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CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY
AND ITS IMPLICATIONS
FOR HISTORY EDUCATION

KULTURELLE UND RELIGIÖSE VIELFALT
UND IHRE AUSWIRKUNGEN
AUF DEN GESCHICHTSUNTERRICHT

LA DIVERSITÉ CULTURELLE
ET RELIGIEUSE ET SES IMPLICATIONS
POUR L'ENSEIGNEMENT DE L'HISTOIRE



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PREFACE

The 2012 conference of the International Society for History Didactics in Kazan was organized in cooperation with Centre of History and Theory of National Education, Institute of History under the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences thanks to the efforts of Marat Gibatdinov. Most articles in this volume are based on the papers presented there. They analyze different aspects of cultural and religious diversity and its impact on history education – one of the core topics in contemporary history didactics, but also in the public debate. Other articles (published in the ‘Varia’ section), originate from the Lifelong Learning Programme of the European Union ‘EHISTO – European history crossroads as pathways to intercultural and media education’.

‘Yearbook – Jahrbuch – Annales’ presents current research, and the results of projects related to history didactics. As Susanne Popp, the previous editor of the journal, was elected president of the ISHD in 2011, Joanna Wojdon (from the University of Wroclaw, Poland) took the position of the managing editor. Terry Haydn (University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK) became a language editor. It makes the journal even more international than before. All the articles accepted for publication underwent rigorous double-blind peer-review process. This is the result of our continuous desire to strengthen the academic position of ‘Yearbook – Jahrbuch – Annales’, facilitate its recognition as a scholarly journal in the countries of our members (and eventually also Europe- and worldwide) and to open it for readers and contributors from outside of our Society. Different communication channels have been used to promote the call for contributions, including the H-Net platform and the new website of the International Society for History Didactics: www.ishd.co

JW



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HISTORIQUE



PERSPECTIVES ON ‘OTHER CULTURES’ IN FINNISH HISTORY CURRICULA, 1970–2004

Arja Virta

The purpose of this article is to investigate the elements of international education in Finnish comprehensive and upper secondary school curricula, as they are expressed in the common goals for the school, and particularly in the subject-specific history curricula. There are differences between the common goals and principles, and those that are subject-specific to history, because the ideas of international education are more emphasized in the general part of the curriculum than in the subject-specific syllabi, with the exception of the early curriculum from 1970. Furthermore, in spite of growing internationalism and increasing mobility in the world, intercultural aspects have not been allotted any greater share in the history curriculum.

The curriculum defines the objectives of teaching and the core contents, and therefore it is a key to history education in schools. It is very clear that official curricula do not necessarily resemble very much the actual teaching in the classrooms, let alone the outcome of student learning. Although the formal written curricula are the basis of teaching in schools, teachers have their autonomy and can implement them quite autonomously. Therefore, curriculum analysis can give only a limited view of history education. However, this view is significant, because school curricula are always children of their time – reflecting the cultural and ideological currents of society. Even the choice of contents can indicate transformations in educational thinking.

One of the key questions in debates about history education has in many countries been the balance between international components, or world history, and ethnocentrism (cf. eg. LaSpina, 2003; Nordgren, 2006; Popp, 2006; Stearns, 2006). For history education, the key question is ‘whose history’ should be taught, and whose values underlie the curriculum. Questions could be also formulated as ‘who are we’, and ‘who are the others’ that are dealt with in history education.

This article will give a short summary of an analysis based on Finnish curricula from the 1970s up to 2004, about how international components and “other cultures” have been dealt with. The subject-

specific curricula are included in the national curricula. The national curricula, then, consist of overall goals and principles, which can be seen as a kind of umbrella for the whole school and each school subject. It can be expected that there is a balance between the overall goals and the subject-specific components. Therefore, this is one line of analysis. The other focus concerns the way the subject-specific goals and principles of national history curricula are formulated, and how they pay attention to cultures outside Europe and Western culture, and to cultural diversity in general.

1. Concepts Related to Teaching about Other Cultures

Most nation-states, Finland included, have experienced major changes during the past few decades due to increasing mobility and cultural, linguistic and religious diversity, and due to increasing internationalism and globalization. Therefore, looking at 'other cultures' may lead our thoughts both to cultural diversity within one society, or nation-state, and to the cultures outside of the borders.

There is a variety of concepts, partly overlapping and close to each other, relating to teaching about 'other cultures': international education, education for international understanding, peace education, multicultural education, intercultural education, human rights education, and more recently global education. Some of these concepts are focusing on creating ground for international or global responsibility and understanding; others emphasize dialogue and interaction on a more interpersonal level (Matilainen, 2011: 35-39).

The origins of these educational trends are partly different. On the one hand, trends such as international education, peace education and human rights education are based on a long tradition. After the Second World War, the United Nations and its sub-organizations, particularly UNESCO, have in their work supported education and culture as a basis of international security, peace and co-operation. These pursuits have been justified by significant documents, above all The United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), and the UNESCO recommendation concerning education for international understanding, co-operation, peace, and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedom (1974) (Hietala, 1983: 9-20; Allahwerdi, 2001: 25-9; Matilainen, 2011: 30-4). The Council of Europe has also been influential in the same field. Most recent of its recommendations is the one dealing with intercultural

dialogue and the image of the other in history teaching. The document gives a multi-faceted description of goals in this area, referring to identity, skills and communication, but also pointing out the importance of 'positioning national culture and history in the European context and positioning European culture in the world perspective' (Council of Europe, 2011).

On the other hand, multicultural education is an educational reform movement aiming at improving education and in general the position of migrants and other minorities in ethnically diverse societies by creating for all students, irrespective of ethnic or cultural background, or class, equal opportunities for education. It is not only directed to minority students, but all students need to be able to function effectively in a pluralistic society (Banks, 2004: 3; Nieto & Bode, 2008: 44-5). Intercultural education is focusing on interchange and dialogue between cultures.

Although the scope of the concepts is different, they all have basically similar civic and moral goals: promoting human rights, democracy, social justice, intercultural understanding and dialogue. In Finland, education for peace or international education, as well as the peace movement, were criticized especially up to the early 1970s for being politically colored leftist movements. They became more widely accepted after the European Security Conference 1975, and after the UNESCO recommendation 1974 (Allahwerdi, 2001: 25).

The Finnish National Board of Education, the agency responsible for national curricula and implementation of educational legislation has supported international/global education in schools for decades. Besides the curricula, it has published guidebooks and other material to this purpose.

For history education, the importance of all these closely related concepts – international, global, intercultural, multicultural or human rights education – is based on the nature of the subject. History teaching deals with nations and cultures, human rights, war and peace. It can contribute to the way that students construct their identities. A purely intercultural approach to research on history education would naturally imply following classroom events and communication in culturally diverse contexts. However, the official curriculum is the framework for actual teaching, and thus it is crucial how it questions "whose history" is included and whose neglected.

2. Highlights of History Curricula and Reforms, 1970–2004

A general observation about the history of the Finnish history curriculum in the long run is that it has not been limited to national history. Already the textbooks of the old grammar schools included plenty of general history, mainly limited to European countries. However, in a young independent republic, national history and the creation of the great national narrative gained more importance than before (Castrén, Lappalainen & Nöjd, 1982: 25-30; Castrén, 1992: 34-7; Arola, 2002: 15-9). In the 1960s and 1970s, the radical student movement criticized traditional history teaching and textbooks for their focus on national and Western history. Interestingly, the curriculum for grammar schools had already been reformed in 1963, before the peak of this critical campaign, and more emphasis was laid on current history, and also on the history of other continents (Castrén, 1992: 42-3; Arola, 2002: 20-2). Furthermore, a certain caution has been typical to Finnish history education, and very clearly to textbooks during the Cold War because of the proximity of the Soviet Union (Holmen, 2006), but this tendency is not analyzed here.

A radical educational reform in the Finnish educational system was implemented in the 1970s, when the old parallel school structure (grammar school – public school) was replaced by the comprehensive school, which now is called basic education (grades 1-9), and the whole age-group would achieve same level of education. During the past few decades the core curricula have been revised and rewritten approximately every ten years, i.e. 1970, 1985, 1994 and 2004 (NCCS, 1970; NCCS, 1985; NCCS, 1994; NCBE, 2004).

The upper secondary school followed the old grammar school curricula of the year 1963 up to the 1980s. A new curriculum was implemented in 1981, and finalized in 1985. The next ones were published in 1994 and 2003 (NCUS, 1985; NCUS, 1994; NCUS, 2003).

School curricula were from 1994 onwards only frameworks – National Core Curricula, and more detailed curricula have been prepared on local level. Next curriculum reforms are expected to be finalized in 2014 for the comprehensive school, and soon after that for the upper secondary school.

3. Comprehensive School Curricula, 1970–2004

The content structure of the history curriculum for the comprehensive school has remained fairly unchanged after the 1970s on the level of main topics and on principles of how the content is divided between grades. Grades 5 and 6 have dealt with history up to the early 19th century, and grades 7 and 8 have focussed on more recent history (Virta & Nikander, 2011: 261-4). However, there have been interesting changes as to goals, key principles and the presentation of the history of other cultures.

Since the 1970s all curricula for the comprehensive school have in some form paid attention to the ideas of international education. It is not taught as a separate subject, but as an interdisciplinary theme running through various subjects, and in the overall goals, overarching all education and subject-specific parts of the curriculum text.

3.1 *Elements of International Education in the Common Parts of Curricula*

International education was not mentioned as a term in the first curriculum for comprehensive school, but the UN declaration of Human Rights is mentioned in the chapter dealing with the ethical basis of the curriculum. The overall goals of the curriculum emphasized the development of the students' personality as the manner of making, in the long run, society more human and democratic. Furthermore, the goals included responsibility for the family, other people, and the world (NCCS I, 1970: 38).

However, simultaneously, work was in process for intensifying international education. The National Board of Education published a guidebook for this work in 1972, and the next curriculum (1985) recognized international education more explicitly. A specific chapter was devoted to international cooperation and peace. This is defined as a key element in ethical education in schools, and grounded in UNESCO recommendations concerning education for international understanding. Its key elements are understood as human rights, international understanding, peace, and peaceful conflict resolution.

However, the general curriculum text of 1985 also underlines national identity with clearly apologetic undertones: *'By developing the national culture and abilities relevant for national values we aim at nurturing and strengthening the national identity. The purpose of education in schools is to guide the student to be aware that s/he is as an individual part of the nation, and the*

members of the nation are united by a common cultural tradition and an independent native country as place to live in. – Students should understand that nurturing the national culture does not contradict with international cooperation and the global world view. Appreciating the national culture is a requirement for internationalism. The best contribution to international cooperation can be given by such young people who have a sound and harmonious self conception, based on national identity’ (NCCS, 1985: 12-3).

The overall goals of the Core Curriculum for comprehensive school of 1994 pay much attention to the common values of the school. The curriculum starts by referring to powerful international and national changes in societies, and in political and economic systems. Internationalism and mobility are seen as bringing new elements to the cultural and value basis, and therefore requiring revision of previous conceptions. The curriculum recognizes the significance of national cultural tradition and as well as that of the multicultural approach and the requirement of clarification of identity (NCCS, 1994: 8-9). One of the common cross-curricular topics is international education, which pays attention to the national Finnish culture but also to the consequences of growing diversity in society (NCBE, 1994: 32-3).

The most recent Core Curriculum (2004) underlines cultural identity and intercultural education in the general section. It states that the main values underlying education are human rights, equality, democracy, preservation of environmental viability, and endorsement of multiculturalism. The term ‘national identity’ is not used, but instead other terms such as ‘cultural identity’ and ‘each pupil’s own identity’. Especially as to pupils with migrant background, the instruction should support their growth into ‘active and balanced membership of both the Finnish linguistic and cultural community and the pupil’s own linguistic and cultural community’ (NCBE, 2004: 14, 34). This corresponds with the principles of the official Finnish integration policy as regards immigrants. Furthermore, the chapter regarding pupils with migrant background states that instruction should utilize the knowledge that the pupils or their parents have of their original culture, environment and language.

Several cross-curricular themes are included in the Core Curriculum of 2004. One of them is ‘Cultural Identity and Internationalism’. The goal is there to ‘help the pupil to understand the essence of the Finnish and European cultural identities, discover

his or her own cultural identity, and develop capabilities for cross-cultural interaction and internationalism' (NCBE, 2004: 38-9).

A clear line can be observed: how the educational principles of international education have become more explicit in the overall objectives in the curriculum for comprehensive school. This does not as such correspond with the subject-specific history curriculum.

3.2 'Other Cultures' in History Curricula, 1970–2004

The subject-specific history section in the curriculum for the comprehensive school of 1970 had almost solely a cognitive focus in its objectives, thus contradicting the educational ideas of the general part of the curriculum, which emphasized the growth of student's personality.

As with the previous grammar school curriculum of 1963, the history syllabus had a fairly strong focus on more recent history, and also paid special attention to cultures outside of Europe. Actually, this curriculum put more emphasis on 'the other cultures' than the later ones. In Grade 6, there was a large unit dealing with the history of Africa, pre-Columbian cultures in America, China, and Islam. Grade 7 dealt with the era of imperialism, and grade 8 with decolonization and the problems of the Third World. This curriculum included a very clear and detailed description of contents, and textbooks also followed these guidelines carefully, due to the control of textbooks. This emphasis is interesting, keeping in mind that international education is not explicated in the general curriculum.

The curricular principles behind the international approach were fairly ambitious and idealistic, as is indicated in the following: *'Due to the growing importance of global aspects during the recent decades, these broad prospects have to be dealt with also in history education in schools. Therefore, we have to provide more time for becoming familiar with the essential features of societal and cultural developments in other continents. Therefore, to be able to get rid of Eurocentric approach, at least to some degree, it seems to be best to deal with topics related to the early history of Asia, Africa, America and Australia without binding them to European activities directed to the other continents'* (NCSE, 1970 II: 216).

Similar ideas were expressed also in the teacher education textbook on history and social studies didactics (Castrén et al., 1982: 205).

The next curriculum (1985) changed the focus very clearly, although the overall structure of content remained unchanged. The contents of the 1970 curricula had been experienced as too heavy, theoretical and ambitious – and after the first ten years the history syllabus had to be made easier and some topics were omitted. As time should also be given to local history and everyday history, the content related to ‘other cultures’ was decreased, and more attention was paid to local questions. The presentation of other cultures in Grade 6 was limited to some colorful examples, and Latin American history was dropped from the contents of Grade 7.

Many of the subject specific goals of history and social science refer to understanding other cultures, but on a very general level, for instance like this: ‘becoming acquainted with people from various times and from different societies’.

In the next curriculum (NCCS) 1994, the subject-specific history syllabus is very short, including only goals and main principles of content selection. Objectives of history education included among other things:

- becoming acquainted with the cultural heritage of one’s own native country and home region, in order to enhance one’s national identity,
- becoming acquainted with the significant historical events and epochs of the world, especially Finland’s neighboring areas and other parts of Europe

Otherwise, the goals also pointed out the skills needed in society, and the skills of dealing with information. Attention was also paid to socio-ethic values such as social responsibility, appreciation for one’s own nation and home region, respect for work and human rights, international understanding and peace. The history course should deal with general and Finnish history and local history – political, economic and cultural history in balance. In general history, the main emphasis was laid on European history, especially that of neighbouring countries (NCCS, 1994).

As to the history syllabus in the most recent curriculum (NCBE, 2004), the goals are focused on understanding history, and the nature of historical knowledge, historical thinking and skills to work with historical information. The goals do not anymore include the concept national identity, instead cultural identity and students’ own identity, in accordance with the general part of the curriculum. Although the

fostering of national identity is not mentioned among the aims, national history is given approximately the same emphasis in contents as before.

As to grades 5-6, the contents deal mainly with Finnish, European and Western history. Five optional themes are included in the curriculum, one of which must be chosen in 5-6 grade. One of these deals with the history of one culture outside of Europe. Especially the history of grades 7 and 8 (when students are 13-15 years old) concentrates on political and partly social and economic history, not leaving much scope for cultural history in general. So, there is not space left for foreign cultures. Contexts, in which other continents are mentioned, are imperialism and decolonization. Some recent topics may be more relevant for pupils who have foreign background (migration, Near East, the wars in the Balkans, Africa, and Asian history). In optional themes it is possible to deal in more detail with other cultures.

Intercultural elements which are emphasized in the general part of the Core Curriculum 2004 are not particularly underlined in the subject-specific curriculum of history education in the same document. Practicing history teachers have pointed out the ambivalence of the issue. A small-scale study by the author of this article indicates that teachers (n=8), all working with culturally diverse classes, interpret the present curricula in different ways. Some teachers find that the curricula are flexible and give ample space for including history of their students' home countries, while others maintain that the curriculum is preventing this (Virta, 2009 and 2011; cf. Mellberg, 2004). This suggests that the perspective of history courses need to be widened. A problem when the foreign cultures are dealt with only in optional themes is that they may be neglected totally because the textbooks usually do not include optional parts.

4. Upper Secondary School

In the upper secondary school, the grammar school curriculum was used up to the early 1980s. According to Hietala (1983: 20-1) about 60% of the time in upper secondary history education was spent on other than national history. International history has traditionally mostly dealt with European history, but from the 1960s, also other continents. The grammar school curriculum of 1963 states: 'Primarily we have to get acquainted with the history of our own nation and

Europe, but even have a look at the development of people in other continents, as well as at international cooperation.'

In the new curricula of 1985, an emphasis was laid on students' skills and ability to continue their studies in higher education. As its value basis, the syllabus underlines the UN Declaration on Human Rights. Students should become able to act for equality, mutual international understanding and peace. These are not visible in the contents (NCUS, 1985).

The structure of the history curriculum was transformed so that the contents were divided into seven courses. The first six courses dealt with history and the seventh civics and economy. In principle, this syllabus should have been based on comprehensive school history, and focused on main developments and structures instead of historical events. Upper secondary history starts with the ancient civilizations and ends with post-war history and the Cold War. No specific emphasis is put on cultures outside of Europe. Cultural history and that of other cultures is included mainly as specific themes that should be dealt with in depth (NCUS, 1985: 330-43).

The next curriculum in 1994 made remarkable changes in the organization of upper secondary education in all subjects. The overall structure of the studies was organized into courses instead of previous year-classes.

The general introductory part of the 1994 curriculum (NCUS, 1994) pays attention to increasing diversity and internationalism, mainly in the context of cultural and commercial interaction requiring certain competences. The document also mentions the challenge of clarifying identity, related both to nurturing national heritage and to growing diversity, in the same way as the curriculum for comprehensive school. The upper secondary school curriculum underlines the importance of culture, as a way of living, and uses cultural identity as one of the key concepts. Attention is paid to each individual's own culture, a reminder that the Finnish culture is not monolithic, including indigenous cultures, a Swedish-speaking minority and new migrants. The curriculum designers seem to have been well aware of the changes in the context of the educational system. The upper secondary curricula have also included interdisciplinary topics related to international education, or to cultural identity and internationalism, very similar to those described already in the comprehensive school curriculum.

The syllabuses of all school subjects were organised as obligatory and optional courses. The number of obligatory history courses was limited to four. This structure is also the basis for the present upper secondary school curriculum (NCUS, 2003). The greatest change in 2003 was the separation of history and social studies into two independent subjects.

The compulsory courses (1994 and 2003) are as follows:

- Man, Environment and Culture
- European Man
- International Relations
- Turning Points in Finnish history

All in all, the European emphasis is very clear in the curricula 1994, obviously due to the fact that Finland became a member of the European Union. For comparison, similar trend was not observed in the history curricula of other European countries (van der Leeuw-Roord, 2003: 19). There is also a more clear emphasis on cultural history than in the basic education curriculum.

The subject matter in the course called 'Man, Environment and Culture' is the interaction between man and nature along with the construction of cultural surroundings and the subsequent development from pre-history to the present day. The course 'European Man' deals with the central achievements of European civilisation, from ancient times. The course 'International Relations' reviews the central events of international politics, their backgrounds and a number of changes in them from the end of the 19th century to the present day. Phenomena in international politics are analysed on the basis of the competition in economy, ideology and power politics. This provides the opportunity for global perspectives, as well. In addition to the four compulsory courses, the history curriculum for the upper secondary school comprises two advanced courses with long-term perspectives. One of these courses ('Meeting of the cultures') deals with the characteristics of one or several cultures outside Europe, focusing on the interaction between cultures. This optional course gives opportunity also to in-depth study of cultural anthropological concepts, and theories.

5. Conclusion

The analysis of the Finnish curricula for compulsory and upper secondary school education indicates that there are some contradictions between the overall educational goals and the subject-specific history curricula. The general educational objectives and the idea of international education have not gained similar emphasis in the subject specific history curricula as in the common parts of the same document.

However, close-reading of the subject-specific curriculum documents suggests that in the intellectual and political atmosphere of the 1970s, the history of countries other than Europe gained more attention than before. As the problems related to the so called third world became topical in media and public and academic discussion, this was also reflected in educational debates, and on curriculum design.

Perhaps this emphasis of the curricula did not come true in classrooms, and perhaps teachers only paid lip-service to it. Anyway, the texts related to other continents in the history curricula of primary schools were content-oriented, and the history objectives were mainly cognitive. So this addition of content was not necessarily producing any radical change in the traditional orientation of teaching. After that, the attention turned inwards, to local and micro perspectives at the same time as contents were limited. One factor behind the change may have been the new currents in historical science, such as the rise of the history of mentalities, and growing interest in micro history and everyday life. In the early 1990s, a European turn followed – a transformation that was not observed in the same way in other European history curricula (van der Leeuw-Roord, 2003: 19). Today, Finnish society is far more multicultural, but the history of ‘other cultures’ is not underlined in the same way in subject-specific syllabi as in the 1970s. This can be seen a paradoxical development. However, this is not only a Finnish problem, but also elsewhere history curricula and textbooks have offered only a limited coverage of other cultures (LaSpina, 2003; Nordgren, 2006), and neglected the multiperspectivity of interpretations and approaches.

It is obvious that the curriculum designers have had to make compromises in trying to balance between all the challenges and requirements that were directed towards them. There was an underlying tendency to avoid national overtones – that can be the

reason why national identity has gradually disappeared as a concept from the history curricula. History was no more seen as a pedagogue of the nation, but first as a transmitter of neutral facts, then more and more a trainer of intellectual skills (cf. Nordgren, 2006).

What was emphasized especially in the 1990s and early 2000s, was the challenge of writing the curricula according to the new cognitive-constructivist ideas of learning and instruction, and therefore a more formalistic view of history education became dominant. This has also been an international trend (e.g. van der Leeuw-Roord, 2003: 22). Then, a new challenge was how to again turn to citizenship education, now including the principles of intercultural understanding, due to growing diversity within society and intensifying global relations in the world. This principle could be mentioned in the goals, but the selection of contents is too limited to allow putting it into practice.

Furthermore, there are also challenges in the structuring of the curriculum contents. It is always fairly simple to add new elements to the traditional curriculum and perhaps cut some traditional topics (cf. Banks, 2004). It is far more difficult to change the approach to diverse history, to learn to see history in an intercultural way, or from multiple perspectives. At the onset of the new curriculum reforms in these questions are currently reconsidered.

One of the most recent challenges in the making of the new curriculum is a growing criticism for a subject-based curriculum. Intercultural education, or global education, is to a very great degree an interdisciplinary content-area, and its goals overarch all school education. This implies that teachers are expected to cooperate, and to see it as a common effort, but this way of working is not self-evident in a school culture that is structured on the basis of separate subjects.

On the whole, the intercultural or global/international approach to history education is an open field with a number of new research perspectives, as well as for practical development. One approach is a comparative analysis of school curricula across various countries. Another is how history teachers find their possibilities of implementing intercultural, or international, education, and how it is put to practice in classroom settings.

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THE INTERCULTURAL DIMENSION OF HISTORY TEACHING IN TODAY'S CZECH SECONDARY EDUCATION CURRICULA

Denisa Labischová

This article analyzes the Czech curriculum for secondary education from the perspective of incorporating the intercultural dimension into history teaching. Since 2005 elementary schools, four-year grammar schools, multi-year grammar schools and other secondary schools in the Czech Republic have been gradually implementing the so-called Framework Education Programmes, in accordance with overall curriculum reform. Multicultural education is conceived as a cross-curricular subject which should become part of education across the entire range of subjects. The author cites selected empirical research findings on the multicultural aspects of history education from 2011, as well as the current concept of multicultural education in the history classroom, and formulates recommendations for more effective incorporation of intercultural topics into the curriculum and teaching practice.

1. Principles of Curriculum Reform in the Czech Republic

During the past ten years the Czech system of secondary education has undergone fundamental reform. The necessity of reform came out of the need to strengthen the autonomy of schools in deciding the content of education, and the strategies to be used by the schools in achieving their educational goals. The uniform plans taught before 2005 constrained teachers to a great extent by mandatorily prescribing what to teach to individual classes of elementary and secondary schoolchildren. Criticism was aimed especially at a centralistic concept of secondary education which did not allow sufficient room for innovativeness and creativity, and was aimed mainly at absorbing knowledge, while the development of skills, formation of opinions, and cultivation of values among students was not strongly accented (Bezhlebová, 2007; Kratochvílová, 2006).

Reform consisted especially of creating a two-tier curriculum: at the central (state) level the so-called Framework Education Program was devised for the individual grades; at the level of the schools more

responsibility was given to the teacher, who for the first time became the 'creator' of the school curriculum, and applies the centrally-defined content into the individual school's educational programs.¹

The Framework Education Programs have brought a number of major changes. The foremost were the so-called key competencies; the development of which should be the priority of the entire school education, and which pupils should attain by the end of the given grade (they are not specific to subject). They concern competence in learning, solving problems, communication, and social, personal, and civic competences.

The assortment of individual teaching disciplines is also newly-structured; it departs from the traditional system of subjects and accents integration and interdisciplinary studies in the form of so-called educational areas merging the content of individual teaching subjects. One example is the learning area People and Society, merging together the elementary school subjects of Civics and History, and on the grammar school level Foundations of Civic and Social Studies, History, and Geography. Individual schools are given the space and the opportunity to integrate them partially or completely. Every subject has in its curriculum centrally-designed study material that is not binding, and expected results whose achievement is mandatory.

In the effort to strengthen the formative element (opinions and values) in education, six so-called cross-curricular subjects were incorporated into the framework programs, in reaction to the current educational-learning needs of society, and develop and cultivate the overall personality of the student. The cross-curricular subjects are woven into both primary and secondary education across the range of individual subjects, and their implementation is possible either by dissemination (infusion) into individual subjects, integration in the form of newly-created independent subjects, or in the form of interdisciplinary projects.² One of the cross-curricular projects is Multicultural Education.³

2. Divergence in the Concept of Multicultural Education (Current Trends vs. Curriculum)

The concept of the cross-curricular subject within the framework of the Multicultural Education programs has been much criticized by the current professional community in the Czech Republic (Moree et

al., 2008; Hajska et al., 2008). We will sum up the most fundamental problems that have been brought up in this regard.

2.1 *Lack of Unified Terminology*

In the Czech milieu the terms *multicultural education*, *intercultural education*, and *intercultural learning* are used more or less interchangeably, often as synonyms. Only slowly are foreign trends being applied that prefer the term *intercultural*, which emphasizes the dynamic nature of intercultural relations, mutual contacts, intercultural dialogue, and cultural exchange, as well as the variability of cultural identity; whereas the term *multicultural* is seen statically as various cultures existing 'side by side' (Zerzová, 2012: 14). Education should aim towards dialogue, mutual enrichment, and the management of conflict situations in intercultural contacts; thus the term cross-curricular subject does not correspond with the learning/educational goal.

The term *multicultural* emphasizes the ethnic and national dimension of multiculturalism. On the other hand the term *intercultural* is semantically broader; it emphasizes the principles of equal opportunity within pluralistic democratic society, and encompasses a broad spectrum of diversity. It signifies the coexistence of various socio-cultural groups, whether these be ethnic groups, socioeconomic classes, subcultures, or people differing in gender, age, sexual orientation, or physical or mental handicap (Nikolai, 2008: 24).

Last but not least, it presents a conflict in the use of the terms learning and education, the definition of which is found in the professional pedagogical literature. Although experts lean towards the term *intercultural learning*, the new curriculum works exclusively with the term *multicultural education*.

2.2 *Changes in the Goals and Content of Multicultural (Intercultural) Education*

A much more fundamental problem than terminological inexactitude is the entire concept of the cross-curricular subject Multicultural Education and its epistemological grasp. This appears especially in the divergence between the *cultural-standard* approach in the curriculum and the *transcultural* approach preferred abroad (Flechsigt, 2000). The cross-curricular subject corresponds to the cultural-standard model. Emphasis is placed on otherness, inter-group comparison, group identification, and 'unchanging cultural

standards'; in the concept of culture external symbols and rituals predominate (Moree et al., 2008: 24-6).

The entire document is significant for the predominance of the ethnic theme. Accented among the goals of the cross-cultural subject is mutual learning about one another between members of majority society and the ethnic minorities, and the development of mutual tolerance. Students are to get to know the individual ethnicities and national groups living within the borders of the Czech Republic, and to understand that no ethnicity is superior; to tolerate cultural difference. Among the basic terms that students should know by the end of elementary school (15 years) are *culture, ethnicity, identity, discrimination, xenophobia, racism, nationality, and intolerance*. Emphasis on group concepts is also behind the titles of the individual thematic units: *Cultural Differences, Human Relations, Ethnic Origin, Multiculturalism*, and the *Principle of Social Reconciliation and Solidarity*.⁴

Although the framework education program explicitly mentions the need to eliminate animosity, stereotypes, and prejudice against the 'unknown', according to experts the cultural-standard concept actually leads to the rise of new stereotypes of 'typical' behavior patterns, and to a certain 'secondary skansenization or folklorization' (Morvayová, 2009: 43).

The *transcultural approach* instead tends to accent the individual approach (as opposed to the concept of clearly-defined groups) and the development of the ability to reflect upon changes in a person's cultural identity (Moree et al., 2008: 24-6). The dynamic concept of identity is preferred, in which identity is not given by a person's being born as a member of a certain ethnicity, but develops over the course of a lifetime as one's individual personal experience grows.

Therefore the goal of intercultural education under the transcultural concept is cultivation of the personality towards democratic citizenship that respects social diversity, and a move away from the framework of the national state (limited to the relations between the majority and minorities living within the country's borders) towards the global dimension.

2.3 Cross-curricular Subjects: Intentions vs. Reality

Another pitfall of the new concept of Multicultural Education in the reformed curriculum is the creation of an independent curricula subject, when multiculturalism (interculturalism) is not incorporated in greater detail into the particular school subjects. The forms of its

implementation are completely up to the schools (teaching staff). Research indicates that the multiculturalism issue, like the teaching of other cross-curricular subjects, is often only a formal part of the schools' education program, and little attention is paid to it (Altmanová, J. et al., 2011: 15). The original goal of emphasizing the urgent needs of current social problems by including independent blocks (cross-curricular subjects) into the curriculum throughout the entire school system, is seldom effectively achieved.

Part of the reason is that neither the most commonly-used textbooks for the individual subjects are designed to include cross-curricular subjects, nor do the teachers have the didactic background to make them part of their lessons (for example methodology handbooks, workbooks). What is more, the cross-curricular subjects are a new element in the Czech educational system, and teachers are not sufficiently trained to teach them – except for isolated courses as part of continuing teachers' education, at Czech universities that train teachers there is no undergraduate preparation, for example in the form of interdisciplinary modules.

2.4 Target Competencies – Recommended Outcomes

Although the declared intent of the entire concept of cross-curricular subject is especially to emphasize the formative elements of education (in pursuit of emotional and behavioral goals), Multicultural Education is based to a large extent on the cognitive area. The existing concept does not emphasize critical thought; suitable learning strategies and didactic methods that would lead to the achievement of the goal are not worked out (Habart, Hajska, 2008: 39).

While under the framework education programs individual school subjects are structured as a unit of optional schoolwork and mandatory expected outcomes (skills that students should learn), only the schoolwork is determined for cross-curricular subjects. Teachers at elementary and secondary schools may thus find it difficult to set goals and target skills for the teaching of Multicultural Education.

The need to provide teachers with methodological support leads to the concept of so-called *recommended* (that is, optional) *expected results* for the cross-curricular subjects, which have been developed by teams of experts from the Institute for Educational Research in Prague.⁵ These at least partially take into account the transcultural approach, and reject the purely ethnic concept of multiculturalism

(interculturalism). Instead, they emphasize social diversity as a natural part of democratic society, and identity is conceived of as dynamically changing.

Examples of recommended expected outcomes for elementary schools:⁶

The student:

Can name examples of symbols, rituals, and norms in the family, school, community, and region, and distinguish which ones he identifies more with and which less; in discussion he can justify his opinion;

Can show specific examples of how members of certain social groups may not correspond to common preconceptions about that group (social stereotypes);

Can explain and cite examples of how various differences can become the source of mutual enrichment, and not a factor of division and conflict.

Examples of recommended expected outcomes for grammar school:⁷

The student:

Can explain the concepts of identity, cultural differences, cultural change, stereotypes, prejudice, discrimination, labeling, xenophobia, racism, intolerance, and extremism;

Can give examples of labeling and its occurrence historically and at present (for example ideological propaganda, stereotypes in the media);

Explain on a general level the influence of globalization and migration on society, and in the case of the Czech Republic describe its positive and negative effects;

Can use his or her own example to show the multi-layered nature of identity, and describe the process of possible change in identity on the basis of his or her own experience.

3. Multi(inter)cultural Aspects of the History Teaching Curriculum in the Czech Republic

3.1 Interculturalism in the Concept of History Teaching Within the Framework Education Programs

As we said before, the subject of History in the framework education programs is integrated into the educational area of People and Society along with Citizenship education (in elementary school), and

Civics and Social Studies and Geography (in secondary grammar schools).

This part of the curriculum starts with the so-called descriptive educational area, where it is explicitly stated that *'an important part of learning is the prevention of racist, xenophobic, and extremist attitudes, education in tolerance and respect for human rights, and equality between men and women.'*⁸

Likewise the learning-education goals are formulated for the entire area of education. The intercultural issue is related to the following:⁹

Developing interest in the present and past of one's own nation as well as other cultural units, formation and reinforcement of belonging to a European culture;

Cultivating respect for one's own nation and other nations and ethnic groups; development of respect for cultural and other differences (traits) among people, groups, and various societies;

Forming of awareness of own identity and the identity of other people;

Forming of a positive attitude towards the opposite sex both at school and away from school, recognition of stereotyped attitudes on the position of men and women in the family, employment, and political life; to be aware of prejudicial attitudes on the role of women in society.

The Framework Education Program does not precisely determine in which subjects and in what way the designated goals are to be reached. In practice, the intercultural issue in school is usually taken up in civics class; in history it is mentioned less, as empirical research shows (sub-chapter 3.3).

One apparent reason is that while for civic education the entire goal of the area of education is also incorporated into the expected outcomes of the individual thematic units (for example 'the student has a tolerant attitude towards minorities, recognizes intolerant, racist, xenophobic, and extremist connotations in people's behavior'),¹⁰ but in the history classes this is not the case. The 'multicultural' goal also indicates that for the educational area People and Society the cultural-standard approach was the predominant one taken.

History for elementary school (12–15 years) is divided chronologically into eight thematic units, of which two cover the history of the 20th century. Emphasis is placed on cognitive goals; only a few of the expected outcomes are also aimed at formation of multi(inter)cultural attitudes. Particularly in the thematic unit

Modernization of Society we find the expected outcome that ‘the student can characterize the emancipation efforts of important social groups’;¹¹ in the study material about the Second World War and totalitarian regimes students acquire the ability to ‘recognize examples of anti-Semitism, racism, and its unacceptability from the standpoint of human rights’.¹² In the thematic unit *A Divided and Integrating World* the study material on the breakup of the colonial system contains the somewhat vague formulation of the expected outcome ‘can judge the position of the developing countries’.¹³ Multiculturalism should also be included in the study material on ‘current affairs’; however, it is not explicitly mentioned in the Framework Education Program, and it is up to teachers alone whether to include the topic in their lessons.

For Czech history cyclical (spiral) lesson plans are the norm. The cyclic lesson plan has dominated Czech history teaching for decades. At four-year grammar schools and at higher levels of multi-year grammar schools (16-19 years) history is taken up again in chronological order from pre-history to the present, and the knowledge acquired in elementary school is merely systematized and expanded. This approach has a number of negatives, however, for in-school practice the hoped-for development of knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values absorbed during elementary educations does not take place at the higher level; but only an expanded repetition. The cyclical structure thus leads to a ‘waste’ of the limited time allotted to the subject under the study plan, and there is little space opened for delving deeper into key issues of the past.

Under the Framework Education Program for grammar schools the established goal for the subject of History from the standpoint of intercultural education does not much exceed the study material for elementary schools; only the thematic unit *Contemporary History* sets the goal that ‘the student can explain human rights in the context of the European cultural tradition, and clarify the importance of Islamic, Jewish, and some other non-European cultures in the modern world’.¹⁴

The goals that are set for the entire educational area People and Society at the grammar school level are much more clearly in correspondence with the cross-curricular subject Multicultural Education:¹⁵

- The feeling of belonging to European culture;

- Understanding of the contribution to civilization of various cultures depending on [in relation to] broader social conditions;
- Application of tolerant attitudes towards minority groups in society, recognizing racist, xenophobic, and extremist opinions in interpersonal relations;
- Conscious reflection on one's own behavior and that of other people; respect for various value systems and motivations of other people; recognition of prejudice in evaluating various people, events, or social phenomena or processes; recognizing negative stereotypes in attitudes about the roles of men and women in society;
- Developing and cultivating awareness of personal, local, national, European, and global identity.

It must be observed that unlike the elementary school curricula, the goals for the education focus People and Society correspond more to the trans-cultural concept, whether in terms of the multi-layered nature of human identity, or the conscious reflection of stereotypes and prejudices. But the reality at the grammar schools shows that these goals are pursued more in the subject Foundations of Civics and Social Science (teachers tend to accent current world problems) rather than in History.

3.2 Alternative to the Current History Curriculum

Criticism of the existing history curriculum¹⁶ for grammar schools was summarized in *A proposed alternative version of the teaching subject History for Four-year Grammar Schools and Higher Levels of Multi-year Grammar School*,¹⁷ which was tested as a pilot program in 2011 and 2012 at selected grammar schools.

Perhaps the most significant shift compared to the current Framework Education Program is the dropping of the study program's traditional cyclical structure.

The proposed alternative curriculum divides the content of history instruction into two stages. The 1st and 2nd years are supposed to provide a systemization of knowledge gained at elementary school in chronological order over five thematic units, with two of them focusing on key eras and milestones in the development of human society up until the First World War; the other three take on the history of the 20th and 21st centuries. The topics of recent history are

thus considerably strengthened. The second stage (3rd and 4th year of four-year and the corresponding years of multi-year grammar schools) is represented by an elective *Specialization Course*, which is divided up thematically into a total of nine themes. The alternative curriculum thus combines the chronological and thematic approaches.

Study materials also include current processes and problems such as European integration or globalization. A special course opens the door to deeper exploration and explanation of social phenomena and processes, and their relationship to the present (migration, the way conflicts have been solved with in the past, forms of the state, equality and inequality, expansion, colonization). Interculturalism is explicitly touched on by the independent specialized course *Migration – Intermingling and Conflicts among Cultures*. Students acquire the knowledge to be able to characterize the causes of population migrations, recognize various types of migration, give concrete examples of the principles of cultural tolerance and intolerance in mutual interaction, and interpret the individual stories of people affected by migration.

The gender issue (which is part of intercultural education) is explicitly represented in the expected outcomes by several units: understanding the status of women in the everyday life of society over the course of history, and status of women in the past from the standpoint of equality and inequality.

The local and regional dimension is contained in one of the ‘open’ topics of the Specialized Course, in which students follow the similarities and differences between general and specific social phenomena and processes; there is more room here for a multi-perspective approach to interpreting intercultural contacts (including conflicts) from the past.

Besides this version of the alternative curriculum, other attempts are underway at present to change the way history teaching is conceived, especially in regard to regional history in multiethnic regions, where history has been determined by these mutual encounters. For 2012–2013 a project is being prepared called *History Does Not Stop at the Borders*,¹⁸ a joint Czech-Polish regional curriculum for history education in elementary and secondary grammar schools in the Euroregion Těšínské Slezsko – Śląsk Cieszyński (Silesia).

3.3 Intercultural Dimension of Current History Education as Seen by Empirical Research

In 2011 a broad empirical research project was conducted, entitled *Multicultural Aspects of Education in the Social Humanities, and its Reflection in the Historical Consciousness of Student Youth*,¹⁹ which takes up selected questions of historical consciousness and the current nature of history teaching over a total sample of 2524 respondents (students and teachers at elementary and secondary schools, and students in the field of history teaching) from nine regions of the Czech Republic. Detailed analysis of the research results is beyond the subject of this study; we will merely point out some of the findings related to our topic:

The obtained results indicate that the issues of social diversity and interculturalism are little emphasized in history teaching in Czech elementary and secondary schools. Among the individual topics, teachers deal the most with the history and fate of the Jews – 30% of respondents say that much attention is paid to this; only 17% say none. The culture of the former German-speaking minority is dealt with much less in history classes (12%), with 37% responding that the topic was barely covered at all. Even weaker is any emphasis on Czech-Polish relations – only 5% of students and teachers responded that the topic is covered extensively in history class, while 63% say that they practically never encountered the topic in history class. Likewise the history of the Roma is not commonly a part of history teaching (only 6% said yes, 56% no).

The issue of mutual coexistence of various ethnicities is more thoroughly covered in the multiethnic border regions – in North and West Bohemia, where emphasis is on contacts between Czech and Germans; and in the Těšín area of Silesia on Czech-Polish relations. In regard to other issues of interculturalism we must also say that the current situation is unsatisfactory. The status of women in the past, the accomplishments of important women, or the struggle for women's rights is a usual part of the historical narrative for only 12%; a quarter of respondents say that the gender issue has no place at all in history teaching, while other respondents answered 'a little'.

The finding must also be pointed out that 21% of respondents say that regional history is taken up in detail (24% say very marginally), meanwhile it is precisely this material that has unbounded potential for a multi-perspective evaluation of intercultural contacts in the past.

Very baffling is the response of 77% who say that practically no space is given to the history of one's own family; only a fraction of those questioned (3%) answered that this was covered 'a lot'.

4. Conclusion – Recommendations for Effectively Introducing the Intercultural Dimension into History Teaching

The prerequisite for a more effective incorporation of the intercultural dimension into education (and not only in the field of history) is a thorough revision of the curriculum. After all, regular revision of the curriculum is an integral part of the education policy of the Czech Republic, and the system is designed to implement changes in curriculum content (Janík, 2011: 74).

In the first phase it is necessary to re-evaluate the current structure of Framework Education Programs. It is a question whether and in what form to retain the cross-curricular themes, and which could possibly be reduced or integrated. The educational content and goals of Multicultural Education overlap with other cross-curricular subjects,²⁰ and if preference is given to the transcultural approach based on personal experience instead of the cultural-standard approach based on ethnicity, it will become possible to cultivate intercultural sensitivity when teaching civics, history, language, and other social studies and humanities disciplines; in other words, then the very existence of the cross-curricular subject Multicultural Education need not even exist (Morvayová, 2009: 46).

What is undoubtedly desirable is to strengthen and explicitly introduce intercultural issues into the study materials even if the cross-curricular subject is kept on. Both empirical research and experience have so far shown that unless intercultural issues are a direct part of the history curriculum, they do not receive sufficient attention in teaching practice. This problem is aggravated by the lack of suitable textbooks, methodological handbooks, and other materials for teachers to rely on.

The cyclical structure of the lesson plan and chronological approach to history makes it impossible to properly stress the elements of attitude and skills (emotional and behavioral goals); the focus is still on factual knowledge. At the very least a combination of chronological and thematic instruction can be recommended, as applied for example in the alternative framework education program for grammar schools, where much broader attention is given to issues

of migration, co-existence, and conflict in the multiethnic regions, etc.²¹

The central phenomenon in intercultural education is identity and its relation to culture, the multi-layered nature of human identity, and changes in the context of life experience. In the newly-designed (revised) curriculum primary emphasis should not be placed on 'artificially'-defined group identity according to ethnic origin, but the unique identity of every individual. In this context, social and cultural diversity and respect for differences are seen as better developed from the starting point of the student's own experience. *'Transculturism brings an element that is based on real-life experience and the stories of people living in a multicultural reality'* (Moree et al., 2008: 29). Therefore the teaching of history should be based on the individual stories of real people.

Most important in this context is the family, the family memory and history, and how the life of the family has changed against the background of history. Students start by following key moments in the history of their ancestors (moving in pursuit of work, fateful decisions at crucial moments, the ways in which 'big history' influences their everyday lives) and comparing this with the family history of their classmates.

Of the didactic methods, oral history (conversations with parents and grandparents), work with visual sources (the family photo album), and project-based teaching are among the methods that can be applied. Cultivating respect for differences in one's closest, most familiar neighborhood is a necessary prerequisite of respect for differences on the broader socio-cultural scale (Kratochvíl, 2004).

Besides cultivating awareness of differences through examples from the family memory, it is important to develop the intercultural sensitivity of students over a broad spectrum of other socio-cultural (and not just ethnic) differences. In the Czech environment there is still too little time given to gender topics (rights of men and women in the past, comparing the issues of equal opportunity today and during past historical epochs, comparing women's status in different countries, the relationship between gender and religion, etc.). Although the newer history textbooks now contain a larger amount of information on women's history (Gracová, 2010), the results of empirical research done in 2011 show that these issues are very often ignored.

