in the Cold War. In fact, however, economically as well as ideologically, Switzerland was a part of the West. This was accompanied by a widespread fear of Communism, which consequently had impacts on Swiss schools. This article focuses on the question, how schools became the institutions from which a so called launch for a 'National Spiritual Defense' could have emerged. To master the challenges of the present, the goal of teaching history in a 'scientifically correct' manner receded in importance. Other 'functions' were discussed – three of them, found throughout the discourses in teachers' journals and curricula are presented in this article: The defense function, the promotion of peace and the strengthening of democracy.*

*Im Kalten Krieg gehörte die Schweiz offiziell zu den neutralen Staaten. Faktisch war sie indes, sowohl ökonomisch als auch ideologisch, in den 'Westen' integriert. Dies führte zu einer diffusen Angst vor dem Kommunismus in der Bevölkerung, die auch Auswirkungen auf den Schulunterricht hatte. Dieser Artikel stellt die Frage, wie Schulen generell und der Geschichtsunterricht im Speziellen in den Dienst der 'geistigen Landesverteidigung' gestellt werden konnten. Um die Herausforderungen der Zeit zu meistern, trat das Ziel, Geschichte 'wissenschaftlich korrekt' zu vermitteln, in den Hintergrund. Andere Funktionen des Geschichtsunterrichts wurden in Lehrerzeitschriften und Lehrplänen als wichtiger erachtet –*

*drei werden in diesem Artikel präsentiert: Die Stärkung der Abwehrfunktion, die Friedensförderung und die Förderung der Demokratie.*

*Durant la guerre froide, la Suisse faisait officiellement partie des pays neutres. Dans les faits, la Suisse était d'un point de vue économique et idéologique un membre du bloc de l'Ouest. Cette situation générait un climat de peur vis-à-vis du bloc communiste, tant au sein de la population que dans les écoles helvétiques. Cet article s'interroge sur la manière dont la 'défense spirituelle du pays' s'immisce dans l'enseignement en général et dans l'enseignement de l'histoire en particulier. Dans ces circonstances, l'accent est davantage mis sur un contenu historique 'instrumentalisé' que sur un contenu véridique et scientifique. Les périodiques pédagogiques tout comme les plans d'études témoignent de cette nouvelle orientation, dont nous retiendrons ici trois fonctions: le renforcement de la défense nationale, la promotion de la paix et l'exigence de démocratie.*

### **Manfred Seidenfuß, Markus Daumüller**

#### **The Teacher: A Decisive Variable for Innovations in Teaching History**

*The history teacher has to interpret and define his or her actions between the conflicting priorities of highly diverse requirements. This article is focused on role- and teaching concepts of history teachers which develop over time during their vocational practice. The job biographical prospect of teachers are a fundamental issue in dealing with social and historical cultural demands: What do you think is the task of history lessons? Which part plays the analysis of historical questions for the acquisition of competence according to your mind? Do the expectations fulfill the standards of a modern history class, which gains its legitimation out of current issues, which often arise out of contradictory expectations, that a teacher is supposed to handle in classroom? Out of an on-going research work, vital key categories for the construction of self-concepts are going to be developed by qualified teachers.*

*Der Geschichtslehrer muss sein Handeln im Spannungsfeld unterschiedlichster Ansprüche interpretieren und definieren. In diesem Beitrag interessieren Rollen- und Lehrkonzepte von Geschichtslehrkräften, die sich im Laufe der beruflichen Tätigkeit entwickeln. Die berufsbiographische Perspektive der Lehrkräfte spielt hier eine grundsätzliche und wesentliche Rolle im Umgang mit gesellschaftlichen und geschichtskulturellen Anforderungen: Was halten sie für die Aufgabe von Geschichtsunterricht? Welche Rolle spielt ihrer Meinung nach die Auseinandersetzung mit historischen Fragestellungen für den Erwerb von Kompetenzen? Kommen die Erwartungen an einen modernen Geschichtsunterricht, der seine Legitimation aus aktuellen Themen, gegenwärtigen Problemen und Kontroversen schöpft, angesichts der vielfältigen und oft widersprüchlichen Erwartungen, die an die Lehrkräfte gestellt werden, im Klassenzimmer überhaupt an? Aus einer laufenden Forschungsarbeit werden grundlegende Schlüsselkategorien für die Konstruktion von Selbstkonzepten von Lehrkräften entwickelt.*