Socio-cultural diversity cannot be incorporated into the framework of history teaching without critical thought and a multi-perspective outlook: *'Multiperspectivity can shed light on conflict situations and help to understand that conflicts often occur, persist, and are shaped as conflicts of interpretation to which each side brings its own motives and goals which are not based on any specific source of information, but instead reflect long-term opinions, prejudices, biases, and stereotypes'* (Stradling, 2003: 15). In educational practice at elementary and secondary schools the multi-perspective approach is applied mostly to 'great' historical events that affected the entire country; the principle is used much less often in talking about historical phenomena within a region.

Since the identity of 'European' as one of a person's many other identities (the concept of *'multiple identities'*) is part of the goal of education towards Europeanism, or the European dimension of education, it is necessary to strengthen the element of interculturalism. Research done in 2011 shows that interest in European history among elementary and secondary grammar school students, as well as the accent on the European dimension in history teaching, has grown considerably since the international research project *Youth and History* from 1995/96, but now the emphasis is placed on factography, not on a multi-perspective evaluation of historical events and processes leading to an understanding of the perspective of 'the other'.

Opportunities for presenting the history of intercultural relations can be found in regional history, which according to research findings is not overly popular at the moment among students or teachers at our schools. The element of local history must be strengthened, especially in regions where various ethnic groups lived in the past or are still present, as well as the history of the border regions and the Euroregions that reach across the borders of a single country, the territory of which belonged over various historical periods to various countries. The first initiatives towards forming regional curricula (for example in Těšín) should be forthcoming.

Also needed is a pedagogical treatment of stereotypes and prejudices, their indicators, genesis, mechanisms of occurrence, and effects on history. Instead of active repression, which is recommended by some pedagogues (Průcha, 2006), what is important is conscious reflection, or its cultivation (Mütter, 2000). Also, more emphasis should be laid on overlapping with media studies, especially the role of the media in perpetuating stereotypes in

various historic periods (military conflicts, Nazi and communist propaganda).

Notes

¹ National program for the development of education in the CR (the so-called White Book) and law no. 561/2004 Sb.; *Framework Education Program for Elementary Education* (2005), Praha: VÚP (henceforth: RVP ZV); *Framework Education Program for Grammar School Education* (2007), Prague: VÚP (henceforth: RVP G).

² RVP ZV: 90.

³ Cross-curricular subjects include: Teaching the Democratic Citizen, Personalities and Social [Education], Multicultural Education, Teaching Critical Thought in the European and Global Context, Environmental Education, and Media Education.

⁴ RVP ZV: 97.

⁵ Staněk et al. (2011b); Staněk et al.(2011a).

⁶ Staněk et al. (2011b).

⁷ Staněk et al.(2011a).

⁸ RVP ZV: 43.

⁹ RVP ZV: 44.

¹⁰ RVP ZV: 48.

¹¹ RVP ZV: 46.

¹² RVP ZV: 47.

¹³ RVP ZV.

¹⁴ RVP G: 45.

¹⁵ RVP G: 38-9.

¹⁶ [Specialized didactics], representatives of the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Physical Fitness, elementary and secondary school teachers, and representatives of non-profit organizations formulated the basic criticisms of the existing conception of the history curriculum at the VI seminar 'History and the School' in Telč on 15-16.10.2007.

¹⁷ *Proposed alternative version of the subject History for Four-Year Grammar School and Higher Levels of Multi-Year Grammar School* (2010), Praha: VÚP.

¹⁸ The implementer of this project, financed by the European Social Fund, is the Pedagogical Center for Ethnic Polish Education in Český Těšín, the project's partner is – RODN 'WOM' Bielsko-Biala, Poland.

¹⁹ The implementer of the project is Denisa Labischová; research design is described in detail in Labischová (2012). The project was supported by the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Physical Fitness of the Czech Republic as part of the subsidy program Support for Education in Ethnic Minority Languages and Multicultural Education in 2011.

²⁰ Personalities and Social Education, Educating the Democratic Citizen, and Education on Ideas in the European and Global Contexts.

²¹ Proposed alternative version of study plan for History of Four-Year Grammar School and Higher Levels of Multi-Year Grammar School (2010), Prague: VÚP.

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THE IMAGE OF THE *OTHER* : THE EXAMPLE OF THE RUSSIANS AND GERMANS ON THE BASIS OF AN ANALYSIS OF ESTONIAN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

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Nowadays a huge challenge for compiling school textbooks is to deal with the history of multicultural society – especially avoiding prejudices and negative stereotypes about other nations. As Estonian history is very strongly related to Germans and Russians, the goal of the present article is to study the development of these nations' image in the overview of textbooks of general history and Estonian history in Estonian, beginning from the first ones published in the second half of the 19th century up to the present. Wars often form attitudes to other nations, therefore the image of German and Russian soldiers through the greatest conflicts in history – world wars – is observed separately.

1. Introduction

The Other is essential for perceiving the world and formulating *one's own* identity. The Russian researcher N. A. Yerofeyev has stressed that any kind of cognition is first of all comparison. Comparison and confrontation fulfil an essential aim – one's own identification and strengthening ethnic unity.¹ Important 'tools' of confrontation are ethnic stereotypes, which express first of all emotional attitude to the object and have therefore very little in common with reality.² Ethnic stereotypes and political myths created on this basis are to some extent the barometer of society to measure the ups and downs of a certain society. They become important in difficult and hard times, when society has more burning need for simple but 'twisted' explanations and the finding of scapegoats. The use of ethnic stereotypes in school textbooks points at serious problems in the ideology and values of a society.

The social psychologist Gordon Allport has paid attention to the functions of stereotypes: stereotypes help people in simplifying categories, they justify hostility, they can be used as a projection to our personal conflict and, most importantly – stereotypes own social request and support.³ The fact that stereotypes may include an

element of truth makes their use more difficult. An archetype of a stereotype may reflect the essential features of a certain group. And even if the burden of allegory is missing, even in the case of positive stereotypes there is the problem that they are still generalizations, and give us only limited idea about a certain group or individual.

As Estonian history is very strongly related to Germans and Russians – from the German invasion in the 13th century to the end of the Soviet occupation in 1991, the goal of the present article is to study the development of these nations' image⁴ (including ethnic stereotypes)⁵ in the overview of textbooks of general history and Estonian history in Estonian for all age groups, beginning from the first ones published in the second half of the 19th century up to the present. The article presents a survey of the most popularly used textbooks used in the Estonian educational system. It should be taken into consideration that the textbooks of the authors mentioned in the article had several reprints, where during one period of history substantial changes did not generally take place.

Wars often form attitudes to other nations, therefore the image of German and Russian soldiers through the greatest conflicts in history – world wars – is observed separately.

2. Problems of the Study of Nations' Images

The discussion about images on the basis of historical developments and imagologic links is important from the position of present-day democratic society – based on past experience, it helps to better explain possible problems and also dangers, which are related to the influence of images on the development of the values of young people.

Many researchers have stressed the problematic nature of the study of images related to *otherness*, connecting it with both the sensitivity of the subject and the lack of methodological and terminological clarity.⁶ In textbooks, the creation of the image of a large nation, which has played an important role in history, is more sensitive when topical subjects (migration) or painful issues (wars and their influence) up to the present, are discussed. The problem of the image of 'Russians' in Estonia is nowadays a sensitive subject also because of the high percentage of the local population (almost a quarter), as getting something wrong may easily cause tensions and misunderstandings.

In the case of the present subject, attention should be paid also to the terminological problem as the image of the nations under discussion should be sought besides the direct terms (Germans, Russians) also under other names. For example, in Tsarist Russia in the late 19th century, the expression 'Slavs' was generally used, seldom 'Russians'. In the 20th century until Estonia regained independence, the term 'Russians' was used more. In the present history textbooks the expressions 'Slavs', 'migrants', 'Russian-speaking inhabitants' are much used. Germans, for example, were named 'Germanic peoples' in the first Estonian history textbooks but from the 20th century up to the present the term 'Germans' is used. Comparative qualitative content analysis is used to explain the similar and different features in depicting Germans and Russians. In Estonian historical science the image of *The Other* in Estonian history textbooks is studied very little, for example the images of the United States of America⁷ and Africa⁸ have been discussed.

The analysis of ethnic hierarchies in the textbooks helps to understand ideologies, values, beliefs and strategies in society.⁹ The aim is to support the unity of a certain empire and at the same time the domination of mother country or Centre. Estonian history textbooks enable a glimpse at the ethnic hierarchies in the textbooks of three empires (Tsarist Russia, Soviet Russia and Germany). The creation of stereotypes is based on various characteristics, for example national character, appearance, the level of education etc.

The subject that often arises in former textbooks – and also in the texts analyzed here – is national character. This term suggests that the representatives of one nation, regardless of ethnic, racial, religious or individual differences among them, should be similar to each other in certain fundamental behavioural models. Does national character exist? Do typical personality traits of the representatives of various cultures exist? This has been one of the most complicated research problems. Despite the collective conclusion of the researchers of 49 countries, published in 2005, if we observe the characteristic traits of a personality only, there will be no difference between the nations,¹⁰ discussions about this subject have continued. Estonian professor of psychology Jüri Allik, who participated in the study, has stressed that 'national character is a stereotype, which lacks a real basis and the task of which seems to be the preservation of national identity.'¹¹

3. Influences and Changes in the Image of Russians and Germans

The development of the image of Germans and Russians in Estonian textbooks can be comparatively observed within the periods of belonging to an empire (Tsarist Russia 1710-1918, Germany 1941-1944 and the Soviet Union 1940-1941, 1944-1991) and Estonia as an independent country (1918-1940, 1991- the present) to show the differences-similarities in the developments and discuss about the historical factors in the formation of an image.

In the first history textbooks published in the period of **Tsarist Russia** the images of Russians and Germans were very positive. In the case of the first ones, it can be explained by their dominant position in the country, in the case of the others, by their leading role in Estonia. Probably we should also consider the aspect that Germans in the empire were highly appreciated as servicemen, diplomats, scientists, officials etc.

Russians were tall, straight, with beautiful face¹² and in character, kind, joyful and songbirds¹³ and clever.¹⁴ They were brave soldiers, 'who never escaped and rather fell than let themselves being captured'.¹⁵ Such superpositive and idealistic self-representations in the discourse of progress matched well with the concept of a modern nation.¹⁶ Unkind treatment of women was mentioned from the negative side. Germans were 'with strong build, blue eyes and reddish hair',¹⁷ hard-working by nature, kind to strangers and famous for loyalty.¹⁸ Arrogance was brought out as negative.¹⁹

During Estonian first independence the earlier positive image of Germans remained. This can be explained by the lack of such historic events, which could in principle change the image of Germans for Estonians, in the time of the textbooks' publication. In appearance Germans were still tall, with ginger hair and blue eyes.²⁰ Germans were by nature hospitable and brave soldiers, who were willingly recruited into the army of the Roman emperors because of their bravery.²¹

In contrast, the image of Russians changed radically. This was caused by the Estonian War of Independence in 1918-1920, when Estonians had to fight with superior enemy – Russia – to protect their independence as a free nation. The textbooks stressed the illiteracy of Russians: non-speakers,²² with a low educational level,²³ educational 'lag' compared to Western Europe.²⁴ Their standard as

soldiers went down,²⁵ quoting Charles XII: 'they do not resist as the armies of other nations, but escape head over heels'.²⁶

During the German occupation the triumph of the Germans' image and the decline of the Russians' image continued. Proceeding from the historic context – German power in Estonia, war between Germany and Russia and the crimes of communism in Estonia in 1940-1941 – it is logical indeed. However, the courage of Estonian authors and the possibility to oppose the requirements of the occupying power in writing textbooks is surprising. Although at the beginning of 1942 the guidelines of occupying power (Richtlinien) demanded 'the inclusion of race theory as important factor in the development of history' in history textbooks,²⁷ the authors of Estonian textbooks did not agree to it. On the contrary, the author of textbooks Elmar Kuusik declared that 'the intentional preference of some other race would mean for Estonians depression and derogation that would paralyse vitality and will to work'.²⁸ The discussions on race theory in the Estonian history textbooks in the period of World War II were rather reserved. For example Germans' appearance was not portrayed any more, but toughness and economy were valued.²⁹

The textbooks described vitality, so important to Germans back then, for example, by quoting the German authorities as follows: '*Ludwig Jahn stressed also the poor blood of the nation and the importance of cultural originality. Fichte delivered his 'Addresses to the German Nation', where he spoke about the worldwide cultural mission of the Germans as the oldest European nation, about the need to be progressive and excellent cultural nation.*'³⁰ In the image of Russians firstly illiteracy still stood out: they were non-speakers,³¹ an uncultured huge mass,³² moreover – according to textbooks – even Peter the Great had a poor education.³³ Secondly, the negative image of Russians as soldiers was stressed. They were 'stupid and wild mass with poor weapons',³⁴ with a small defence capacity.³⁵ In the Livonian War, the Muscovites were said to have acted as usual: they tried to ravage as much as possible and killed massively ordinary people.³⁶

During **the Soviet occupation** the image of Russians became superpositive and the image of Germans supernegative both in translated and original textbooks in Estonian. Firstly, this obviously derived from the position of Russians as the winners of World War II and the builders of an ideal society – communism. Secondly, the image of Germans was influenced by their defeat and crimes in

World War II. The image of Germans in the Soviet period was the poorest image of a nation in the textbooks published in Estonia throughout history. They were compared to beasts,³⁷ named sadists and murderers.³⁸ The only positive one was 'the great son of Germans' Karl Marx, whose doctrine was carried out in the GDR.³⁹

Russians were tall and strong in appearance, 'being very tough, they easily survived heat, cold and hunger',⁴⁰ very friendly,⁴¹ brotherly, deserving respect and love of all nations.⁴² 'East Slavs were diligent farmers, skilful craftsmen and good fishermen, Russians did not impose forcibly their manners and religion upon other nations.'⁴³ Russians were the most 'qualified' (workers).⁴⁴ Russian soldiers showed much skill and cleverness in war, they bravely attacked the enemy.⁴⁵ 'Russians' humane attitude to the inhabitants of the surrendered towns and areas in the Livonian War in the reign of Ivan the Terrible' was recognised.⁴⁶ Surprisingly something negative about Russians was also said: '*Compared with the countries of Western Europe, Russia in the 16th century was culturally lagged behind. Severity and brutality dominated in family life. Father totally commanded not only over slaves, but also over wife and children. For any guilt he was ready to hit with whatever he had... over the ears or the head, with fist to the heart, give a kick, stick with iron or wooden object.*'⁴⁷ This was probably done to stress the progress of the Soviet Union in gender equality by the contrasts between other periods of history and the present age.

Although in the Soviet textbooks on Estonian history, written by Estonian authors, Russians were depicted, as a rule, superlatively in the style 'special role in the Soviet Union belongs to the great Russian nation',⁴⁸ due to the lack of direct programmatic precepts it was possible to express more freely in the textbooks of optional courses. Its proof is the optional course textbook on Estonian history by the well-known and recognised Doctors of history Sulev Vahtre and Helmut Piirimäe, published in 1983.⁴⁹ It was even approved by the historians of Western Europe. For example, Heinz von zur Mühlen wrote in 1986 that the style of the textbook was 'neutral and without pathos'.⁵⁰

The images of Germans and Russians, given in the history textbooks published in the present **Republic of Estonia**, try to maintain neutrality. However, some other tendencies can also be brought out. So, for example, the subject of Russians and Germans is basically related to wars, most of all World War II. In connection with this, image of a brutal German and Russian soldier is created, as

the central theme in the narratives about WWII is the violence towards civilians, performed both by Germans (the Holocaust)⁵¹ and Russians (the crimes at the end of war, especially in Germany).⁵² This matches with the continuing presence of the subject in international historical literature.⁵³

In Estonia the subject of the migrants, who came to Estonia after World War II, has been problematic as due to them, the percentage of Estonians as natives in the country's population fell remarkably. Therefore it is interesting how the Russian-speaking migrants have been portrayed in Estonian history textbooks during the last twenty years. In the migrants' image the low qualification, not understanding Estonian language and 'non-speaking', 'other-speaking', 'strange cultural background' and different traditions of the workers, who came to Estonia after the war, are named.⁵⁴ As for the migrants' relations with the natives, Estonians' linguistic harassment, the result of the mass migration, is mentioned, because Estonians could not manage in public offices in their native language any more. The relations between the new migrants and Estonians were also strained due to the better living and working conditions for migrants. At present a serious problem is caused by people, who came to Estonia in the post-war years, but have not applied for Estonian citizenship. Some textbooks state that although in Estonia there were many problems with the migrants sent here after World War II, they were the same victims of the Soviet power as Estonians.⁵⁵

It must be mentioned that for young people of Russian origin reading such images of migrants in the textbooks is problematic. In their recently expressed sentiments, the public figures with the Russian cultural background were also worried that speaking about the migrants sent to Russify Estonia in the Soviet era and calling the Russian-speaking population of the Estonian SSR in Estonian textbooks 'the direct source of danger for the existence of Estonian nation as independent ethnos' hurts deeply the national spirit of the Russian-speaking students.⁵⁶

4. Conclusion

Influences from early childhood are considered very important in the formation of images. Therefore we can't underestimate the influence of school literature as the bearer of social values in socializing people. Precisely on the basis of textbooks the images, which are preserved

right through adulthood, will be formed. At the same time the image is not constant by nature, it continues to develop throughout a person's lifetime, but its critical parts are connected with both early childhood and adolescence.

Stereotypes are based on simplification and generalisation and denial of individuality. Although stereotypes may include some truth, unfortunately they do not enable objective access to social reality. Their task is to construct our identity through the definition of *otherness*, which unfortunately may be related to the deformation of our knowledge of reality. The problem is the permanence of stereotypes – generally stereotypes do not disappear, although they may be modified and their functions may change. In periods of general wellbeing stereotypes withdraw, remaining latently to wait for their chance.

Stereotyping may have serious results – in its course the ones being stereotyped are manoeuvred into certain roles in the society. Being ideological representations, stereotypes justify and legitimize the existing social hierarchy. Individuality as such loses its importance, only belonging to a group counts.

The main principles of ethnic hierarchies (political loyalty, ranks and culture), expressed by Veronika Sušova,⁵⁷ recur with some modifications also in the textbooks from previous periods of history, discussed in the present article. Considering the ethnic hierarchy, the stereotypes of Germans and Russians have been created in Estonian textbooks.

So both Germans and Russians have been portrayed as kind and brave. Estonians have been found to have positive similarities with Russians – for example in the Tsarist textbooks they too loved 'singing and joy';⁵⁸ and with Germans, describing Estonians during German occupation 'as capable intellectuals as Germans'.⁵⁹

The negative images of Russians and Germans in textbooks resulted mainly from the ideological prescriptions of society, the acts of violence during war and the problems of migration (including especially not knowing the native language). Positive images are mostly associated with such human characteristics as kindness, friendliness, diligence.

Nowadays a huge challenge for compiling school textbooks is to deal with the history of multicultural society – especially avoiding prejudices and negative stereotypes about other nations. As in textbooks the discussion of the history of wars and conflicts

dominates, inevitably lots of negative images, which often depict other nations violent, occur. How to write balanced history? How to write history textbooks that would help nations more to unite than separate?

Notes

¹ Ерофеев, Н. А. (1982), *Туманный Альбион: Англия и англичане глазами русских 1825-1853*, Москва: Наука, 11.

² Reality is a quality with typical phenomenon that it exists independently from our will. – Berger, P.L., Luckmann, T. (1991), *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*, London: Penguin Books, 13.

³ Allport, G.W. (1958), *The Nature of Prejudice*, Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 195.

⁴ Image means a picture, imagination, idea, often illusory, which develops after observing something or somebody. The formed picture contains information about the world surrounding us. At the same time this story may not coincide with reality.

⁵ Ethnic stereotypes are mental constructs about *the otherness*, which are simplified and twisted by nature and exist as a complex of generalized ideas. In the present article stereotypes are the parts of image, its stable and radical elements.

⁶ For example: Gerrits, A.W.M. (1995) 'Introduction', in A. Gerrits & N. Adler (eds) *Vampires Unstaked: National Images, Stereotypes and Myths in East Central Europe*, Amsterdam, Oxford, New York, Tokyo: Royal Netherlands Academy, 1-4; Suvanto, M. (2002), *Images of Japan and the Japanese: The Representations of the Japanese Culture in the Popular Literature Targeted at the Western World in the 1980s-1990s*, Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä, 16; Fält, O.K. (2002) 'Introduction', in K. Alenius, O. K. Fält & S. Jalagin (eds) *Looking at the Other: Historical Study of Images in Theory and Practice*, Oulu: Oulu University Press, 7-12.

⁷ Tulviste, T. (2011), Ameerika Ühendriikide kuvand nõukogude perioodi eestikeelsetes ajalooõpikutes [Image of the United States of America in the Estonian History Textbooks of the Soviet Period], magistritöö, juhendaja [Supervisor] Karin Hiimaa, Tartu: Tartu Ülikool.

⁸ Hiimaa, K. (2006), *Aafrika retseptioon eestikeelses trükiõnas (kuni 1917)*, Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus.

⁹ For example: Sušová, V. (2008) 'Images of Domination: Representations of Ethnic Hierarchies in Russian Geography Textbooks in 1875-1918', in K. Alenius, O. Fält & M. Mertaniemi (eds) *Imagology and Cross-Cultural Encounters in History*, Rovaniemi: Societas Historica Finlandiae Septentrionalis, 205-19.

¹⁰ The mentioned study proved that the understandings as if the differences of national character would reflect the genetic differences of ethnic and cultural groups were wrong, The differences between groups arise rather from the environment. See: Terracciano, A. et al. (2005) 'National character does not reflect mean personality trait levels in 49 cultures', *Science*, 310 (5745): 96-100.

- ¹¹ Kändler, T. (2005) 'Rahvuslik iseloom osutus väljamõeldiseks', *Eesti Päevaleht*, October 14.
- ¹² Lindenberg, J. (1872), *Wenne rahvas ja wenne riik*, Rija linnas: Trukkitud Ernst Platesse kirjadega, 2.
- ¹³ Bergmann, J. (1880), *Üleüldine ajalugu kolmes jaus koolidele ning igale teaduse nõudjale*, teine jagu, Keskaeg, Tartu: Trükitud Schnakenburgi kuluga, 3.
- ¹⁴ Bergmann, 1880 (cf. note 13), 3.
- ¹⁵ Lindenberg, 1872 (cf. note 12), 4.
- ¹⁶ Sušová, 2008 (cf. note 9), 208.
- ¹⁷ Bergmann, 1880 (cf. note 13), 3.
- ¹⁸ Bergmann, 1880 (cf. note 13), 3.
- ¹⁹ Bergmann, 1880 (cf. note 13), 3.
- ²⁰ Sitska, J. (1920), *Ajaloo algõpetus, Vana-, keske- ja uus aeg*, Tallinn: Eestimaa Kooliõpetajate Wastastiku Abiandmise Seltsi kirjastus, 56.
- ²¹ Sitska, J. (1929), *Ajaloo algõpetus*, esimene osa, Tallinn: O/Ü Albert Org'i Kirjastus, 84.
- ²² Adamson, J. (1927), *Eesti ajalugu algkoolidele*, Tartu: K/Ü Loodus, 146.
- ²³ Sitska, 1929 (cf. note 21), 84.
- ²⁴ Sitska, 1929 (cf. note 21), 146.
- ²⁵ Kampmann, M. (1924), *Eesti ajalugu*, Tallinn: G. Pihlakase Kirjastus, 173.
- ²⁶ Konks, J. (1939), *Eesti ajalugu, I. Ajaloo õpperaamat progümnaasiumi I klassile*, Tartu: Eesti Kirjanduse Selts, 132-3.
- ²⁷ Eesti Riigiarhiiv [Estonian State Archives, ERA], R-81-1-76, 83-84.
- ²⁸ ERA, R-81-1-57.
- ²⁹ Vanik, K. (1942), *Ajalugu gümnaasiumile, Uus aeg, III klass*, Tallinn: Eesti Kirjastus, 188.
- ³⁰ Adamson, J. (1943), *Ajalugu gümnaasiumile, Uusim aeg, 2*, Tallinn: Eesti Kirjastus, 250.
- ³¹ Parijõgi, J., Algma, T., Kuusik, E. (1944), *Ajalugu algkooli VI klassile*. Tallinn: Eesti Kirjastus, 84; Adamson, J. (1943), *Ajalugu gümnaasiumile, Uusim aeg, 2, V klass*, Tallinn: Eesti Kirjastus, 118, 121.
- ³² Parijõgi, Algma, Kuusik, 1944 (cf. note 31), 218.
- ³³ Parijõgi, Algma, Kuusik, 1944 (cf. note 31), 216.
- ³⁴ Parijõgi, Algma, Kuusik, 1944 (cf. note 31), 27-8.
- ³⁵ Vanik, 1942 (cf. note 29), 212-213, 215, 227.
- ³⁶ Parijõgi, Algma, Kuusik, 1944 (cf. note 31), 118.
- ³⁷ Krigvoguz, I., Pritsker, D., Stetskevits, S. (1963), *Uusim aeg, käsiraamat XI klassile*, Tallinn: Eesti Riiklik Kirjastus, 49.
- ³⁸ Kuzmitšov, P. et al. (1975), *Uusim aeg 1917-1939, õpik keskkooli X klassile*, Tallinn: Valgus, 61.
- ³⁹ Krigvoguz, Pritsker, Stetskevits, 1963 (cf. note 37), 131-2.
- ⁴⁰ Pankratova, A.M. (ed) (1946), *NSV Liidu ajalugu. 1*, Tallinn: Riiklik Kirjastus 'Pedagoogiline Kirjastus', 43, 189.

- ⁴¹ Liim, A. & Siilivask, K. (1983), *Eesti NSV ajalugu IX- XI klassile*, Tallinn: Valgus, 73, 87.
- ⁴² Palamets, H. (1965), *Jutustusi kodumaa ajaloo, Õpik-lugemik IV klassile*, Tallinn: Kirjastus 'Eesti Raamat', 152.
- ⁴³ Palamets, 1965 (cf. note 42), 3, 30, 64-5, 115, 152.
- ⁴⁴ Pankratova, A.M. (ed) (1963), *NSV Liidu ajalugu. 2*, Tallinn: Eesti Riiklik Kirjastus, 275.
- ⁴⁵ Pankratova, 1946 (cf. note 40), 43, 189.
- ⁴⁶ Naan, G. (ed) (1952), *Eesti NSV ajalugu (kõige vanemast ajast tänapäevani)*, Tallinn: Eesti Riiklik Kirjastus, 80, 105.
- ⁴⁷ Pankratova, 1946 (cf. note 40), 43, 189.
- ⁴⁸ Palamets, 1965 (cf. note 42), 30, 64-65, 115, 152.
- ⁴⁹ Vahtre, S. & Piirimäe, H. (1983), *Meie kaugem minevik: fakultatinkursuse õppematerjal Eesti NSV ajaloost vanimatest aegadest kuni XVII sajandi lõpuni*, Tallinn: Valgus.
- ⁵⁰ Von zur Mühlen H. (1986) 'S. Vahtre, H. Piirimäe. Meie kaugem minevik', *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung. Länder und Völker im östlichen Mitteleuropa* 35 (4), 602.
- ⁵¹ Laar, M. & Vahtre, L. (2006), *Läbi ajalugu I gümnaasiumile*, Tallinn: AS Bit, 147.
- ⁵² Laar & Vahtre, 2006 (cf. note 51), 148-54.
- ⁵³ For example: Merridale, C. (2006), *Iran's War. The Red Army, 1939-1945*, London: Faber and Faber; Beevor, A. (2003), *Berlin: the Downfall*, London: Penguin Books.
- ⁵⁴ Adamson, A & Valdmaa, S. (1999), *Läbi ajalugu. Õpik XII klassile*. Tallinn: Koolibri, 204-5; Laur, M., Pajur, A. & Tannberg, T.-A., (1997) *Eesti ajalugu, 2*, Tallinn: Avita, 14; Vahtre, L. (2004), *Eesti ajalugu gümnaasiumile*, Tallinn: Ilo kirjastus, 278.
- ⁵⁵ Laar, M., Tilk, M. & Hergauk, E. (1997), *Ajalugu 5. Klassile*, Tallinn: Avita, 224.
- ⁵⁶ Nikiforov, I. (2011) 'Rahvuskeskus Eesti ajaloo uuringus', in R. Grigorjan (ed), *Kas ajalugu ja kultuur liidavad või labutavad rahvaid*, Tallinn: Kirjastus auMAX, 64.
- ⁵⁷ Sušová, 2008 (cf. note 9), 205-19.
- ⁵⁸ Lindenberg, 1872 (cf. note 12), 7.
- ⁵⁹ Parijõgi, Algma & Kuusik, 1944 (cf. note 31), 36, 244.



**THE IMAGE OF *THE OTHER*
IN THE HISTORY OF ESTONIA
ON THE BASIS OF CONTEMPORARY
TEXTBOOK ANALYSIS**

Mare Oja

Comparative analysis was carried out on how the image of the other is dealt with in different centuries and periods in history textbooks. In this research the other is a nation or a state that Estonia has had contacts with through centuries, and ethnic groups who have lived in Estonia but had different identities, as well as compatriots who migrated to the West during the Second World War, and who lived in a different environment than in their homeland, Estonia. The criteria for assessing the image of the other are from the perspective of Estonian history in all textbooks – are the acts towards Estonia supportive, neutral or adverse. Russian power (including the Soviet Union) has influenced Estonia the most and is described in the darkest colours. Swedish rule, as well as close neighbours Finland and Latvia, is represented positively. The main attention of national minorities is towards Baltic-Germans. The cultural influence is assessed positively, conquest of the land, the fact, that the majority of Estonians had to stay away from land management, was assessed negatively. The early period of history is described in a neutral tone. It is possible to sympathize with the tragedy of the Estonian people in the evaluation of the Soviet period.

The image of *the other* in history education can be understood based on the concept of multiperspectivity that became the key principle in history teaching in schools all over Europe in the 1990s. The earlier dominant opinion in historiography, which stated that the national narrative should consist of the history of the majority nation and the dominant ethnic society and led to an exclusive monocultural ethnocentric point of view in history teaching, has changed considerably during the past three decades. Attention has been given to ethnic groups that were previously ignored, including minorities and immigrants and their history. The Educational Law of the Estonian Republic states that the main objective of education is to prepare young people for living in society.¹ History teaching today can contribute to this by introducing the world's ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity to the young.

The concept of multiculturalism is included in the general part of Estonian National Curriculum² (2011) and principles of history teaching.³ One of the key concepts of the gymnasium level is that pupils contribute in a mindful manner to the preservation and development of Estonian nationality, language and culture and the Estonian state; understand Estonian culture in the context of European culture and the culture of other nations; understand, value and honour the cultural traditions of one's own nation and of other nations. Similar aims are followed by cross-curricular topic cultural identity – the aim is to develop into a person who is culturally aware, who understands the role of culture in shaping people's thoughts and behaviour and who knows how cultures have changed in history, who has acquired an idea of versatility of cultures and particularities of lifestyles determined by culture and who values native culture and cultural diversity and is culturally tolerant and prepared for cooperation.

History teaching values cultural diversity and develops understanding that diversity is part of the richness of society and a condition of development. In order to understand that the writing of history depends on time and the researcher, the course shapes the students' critical attitudes towards different ways of thinking, comparing the interpretation of historical events and phenomena in different sources and assessing the credibility of these sources.⁴ In addition to making history interesting, different essential abilities are aspired to, including the shaping of one's identity. Problems in the history of Estonia are viewed in the context of history of Europe and through its influence.⁵

These principles are the basis for the treatment of the other through the depiction of history. Therefore, national history is depicted as the history of the country, not the history of the nation. The following is an analysis of how the principles declared in the national curriculum are followed in three Estonian history textbooks. Although the compulsory topics are addressed in the history syllabus, each textbook differs from the other two in perspectives, valuation and how deeply the subject is treated, which can cause differences in the authors' point of view.

1. Who is 'The Other' in History Textbooks?

In this research *the other* is a nation or a state that Estonia has had contacts with through centuries, and ethnic groups who have lived in Estonia but who have had a different identity. Compatriots, who migrated to the West during the Second World War and whose culture and daily life was shaped in a different environment than in their homeland Estonia, are also depicted as *the others*. The same accounts for Estonian communities that migrated to Russia during different periods in history, Baltic Germans, who dominated in the elite of Estonian society for 700 years, have received more attention than other minorities. Russia (including the Soviet Union) has influenced the history of Estonia more than other countries.

2. Description of the Sample

The history of Estonia is studied as a separate course only in high school. In primary school, the history of Estonia is integrated into world history. Therefore, only secondary school level textbooks were selected for the analysis. Image of 'The Other' is analysed on the basis of three textbooks History of Estonia. These are:

(A) Vahtre, L. (2004), *Eesti ajalugu gümnaasiumile*, Tallinn: AS Kirjastus Ilo;

(B) Adamson, A. & Karjahärm T. (2004), *Eesti ajalugu gümnaasiumile*, Tallinn: Argo;

(C1) Laur, M., Mäesalu, A., Tannberg, T. & Vent, U. (2005), *Eesti ajalugu I. Muinasajast 19. sajandi lõpuni. Õpik gümnaasiumile*, Tallinn: Avita (C2) Pajur, A. & Tannberg, T. (2006), *Eesti ajalugu II. 20. sajandist tänapäevani. Õpik gümnaasiumile*, Tallinn: Avita.

All of these are in use at the moment. They were written in accordance with the previous National Curriculum (2002), but the current National Curriculum (2011) has not brought principal changes in history teaching that would not allow the use of existing textbooks. No new textbooks in accordance with the new National Curriculum have been compiled; therefore, the results of this study depict the situation in history teaching today.

A textbook from the publisher Avita (two parts) has been used for the longest period of time and it has been reprinted several times. No research has been made to know which textbook is used by schools the most. But as this textbook was printed such a long time ago,

there is a reason to believe that the textbook is widely used, also by Russian-speaking schools.⁶

In 2007 the transition of Russian-speaking schools to start teaching 60% of subjects in Estonian began. Since that time Russian-speaking schools should study the history of Estonia in Estonian. We can expect that in order to support students with poor knowledge of Estonian, teachers are using concurrently translated textbooks as well. Textbooks that are not translated into Russian are not used as much. The textbook from publisher Argo has not been translated into Russian and therefore its use in schools is restricted. The textbook by Vahtre has also not been translated into Russian, but it has been adapted to Russian-speaking schools in Estonian. Teachers normally have all existing textbooks that they use in addition to the main textbook.

3. Research methodology

Comparative analysis was carried out on how the image of *the other* is dealt with in different centuries and periods in history textbooks. The following questions were under review: 1. In which topics is *the other* dealt with: politics, culture, wars etc? 2. Is image of *the other* presented in positive or negative way? Have any estimates been presented? If yes, what kind of? What determines it? 3. What kinds of sources are used in describing *the other*: chronicle, opinion of the textbook author? 4. When or in which period of time has *the other* been dealt with the most? 5. Who is emphasized the most in *the other* and why?

4. Results

As the structure of the textbooks is chronological, the concept of *the other* is dealt with through time periods ranging from the ancient time to nowadays. Wars, conflicts and life under other political powers are dealt with from a political perspective, influence, development and achievement through cultural development. Cultural influence and development is mostly presented positively. Periods of different political powers are presented in different ways.

Criterion for assessing the image of the other is in all textbooks from the perspective of Estonian history – is activity of *the other* towards Estonia supportive, neutral or adverse? The History of Estonia is presented in textbooks as history of the country, not from

an ethnic point of view. All people living in Estonia are WE. Differences in actions and choices of people living in Estonia during specific historical events are presented separately.

4.1 *Minorities in Estonia*

Historical minorities living in Estonia since the 13th century are Germans and Swedes, who left Estonia during World War II and Russians, whose permanent settlement began in the 18th century. Until the second half of the 20th century, the proportion of minorities living in Estonia was never over 15-20%. After the Second World War the proportion of Russians living in Estonia increased very quickly due to migration, by the end of the Soviet Union they comprised 40% of the population, together with Russian-speaking Ukrainians and Byelorussians.

Attitudes towards Baltic-Germans is dual. Conquest of the land, the fact that the majority of Estonians had to stay away from land management, the development of serfdom and the reality that Baltic-Germans remained alienated to the native people even during the subsequent centuries was assessed negatively. At the same time the cultural influence and the role as mediation of the European culture of Baltic-Germans is assessed positively. Positive effect is seen *'in the deeper message of Christianity mediated by missionaries – the strengthening of European culture. European culture was based on Catholics and Latin'* (A: 55). This assessment is justified by comparison with the possible fall under Russian rule, which is clearly seen as a worse scenario: *'Occidental culture, law and structure of society were broadened to Estonia. Estonia moved from Ancient Times to higher Middle Ages that were followed in Western Europe. Everything was brought here by the German upper class. The border followed the river Narva and Lake Peipus. This helped us survive as a nation later on, protecting us from the fate of our eastern relatives. The political border prevented Russian conquest and Russification that would have followed'* (B: 46). The border of the Mongolian world reached Lake Peipus.

There are further examples of both positive and negative assessment: *'Estonians' self-realisation was held back when the highest management was taken by foreigners: Estonians did not make decisions about building towns and monasteries, there was no trade with far-away lands, there were no Estonian writers, lawyers, warriors of bishops. Culture became rustic. The successors of Estonian elders were merged with either landlords or peasants. Baltic Germans still felt alien even after 300 years. Land that once belonged to the people was taken away by force'* (A: 55). A different assessment is

illustrated with a description of a specific situation: *'During the Famine (1696-1697) the aristocracy did not help the peasants who had been turned into tenants, except for the noblemen of Palmse manor (myth), whose helpfulness is reminded even today by huge boulders that were collected from the manor's fields by thankful peasants'* (C1: 95).

The role of the church in promoting the spiritual life and connecting Estonia with the German culture is also assessed positively, as is the spread of Pietism among pastors, the Brotherhood movement and estophile activity. Baltic German ministers are considered to be the leaders of modern ideas in the 18th century. August Wilhelm Hupel, Johann Christoph Petri, Garlieb Helwig Merkel, artists Kügelgens, August von Kotzebue, who wrote Estonian lines into his plays and was a pioneer of professional Estonian theatre, are brought out as examples (C1: 122-3). Johann Georg Eisen introduced new ideas: fruit farming, dried vegetables, vaccination against smallpox; August Wilhelm Hupel published the first periodical in Estonian *Lühike Õpetus* (Short Instructions); Johann Gottfried Herder, who worked in Riga, presented Estonian native poetry in Europe in German; Anton Thor Helle translated the Bible in 1739 (C1: 124). Or the activities of Hermann von Keyserling who is best known on international scale (B: 158).

Since the second half of the 19th century, attitude towards Baltic Germans becomes more critical; they are reproached for not letting Estonians take part in managing their own land. An example of negative attitude is the arsoning and demolishing of 160 manors owned by Baltic Germans during rebellion in 1905. The idea of the Baltic Duchy would have given the Estonians autonomy only in cultural field. *'...Knighthood that was losing its position offered to reorganise municipalities and let Estonians take part in the Duma. It is unfortunate that the Baltic German nobility showed their readiness to compromise so late, without sincerity and as a last resort and was unable to surpass their pride of status. As a result, the Baltic German elite did not merge with the Estonian elite'* (B: 176). The Landeswehr war of 1919 is depicted as an open declaration of war against the hated Baltic barons.

This is the reason behind unprecedented enthusiasm about war. The victory meant permanent freedom from being a slave to the old barons and helped to avenge for injustice and humiliation that had lasted for centuries' (C1: 64). The land reform of 1919 put an end to manor estates. Manor owners, both Baltic Germans and Estonians, received certain compensation and were allowed to keep the centres of their estate. Textbooks

describe this act as restoring justice. Baltic Germans did not agree to this decision: *'The nobility let it be known on an international level that Estonia is being ruled by Bolsheviks who have no regard for private property or law that had evolved during centuries'* (B: 192). Attitude towards Baltic-Germans changed in 1939, when they left to Germany after Hitler's invitation. Cultural traditions that had lasted for a long time were broken. Approximately 14,000 people left Estonia. It is described as a cultural and economic loss. At the same time, some people felt malicious joy about this.

People who came to Estonia in different times and historical minorities: Swedes, Russians living around Lake Peipus and old believers are described very positively or in a neutral way. *'Swedes were populated in Estonian west and north-west coastal areas and islands to put an end to Vikings and pirates'* (B: 55). Areas occupied by Swedes are specified (C1: 64) and it is explained that fighting robbers was the justification given by the Swedes and 'the landlords gave the Swedes more rights', thus highlighting their special position as compared to the legal position of peasants. It is stated in all textbooks that most of the immigrants assimilated, while Swedes living on the coast and old believers preserved their particular culture.

All textbooks that were analysed deal with the topic of nationality thoroughly in the 17th century after the devastating Livonian War, when deserted land was filled with migrants. *'Finnish peasants, who preferred laborious villeinage to military service, fled to Estonia'* (C1: 95). It is particularly emphasised that several attempts to bring German peasants to Estonia were unsuccessful, however, German craftsmen and traders lived in the countryside. All nations who lived in Estonia have been listed (A: 120). There is also a comparison of the numbers of them as compared to natives and an evaluation that *'in the second quarter of the 17th century, the proportion of migrants was higher than ever before – approximately 1/5 of the population. People living in the countryside enriched the Estonian culture and became similar to Estonians, city folks became similar to Germans'* (B: 92). The enrichment of the Estonian culture can be seen as positive.

The beginning of Russian Old Believers' community is described as follows: *'immigration increased after the church schism in 1666. The church reform by Patriarch Nikon outlawed Old Believers. The first Russian villages were built on the western coast of Lake Peipus, which were home to Old Believers who did not mingle with others and followed their own traditions. At the end of the Swedish rule, some Russians merged with the Estonians, some Estonians*

merged with the Russians. More Russians came after the end of the Nordic War. It was only due to the demographic situation in Russia that prevented whole scale colonisation' (B: 118). The diversity of the Russian community is explained: 'peasants, craftsmen, merchants, fishermen settled in Alutaguse and north and west coast of Lake Peipus. ... The largest proportion of Russians was in the military. Military garrisons were situated in towns, field forces were dispersed all over the land. There were conflicts, accompanied by killing, looting and destruction. ... Russians living in towns formed a lower class together with the Estonians. There was a colony of about 2000 Russian peasants near Tallinn. Russian communities included Orthodox clergymen. There were some Russians in the administration. The military harbour in Paldiski was built by forced labour who were less than a few thousand numbers' (C1: 97).

During the national awakening period, tribal relationships with the Finnish were valued: *'During the awakening period leaders kept close contacts with the tribal Finnish people, the common Estonian-Finnish solidarity was created. The image of the Finnish bridge was rooted in consciousness and patriotic poetry. Contacts were also kept with the leaders of the Latvian national movement' (B: 147).*

The period between the two world wars is viewed as the best time for minority nations, for citizens' rights had no national limitations and the law of cultural autonomy of minority nations gave the rights of cultural self-government. The manifest for declaration of the Republic of Estonia had the title 'Manifest to all nations of Estonia'. *'The loyalty of minority nations to the Estonian country was highly valued, state administrators tried to support their culture. All minority nations had the right to education in native language and their schools were maintained by the state. National cultural and educational movement was encouraged, Russians and Germans were allowed to use their native languages in professional communication. Germans, Russians, Swedes and all communities whose number exceeded the limit of 3000 were acknowledged as minority nations. Germans and Jews valued the establishment of cultural governments. Russians and Swedes took care of their interests through local administrations. National conflicts were unknown in Estonia. Estonia was the only country in Europe where minority nations were given such rights' (C2: 59-60).* On one hand, this demonstrates the attitude of a democratic country, on the other hand this also shows the authors' attempt to describe the period of independence in a better way not only for the natives, but also for the development of other nations.

All textbooks assess post-USSR national politics in Estonia negatively. Giving economic and social advantages to immigrants and

causing the risk of Estonians becoming a minority nation in their own land are brought out as the main problems. In 1989, the proportion of Estonians in the population was only 61.5%. Areas, where other languages dominated, were formed (mostly in North-East Estonia), where the majority of inhabitants could not speak a word in Estonian and where the locals were prohibited to return. The only differences in textbooks are in the examples that were used. *'...In 1945-1950 approximately 170 000 immigrants started working in industry and flats were given to them in first priority. The so-called civil occupation prevailed during Stalin's rule, it subsided in the meantime but commenced again in the 1960-s. As a result, Russian-speaking cities and towns were established in North-East Estonia'* (A: 266). Additionally, it is written that *'some areas were closed for Estonians in order to contribute to the Russian colonisation. The citizens of Narva and Paldiski were not allowed to return to their home towns. Sillamäe was founded as a new town'* (B: 247). A strong Russification policy started in 1978 – turning non-Russian people of the USSR into Russians. *'Every year, approximately 10 000 new immigrants of different language and mentality came, Estonians had become a minority nation in their own land, Estonian language was not enough in many areas anymore'* (A: 278). In addition, the presence of the Soviet Army is presented as a problem: *'people had to leave the areas that had been promised to the army, the funds of housing were partly given to the army, violent Soviet army'* (C2, 102).

It is stated in all textbooks that the conflict between language and culture of the immigrants and the locals was explicit and caused a lot of problems. *'The administration in the Kremlin aimed to arbitrarily merge different nations and create a new Soviet Russian people by destroying the political, economic and cultural elite. They were partly successful. There were many proud nomads among the immigrants who had lost their nationality, language and roots long ago. The late colonists were guided mainly by material welfare and thought of themselves as members of the Soviet people and did not care for the national interests of Estonians'* (B: 247). Although this evaluation is correct from an Estonian's point of view and the text refers to the partial success of such politics, this kind of expression in textbooks can cause tension, rather than involve students. Nomad is a member of nomadic people and this term should not be used to represent immigrants. If there are successors of people who came to Estonia in that way, then they will not feel as part of *us*, they will feel as invasive strangers. Textbooks do not describe the problem in a wide spectre. In addition to those who were just looking for a better life, some migrants came not by their own choice, but because they had been

sent to work or study and for some it was a personal, yet necessary choice. The politics of a state, especially that of totalitarian nature, have always manipulated the people, forced them to choose and subsequent generations cannot be held responsible for this. Textbooks include a sensitive issue, but dealing with it is left in the hands of the teacher.

USSR politics supportive activities of the empire-minded people during the re-independence process of Estonia have been negatively assessed. They stood for the survival of USSR and regarded the Estonians' fight for freedom as violation of law and demanded that a counterstroke be delivered for any manifestation of nationalism. In this context the political conscience was important, not the nation. 1/3 of non-Estonians supported the independence of Estonia in a referendum. The movement of the citizens' committees (1989) registered the citizens of Estonia (regardless of nationality): *'pro-imperial forces tried to use constraints from Moscow to their own advantage. Strike committees were formed against the language law and Estonians symbols to protect the soviet reign. The conversion of North-East Estonia into an autonomic oblast was strived for'* (C2: 146).

If compared to Estonians, who lived in Estonia under the Soviet occupation, a part of the nation changed into another (*the others*) in its own way. Also, Estonians who lived in the territory of Russia and attained political positions in Estonia in 1950s after the repressions are dealt like *the others*. They were alienated. *'Approximately 70 000 people came to Estonia during the war'* (C2: 137).

After the Second World War approximately 80 000 refugees, including intellectuals, left Estonia and created an Estonian population in the world. None of the textbooks analysed leaves this fact unmentioned. Their active public service and cultural life are the most important, also the role of informing the world of the situation in Estonia. Looking from Estonian point of view, contacts with foreign Estonians had both a personal (communicating with relatives) and public measure. The role of Foreign Estonia in maintaining the idea of Estonia and independence is acknowledged in textbooks.

4.2 Foreign Powers

Different foreign powers (church states that were mostly reigned by Germans in the Middle Ages, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Russia) were in control of Estonia from the beginning of the 13th century until establishing statehood after the First World War.

Swedish power in Estonian history is described positively. Sweden requested a consolidation of its power. Steps like the affirmation of Lutheranism, promoting the education of peasants, establishing the Tartu University, limiting the power of landlords were supported by the Estonians. Although the situation of peasants did not improve (serfdom was established), the restriction of the power of landlords gave hope to peasants. Numerous stories and peasants-friendly images confirm the positive attitude towards the king Charles XII who ruled Sweden during the Nordic War. Several examples are given in textbooks to confirm this: Charles XII planted trees, visited peasant weddings, associated with the locals (A: 135), ate from the same table as the peasants, planted oaks, lost a horseshoe or a boot, was hidden in the chimney so that the Russians would not find him. According to a legend, Charles XII will return when a stick that he once put in the soil goes green (C1: 93). The Swedish reign and good relations with the peasants are illustrated by several examples, among which is the fact that Swedish warriors who were housed during the Nordic War were godfathers to peasants' children. A Land watch of Estonian peasants was formed during the Swedish reign, the members of which were free of duties to the landlords, thus raising the Estonians' self-awareness (C1: 92). Another fact which shows support for Sweden is that most of the Estonians fought on the Swedish side during the devastating Polish-Swedish War in 1600-1629 (B: 92).

A negative attitude is given to Russia because of the devastation during the Livonian and the Nordic War. The Livonian War is assessed as a catastrophe to Estonians: *'Half of the population died. Killing, looting and plague that lasted for a generation (and continued soon afterwards) turned people cold and their manners wild. Flourishing cities and trading degenerated and did not achieve the former importance ever again'* (B: 85). The description of the situation during the Nordic War is similar in textbooks. Looting and arson was carried out by Russian troops during the Nordic War, the citizens of Narva and Tartu were deported. Tartu was completely demolished (burned down and blown up). A specific example is given as a letter from Sheremetiev to the Tsar: *'My Lord, there is nothing left to destroy. The entire Livonia and part of Estonia is so empty that the places still exist only on the map'* (A: 136).

The cruelty of Tartar warriors has been pointed out. The policy of Tsarist Russia after the Nordic War left peasants at the mercy of landlords. Russians revoked the reduction, there was no hope of

being freed from serfdom. *'Serfdom was an exception in Sweden, free peasants were an exception in Russia'* (A: 139).

Catherine II tried to change all provinces so that they would be more like Russia and this is also assessed negatively. This is confirmed by an example: *'Vice regency limited the administration of towns and neighborhoods, local historical, national and religious specialities were not taken into account'* (C1: 103). The development of industry in Estonia during the 19th century is dealt with in a similarly critical way: *'Industry was expanded without taking into account the interest of locals, only the interests of the Russian empire as a whole were regarded'* (C1: 142). In the beginning of the 20th century Estonia was one of the most well-developed industrial areas of Russia, but textbooks also mention the interests of Russia and discount the local circumstances as an explanation to this, as in the previous period. At the same time, the opening of the Tallinn-St. Petersburg railway line is brought out as positive for it activated trade and let settlements be built next to the railway.

Russification in the 19th century was a setback to the achievements of the period of National Awakening, as was the spreading of orthodoxy. Still, something positive is brought out: *'knowing Russian allowed people to continue their education in Russia, have a career as a public servant or officer'* (C2: 155).

The Second World War and German occupation are difficult issues in the history of Estonia. The Soviet occupation began in 1940 bringing the Soviet troops to the bases, the appointment of a puppet government and controlled elections with forged results, the incorporation of Estonia into the USSR, which brought along a different regime, economic changes, the dismantling of society, arrests, repressions, deportations. All textbooks state that when Germans who had declared war against USSR arrived in 1941, they were welcomed as saviours from the Soviet reign of fear and terror. The Germans did not support the Estonians' fight for independence. This was a great disappointment. The textbook describes that *'Germans soon discredited themselves, when it was clear that the Germans did not care for independent Estonia, but they saw freshly occupied areas as just a part of Soviet Union under occupation'* (C2: 84). *'Estonians welcomed Germans as saviours. 55 000 men signed up for Self Defence, police or east- and police battalions established by the German command. Estonian independence was not regained to the great disappointment of Estonians'* (B: 237). *'It was hoped that the West would do something for the Baltic States on the grounds of the Atlantic Carta'* (B: 240).

All textbooks mention establishing concentration camps in Estonia, where approximately 30 000 people brought here from abroad were executed. All Jews and Gypsies were killed. Estonians' participation in Holocaust is explained by cooperating with German occupiers, which was caused by communist crimes. It is stated in the textbooks that both totalitarian regimes used Estonia in their own interests.

The occupation of the Estonian Republic in 1940 and the Soviet occupation itself during 50 years is described in the darkest colours. The policy of USSR did not take into account the interests and specificity of Estonia. Political subjection cut off the cultural life in addition to independent statehood, created an ecological crisis and downturn in economics as well as life standards. Erasing historical memory, including the burning of books and repressions, influenced the post-war generation, the young were raised in the spirit of Soviet ideology. Human losses were great due to deportations, arrests and executions. One nation became another, if compared to Estonians living in Estonia under the Soviet occupation. There are no positive examples of the Soviet period in textbooks. However, Boris Yeltsin's appeal to the Soviet Army in Baltic countries in 1991 not to use weapons towards civilians and his courage to accept Estonian independence is brought out positively. But the 'Near abroad' doctrine of 1992 shows the interest of Russia towards Baltic States – former area of the USSR. Relations with Russia are tense because of the Treaty of Tartu, and the problem of the border, and occupation in 1940.

4.3 Neighbouring Countries

Close neighbours, Finland and Latvia, are both represented positively. Estonia and Latvia share the history of the Old Livonia. Only raiding in Estonia by Lithuanians, who were baptized later, is dealt with in a critical way. The Baltic States shared similar fates before, during and after the Second World War and in the process of regaining independence. Disagreements between the three Baltic States that would not allow cooperation before the Second World War are also mentioned. Finland is marked in connection to the different events in the 20th century. Finnish help in the Estonian War of Independence is appreciated and there is sympathy for Finland over the Winter War. The Finnish Army is preferred to the armies of other states. The influences of Finnish television and contacts with

Finland during the Soviet time are marked positively – a window to the West.

5. Conclusions

All three textbooks are quite similar in representing images of *the other*. The same events and processes are dealt with. It is understandable, because textbooks should follow the National Curriculum. But there are some differences as well. Some topics are dealt with in more depth, and more emotionally. The textbook of the publisher Avita includes more facts and less evaluation. The textbook of the publisher Argo devotes more attention than others towards different nations in Estonian history and is more emotional. The textbook by Vahtre connects the history of Estonia and European history and is written in an emotional language. Textbooks seek to avoid evaluations.

All three textbooks always make references to the sources: chronicles, Scandinavian sagas, Russian chronicles, written sources. Authors are more neutral when they characterise earlier periods of history – examples of the aggression show the inroads of both Estonians and their neighbours. For the characterisation of the Soviet time, a lot of sources and statistics are used, but in evaluations the feeling of the loss of independence and compassion of the Estonians tragedy is present. This period is the most emotional in the textbooks analysed. It cannot be another way around if we are looking from the point of view of the native people. But at the same time it can be quite difficult for a pupil from a Russian-speaking school to study about civil-occupation (migration policy), if she or he represents the same position because of the policy of the USSR on her or his parents.

As a result of this analysis it is not possible to say that Estonian textbooks are free of the endeavour of glorifying national history and the complex of the victim – to show in textbooks how the native people suffer because of *the others*. Political history, which brings out conflicts and sensitive topics, unfortunately predominates over social and cultural history. Textbooks could use more examples from the history and culture of *the others*. For example the role and fate of the Russian Whites in the Estonian War of Independence (1918-1920) could be dealt with in more depth, or the contribution of Russian scientists and intellectuals during the period of the Republic of

Estonia, describing the specific culture and traditions of minority nations and not being limited to simply acknowledging their existence. Of course, the format and frame of textbook must be taken into consideration – chapters cannot be exaggerated or opened in disproportionate ways. Perhaps some supportive books of specific topics would be of use, so that teachers could make choices by keeping in mind the interests of the students.

Events in history are evaluated according to international law and democratic principles. Violence as the policy of the totalitarian state deserves condemnation in any case. No other understanding is acceptable if we are speaking about the condemnation of crimes against humanity. But dealing with sensitive topics in the classroom is always problematic and at the moment it is left for the teacher to deal with. The national curriculum states the objectives and opens the content through topics. Teaching methodology that is best suited for specific school levels is described in the syllabus. These regulations form a base for textbooks. An anonymous student of appropriate age is the addressee. Textbooks do not and probably could not take into account the composition of each class. And there cannot be many alternative textbooks in such a small country. What can the teacher do? Is adaptation of the text helpful? Should history be written neutrally and only with facts without any evaluation at all? Or should textbooks present different stories and memories to add the human dimension to political history? There are several more questions. Everything starts from the question – what is the aim of the history teaching that we follow? At the moment, the teacher is the one who must answer these questions and deal with the problems by considering the students' interests.

Notes

¹ Eesti Vabariigi Haridusseadus. RT I, 02.07.2012, 10.

² Põhikooli riiklik õppekava. RT I, 20.09.2011, 9. Gümnaasiumi riiklik õppekava. RT I, 20.09.2011, 2.

³ The principles of history teaching are based on Robert Stradling's views on emphasizing multiperspectivity in history teaching. Stradling's book (Stradling, 2003) has been translated into Estonian: Stradling, R. (2005), *Multiperspektiivsus ajaloo õpetamisel. Teejuht õpetajale*, Tallinn: Koolibri.

⁴ Gümnaasiumi riiklik õppekava. RT I, 20.09.2011, 2.

⁵The importance of placing national history into a wider European context has also been emphasized in a handbook by Robert Stradling (2001). This book has been translated into Estonian as well.

⁶ Basic school students can choose to study in either Estonian or Russian speaking schools in Estonia. Basic school, including forms 1-9, is for students at the age of 7-15 years. Education is compulsory until the end of basic school or until the student reaches the age of 17.

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CRUSADES AND PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE IN THE NEAR EAST? AND WHAT DO CURRENT HISTORY TEXTBOOKS TELL?

Elisabeth Erdmann

For pragmatic reasons the contribution focuses only on the crusades, which aimed at gaining Jerusalem. The main emphasis is be put on the different crusades and the military conflicts but on the question of how these various groups, who came from different countries and had different denominations, lived together and next to each other from the 11th to the 13th century. Archaeological results and written sources of different contexts are consulted and compared. Not only are historiographies and crusaders' notes presented, but also poems and accounts of journeys by Muslim authors are introduced. Besides, current German history textbooks are examined and it is analysed whether they mainly stress military events or daily life. Finally, there are some recommendations on how to deal with the topic in history education.

The term 'crusade' has been mentioned in various contexts and is not only restricted to conflicts in the Middle Ages in the Near East. There were also crusades in Europe as for example the crusade against the Catharists (Albigensois) in southern France. It is also used in modern – yet not only military – conflicts, like crusades against the use of alcohol or crusades for the concept of atheism (Hehl, 1994: 298-9).¹

For pragmatic reasons, I will only refer to those crusades which aimed at the city of Jerusalem.

1. The Taking of Jerusalem and the Situation in the Middle East

As it is known, the taking of Jerusalem in 1099 was extremely bloody. The various authors who say so, refer to provable traditions from the Old Testament to the Apocalypse (Herbers, 2001: 428-9). It is known now that people in Damascus provided lodgings for Muslim refugees from Jerusalem and Palestine. Documents from the Geniza of the Ben-Ezra synagogue in Old-Cairo state that with the help of Jewish communities in Cairo and Ashkelon paid for the release of Jews from Jerusalem, and they were also able to re-acquire captured rolls (Elm,

2001: 45; Kedar, 1990: 144). With that, it is not intended to relativize the massacre; yet dealing with sources in a well-considered and academic way can lead to a differentiated assessment from a historic perspective. As a matter of fact it can be stated that the event evoked horror in the Jewish and (even more so) in the Islamic world and its remembrance has remained ever since (Erdmann, 2009: 237).

As it is known, the Islamic world was then preoccupied with itself and military conflicts amongst itself. The killing and death of some leaders (in particular, between 1092-94) and religious disputes between Seljuq Sunnites and Fatamid Shiites had caused a power vacuum in the Muslim world. The Seljuqs in Iran could have best withstood the Crusaders but they did not take the conflict at its borders too seriously for interrupting their own power struggles. There are some Arabic sources – also in verse – which ask the Muslims and in particular the military elite to fight, yet without succeeding. It was not until Imad ad-Din Zengi (murdered 1146) and his energetic son Nur ad-Din (1146-1174) of Aleppo that the counteroffensive of the Muslims began (Mayer, 1965: 109-10, 120-2). In the following, I will not deal with the various Crusades and the numerous military conflicts between Crusaders and Muslims, but how the different groups, Western and Eastern Christians, Muslims and Jews, lived together and co-existed.

I will mainly base my accounts on Fulcher of Chartres and William of Tyre as representatives of Crusaders and their descendants, as well as on different Muslim voices and legal and archaeological accounts before mentioning results of a schoolbook analysis and its resulting conclusions.

2. The View of the Crusaders and its Descendants in the Middle East

Fulcher of Chartres (1059-1127) witnessed the council of Clermont, took the cross and was ordained as chaplain by Balduin of Boulogne. He then became canon of the church of Holy Sepulchre. He published *Historia Hierosolymitana*, which he re-worked several times and which he continued (Epp, 1990: 24-44; Hiestand, 1995: 63-4). It was not only required to understand those who had different beliefs when meeting them in person or when being in the armed forces of the Crusaders. In the first Crusade, the different processions had started in different countries on their way to

Constantinople. They merged after crossing the Bosphorus. One can vividly imagine how difficult the communication between the participants must have been. Fulcher noted: 'Whoever has heard the languages of so many peoples in one army as there were: Franks, Flemings, Frisians, Gaul, Allobrogians, Lotharingians, Alemanns, Bavarians, Normans, English, Scots, Aquitanians, Italians (*Italiker*), Daker, Apulians, Iberians, Bretonians, Greek and Armenians? If a Brit or Teuton asked me anything, I would not know how to answer. But although we spoke a different tongue, we seemed harmonious like brothers under the love of God' (Fulcher von Chartres: Hagenmeyer, Lib. I, cap. 13, 4/5). Fulcher not only mentions language differences but also differences in dialect, which also caused differences in understanding. His account on brotherly harmony amongst the Crusaders must definitely be regarded with some form of scepticism, although it is noted that the military leaders did not always see eye to eye.

Not long after the bloodbaths of the first Crusade, at the latest with the taking of Sidon in 1110, did the Franks – as the Crusaders were called by the Muslims – resort to moderate behaviour. This, however, had little to do with humanitarian thoughts. Obvious economic and political reasons – in terms of settlement and population strategy – were behind this change of thought. Since Sidon, it had become a rule to allow all those who did not want to live under Frankish rule to emigrate with all personal belongings and families. Whoever decided to stay was able to live in relatively good living conditions. The massacres of the early period had made most survivors flee. Both had led to a lack of people, which could not easily be resolved, so the Crusaders urgently needed to make the rural population stay as they contributed significantly to economic life (Favreau-Lilie, 2001: 62). Only strictly religious Muslims preferred emigrating as Koran law dictates to avoid the land of the Unbelieving (Favreau-Lilie, 2001: 72).

A few years before his death, Fulcher drew the following conclusion of the development: 'We, who were people from the West (*Abendländer*), have become Orientals (*Orientalen*); those who were Romans or Frankish have become inhabitants of Galilee or Palestine; those who lived in Reims or Chartres now regard themselves as inhabitants of Tyre or Antioch. We have already forgotten our birthplaces; many of us already do not know them any longer or at least do not any longer hear speak about them. Some of us own

houses or servants in this country, given from the father or inherited; another married a woman who is not a compatriot but a woman from Syria or even a Saracen, who received the grace of baptism; another has his son-in-law or daughter-in-law with him or his father-in-law or his stepson; he is surrounded by his nephews or even his great-nephews; the one cultivates vineyards, the other fields; they speak different languages but have all managed to understand each other. The different dialects are now part of all nations and trust links those who do not know about their different backgrounds.² It is shown here how Fulcher – and evidently other Franks, too – adapted to the new situation. Yet, the people mentioned are Christians or converted Christians, not Muslims or Jews. In her dissertation on Fulcher, the medievalist Verena Epp notes: *'Getting to know a different world for Fulcher (and his moderate temper) does not show any signs of irreconcilable hatred for his environment or parts of it but results, in the case of the Muslims in plain dissociation – linked with sharpened consciousness of one's own identity, relating to oriental Christians (Ostchristen) and to Muslims who had converted to Christian faith, to Fulcher's willingness to integrate'* (Epp, 1990: 43-4).

William of Tyre (around 1130-1186) came from a family who had lived in its third generation in the Holy Land. Born and raised in Jerusalem, he studied liberal arts in French schools, scholastic theology in Paris and law in Bologna and then returned to the Orient, where – due to his knowledge of the Arabic and Greek language – he gained insight into the cultural traditions of the Christian and Islamic Orient. He then got promoted to Educator of the Prince (*Prinzenerzieher*), to historian of the court, advisor and diplomat, Chancellor of the kingdom of Jerusalem and, ultimately, became the Archbishop of Tyre. The historian Rainer Christoph Schwinges mentioned the term tolerance in the title of his dissertation on William. According to him, he thought and acted just according to the old-established oriental Latin families, who were both keen on expansion and conciliation. *'He is known of reasonable, not ideological thinking, so the chances for a bearable if not peaceful co-existence of different peoples and religions only depend on the binding nature of the law, which one is willing to grant to others as well'* (Schwinges, 1977: 260f). It did not stop just at the thoughts but was put into practice, as the report of a Muslim traveller shows.³

3. The View of the Muslims

After the catastrophes of the first Crusades, there were Muslim poets who lamented the fall of Jerusalem, yet who, at the same time, were opposing those Muslims who allowed the horrible events happen. These are the verses of an anonymous Muslim poet, which were certainly aimed at presenting to an audience (translated by Carole Hillenbrand):

*'The unbelief of the infidels has declared it lawful to inflict harm on Islam, causing prolonged lamentation for the faith.
What is right is null and void and what is forbidden is [now] made licit.
The sword is cutting and blood is spilt.
How many Muslim men have become booty?
And how many Muslim women's inviolability has been plundered?
How many a mosque have they made into a church!
The cross has been set up in the mihrab.
The blood of the pig is suitable for it.
Qurans have been burned under the guise of incense.
Do you not owe an obligation to God and Islam,
Defending thereby young men and old?
Respond to God: woe on you! Respond!'*⁴

Furthermore, fragments of the legal scholar and preacher al-Sulami of Damascus were bequeathed, who in 1105/06 accurately analysed the situation and called for a jihad against the Franks, but who, like the poets, found little response.⁵

All his life, Usama Ibn Munqidh, emir of Saizar (1095-1188) had good relations with the Franks as well as with the emir of Syria and with the caliph of the Fatimids in Egypt. In his memoirs, 'Book of Explanation via Examples', he clearly differentiated between Franks, who had been living in the Middle East for a while, and newcomers. The Franks had always been dependant on influx from Europe.

'All Franks, who have only recently left their countries, are cruder in character as those who have already been accustomed to our country and have been dealing with Muslims. Here is an example of a crude character – may God cover them in disgrace! Every time that I went to Jerusalem, I went to the Al-Aqsa mosque, at whose side there is a small praying room, which the Franks turned into a church. As soon as I had entered the Al-Aqsa mosque, where the Templars were, they would clear the small praying room for me so I was able to pray there. When I

was entering again on another day and said "Allahu akbar" and was preparing for my prayers, a Frank was rushing towards me, grabbed me, turned my face eastwards and said: "That is how you should pray!" Some Templars were rushing towards him, grabbed him and took him away from me. I continued praying. The Frank, however, made use of a moment in which the Templars were not paying attention, was again rushing towards me, turned my face eastwards and said: "That is how you should pray!" Upon which the Templars came in again and carried him away. They apologized to me and said: "He is a foreigner, he had only recently moved here from the land of the Franks and had never seen anybody pray in another direction as eastwards." – "I have prayed enough", I said and went away. I was amazed about the fact how the colour of the face of this devil had changed, how he was shaking and how he was behaving looking at someone praying towards Mecca' (Usama ibn Munqidh: Rotter, 153).

This example not only shows the differences between 'the old-established' and 'the newcomers', yet also an unexpected tolerance of the Franks in questions of faith. With regard to the bloody taking of Jerusalem, it is surprising that the Islamic shrines like the Dome of the Rock and the Al-Aqsa mosque were not destroyed. It is known from a Muslim pilgrim's guide that the praying room of Usama Ibn Munqidh was preserved and visible at the latest until 1173 (Möhring, 1998: 136-7) while after the retaking of Jerusalem by Saladin, all Christian inscriptions, altars and monoliths were removed, under the rule of the Crusaders the Koran's inscriptions remained visible and unviolated. Yet this presumably was no sign of tolerance, the Christians were not able to read the inscriptions and – as Hannes Möhring shows – did not try to translate them, which was certainly true for newcomers from Europe (Möhring, 1998: 130-3). The Muslims were not allowed to live in Jerusalem during the reign of the Crusaders but they were given the right to visit the shrines. In this respect, no exception was made for Usama ibn Munqidh (Möhring, 1998: 137; Riley-Smith, 2005: 59). Other shrines in the country, like for example Hebron, were also allowed to visit. It is also proven that there were several mosques in Nablus and that there was at least one mosque in Tyre. It can be deducted from that fact that there were mosques in all cities. In Acre, the former main mosque had been turned into a church, yet Muslims were allowed to pray in it (Möhring, 1998: 139; Hillenbrand, 1999: 379). To show how deep the cultural divide was, one should read Usama ibn Munqidh's reaction to the offer of a Frankish friend to take Usama's then 14-year-old son to his home country so that he could study cleverness and chivalry.

Usama responded in an extremely friendly way but writes, 'even if my son had been taken prisoner, this could not have been any worse for him than go to the land of the Franks!' As an introduction to that story, he writes: *'Praise to the Lord who has created it all! If you got to know the Franks, you can only praise the sublime Lord and regard the Franks as animals who – except courage and courage to fight – do not possess any other virtues'* (Usama ibn Munqidh: Rotter 150f).

In the years 1183-1185, Ibn Dschubair, a religious Muslim from Spain, went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and wrote an account of his journey. In 1184, he was travelling from Damascus towards Acre. *'Our way constantly led us through ploughed fields and organised settlements, whose settlers were all Muslims and were living peacefully with the Franks. May God save us from such temptations! During harvest season, they hand over half of their yield to the Franks, and, in addition to that, pay a capitation tax of one dinar and five qirat per person. Apart from that, one does not interfere with their matters, other than a little tax on fruit on their trees. Their houses and all their estates remain in their full possession. All coastal cities which had been occupied by the Franks, are being administered that way; their rural districts, the villages and farms belong to the Muslims. Their hearts have been seduced because they observe how much more laboriously their brothers live in the Muslim regions under their own governors. This is a mishap for the Muslims! The Muslim community complains about the injustice of a lord of the manor of their own belief and applauds the behaviour of its counterpart and enemy, the Frankish lord of the manor and gets used to his justice'* (Ibn Dschubair: Günther, 224f).

These words show that the traveller regards the organised and lawful affairs under the reign of the Crusaders as a danger for the Muslim world. According to him, they were seduced into living under the reign of Christians instead of following Koran law and submitting themselves to Muslim reign. He also talks about the fact that Christian servants of the customs house in Acre not only speak Arabic, but that they also use it in writing. In this context, he stresses that the inspection of the luggage for dutiable goods happened 'politely and with respect, without force and injustice' (Ibn Dschubair: Günther, 225). The servants in the customs house presumably were oriental Christians. Even if Ibn Dschubair was in the mentioned area only briefly as a tourist, his report is being confirmed by a contemporary (Imad al-Din), who had spent some time in Damascus and was a confidant of Saladin (Hillenbrand, 1999: 365).

4. Sources of the Law and Archaeological Results

A study on alliances and treaties among Christian and Islamic rulers in the Middle East of the 12th and 13th century by Michal A. Köhler (1991) found that – despite all conflicts – an integration of the Frankish state system in the political landscape of Syria took place. He also found out that the actual influence of the Crusade or jihad concept was generally less important than otherwise stated. The fact that the legal systems were hardly compatible did not pose insuperable hindrance for the legal organisation of mutual relations. The general chronological limitation of treaties, which generally were only armistices, and the jurisprudential impossibility of permanent peace between both sides, in practice did not hinder contractual regulations. The development of the law followed political requirements (Köhler, 1991: 429-31).

Excavations of a Frankish village west of Jerusalem in Qubeibeh did not only show a systematic construction of a ‘new settlement’, but also proved that the Frankish settlers did not drive out the local population but that they only took over abandoned places or that they built new ones (Krüger, 2005: 65-8). This confirms that there were no mixed settlements but that there were villages which were inhabited by Muslims, then those of oriental Christians, of Frankish colonists and – finally – of Jews who focused on Galilee. Farmers in the villages were granted a certain amount of legal autonomy, so conflicts of civil law and within the farmers’ communities were tried and decided on in their courts, which were chaired by the village elders. They also were allowed to exercise their beliefs even if one case is bequeathed where the lord of the manor wanted to stop this, which caused people to flee (Favreau-Lilie, 2001: 71-2). There were separate residential areas for the different populations and religious groups even in cities, which almost certainly contributed to internal peace. As in rural areas, they had a certain amount of legal autonomy. The markets were presumably the most important meeting places between Franks and locals. There had been the decree since 1120 that Muslims were not allowed to wear Frankish clothing. This for one surely meant exclusion, it also showed that there must have been Muslims who wanted to adapt. By the way, the Jews were not forced to wear any specific costume or dress (Kedar, 1997: 137; Favreau-Lilie, 2001: 73-6).

5. Conclusions

According to what has already been said, it becomes evident that Crusaders did not live ‘multi-culturally’ with each other, but rather lived in peaceful co-existence which – despite all conflicts – lasted for two centuries. The medievalist Bernd Schneidmüller concludes in the conference publication ‘Confrontation of cultures? Saladin and the Crusaders’: *‘It is part of human characteristics not always to own an ardent heart; this sometimes makes them well-natured. Yet more realistic than the ideal Lessing... the medieval singer Rutebeuf announces the comforting envelope of an ardent heart to the pure necessity to live. In [German] translation, his message to Crusaders and realists is: If wine at the fireplace close to the chimney has gone to your head, then you take the cross without it being preached to you. Then, you would like to hit the sultan and his fellows. You will bring ruin upon them. But when you get up the next morning, you speak a different language: All wounded are healed, and the dead persons have risen. Some will go hunting rabbits, others will try to catch a duck or two; because fighting is no game’* (Schneidmüller, 2005; 186-7).

5.1 *What do Today’s History Textbooks Tell about the Crusades?*

How are the Crusades presented in today’s school books? I only analysed the current history textbooks which are allowed for the different school types in Bavaria, yet the copies of the respective school book publishers generally only differ minimally from the other German states. Due to the space available this can neither be a representative nor a detailed textbook analysis, but only tendencies can be demonstrated. I will pay particular attention if information is given on the daily lives of the time of the Crusades. I will not mention imprecise or unavailable references to written and visual sources.

Lower secondary school (*Hauptschule*): In the curriculum of Year 6, the subject History/Social Studies/Geography, which is taught two hours a week, lists under the headline ‘Encounters with Islam in the Middle Ages’, the sub-headline ‘Islamic-Christian conflicts: Crusades’. It is not surprising that – given the short amount of time – just the military battles are referred to in the books, possibly, the takeover of the way of living of the enemy is sometimes mentioned.⁶

Lower secondary school (*Realschule*): The current curriculum lists the Crusades in Year 7 as fourth aspect under ‘Encounters with peoples, religions and cultures’: ‘Encounters of Occident and Orient:

conflicts (i.e. Crusades) and contacts to the Arabic world'.⁷ For that, the four allowed books list four to eight pages. The taking of Jerusalem is referred to in all books, in three of them, one Christian and one Muslim source are being compared to each other, in one of them, two Christian sources. Furthermore, the cultural transfer from the Arabic world to the Europeans is being stressed. In two books, it is mentioned that the cultural transfer was much more important in Spain and Sicily than in the Middle East. In one of the books, the daily lives of the Crusaders are mentioned. *'Only few were looking for real contacts with locals. People lived next to each other and not with each other. Crusaders who had only come to the Holy Land for a short while were mainly causing incidents. They wanted to quickly realize their vow to fight the Muslims. For that, they often brutally went for the locals'* (Zeitreise, 2009: 94). The following page shows Fulcher of Chartres' report and Usama Ibn Munqidh's recollections during his prayer in al Aqsa.

The curriculum for upper secondary schools (*Gymnasium*) also deals with the Crusades in Year 7, under the sub-headline of 'religious conflicts and cultural encounters during the time of the Crusades'.⁸ The four allowed books present four to ten pages on this topic. At times, there are sources from Christian and Arabic perspective about the taking of Jerusalem. All books mention that the cultural transfer mainly happened in Spain and Sicily, less in Palestine or Syria. Three books mention Usama ibn Munqidh's report about the deterrent examples of Frankish healing techniques as sources. In one of these books, Usana (sic) Ibn Munqidh is referred to as an Arabic doctor in Spain, even though the book, which this source was taken from, gives the correct name and origin of the author (*Geschichte und Geschehen*, 2005: 55).

5.2 Demands for history teaching

In my view, it would be important to state that the Christian Crusaders in Syria and Palestine did not just encounter Muslims but also resident oriental Christians and Jews. The Reign of the Crusaders after all lasted for two hundred years in the aforementioned areas, which did not always contain combat but also had its peaceful times. The Muslims were able to stay in their villages, they had to pay taxes, as they had to do before, but they were given some form of legal autonomy in civil rights and were allowed to live their faith. The situation was similar for Jews. There were Muslim villages, of oriental Christians, of Jews (mainly in Galilee) and of Crusaders. In the cities,

separate living areas existed as well. The market was for both villagers and people from the cities the most important meeting place. Non-Christians were not allowed to live in Jerusalem but they were allowed to visit their shrines, like Muslims and Jews. By the way, in emergencies, they were treated in the hospital of the Knights of St. John in Jerusalem (Riley-Smith, 2005: 59). One still cannot talk about multi-cultural living together but rather about a pragmatically organised co-existence. But especially with respect to today's conflicts in the Middle East it is important that pupils learn about the daily lives of Palestinians and Syrians during the time of the Crusades.

Notes

¹ The word 'crusades' brings 77 300 000 entries in Google (20.9.2012).

² Fulcher of Chartres: Hagenmeyer, Lib. III, cap. XXXVII, 3-5, transl. following Pernoud (1962) 125.

³ See below p. xx.

⁴ Hillenbrand, 1997: 137-8 with note 28: The lines of an anonymous poet quoted by the historian Ibn Taghribirdi, p. 151-2. Hillenbrand also shows that there is also a similarity between the Arab words for 'boot' and 'rape'.

⁵ Hillenbrand, 1999: 108-16; Christie, 2007: 1 tries to analyse the style of Al-Sulami, but says nothing about his listeners.

⁶<http://www.isb.bayern.de/isb/download.aspx?DownloadFileID=15497f5621e148ad7f76d5a4a9f7c275> (24.9.2012).

⁷<http://www.isb.bayern.de/isb/download.aspx?DownloadFileID=bed12502d788504a6f48ee8e31a4cfd7> (24.9.2012).

⁸<http://www.isb-gym8-lehrplan.de/contentsew/3.1.neu/g8.de/index.php?StoryID=26282> (24.9.2012).

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**SUPPORTING EUROCENTRISM
OR EXPLORING DIVERSITY?
PROBLEMS AND POTENTIALS
OF THE PRESENTATION OF ANCIENT GREECE
IN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS**

Katja Gorbahn

This article summarizes the results of a textbook analysis that investigates the presentation of Archaic and Classical Greece in recent and current German textbooks. It argues that an interpretation of Ancient Greece as the origin of a supreme Western civilization is still present in these textbooks. However, it also argues that such an interpretation is biased and does not address challenges such as globalization and migration. This article explores suggestions for alternative approaches to Ancient Greek history, and discusses key notions of contextualization, differentiation, and diversity of antiquity reception. Finally, it puts forward a critical concept of 'culture' that incorporates diversity.

'What the Ancient Greeks thought and invented has been an example for Europeans for over half a millennium. Where did they come from, where did they live, what did they think and invent, why are they still considered role models? You can explore all of this on the following pages'.¹ This quotation, taken from an introduction to the chapter on Ancient Greece in a German history textbook for lower secondary school pupils, introduces the Ancient Greeks as a coherent group, whose integrity is portrayed as persisting through the passage of time. The Greeks are removed from the context of the Ancient Orient and appear to exist in a kind of vacuum. Furthermore, Ancient Greece is connected to modern Europe by key terms such as 'role model' and 'example'.

This quotation reflects a narrative which identifies Ancient Greece as the source of European or Western civilization. This narrative emerged at the end of the 18th century and became prevalent during the 19th century.² In the last few decades, it has been contested and rejected in scholarly literature; for example, from a global history perspective.³ However, in history culture, it remains a widely present, if not predominant, narrative. Even during commentary on the current Eurozone Crisis, Greece is continuously referred to in

countless variants as the cradle of European civilization and democracy.

In this article, I will outline some of the results of an analysis of recent and current German textbooks for first-year historical learning in lower secondary school, which analyzes the presentation of Greece in the Archaic and Classical periods.⁴ I wish to demonstrate that a historical construction still appears in many textbooks which (1) isolates Ancient Greece from its context, especially the Ancient Orient; (2) is based on an essentialist concept of group, picturing the Greeks as a coherent and stable ethnic group or 'culture' and setting it in opposition to other groups, thereby creating bipolar contrasts between in-groups and out-groups; (3) places a highly valued Ancient Greece at the beginning of a Western or European success story, thereby constructing a present-day 'us' as the peak of a teleological historical development.

I will contest this construction and its underlying principles and argue that it is based on a highly selective and biased approach to current historical knowledge. Additionally, I will argue that this construction does not address current challenges, such as globalization and migration. Many of the pupils in today's classrooms have ethnic roots outside Europe and may, therefore, identify with groups whose influence on the Greeks and on the modern reception of Ancient Greece is neglected by the textbooks. As such, these pupils are confronted with a historical narrative that places them outside a European success story. Furthermore, this narrative propels an understanding of 'culture' as a stable, coherent, homogenous, and ethnic identity, with defined boundaries and a shared and coherent history, in which other cultures appear as obscure and opposed, as the 'other'. In extreme cases, this is even presented in terms of a culture clash.

Not only is it possible and important to overcome this deeply problematic construction of Ancient Greek history and its underlying principles, doing so would also facilitate the use of new, valuable learning potentials which the topic offers. The study of Ancient Greek history can indeed contribute to one's understanding of and orientation in a world which is increasingly characterized by cultural and religious diversity and mutual entanglements. To make this potential accessible, I will present a number of arguments and suggestions for alternative approaches to Ancient Greek history: (1) that it is important to contextualize Ancient Greek history in its

historical environment, especially the Mediterranean; (2) that groups should be portrayed with as much differentiation as possible in order to support a critical understanding of 'culture'; (3) that it is essential to demonstrate diversity, even with respect to the reception history that connects Ancient Greece to 'us'. In the following, I will explore strategies and approaches that can serve these purposes.⁵

1. Towards Contextualization: Contesting Isolation

The introductory quotation, which presents the Greeks as a more or less isolated group, is by no means a singular case. In the analyzed textbooks, I found many cases where the existence of non-Greek groups in the Greek environment was simply ignored. One striking example is the so-called 'Great Greek Colonization'.⁶ In most of the textbooks, the role of non-Greek groups and the occurrence of conflicts between Greeks and non-Greeks were strongly, often even completely, neglected. On many maps, Greek settlements appear to be founded in an empty world or at least in an uncivilized one.⁷ If mentioned in the textbooks, indigenous populations usually remain incomprehensible and almost invisible, because their characterization lacks detail; they appear simply as the 'other ones'. In the textbooks' narrative, the colonization is not integrated in a broader history of intercultural contacts and interconnectedness in the Mediterranean, but presented as an endogenous Greek phenomenon. This goes along with a general tendency to ignore almost all phenomena of cultural transfer within the Mediterranean world.⁸

The Greeks, one might say, are portrayed as a culture in isolation; a construction which fails to describe the Greek scope of action and which, thereby, makes Greek history less understandable. Without any knowledge of the colonization of the Phoenicians, for example, it is impossible for the pupils to understand in which areas the Greeks founded settlements and in which they did not. In my opinion, more contextualization is required. Ancient Greek culture should be presented in a richer cultural context in order to demonstrate the diversity of the world in which the Greeks lived, and the relationships and encounters they experienced. Such contextualization can be achieved with the help of the following strategies and approaches:

1.1 *Macro Perspectives*

It is essential to make pupils aware of the wider context of the phenomena they are dealing with, thereby also strengthening their orientation in space. This can be done on different scales. One spatial concept that history teaching of antiquity can refer to is that of the Mediterranean.⁹ Additionally or alternatively, it is possible to put phenomena of Greek history in an even broader, global context.¹⁰ Among the relevant methodical approaches, the use of thematic maps appears to be a particularly fruitful one: the discussion of Greek political structures, religious customs, urban settlements, colonization processes, script systems, or trade routes can be systematically supplemented by visualization on maps, which help to show the spatial relations and the relevance of these phenomena on a Mediterranean or global scale.¹¹ Of course, it would never be possible to deal with all these aspects in detail. However, among other things, such representations show the pupils that they are studying a small region within a much larger world. Furthermore, they demonstrate that the history of a limited region represents a selection within a much broader field; a selection which cannot be identified as history itself. Such macro perspectives can finally serve as a point of departure for comparisons, as well as for the examination of transfer phenomena.

1.2 *Comparison and Transfer*

Comparisons and the study of transfer phenomena are two approaches that have been widely discussed among historians. They have been identified as possible ways to overcome the narrow constraints of national history.¹² While these approaches are not free from methodological problems, they open up rich possibilities for the teaching of Ancient Greek history. Comparisons can be made in a synchronic and a diachronic way; for example, by comparing the Greek and Egyptian sporting cultures, comparing Athens with Babylon, the Persian Empire with the Assyrian or Roman Empire, etc. Such comparative approaches can enable the pupil to develop an understanding of which elements of the *polis* are specifically Greek and which are not, to take but one example.

Comparisons should be constructed carefully in order not to contribute to creating inadequate bipolar oppositions. Besides, comparisons by themselves do not point to connections between different groups. For a productive contextualization, it is important

to address transfer phenomena. With respect to Archaic and Classical Greece, the development of the alphabet is a good example to demonstrate the role of transfer. However, with this example, it is important to avoid a normative pattern of interpretation that devalues the Oriental and Semitic script systems and understands the addition of vowels as Greek perfection.¹³ Instead, it seems more adequate to understand the development of the Greek alphabet as the result of a complex process of transfer and adaptation in the Mediterranean contact zone.¹⁴

2. Towards a critical understanding of ‘culture’: contesting essentialism and bipolarity

Textbook authors of ancient history chapters devote numerous pages to establishing their subject and often explain extensively who ‘the Greeks’ were. They refer frequently to features the Greeks had in common, such as the alphabet and language, religion or the Olympics. However, once established, these features are presented as stable, and subsequent change in time or space is usually unaccounted for. A phenomenon like Greek religiosity, for example, is not shown in its temporal and regional variability or its transcultural relations,¹⁵ but is closely connected to panhellenic ethnicity. Ethnicity is seen as fixed and given; ‘the Greeks’ are portrayed as a coherent ethnic group, persisting through time. This approach to constructing identity, which has been criticized by social constructivist and post-modern theoreticians, can be described as an essentialist one.¹⁶

In his seminal work, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, Fredrik Barth states that it is ‘the ethnic boundary that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses’ (Barth, 1969: 15). He understands ethnic identities as the result of ascriptions and self-ascriptions, selecting specific attributes that permit the construction of boundaries. In the case of Ancient Greek history, this mechanism is particularly visible in the description of the Persian Empire. Many of the analyzed textbooks present an antipodal structure, based on a strong and stereotyped contrast between Greece and the Persian Empire: Greece is characterized as small, free, and European, the Persian Empire as huge, despotic, and Asian. Since it was in fact only a minority of the Greek population that enjoyed full personal and political freedom, this polarity implies generalizations of qualities of a subgroup. Even in more ambitious, modern textbooks, which

attempt to overcome the traditionally pejorative view of Persia, an underlying opposition is still present. Some authors attempt to revalue the Persian Empire, for example, by praising its organization. However, they focus in the traditional way on the huge dimensions of the empire and its powerful king and fail to draw a more differentiated and concrete picture of the extensive, multicultural empire with its highly diverse population. This lapse is hardly surprising; it is a product of the curriculum, in which Persians only exist because Greeks are in conflict with them. The Persian Empire does not represent a topic in its own right.

In the context of the conflict between Athens and Sparta, in contrast, the notion of Greek homogeneity largely disappears, since those books that cover Sparta usually emphasize the difference between the two *poleis*. This opposition is also largely based on the generalization of subgroups: a small, military-based, elite group in Spartan society is described as representative, while the diversity of Spartan society is neglected, leaving aside (amongst other things) the Lacedaimonian *perioikoi*.¹⁷ Likewise, the urban middle-class serves as representative for the Athenian society, focusing here on trade and culture and leaving aside the military ideals of Athenian masculinity or the large number of peasants in the countryside. Such a selective, generalizing, and opposing approach conceals similarities and obscures that fact that many individuals in both *poleis* experienced similar living conditions. While differences between Sparta and Athens and, indeed, the conflict between both *poleis* are well-established facts, the uniform focus on it creates a biased perspective. This conflict was by no means a clash of two fundamentally different civilizations. In the sources and in the historiographical tradition, however, the focus on this conflict contributed to the development of polarizing representations by emphasizing selected traits of both societies.¹⁸ In the textbooks' narrative, the constructed opposition between Athenians and Spartans is by no means a contradiction to the Greek-Persian opposition. On the contrary: the boundaries between descriptive features connected to 'Greece' and 'Athens' are blurred; Athens and its democracy are represented as strongly connected to Greece, whereas Spartans in that context do not appear to be 'real' Greeks. Therefore, and paradoxically, the construction of an opposition between Sparta and Athens does not challenge the notion of Greek homogeneity, but rather supports the opposition between Greek freedom and oriental despotism.

Writing in an abstract way about ‘the Greeks’ or ‘the Athenians’ is unavoidably highly generalizing. It obscures the diversity of sub-groups and individuals in a society, as well as the diversity of their defining attributes; for men and woman, rich and poor, old and young, peasants and tradesmen, the categorization ‘Greek’ would have brought with it its own significance and meaning. However, such generalizing operations reflect a basic cognitive and social-psychological mechanism.¹⁹ While this mechanism is essential for the structuring of reality, it can also be the cause of discrimination and group conflicts. Therefore, an approach to history teaching that understands diversity, not as a threat, but as a challenge and opportunity should not replicate and support this mechanism, but should reflect upon it and contest it.