*Le professeur d'histoire doit définir et interpréter ses actions en étant soumis à des efforts et prétentions divers. Dans cet article on s'intéresse aux concepts des rôles et de l'enseignement de professeurs d'histoire qui évoluent au cours de leur activité professionnelle. Ici, l'horizon professionnel et biographique des enseignants joue un rôle fondamental et essentiel en ce qui concerne leur approche aux exigences mondaines et historico-culturelles. Qu'est-ce qu'ils prennent pour la tâche de l'enseignement de l'histoire? Quel rôle joue selon eux la réflexion sur des thèses historiques pour l'acquisition de compétences? Est-ce qu'ils réussissent à transmettre aux élèves les prétentions à l'égard d'un enseignement moderne de l'histoire qui puise sa légitimation dans des sujets actuels, dans des problèmes et controverses contemporains et qui doit faire face aux multiples attentes souvent contradictoires qu'on exige des enseignants. A partir d'un travail de recherche en cours on développe des catégories-clef de base qui permettent d'analyser les concepts que les enseignants peuvent avoir d'eux-mêmes.*

### **Andreas Wagner**

#### **Liviu Rebreanu's Novel 'The Forest of the Hanged' and its Reception in Romanian History Schoolbooks**

*The article analyses the novel 'The Forest of the Hanged', published in 1922 by the Romanian writer Liviu Rebreanu. The novel broaches the issue of the national division of the Romanian people before 1918 and was written to legitimize the national unity, which was a result of the First World War. The novel is also made a subject in current Romanian history schoolbooks. The essay tries to answer the question how the legitimacy of Romania's national unity which is given in the novel is mediated to Romanian pupils today.*

*Der Artikel analysiert den 1922 erschienenen Roman 'Der Wald der Gehängten' des rumänischen Schriftstellers Liviu Rebreanu. Dieser thematisiert die nationale Spaltung des rumänischen Volkes vor 1918 und wurde verfasst, um die nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg Wirklichkeit gewordene Einheit literarisch zu legitimieren. Der Roman wird auch in aktuellen rumänischen Geschichtsbüchern thematisiert. Der Aufsatz versucht eine Antwort auf die Frage zu geben, inwiefern die im Roman gegebene Legitimation der nationalen Einheit heute an rumänische Schüler weitergegeben wird.*

*L'article suivant analyse le roman 'La forêt des pendues' de l'écrivain roumain Liviu Rebreanu, publié en 1922. Le roman prend la division nationale du peuple roumain avant 1918 pour sujet. Il était écrit pour justifier l'unité de la Roumanie après la Première Guerre mondiale. Ce roman est un thème de discussion en livres scolaires d'histoire d'actualité. L'essai veut répondre à la question jusqu'à quel point la légitimation de l'unité de la Roumanie est transmise aux élèves roumains aujourd'hui.*



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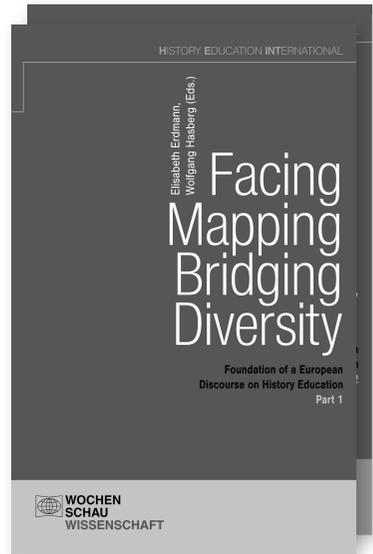
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