The overcoming of an isolating presentation of ‘the Greeks’, as suggested above, would be meaningless or even counterproductive should it involve the construction of polarizing narratives, which entail an opposition of highly different ‘cultures’. Although textbooks rely to some extent on simplification, including group-related generalizations, which provide a clear and comprehensible narration, I still believe that strongly essentialist and bipolar constructions should be avoided. Moreover, generalizations should be used with care. They should be systematically reflected upon and challenged in order to facilitate a more critical approach to and an understanding of ‘culture’. Among the possible strategies and approaches to accomplish this, I would like to emphasize the following:

2.1 Diversity and Concretization

It is important to demonstrate, as often as possible, that groups, for example, ethnic groups, are not homogenous and compact entities. Instead, they are subdivided according to categories such as gender, social status, age, and many others. Pupils could learn to systematically question in what way a phenomenon – for example, war or religion – affected the different groups within a society. In particular, demonstrating diversity can be achieved with concretization. If textbooks and teachers focus on concrete individuals, they can avoid or supplement the widespread habit of discussing abstract groups like ‘the Greeks’, ‘the Persians’, or ‘the Athenians’. Concretization as a principle can guide the selection of sources, but also the composition of author texts. To provide an example of good practice for the latter: in one of the analyzed

textbooks,²⁰ the Athenian social, economic, and political structures are described over several chapters using the example of an Athenian called Sosibros. The text is aimed at 10-12 year-old children and is written with high scholarly expertise. It paints a very complex picture of Athenian society in a fairly simple and vivid way. The readers become familiar with Sosibros' family, slaves, and friends. They accompany him in his workshop and in the Assembly, experiencing the complexity of everyday life in society through his eyes. This approach helps pupils to understand that they study the living conditions, not of 'the' Athenian, but of a specific citizen within a complex and diverse society. It helps them to appreciate the fact that they explore only a limited part of the Athenian society and that they experience it from a specific perspective. Not only is this narration more informative and comprehensible than many other textbook narrations, it is also less biased, for instance, with respect to understanding Athenian democracy and how it functions. Of course, concrete and personalized author texts do not automatically exclude stereotypes; in some cases, the opposite can be true, since their composition also demands more knowledge and didactic reflection than the composition of a more abstract information text. Given the required subject-specific and didactic expertise, however, they offer rich potential for learning about cultural diversity; an asset of which textbooks could make more use.

2.2 *Considering Change*

As stated above, textbook narrations mostly include change in the form of origin stories with respect to a specific stage of development. For examples, pupils can learn something about the origins of Greek ethnicity, about the origins of the Olympic Games in their archaic or classic form, or about the origins of the Athenian democracy of the 5th century BC. However, textbooks rarely cover the further development of these phenomena or provide details relating to their demise.²¹ Once established, these phenomena appear to possess an almost timeless quality. After the chapters on Greece, they simply disappear, as do the Greeks themselves, who recede from the spotlight and leave the arena of textbook history. Here again, the essentialist construction of groups and of group identity needs to be contested by demonstrating that groups, as well as group features, are subject to change. The Olympic Games, for instance, offer a rich potential for highlighting change: instead of connecting a specific

period of the Olympic Games to Greek ethnicity, or vaguely insinuating their decline after the end of the Classical period, the longer-term history of the Olympic Games could serve as opportunity for repetition following the end of the chapters on Greek-Roman antiquity. Discussing their development over a period of more than one thousand years – through archaic, classic, Hellenistic, and Roman times – would help to make it clear that, despite some continuities, cultural traits are subject to change.

2.3 Reflecting Multiperspectivity

In the discussion on intercultural learning, the principle of multiperspectivity has been particularly recommended.²² In Germany, multiperspectivity has become a justifiably important criterion for textbook evaluation. However, in my analysis of textbooks, the practical application of multiperspectivity reveals considerable shortcomings. Attempts to accomplish multiperspectivity are often realized by a contrasting juxtaposition of only two perspectives, which results in a stereotyped bipolarity rather than genuine multiperspectivity.²³ A contrasting of ‘the’ Greek and ‘the’ Persian (or ‘the’ German and ‘the’ French) perspectives does not necessarily overcome the construction of boundaries, but may rather strengthen them. Therefore, the principle of ‘multiperspectivity’ must be applied in a reflected and cautious manner, with an awareness of the question of which boundaries it strengthens and challenges.

3. Towards Diversity of Reception: Contesting an Eurocentric Myth of Origin

Textbook authors attempt to demonstrate the relevance of the topic of Ancient Greek history by pointing to the ‘invention’ of accomplishments such as democracy or the Olympic Games, arguing that the Greeks can claim many important ‘firsts’. Greece and, in particular, Athens are commonly labeled with phrases such as ‘roots of culture’ or ‘the cradle of democracy’. While such attributions are prevalent, textbook authors provide very little information about the connection between Ancient Greece and present society through more than two thousand years of history. As a result, they contribute to the creation of a vague – and inappropriate – impression of continuity and, even more, linear progress. In this picture, ‘we’ can be proud of having reached or even accomplished a peak of

development that began – already gloriously – in Ancient Greece. The present ‘we’ is clearly to be understood as European, or Western, in the framing of the textbooks perhaps even national or regional. In short, concepts such as ‘origin’, ‘progress’, and ‘continuity’ define – in a primarily Eurocentric perspective – the connection between past and present.

This narrative is highly simplifying and selective. It begins with positively valued Greek achievements, portraying them as superior to the achievements of other Ancient societies, and, eventually, it suggests a teleological conception of history with its culmination in present, Western society. The result is a biased account of the historical facts. An example is graphic representations of Athenian democracy, which are modeled according to common representations of modern constitutional systems. Commonly, the Assembly is displayed below the Council and the magistrates, suggesting that the demos appointed or voted a government.²⁴ These graphs appear to be inspired more by the modern idea of the division of powers than by the distinct principles of the direct Athenian democracy. They do not adequately depict its functioning and the central position of the citizen.²⁵ Instead of explaining fundamental differences between Ancient Greek and modern democratic systems, they insinuate a transtemporal type of democracy that was perfected by ‘us’ (given the fact that Athenian slaves and women had no political rights). In order to overcome or at least balance this ideological construction, I would like to suggest the following strategies and approaches:

3.1 *Studying Reception Processes*

If pupils are expected to assess a statement which places the ‘cradle of our democracy’ in Athens and the ‘roots of European civilization’ in Greece, they require information about the complex connections between past and present, and particularly about the history of the reception of Ancient Greece. Such information can help to create an awareness and understanding of the ruptures and discontinuities as well as transitions and transfer processes in the vast time span between Greek antiquity and modernity. It enables the pupils to understand that a terminological identity between the Attic and modern representative democracies does not entail a factual identity. Pupils will most likely recognize that the naming of a modern international sports event like the ‘Olympic Games’ does not suggest an identity with the ancient games, but can at least partly be explained

as a powerful legitimation strategy. By exploring reception processes, pupils learn that transitions and transfers between the past and the present depend on power structures, interests, and other contingent factors. Furthermore, covering Ancient Greek reception history also involves explaining how knowledge and information about Greek antiquity could survive the centuries' rifts. Very often, pupils may not have the faintest idea how the sources they are expected to read found their way into the classroom. The transmission of Aristotle's *Poetics* provides an excellent and entertaining example of this, and can demonstrate the formation of historical tradition in a concrete and exciting way.²⁶

3.2 Considering the Diversity of Reception

The reception history of Aristotle points to the Byzantine and Arabic contributions and demonstrates the diversity of societies involved in the process of reception, appropriation, and transmission of knowledge about Greek antiquity. Explaining the direct and indirect connections and entanglements between Greek antiquity and present-day, non-European groups helps to balance the Eurocentric focus described above. To take another example, a global family tree of script systems would not only demonstrate the importance of the first Semitic alphabets, but also the close kinship between script systems that, in many textbooks, are presented as very different – the Hebrew, Arabic, Latin, and Greek alphabet.²⁷ As a final example: the ancient Persian Empire is considered a cultural root by groups like the Zoroastrians or many Iranians. A discussion of the 2007 film '300', which centers on the Battle of Thermopylae, and an analysis of its controversial reception, would provide an opportunity for higher secondary school pupils to study and reflect the role of history for identity constructions in a transcultural perspective.

4. Conclusion

In this article, I have analyzed the way in which the traditional narrative of Ancient Greece as the origin of European civilization impacts on recent and current German textbook narrations. I discussed three principles which are fundamental for the construction of the traditional narrative: (1) isolating the Greeks from their context, (2) essentialist and bipolar group constructions, (3) a Eurocentric myth of origin. These principles refer to two different

levels of the historical narration: the first two principles refer to the manner in which groups of the past are described, and the third principle refers to the way these groups become linked to a present-day 'us' or 'them'. Both levels are interconnected, and their combination can result in strong identification offers.

In my opinion, history teaching should avoid serving such specific identifications and, instead, it should strengthen the pupils' ability to orientate themselves in a complex society, not least in historical culture.²⁸ In order to achieve this, it is important to encourage them to reflect upon the mechanisms of group constructions and historical identification offers. Pupils should be aware that group constructions reduce diversity in societies in favor of one, specific category and selected 'cultural' traits. Moreover, they should understand that the construction of a common history plays an important role in strengthening a society's perception of connectedness. If pupils could learn to question whether the 'others' are really so different, and if they could develop a concept of 'culture' which corresponds to Assmann's understanding of culture as a 'form of immune or identity system of the group'²⁹ – an understanding of culture that leaves room for diversity – then this endeavor will have been worth the effort.

Notes

¹ 'Was die alten Griechen gedacht und erfunden haben, gilt für die Europäer seit etwa einem halben Jahrtausend als beispielhaft. Woher sie kamen, wie sie lebten, was sie dachten und erfanden, warum sie heute noch als Vorbilder gelten, das könnt ihr auf den nächsten Seiten erkunden.' (*Entdecken und Verstehen*, 2002: 95).

² See Jonker (2009).

³ See Coulby (2005).

⁴ Ancient Greek history is generally part of the first-year and, in very few cases (which were also taken into account), part of the second-year history syllabus in lower secondary schools. I have analyzed 38 textbooks licensed for all forms of lower secondary education (Gesamtschule, Hauptschule, Realschule, Gymnasium) from 1992 to 2004. I complemented my analysis by taking into account 15 German books dating from 1746 to 1937, as well as 47 recent and current books from 27 (mostly European) countries. For details of this analysis, see Gorbahn (2011). In this article, I will summarize the most significant outcomes, but am unable to provide differentiated results of the analysis. Neither is it possible to explicate the conceptual framework of social identity which guided the development of the categories of analysis.

⁵ In this article, school textbooks are understood as media specific realizations of interpretation patterns which gain dominance in a complex process of negotiation. They do not represent the reality of history teaching, but offer rich material which can help to identify fundamental problems of the curriculum. In this article, I will not draw a differentiated picture of the textbooks' variety, but summarize the most important results and identify the most problematic shortcomings. These shortcomings are not necessarily the 'fault' of the textbook authors, but can often be attributed to structural constraints, stereotypes in the sources, or to earlier scientific paradigms. I cannot explicate these aspects in detail, but will instead focus on possibilities to overcome these shortcomings.

⁶ For information on this, see Boardman (1999).

⁷ 17 out of 25 relevant maps completely ignore the existence of non-Greeks in the Mediterranean. Five other maps show some non-Greek groups or urban settlements in a more or less unsystematic way. Only three maps thematize the colonization of the Phoenicians.

⁸ Only 10 out of 38 books thematize the Semitic origins of the alphabet, for example.

⁹ There has been considerable research interest in the Mediterranean over recent years (see Abulafia, 2011), though the question of if and how a Mediterranean history can be conceptualized remains controversial. However, the Mediterranean is definitely a very important reference space of Ancient History.

¹⁰ For a global perspective in history didactics and the concept of macro perspectives, see the works of Susanne Popp, e. g. Popp (2008).

¹¹ For adequate material, see Black (1999).

¹² In the context of concepts such as 'histoire croisée' or 'entangled history', for information on this see Kaelble (2005).

¹³ In the tradition of 19th century classical studies, this understanding has been dominant for a long time, partly with a clear anti-Oriental or anti-Semitic background, and is still widespread.

¹⁴ The details of the development of the alphabet are complex and controversial. For a more modern position, see Assmann (1999: 262ff).

¹⁵ With regard to the connections between religious concepts in the Mediterranean world, see Johnston (2004).

¹⁶ See Brubaker & Cooper (2000).

¹⁷ The details of their living conditions are difficult to reconstruct. For information on the *periokoi*, see Hansen (2004).

¹⁸ On the reception of Sparta, see Losemann & Waywell (2003).

¹⁹ This mechanism is the focus of (among others) the Social Identity Theory (cf. Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

²⁰ *Geschichte und Geschehen* (2003).

²¹ If they do, they usually briefly suggest a development of decadence.

²² See Alavi (1998).

²³ This occurs frequently in connection with a more than dubious adaptation of sources.

²⁴ For an example, see *Geschichte konkret* (1996: 83).

²⁵ For an exception, which places the citizen in the center of the graph, see *Geschichte und Geschehen* (2003: 110).

²⁶ For Aristotle's Poetics and its reception, see Halliwell (1986).

²⁷ For more information, see Haarmann (2007).

²⁸ On the orienting function of history teaching (as opposed to the identificatory function), see Schönemann (2007).

²⁹ Assmann (1999: 140): 'Kultur als eine Art Immun- oder Identitätssystem der Gruppe'.

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HISTORY TEACHING AND EDUCATION FOR PATRIOTIC CITIZENSHIP IN MALAYSIA

Helen Ting

This paper discusses the attempt by the Malaysian Education Minister to use history education as a means to promote patriotism, leading to current history textbooks with a strong Malay bias. The paper outlines how ethnic politics progressively influenced the historical perspective as articulated in the textbooks. Inclusive history teaching is important in forging a shared sense of history among citizens, so as to contribute to the emergence of a common national identity. It is argued that writing a Malaysian national history which may be identified by all citizens as 'our history' necessarily begins with the acceptance and acknowledgement of the multicultural and multi-religious reality of the Malaysian nation.

The use of education in general and history education in particular to promote patriotism, national cohesion and identity is a practice which dates back to at least 19th century, and controversies over the issue emerge periodically in different countries (Cajani, 2008; Haynes, 2009; Merry, 2009). The nature of discussions and the assessment of appropriate responses varied greatly due to differing social and historical contexts (Haynes, 2009a). This paper discusses the attempt by the Malaysian Education Minister to use history education as a means to promote patriotism and its implications in the multicultural Malaysian context.

The particularity of the Malaysian case is its post-colonial context as well as the multicultural and multi-religious composition of its citizenry. At the outset, post-war debates among academics revolved around arguments over who could write non-Eurocentric 'indigenous' history. Then ethnic politics and contentions over different visions of national identity began to overshadow debates over the definition of 'indigenous' or national history. Until the early 1980s, however, history teaching in schools was largely spared from the fray. Then the goals of fostering national identity and patriotism were allocated to history education, leading to the incremental introduction of elements of incremental Malay bias. The current edition of secondary history textbooks has raised serious doubt as to whether it could really contribute to forging national cohesion.

1. The Official Perspective on the Goals of History Teaching

The decision of the Malaysian Education Minister in 2010 to make a pass in history compulsory for the issue of secondary school leaving certificate from 2013 was obviously premised on the role of history education in the inculcation of national unity and patriotism. The current syllabus formulated in 2000 by the Curriculum Development Centre (Pusat Perkembangan Kurikulum, PPK) of the Education Ministry stated explicitly that the general goal of learning history was to 'foster and strengthen the spirit of loyalty and identity (*jati diri*) as Malaysian citizen and as citizen of the world' (*warga dunia*) (PPK, 2000:3). The syllabus intended that a spirit of national unity and a sense of oneness for the Malaysian nation among the younger generation of Malaysians may be engendered by acquiring sufficient historical knowledge of Malaysian history and society. History education is expected to cultivate a common framework of reference for national consciousness and international understanding based on a shared collective memory of historical events (PPK, 2000: 3).

In accordance with the general 'integrated' approach of the entire secondary school curriculum, the 2000 edition of the history syllabus defined three components of desired outcome to be acquired by the students, namely, the knowledge (contents of teaching), skills (the skill of 'historical thinking') and the absorption of values. The key value identified specifically for history is 'patriotism' (PPK, 2000: 4). Patriotism is defined by the syllabus as the strong feelings of love for the homeland (PPK, 2000: 2), which includes five sub-categories of attributes (PPK, 2002: 6-7), namely:

- i) pride as Malaysian;
- ii) loyalty to the country;
- iii) spirit of togetherness;
- iv) discipline;
- v) endeavour and productiveness.

These five desired attributes of young citizens above are further elaborated in the syllabus. The first attribute is understood, among others, as 'respect for the king and country leaders', 'take care and defend the dignity of the nation and the state' and being 'proud of national history'. 'Ready to sacrifice for the nation and state', 'courage and ability to defend the sovereignty of the nation and state' and 'appreciative of being a Malaysian citizen' are some of the

descriptions for the second attribute. The third attribute concerns mainly civic culture among citizens on qualities such as give and take, tolerance, cooperation, mutual respect and the like. The fourth attribute refers to aspects such as good morality, upholding the Constitution and respecting the rule of law. The last is related to productive capacity for the development of the country. While these attributes are normally expected of a citizen, one may wonder whether fostering these values should be the competence of a civics course rather than to be achieved through a history teaching program, and how it can be accomplished by the latter. In addition, historical events and happenings are often contradictory and complex, and in the Malaysian case, ethnically contentious. One immediate question that comes to mind is how the program reconciles 'divisive' aspects of 'national history' with the goal of fostering patriotism and national unity.

There are some debates among Malaysian academics with regards to the desirability of using history teaching to foster patriotism. Not many expressed their positions publicly in response to the minister's announcement, but the observation of a historian who wrote to the press to express his objections is worth noting. He expressed his concern for the loss of objectivity and interference of judgmental attitude in the articulation of historical perspective already prevalent among his students (Raja, 2011). Another proposed a more competency-based 'transformative' approach to history education as an alternative (Abdul Ghapa, 2011). Nonetheless, the most serious criticism against current Malaysian history textbooks is their 'strong Malay bias' (Cheah, 2003), which has incited some concerned parents, civil society actors and academics to launch a signature campaign to push for a total revamp of the history curriculum.

2. Historical Background

Malaysia is a relatively young nation-state. Its peninsular component which consisted of British protectorates and colonies, previously known loosely as British Malaya, obtained its independence from Britain in 1957. In 1963, the Federation of Malaysia was formed with the coming together of the Federation of Malaya, Singapore and two other states on the Borneo island, namely, Sabah and Sarawak. Even though independence was obtained from the British peacefully, interethnic negotiations among the denizens over the institutional

architecture of the new nation were intense. Racial arithmetic was also a determinant factor in the proposal for the formation of Malaysia, as the joining of Singapore (given its large ethnic Chinese population) with Malaya alone would lead to the politically dominant Malay ethnic group on the peninsula being demographically outnumbered. As of 2012, Malaysia has an estimated population of 29 million, out of which 2.4 million are foreigners. Among the 27 million or so Malaysians, there are 14.8 million (54.8%) ethnic Malays (who are constitutionally defined as Muslims), 3.5 million (13%) other indigenous peoples, 6.5 million (24%) ethnic Chinese and about 2 million (7.4%) ethnic Indians (Malaysian Statistics Department, 2013). Besides Islam, the other major religions practised in Malaysia are Buddhism, Hinduism and Christianity.

At independence, Malaysia was confronted with the challenge to bring together the ethnically distinctive communities. Not only were they speaking different languages and segmented in terms of their occupational pattern, there was no strong anti-colonial movement which brought together the various ethnic groups behind a united front. Instead, interethnic antipathy was fostered by the divisive experience of British colonialism, Japanese Occupation during the Second World War and the sporadic Sino-Malay violent conflicts after Japan surrendered. The post-war period also saw a surge in Malay nationalist sentiment which claimed an exclusive ownership of Malaya as their homeland. The United Malay National Organisation (UMNO) was formed in 1946 as the leading Malay conservative political party out of this movement. The more progressive left-leaning Malay Nationalist Party was outlawed and decimated when the British declared a State of Emergency in 1948 and launched an all-out military operation against the anti-colonial Malayan Communist Party.

The English-educated UMNO national leaders soon realised the impossibility of forging a new independent nation based on an exclusionary discourse of Malay nationalism, as those who could be lumped together to make up the ethnic 'Malay', including the first generation migrants from the surrounding islands, came to only around 45% of the total population. Moreover, the majority of the non-Malay population who settled progressively in Malaya from the early 19th century was an integral part of the local economy and social fabric of Malayan society. The 1947 census reported that 62.5% of

ethnic Chinese and about half of the ethnic Indian denizens in Malaya were locally born (Ariffin, 1993: 9).

The British recognised the danger of continued interethnic strife and encouraged dialogue and compromise. They also introduced local elections to dampen the political legitimacy of the anti-colonial rhetoric of the Communist armed struggle. Interethnic political partnership developed in the form of the Alliance, which was a coalition of three race-based parties, namely, UMNO, MCA (Malayan Chinese Association) and MIC (Malayan Indian Congress). Successive local and first federal electoral successes led to the elevation of the English-educated national leaders of the Alliance as the inter-communal spokespersons in leading the independence negotiations with the British. However, their bigger challenge was to find an interethnic compromise in the face of the conflictive demands made by their respective non-English-speaking second echelon grassroots leaders, who fought to have a stake in the future nation amenable to their respective social conditions and identity. Contentious issues include the designation of national and official languages, criteria for citizenship, medium of instruction in schools, and the so-called 'special position' of the socio-economically backward Malays which entitled them to special quotas and assistance from the government. The outcome was tilted in favour of the ethnic Malays, as not only were they accorded a 'special position' in the Federal Constitution, they also prevailed in terms of symbols of nationhood: Malay language was made the sole national language, Islam was provided as 'the religion of the Federation', and traditional rulers were made constitutional monarchs. Nonetheless, the Federal Constitution also provides for the guarantee of liberal democratic rights, and Mandarin- and Tamil-medium primary schools were retained within the national public education system.

3. Politicisation of History Writing and History Education

At independence, despite intense interethnic contestations in the public sphere, and notwithstanding Malay political dominance, exclusionary Malay nationalist tendency was mitigated by the interethnic friendship and collaboration among the Alliance national leaders. This was to change following factional struggle within UMNO in the aftermath of post-electoral racial riots in 1969. The ascendance of Abdul Razak as the new UMNO president and Prime

Minister of Malaysia also brought about increased influence of the radical faction within UMNO led by the outspoken Dr Mahathir Mohamed. Dr Mahathir wrote a controversial book, *The Malay Dilemma*, which argued that the Malay people were the 'definitive people', the rightful owner of Malaya, and that non-Malay's citizenship should be conditioned on the acceptance of this position (Mahathir, 1970: 122-3). He also advocated that nation-building policies be formulated based on this understanding: *'The teaching of history, geography, and literature are all designed to propagate one idea; that the country belongs to the definitive people, and to belong to the country, and to claim it, entails identification with the definitive people. This identification is all-pervading and leaves no room for identification with other countries and cultures. To be identified with the definitive people is to accept their history, their geography, their literature, their language and their culture, and to reject anything else.'* (Mahathir, 1970: 143)

Dr Mahathir's perspective on nation-building was to exert a significant influence on the subsequent nation-building policies such as the National Culture Policy, but its impact on the evolution in history curriculum took some time to filter through. Until the early 1960s, history textbooks in Malaya were still written by English nationals who worked at the Malayan Education Service or lectured at the history department of University of Malaya (Cheah, 1997: 48). Historians were engaged in debates as to whether Western historians could write authentically 'Asia-' or 'Malaya-centric' history. Malaysian historian, Cheah Boon Kheng (2003: 230) stated that Malaysian history textbooks at that time were "open", impartial, pluralistic, and accommodated every ethnic group.' Cheah (1997: 55) also noted that what he saw as the more 'Malaya-centric' historical studies were only published around the mid-1960s. The debates on the writing of national history took on increasingly 'nationalistic tone' from the 1970s. Ismail Hussein, a professor of Malay Studies, took the lead among Malay academics in advocating a Malay-centric history. In an article published in 1977, he criticised the use of the term 'plural society' to describe Malaysian society as it implied racial equality among all races. He argued that in the writing of national history, the Malay society should be treated as the 'base society', whereas non-Malays as immigrants were just 'fragments' broken off from their respective ancestral societies, and hence their local history could not constitute the mainstay of national history (Cheah, 1997: 57-61).

The first sign of how these debates impacted indirectly on history textbooks was the decision by the Education Ministry in 1978 to give priority to national history over world history in the secondary history curriculum (CMCS & Nantah, 2011: 6). In 1983, the new national curriculum in Malaysia did away with the ineffectual civics education and the objectives of forging national identity and social cohesion were integrated into the history syllabus (Anuar, 2004). Then history was made a compulsory subject for secondary students in 1987, and it was also decided that there be henceforth a single authorised history textbook for each form (Santhiram, 1997). This decision was made following successive contentious public debates over the prominent assertion by an UMNO politician that Malaysian polity was justifiably based on Malay dominance; the public reiteration by Malay nationalists on the Malay people as the 'base society' of the Malaysian nation and the labelling of non-Malays as 'immigrants'; and the non-Malay criticism of the implementation of National Culture Policy (Cheah 1997, 2003). The 1987 decision included the re-writing of history textbooks to stress specifically that the Malays were the original inhabitants of Malaysia, a historical basis which justified their 'special position' in the country. It is notable that the announcement by the Malay Education Minister was made at the UMNO party General Assembly. Similarly, the announcement in 2010 by the current Education Minister that beginning 2013, a pass in history would be a prerequisite for Form five school leavers to get their O-level school leaving certificate was also made at UMNO's General Assembly. It illustrates clearly the mindset of the Education Ministers in which these decisions were made. In fact, in the latter case, the minister specified that he was being responsive to the requests made by delegates at the UMNO General Assembly ('Subjek Sejarah wajib lulus SPM (History Subject compulsory to pass in SPM), www.utusan.com.my, 24 October 2010).

This additional role attributed to history education and the politically motivated perspectives of the Education Ministers behind the decisions had resulted in increased politicisation in the formulation of the history syllabus, leading to more substantive interference in the shaping of perspective of the school history syllabus in accordance with the official position (Cheah, 2003). One clear indication was the progressively augmented emphasis on Malay history (and to a lesser extent, the history of the natives of East Malaysia) as the mainstay of national history at the expense of the

narration of the historical role played by the ancestors of non-Malay citizens who originated from outside the region, dubbed, 'immigrant races'. A quantitative analysis of representations of various ethnic groups in the contents of successive versions of history textbooks concluded a clear trend towards incremental and excessive Malay bias. In the case of lower secondary history textbooks, the relative proportion of the ethnic representation of the Malay/Chinese/Indian/other indigenous people evolved from 3:1:1:0 in 1969 to 21:2:1:1 in 1979 to 40:2:1:8 in 1990 and 80:3:1:16 in 2002 (CMCS & Nantah, 2011: 13). On the other hand, there appears to have been a notable increase in the textbook contents in reference to Sabah and Sarawak relative to versions published before 1990. This was subsequent to complaints against the 'peninsula-centric' orientation of the textbooks made by Sabah and Sarawak representatives at a national curriculum committee meeting held in Kuala Lumpur in 1978 (Cheah, 2003: 243). Besides Cheah (1997), the other academic voice raised against this early manifestation of ethnic bias in the history textbooks was that of an educationist, Raman Santhiram. The latter decried a lack of (ethnic) balance in the historical account and adequate acknowledgement of the important role played by 'non-indigenous communities in Malaysia' in the past 100 years. He contended that a feeling of being 'alienated and marginalised' arising from such a lack of historical recognition of 'their participation in the life of the country' would hinder the development of 'a sense of common historical experience and a sense of belonging to the nation' (Santhiram, 1997: 15).

In accordance with the 1987 ministerial decision, the 1992 version of the Form 5 history textbook stated clearly that the Special Position of the Malay was intended 'to safeguard Malay rights as the original inhabitants of this country', but also to 'promote progress of the Malay community who were left behind in all aspects of life, so that they can reach parity with the more advanced non-Malays' (Form 5 Textbook, 1992: 131). It also affirmed the importance of the 'Malay Sultanate institution' as 'symbol of splendour and protection of the Malays' (Form 5 Textbook, 1992: 130). However, explicit emphasis on Malay dominance was still relatively circumspect and restrained, and the textbook narrative also acknowledged that the acquisition of citizenship by non-Malays 'heralded the sharing of our country' (Form 5 Textbook, 1992: 126).

The following version of history textbooks published in the new millennium (between 2002 and 2004) was even more pronounced in its 'Malay bias'. The most prominent criticism was against its unprecedented use of the controversial term *ketuanan Melayu* (understood variously as Malay supremacy, Malay political primacy or Malay sovereignty). Its definition as given in current Form 3 textbook (2004: 45) was: '*the love for whatever that is related to the Malay race such as political rights, language, culture, heritage, customs and homeland. The Malay Peninsula (Semenanjung Tanah Melayu; literally meaning, the Peninsular Malay Land) is regarded as the ancestral land of the Malays.*'

As evidenced from the narratives articulated in the textbooks, it was the claim of Malaya as the ancestral land of the Malay people which was invested in the term, implying that the Malay people were the *tuan* (meaning 'master' or 'owner') of this land (Ting, 2009). The narrative appears to affirm the discourse of the Malays as the 'base society' of the Malaysian nation, and echo Dr Mahathir's assertion of the Malays as the definitive people in relation to non-Malays. The textbook argued that the purported historical continuity of *ketuanan Melayu* justified the constitutional provisions of the Special Position of the Malays (which was subsequently extended to the indigenous peoples of Sabah and Sarawak) and the designation of Islam, Malay language and traditional rulers as key features of the Malaysian nationhood. It was also stated that UMNO was formed to defend *ketuanan Melayu*.

The continued 'Malay-isation' of historical perspective has also led to a drastic increase in the study of Islamic civilisational history at the expense of world history and of the relative coverage of other ancient civilisations and religions in the 2002 version of Form 4 textbook (Ting, 2013). Given the excessive focus on national history in the secondary history curriculum, the Form 4 textbook remained the only one which more substantially extended its horizon beyond the national shores. The curriculum drafters seem to think that it is more important for Malaysian citizens to have a deeper knowledge of Islamic history at the expense of their knowledge of the rest of the world. It is a bit puzzling as to how this skewed world historical perspective may help to form Malaysian youth as competent 'world citizens' who are equipped and informed in the face of a competitive global environment, as mentioned in the syllabus. This was the second major point of contention by non-Malay parents and social actors with regard to the current version of history textbooks.

The above analysis has outlined some of the troubling trend in the way the history curriculum has evolved in Malaysia in the name of forging better national cohesion and a greater civic disposition – a trend reflective of the peninsula-dominated dynamics of the politics of national identity. History is a double-edged sword that can be used as a ‘unifying device for social identity’ but also a ‘divisive lever’ (Liu et al., 1999: 1022). The narrative as articulated in the current history textbooks appears to be serving the latter purpose. It appears more interested in justifying a Malay-dominated nationhood and propagating a Malay-centric perspective of national history which uncritically glorifies the historical legacy of UMNO. Besides, the present edition of textbooks also contains factual errors, unwarranted subjective comments and inconsistencies in perspectives which raise doubt as to whether it fulfils the standard generally expected of good history textbooks (Ting 2009, 2013).

4. History Education for National Identity

History education for patriotism is controversial due to its association with indoctrination and blind loyalty. American philosopher Martha Nussbaum (1994), for instance, perceived the emphasis on patriotic pride as ‘morally dangerous’ and suggested that such emphasis may end up betraying ‘the worthy goals patriotism sets out to serve’, such as justice and equality. The Malaysian case as it stands is an illustration of how political intervention in the construction of history textbook narratives has rendered a disservice to the proclaimed aims of history teaching as fostering patriotism and national cohesion.

In a similar light, Michael Merry (2009) expressed his concern on the rise in uncritical patriotism sentiment in the USA following the September 11 terrorist attack and the corresponding constriction of civic space for dissent and critical thinking. Merry (2009: 378) was opposed to *loyal patriotism*, which he understood as ‘uncritical patriotic disposition’ towards current political leadership and its policies. The fostering of critical thinking and intellectual room for rational dissent are key challenges for the Malaysian education system. The integrated approach adopted in the Malaysian curriculum stresses the importance of fostering positive values among the students hand in hand with the learning of the subject matter. Unfortunately, the way this is done in the history textbooks is akin to what Merry (2009: 384) criticised in his article as ‘moralizing history’ approach. This is

perhaps the reason why history students in the university tend to approach historical events and facts with a judgemental attitude without taking a critical intellectual distance, as noted by the academic historian Raja mentioned above. Even though the fostering of historical thinking skills is mentioned in the syllabus as a pedagogical goal, history teaching in schools has not taken heed or followed suit due to the orientation of examination questions. In addition, were the ministry serious in going in that direction, it should give the teachers a greater democratic space in asking critical questions and revamp the textbooks accordingly so as to allow for a plurality of historical perspectives to be presented. One way of doing so may be to allow for more than one choice of authorised history textbooks in Malaysia.

In the place of patriotism, Nussbaum (1994) advocated the commitment to the ideal of the cosmopolitan, whose 'primary allegiance is to the community of human beings in the entire world'. In response, Charles Taylor argued that democracy needs patriotism to work and that we need to 'fight for the kind of patriotism which is open to universal solidarities'. This perspective was echoed by Merry (2009: 379) who defended a variant of patriotism that he called *critical patriotism* which to him was compatible with the 'legitimate aims of education', and provided that it was developed through non-coercive means. By *critical patriotism*, he meant it as 'special attachments to one's homeland' which does not impede one's critical thinking, the expression of dissent and moral outrage against the betrayal of 'the best ideals of American democracy'.

In other words, Taylor and Merry believe that patriotism need not be parochial or be understood as blind loyalty and can be compatible with critical thinking. More importantly, Taylor raised the need for civic education to foster a sense of solidarity among citizens which is crucial for the healthy functioning of democratic deliberation. Kymlicka (2001) argued in a similar vein on this need for education to nurture 'civic virtues'. Nonetheless, Kymlicka (2001) avoided using the controversial term 'patriotism'¹ and advocated instead education for 'democratic citizenship'. In addition, Kymlicka (2001: 293) thought that education for citizenship need to be integrated throughout the educational system and not just a matter of allocating it to 'an isolated subset of the curriculum'. However, he saw history education as playing a specifically crucial role in so far as the forging of 'a sense of shared history' (Kymlicka, 2001: 312) is concerned.

This sense of shared history is a critical condition for the emergence of a sense of shared membership and the mutual identification as 'one of us' among fellow citizens. In the Malaysian context, writing a national history which may be identified by all citizens as 'our history' necessarily begins with the acceptance and acknowledgement of the multicultural and multi-religious reality of the Malaysian nation. In effect, contestations over national history, often in relation to how history textbooks are written, are indicative of 'a struggle to define identity' (Abd. Ghapa, 2011: 6), and a struggle for historical recognition.

It is important to recognise that all historical narrations are construction in the sense that an author of a historical account always needs to sift and select among conflicting accounts and infinite happenings as well as to interpret events, though this does not prevent the historian from doing his job as professionally and truthfully as his data allows him (Merry, 2009: 383). In that sense, all historical accounts are unwittingly or consciously coloured by the socio-political position or perspective of their authors and it is important for the authors to give a fair hearing to or accommodate evidence which go against their interpretation. In the Malaysian case, this implies that if history teaching in schools aims to promote unity based on a shared, inclusive national identity, it needs to be attentive to how ethnically or politically contentious historical accounts may be presented in a way that is fair to all stakeholders, to allow for a plurality of credible interpretations in looking at the issues concerned, and in particular to be sensitive to the perspectives of social/ethnic groups who are in a position of weakness in influencing the mainstream narratives. This does not mean that we could deliberately misrepresent history in order to avoid controversies or discussions of historical injustices or wrong doings, an act which may itself become a cause for disunity. Teaching history truthfully can be compatible with promoting an emotional identification with 'our history', such that students could 'view the nation's history as their history, and hence take pride in its accomplishments, as well as shame in its injustices' (Kymlicka, 2001: 315). In order to do so, the students may need to be appropriately introduced to some notions of historical thinking, to realise that there could be 'a shading of the black and white' in historical anecdotes, that 'historical judgments are not always clear cut' and that 'the truth is complex' (Wang, 1964: 2-3).

Note

¹ Kymlicka (2001: 310) distanced himself from what he called 'unreflective patriotism' which was promoted by past citizenship education, understood by him as 'one which glorifies the past history and current political system of the country, and which vilifies opponents of that political system, whether they be internal dissidents or external enemies.' He criticised it as promoting 'passivity and deference ... towards political authority' which is only compatible with an authoritarian government.

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IS GLOBALIZING HISTORY TOPICS IN THE CLASSROOM A WAY OF DEALING WITH INCREASING GLOBAL DIVERSITY?

Urte Kocka

The process of globalization and the economic, cultural and religious ties that are made do not only have a homogenizing effect. On the contrary it is possible to see how increasing variety and diversity has the potential to give rise to conflicts. Also young people are faced with problems that arise from globalization. In multicultural classroom settings students are confronted with questions of identity that go beyond regional and national traditions and changing moral value systems. By introducing global history and transnational perspectives to both traditional and new topics in history classes this can contribute to developing an increased understanding and acceptance of ethnic and cultural differences.

1. Introduction: Globalization and Diversity

For better or worse, the process of globalization is going on and even intensifying. Interdependencies are being forged in economic arenas and in the cultural sphere. This is manifest in our everyday-lives. The cross-cultural and cross-economical encounters of globalization do not mean that the world is becoming more homogenized, on the contrary, diversity increases, and more importantly, this can be recognized and appreciated through multiple media, across the world. Nobody can deny these changes anymore and everybody has to deal with them.

In most nation states – at least in those of the ‘West’ – multiculturalism is growing. With increased migration the number of different ethnicities has multiplied in society and schools, and ethnic minorities increasingly speak out publicly. This can create problems for different ethnic groups living side by side (Eldering, 1996: 322, 326). Many fear losing their traditional cultural and national identities, they feel challenged by different cultural habits, behaviours, morals, and religions. As a consequence people can feel impelled to oppose these societal changes that are underway. Immigrants can also feel challenged and insulted by being rejected and contested, and can consequently often prefer to stay in familiar cultural contexts, and not engaging with the society that they live in.¹ These real and potential

clashes between different cultures in everyday-life are echoed on a larger scale in the relationships between nations.

Nowadays students have to deal with opportunities but also with restrictions and problems of global dimensions: their parents losing jobs and their own encounters with strong competition in the job-markets, they are faced with changing moral values and the existence of multiple identities that reach beyond the boundaries of a national country. Students can't escape globalization even the media present them with the diversity of the world beyond their local, regional and national settings. Students have to deal with all these phenomena daily.

In Germany and beyond there has been a lot of pedagogical and sociological research done (Bendit, 2008; Hunner-Kreisel, 2008; Eldering, 1996; Asher, 2007) that points to the fact that globalization has a strong impact on young people. Some lose their direction in everyday life and become depressed and pessimistic about the future, others grasp the opportunity to change their life-style according to international habits, others still, make big efforts to develop their own individuality in accordance with global norms of mobility in various domains (Quenzel, 2008: 162).

In addition to all these challenging aspects of their daily lives, in their multicultural classroom settings they are frequently confronted with a lot of controversies, insults, and maybe even physical conflicts in the school yards.² Differences in cultural and ethnic practices are very clearly manifest in many school classroom settings.

Educational policy has started to react to the effects brought about by globalisation by attempting to internationalize education and literacy in higher education curricula in Europe, in accordance with the Bologna Declaration of 1999 (and reviewed several times since). Besides the more general objective to encourage individuals to compete in the global economic market, educational policy in Germany has made explicit moves to promote social cohesion in the country by encouraging reform in the education sector. One of these reforms aims to change the methods of teaching and learning to encourage students to be more independent and teachers to be more open to including new issues in their teaching (Quenzel, 2008: 161-9).

Here we come to the question:

2. How can history lessons contribute to a better understanding and greater appreciation of diversity not only in the classroom but also in wider society?

2.1 Teaching with Global Perspectives

Much consensus seems to exist on the general purposes of teaching history in schools: it is widely agreed upon that history lessons should help give students an orientation in the world in which they grow up, and prepare them to become good citizens who 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 German ones.³ But how can such aims be achieved, if students do not learn anything about the global and multicultural dimensions of their lives? There is good reason to believe that history classes should be taught with a global perspective that includes topics and understandings of different cultures.

To teach history classes in a globalizing way, some changes must first take place. In European countries, certainly in Germany, an emphasis on national history has long been the dominant approach. To continue with the German case – the history of some non-German or non-European countries has been added to curricula to complement the focus on national history.⁴ But this kind of traditional national history with some added non-national histories is not global history in the sense in which we need to teach it today to meet the demands of students living in a globalized world. Global history lessons require a change of mentality of both those who study and those who teach history. We have to go beyond the traditional dedication to a national history not by simply adding new data and facts, but by restructuring the curricula to combine old topics with new questions and include global perspectives. There are lots of contemporary questions and problems which involve transnational dimensions, for example questions dealing with labour and leisure, environment and ecology, illness and epidemics, financial systems and crises, religion and government, migration and integration and so on (Dunn, 2000: 408-10). History classes could continue to teach traditional topics of national historical importance, but give them a new twist by relating them to relevant contemporary questions and discuss them from different transnational and global perspectives.

It will take some training to grapple with appropriate questions of global relevance. Teachers and students need to develop an

awareness of global issues and world wide problems, and teachers should try to give tasks and impulses to encourage learning with a globalizing approach. Questions and problems of global interest can be fathomed from our current every-day contexts, from young people's contexts, and from society's historical culture. A lot of topics have already been prepared for classroom use, e. g. questions on international migration, environmental debates on pollution, climate change and natural resources, studies on the spread of diseases, on slavery, about industrialization, democracies and the list goes on.

However, when teaching a historical global perspective it is not enough to give some factual information about such topics, and it is not sufficient to describe a particular international trade, a global 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.

Migration is, for example, a contemporary issue relevant on a global scale. Of relevance directly or indirectly to most students migration ought to feature in all history textbooks. The issue is not only relevant in classrooms with immigrant students: it is important and significant for all young students to address these topics today. Whatever the chosen case study, whether German migration to the U. S. in the 19th century, the migration of Huguenots to Germany in the 17th century or modern day migration from Africa and Asia to Europe, larger overarching questions also need to be addressed and discussed. How do or did different host countries receive migrant populations? How do or did migrants feel and behave? What kinds of jobs do or did they find, if any? What are or were the prejudices they encounter(-ed)? How successful did they become? What were and are the different reasons for migration across the world? What are the specificities of migration in the student's national or local contexts? How can these be addressed and assessed? Last and not least: what are the existing problems and what possible solutions are there?

Such approaches will help motivate students to study topics which they might otherwise find boring. Topics that can provide insights into students' lives and that motivate them to engage in discussions and follow up questions outside of the classroom setting. In this way history will not be a subject that can be learnt off by heart, and history classes will not dictate in a mono toned perspective on 'how

things were', but rather open up more interesting explorations and encourage a more open intellectual engagement from students. Teaching history in this way would invite students to reflect on their own perspectives as well as on other peoples' perspectives. Furthermore, if history classes stress global history and apply interesting contemporary questions with an openness for diverse student perspectives including those from students with migration backgrounds these would thereby have a chance to feel more included. In this very way, history classes can contribute to a better integration of students from different backgrounds which is of consequence on a national scale.

Although a change of mind-set is important when teaching history with this proposed globalized approach, teachers are not totally unprepared to do so. In a lot of history curricula and in much of the didactic literature teachers are advised that their lessons should: 1) be problem oriented, 2) practice historical analysis and interpretation, 3) create a reflective and self reflexive consciousness of history, 4) deal with multiple perspectives, and 5) contribute to the students' orientation in life and society. These standards of historical understanding and thinking skills are important for any history topic. When teaching a global perspective, they are essential. History should be a subject that engages critical thinking and discussion, and not a subject of mere receptive learning.

While teaching history in this way, understanding different standpoints and perspectives is encouraged and reflexivity is developed. This helps to better and more adequately compare, discuss, and evaluate historical events. Understanding diversity and dealing with multiple perspectives in a school setting can lead to more acceptance and tolerance of diverse cultures.

2.2 National and Global History

In the last few years in European countries there has been a lot of discussion about whether national history should be stressed much more and whether there should subsequently be a canon of the most important national topics which all students have to learn at school. Mostly initiatives have been combined with the fear that stressing transnational topics might lead to a loss of national identity.⁵ But teaching history with a global perspective does not mean neglecting national history. Of course, local, regional, and national history continues to be important, because they continue to be part of young

people's lives, marking traditions and current events. The increasing variation of cultures, religions, and ethnicities in today's society highlights this. Nearly everybody is dealing with multiple identities, including their own. Local and regional history topics can gain a lot when put in a transnational or global context. In this very way, for instance, the industrialization of a small town taught as an element of local history can quickly become an issue of broader regional, national and transnational consequence. Entanglements can be taught as well as global aspects of industrialization.

The globalization of national history would help modernize and update history lessons. The effect is that national histories become more credible, interesting, and comprehensible because they are put in relation with other nations and cultures. Revealing various transnational influences is important for a nation and its neighbours. With the emphasis on entanglements and encounters it should become clearer, that a nation gains its particular characteristics through diverse sets of influences and relationships with other nations, cultures, and religions, and that these characteristics change and keep on changing all the time. Attention must also be given to ensure that these world-wide or transnational entanglements are not taught with a nationalistic or Eurocentric slant. Again, I insist: dealing with the encounters and impact of different cultures and ethnicities can lead to more acceptance of diversity and tolerance of other cultures.

2.3 *Intercultural Teaching*

Teaching history with global perspectives is intercultural teaching. Today, cultural diversity in a nation is generated by globalization and cosmopolitanism (Beck and Grande, 2010: 191). There are hardly any ethnical, culturally and religiously homogeneous nation-states anymore, at least not in the 'West'. Maybe nation-states never were homogeneous, but today diversity is growing faster than before and for different reasons. It is no longer possible to uphold a strict dichotomy between the national and the trans-national. Transnationality is already contained by the nation, and the 'world' is already sitting in the classroom, 'the global other is in our midst' (Beck und Grande, 2010: 194-5).

This does not mean that it is already accepted by everybody. Even in countries with long traditions of multiculturalism there are a lot of concerns about problems of intercultural teaching, for example in the

United States. There is a lot of discussion and reflection on the question of history teaching and training history teachers in this multicultural society (Swetnam, 2003: 210). In the States a lot of cultural, racial and ethnical alienation among students and teachers persists (Asher, 2007: 65). But some norms have been established (indeed, not only in the USA) to teach history with a multicultural and global awareness:⁶ Cultural, ethnic, racial minorities should be covered in history lessons and should be included in the history curriculum and in textbooks (Kimourtzis, Kokkinos & Gatsotis, 2011: 122). Their belonging to the nation's history should not only be told as a history of problems and difficulties, which they can encounter in their previous and current societies (Kamp, 2011:21), but also as a history of their contributions to these societies and of their efforts to gain a better life (Maestri, 2006: 391). Although a lot of educators do not want to teach about the dark sides of their country, these elements should be covered. I am thinking here of explicit and implicit racism, crimes against immigrants and cultural alienation. Only then can students learn about stereotypes, hatred and conflicts, which are important to know, and equip them for being responsible and informed citizens in today's society (Maestri, 2006: 392).

In the last five to ten years some bi- or tri-national history textbooks have been written. These deal with nations that were enemies during World War II and afterwards, for instance the relations between France and Germany, between Poland and Germany (being prepared and written today), between Japan, China and Korea, and even between Jews and Palestinians. All these textbooks have the same purpose: overcoming stereotypes, prejudices, and animosities by telling shared histories from different perspectives, including their darker sides and their successes, stressing the shared elements and shared memories. They must also stress the embedded nature of encounters of a broad and global world.

3. Conclusion: Consequences for History Teaching

The answer to the question from the title is: yes, history lessons can help understand and accept diversity concerning ethnicities and multiculturalism, if the following propositions for changing history lessons are taken into account:

1. History topics, new and old, should be transcended and globalized and taught from multiple perspectives.
2. Teachers and student teachers have to be trained to apply transnational and global perspectives, and also to teach inter-cultural topics because all students, migrant and non-immigrant, and all teachers live in and belong to multicultural settings.
3. History curricula and textbooks should be rethought and rewritten not only by, once again, stressing a more multiple perspective, but also by including global and transnational perspectives. As a matter of fact, the existence of ethnicities, minorities, diverse religions, and cultures should be integrated into the nation's economic, social, and cultural history, statistics with revealing data can be provided when teaching history in schools.
4. It should be possible to create a global curriculum which covers the very beginnings of human history right up to the present day. It should not be too difficult to supplement – not replace – the existing national curriculum 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.

Notes

¹ It is debated whether cultural diversity threatens the unity of a society e.g. Elderling (1996).

² This is most lucidly portrayed in an article about rap music in Germany: Bower (2011).

³ In Germany, in nearly all curricula this demand can be found. In the U.S., e.g. Stearns (2000); Nelson & Waterson (2007/8). The necessity and the way of bringing global history to the classroom were discussed in Koeka (2012).

⁴ In a lot of European countries history classes are taught in this way with some non-European countries added to the national curriculum. For Germany it was shown by Popp & Röder (2006/7).

⁵ Discussed in articles on textbook-research for Scotland, Russia, Denmark and Poland in *Yearbook. International Society for the Didactics of History* (2006/7).

⁶ There are reports on multicultural education, and research has been carried in different countries : in the Netherlands: Elderling (1996); in Australia and the United States Swetnam (2003); in Germany Kamp (2011) and very early in Alavi (1998).

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HOW CAN WE CONTRIBUTE TO INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION THROUGH THE TEACHING OF HISTORY?

Edda Sant, Antoni Santisteban & Joan Pagès

Interculturality is an educational objective of those who want to promote social justice through education. At GREDICS – a social science didactics research group of which we form a part – we have been examining how the teaching of history contributes to this intercultural/critical multicultural education. Our research is based on a collaborative design in which professors and researchers design didactic units that are later used in classrooms and analysed. Our results show that conflicts in the classroom are essential and that these only appear through the use of controversial questions. This exercise helps bring to light students' previous ideas and enables the teacher to deconstruct stereotypes and turn them into scientific historical knowledge.

1. The pedagogic approach of this research

1.1 *Why and with What Aim Should the Teaching of History Promote Religious and Cultural Diversity?*

When we started writing this article we realised that we would have to first specify what our pedagogic approach regarding religious and cultural diversity was. In this regard, we considered that it was important to pose two questions and to try to answer both: (1) 'Why should we be concerned about religious and cultural diversity from the perspective of the didactics and teaching of history?' and (2) 'What should be the aim of history teaching that aspires towards religious and cultural diversity?'

1.2 *Educating Minorities and Majorities*

When we ask the question 'why?', we mean: 'why should the teaching of history take religious and cultural diversity into consideration?' It may appear to be an obvious question, but from certain perspectives it is not so obvious. In this regard, for example, Ross (2012) indicated that the State of Arizona (US) passed a law in 2011 (known as the House Bill 2281) that prohibited any subject that (1) was designed primarily for students from a particular ethnic group, or (2) advocated a type of ethnic solidarity instead of treating students as

individuals. From this point of view, the teaching of history should not take religious and cultural diversity into account because it should be assumed that the students have unique individual identities.

We do not share this perspective. We understand that the teaching of history must take into account religious and cultural diversity for two reasons: to educate minorities and to educate majorities. In line with Durpaire (2002), 'educating minorities' means that the teaching of history is 'essential for citizen integration. If French citizens of foreign origin do not recognise their history in the history that is being taught, we may be tempted to take refuge in a mythical past, to cling without question to a glorious past without any scientific rigour' (2002: 42).

On the contrary, 'educating the majorities' involves learning from other cultures, understanding them better, and it may serve as a vaccine against stereotypes and racism (Oller & Pagès, 1999).

In this way, from our perspective, the teaching of history must bear in mind religious and cultural diversity.

1.2.1 The Intercultural Education and the Critical Multicultural Social Studies

The second question that we formulated was: 'with what purpose?' That is, what does it mean to 'promote peaceful and constructive coexistence and harmonious interdependency'? In accordance with our point of view, there are two main responses to this question, linked to the concepts of 'multicultural education' and 'intercultural education'. From our point of view, 'intercultural education' is a term to define what others have defined as 'critical multicultural education'.

Essomba (2006) identified the main differences between multiculturalism and interculturalism from the perspective of education. We summarise the author's main ideas in the following table.

Table 1:
Multicultural education versus intercultural education. Table translated and adapted from Essomba (2006: 58).

Education	Multicultural	Intercultural
Examining cultural diversity	From diversity	From inequality
Assessing diversity and inequality	Diversity as something positive	Inequality as something negative
Educational objectives	To appreciate diversity	To eliminate inequality
Educational values	Integration and standardisation	Equal opportunities
Approach used with the 'subject'	Ethnic	Social
Duration of the characteristics	Permanent	Temporary
Recipients of the educational actions	Individual	Community

From the perspective of multicultural education, the teaching of history must promote the integration and homogenisation of the students in one same type of citizen with the intention of creating a united society free of ethnic diversity. On the contrary, from the perspective of intercultural education, the teaching of history must contribute to creating a more just society for everyone so that regardless of gender, culture or religion there are equal opportunities for all.

Nevertheless, from our point of view, intercultural education has been better defined by the authors who outline the critical multicultural Social Studies concept. According to Malott & Prun (2006), the critical multicultural Social Studies 'is a student/community-based radical approach that strives for the fomentation of social justice by and among students, community members and activists, teachers, administrators, and our society at large via the social studies and history. [...] if students have the opportunity to make connections to their own lives and situatedness within structures of power, then they can potentially claim – and, indeed, reclaim – their own learning. They might not only reclaim

their history, but they might also find the power to act and change their own lives, both individually and collectively' (Malott & Pruy, 2006: 163).

In accordance with Rey-von Allmen (2004: 105): 'Firstly, the intercultural perspective must be thought of in terms of a project. It has an educational, and a political dimension. This means making sure that interactions (which do exist, even when we do not want or recognize them) contribute to the development of cooperation and solidarity rather than relations of domination, conflict, rejection, and exclusion'.

Secondly, the intercultural/critical multicultural perspective must be thought of in terms of a fact, of a reality. It has an objective, descriptive, scientific dimension. The intercultural/critical multicultural approach means recognizing the dynamics that were set in motion by migratory movements and all forms of contact between individuals, social groups and nations. It means recognizing the reality of interactions that shape and transform our communities. It also means attempting to describe how they operate.

2. A Framework for History and Social Science Education with the Aim of Contributing Towards an Intercultural/Critical Multicultural Education

At GREDICS we have been working on the basis of this latter approach. Our literature review was based on analysing the proposals that were aimed at intercultural education (Rey-von Allmen, 2004; Essomba, 2006) or critical multicultural Social Studies (Malott & Pruy, 2006).

According to Wills (2001), research linking history teaching with the purpose of teaching critical multicultural suffers from a lack of attention. Furthermore, the research is scattered among different topics such as teachers' education, students' representations and particular classroom methods.

On one hand, previous research has focused on students' representations about some contents associated with interculturality. Mainly, researchers have investigated concepts such as nationalism and stereotypes. Findings from both qualitative and quantitative research done in USA (LeSourd, 1993; Zevin, 2003) and in Norway (Zevin, 2003), suggest that students have more positive stereotypes about their own nation/culture than about the others cultures.

Therefore, these results identify one of the main difficulties encountered in history education with respect to critical multicultural aims: 'how can history education contribute to overcome the stereotypes?'

Some proposals have been done with the purpose to answer this question. From a theoretical approach, Banks (1976) developed the *Stages of Ethnicity Typology* to contribute to the construction of strategies that would help students acquire identifications with groups beyond their community cultures. In accordance with the author, students must reach the cultural identity clarification stage before we can expect them to embrace other cultural groups. This would involve the requirement of culture and stereotypes' deconstruction for later critical multicultural knowledge's construction.

On the other hand, little empirical research exists with regards to particular classroom methods used to surpass stereotypes. In spite of this, the main findings of this research provides some evidences that indicates that class discussions can contribute towards emerging students' stereotypes (Housse, 2012), to construct less stereotyped knowledge (Benitez, 2001), to help students to solve their life's conflicts (Bickmore, 1999) and ultimately to work towards critical multiculturalism (Wills, 2001). Indeed, Bickmore (1999) carried out a qualitative research in two USA classes (students aged between 9 and 12) and found that the study of conflicts throughout history and the world could improve students' understanding of the conflicts in their own life. Similarly, Benitez (2001) compared two USA history classes using quantitative analysis, and she concluded that teaching approaches that focus on the comparison between times and spaces will enhance the overcoming of stereotypes and prejudices of the students. A thorough review of this work suggests that a curriculum that empathize the controversial issues (Hess, 2008) by means of time and space comparisons along with pedagogies that required participation and discussion of students in class could improve history and social science education towards intercultural education.

From this previous framework, little of the existing research (just Benitez, 2001), is attentive to the interaction between previous stereotypes and the incidence of history and social science class in those stereotypes. Moreover, we argue that little research exists on this topic, especially in the Catalan context we work in. Therefore, our research has been based on the following question: 'how can we improve the teaching and learning of history and the social sciences

in contexts of cultural and religious diversity in Catalonia with the aim of contributing towards an intercultural education?' From our pedagogical approach, we decided to highlight not only the importance of the context and students' previous stereotypes (Banks, 1976) but also to highlight the value of experimenting and researching certain curriculum innovations in real classes in order to contribute to changes in real educational situations. In accordance with this, we carried out a double-staged research whose aims were:

- To identify the representations students have of immigration and intercultural coexistence (1st research, 2006/2007).
- To design and implement didactic units which contribute to learning intercultural values (1st research, 2006/2007 and 2nd research, 2011/2012).

3. The Context of this Research: Cultural and Religious Diversity in Catalan Society (Spain)

Pagès and Santisteban (2009) have already commented above that two motives explain the cultural and religious diversity in current Catalonia.

Firstly, Catalan society is diverse because two different cultures and languages (Catalan and Spanish) co-exist in Catalonia. Catalan students study Catalan at school (at least it has been this way for the majority of the democratic era) and they learn Spanish in society and in many family contexts. In this way, students acquire linguistic competence in both languages.

Secondly, Catalonia experienced two huge waves of migration during the XX century. The first occurred during the 60s and 70s and mainly comprised economic immigrants from the south of Spain. These people and their descendants currently represent approximately half of the Catalan population.

The second large wave of migration started at the end of the 1990s and mainly comprised people of Latin American and African origin.¹ In this way, this second wave of migration meant that for the first time in centuries there is not only cultural but also religious diversity in Catalonia today.

4. The Method

4.1 The Research Design and the Sample

In this article we perform an analysis and a comparison of some of the results of this two-stage research carried out in the period mentioned. The first part was conducted during the 2007/2008 academic year and comprised a sample of 71 students aged 12 and 13 years old, from different schools in the metropolitan area of Barcelona. The research was funded by an ARIE² project and was directed by Joan Pagès.

The second stage took place during the 2011/2012 academic year and the sample comprised 232 students (aged between 12 and 17) from four different schools in different parts of the Catalan region. It was funded by a MICINN³ project and was directed by Antoni Santisteban.

4.2 A Collaborative Action Research

This research project was characterised for being naturalistic in such a way that we endeavoured to examine the real world without manipulating it. In addition, we decided to work using the collaborative action research method (Tikunoff & Ward, 1983; Jaipal & Figg, 2011). By collaborative research-action we understand 'a strategy that featured teams of teachers, researchers, and developers engaged concurrently in the conduct of research and development focused on resolving the concerns of classroom teachers' (Tikunoff & Ward, 1983: 453).

We selected this research method because we had worked with it in previous research projects⁴ and because it enables us to: (1) work in real classroom contexts, (2) work with active teaching staff, and (3) achieve complex and unforeseeable results.

Using this method, both the teaching staff and the researchers worked collaboratively to: (1) identify the aims of the research; (2) construct the theoretical framework of the research; (3) gather data to identify the representations of the student body; (4) design didactic units; (5) implement the didactic units in real classes; and (6) analyse and assess the didactic material in accordance with the principles of discourse analysis.

The concept of didactic units assumed a central role in our collaborative research-action. The didactic units are the teaching plans that are composed by the didactic objectives, the selection of

contents, the methodological orientations, the activities and the evaluation. In our research, didactic units adopted two different dimensions: (1) to contribute to students' learning and to teachers' professional development (educational dimension); and (2) to be used as an intervention in what can be considered a quasi-experimental technique, from an interpretative approach (research dimension).

4.3 *The Didactic Units*

The teaching staff and researchers worked together to design two didactic units:

- Can people from different cultures live together? (implemented with students aged 12 and 13) (2008).
- Limits, borders and walls (implemented with students aged between 12 and 17) (2008).

Each of these didactic units consisted of six lessons. Below we will show the main elements of each of these lessons.

Table 2:

Main lessons of the didactic units related to Intercultural Education. Project carried out by GREDICS.

Lesson	Can people from different cultures live together? (2008)	Limits, borders and walls (2011)
1 st	Question: 'Can people from different cultures live together?'	Question: 'What are the similarities and differences between limits, borders and walls?'
2 nd	Comparison between the Islamic, Jewish and Christian cultures in the Middle Ages in Catalonia	Comparison of different walls in different historical periods
3 rd	Analysis of coexistence during the Catalan Middle Ages using texts and maps	Analysis of the meaning of the concept border conflict using different sources
4 th	Analysis of a text that explains a love story between a Christian	Case study: analysis of different current walls using different sources

	woman and a Muslim man during the 11 th century	
5 th	Comparison of two different points of view relating to the coexistence of cultures in Catalonia	Analysis of the concept 'invisible wall' using different sources of information
6 th	Case study: the students must explain what they would advise a girl who becomes an economic emigrant and moves from Europe to Africa in 2050	Simulation: What would happen if the Spanish government decided to build a stone wall to separate Ceuta and Melilla from the rest of Africa?

5. Some results

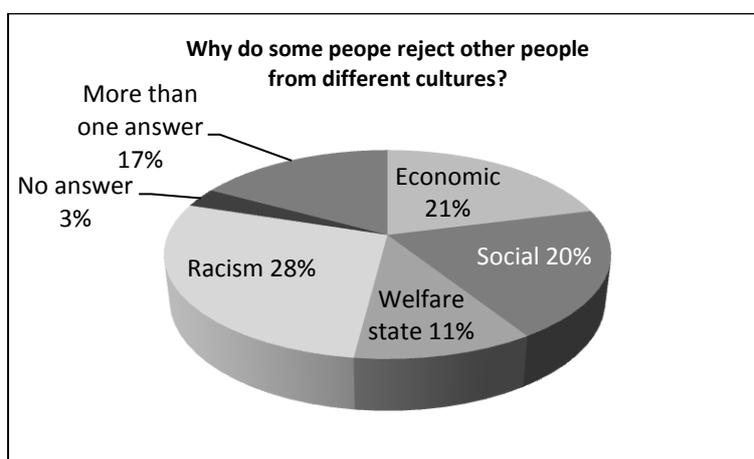
5.1 *Results from the First Stage of the Research*

The objective of the first lesson of the first research mentioned (ARIE, 2007-2008) was to identify the social representations that students had of immigration and intercultural coexistence. To achieve this goal, we conducted a survey containing three different questions: (1) why do some people reject people from different cultures? (2) why do some people from other cultures decide to come to live in Catalonia? and (3) why do some people from other cultures decide to stay living in Catalonia?

In relation to the first question, the analysis showed us that 28% of students considered that the Catalans have discriminatory attitudes towards other people from different cultures because they think they are inferior human beings. On the contrary, 21% of the students answered that this rejection is due to economic factors: they think that the increase in the population has effects on salaries. 20% of the students responded that the rejection is due to immigrants being more conflictive and 11% attributed it to the 'excessive use' of the welfare state by immigrants.

Graph 1:

Answers to the question: 'Why do some people reject other people from different cultures?'



As regards the second question – Why do some people from other cultures decide to come and live in Catalonia? – almost half of the students considered (49%) that the reasons are economic, since Catalonia provides better employment and education opportunities. 35% of the students attributed this migration to the quest for a country that is safer and more free.

Lastly, as regards the third question, 76% of the students stated that immigrants decide to stay in Catalonia because it provides better opportunities in education, employment, health, culture, freedom etc.

In this way, the analysis of the results demonstrates that the students clearly related rejection with racist attitudes and stereotypes and that therefore, they used their everyday knowledge to respond to questions related to racism and xenophobia. Nevertheless, when the question referred to the reasons for the migrations, the students used the academic knowledge that they had learned at school.

After conducting this survey, during the fifth session of the same didactic unit, we provided the students with a text on relationships between Muslims, Jews and Christians during the Middle Ages in Catalonia. Then we asked them to define the meaning of three concepts: coexistence, cohabitation and convenience (*coexistència*,

convivència and *conveniència*).⁵ Then the students had to respond to the following questions: (1) what do you think is happening in your neighbourhood/city: coexistence or convenience? and (2) from your perspective, which of the situations is the best?

The majority of the students answered the first question without suggesting any types of conflict in their community and they stated that in their city a bit of everything was occurring: 'I think that there is a bit of each, because there are people who are friends and then it is coexistence. But there are also other people who are only friends when it suits them and who live together when they don't care what others do' (2IsPa) or 'cohabitation and in some cases coexistence, because people from different cultures live in the same building and they have no problems with the others, but there are also people who do not relate to those who are not from the same culture as them' (2LaDi) or 'all three, because there are people who have no type of relation at all, and there are others who only depend on others in some situations' (2AlJa).

When we asked the students which of the three circumstances was the best in their opinion, all the students, except for one, responded that the best option was coexistence. Below we show some examples of these responses: 'Coexistence because it helps you to increase your social relations, getting to know other people, without any sort of problem' (2NaAk), 'Coexistence, I think. People have to relate to people from other cultures, not only from their own, because it is good to learn customs and things from others' (2MaPa) and 'Coexistence, because people live in a community and communicate with others, and when you go out on the street you talk to others. Convenience is not fair: being with someone because it is convenient is not nice' (2SaMa).

At this point in the research, we realised that the majority of the students' responses used a type of 'neutral' and 'correct' discourse, trying to avoid any conflictive situation in their daily life. The students talked about peaceful situations, in which everyone 'lived and let live'. In no case did they mention other times in history or other places, they did not make any comparisons, and they chose the 'politically correct' answer. Furthermore, the students spoke from a multicultural perspective: they appreciated diversity but they were confident of integration and their approach was ethnic, as shown in the following example: 'Coexistence, because we deal with people from different cultures and we learn from them' (2ViCo).

Thus, we assumed that the cultural identity clarification (Banks, 1976) had not been achieved. In other words, students had not deconstructed their own cultural identity and in consequence, we conclude that we had accomplished our aim to identify students' stereotypes though not with regards to constructing critical knowledge towards intercultural education. Furthermore, no historical knowledge was used to answer questions about the present. Therefore, we thought that it would be useful 'to design activities and questions that enable us to go beyond the politically correct answer' (González et al., 2009: 8).

5.2 Results from the Second Stage of the Research

When we started the new research in 2009 (EDU2009-10984), we reviewed latest literature (Hess, 2008; Barton, 2008; Zong et al., 2008) and we considered that controversial questions could be the key to avoiding politically correct answers, thereby identifying the students' social representations and reconstructing their values towards the notion of interculturality/critical multiculturalism. In line with Hess (2008: 124), the controversial questions 'are conceptualized and defined, include time (an issue of the past, the present, or possibly the future), place (...) and scope' and act 'as a vehicle for other outcomes, such as developing an understanding and commitment to democratic values, increasing interest in engagement in public life, learning important content, improving critical thinking, and building more sophisticated interpersonal skills'.

Using this as a starting point, we designed a didactic unit based on a controversial subject: the walls of the world. For us, it was very important to work with this subject from a historical and geographical perspective with the intention of gaining a better understanding of the reality and options for the future.

In the second lesson of this unit, we asked the students to describe what a wall was, what the main functions of walls have been throughout history and how they imagine walls in the future. Below we show the main words used in their answers (in Catalan).

used different types of arguments: arguments based on their previous knowledge and arguments from the second, fourth and last lesson. Fifteen of the twenty students used an argument that they had learned during the didactic unit. For example, UF084 mentioned that one of the consequences of the construction of walls was the division of people (families and friends), an argument that was studied in the fourth lesson of the unit. Likewise, UF123 used an argument linked to human rights when taking his stance (the students had learned about migration-related human rights in the last session of the didactic unit).

Beyond the decisions that they made, the results indicate that unlike what occurred in the previous research, the students used the intercultural approach to argue their positions. In this way, the students identify the objectives of intercultural education as the rejection of inequalities (for example UF184 states: 'I think that if the wall is built a lot of people would not find a job'), values such as equal opportunities (UF184 argued: 'I think that we all have the same rights as Spaniards', UF140 recognised that 'immigrants come because of the economic situation in their own countries'; UF162 complained, stating: 'Dear president, [...] you only take Spanish citizens into account, and do not consider other people') and their approach was social rather than ethnic (for example UF090 clearly stated: 'I think that the main problem is the economy').

Thus, debating a controversial subject, in this case walls, allowed the students to clearly express their points of view beyond conventionalism. The debate generated conflict and conflict contributed to almost all of the students taking a stance in such a way that the teaching staff could identify what the social representations of their students were. On another note, the use of sources to prepare the debate using certain historical, geographical and political content, contributed to the students taking a more rigorous stance regarding their previous opinions. A careful selection encourages students to opt for values of interculturality.

6. Discussion

After finishing the whole two-stage research, we agreed with Banks (1976) that students' stereotypes must emerge before they can embrace critical multicultural/intercultural values. Without these values, instead of recognising student's real views and experiences,

we find that students express a naïve and unreal situation in which conflict does not exist.

In the first stage of our research, we identified the stereotypes but those stereotypes never appeared in the class. In that case, historical contents were perceived by the students as something unconnected to their reality. Although this association was explicitly requested, they did not use the historical sources in order to construct critical multicultural knowledge or values. In contrast, after finishing the didactic unit students keep using 'politically correct' responses. Hence, we concluded that the comparison between present and past would not contribute to intercultural education by itself.

Similarly, in the second stage of the research, historical contents did not have an effect on students' knowledge and values. This effect was achieved gradually by means of present contents but especially by means of the final lesson in which students debated the controversial issue of the walls. This debate generated both: (1) the emergence of students' stereotypes and their experienced conflicts and (2) the use of historical/geographical contents in order to support their arguments. Moreover, the clarification of their own identity along with the learning of some scientific contents, enhanced their critical multiculturalism knowledge and values.

Consequently, our findings agree with previous research (Bickmore, 1999; Benitez, 2001) that a combination of class discussion, controversial issues and the comparison between times and spaces can have an effect on intercultural education. Indeed, our contribution to research is in the process of this combination. With the purpose of achieving significant learning, teachers should be able to identify students' stereotypes and existence conflicts. According to our results, this can be accomplished by means of controversial issues discussed in class. Once this aim has been achieved, teachers can introduce historical contents associated with the controversial issue being debated. Finally, the learning of intercultural knowledge and values can be assessed by the continuation of the initial class discussion.

Notes

¹ In 2010, 16.4% of the population of Catalonia were not born in Spain. The most frequent nationalities were Morocco, Romania, Ecuador, Bolivia and Colombia.

² ARIE was the name of educational research programmes funded by the Catalan government (*Generalitat de Catalunya*).

³ MICINN is the name of the educational research programmes funded by the Ministry of Science and Innovation. The name of this particular project was EDU2009-10984.

⁴ See, for example, Pagès (2005); Santisteban & Pagès (2007); González, Henríquez & Pagès (2008).

⁴ The main differences between the words cohabitation and coexistence for us, is that coexistence require a cert level of interrelation while cohabitation does not require it.

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RELIGIOUS DIMENSION OF SOCIAL DIVERSITY AND HISTORY EDUCATION

Wolfgang Hasberg

Following up on recent events and their reflection in journalism in Germany, the article designates a central problem of diverse societies, even the relationship to sub-societies with special, constricted values. With the example of religions it shows how tolerance can turn into intolerance by following a politically initiated pluralism. To demonstrate the relevance of religious attitudes for historical learning, some empirical results are presented at first and the religious dimension of historical consciousness is sketched out theoretically. The third step demonstrates that Understanding (others) is an integral element of the epistemological concept of historical thinking and of the historical method. Insofar it is the hermeneutic task to understand and to initiate a dialogue with people in the past, then historical learning delivers the instruments of understanding, and thereby it communicates the basis for tolerance, which is an indispensable regulative in diverse societies. In the end the jeopardies of inclusion are mentioned, which arise if inclusion is not regarded as a way but as an aim.

Prologue

As these lines are written, the German parliament is passing a law concerning the Jewish ritual of Brith. In June 2012, as the conference in Kazan took place where this paper was presented, the County Court (Landgericht) in Cologne decided that the Jewish ritual of Brith would be a form of bodily harm and therefore it should not be allowed, but be impeachable, even if the parents agree or if they asked for the Brith. The new law allows parents to decide whether their premature sons are circumcised, although it is not mandated for medical reasons, if it is done by persons who are skilled, without necessarily being a professional medics.¹

At the same time, as this article is written, the Federal Industrial Court (Bundesarbeitsgericht) has to deliver a judgement in case of the question of whether the employees of churches have to obey the special employment law, e.g. if it is legitimate to strike, or if the law of the churches is obeyed, even if it would conflict with public law. The judgement is a Solomonic judgement, insofar as it appoints that the employees of churches are allowed to strike, but that they have to

attend to all other specifics of the collective bargaining law of the churches.²

A current article-series in one of the most important weekly newspapers in Germany asserts that such conflicts of interests between religion and state or democratic society have been accumulating for several months and the author declares that it is a little bit 'annoying', how often such discussions about such matters arise. Therefore the title of her article is: 'The eleventh law: You should not make politics with God!'³ And she explains why religion comes into conflict with democracy. But the solution is not as easy as the author suggests, when she says, that religious people have to control their religion and have to accept that their rules are not valid for all people. This is not the point. The core-conflict affects the question of whether it is possible that a part-community like a church can have rules which decrease the civil rights of their members. It is a struggle between church and state, it is a struggle between religious values and civil rights. And growing out of this struggle is a consequence of increasing diversity. Social groups, like religious communities, which follow a special code of ethics, exclude people, who do not want to follow this code, and therefore come into conflict with such social groups which follow other or wider codes of ethics. In the end the only durable norm are the human rights, which seem to be accepted by all human beings, all in all. No other code of ethics, which limits this sovereign norm, can be accepted, as it restricts the human rights of people, even if they voluntarily agree to the rules. 'The idea of human rights is the religion of modernity', states Hans Joas, a famous sociologist in Germany.⁴ Such a point of view evokes criticism on the side of the religious groups, e.g. Pope Benedict XVI (2005-2013), who suspect a 'dictatorship of relativism', which already has afforded a 'negative tolerance',⁵ which means that if, for example, the installation of signs of special (religious) groups is banned in public spaces, it is a kind of tolerance in the face of the majority but it is a kind of intolerance in the face of the respective minorities.⁶ Obviously, this area of conflict between religious demands and the call for human rights is not limited to one nation state but is a general problem, at least in Europe.⁷

Indeed, this is a danger not only for religious groups but for all part-societies and for religiousness as a whole. Obviously, religiousness and diversity are struggling. Therefore, this subject matter belongs to the topic of a conference, which dealt with

‘Cultural and Religious Diversity and the Implications for History Education.’ The present article focuses on the second aspect, especially on the religious dimension of history education as an important factor of historical consciousness.

1. Religion and Religiousness as determinants of Historical Thinking

Considering religiousness as a dimension of historical consciousness does not mean religion in the sense of the subject matter of history education, but the important role that religious attitudes play in thinking historically. Therefore, the title of this article reflects on ‘religious dimension’, because it shall be shown that the religious dimension in history education is not congruent with religion as content.

At the beginning it has to be emphasized that the following argumentation is based on the German framework of historical consciousness and historical thinking which was developed since the end of the 1960s and seems much more elaborated and consistent than the concepts which are pursued in the Anglophone discourse. Research on historical argumentation, historical contextualizing (S. Wineburg),⁸ historical reasoning (D. Kuhn, J. v. Drie, C. v. Boxtel),⁹ historical thinking (M. Booth),¹⁰ historical understanding (P. Lee, L. S. Levstik)¹¹ or on conceptual change and historical learning (H. Hallden)¹² are well known and interesting but are not always conclusive in their methodological design (mostly: qualitative research, often: case studies) and mainly they did not establish consistent theoretical frameworks. For instance, when Peter Lee arranged his findings into a ‘systematic’ of historical understanding, he used the theoretical framework proposed by J. Rüsen.¹³ Here is not the place to explain the advantages of the German debate which has not yet been translated into English,¹⁴ but because the following considerations are based on it, some preliminary remarks concerning the assumptions and the argumentation are necessary:

1. First it has to be recognized that history and the past are not the same. In the German discourse many scientists who work in the field of theory or didactics of history distinguish between the past, what happened in the past (*res gestae*), and history, the story which is told about the past (*narratio rerum gestarum*).¹⁵

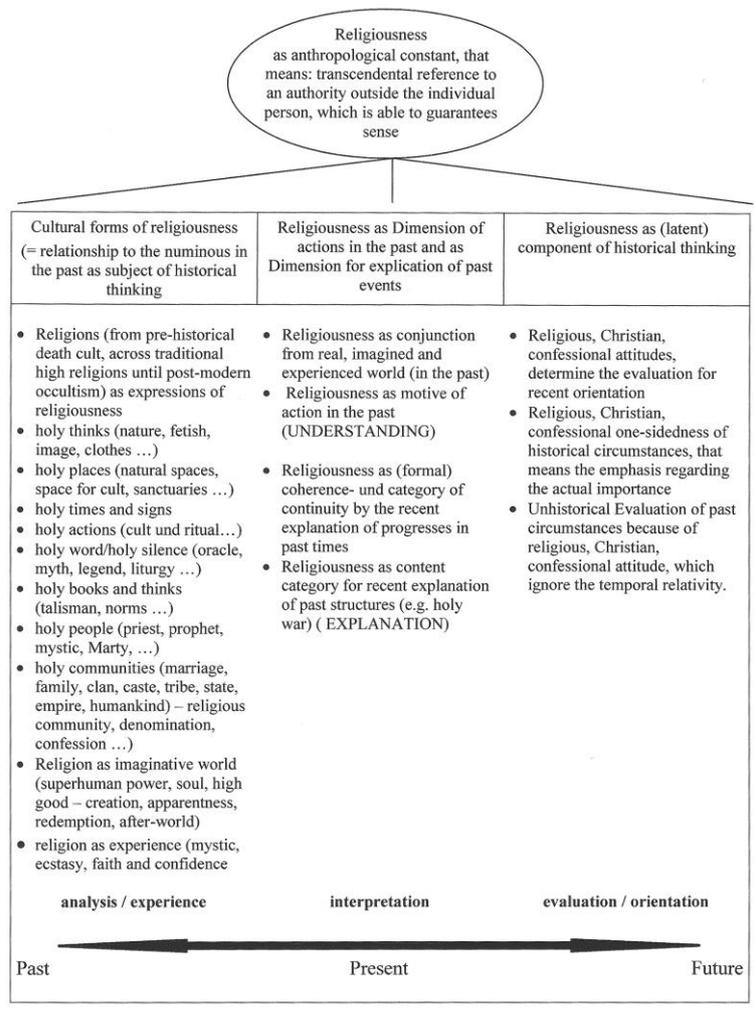
2. According to the German framework of history didactics¹⁶ historical thinking consists of three steps or stages: a) analysis or perception of the past, b) interpretation of the past by creating temporal coherences (structural and temporal coherences, too), and c) the estimation of history related to one's own life for orientation in the present. The constitutional evidence of religiousness for historical thinking shall be demonstrated in this first chapter.
3. The religious attitudes of the learners as well as of the teachers have an impact on the estimation of history, of course, but on the reconstruction of history, too; in other words: religiousness plays a role for constructing history. Which role it plays can be demonstrated by a few empirical results in the second section.
4. The conclusion will deal with the challenges posed by the fact, that religious attitudes, on the one hand, influence historical thinking, and that religious attitudes, on the other hand, evoke cultural practices. Therefore history education cannot ignore the religious impact.

At first, religion and religiousness do not belong to the fundamental historical terms (*Grundbegriffe*) or fundamental concepts, as in the relevant compendium by Otto Brunner, Werner Conze and Reinhart Koselleck one cannot find any entry related to religion or religiousness.¹⁷ However, social historians do not ignore that religion in the form of institutions, and religiousness as an attitude, which inspired actions in the past as well as in the present, are powerful elements of history.¹⁸

Perhaps, it will never be possible for historians to measure or appreciate the importance of religious consciousness in the past,¹⁹ but the re-construction of the past living-environment or past mentalities will only be partially successful in all cases. Therefore, the attempt to designate religion(s) and religiousness as factors of human actions in the past and as reasons for historical development cannot be neglected in historical sciences. At last, the Swiss cultural historian Jacob Burckhardt (1818-1897) regarded religion as one of the three potencies, which together effect progress in history.²⁰ He assumed that 'religions are an expression of the eternal and indestructible requirements of the human being.'²¹ Therefore, he declared religion as a driving power (*Triebkraft*) of history, without differentiating between

- religion as manifest expression,
- as materialisation of human religiousness,
- religiousness as mental factor and motive of human actions.

Figure 1: Dimensions of Religiousness as Dimension of Historical Consciousness²²



Although, J. Burckhard was confident, that ‘our images [...] [of history] mostly are constructions, or better: reflections of ourselves’,²³ he ignored the fact that these constructions or reflections are influenced by the religiousness or religious attitudes of the cognitive individual, who is constructing history, e.g. the historian. In other words: religion(s) and religiousness are potencies of development in time, but they are not determinants of historical thinking in the theory of J. Burckhard.

The religious dimension, taking centre-stage in the following explanation, does not mean religion (institution) and religiousness (mentality) as contents at first, but religiousness as a factor of action, which is orientated on transcendence, in the past as well as religiousness as category for historical explanation (which is an act of interpretation). How far – one has to ask – can religion be regarded as a motive for action in the past or as an explainable category of historical reconstruction? The next question is, how far will the pupils recognize that their dealing with the past or with history is influenced by their own religious attitudes, acquired during their socialisation?²⁴

Based on J. Burckhardt’s fundamental considerations in cultural sciences, religiousness is an anthropological constant, which relegate the human being to an authority outside himself for gaining sense for his existence as well as for his actions – this transcendental authority must not exist outside the immanent world. This religiousness articulates itself by more or less manifest expressions, it inevitably influences the thinking and action of human beings. At least, it influences historical thinking.

Not only the expression of religiousness in time (e.g. in the past) can be explored, as the statistic (Figure 1) suggests. The first column broaches the issue of the *Cultural form of religiousness*, that is, the relation to the numinous in the past can become the content of historical thinking. Secondly, religiousness is a dimension of action in the past as well as a dimension of explaining past events. It is a mental factor which determined human action in the past. And, by picking up facts in the past and combining them into a sensible story about the past, religiousness plays its role by interpretation. And finally, religiousness is a (latent) component of historical thinking, in so far as it influences the evaluation of history. As it can be seen in the schedule, in the theoretical context of historical consciousness religiousness is a dimension in all stages of historical thinking. It

influences the a) analysis (K.-E. Jeismann)²⁵ or the perception/experience (J. Rüsen)²⁶ of the past, b) the interpretation of the past, and c) the evaluation of the past or the orientation in time. Therefore it cannot be disregarded in the didactical context. In fact, there is a need to research how the religious consciousness of the learners of history is constituted and how its relationship to historical consciousness is configured. In the context of a conference about social and religious diversity these questions need attention, as cultural diversity may be related to – or perhaps: depends on – this religious and historical consciousness.

This problem can be readopted at the end of the article. Beforehand, religion – or better: religiousness as a dimension of history education – must be brought into focus, although this issue has not been investigated as extensively as would be necessary to attain a complete solution to this problem.

2. Religion as a Dimension of Historical Education

The religious implications of history education were seldom investigated although it was discovered by scientists, who asked for children's understanding of historical time, that the young pupils ascribe the beginning of time 'back when God was around'²⁷ and that they often regard God as the initiator of progress in time, because they have no other idea for explanation.²⁸ Therefore it seems to be an important goal to gain deeper insights into this obvious implication.

Fortunately, Bodo von Borries focussed on the religious dimension of historical thinking in his quantitative investigations, conducted in the German national space as well as in Europe, when, in the beginnings of the 1990s, he cooperated with numerous colleagues in the well known *Youth & History* project.²⁹ But scientific research in reference to the influence of religion and religiousness is much older.

In 1905, Wilhelm Stern, a German psychologist, well-known as an inventor of intelligence tests, made an investigation about the favoured school subjects and asserted a relationship between history lessons and religious instruction, because the girls preferred religious education, while the boys favoured history lessons. He stated: 'It seems that there is a kind of negative proportionality between religious education and history lessons in so far as the cultural participation is directed on the historical-political side or on the

religious side. The first would be characteristically for boys, the second for girls.³⁰ Because he neither inquired into the motives of preference among the subject groups nor collected other data about the formation of preferences and aversions, the ascription to a gender-specific causation is not valid. This point of view seems much too easy.

Therefore, we have to cross over to the studies of B. v. Borries, who on the basis of his data from 1994/97 confirms, that 'between the religious binding of the interviewees and their interpretation of history [...] a close correlation is given.'³¹ – Only four insights can be presented here.

First of all, the pupils were asked: 'How important is religion for you, for your own life?' The answers reflect that religious binding is much stronger than interest in politics (on average, this has to be emphasised), because in North and Western Europe, the importance of religion is ranked lower than in the South and Southwest, where traditional societies exist (an exception is represented by Israel in more than one aspect). This difference is statistically significant. Indeed, there is no clear picture in matter of the post-socialistic states. The recent (political or cultural) situation as well as religious tradition may be reasons for that result.

By another item the pupils were asked, how large the influence of religious leaders was in the past and will be in the future. The schema (Figure 2) shadows no explicit significance, but it shows, that the pupils think, the importance of religion will become smaller and smaller. Only in a few traditional religious states like Greece, Israel, Turkey, and others a positive value of the influence of religion in the future can be observed. It is noteworthy, as B. v. Borries mentions, that there is a close correlation between the expected influence of political leaders and the gross national product.³²

In a third step, the research team compared two items, wherein the pupils should rank their political and their religious interest. It is conspicuous, that the interest in politics is uniform and consequently small. Only in the Palestinian sample is there a low interest in politics, which is explained by the researchers as a reflection on the political situation in the Palestinian states, wherein everybody – even all pupils – is involved. As one can see in the graph (Figure 3), the average value for the religious interest is definitely higher than the interest in politics. But one can observe, too, that interest in religion seems to be much smaller in secularized democracies as the Scandinavian states or in Belgium, the Netherlands and Scotland, compared to traditional countries like Greece, Israel or Turkey. Beside these national characteristics, the table explains no strong impact from religious attitudes on historical reasoning. But in Turkey, Palestine, and Israel there is a statistical significance: the difference between political and religious interest differs by more than two points.

All in all, the influence of political interest is much lower than the impact of religious engagement.³⁴

To give an overview, we can have a peek on the landscape which B. v. Borries and his team made on the basis of their data (Figure 4). There are areas to recognize with fairly similar forming of historical consciousness among pupils.

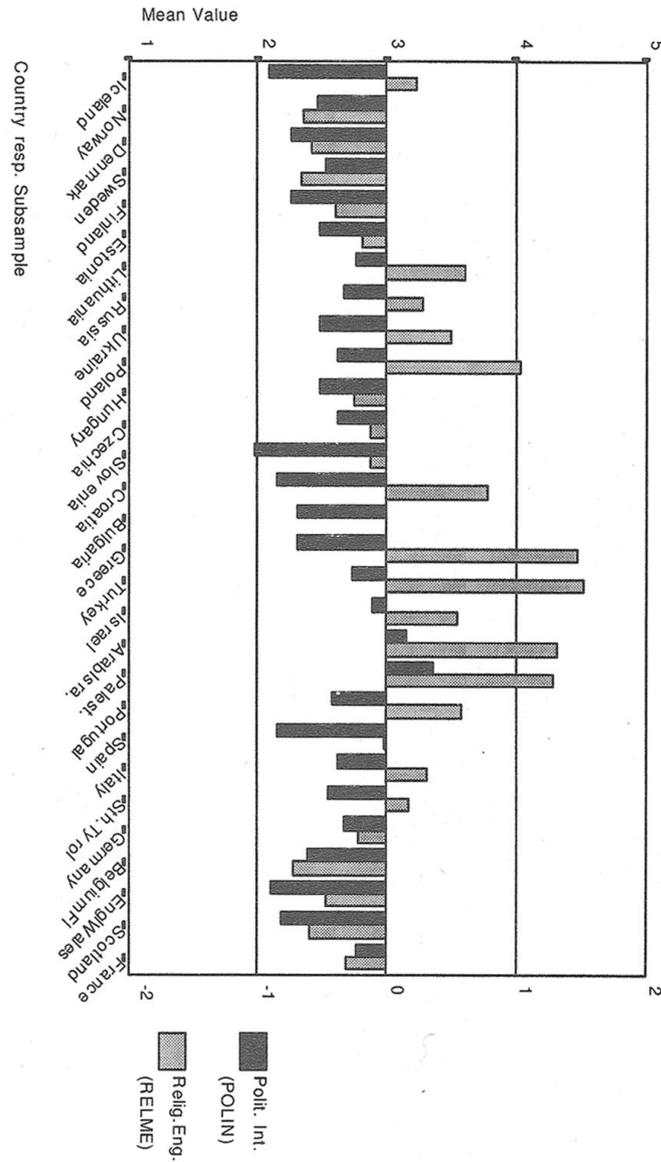


Figure 3: Political interest and religious engagement/binding (average scale)³⁵

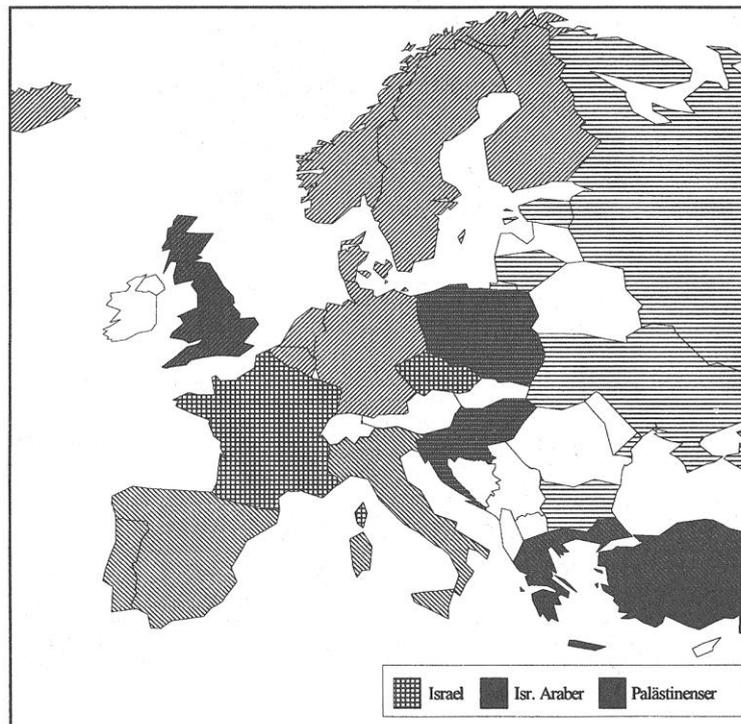


Figure 4: Landscape of historical consciousness in Europe³⁶

- 1. North-West-Europe**
Nordic states, Germany, Belgium, Netherlands
- 2. East-Middle-Europe**
Poland, Hungary, Croatia
- 3. East-Europe**
Russia, Bulgaria
- 4. South-West-Europe**
Spain, Portugal, Italy
- 5. South-Europe**
Greek, Turkey
- 6. Special group**
France, Czech Republic, Israel
- 7. Great Britain**
- 8. Arabs**

This landscape is in accordance to the religious attitudes, already mentioned. Perhaps, there is a kind of concord to the economic situation in Europe, too. B. v. Borries notes, that the strength of interest in religion is analogous to the weakness of economic prosperity.³⁷ And finally, comparing this map with the history-didactics-discourse in Europe, as it was drawn by *Facing – Mapping – Bridging Diversity*,³⁸ one can find similarities as well as differences. Therefore, we should not stress this topic too much. But we should recap the results of the few empirical studies and can assert:

- On average, pupils regard religion to be of high importance in current life.
- Pupils in traditional societies accord more influence to religion in the future than pupils in modern societies with a free market economy (secularized societies) do.
- Pupils are more interested in religion than in politics,
- although most of them do not agree that religion was an important factor in historical progress.
- The religious engagement and historical interest are linked in so far as religious affinity correlates with motivation in history.

In the European survey of *Youth & History* the religious affinity or engagement was proved to be a 'key factor of historical consciousness'.³⁹

3. Religious and cultural Diversity – Challenges for History Education

The link between historical consciousness and religious consciousness, asserted but not explained by empirical research, can be regarded as a bane or as benison, as a danger or as a chance. In fact, we have to draw up the consequences of these not valid but plausible findings. The results of our short consideration can be summarized in a few statements and conclusions.

The most important result of this consideration is: historical culture as the outside of historical consciousness⁴⁰ and religious attitudes as elements of religious consciousness belong together. This fact has to be taken into account not only in international surveys and contexts like *Youth & History*, wherein pupils are compared, who grew up in different historical cultures and religious coherences. This

fact has to be accepted in common history lessons, too, where pupils with different migration backgrounds and pupils without migration backgrounds come together. This situation constitutes the *all-day-diversity*, which determines history lessons long ago. Probably, religious diversity is displayed in cultural differences in particular.⁴¹

And it is necessary to pay attention to these circumstances, because they have some influence on historical thinking, and to pay attention to the religious dimension of historical thinking and learning on all stages, described in the beginning.

Therefore, it seems necessary to be able to use historical method, because the hermeneutic task is the attempt to understand foreign people – not only in the synchronous but in a diachronic coherence, too. Historical thinking by using the historical method is the attempt to understand the people before us and to initiate a dialogue with them.⁴² Respecting that the first step of historical thinking is to tolerate the otherness of the past, historical thinking is a practice of tolerating and history is the field where tolerance can be rehearsed. Therefore, historical thinking as a hermeneutic method of understanding is an important condition for tolerating diversity and practicing inter-culturalism, including its religious dimension in the present. The way to prepare tolerance as a basis for inter-culturalism

Figure 5

Competencies of historical thinking

1. asking historical questions
- 2a organization of imagines of and attitudes towards history
3. re-construction of history
4. de-construction of history
- 2b re-organization of imagines of and attitudes towards history
5. orientation by history in the present
6. reflection on historical thinking

and inter-religionism is to learn historical thinking, and to use and to apply historical method and competencies in common life.

The aim of history education is not to make pupils able to use historical method in the same way as historians do, but to

enable them to think historically. The competence of historical thinking consists of various single competencies, which can be deduced from the process of historical thinking (Figure 5).⁴³

For instructing how to deal with social and religious diversity, students can be taught by corresponding events or structures of the past. A famous example in the particular case may be the Crusades.

But teaching them with the aim on how to deal with diversity, one should not focus on the martial confrontation between the Christian and Muslim combatants, but on the assimilation of both groups in the Levant while they settled down. There are protagonists like Fulcher of Chartres. The second edition of his book *Historia Hierosolymitana*, which was written 20 years after the first, shows how the settlers adopted the habits and conventions and partly the morals of the Muslim and Eastern-Christian inhabitants.⁴⁴ And there were other groups like the chivalric orders (e.g. the Knights Templar), which had to keep the struggle alive with the inhabitants as war was their warrant of existence.⁴⁵

In this way the history of the Crusades can be a topic as a history of diversity and as a history of assimilation, too. There are many other objects of the past which can be told and thought of as histories of diversity and assimilation, like the German settlement in the East in the 13th and 14th century or the development of the immigration movement in the USA, the social life in the Weimar Republic in Germany, the military reforms under the rule of Marius (156-86 BC) in the Jugurthine War or the ineffective agrarian reform of the Gracchi (133 BC) in the Roman Empire. There is nearly no event or structure, process or idea developed out of the past, which cannot be related to the issue of diversity. It is not a matter of content but of perspective how an object is brought into the mind of students. In consequence, nearly all events, movements or structures can become a theme of diversity in history education or history lessons. One can tell stories of growing diversity as well as stories about the overcoming of diversity by assimilation.

Two points have to be observed: First, the impact of diversity and identity, because social diversity is the framework wherein the individual person has to find his or her position by becoming familiar with the different possibilities of identification. Out of this the second point derives: the necessity of having skills for checking up the possibilities offered by a diverse society. Consequently, history education – amongst others – has to deliver tools for extending possible identities and upgrading their own identification.⁴⁶ Identities – there is no doubt – are created by communication.⁴⁷ This means: identification is influenced by the contention *with* past facts and circumstances as well as by the contention *about* past facts and circumstances. The second aspect is not a specific aspect of historical learning, but the competence of communication is a condition, way

and aim of all learning processes, consequently it is a condition of historical learning, too. But the specific task of history education is to implement the competencies of historical thinking by introducing the elemental tools of the historical method.⁴⁸ In so far as history education intends not only to communicate knowledge but to initiate a dialogue with the people of the past and to carry on the empathetic understanding (W. Dilthey),⁴⁹ it requires the same mental operations as the development of 'Rollenkompetenz' (role competence) or building identity:

- learn about motives, norms and principles of social acting and to appreciate the consequences of acting,
- learn to analyse perspectives of expectations, minds, emotions of other people or groups,
- learn to appreciate the alternate reflexivity of expectations in interaction,
- learn to analyze the bundling of expected actions in groups and societies.⁵⁰
- *empathy*: to administer the expectations and motives of others,
- *role distance*: to examine the demands of other critics and to not adopt them but to combine them with own claims,
- *ambiguity tolerance*: to endure discrepancies and incomplete satisfaction of own requirements and to use the inadequacy for new and better solutions,
- *competence of communication*: to participate in processes of communication about expectations and sense for to tolerate the concepts of identity of the participants.⁵¹

The comparison of the aims of history education and the structural conditions of building competence in taking social roles indicates big similarities between historical learning and the learning of tolerance as formal mental processes. This postulates the thesis that historical

thinking is always an attempt at understanding other people who are foreign. Indeed, they are foreign in time as well as in their ideas, their behaviour, and their actions. The competencies of historical thinking as a mental operation and the skills of the historical method are adequate tools for how to deal with people who seem to be foreign in the present, too. It is not the selection of suitable historical 'content', or 'topics', that is the primary task, in order to teach tolerance and making diversity enduring. Mainly it seems to be important to apply historical method as a method of understanding others and to cultivate historical competencies in history lessons. Because all history lessons are a kind of inter-cultural learning, because they deal with cultural otherness, indeed: cultural otherness due to the difference in time!⁵² Therefore, because historical thinking is always a struggle about evidence in the past as well as in the present, historical learning always conducts the learning of tolerance and the enduring of diversity!

Epilogue

Diversity is a fundamental fact of human societies. It may be that diversity grew up equally with globalization, but it was always the theoretical task of state-philosophy and the practical business of states not to reduce but to arrange diversity to enable different people to live together. Nowadays it seems that diversity will get a normative course, especially in the context of inclusion, which gains a central status in international education politics, since UNESCO declared the social inclusion of people with special needs as a prior aim of pedagogy in its *Salamanca Declaration* from 1994.⁵³ In 2009 a conference in the same place discovered that only limited progress had been made during the period of 15 years.⁵⁴ Meanwhile the process accelerated. In particular it bargains for implementation of the *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities* (CRPD). But the idea of inclusion was enlarged, when it was applied to all under- or unprivileged people, even in medical, political, social, economic etc. regard. Inclusion can be regarded as the way to fairness in education (Bildungsgerechtigkeit).⁵⁵

In such cases diversity is not limited on its function as a way for including diversity, but it gains the value of an aim. This has to be regarded as a mistake. Diversity is really existent and it shall not be overcome but arranged. Diversity, whether of social practices or

religious beliefs, have to be tolerated, they have not to be accepted as true or right. Nobody can be forced to accept religious signs as (truthful) symbols, but they have to be tolerated as expressions of others' belief.⁵⁶ Because the freedom of all individuals ends at that point, where the freedom of the next individual begins.

The enlightenment may be an example for explaining the principle of tolerance, especially in matters of religion. And religious conflicts may deliver good examples for dealing with diversity in the past. Certainly, there are innumerable contents which can be thought of regarding the issue of diversity, whether social or religious diversity. Therefore content has to be prepared as a struggle of belief, behaviour, interests etc. But in the end it shall be emphasized once more: the first essential is not the substantive historical content of historical learning: what is essential, is the way in which the object matter is thought of, and especially most important is that historical thinking is thought of and learned as a hermeneutic understanding of others. In this way history education will contribute its part in managing diversity by tolerance.

Notes

¹ See http://www.bundestag.de/dokumente/textarchiv/2012/42036947_kw50_angenommen_abgelehnt/index.html (2.01.2013).

² At least, there are 1.3 million people who work as employee in church institutions, e.g. see Rudzig, K. (2012) 'Zoff im Weinberg des Herrn', *Die Zeit* (47, 15.12.2012), 23.

³ Finger, E. (2012) 'Das elfte Gebot. Du sollst mit Gott nicht Politik machen! – Warum die Religion in der Demokratie immer neuen Streit auslöst', *Die Zeit* (49, 29.11.2012), 66.

⁴ Joas, H. (2013), *Die Sakralität der Person. Eine neue Genealogie der Menschenrechte*, new ed., Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp.

⁵ Benedikt XVI (2010), *Licht der Welt. Der Papst, die Kirche und die Zeichen der Zeit. Ein Gespräch mit Peter Seewald*, Freiburg – Basel – Wien: Herder, 69ff. See also Ratzinger, J. (2005) 'Pro Eligendo Romana Pontifice', in Sekretariat der Deutschen Bischofskonferenz (ed) (2005), *Der Anfang. Papst Benedikt XVI. Joseph Ratzinger. Predigten und Ansprachen April/Mai 2005* (Verlautbarungen des Apostolischen Stuhls, No. 168), Bonn, 12-6, here 14.

⁶ Certainly, the European Court for Human Rights recently decided that British Airways was not right, when it prohibited to wear religious signs during working time, cf. Rath, Ch. (2013) 'Ein Kreuz muss nicht versteckt werden', *Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger* (16.01.2013), 6.

⁷ E.g. the conflict in France, where are great protests against the adoption law concerning to homosexual cohabitations, cf. Veiel, A. (2013) 'Ein Kind braucht Mama und Papa', *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger* (14.01.2013), 6.

⁸ Wineburg, S. & Fournier, J. (1994) 'Contextualized Thinking in History', in M. Carretero and J. F. Voss (eds) *Cognitive and Instructional Processes in History and the Social Sciences*, Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 285-308; Reismann, A. & Wineburg, S. (2008) 'Teaching the skill of Contextualizing in History', *Social Studies* 99, 202-7.

⁹ Kuhn, D., Weinstock, M. & Flaton, R. (1994) 'Historical Reasoning as Theory-Evidence Coordination', in M. Carretero and J. F. Voss (eds) *Cognitive and Instructional Processes in History and the Social Sciences*, Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 377-402; Hallden, O. (1988) 'On reasoning in History', in J. F. Voss and M. Carretero (eds) *Learning and Reasoning in History*, London – Portland: Woburn-Press, 272-8; van Drie, J. & van Boxtel, C. (2008) 'Historical Reasoning; Towards a Framework for Analyzing Students' Reasoning about the Past', *Educational Psychology Review* 20, 87-119.

¹⁰ Booth, M. (1993) 'Student's Historical Thinking and the National History Curriculum in England', *Theory and Research in Social Education* 21 (2), 105-27; Both, M. (1994) 'Cognition in History: A British Perspective', *Educational Psychologist* 29 (2), 61-69.

¹¹ Levstik, L. S. (1992) 'New Directions for Studying Historical Understanding', *Theory and Research in Social Education* 20 (4), 69-385; Lee, P., Dickinson, A. & Ashby, R. (1988) 'Researching Children's Ideas about History', London – Portland: Woburn-Press, in: J. F. Voss and M. Carretero (eds) *Learning and Reasoning in History*, (note 9), 227-251.

¹² Hallden, O. (1986) 'Learning History', *Oxford Review of Education* 12 (1), 53-66; Hallden, O. (1993) 'Learners' Conceptions of the Subject matter being taught. A Case from Learning History', *International Journal of Educational Research* 19, 317-25; Hallden, O. (1994) 'Constructing the Learning Task in History Instruction', in M. Carretero and J. F. Voss (eds) *Cognitive and Instructional Processes in History and the Social Sciences*, Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 187-200; Hallden, O. (1998) 'Personalization in Historical Descriptions and Explanations', *Learning and Instruction* 8 (2), 131-9; Limon, M. (2002) 'Conceptual Change in History', in M. Limon & L. Mason (eds) *Reconsidering Conceptual Change. Issue in Theory and Practice*, Dordrecht: Kluwer academic Publishers, 259-89.

¹³ Lee, P. (2006) 'Understanding history', in P. Seixas (ed) *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press, 129-64. There are few attempts of systematization, e.g. in the anthology of P. Stearns, P. Seixas & S. Wineburg (eds) (2000), *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History. National and International Perspectives*, New York – London: University Press, or the inspiring monograph of Husbands, Ch. (1996), *What is History Teaching. Language, ideas and meaning in learning about the past*, Buckingham: Open University Press, which is limited to historical learning in history lessons.

¹⁴ Cf. Erdmann, E. & Hasberg, W. (2011) 'Historical Culture, History Didactics and History Teaching in Germany', in E. Erdmann and W. Hasberg (eds), *Facing – Mapping – Bridging Diversity. Foundation of a European Discourse on History Education*, vol. 1, Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau-Verlag, 291-328.

¹⁵ This differentiation is adopted inter alia from Lee, 2006 (cf. note 14), 129f.

¹⁶ Knotting to the anthology of H. Süßmuth (ed) (1980), *Geschichtsdidaktische Positionen. Bestandsaufnahme und Neuorientierung*, Paderborn u.a.: Schönigh, see the fundamental publications from Jeismann, K.-E. (1985) *Geschichte als Horizont der Gegenwart*, ed. W. Jacobmeyer & E. Kosthorst, Paderborn: Schönigh, Jeismann, K.-E. (2000), *Bildung und Geschichte* ed. W. Jacobmeyer & B. Schönemann, Paderborn: Schönigh, Rüsen, J. (2008), *Historisches Lernen. Grundlagen und Paradigmen*, Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau, and now Pandel, H.-J. (2013), *Geschichtsdidaktik. Eine Theorie für die Praxis*, Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau-Verlag.

¹⁷ Brunner, O., Conze W. & Koselleck R. (eds) (1972-1997), *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, 7 vol., Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta.

¹⁸ Schieder, W. (1987) 'Religion in der Sozialgeschichte', in W. Schieder & V. Sellin (eds), *Sozialgeschichte in Deutschland*, vol. 3, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 9-31.

¹⁹ Weber, M. (1978), *Die protestantische Ethik, vol. 2: Kritiken und Antikritiken*, ed. J. Winkelmann, 3rd ed. Gütersloh: Verlagshaus Mohn, 45.

²⁰ Burckhardt, J. (1978), *Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen. Über geschichtliches Studium*, München: dtv (first edition Berlin – Stuttgart 1905).

²¹ Translated (by W.H.) according to *ibid.*, 28: 'Religionen sind der Ausdruck des ewigen und unzerstörbaren metaphysischen Bedürfnisses der Menschennatur.'

²² A much closer explanation is given by Hasberg, W. (2007) 'Das Mittelalter als christlich-kirchliche Zeit? Religion und Kirche in der Darstellung des Mittelalters im Schulbuch', in M. Clauss & M. Seidenfuß (eds), *Das Bild des Mittelalters in europäischen Schulbüchern*, Berlin: Lit-Verlag, 193-224.

²³ Translated (by W.H.) according to Burckhardt, 1978 (cf. note 20), 4: 'Unsere Bilder derselben [der Geschichte, W.H.] sind meist doch bloße Konstruktionen, ja bloße Reflexe von uns selbst.'

²⁴ Towards religiousness as determining factor of historical thinking see von Borries, B. (1995), *Das Geschichtsbewusstsein Jugendlicher*, Weinheim – München: Juventa, 368-71; also the refutable qualitative investigation of Iffert, M. (2005), *Die Inhaltsstruktur des Geschichtsbewusstseins*, Hamburg: Kovac-Verlag, esp. 178ff., 198ff. For the religious dimension as (pre-) condition of historical learning see von Borries, B. (2005) 'Quantitative Schülerbefragung und Lehrerbegleitbefragung', in B. von Borries et al. (eds) *Schulbuchverständnis, Richtlinienbenutzung und Reflexionsprozesse*, Neuried: Ars una, 37-60, here 44-60.

²⁵ Jeismann, K.-E. (1977) 'Didaktik der Geschichte', in E. Kosthorst (ed) *Geschichtswissenschaft*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 9-33.

²⁶ Eg. Rüsen, J. (2008) 'Erfahrung, Deutung, Orientierung – drei Dimensionen des historischen Lernens', in J. Rüsen, *Historisches Lernen. Grundlagen und Paradigmen*, Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau-Verlag, 61-9.

²⁷ Barton, K. C. & Levstik, L. S. (2008) 'Back when God was around and everything: Elementary children's understanding of historical time', in L. S. Levstik and K. C. Barton, *Researching History Education. Theory, Method, and Context*, New York – London: Routledge, 71-107, here 88. Cf. the Germany research of Beilner, H. (1999) 'Zum Zeitbewußtsein bei Grundschulabgängern. Fähigkeiten und Strategien zur zeitlichen Ordnung geschichtlicher Sachverhalte', in W. Schreiber (ed), *Erste Begegnungen mit Geschichte*, vol. 1, Neuried: ars una, 153-194 and Beilner, H. 'Zum Geschichtsbegriff bei Grundschulabgängern', *Geschichte lernen* 62/1998, 4-7, who used nearly the same method but got different, more positive results.

²⁸ Cf. El Darwich, R. (1991) 'Zur Genese von Kategorien des Geschichtsbewußtseins bei Kindern im Alter von 5 bis 14 Jahren', in B. von Borries, H.-J. Pandel & J. Rösen (eds) *Geschichtsbewußtsein empirisch*, Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus, 24-52, here 43.

²⁹ Angvik M. & von Borries, B. (eds) (1997), *Youth and History*, 2 vols., Hamburg: Edition Körber; von Borries, B. (1999), *Jugend und Geschichte. Ein europäischer Kulturvergleich aus deutscher Sicht*, Opladen: Leske + Budrich.

³⁰ Translated (by W. H.) according to Stern, W. (1906) 'Über die Beliebtheit und Unbeliebtheit der Schulfächer', *Zeitschrift für pädagogische Psychologie und experimentelle Pädagogik* 6, 267-79, here 293: 'Es scheint demnach zwischen Religions- und Geschichtsinteresse eine Art umgekehrte Proportionalität zu bestehen, derart, dass die Teilnahme an der menschlichen Kultur, entweder auf ihre historisch-politische oder auf ihre religiöse Seite zuspitzt; jenes wäre dann mehr Knabenart, dieses mehr Mädchenart.' Cf. Hasberg, W. (2001), *Empirische Forschung in der Geschichtsdidaktik*, vol. 1, Neuried: ars una, 226.

³¹ Translated (by W.H.) according to von Borries, B. (2000) 'Zwischen Bestätigung, Widerlegung und Irritation von Vorannahmen. Einblicke und Fallstricke repräsentativer Befragungen zum historisch-politischen Lernen', in W. Schreiber (ed), *Die religiöse Dimension im Geschichtsunterricht an Europas Schulen. Ein interdisziplinäres Forschungsprojekt. Tagungsband*, Neuried: ars una, 349-76, here 353: 'Zwischen der "religiösen Bindung" der Befragten und ihrer Geschichtsinterpretation ... besteht – verständlicherweise – ein enger Zusammenhang.'

³² Borries, 1999 (cf. note 29), 353 (modified by W.H.).

³³ Borries, 2000 (cf. note 31), 354.

³⁴ Agnvik & Borries, 1997 (cf. note 29), A 64.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Borries, 1999 (cf. note 29), 316.

³⁷ Borries, 2000 (cf. note 31), 354, note 4.

³⁸ Erdmann & Hasberg, 2011 (cf. note 14), esp. vol. 2, 345-78. Cf. Hasberg, W. (2010), 'Mapping Diversity - oder: Muss die Geschichtsdidaktik in Europa sich neu erfinden?', *Historische Mitteilungen* 23, 104-37.

³⁹ Borries, 1999 (cf. note 29), 336, where 'Religionsbindung' is called 'Schlüsselgröße des Geschichtsbewußtseins'.

⁴⁰ Cf. to the heuristic concept of historical culture Rüsen, J. (2008), *Historische Orientierung*, Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau, 233-84.

⁴¹ For giving a trivial example: When one of my children celebrates her birthday, she says to my wife: 'Pay attention, Aischa is coming, you know, she does not eat pork!' Obviously, Aischa is a Muslim, but my daughter would not point to her religion but to the social practice.

⁴² Schörken, R. (1980) 'Geschichtsunterricht in einer kleiner werdenden Welt. Prolegomena zu einer Didaktik des Fremdverstehens', in *Geschichtsdidaktische Positionen* (cf. note 16), 315-35 picked up again by von Norden, J. (2011), *Was machst du für Geschichten? Didaktik eines narrativen Konstruktivismus*, Freiburg i. B.: Centaurus, 120ff. Even already Hasberg, W. (1994), *Kirchengeschichte in der Sekundarstufe I*, Trier: wvt, 434-6.

⁴³ In the wake of PISA studies in Germany a discussion arose among didacticians of German history about competencies of historical thinking or learning or about competencies of history education and lessons. This debate cannot be described here. The model of competencies, represented in fig. 5, was developed by Hasberg, W. (2005) 'Von PISA nach Berlin. Auf der Suche nach Kompetenzen und Standards historischen Lernens', *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 56, 684-702. Cf. Hasberg, W. & Körber, A. (2003) 'Geschichtsbewusstsein dynamisch', in A. Körber (ed), *Geschichte – Leben – Lernen*, Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochensau-Verlag, 177-200. At this place it cannot delineate the whole discussion.

⁴⁴ Cf. Epp, V. (1990), *Fulcher von Chartres. Studien zur Geschichtsschreibung des ersten Kreuzzuges*, Düsseldorf: Droste.

⁴⁵ See Epp, V. (1990) 'Das Entstehen eines ‚Nationalbewußtseins‘ in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten', *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht. Beiheft* 1990, 97f. Cf. Mayer, H.-E. (1997), *Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft. Einwanderer und Minderheiten im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, München: Oldenbourg.

⁴⁶ In a nutshell cf. Hasberg, 1994 (cf. note 42), 434-6.

⁴⁷ Bergmann, K. (1997) 'Identität', in Klaus Bergmann et al. (eds) *Handbuch der Geschichtsdidaktik*, 5. ed. Seelze-Velber: Kallmeyersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 29-36, here 34; Krappmann, L. (1973), *Soziologische Dimension der Identität. Strukturelle Bedingungen für die Teilnahme an Interaktionsprozessen*, 3rd ed. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta (new edition: 2000 Stuttgart: Klett), 32ff.; Erikson, E. (1973), *Identität und Lebenszyklus*, 11th ed. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 18 [English original 1959].

⁴⁸ Cf. Kirchoff, H. G. (1986) 'Geschichtsunterricht als Einübung der historischen Methode', in H. G. Kirchoff (ed) *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichtsdidaktik*, Dortmund: Brockmeyer, 243-7. Significant is the differentiation between a wider and a smaller type of the historical method by Rüsen, J. (1988) 'Historische Methode', in C. Meier & J. Rüsen (eds), *Historische Methode*, München: dtv, 62-80.

⁴⁹ Rüsen, J. (1983), *Rekonstruktion der Vergangenheit*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 117-47 calls this: 'hermeneutische Tiefendimension der analytisch erschlossenen historischen Erfahrung'.

⁵⁰ Schörken, R. (1975) 'Kriterien für einen lernzielorientierten Geschichtsunterricht', in: E. Jäckel & E. Weymar (eds), *Die Funktion der Geschichte*, Stuttgart: Klett, 280-93, here 291. As aims of history education already mentioned from Schörken, R. (1972) 'Geschichtsdidaktik und Geschichtsbewußtsein', *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 23, 81-9 and Bergmann, 1977 (cf. note 47), 35.

⁵¹ Jahn, K. & Krappmann, L. (1987) 'Sozialisation und politische Bildung', in V. Nitschke and F. Sandmann (eds) *Metzler. Handbuch für den politischen Unterricht*, Stuttgart: Metzler, 154-62, here 157. More elaborated: Krappmann, 1973 (cf. note 47), 132-73.

⁵² Likewise now Norden, 2011 (cf. note 42), 130.

⁵³ The declaration is available via www.unesco.org/education/pdf/SALAMA_E.PDF (2.01.2013). Basis of the Resolution was the study Better Education for All: When We're Included, Too. A Global Report People with an Intellectual Disability and their Families Speak out on Education for All, Disability and Inclusive Education, ed. Instituto Universitario de Integración en la Comunidad (Salamanca: INICO, 2009).

⁵⁴ See the resolution http://www.unesco.de/bonner_erklaerung.html?&L=0 (2.01.2013).

⁵⁵ Related to the German discussion cf. Reich, K. (2012), *Inklusion und Bildungsgerechtigkeit. Standards und Regeln zur Umsetzung einer inklusiven Schule*, Weinheim: Beltz. Not conclusive the attempt, to refer inclusion to historical learning, from Wenzel, B. (2012) 'Heterogenität und Inklusion – Binnendifferenzierung und Individualisierung', in M. Barricelli and M. Lücke (eds), *Handbuch Praxis des Geschichtsunterrichts*, vol. 2, Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau-Verlag, 238-54, who identifies all forms of heterogeneity with inclusion, but cannot explain the specific of historical learning in the context of inclusion.

⁵⁶ Fundamental for the decision between tolerance and acceptance see e.g. Mitscherlich, A. (1976), *Toleranz. Überprüfung eines Begriffs*, 2nd ed. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp; in opposition to the explanation by the UNESO from 1995: 'Tolerance means respect, acceptance and appreciation of the cultures of the world.' (translated W.H.), http://www.unesco.de/erklaerung_toleranz.html (20.12.2012).



FORUM



THE ILLUSTRATION OF THE TOPIC 'ISLAM' IN GERMAN POPULAR HISTORY MAGAZINES

Jutta Schumann

The article is focused on the German magazine market and analyzes history magazines in terms of the images they use in their representation of the subject 'Islam'. After a short overview on the current state of research, some common ways of visual representation regarding the topic 'Islam' will be outlined as for example the use of images that convey feelings of European superiority or the one-sided use of images originating from within Western culture as well as the use of visual codes that emphasize the distinction between the Western and the Islamic world. In the final part of the article the aim is to put a spotlight on the opportunities for history learning at school using history magazines illustrating 'Islam', where the focus is clearly the stimulation of intercultural and media-critical skills.

1. Introduction

In recent years the topic 'Islam' has become increasingly important within school environment as the number of pupils with migration backgrounds, especially from the Islamic world, has been constantly rising in Germany. Already in the 1990s, efforts were increased to counteract cultural conflicts within society by means of intercultural learning, in order to systematically teach understanding of other cultures as a necessary fundamental competence. In 1996, the German conference of education ministers acknowledged the significance of intercultural education and described it as an important goal of school education. Accordingly, in the last 15 years, German history didactics have often dealt with the intercultural learning of history within history classes (Alavi, 1998; Alavi, 2002; Körber et. al., 2001). Raising acceptance for the 'Other' within history classes is possible, especially by focusing on bygone cultures and conflicts. In recent years, history didactics have also been aiming at sensitising pupils to realise that their own understanding of history is shaped by culture (von Reeken, 2003). The comparison with cultures that seem different for being in the past can thus help to critically question one's own values and norms.

However, this essay is not aiming to trace the debates, discussions about curricula and proposed solutions, which accompany the

promotion of these core competences. It rather wants to exemplify how the aims of intercultural history learning can be combined with media-critical approaches, and how they can be reasonably used within history teaching. Therefore, the critical analysis of commercialised mass media products about a topic, which currently causes controversies within society, will be fruitful in two ways: on the one hand, the analysis of commercialised mass media products calls attention to the widely observed discrepancy between a school-based view on history and the depiction and representation of history in mass media products.¹ On the other hand – with regard to the topic of Islam, which is the subject of this essay – competences fostered by intercultural learning can be specifically used outside of school and applied to products of public history and historical culture. The aim is to enable pupils to deal with the partially observed discrepancy between knowledge and learning contents from school and the representations of history promoted by the media.

Furthermore, they will be able to critically question stereotypes and to identify and judge good and bad examples for a representation of a topic in the media. Thereby they shall develop media-critical competences as well as the ability to implement intercultural learning into practice. Finally, this approach will increase the awareness of the fact that history is constructed within a temporary context and that media, up until today, have contributed to the construction and representation of a certain understanding of history.

2. Subject Matter to the Study

To exemplify how the aforementioned aims can be met by analysing a mass media product within school classes, the following survey analyses history magazines in terms of the images used in their representation of the subject of Islam. The topic and the subject matter are useful for the exemplary analysis for several reasons:

1. The subject Islam was chosen for its political and social relevance. The attacks of 11 September 2001 by Islamist fundamentalists aggravate the looming conflicts between the Islamic and the Western world, as they provide the pretext to wage war against Islamic countries with the argumentation of a ‘war against terror.’ Accordingly, in the public discourse and in the media, Islam has increasingly been seen as a threat.² Yet the perception of a threat by Islamist terror blurs with the feeling of threat regarding the

religion and culture of Islam, which is perceived as foreign. Besides the fact that in the context of current political developments the subject of Islam has become more attractive to the media, the already mentioned increase of pupils with migration backgrounds from Islamic countries makes the topic interesting as an example.

2. The subject matter of the study is history magazines which can be bought at kiosks as a mass media product. History magazines are not a new phenomenon on the German magazine market. The magazine *Damals* has already existed for about forty years.³ It has tried to mediate history in an entertaining way without losing academic character. Whilst up until the 1990s, *Damals* had almost no competitors,⁴ the last decade – along with an increasing differentiation of the magazine market – witnessed a rise in publications of new history magazines, which have different demands regarding the academic character of their product.⁵ Still, the appearances of these newly published magazines for the most part continue to suggest to readers the provision of reliable information on a high level. However, the chosen topics, the choice of images and the entertaining narrative style, partly written by non-expert writers, make clear that the standard is rather that of light entertainment with attractive topics which seem promising in terms of sales. The variety of history magazines on the German market, their heterogeneous appearance, their usability for teaching and the fact that they follow commercial interests makes them an ideal exemplary subject matter.

3. Finally, this survey focuses on the images used by history magazines, as images have become the symbol of the popular and thus of mass media. The visual illustration of a topic seems to have become mandatory for the media; they hope that it increases the appeal of the subject and that the topic is perceived as vivid and entertaining. However, with regard to historical topics, the question is whether there are any adequate images available, as for many historical events and processes there is no evidence in pictures. Thus, the use of images gives particular insights into the standard of history magazines. At the same time, however, research has shown that pictures easily remain in people's memories and therefore can be crucial for the perception of a subject. This means that – also under the influence of today's flood of images – a critical examination of the images illustrating historical subjects appears to be a fundamental competence for pupils that helps to deal critically with media as well

as with sources. This can be fruitfully applied to and tested on history magazines.

In the course of the article, considerations outlined above will be worked through and presented according to the following sub-headings: Following a short overview of the current state of research and the basic data for the analysis, title pages of history magazines will be considered, whose imagery strongly attracts the reader's attention. This is followed by a broader analysis of the images used in the representation of the subject of Islam, whereby basic patterns of the visual representation of history will be identified. Finally, conclusions shall be drawn from the obtained results for history learning in school using history magazines, that focus especially on intercultural and media-critical skills.

3. Outline of the Current Research and Basic Data for the Analysis

Although the number of history magazines sold at kiosks every month has been rising in the last two decades, there is little research about which view of history these media actually convey to the customer. In the 1980s and 1990s, neither historians nor history didactics felt responsible for this type of magazines, classified as a marginal phenomenon.⁶ However, in the last decade, German history didactics have increasingly perceived this aspect of historical culture as an expression of a society's dealing with history (Spieß, 2009; Hiller, 2009). But also in the context of 'public history,' which in the last few years has been established at German universities, a deeper interest in research about how mass media are dealing with history has developed (Korte & Paletschek, 2009; Hardtwig & Schug, 2009). However, research is focused very much on history in movies and television broadcasts. As a result there have been no articles dealing with popular history magazines and the topic 'Islam'.

Fruitful methodological inputs for this study are taken from the field of textbook analysis, which deals intensively with conventions concerning illustrations of textbooks with regard to the depiction of 'Islam' (Tworuschka, 1986; Ihtiyar & Jalil & Zumbrink, 2004). Moreover, media and communication research contributed useful hints for the study on this subject. In this context, those articles dealing with the image of 'Islam' in daily newspapers, journals and especially on TV will be mentioned (Thofern, 1997; Hafez, 2002;

Klemm & Hörner, 1993; Schiffer, 2005; Kempf, 1994). With a comparative perspective, the obtained results gained from daily publications, regarding stereotypes, foe images and general characteristics of the coverage, can also be applied to the representations of 'Islam' in historical accounts. With regard to the image of 'Islam' in the Western world, there are also overlaps with Islamic Studies and Oriental Studies (Yousefi & Braun, 2005), often referring to the Orientalism debate initiated by Edward Said in 1978 (Said, 1981). His thoughts on a Western view formed by colonial claims of superiority as well as the academic examination of this thesis are the background for the analysis of the depiction of Islam in popular history magazines.

Based on the current state of research in the disciplines mentioned above, this essay analyses history magazines, using predominantly methodological approaches from the field of textbook research. The analysis was 'product-oriented,' (Weinbrenner, 1986: 322) the methodology is both quantitative and a qualitative content analysis (Natterer, 2001: 47-57; Marienfeld, 1976; Meyers, 1983: 41-77; Weinbrenner, 1986), for which the following questions are relevant.

The general question of interest is: how close are the used images to the actual historic event and the described contents? This is crucial in order to understand the extent to which the magazine meets academic standards and in how far images are taken seriously as sources. Another important set of questions is derived from results of Media Studies (Hafez, 2002), which point out that recent reports on Islam are connected to conflicts and wars. Kai Hafez assumes that already this connection gives rise to the impression of a violent and aggressive Islam when consuming modern media. Accordingly, referring to history magazines, this study examines how many of the illustrations show armed hostilities and conflicts in relation to other images. This quantitative analysis helps to critically analyse whether history magazines in a similar manner postulate an aggressive and militant character of Islam by means of the selection of images in a historical perspective. Finally, the use of images was examined in order to determine whether certain visual codes and symbols, foe concepts and stereotypes are visible with regard to the visual representation. These can be depictions – oriented on the illustrations criticised by textbook research – highlighting the exoticism and backwardness of 'Islam' or the Islamic world, or vice versa state the superiority of the West.

The analysis is focused on the German magazine market, precisely on the four oldest and most widely circulated history magazines with a long tradition from the past two decades. Subject to the analysis are the magazine *Damals*, which has already existed since 1969, the magazine *G-Geschichte*, founded in 1979 and the two magazines *P.M. History* and *Geo Epoche*, which both were founded in the 1990s and are very successful today. Additionally, an offshoot of the political magazine *Der Spiegel* was taken into the analysis, although this history magazine has only existed since 2007.⁷ All in all, the title pages of 351 magazines from the period between 2001 and 2009 were examined. Additionally, there were about 289 magazines analysed that were published between 1990 and August 2001.

Out of the 351 analysed magazines published after September 2001, seventeen magazines had cover stories which focused especially on the Islamic culture or the Islamic religion (about 5 per cent of all the history magazines).⁸ Regarding the choice of topics, the Crusades were covered the most intensively with four issues. The topics 'Origins of Islam/Mohammed,' the 'Spanish Reconquista' and the 'Ottoman Wars' follow. There were also articles about the topic of 'Babylon', which often did not focus on ancient Babylon, but instead used the topic to write about the region of present-day Iraq in connection with the religion of Islam. A possible explanation for this change in emphasis regarding the subject 'Babylon' probably is the war on Iraq and the 'war against terror' declared by the USA.

Current or contemporary topics did not play a role for the cover stories. However, this is understandable, as the historically oriented magazines are direct competitors of political magazines, which are more closely connected to current subjects. Despite the missing cover stories about current 'Islam topics', some articles with a historical focus on 'Islam' also present recent developments and events – mostly on about two pages. These are usually additions to a historical topic the present situation is connected to. These articles, however, do not feature any other pictures than the ones to be found in political or other magazines and therefore have already been analysed by Media Studies.

4. Analysis of the Title Pages

When examining the title pages, it is especially necessary to keep in mind that the magazines to be analysed are sold mainly at kiosks and

therefore, the title page is the most important factor for successful sales. Thus, the title pages represent the overall impression of what editors consider as likely to be a good seller. At the same time, they reflect to a certain extent what is apparently well received by society and what is considered to be relevant.

This article cannot present all results of the analysis of the title pages in detail; however, two results will be highlighted at this point. Firstly, the title pages, in many cases designed as collages, often contain visual elements which show armed conflicts and thus, in the sense of the thesis put forward by Media Studies, seem to highlight the aggressive and militant character of Islam.⁹ In another variant, five of the analysed title pages additionally show a recent picture, additionally to the historical images, which for example shows a masked fighter in camouflage with a machine gun or a protestor aggressively holding the Koran towards the reader.¹⁰ These additional pictures are meant to establish a link between the magazine's focus topic and the present; however, only aggressive and militant images are shown, which the reader rather emotionally links with violent Islamist terror. These kinds of title pages can be judged as 'aggressively updating;' they use visual elements which activate the reader's emotions and preconceptions towards the topic 'Islam,' which predominantly carry negative connotations. In these cases, the chosen 'updating' images have little reference to the actual historical topic of the magazine. A cross-check of other cover stories of *G-Geschichte* and *P.M. History*, that use predominantly collage technique, showed that only in connection with the topic 'Islam' are these emotionalising, aggressive images used. All in all, it appears to be an interesting result for the two mentioned types of magazines: especially those visual references to a violent Islam or to the war against terror are obviously used deliberately in order to influence the customer's decision of whether to buy the magazine, by triggering fears connected to these pictures – even though the topic is actually a historical one.

Secondly, it is furthermore striking that title pages use pictures from the nineteenth century to illustrate topics concerning a much earlier period.¹¹ The reason might be the powerful imagery of history paintings of that time. Thereby the magazines readily adopt hierarchic conceptions, which are immanently part of these depictions often glorifying the own nation, and making use of them without questioning them. In addition to these history paintings, the

magazine's title pages often show nineteenth century images which glorify the Orient as an exotic and distant place.¹² These title pages do not belong to the category of collages depicting Islam as aggressive and militant, but the use of these images is also based on the appeal of popular clichés of the nineteenth century, which use stereotypical imaginations, like that of a heavenly life in a harem, without questioning them.

Additionally to these two points, the traditional magazine *Damals* serves as a counter-argument, as it often refrains from fight scenes on the title pages. Under the title 'The Ottoman Empire. Struggle and decline' for example, it features a portrait of Sultan Mehmet II smelling a flower, although the conqueror of Constantinople surely could have been depicted with more aggressive connotations.¹³ Instead, *Damals* opts for a classic depiction of a ruler taken from a fifteenth century Ottoman miniature painting and leaves it as a single image without any additional iconographic elements.

Finally, a comparison between the cover illustrations of history magazines from the time after the terror attacks of 2001 and from the period prior to 2001 shows a considerable discrepancy regarding the cover illustrations with 'aggressively updating' contents. The analysis of the available 289 history magazines from the period between 1989 and 2001 showed that none of them uses such references. This can be explained by the fact that the increased use of collages for history magazines did not emerge until the last decade; therefore, visual elements could not have been easily combined. To a certain extent, however, another explanation could be that title pages after the terror attacks of 9/11 more strongly allude to the fear of a violent Islam, in order to arouse the reader's interest for a topic which is actually historical.

5. Illustrations of the Articles

In the following section, this study analyses how articles about the Islamic world and Islam as religion are illustrated, whereby the focus is again the question of whether images are used that are close to the described historic event. In general, the illustration appears to be more problematic, the further you go back in time. For the main topics that have been mentioned above regarding 'Islam,' this is especially true for the subject 'life of Mohammed' and 'the origins and early expansion of Islam,' but also the medieval topic of the

Crusades cannot easily be illustrated visually. It appears to be significantly easier for Early Modern Times, especially for the Ottoman Empire; however, even in that case it is obviously difficult to express certain contents in pictures.

As a conclusion it can be stated that history magazines only partly use pictures which can be classified as sources; however, there are significant differences between the magazines. The analysis of about 1000 magazine pages confirmed the results of the title page analysis, especially regarding the non-contemporary use of nineteenth century paintings. For the period after 1900 magazines often use postcards and photos, which, due to their wide range, offer vivid and reasonable approaches to topics concerning the time after 1900. But also in this context, an article from the magazine *Spiegel* serves as a negative example: seemingly historical photos were textually related to events that took place significantly earlier.¹⁴ In this case – as with the history paintings – seemingly historical pictures are instrumentalised to document a topic for which no spectacular contemporary images exist. The use of images taken from Hollywood Epics for the illustration of historical topics seems even less acceptable. For example, *P.M. History's* issue 'Fight for the Holy Land' about the Crusades relies in some parts almost exclusively on pictures from the movie *Kingdom of Heaven*.¹⁵ It is remarkable that some magazines rather obviously use such unhistorical images instead of using pictures of material sources, despite the fact that in this case contemporary material might even be available.¹⁶ The reason for this might be the fact that those images are perceived as less narrative and, of course, in comparison to history paintings or film pictures, have a less powerful effect and achieve less emotionality.

As for the initially raised question of the use of images featuring fights and conflicts, quantitative analysis has shown that there are diverging results for the history magazines considered. Some of them showed up to 60% of images with aggressive contents; in contrast, there were also magazines which had a very low proportion, of about 15%.¹⁷ It is almost impossible to give a general answer to the question to what extent articles concerning the Islamic world and the Islamic religion depict an aggressive and militant character regarding their use of images, as the results vary considerably. In fact, the different percentages show that history magazines can actually produce issues that do not follow the trend of current media coverage. The historical perspective allows a different focus,

particularly because of the various approaches historic topics offer; however, only a few magazine editors make use of this possibility.

Finally, with regard to the origin of the pictures, another interesting question for this study is: to what extent does a magazine use 'Western' images but also provide access to the Islamic view on the topic for comparison? All in all, the analysis has come to the verdict that popular history magazines still often take a Eurocentric view regarding the illustration of articles.¹⁸ Only the magazine *Damals* has explicitly used images from an 'Islamic' context after 2001, e.g. for their issue about the origins of Islam.¹⁹ In fact, it seems to be a general trend that in recent years history magazines have stepped up their efforts to at least contrast the Western view on historic events with images from 'Islamic' origin.

It needs to be emphasised once again that the Eurocentric view is reinforced particularly by the use of nineteenth century paintings, which predominantly show the Christian-European perspective in the Islamic world. These history paintings from the nineteenth century put triumphal moments in Occidental history on the spotlight, often from a distant perspective to the actual event. Accordingly – following this iconographic tradition – these paintings only show themes in which the West was victorious and the enemy from the Islamic culture could be depicted as inferior.²⁰ But also paintings by European artists from the nineteenth century, who had documented their journeys to the Orient in pictures, do not at all convey a sense of reality but, by their representation, depict the Islamic world as exotic and idyllic but also as backward.²¹ Moreover, the magazines frequently display fantasies of nineteenth century artists about the lives of women in a harem. By using images which depict women as sexual objects for Oriental rulers, existing preconceptions about the 'Islam' are subliminally reinforced and refer to present-day stereotypes which connote the Islamic world with inferiority, backwardness and the key term of the 'suppression of women.'

At the end of this short overview, the article will turn to the question of the use of specific 'visual codes,' which help the reader to quickly associate the historical images with an 'Islamic' context. In general, there are of course iconographic codes within historical pictures that indicate to the reader that the persons depicted are 'Oriental.' In this case, these codes would be specifically a turban, a curved sword as well as a person sitting on the floor. With history paintings, further typical elements emerge, such as the green colour

when labelling Islamic enemies. Interestingly, we cannot find the visual codes common today in historical accounts before 1700, such as a veiled woman or the different kind of prayer; thus, those codes are precisely connected to religious practice.

In contrast to those 'historical' codes, editorial modifications by the magazines' graphic designers will also be taken into account, as they have the task to adapt the actually historical theme to our present-day world view. The first observation concerns the use of the green colour, which is repeatedly used as a background colour, or for other graphic elements. Thus, the articles can be easily identified as articles about 'Islam'.²² Another means of fulfilling the same purpose is the use of Arabic letters and ornaments as graphic features.²³ It seems that they want to make clear that the article does not only deal with the Islamic world but moreover shows something 'mysterious' and 'encrypted,' something that cannot be easily deciphered. Thereby the article falls into the category of the 'exotic' and 'foreign.'

Editorial modifications of the actual images are less common but there are some examples for that. A cover illustration of *G-Geschichte*, for example, shows an actor from the Hollywood movie *300*, who was retouched and changed for a title page that illustrates the capture of Byzantium by the Ottomans. In the movie, which is about the battle of the Spartans against the Persians, the actor is strikingly dressed in red; *G-Geschichte* shows the same actor with green clothes and a curved sword as weapon.²⁴ By changing the image attributes, the Spartan King Leonidas was turned into an Ottoman warrior attacking Byzantium. Again, the green colour that stands for Islam, a specific kind of weapon and an aggressive posture are used to represent common conceptions of the Ottoman attacker who is thereby linked to familiar patterns of thinking.

6. History Magazines and the Topic 'Islam': Potentials for History Learning

The analysis of images used by popular history magazines has exemplified some common ways of visual representation regarding the subject of 'Islam,' for example:

- highlighting Islam as aggressive and militant
- contextualisation with images that we associate with Islamist terror
- the use of images that conveys feelings of European superiority

- the one-sided use of images originating from within Western culture
- the use of visual codes that emphasise the distinction between the Western and the Islamic world and illustrate them in a simplified manner.

To conclude these briefly presented results, this essay will put a spotlight on the opportunities for history learning at school using history magazines, where the focus is clearly the stimulation of intercultural and media-critical skills.

Firstly, the study has shown that there is not *the one* popular history magazine; instead, we shall rather have a differentiated look at these magazines. Although all these magazines are under the same commercial pressure, they operate differently regarding the illustrations of 'Islam'. While for example the cover illustrations of *Damals* can be judged positively, many title pages of *G-Geschichte* and *P.M. History* proved to have significant deficits. For teaching at school, it can make sense to exemplify and to compare different qualities of magazine covers, not only from a media-critical perspective. Particularly the choice of images, the content of the images and the way they are arranged on a magazine cover show, how present-day ideas – including common stereotypes – are projected onto historical topics and how representations of history are constructed in a retrospective way. Pupils can recognise this and at the same time acquire the fundamental requirement for intercultural learning, which is to realise that our understanding of history is influenced by our time and culture.

Secondly, for differentialisation, it shall be noted that *Damals* has an academically adequate use of images and understands pictures as sources, whereas for example *Geo Epoche*, *P.M. History*, *Spiegel Geschichte* or *G-Geschichte* often do not meet didactic and academic standards regarding their use of images. Pictures taken from movies or history paintings – to name only two extreme examples – are used in a rather undifferentiated manner, making use of their dramatic style in order to create a certain mood. For history classes, pupils can perform a critical evaluation of the magazines regarding their use of sources and thereby examine the negative examples to find inherent elements of common contemporary views of history. In concrete terms, this means that – in a second step – pupils are able to recognise and interpret an inadequately used history painting as an

image expressing a biased, Western view and claims of superiority over 'Islam.' This also leads to a sensitisation of pupils, who can critically question the self-perception of the nineteenth century and relate it to stereotypes that exist today.

Thirdly, the analysis has demonstrated that the tendency to visually link historical topics to the current threat of violent Islamist terror could have been observed only since 2001. The 'reference to the present,' actually a teaching method taken from history didactics, changes its function when images are selected in a biased and stereotyping way: existing fears of potential readers are captured and reinforced; historical topics are tied to new and polarising semantic contexts. By analysing the title pages, pupils can deconstruct the misguided contextualisation and critically reflect upon the use of images, which rather represent Islamist fundamentalism than Islam.

Fourthly, the comparative analysis can demonstrate how self-perception and perception of the other can differ, especially regarding visual representations. Again, in this case there are positive as well as negative examples of history magazines; a comparative perspective reveals how the use of pictures of exclusively Western origin influences our perception in a certain direction.

Fifthly, the critical analysis of the historical images in comparison with today's common iconographic codes and opportunities regarding visual design makes us realise that thereby illustrations effectively depict supposedly obvious dissimilarities between the Western and the Islamic world. Pupils can judge these ascriptions and finally, with regard to other kinds of media, will be generally able to recognise and question attributions made by means of generalising symbols and iconographic codes. At the same time, the lack of specific iconographic codes in former times can sensitise pupils for biased perspectives today. For example, the fact that a veiled woman hardly ever played a role in historical illustrations until 1700 makes clear how and why present-day media use that image. Conversely, they can reflect upon the question of why veiled Islamic women had obviously not been visually perceived or not been considered as relevant until 1700. Again, the present-day perception of the 'Other' is historically contrasted with the perception of that time as well as with the Islamic self-perception, in order to become aware of one's own cultural influences and to critically question them.

Notes

¹ These considerations are also part of the EU funded project 'EHISTO' that is dealing with popular history magazines: <http://www.european-crossroads.eu> (28.02.2013).

² See e.g. the survey of the journal *Die Welt online*, Deutsche sehen Islam kritischer als andere Europäer. Deutsche fühlen sich von fremden Kulturen bedroht, besonders kritisch sehen sie den Islam: <http://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article11323763/Deutsche-sehen-Islam-kritischer-als-andere-Europaeer.html> (25.02.2013).

³ *Damals. Das Magazin für Geschichte*, Leinfelden-Echterdingen: Konradin Verlag is existing since 1969. For further information see <http://www.damals.de/de/36/Home.html> (22.02.2013).

⁴ The second history magazine *G-Geschichte mit Pfiff* was established 1979, but was first of all only focused on children and pupils. Later on the magazine changed its strategic orientation, merged in 1991 with the *Journal für Geschichte* and focused more on adults as readers. *G-Geschichte. Menschen – Ereignisse – Epochen*, Augsburg: Bayard Media Group. For further information see <http://www.g-geschichte.de/> (22.02.2013).

⁵ About the development of the market for history magazines in Germany in detail see the master thesis of Springkart, C. (2010), *Geschichte am Kiosk: Wie populärwissenschaftliche Geschichtsmagazine Geschichte verkaufen – Marktüberblick und Titelblattanalyse*, University of Augsburg. A short version of this overview will be published at the end of this year. *P.M. History*, Hamburg: Gruner & Jahr was published since 1993 only in separate editions. Since 1996 it was edited as *P.M. Magazin – Das historische Ereignis*. In 1998 it changed its name to *P.M. History*. For further information see <http://www.pm-magazin.de/m/pm-history> (22.02.2013). *Geo Epoche*, Hamburg: Gruner & Jahr is a monothematic history magazine that was founded in 1999. For further information see http://www.geo.de/GEO/heftreihen/geo_epoche/magazinuebersicht.html (25.02.2013). *Spiegel Geschichte* was founded as *Spiegel Special Geschichte* in 2007 and changed its name in 2009 to *Spiegel Geschichte*, Hamburg: Spiegel Verlag. For further information see http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/spiegelspecial_geschichte/index-2008.html (25.02.2013).

⁶ An exception is provided by Rolf Schörken, who already in 1981 did mention history magazines. See Schörken, R. (1981), *Geschichte in der Alltagswelt. Wie uns Geschichte begegnet und was wir mit ihr machen*, Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 191-4. Erich Geretschläger published an essay in 1986 on popular magazines as well, but focused more on natural sciences than on history magazines: Geretschläger, E. (1986) 'Wie verkaufen populärwissenschaftliche Zeitschriften Wissenschaft? Eine Untersuchung am Beispiel der Zeitschriften. Die Umschau; Kosmos; Bild der Wissenschaft; P.M. und Spektrum der Wissenschaft' in Th. Bungarten (ed) *Wissenschaftssprache und Gesellschaft. Aspekte der wissenschaftlichen Kommunikation und des Wissenstransfers in der heutigen Zeit*, Hamburg: Ed. Akademie, 254-71.

⁷ As an exception the editions of *Spiegel Geschichte* range from 2007 to 2012.

⁸ For the analysis only the magazines were taken into account, which were focused on the topic as priority issue. Normally multithematic magazines provide in this case between 30 and 40 pages about the topic. If it is a monothematic magazine (like *Geo Epoche* or *Spiegel Geschichte*) the whole issue is devoted to the topic.

⁹ In total 12 of the 17 history magazines – and here especially *G-Geschichte* and *P.M. History* show this trend. E. g. from *G-Geschichte* the issues 'Aufbruch des Islam' 9/2006, 'Kampf um das Heilige Land' 3/2007, 'Angriff auf das Abendland' 6/2007 or 'Faszination Morgenland' 12/2008, for *P.M. History* e.g. 'Die Kreuzritter' 9/2004 or 'Der Kampf um das Heilige Land' 4/2008 can be mentioned.

¹⁰ See e.g. *G-Geschichte* 'Aufbruch des Islam' 9/2006, *G-Geschichte* 'Faszination Morgenland' 12/2008, *Spiegel Geschichte* 'Der Islam' 5/2010, *P.M. History* 'Kampf um Babylon' 7/2007.

¹¹ See e.g. *P.M. History* 'Der Kampf um das Heilige Land' 4/2008 or *G-Geschichte* 'Reconquista' 7/2005 and *G-Geschichte* 'Aufbruch des Islam' 9/2006.

¹² See e.g. *G-Geschichte* 'Faszination Morgenland' 12/2008.

¹³ See *Damals* 'Das Osmanische Reich' 9/2003.

¹⁴ See *Spiegel Geschichte* 'Der Islam' 5/2010: 6-10.

¹⁵ See *P.M. History* 'Der Kampf um das Heilige Land' 4/2008, 56-62. For movie pictures on the title page see e.g. *P.M. History* 'Die Kreuzritter' 9/2004.

¹⁶ Just for *Damals* is the use of material sources more common. See for the topic 'Islam' e.g. *Damals* 'Islam' 3/2002. More often history magazines use photographs of historic sites and by using this material give the reader the impression that they browse through travel guides e.g. *Geo Epoche* 'Als Spanien die Welt beherrschte', 31 (2008): 25-41.

¹⁷ *P.M. History* 'Der Kampf um das Heilige Land' 4/2008 or *G-Geschichte* 'Angriff auf das Abendland' 6/2007 with 60%; *Damals* 'Islam' 3/2002 with 13%.

¹⁸ An extreme example is the recently published magazine *Geo Epoche* 'Die Zeit der Kreuzritter', 59, 2/2013, that uses a lot of depictions with 'Western' origin especially from the 19th century.

¹⁹ *Damals* 'Islam' 3/2002 and also 9/2007 'Das maurische Spanien' are working very much with pictures from the Islamic world.

²⁰ E.g. *Geo Epoche* 'Als Spanien die Welt beherrschte' shows regarding the Reconquista triumphant depictions from the 19th century double-sided large pictures on p. 9, 46-7; *P.M. History* 'Der Kampf um das Heilige Land' 4/2008 shows on p. 30-1 a depiction of the 19th century and on the cover page as well; *P.M. History* 'Karl der Große' 6/2009 shows on p. 52-6 only depictions of the 19th century to illustrate the battle of Tours and Poitiers 732. *G-Geschichte* 'Reconquista' 7/2005 shows a triumphant depiction on the cover page and at least 14 other pictures of the magazine are from the 19th century although the topic is the 'Reconquista'.

²¹ E.g. the titlepage of *G-Geschichte* 'Faszination Morgenland' 12/2008; *G-Geschichte* 'Babylon' 4/2007: 38-9, 42; *G-Geschichte* 'Aufbruch des Islam' 9/2006: 32-4.

²² See e. g. *P.M. History* 'Karl der Große' 6/2009: 44-51 and *P.M. History* 11/2003: 49 as an example how green color is used for designing the whole article.

²³ See e.g. *Damals* 'Islam' 3/2002: 15, 42.

²⁴ See *G-Geschichte* 'Byzanz' 7/2008 with the 'green' designed fighter. *G-Geschichte* 'Sparta' 10/2009 shows on the cover page the red dressed Spartan: <http://www.g-geschichte.de/Einzelhefte-2009/HA1009-Sparta-Leben-fur-den-Krieg-Sterben-fur-die-Freiheit.html> (28.02.2013) and <http://www.g-geschichte.de/Einzelhefte-2008/HA0708-Byzanz-Bollwerk-am-Bosporus.html> (28.02.2008).

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HISTORY MAGAZINES IN THE UK

Terry Haydn

The paper explores the phenomenon of popular history magazines as a facet of public history. The UK has seen a substantial increase in the number of popular history magazines available to the public, with some magazines reaching high levels of circulation. The paper looks at the range of magazines available – from ‘heritage’ and ‘family’ history, to special interest magazines, and more ‘serious’ and scholarly history magazines. What is it that makes history magazines sell, and what influence do the magazines have on the historical consciousness of those that read them? Do history magazines represent a trivialising and ‘dumbed down’ version of history, or is the increasing appetite for the commercial consumption of history a positive development?

1. Context/Background

The proliferation of history magazines in the UK, and the increasing circulation of many of them over the past decade have occurred in a context where there has been widespread concern about the place and function of history in schools and in society as a whole. It has been suggested that whilst history in schools is moribund, with 70% of pupils choosing to drop the subject at the age of 13 or 14,¹ outside the formal education system, there is unprecedented popular interest in the past, with history being described as ‘the new rock and roll.’² A survey by the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority found that approximately half of pupils aged between 11-14 had an interest in history outside school,³ and in addition to the burgeoning choice of history magazines in bookshops and history internet sites, history programmes on television started to attract massive audiences, with ‘celebrity’ historians such as David Starkey, Simon Schama and Niall Ferguson attracting higher viewing figures than quiz shows and national football matches, and the celebrity genealogy programme ‘Who do you think you are?’ regularly attracting over seven million viewers.⁴

The high media profile of history has been accompanied by ‘knowledge panic’ headlines expressing concern about how little young people appear to learn about the national past in the history they encounter at school, and the very limited breadth of history they

encounter at school, with over-concentration on 'Hitler and the Henrys'.⁵ Concern has also been expressed about the 'dumbing-down' tendencies and characteristics of modern society, including accusations that the internet, magazines and changes to the 'alphabeticon ratio' in many communication formats has led to a culture of 'junk learning'⁶ and a reduction in the concentration span of young people.⁷ Porter goes as far as to suggest that concern over 'the digital divide' is misplaced and that the 'privileged' are 'the unplugged', reliant on the high-quality resource of books, rather than magazine articles, TV soundbites and internet browsing.⁸ (A quick perusal of the first images to arise from a Google images search on 'The Tudors' is one demonstration of this point).

The uneasy paradox of a society that at one level seems to engage in a wide variety of activities related to the past, and yet which does not necessarily demonstrate sophisticated levels of historical consciousness is described by historian John Tosh: *'Has not history become a staple of the TV channels, and is not an increasing proportion of people's leisure time taken up by family history, visits to historic sites, and more variants of collecting than have yet been documented? Should not historians be grateful that their subject has become "the new gardening"?' The problem is that – with the exception of a few TV programmes – none of these activities brings historical perspectives to bear on issues of topical importance. Indeed, their very popularity diminishes the public space that is available for that kind of analysis. We are confronted by the paradox of a society which is immersed in the past and yet detached from it.'*⁹

Tosh is particularly critical of the rise of 'Heritage History' in the UK – a strand of history that constitutes a significant section of the history magazine market in the UK: *'It plays on a recoil from the less pleasant aspects of the present and encourages an escape into a more stable past, when society was governed by the "traditional" values whose hold is so tenuous today... encouraging a view of the past which is superficial, nostalgic and conformist; they are not so much a means of education as an adjunct to tourism.'*¹⁰

Does the rise of the history magazine therefore represent a backwards step in terms of the development of a healthy and critical historical consciousness amongst the population as a whole, and an escape from 'serious' and 'proper' history? Are history magazines a form of 'history-lite', for people who lack the commitment or sustained concentration to read books about history or is the fact that thousands of people pay money and devote their time to learning

about aspects of the past through history magazines a healthy signifier of interest in the past?

2. Research Approach

In addition to surveys of public libraries and railway/airport/city centre bookshops and newsagents, to see which history magazines were widely available to the public in hard copy form, without subscription, internet searches revealed a further tranche of history magazines which were not generally available for high street purchase. In addition to ascertaining the founding date of the magazines, frequency of publication, circulation and readership figures, interviews and e-mail correspondence with ten editors of UK based history magazines elicited further information about readership and factors influencing take-up. In addition, a small scale survey of history student teachers' use of history magazines was undertaken, to explore which magazines they read, what influence they had on their teaching, and the comparative influence of internet sites and history magazines on their practice.

3. A Survey of Various Types of History Magazine in the UK

Some UK history magazines are long established: *The Historian* dates back to 1938, *History Today* was first printed in 1951; and *Teaching History*, a magazine/journal specifically for teachers of history was first published in 1969. However, the past decade has seen a proliferation of new titles, which address different facets of the past and which vary considerably in terms of circulation, focus and audience. This section of the paper, whilst not guaranteeing to have incorporated every single history magazine publicly available in the UK, attempts to provide a guide to the main types of history magazines available.

3.1 *Hobbies and Pastimes*

These magazines cater for people who have an interest in a particular facet of the past which manifests itself as a leisure interest or hobby (such as, for example, *Vintage Tractor Magazine*, and *Local History*). With two other examples of this genre of history magazine, extracts from e-mail correspondence with the authors provide some insight

into the rationale for the magazine, the audience, and some of the factors influencing sales.

Soccer History is an example of the way that magazines can cater for 'niche' markets. The editor was keen to stress the role which the internet played in contributing to the survival of the magazine, in spite of its very small circulation. The internet also provides an active 'blog' for subscribers, as was the case with many other magazines.

We sell (over time) in the region of 500 copies of Soccer History.... We are still selling around 10-15 copies of each issue going back to issue 1 (which is now almost sold out). The majority of our readers are aged 50+ (the readers under 25 are almost all history students and I suspect many are pensioners on fixed incomes). Perhaps the main issue for small magazines like Soccer History is the lack of outlets which will take copies. Until around 5 years ago there were specialist sports book shops in London and Manchester which sold around 50 copies of each issue, but these shops have now closed. WH Smiths is beyond us simply because of the high percentage of the sale price they demand and their insistence that unsold copies are thrown out rather than returned. However, we now pick up sales through the website and also through posting on one or two select internet forums which cover football history. Our readers are most likely to read broadsheet newspapers and somewhere in the region of 30% are either published authors or engaged in their own research projects on football history.' (e-mail correspondence with the editor)

The second 'specialist' magazine was *'Skirmish'*, a magazine for people who participate in historical re-enactments (in England, the most famous of these groups is the 'Sealed Knot' Society, which re-enacts battles from the civil wars of the reign of Charles I). The magazine has been going for 10 years, is published monthly, and has a circulation of 39,449, with a claimed readership of 98,623. Although the magazine is published in the UK, it has a global readership and the following figures which were furnished by the editor provide an interesting insight into where historical re-enactments are most popular, and which battles and events are re-enacted (see Tables 1 and 2).

Table 1:
Breakdown of subscriptions to *'Skirmish'* by location

United Kingdom	36%
USA	33%
Europe	22%
Canada	5%
Australia	3%
Rest of World	1%

Table 2:
What events do they re-enact? % of coverage as of March 2010

American Revolution	1%
Vikings	1%
Medieval	2%
Napoleonic Wars	5%
Roman	10%
Civil Wars of Charles I	16%
American Civil War	18%
World War One	23%
World War Two	24%

3.2 Particular 'Strands' of History

The magazine *Black Heritage Today* was started as a 'free' magazine, arising out of the recently introduced custom of a 'Black History' month, where many schools and institutions would (for one month of the year) place particular emphasis on 'Black History'. In 2003 it became a hard copy subscription magazine with associated website (<http://www.blackheritagetodayuk.com>), consisting of one issue annually, with the last version published in 2009.

HerStoria was founded in 2009 and is a quarterly magazine, which can be subscribed to via its website (<http://www.herstoria.com/about.html>). Like many other comparatively small circulation magazines, it is not available for purchase on the high street and is reliant on its internet presence to reach its audience. Its mission as explained in its associated website is: *'To discover how the other half lived, telling the story of ordinary – and extraordinary – women. We bring you opinions*

about the female sex from across the centuries, and investigate the ways in which women responded and lived their lives. Debate the issues that influence the way history is made: Are women making themselves heard on the radio and TV? Are young historians in school learning about women's history? Are women given an equal voice in popular and highbrow history? Do museums and heritage centres provide a balanced view of history? Are our public memorials fair to women? Do we forget our heroines too easily?' (<http://www.herstoria.com/about.html>).

E-mail correspondence with the editor makes the point that the magazine 'market' on the high street militates against smaller circulation magazines: *'I'm not sure if our situation would endorse any idea that "history sells"! We are a tiny (but glossy and professionally produced) independent magazine, set up in Spring 2009, to bring the fascinating research in women's history going on in the universities to a wider, popular audience. We have a print run, for the last issue, of 2500 and with that had a limited launch in the shops. We are, perhaps, not a good example as we have no money for advertising and cannot afford the costs of being stocked by the likes of WH Smiths; instead we rely on web subs and independents. We have grown by word of mouth and our circulation has gone from nothing to 2500 since our first issue in Spring 2009'* (e-mail correspondence with editor).

3.3 'Heritage' Magazines

These magazines focus explicitly on aspects of British heritage, with articles featuring famous homes and gardens, British institutions (such as The Royal Society), areas of outstanding beauty, museums and excavations. The largest selling such magazine, *Heritage*, published bi-monthly, has been established for 26 years and has a circulation of 48,167, with a claimed readership of 165,000.

An interesting addition to the genre is *Best of British: Nostalgia Magazine*, founded in 1994, published monthly and with a claimed readership of 100,000. The mission of the magazine as articulated on the associated website and blog explicitly highlights the 'nostalgia' element of the magazine: *'The only publication combining affectionate glimpses of yesteryear with all that is special about this country today. Best of British magazine is packed with stories and pictures guaranteed to bring so many memories flooding back... covers every aspect of life from the 1930s through to today, recording the way it once was and demonstrating what makes Britain so special... a monthly celebration of everything British – from the past through to the present. Packed with nostalgic stories and pictures every month, many from our own readers. Remembering all our yesterdays – the music, the schooldays, the holidays, the transport and the shops of the Forties, Fifties and Sixties. Readers'*

tales guaranteed to stir so many memories – what we wore, where we worked, how we were entertained. Enjoy the traditions of Britain that have stood the test of time – the foods, the trades, the customs and the crafts. Featuring the best events and places to visit each month. (<http://www.bestofbritishmag.co.uk>).

3.4 Family History Magazines

This has been an area of particular growth in the light of recent television programmes about family history, most spectacularly ‘Who do you think you are?’, featuring celebrities tracing their family roots, and achieving multi-million figure audiences. This has become contested territory as the following email response from the editor of one UK genealogy magazine demonstrates. It again demonstrates the advantages of ‘the big battalions’ such as the BBC, with its advertising power, brand presence and web services: *‘Family History Monthly is celebrating its 15th anniversary next month, and in that time circulation has dropped significantly. When we started out we were only the second genealogy magazine on the market and we would sell upwards of 20,000 issues off the shelves alone, but now there are 6 titles and the market is hugely over-saturated. Sadly, the BBC’s magazine particularly has wiped the floor with a lot of the smaller ones, and one has already gone under (Ancestors, which was produced by The National Archives), with another one on the brink. However, our circulation is still at about 23,000 and we are now sold in shops in the US, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. We have seen a slight rise in subscriber numbers recently and we are really pushing for more business overseas (although we already have quite a large overseas readership), focusing especially on Australia’* (e-mail correspondence with editor).

3.5 History Education Magazines

This section of the market is dominated by the Historical Association’s magazine, *Teaching History*, founded in 1969 and now published quarterly. Its circulation has increased substantially from the 1998 figure of 1,700 and now stands at 3,250. Although its circulation figures are quite modest, its influence transcends these figures and it is the magazine which has the most significant influence on the teaching of history in UK schools, by both student teachers and experienced teachers (see concluding section). A senior Historical Association executive attributed the increase in the magazine’s circulation and influence to a change of editor, a clear vision for the journal and the high quality of the editorial team. The magazine attempts to combine practical guidance and advice on the

teaching of particular aspects of history with a highly rigorous and research-informed approach. As well as articles on particular aspects of teaching history, with focus, for instance, on the teaching of second order concepts, or the teaching of controversial issues, the magazine contains a range of well established 'features' ('Mummy, Mummy', 'Move me on', 'Nutshell', 'Polychronicon', 'Cunning plan', 'Triumphs'), which have given the magazine iconic status amongst the history education community in the UK. Another interesting aspect of the magazine is the cover illustration, which almost invariably eschews focusing on a particular historical event or personality (one exception to this was a themed issue on The Holocaust).

A 'companion' magazine to *Teaching History*, *Primary History*, has suffered contrasting fortunes, with the circulation plummeting from over 2,000 to 649, as a result of the marginalisation of history in the primary curriculum and the very heavy emphasis placed on literacy and numeracy in primary schools (correspondence with Historical Association).

There is also a magazine aimed at pupils studying history at examination level in schools, now titled *History Review*, published three times a year and with a circulation of approximately 20,000. As well as articles on particular historical events and personalities, the magazine includes advice on how to tackle examination questions and coursework. Correspondence with publishers suggested that take-up of the magazine was dominated by schools in the independent sector, with some schools ordering multiple copies of the magazines so as to give it to all pupils studying for the Advanced level examination in history.

3.6 General Interest History Magazines

The oldest of these, *The Historian*, published under the aegis of the Historical Association, dates back to 1938, but has declined in terms of circulation in recent years. Whether this is due to the comparatively serious and 'heavy' text based nature of the magazine, in comparison to the 'lighter' and more image/colour oriented alternatives which have emerged more recently, or the age profile of its audience is difficult to say but a Historical Association spokesperson offered the following suggestions to explain this decline in circulation: '*A large number of subscribers (over 1000) are retired. The Historian was affected when the HLA allowed members to choose a different*

journal for membership. Initially, it held up reasonably, but since 2000 it has had a steeply declining subscriber base. Partly because if you are retired, or not professionally involved with history we offer very little for membership and its cheaper to buy BBC History or History Today on an ad hoc basis from Smiths (UK High Street chain of Newsagents).'

History Today is a monthly publication which dates back to 1951 and has a circulation of 23,500. It positions itself as 'more serious and authoritative' in relation to its more recently established competitor *BBC History*. 'We're not really in the same market [...] they are more popular in approach, with shorter, pithier articles [...] we present serious history to the general market [...] nearly all our articles are written by serious academic historians, with very few written by journalists and most of our articles are around 3,000 words in length' (interview with editor).

As the overwhelming proportion of readers had subscriptions to the magazine, rather than purchasing individual copies, it was not felt necessary to agonise over what features and illustrations to put on the front cover of the magazine in order to boost sales.

The biggest selling 'general' history magazine in the UK is *BBC History*, with a circulation of 65,000 (with 40,000 subscribers) and an estimated readership of 265,000. In terms of the demography of its readership it is perhaps interesting to note that it is estimated that 61% of readers are males (and 76% fall into social class A,B or C, leading to an advertising charge of £3,755 for a full page advertisement, as opposed to £495 for a page in *Teaching History* or *The Historian*).

Although all the magazines have now developed sophisticated websites to accompany the magazine, the *BBC History* magazine perhaps had the most advanced and extensive site, with, for instance, podcast downloads estimated at over 250,000 per podcast, and easy access to the full range of the BBC's online resources for history.

4. What sells history magazines?

One of the most striking developments is the upsurge of interest in family and genealogy history over the past decade, with a range of titles in this area, often in the wake of television series about aspects of family history. 'Heritage' style magazines, often based on nostalgic and celebratory interpretations of British history and features profiling famous buildings, gardens, museums and 'historical days out' have also increased in popularity.

In terms of what sort of history was of most interest to the UK public, several of the editors acknowledged that modern British history and traditionally famous British personalities (Henry VIII, Oliver Cromwell, Elizabeth I) and iconic events (1066, the Battle of Waterloo, D-Day) were popular with readers. One editor acknowledged that although he had reservations about the amount of attention which focused on Hitler and the Nazis, a cover with Hitler on the front cover would generally sell particularly well. Another described modern British history, and in particular, something about World War One or Two as 'the safest bet', adding that it often helped to have a picture of a particular person on the front page, often 'a king or queen, or one of the Tutors or Stuarts, or Oliver Cromwell.' Out of eight *BBC History Magazine* front covers featuring sixteenth century England, five contained a portrait of Henry VIII. Another editor echoed these sentiments, stating that 'the majority like modernish British history.'

Content analysis of 100 issues of *BBC History* (the biggest circulation general history magazine in the UK) revealed that the front page often featured anniversaries of famous events in British history, 'revisionist' views raised by new research or publications on controversial issues (for instance, an unflattering biography of Henry V). It was also interesting to note that front covers often presented topics as a form of 'enquiry question' mirroring the approach to historical topics now widely used in history teaching in UK schools¹¹ ('Were the Suffragettes terrorists or freedom fighters?', 'Was Cromwell a hero or a war criminal?'). It was interesting to note the influence of recent television polls about history (one of the most high profile being a BBC series about the 'top 100' Britons), with features on 'Which was the worst year in British History?', and 'Who were the 10 worst Britons?'

Out of the 100 front covers that were considered, only four featured women, 19 focused on the World Wars of the twentieth century, and 14 focused on some aspect of the British Empire. 50 front covers focused on political history, with 32 featuring military history and 18 focusing on social, economic or cultural history. The balance in terms of period and place can be seen from Tables 3 and 4.

Table 3:
Content analysis of 100 front covers of *BBC History* magazine- period

C 20th	30
C 19th	16
C 18th	4
C 17th	8
C 16th	7
C 15th	8
C11-14th	8
C1-10th	3
Ancient history	8
Across time	8

Table 4:
Content analysis of 100 front covers of *BBC History* magazine- place

British	72
European	17
Americas	4
Asia	4
Africa	5
World	1

(There were a few cases where the cover featured more than one geographical area).

5. 'History-lite'?

The famous British literary critic F. R. Leavis saw the rise of magazine culture as a form of 'dumbing down', with people reduced to reading snippets and bits and pieces instead of attacking the great works of literature and history available in book form.¹² More recently historian John Tosh has questioned whether the rise of 'heritage' history has deflected attention from more serious, critical and worthwhile engagement with the past.¹³ Does the growing popularity of history magazines represent a move away from 'serious' history, as represented in books, monographs and journal articles, or is it a complement to those activities?

Analysis of the ‘alphabet-icon’ ratio in UK history magazines reveals substantial differences in the proportion of text to pictures, cartoons and diagrams. Some history magazines contain quite long articles written by academic historians, others have a larger number of short features, quizzes, ‘what’s on?’ guides and might reasonably be regarded as ‘lighter’ (or more superficial) in approach. Figure 5 gives an analysis of the outcomes of an ‘alphabet-icon’ content analysis of ten copies of several of the leading history magazines in the UK.

Table 5:
The alphabet-icon ratio of several leading UK history magazines

The Historian	80-90% text; some pages just text.
History Review	70-75% text (but wide use of text box highlights. No pages of just plain text).
Teaching History	85-90% text but substantial use of diagrams and tables, about 33% ‘just text’.
History Today	60-70% text, under 10% ‘just text’ (use of text box highlights on many pages)
BBC History	Roughly 50/50 text/pictures, mainly pictures rather than diagrams, no pages without pictures.

Although some magazines have a more austere lay-out, with longer sections of text, and fewer illustrations, even the *BBC History* magazine, which contains the highest proportion of illustration to text of the magazines detailed in Table 5, regularly contains articles by leading historians, often providing two to five page summaries of their most recent book or area of research. Each issue also provides a review of a range of recently published books, a guide to forthcoming history programmes on television and radio, a podcast by a leading historian, links to major internet history sites and in some recent issues, a section on ‘History and policy’, outlining the ways in which historical perspectives shed light on current issues and controversies in the field of politics and social policy. There are quizzes, crosswords and ‘my historical hero’ features, but it cannot reasonably be claimed that the magazine is devoid of serious and scholarly history. Moreover, a recent market research survey conducted by the

magazine revealed that subscribers to the magazine purchased on average nine books a year. Although there is clearly room for further research in this area, it is possible that people who buy history magazines also pursue their interest in the past via other avenues, including books, television history and history on the internet. It could be argued that it is better that people exhibit some interest in the past, even if it is 'history-lite', than that they are indifferent to the past, or regard the past as an irrelevance.

6. Conclusions

A survey of history magazines in the UK reveals that there are a range of histories available to people who have an interest in some aspect of the past. Although major titles which have access to high street stores, airports and railway stations have major advantages in terms of public profile, the internet has made possible 'niche' markets which make it possible for magazines with quite small circulations to survive, so people whose interest is in battle re-enactment, the history of football clubs, women's history or 'Black History' can have access to a magazine which caters for their particular interest.

The survey also shows that public interest in the past is not limited to the national past, in spite of the high profile of national political and military events in general history magazines. As well as the increasing popularity of 'heritage' history magazines which are in part based on engagement with historical sites and museums as a leisure interest, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of people interested in tracing their family history.

In terms of their contribution to historical consciousness, history magazines may play a less significant role than television history; Starkey makes the point that whereas best-selling history books might sell up to 100,000 copies, history programmes on television regularly attract an audience of several million viewers.¹⁴ A small survey of 29 of my history student teachers revealed that 28 out of 29 spent more time on history internet sites than on reading the history magazines to which they are subscribed. There is also the question of what proportion of magazines that are purchased are read; several of the students admitted that they often did not find time to read the magazines that they had purchased as the following testimony indicates:

'But there was no time to read them...'

'But haven't read it...'

'I have a subscription but I cannot lie... haven't had time to read any of them.'

'Subscribed but haven't read them yet... simply not enough time... maybe next year.'

'Would love to read *BBC History* but finding the time is the main issue.'

A final point which might be made is that there is no necessary correlation between the circulation or readership of a magazine and its influence on history education. The survey of student teachers revealed that without exception, *Teaching History* had a major influence on their planning and teaching. *Teaching History* and *BBC History* were by some way the most widely purchased magazines (all but one of the 29 students subscribed to *Teaching History*), but whereas *BBC History* magazine was used mainly as 'background reading' or 'to consolidate my subject knowledge a bit', *Teaching History* appeared to have a profound influence on the way that student teachers conceptualised the business of teaching history, with an emphasis on the development of pupils' understanding of history as a form of knowledge as well as a body of knowledge, development of their own subject pedagogy, and use of many of the ideas and activities contained in the magazine (one student reported that 'I think it makes me a better teacher.')

Much of the recent media and policy interest in history in the UK has focused on what history students learn in schools and how much of that history they remember.¹⁵ Far less is known about what use people make of the history that they encounter, and why they choose to engage with history outside formal education. Further research into people's use of history magazines would be one way of developing insight into historical consciousness in modern societies and the question of 'why history matters'.

Notes

¹ Office for Standards in Education (2007), *History in the Balance*, London: Ofsted.

² Willis, J. (2001) 'Past is Perfect', *Media Guardian*, 29 October: 2.

³ Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (2005), *Pupil Perceptions of History at Key Stage 3*, London: QCA.

- ⁴ Starkey, D. (2009) 'History on Television', Keynote lecture, Televising History Conference, University of Lincoln, 22 July.
- ⁵ See, for example, Matthews, D. (2009), *The Strange Death of History Teaching*, monograph, University of Warwick; Garner, R. (2010) 'Is It Time for Hitler and Henry to Make Way for Cromwell?', *The Independent*, 30 June.
- ⁶ Kay, A. (1995) 'Computers, Networks and Education', *Scientific American*, September: 148-55.
- ⁷ Greenfield, S. (2010) 'Is the Web Changing our Brains?', *The Virtual Revolution Blog*. Available at:
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/digitalrevolution/2009/09/susan-greenfield-is-the-web-ch.shtml>
- ⁸ Porter, J. (1996) 'Technonerds', *Channel 4*, 19 March.
- ⁹ Tosh, J. (2008), *Why History Matters*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan: 5-6.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.
- ¹¹ See Riley, M. (2000) 'Into the Key Sage 3 History Garden: Choosing and Planting Your Enquiry Questions', *Teaching History*, 99, 8-13.
- ¹² Leavis, F.R. (1924), *The Relationship Between Literature and Journalism*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge.
- ¹³ Tosh, 2008 (cf. note 9).
- ¹⁴ Starkey, 2009 (cf. note 4).
- ¹⁵ See, for example, Matthews, 2009 (cf. note 5); Gibb, N. (2010) 'Speech to the Reform Conference', London, 1 July. Online at www.education.gov.uk/news/speeches/ng-reform-conference (13.08.2010).



THE CONCEPT OF HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN SWEDISH HISTORY DIDACTICAL RESEARCH

Robert Thorp

This article presents a study of how the concept of historical consciousness is defined, applied and justified in Swedish history didactical research. The study finds that there is a common ground for understanding what a historical consciousness can mean, but that the concept is applied in a variety of ways. It is suggested that this variation is one reason why the concept is generally believed to be difficult to define and apply, since the application of the concept influences how a historical consciousness can be interpreted. It is also suggested that the concept could be rendered more versatile by further theoretical investigation into how the concept's definition and applications are connected.

The Swedish history didactician Igor Potapenko finds in a recent study that pupils' ethnic and religious backgrounds influence the way they interpret the history they are taught in school. This is because the pupils' historical consciousnesses determine how they perceive themselves, the world around them and, consequently, the history they are taught in school. For this reason, Potapenko urges Swedish (and other) history teachers to pay attention to the historical consciousnesses of their pupils: it is by tapping into them that history teachers really can influence their pupils' historical knowledge and identities (Potapenko, 2010: 227-9, 233-6). The problem, however, is that there seems to be no consensus in Swedish history didactics on how to understand the concept of historical consciousness, with the result that history teachers are more or less left to their own devices with a notoriously vague and complex concept. In addition, historical consciousness is a central, or perhaps *the* central, concept in Swedish history didactics, further stressing the importance of finding a common ground for understanding what a historical consciousness is and why it is an important element in history didactics (cf. Alvé, 2011: 25-6; Schüllerqvist, 2005: 136-40).

This article presents an investigation of the concept of historical consciousness when used in Swedish history didactical research. Since the concept is both described as central and problematic in Swedish research, a survey of how the concept is in fact used seems

highly relevant. The study has focused on how the concept is explicitly defined, applied and justified in Swedish history didactical research that somehow uses the concept as a theoretical device. Accordingly, the research questions have been *What is according to the researchers an explicitly expressed historical consciousness?*, *How is the concept applied by the researchers?*, and *Why is it an important concept according to the research studied?* The presentation of the results will be followed by a brief section where problems and possibilities with the concept are discussed. Hopefully, the Swedish example could shed some light on the problems that confront history didacticians and teachers worldwide when trying to use the concept in research and teaching.

The disposition of the article will be guided by the research questions, but is preceded by a short historical background on how the concept was introduced in Swedish history didactics. Before that, however, there will be a brief presentation of the study's methods of selection and investigation.

1. Methodological Considerations

Since the concept of historical consciousness is a central concept in Swedish history didactics, the literature that makes use of it is vast. Hence, it is difficult to find all the works that use historical consciousness as a theoretical point of departure, and, furthermore, it is also difficult to completely cover how the concept is used in the Swedish history didactical research that *does* use the concept. The method I have used to find the literature that uses the concept is as follows: I started by making a simple search for 'historical consciousness' (in Swedish 'historiemedvetande') in the Swedish library database (libris.kb.se). The search returned about 130 results. To sort out the relevant literature I decided to use two criteria for selection: firstly, it had to be a scientific work of some kind, such as a chapter in a scientific anthology, an article in a scientific journal, a scientific dissertation or something akin; secondly, the work had to be authored by a researcher working at a Swedish university. All the literature that matched these two criteria was then studied and then all the works that were therein cited and matched these same criteria were also included in the study.

After having read the texts, I decided only to use the works that somehow try to theoretically describe and use (or purport to use) the historical consciousness concept. A work that only refers to

'historical consciousness' without further describing or making use of it has not been included, since it is hard to tell what the author has actually meant with the concept (cf. Krohn Andersson, 2012; Ludvigsson 2003; Långström 2001; Selling 2004).

Given that the purpose of the study is to make a survey of how the concept of historical consciousness is explicitly defined, applied and justified in Swedish history didactical research, the focus of the study has been to find the different ways in which the concept is interpreted and understood, and not to investigate how every single researcher has used it. For this reason, I have decided not to differentiate between different kinds of works in this study: if the work has used and presented the concept of historical consciousness, it has been relevant, be it a dissertation, anthology or article. The central aspect is to cover the theoretical use of the concept, and in order to cover the whole ground, so to speak, I have deemed it relevant to include all the works that use the concept and match the criteria for selection that I have presented above. The overwhelming majority of the texts I have studied are texts that deal with how history is taught in schools, which might not be surprising considering that historical consciousness is primarily a history didactical concept.

The study has been made by asking the following questions to the empirical data: Is there any definition of historical consciousness explicitly expressed by Swedish history didactical researchers?, How is historical consciousness applied by these same researchers?, and How is the concept justified by the researchers? After studying the empirical data, I have tried to sort the different treatments of the concepts according to what unites them and what they have in common. Thereafter, I have inductively created categories that illustrate these different treatments of the concept. These categories will be presented in section 3 of this article. Unless otherwise noted, all persons presented in the article are Swedish history didactical researchers.

2. Historical Background

The concept of historical consciousness was introduced to Sweden from West Germany and Denmark in the early 1980's, thus the use of the concept in Sweden is heavily influenced by the so-called Germanic or Continental history didactical tradition and its

understanding of what a historical consciousness is (Eliasson, 2012; Karlsson 1997: 24-5). There are mainly three history didacticians that have been the most influential in how the concept of historical consciousness has come to be understood in Sweden: Karl-Ernst Jeissman, Bernard Eric Jensen, and Jörn Rüsen (Schüllerqvist, 2006: 7-8). Below I briefly present them in the same order.

The German history didactician Karl-Ernst Jeissman is generally held to be the first to offer a definition of the concept of historical consciousness (Karlsson, 2009b: 5). Jeissman presented four aspects of a definition of historical consciousness:

1. *Historical consciousness is the ever present awareness that all human beings and all forms of social integration they have created exist in time, meaning that they have a history and a future and are dynamic.*
2. *Historical consciousness incorporates the connection between interpretation of the past, understanding of the present and perspective on the future.*
3. *Historical consciousness is how the past is present in representations and conceptions.*
4. *Historical consciousness rests on a common understanding based on emotional experiences. This common understanding is an essential part of the construction and enforcement of human societies (Jeissman, 1979: 42-4).*

These are four different aspects, but they are interconnected. The first one focuses on what is generally called 'historicity,' the notion that everything has a history. Using this aspect you can say that a person displays a historical consciousness when she is aware that everything around her has a history. The second aspect, interprets historical consciousness as an ability to create connections between the three tenses *past*, *present*, and *future*. The third aspect is similar to the first one, but it only focuses on the historical dimension in an individual's understanding. Finally, the fourth aspect stresses a common understanding based on emotional experiences. This is held to be a prerequisite for all human societies. This aspect differs from the others in that it focuses not on the individual understanding, but rather the public or societal one.

The Danish history didactical researcher Bernard Eric Jensen is the didactician that has had the strongest impact on Swedish research using the concept (Schüllerqvist, 2005: 21). He uses Jeissman's aspects of the definition of the concept, but focuses on the second one (Jensen, 1997: 53). Hence it is the ability to make connections between *past*, *present*, and *future*, that is central to a historical

consciousness, according to Jensen. He argues that historical consciousness should be perceived as an 'integrated element in human beings' identities, knowledge, and actions.' Furthermore, the concept is considered to be crucial for us to be able to 'understand or explain other people's actions.' Human beings are thus both *created by* history and *creators of* history through their historical consciousnesses (Jensen, 1997: 57, 60).

This is a quite general or inclusive way to define the concept. Jensen chooses to interpret historical consciousness not only as a concept for History, but also for Psychology, Social Anthropology, and Social Science. Using the concept of historical consciousness we can understand how human beings construct meaning and identities, and how they function both as individuals and as members of society.

The third historical didactician of importance in a Swedish context is the German philosopher of history Jörn Rüsen. He focuses on how narratives are connected to the concept of historical consciousness. According to Rüsen, it is through the narrative that all human beings create meaning in general, and historical meaning in particular. Rüsen claims that a historical consciousness should be interpreted as a narrative competency in an individual (Rüsen, 2006: 69). Historical consciousness in Rüsen's version becomes a qualitative concept: people can have historical consciousnesses of a higher or lower quality and Rüsen has presented what he calls a typology of historical consciousness consisting of (i) the 'traditional' historical consciousness where a person sees history as an everlasting *status quo* where nothing ever changes, (ii) the 'exemplary' historical consciousness where a person believes history to be static, but also a basis for normative principles that regulate human life and actions, (iii) the 'critical' historical consciousness with which a person uses history as a way to criticise contemporary society and culture, and (iv) the 'genetic' one, where a person has the ability to historicise contemporary society and culture by explaining continuity and change with the help of history (Rüsen, 2006: 72).

Finally, Rüsen regards historical consciousness as fundamental to an individual's identity and morality: the historical narratives we create determine what kind of persons we are (i.e. our identities) and what moral values we possess since we cannot have an identity or morality unless we create historical narratives to describe our personal and moral qualities. In other words, a person who does not have an understanding of herself as a person surrounded by a past

cannot be regarded as an individual with moral values since she would not have an ability to understand herself or the morality of the situations she finds herself in, according to Rüsen. This understanding is created through the narratives we construct about ourselves and the world around us (Rüsen, 2006: 67). Hence, also Rüsen defines historical consciousness as a quite general and inclusive concept.

3. Explicit Definitions and Applications of the Concept in Swedish History Didactical Research

Below follows a presentation of how the concept of historical consciousness is defined and applied in the Swedish history didactical research that has been studied. The presentation is guided by the categorisations I have made of the researchers' treatment of the concept. I will begin with how the concept is explicitly defined in the studied research (i.e. category 3.1), followed by how it is then applied (i.e. categories 3.2 to 3.7). In section 4 the researchers' justifications of the concept is presented. Finally, section 5 offers a brief analysis and general discussion of the results of the study.

3.1 A Multichronological Concept

All the works that I have studied uses a definition of historical consciousness that is either literally or essentially similar to the one that Mary Ingemansson presents in her doctoral dissertation *Det kunde lika gärna ha hänt idag: Maj Bylocks Drakskeppstrilogi och historiemedvetande hos barn i mellanåldrarna*, 'historical consciousness deals with interpretation of the past, understanding of the present and thoughts about the future' (Ingemansson, 2010: 10). To possess a historical consciousness is to be able to make connections between past, present, and future, such as Karl-Ernst Jeissman's second aspect of a definition of historical consciousness states. This is also the aspect used by Bernard Eric Jensen when he defines the concept. Niklas Ammert dubs this ability 'multichronology' and that is the term I will use henceforth in this text when I refer to the ability in question (Ammert, 2008: 56).

To be able to incorporate the past with the present and future is to be able to apply the genetic and genealogical perspectives on history, to have the ability to understand history prospectively and retrospectively (Eliasson, 2009: 309). To understand history

genetically means being able to perceive historical change and development in a prospective manner, to be able to show how history changes using one historical example as a starting point and then discussing historical change emanating from that example. Genealogical history is history retrospectively: a person approaches history from a contemporary or personal perspective (Persson, 2011: 27-30). To be able to connect these two perspectives on history is held to be an expression of a historical consciousness: the individual understands how history has affected the world she lives in, and that her own world and contemporary society influence the way history is perceived.

Roger Johansson argues that the understanding a person reaches by making multichronological connections is greater than the understanding she would get from isolated historical facts. This ability thus creates a more profound understanding of history (Johansson, 2001: 34).

Klas-Göran Karlsson gives an example of what he perceives to be a typical example of how a historical consciousness works in practice: *'The grandchild is sitting in the kitchen talking to her grandmother about the past, but lives intensively in the present and struggles to understand her grandmother's stories of a childhood without television and computers. Suddenly the grandchild becomes aware of her grandmother's wrinkled hand and realises the historical character of life: firstly that her grandmother once had a hand as smooth as hers, then that she too probably will have a hand as wrinkled as her grandmother's'* (Karlsson, 2009b: 50).

What happens in the example quoted above, according to Karlsson, is that the child's knowledge of the past is connected to the present she is living in and the future she can imagine in a sudden insight. Karlsson argues that this happens when the child's historical consciousness is activated and it understands its existence from that which has been (her grandmother's stories), that which is (the story telling in the kitchen and the sight of her grandmother's wrinkled hand), and the future (the insight that the child herself will grow old in time).

3.2 *An Identity-Creating Concept*

When Kenneth Nordgren claims that our '[h]istorical consciousness influences our perception of reality and our identities [...]' (Nordgren, 2006: 36), he expresses a common belief among Swedish history didacticists: how we perceive history determines who we are. Klas-

Göran Karlsson takes the argument a step further when stating that ‘every form of identity requires a historical consciousness’ (Karlsson, 2009b: 52). Without a historical consciousness, no identity, it seems.

When it comes to explaining how a historical consciousness affects our identities, there are differing opinions. Magnus Grahn writes, for instance, that our historical consciousness together with our memory develops and influences our identity through their common ‘activities’ (Grahn, 2011: 16). What these activities are is not specified by Grahn, however. A more popular way of explaining the connection between our historical consciousness and our identities is expressed by Kerstin Berntsson when she writes that ‘people construct their identities through locating themselves in relation to different narratives’ (Berntsson, 2012: 24-5). Hence, narratives are what bridge the gap between our historical consciousness and our identities. Igor Potapenko claims that pupils ‘perform their identities’ by creating narratives (Potapenko, 2006: 38). This line of reasoning conforms well with what is called the narrative self-constitution theory. According to this theory a person’s identity is determined by the narratives she constructs about herself (Schechtman, 2007: 92-6). Jörn Rüsen’s theories about the connection between historical consciousness and identity could also be classified as belonging to the same theory.

3.3 *A Meaning-Creating Concept*

Another way of viewing the historical consciousness concept, is to regard it as essential to a human being’s understanding of herself and her surrounding world. Nanny Hartsmar writes that ‘every human being needs to understand the underlying conditions for “her place” in time and space and that our lives are not determined by chance or coincidence’ (Hartsmar, 2001: 79). Historical consciousness is the means for creating meaning in an individual’s life: the way that contemporary society is constituted is explained by adding the historical dimension. It is also argued that our historical consciousness is made visible when we use history to create meaning and orientation in our lives (Berntsson, 2012: 19). Similarly, Peter Aronsson and Lars Andersson Hult claim that it is within an individual’s historical consciousness that the individual’s experiences are connected to her expectations for the future, thence creating meaning for her regarding her way to comprehend history, her

contemporary world, and the future that awaits her (Andersson Hult, 2012: 26; Aronsson, 2002: 189-90; Aronsson, 2004: 67).

Furthermore, a historical consciousness directed towards comprehension and creation of meaning helps us understand historical persons. Ylva Wibaeus writes that we come to appreciate the 'horizon [...] against which the people of the past [...] comprehended their presence and future' (Wibaeus, 2010: 213). A historical consciousness creates meaning by contextualising historical persons: we get an insight and an understanding for the meaning historical people created in their lives. Thus, a meaning-creating historical consciousness can make us more empathetic, we improve our 'historical empathy' when we come to appreciate the conditions under which historical persons led their lives (Backman Löfgren, 2012: 37).

Finally, it is also claimed that a historical consciousness enables us to create meaning in history. By using our historical consciousness history becomes meaningful and makes sense. Our historical consciousness helps us see patterns in history, instead of just an infinite number of historical events, dates, and people heaped upon each other. That the historical event *b* followed the historical event *a*, makes sense to an individual because she possesses a historical consciousness (Alm, 2002: 21-2; Linderborg, 2001: 33).

3.4 *A History-Creating Concept*

Martin Alm writes that 'central to our historical consciousness is that we are both *created* by history, and *creators* of history' (Alm, 2009: 261). Human beings both are and make history at the same time. Our lives and the conditions under which we live are historically determined and beyond our control, but the insight that there is a history and that we as individuals are part of it, changes our way of perceiving history. Accordingly, Klas-Göran Karlsson considers that a historical consciousness has to be directed towards action: when we realise that we are a part of history, we also realise that our actions affect the way history will be portrayed in the future (Karlsson, 2009a: 216). An individual that realises that she is both created by history and a creator of history, carries out what is called a 'double operation of thought' and it is through this ability that a historical consciousness is activated with this way of applying the concept (Karlsson, 2009b: 55). Using the same kind of logic, this insight leads the individual to an improved self-understanding and ability to orientate in life.

3.5 *An Insight-Creating Concept*

Igor Potapenko states that a historical consciousness primarily is a multichronological ability, but that it also has to include an ability to scrutinise history critically (Potapenko, 2006: 36). An individual must be able to assess both her own and others' perceptions of history critically, otherwise there can be no development of a person's historical knowledge or historical consciousness.

Futhermore, Potapenko claims that an uncritical stance towards history can be harmful to the individual since she will never have to justify her own or others' historical convictions, thus rendering her less tolerant towards differing perceptions of life in general and history in particular (Potapenko, 2010: 227-9). By studying how Estonian youth with Russian and non-Russian backgrounds experience history, he comes to the conclusion that the youths' experiences of history are never challenged to any greater extent, resulting in the fact the Estonian and Estonian-Russian youngsters will have two diverging ways of understanding history. A similar example from Sweden is how so called traditional nationalistic history education alienates youth with a non-Swedish background (Nordgren, 2006: 217-9).

An application of historical consciousness that can also be labelled insight-creating, is presented by Fredrik Alvéén when he writes that *'the ability to use and convey a critical and analytical historical consciousness that orientates pupils in time, where the society and culture of both past and present realities is interpreted by experience of the past and expectations on the future, enables a pupil to communicate her own conscious and reflected stories'* (Alvéén, 2011: 57).

A historical consciousness that is both analytical and critical helps the individual to create an awareness and reflection about her own perception of history. In other words, a more profound insight into how to create narratives that are multichronological, at the same time as they include a critical reflection concerning past and present societies and cultures.

Finally, Carina Renander has constructed categories for historical consciousness that she calls 'passive', 'active', 'developed' and 'advanced'. Passive and active historical consciousnesses are both non-critical in character, whereas a developed historical consciousness is characterised as reflective. An advanced historical consciousness enables a person to make historiographical insights

into how people past and present have used their historical consciousness to obtain various goals (Renander, 2007: 25-6). Hence, Renander regards a historical consciousness as something that should include an ability to make critical reflections and analyses in order to enable an individual to gain deeper insights about herself and others.

3.6 *A Value-Creating Concept*

As I have shown above a historical consciousness is regarded to influence an individual's identity and perception of the world. Closely connected to this is the view that history education and an individual's historical consciousness influence her moral values and opinions. It is argued that history education should acknowledge what values that have affected conceptions and prejudices about 'the Other' in history (Wibaeus, 2010: 61). Through this, pupils will be trained in understanding how moral values are created and change, and how they influence people's actions. A deepened understanding of this is presumed to help the individual to become prepared to act correctly in morally demanding situations; history teaches us about life.

Niklas Ammert claims historical consciousness should be understood as an interpretive frame that helps us understand what values and principles that motivate people's actions (Ammert, 2008: 65-6). By studying history we learn to interpret and understand other people's actions. In that way, we become more tolerant towards other people's opinions and actions, according to Ammert.

3.7 *A Heuristic Concept*

The last categorisation of historical consciousness that I have created differs somewhat from the others presented above in that it does not try to define what a historical consciousness is or apply it to a certain ability, but rather sees its value in the fact that it generates new and interesting insights and perspectives on history (Ammert, 2010: 27; Karlsson, 2011: 39-40; Nordgren, 2011: 142). A heuristic concept is a concept that in itself evades definition, but rather should be treated as a concept that enables new theoretical perspectives on the study of something (Marc-Wogau, 1984: 125). With this view it is not crucial to find a definition of what a historical consciousness is, as long as it generates new and interesting research. Therein lies the value of the concept. To more precisely define what the concept means or how it is applied is if not meaningless, then at least unimportant.

4. Justifications of the Historical Consciousness Concept

The last part of this study investigates how the concept of historical consciousness is justified in Swedish history didactical research. I have already presented the ways in which the concept is considered to be an important one, but it can be of value to further stress which components of a historical consciousness that make the concept an indispensable one according to the research studied.

The most common way to justify the use of historical consciousness is to claim that it is essential to how we create our identities: it is existentially important that a human being has and develops a historical consciousness. Who a person is depends on what kind of historical consciousness she has. Another common way of justifying the concept is to stress how it enables us to understand ourselves and the world around us. It gives us meaning. Yet another way of justifying the concept is by its ability to make us morally better people. In conclusion, historical consciousness is an important concept because it is a fundamental component of our identities (both morally and personally) and our understanding ourselves and people around us. Without a historical consciousness we would be lesser human beings. In fact, a popular understanding of the historical consciousness concept is that it is omnipresent and something that all human beings possess regardless of them being aware of it or not (Cf. Karlsson, 2009b: 48).

Regarding the common, basic definition of the concept (i.e. historical consciousness as a multichronological concept) and its various applications, it is important to stress the fact that no researcher that I have studied justifies the concept of historical consciousness simply as a multichronological one, that it merely helps us connect the past, present, and future.

5. Summary Analysis and a General Discussion of the Results

The presentation above shows that there is a consensus in Swedish history didactics about a general ground for how the concept of historical consciousness should be defined, but that the concept's applications vary and that this creates a conceptual complexity and vagueness. Behind this conclusion lies the assumption that the way in which a concept is applied affects the way in which it could be

understood. If, for instance, a historical consciousness is considered to influence a person's identity, researchers tend to regard it as a concept that develops a person's identity, i.e. something more than a mere multichronological capacity. In other words, it is analytically very difficult to separate the concept's definition from its application. This is probably the reason why historical consciousness generally is believed to be a concept that is difficult to define. This leads us to the conclusion that multichronology is a necessary but not sufficient definition of what a historical consciousness is.

The researchers that treat historical consciousness as an identity developing concept, tend to regard identity as a narrative concept. Unfortunately, it is not obvious in the literature how a historical consciousness affects a person's identity. We can certainly, like Jörn Rüsen, claim that historical consciousness is in fact a narrative competency and that when we develop narratives, we also develop our identities. However, why do we not only talk about narratives then? Why does not historical consciousness become a superfluous concept with this view? It could be further argued that our historical consciousness provides the historical dimension in our narratives and identities, but we are still left with the question why we not only talk of 'historical dimensions' instead of 'historical consciousnesses'? The same kind of problem arises when you treat historical consciousness as an insight-creating ability: why not only talk of critical assessment and reflection instead of historical consciousness?

If you regard historical consciousness as a meaning-creating concept, it means that the ability to create meaning in a person's life is the way in which a historical consciousness reveals itself. With this view it is essential with a theoretical discussion of how historical knowledge influences our ability to create meaning. Does all historical knowledge influence our historical consciousness, or just some of it, and, in that case, why does only some historical knowledge influence our historical consciousness? A similar problem arises if you treat historical consciousness as a value-creating concept: what is the connection between our values and our historical consciousness, and how does our historical consciousness mediate our historical knowledge and moral values?

Historical consciousness as a history-creating concept is closely connected to how we create meaning, but it includes a component of agency that the meaning-creating application does not have. A problem connected with considering historical consciousness to be a

history-creating concept, is that it turns history and history making into something quite trivial: all our actions create history. Some would argue that history-creating has to involve some kind of method, like source criticism, for instance. A common response to that kind of argument is that it depends on how you choose to define 'history': a scientific way of creating history is just one among others, and it is difficult to qualitatively determine which is better than the other (cf. Zander, 2001: 52-7). A ten-year-old child's history-creating is as relevant as that of a history professor *per se*, it is the context in which the history is created that determines its value, and in this case the context is highly existential. Hence it would be troublesome to claim that a professor of history is existentially 'better' than a ten-year-old child simply because she knows more about history and historical theory.

One way to circumvent all these difficulties is to regard historical consciousness as a heuristic concept that cannot be explained in itself. One is then left with the question why so many researchers of history didactics have occupied themselves with trying to explain what a historical consciousness is if it cannot and should not be done? Have they all been mistaken? Furthermore, historical consciousness is a central concept in both Swedish history didactical research and Swedish schools, and if a Swedish history teacher is supposed to develop her pupils' historical consciousnesses (which she in fact is), this is made a lot more difficult if one cannot say what a historical consciousness is. One could however claim that certain skills are essential for developing a historical consciousness and that history teachers should focus on these, but, still, how would you know which skills that develop a person's historical consciousness if you cannot say what a historical consciousness is? Finally, it could once again be objected why you need the concept of historical consciousness at all, if you can talk of historical skills instead?

It is also important to discuss what is called the risks of a monolithical use of the historical consciousness concept: since historical consciousness by its nature is a multifaceted and complex concept it is not meaningful to treat it as a general and inclusive one (Zander, 2001: 43). It is argued that it is always essential to specify what the concept means and in which way it is going to be used, otherwise you run the risk of ending up with a concept that includes everything and explains nothing. An example of this can be found in the otherwise excellent dissertation by Fredrik Alvéén, in which he

presents not less than five different definitions or applications of historical consciousness, without ever addressing this fact (Alvén, 2011: 27-8, 42-53). Considering the complexity of the concept this is very easily done, however.

In conclusion, to be able to justify the concept of historical consciousness it is important to further investigate the concept both theoretically and empirically in order to address the issues connected to the concept that have been discussed above. Few would question whether individuals' construction of identity and meaning are important components of history didactics, the challenge is rather to show that historical consciousness is in fact the concept that can do this in the most satisfying way.

6. Conclusion

This article has dealt with how the concept of historical consciousness is explicitly defined, applied and justified in Swedish history didactical research. In the studied research there seems to be a common ground for the understanding of what a historical consciousness is and that is as a multichronological ability that individuals possess. If an individual is able to develop a connection between what has been, what is, and what shall be, she expresses a historical consciousness. This far one could say that there seems to be a consensus among Swedish researchers in history didactics on what a historical consciousness is, but it is the ways in which the concept is applied that makes it difficult to understand what is meant by a historical consciousness.

As this article has shown, there is quite a wide variety of ways in which the concept is applied, and some researchers apply the concept in more than one way. The reason why the applications complicate the definition of the concept is, as has been argued above, that it is difficult to analytically separate the concept from its applications. The application affects the definition of the concept.

This is quite obvious if we consider how the concept is justified: no researcher chooses to justify historical consciousness simply because it is a multichronological ability in an individual, it is rather the applications that tend to motivate the use of the concept. Historical consciousness is considered to be an important concept because it develops identities, moral values, et cetera, in individuals.

If we return to the example from the beginning of this article: according to history didactical research in Sweden the concept of historical consciousness seems indeed to be an appropriate one for studying how people's religious and ethnical backgrounds influence the way they perceive history. The matter is rather being specific about how one chooses to define and apply the concept and how the definition and application are connected, since that seems to determine how the concept is understood. I believe that trying to sort out how researchers in history didactics actually define and apply the concept is a promising way to start.

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WHEN HISTORY EDUCATION OUTRUNS HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Joanna Wojdon

The article contributes to a broad discussion on the political uses of history and history education. It presents three models of relations between school history and academic research in this discipline that originate from the political uses of history. Examples from the secondary literature dealing with various countries and different historical periods are used to illustrate the models. Eventually, the results of subordinating academic research to the political demands of school education both for the education and for the research are discussed.

1. Introduction

The goals of education, and particularly of history education are manifold. They usually concentrate on three main areas: (1) presenting different disciplines of knowledge and their achievements; (2) transmitting practically useful knowledge and skills; (3) instilling values.¹ Particular school subject may prioritize one or another of these areas, but in history education values have been crucial since ancient times. Already in the works by Isocrates and Cicero historical education is regarded as a tool to form a good citizen and civic leader, mostly by presenting virtues of positive heroes from the past (Freeman Butts, 1973: 97, 99, 119, 125). Also in ancient China, where formal education was regarded as a step in civic career, historical stories belonged to the list of compulsory readings (Lee, 2000: 365-72).

Rapid reforms in history education that used to follow dynamic political changes prove this concept. School curricula and textbooks for history were often the first to be changed, sometimes alongside elementary school readers. The changes introduced in history education were usually deeper than in any other subject. It could be observed in Mao's China, People's Poland, post-WWII Japan or post-colonial African countries (Abernethy & Coombe, 1968). In Peron's Argentina in the 1950s the largest efforts were put to replace old elementary school textbooks, while on the secondary level 'there was no massive influx of new books; only a few random texts appeared, most of them history books' (Rein, 1998: 62).

More examples are given below. They are based mostly on extensive research in the secondary literature presenting the relations between politics and education in different countries and historical periods. This research was inspired by the analysis of the primary sources of the People's Poland (1944-1989): textbooks, school curricula, official and unofficial documents of the ministry of education, communist party and censorship office. In order to maintain balance between Poland and other countries the scope of the Polish examples has been limited. Together with the case studies from other countries they served as a base for constructing the three models of relations between history education and research presented in the paper. The cases cited in the paper were chosen for illustrative purposes and should not be regarded as the only, most adequate or most representative ones.

Coming back to the reforms of education related to the political changes, let us ask why the reforms were introduced.

It was often because new political leaders wanted new values to be instilled into young people and society as a whole. One of the Soviet educators of the 1950s, M.A. Zinoviev, proclaimed history to be 'a powerful weapon of communist education' that 'must wholly serve the cause of the struggle for communism' (cited in Gavorek, 1977: 56). In the communist countries history education usually promoted Marxism or, more often than not, a mixture of Marxism and nationalism, alongside the so-called 'proletarian internationalism' which was a euphemism for subservience to the Soviet Union. Those new values were supposed to replace the 'old', traditional ones, e.g. religious beliefs under communism or imperialism and militarism in post-WWII Germany and Japan (Galan, 2007; Nishi, 1982: 184; Lawson, 1968: 63-72). In post-colonial countries the aim was to create a new sense of national identity, as in Tanzania: 'to encourage pupils to think of the people of Tanzania, PAST as well as present, as Tanzanians, rather than as members of this or that tribe [...] and to create an awareness of Africa's long and proud history.'²

Sometimes the leaders also regarded particular skills and/or knowledge as practically useful for graduates, as for example during the 'polytechnization' campaign in the Soviet bloc under Nikita Khrushchev, when technical skills were praised, to the detriment of humanistic education.³

Historical research usually offers so many different views, interpretations, theories that school history can easily choose the

ones that best serve its changing needs. Or, which is much more desirable yet not so common, to present different opinions and let pupils and teachers discuss them.

But what if it fails to do so? What if there is no research proving certain concepts while politicians and/or other decision makers need them? What if historical research does not meet other goals: pedagogical, ethical, political?

Let us look at the description of the situation in Uganda in the wake of its post-colonial period: 'Very little in Uganda's political past or her current [1960s] situation lends itself to codification as a 'national ideology'[...] From the point of view of political education, an even greater disability is the lack of a political history which might be glorified so as to induce patriotism and loyalty. The pre-colonial and colonial relationship between the tribal groupings which quite arbitrarily came to be called Uganda were at best strained and at times openly hostile. To teach as the history of a nation what in retrospect can only be seen as constant civil war would exacerbate parochial animosities rather than generate nationalist loyalties. Uganda's history lacks common heroes and myths that the most selective instruction could not discover episodes and traditions that would redound to the national glory. It would take more than a Stalinist "falsification of history" campaign to use history as a vehicle for acquainting the child with the ideals of society' (Prewitt & Oculi, 1971).

2. Models of relations between history education and research

Three kinds of solutions were used in such situations in the past. In some instances, history education was simply suspended, at least for some time. Sometimes, only certain elements from the historiography were chosen that fit into the ideological scheme. Alternatively, history was taught according to political guidance, regardless of the lack of research, and professional historians were openly requested to find evidence proving that what was being taught was right.

2.1 Suspension

2.1.1 Russia

In post-revolutionary Soviet Russia history was regarded as a 'bourgeois' subject, useless in the society of the new type which aimed into the future and was not interested in the past, especially the past presented by historians (and here we come to the historical

research) was the past of upper social classes, of kings, land-owners and capitalists. History did not fit into the new concept of school that was going to concentrate on the needs of the pupils from lower social classes and to help them find 'socially useful labor' within their class (Counts, 1957: 63-5). The traditional system of teaching school subjects was replaced by interdisciplinary teaching, concentrated around the topics of 'nature', 'labor' and 'society'. Elements of history were to be included into social studies ('obshchestvovedenye') where they could be used to present the progress of social systems towards communist revolution and explain some of the phenomena of the day from a historical perspective, e.g. to compare 'old order' with the contemporary life.⁴ In the Soviet reality of this 'experimental period' many teachers were reluctant to give up teaching history and they simply ignored new regulations. Others made 'obshchestvovedenye' the most boring, ideologically-loaded subject. A public debate among pedagogues and educators on the role of history as a school subject and on its possible come-back lasted throughout the 1920s.

It was Joseph Stalin who finished the disputes. The reform in Soviet education started in 1931 with the decree of the Central Committee of the Communist party 'on the primary and secondary schooling' which rejected the revolutionary changes, e.g. open classroom, interdisciplinary approach, group teaching and progressive assessment based on essays and projects. It re-introduced discipline-oriented teaching according to a strict time-table and final examinations (Zajda, 1980: 24-5).

In May 1934, a decree 'On the teaching of civic history in the schools of USSR' was issued that brought back history into schools (Zajda, 1980: 25; Counts, 1957: 91). By that time 'revolutionary' historical research was advanced enough to offer new perspectives and new interpretations for schoolchildren, corresponding with the needs of the communist regime. Among them, according to Kairov, were '*scientifically based* [my emphasis – J.W.] answers to the question of whether the development of mankind is tending and by what means progressive mankind can hasten and ease the birth of a new society.'⁵

2.1.2 *Japan*

In post-WWII Japan, occupational administration under General MacArthur first let the Japanese revise their school textbooks themselves. At the same time the Americans started reading the books on their own, with the help of some Japanese historians whom they trusted. Shocked with the initial findings they demanded a halt to printing facilities on Sept. 10, 1945, and ordered the translation of all the books for history, geography and 'morals' into English. This resulted in the lack of teaching materials at schools – an emergency situation, taking into consideration the crucial role traditionally played by textbooks in the educational system of the country.

Thus, on December 31st, 1945 McArthur suspended instruction of those three subjects until the new teaching materials, approved by the Americans, were developed. Old textbooks and teachers' books were collected and destroyed. The manuscripts of the new curricula and textbooks were to be translated into English and approved by the American administration before going to print. Geography turned out to be relatively easy to deal with and came back to school in June, 1946, while with history it took until mid-October until all the references to Japanese patriotism and national pride were removed (Nishi, 1982: 176-84).

Changes in school history had thus little in common with historical research, they were of purely political nature, dictated by the occupant – although in a survey, Japanese teachers expressed their satisfaction with the new materials.

2.1.3 *Rwanda*

Recently, there was a moratorium on teaching history in Rwanda after the genocide of 1994, in order to make the younger generation forget the troubled past and all the resentments between conflicted ethnic groups in this country. Pressure to re-introduce history into schools was stronger than the progress in elaborating the coherent version of the past that would correspond with the political demands of promoting national unity and regarding ethnic/tribal conflicts as the fantasy of Belgian colonizers.

As a researcher noted in 2006, 'While academic historians are debating contested points of Rwandan history, and there is professional recognition that there will never be one definitive history of Rwanda, the government's populist message is more linear and less nuanced. [...] The Rwandan government is founding its

reconciliation ideology on selective episodes in Rwandan history that are portrayed as moments of idyllic national unity – representations of the “true” Rwanda unadulterated by colonial or post-colonial dogma’ (Hodgkin, 2006).

Eventually, despite all the shortcomings of the historical research, this is the version that has been introduced into school history as the only acceptable one.

2.2 *Selection*

Most decision makers do want school to teach about the past, but about *their* version of the past, the one that suits their political goals. Thus, as in Rwanda, they **choose certain elements from the historiography that fit into the ideological scheme** and disregard historians’ opinions about the bigger pictures that result from it, e.g. about the national, not tribal, identities in pre-colonial Africa (Morrison, 1976: 219). They may use the results of historical research, but so selectively that the outcome has little in common with academic reconstructions of the past.

2.2.1 *Poland*

In Poland in the 1950s, the interwar period of 1918-1939 as presented in history textbooks consisted solely of workers’ strikes and activities of the Communist Party of Poland, in reality a marginal political force. No achievements of pre-WWII Poland were mentioned so a pupil must have had an impression that the country was in permanent crisis (Wojdon, 2001: 200-1). Distorting the image of the past was in this case achieved by using the events that did happen to create the version of the past that was not true, yet desirable for propagandists. The facts were given disproportionate significance and non-historical, propaganda labels.

It should be noticed that if the propagandist elements inserted into the textbooks for other school subjects were ignored, e.g. data on the Soviet/communist achievements in particular sciences and/or technologies, the rest of the contents would usually suffice to teach the subject. If however, one removed propaganda from history textbook or curriculum contents, nothing would have remained to be taught about the period of 1918-1939, as no other developments except ‘the revolutionary struggle’ were mentioned.

2.2.2 *Israel*

Contemporary Israeli textbooks ignore Palestinians, their heritage and impact on the history of the region. The researchers point out that the books do not use the term 'Palestine' even in regard to the pre-1948 period. They recognize West-European Jews as the only predecessors of contemporary citizens of Israel and present the history and geography of Israel from the Zionist point of view. They build links to the Bible and present contemporary Israel as the direct successor of Biblical times. Though they do not use openly derogatory terms to describe the Palestinian population and at first glance seem objective and neutral, a closer look reveals that the authors use other methods to diminish the position of non-Jews and to present them in a negative, stereotypical way. The methods include selection, fragmentation, silence, but also stereotypical pictures and page layout techniques.⁶

2.2.3 *Germany*

Marie Sénécheau (n.d.) analyzes history textbooks that are used in contemporary Germany and shows how today's political and/or cultural concepts are used to present pre-historical and ancient times.

Starting with the origins of *homo sapiens*, she points out that textbooks do not present different scientific points of view on this topic, but just replace the previous model of a white man with the theory that *homo sapiens* was formed in Africa and therefore must have been black (which is useful in today's cosmopolitan and anti-racist discourse).

They label a frozen man from the bronze age, found in 1991 in the Alps, as a 'European' although speaking about nationality at those times is anachronistic yet helpful in building contemporary European identity.

They limit the trade in the Bronze age to contemporary European borders, disregarding the fact that it did not stop there, and try to build parallels between the Roman empire and the European Union of today, even if at closer examination those parallels turn out to be superficial (e.g. Latin as a common base for European languages or ancient coins versus contemporary Euro).

Last but not least, the author shows how the image of the *limes* between the Roman empire and Germanic tribes evolved in German textbooks. 'A bastion against barbarians' was built on a scientific models of the 1920s, but still present in a 1994 textbook. Since the

end of the 1990s, however, it was portrayed rather as ‘a meeting place of the cultures’.

In conclusion Marie Senechau answers affirmatively to the question of whether today’s history textbooks in Germany use prehistory and archeology for political goals. Only the goals have changed.

2.3 *Demands for Research Results*

2.3.1 *China*

In Mao’s China almost all publications of pre-revolutionary historians were regarded as wrong and harmful for teaching purposes because of their inappropriate standpoint, viewpoint and methodology.⁷ Therefore history had to be re-written.

In the process of compiling the new textbooks, according to the research by C.T. Hu, ‘the editorial board of *People’s Education*, the leading journal of pedagogy, published a lead article on what the board considered to be fundamental problems in the compilation of history textbooks and on the board’s views on these problems. The first problem concerns the question of periodization, especially in regard to the two periods of Chinese slave society and feudal society. *Admitting the absence of a definitive and scientific theory* [my emphasis – J.W.], the board [...] supports a proposal [...] to use the year 475 B.C. to divide the slave and feudal periods in Chinese history’ (Hu, 1969: 16). Therefore, this was the political body that made decisions on historical debates as education could not wait until the academic historians came to definite conclusions.

The process of re-writing textbooks resulted in a shortage of teaching materials between 1949 and 1952. It did not mean suspending school history. History was taught according to the Party’s teaching plans and outlines prepared ad-hoc by local schools and educational authorities. They were to be evaluated not only according to their ideological correctness, but also to the latest achievements of scientific research and to the receptivity of students.

If, however, the main criteria of evaluation of historical research in the 1950s became ideology and educational appropriateness, we come to a vicious circle where educational materials must be based on the research, but research is allowed only if it supports educational purposes and is based on the ideological principles. It resulted, according to C.T. Hu, in ‘the blurring of history as an independent

academic subject because of its excessively intimate relationship with education in political thought' (Hu, 1969: 17).

2.3.2 *Poland*

There were Polish history textbooks of the 1950s that openly admitted that there was no historical evidence that would support their vision of the past, but history could not have happened otherwise. E.g.: 'When the Germans were conquering Slavic territories between Elba and Oder, they came in touch with the realm of Mieszko (ca. 963). Thanks to that, the German chronicles for the first time mentioned the existence of the Polish state. The realm had already been vast, as it comprised the lands of the Polans, Mazovians and Kuiavians, and a part of the land of Vistulans [...] It is clear that the process of creating such a large state must have lasted for a long time and had been started by Mieszko's predecessors. However we have no information about it, but there is no doubt that the Polish state was formed, just like other Slavonic states, when the predecessors of Mieszko, i.e. the dukes of the tribe of Polans, conquered and united under their authority the neighboring tribes' (Baranowski et al., 1950: 57).

Other textbooks claimed that there was not enough evidence about the revolutionary struggle in Medieval Poland. It did not mean, however, that there was no struggle. Lack of evidence was the result of the negligence of earlier generations of historians, starting from the medieval chroniclers, who (as monks) 'told stories mostly about princes and magnates, as well as about wars; and left very few pieces of information about the work of peasants and their struggle against oppression.' Bourgeois historians deliberately followed the same pattern, but new Marxist research would certainly reveal examples of class struggle (Wojdon, 2001: 203).

It turned out, however, that before they did, Marxism was abandoned as a dominant trend in historiography and in history education. Some of its elements prevailed in history textbooks until the collapse of the communist regime, but general narrative returned to the traditional, national form and the researchers had even more freedom (especially if compared to other countries of the Soviet bloc) in their research, at least of the pre-20th century period (Antohi, Trencsényi & Apo, 2007).

2.3.3 German Democratic Republic

History education in other countries of the Soviet bloc probably experienced similar difficulties in relation to historical research. As an East German textbook for the fifth grade read: 'Scholars have researched and established through exhaustive work *almost everything* [my emphasis – J.W.] that you will learn in the history class. Much can be learned about the past from documents. But these are mostly the legacy of writers serving onetime rulers. And they interested themselves little in the life of the common people' (Rodden, 2005).

There is a set of publications on the historiographies of other communist and post-communist countries. Similar research should be undertaken on their history education.

3. Effects

Effects of succumbing historical research to educational needs are similar, regardless of its practical implementation or ideological background. And they are predominantly negative, both for school and academic history.

Whether school history is suspended, misinterpreted or built according to the politicians' demands, it distorts the image of the past in pupils' minds, but also undermines the authority of the system of education, of teachers, and more generally of elders, especially if alternative versions of the past are available to pupils, transmitted e.g. by families, church or some educators. The potential of history as an opportunity to teach critical thinking, analysis, discussion, evaluating and creating narratives is lost.

As for academic history, subordinating it to political needs has had a detrimental impact on the quality of the research and on the prestige of the researcher's profession. C.T. Hu states on China: *'It seems clear that as long as history is regarded as a powerful weapon for Socialist revolution and history teaching as an integral part of political education, historical scholarship in the traditional sense will continue to be denounced. [...] the process of simplification has reached a point where history is presented according to a simplistic and mechanical formula devoid of scholarship. [...] history teaching is likely to degenerate further to the status of all-out political agitation and propaganda'* (Hu, 1969: 18) and N. H. Gavorek on USSR: *'History plays a crucial role in Soviet education. [...] as an academic subject history is not an autonomous scholarly discipline. To the contrary, it is partisan and dogmatic. [...] This is not to suggest that Soviet scholars have not contributed materially to*

advances of knowledge, albeit within the frequently ambiguous bounds set up by the regime' (Gavorek, 1977: 56, 68).

Perhaps, the only positive result of a situation when history plays an important propaganda role is its relatively high rank as a school subject, at least officially (as pupils usually dislike it and regard as boring), and as an academic discipline, though dependent on political demands. Regretfully for us historians, it turns out that educational decision makers do not appreciate history 'as such' and if it lacks political goals, it is likely to be limited, merged with other subjects or completely removed from school curriculum (Nasaw, 1979: 143-4; Linden, 1990⁸; Lobbes, 2010).

Notes

¹ See e.g.: Callcott (1959: 470-1); Gavorek (1977: 55), Sénécheau, (n.d.).

² A publication of the Tanzanian Institute of Education, cited in Morrison (1976: 219).

³ The theory of 'polytechnic education', that was supposed to prepare for practical work and fill the gap between school and life, was traced back to Lenin's principles, but eventually it never became reality. On details of 'polytechnization' see Matthews (1982: 18-33, 54-7). Cf.: Zajda (1980: 32-4, 43).

⁴ On details of this subject, not only in relation to teaching history, see Counts (1957: 87-90), Holmes (1991: 35-40, 61, 79-80, 142).

⁵ Cited in Counts (1957: 94-5). Among other values that history was supposed to instill was significance of the socialist resolution, loyalty to the interest of the toilers, irreconcilability towards the reactionary forces and love of the revolutionary leaders – Lenin and Stalin.

⁶ Peled-Elhanan (2008). The author claims that it results in an ethnic form of racism. Similar findings were published by Swirski (1999: 166-7).

⁷ Standpoint – meant that they did not take into consideration masses of working people, but only the upper spheres of the society; viewpoint referred to their idealism, as opposed to materialism as a motion factor in history (the former paid too much attention to the role of individuals, while the latter stressed social economy); and they denied Marxist, dialectic methodology that not only collected historical evidence but should also lead to changing history. Hu (1969: 9-10).

⁸ I wish to thank Crystal Johnson for drawing my attention to this article.

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**CONTEMPORARY HISTORY
FOR THE MODERN GENERATION:
THE SPECIFICITY OF SCHOOLCHILDREN'S
HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS FORMATION
IN POST-SOVIET RUSSIA**

Aleksey Bushuev

In this article the main features and the most important points of pupils' historical consciousness formation in Post-Soviet Russia are characterized based on the analysis of textbooks on the contemporary history of Russia. The main reassessment happened in minds of people regarding J. Stalin and the whole period of his reign, re-evaluation 'of the Yeltsin era', free treatment of facts and their interpretation and also imposing ready answers to the questions put before pupils, promoting the formation of new stereotypes in the historical perception of students. These changes found in modern textbooks do not contribute to the formation of historical consciousness of the new generation of Russians, but create real difficulties in this regard. Here we may see a clear conflict between the interests of history and political memory.

When the USSR collapsed a new era in Russia started. Russians have had to travel a long way in order to build statehood development in a very short time. Vast changes have happened in every sphere of life: society structure, public psychology, the fields of culture and science, the state itself and the church. Certainly, all these widespread changes had a great effect on the conditions and principles of historical consciousness formation of the new Russian society. It is not only the learning of history and evaluation of historical facts that are crucial in this respect, but also the preparation of conditions for the further strengthening of these achievements in the public consciousness are extremely important. However, there has not been any common agreement on this issue for all these years.

Regarding this, the main difficulty is the current stage of national history with the most extensive changes that have occurred. The history of the 20th century is characterized by the considerable diversity of the historical evolution in social-economic, social-political, social-cultural spheres and this period is especially difficult to study, not just for specialists in history. This period of time is the most significant for the new Russian generation in their historical

consciousness development due to its closeness to people's personal memories and family stories. This guarantees the integrity of historical consciousness which includes the interaction of its elements, such as historical knowledge, understanding of historical experience and lessons arising from it, the awareness of historical responsibility for their activities and social forecasting. Thus, contemporary history is important both in the formation of civil culture, and from the perspective of maintaining national identity. However, for a number of reasons this is also the most sophisticated period of history for its further description in academic literature. Here are also objective reasons, for example, the lack of access to many sources of contemporary history, and subjective reasons, including the lack of well-established approaches to the assessment of the crucial events and a great role of the political component. At the same time it is obviously impossible to create a holistic impression of the country's history without knowing its contemporary history.

An important part of the formation of historical consciousness of the general population is a school history tuition. The most important basics for individual development of the younger generation and their first systematic knowledge in History are gained at school. Not only teachers, but also books play a prominent role in history courses at school. Because of this, the preparation of modern educational and methodological literature has always been a real problem. If we work on educational publications, material presentation, their composition should be special depending on the target of students and teachers. Failure to reach a common conceptual agreement for a number of contemporary historical questions by historians raises difficulties in composing the required study guide. The political component of this issue also makes it harder to achieve the set goal.

Nevertheless, it does not mean that this problem has no solution. In our opinion one of the main conditions here should be the truthful statement of the facts, and also real opportunities for self-analysis and assessment of these facts on whether they are important for history, taking into account the influence of different factors and points of view. The first means the narration of the most important events without any distortions, without any excessive layers of predestination in the assessments. The second is impossible without recourse to additional sources of information that may be annexed to the educational texts such as documents or tasks for self-collection of data for students. This method will eventually promote the formation

of an objective historical perception of a modern Russian generation. The objectivity of historical consciousness in this case means the performance of its functions as a true reflection of its own existence (both individual and social) in the historical development of the past through the present to the future. This is possible only if young citizens learn to understand the difference between the detection of historical fact, requiring actualization of some and ignoring other (insignificant) sources, and the manipulation of the known historical facts.

However, certain complexities may occur in this direction. One of them is a recent trend of Russian government institutions to control the formation of historical consciousness of a new Russian generation. This is a common practice for every state. No wonder that in the 20th century Claude Lévi-Strauss (1994: 317) wrote that 'History [...] is never just a history, but the history for. Biased, even when being repudiated, it inevitably remains partial and that is another form of its bias'.

It is well known that historical consciousness and memory are a set of knowledge, symbols, ideas not only passed on from generation to generation, but also having a direct impact on the evaluation of the past, they are a basis for the formation of attitudes toward the present and future. The politics of memory and the politics of history is a significant influence on the formation of the historical consciousness of new Russian generations, and implies the political regulation of collective memory through the maintenance of the existing, and the creation of new 'space for memory' (public holidays, anniversaries, museums, etc.), and also by adjusting historical education – approval of the educational standards and the issuing of new history textbooks (Miller, 2009: 7-8). The term politics of history, which appeared first in Germany and subsequently was widely used in Poland (Traba, 2009: 45-6) is also quite adequate for reflection on government intervention in history. However, since we use the concept of the politics of memory in the broadest context in this article, it is equivalent to the concept of politics of history. It is important that the politics of memory (politics of history) has a significant impact on the formation of the historical consciousness of new Russian generations, setting a framework for the process and direction for further development. Hence, it is not surprising that the authorities pay attention to this issue and their involvement in the

formation of Russians' historical consciousness. However, the amount and specificity of such intervention may raise questions.

For the past 12 years after Boris Yeltsin's presidency, a lot has been done in this direction. One of the evident examples of this intervention is the way the new Russia's authorities treat the day that in the Soviet Union was called 'the day of the Great October Socialist Revolution'. This holiday was established in 1918 – the first anniversary of the revolutionary events in Russia – and lasted until 1996, when a special Decree of the President B.N. Yeltsin replaced the name, which lost its ideological relevance by introducing a new name of the holiday. Thus, the day of 7th November changed its name to 'The Day of Concord and Reconciliation', and then completely ceased to be a national holiday. Replacing it in accordance to the Federal Law 'On Amendments to the Article 112 of the Labor Code of the Russian Federation' № 201-FZ dated on December 29, 2004, the 4th of November became a national holiday. According to historians, in 1612 Kuzma Minin and Dmitry Pozharsky with the volunteer army entered Moscow and liberate it from the Polish-Lithuanian invaders. This holiday was also called politically correct – 'the Day of National Unity'. Such treatment of a public holiday testifies to the politics of forgetting and it is the reverse of the politics of memory. Here we may also refer to the (conducted with great honor) ceremony of commemoration for the members of Nicholas' II family in July 2008, as part of the 90th anniversary of the execution of last Russian monarch's family. On the one hand these government decisions and actions fall well within the traditional framework for countries with former socialist policy of rethinking and exposing the communist past, which has become a reality at the end of 20th and beginning of 21st century. But on the other hand, it is a manifestation of the dangerous interference in the sphere of history and the formation of historical consciousness, which the famous French historian Pierre Nora warned about: 'The general tendency to rewrite the past in the context of memory and judge it on its behalf leads directly to the elimination of all forms of historical thinking and the spirit of history' (Nora, 2010).

In Russia, this dangerous tendency of the intervention to the history significantly increased in the fall of 2003 and particularly since the spring of 2004, when the second term of V. V. Putin started. If initially the powers of the new Russia mainly talked about the introduction of new 'spaces for memory' as a kind of reconciliation

with the past, then gradually they reached the awareness of the necessity to rewrite history textbooks in new ways. Immediately after the collapse of the Soviet Union and throughout the 1990s, when various urgent problems had to be solved (from the general economic crisis caused by the collapse of a unified economic system of the country to the crisis of power and the separatism of some regions) there was no time to pay attention to historical education. During these years there was no unified approach for teaching history. Bookstores and school libraries were full of different kinds of textbooks which had different content and quality. In many of them the Soviet period of Russian history was evaluated as the lost of seventy years of history, and the post-Soviet period was considered only in the most general terms. The basic meaning of this content on the post-Soviet period was reduced to the fact that President B.N. Yeltsin started a massive democratization of the country and liberal economic reforms.

With the strengthening of the positions of the new president, including those which occurred due to the process of strengthening the vertical power initiated in 2000, it became possible to 'restore order' in the sphere of history. In the speeches of V.V. Putin in November of 2003 it was probably the first time it was distinctly suggested that history books have to educate, first of all, citizens and patriots. At a meeting with historians at the Russian State Library on November 27, 2003, he proposed a manner in which new books shall be written: 'Back in time historians pressed on negativity since there was the task to destroy the old system. Now we have a different, creative task. It is necessary to remove all the husk and foam, which has been superimposed over the years' (Putin: school textbooks – not a platform for political struggle, 'all the husk and foam' shall be removed, 2003).

An important milestone in the formation of historical consciousness of new generations in Russia became the preparation and publication of educational and methodological set of textbooks and workbooks for teachers for the current period of national history. First the teachers' book was presented. Its presentation to the scientific community was held on June 21, 2007 on the All-Russian Conference of humanities and social sciences teachers (Kachurovskaya, 2007). Shortly after the teachers' book tutorial for students was released in the same publishing house 'Prosveschenie'. The approval of this textbook was held by board of the Ministry of

Education and Science of Russia even in spite of sharp criticism from the public and the professional community of historians. Critical discussion of textbooks in the media was largely due to the ideological position of the authors. J.V. Stalin for the first time in many years appeared in the pages of school textbooks as an effective manager, and his reign was not closely linked to the concept of the 'cult of personality' and mass repression. In addition, the reign of Vladimir Putin was characterized in the textbook exclusively from positive (if not iridescent) positions. The statement of one of the group of authors member P.V. Danilin only added fuel to the fire, when he answered rudely in his blog to his critics (Borisov, 2007). Thus, this highly dubious book for 11th graders 'History of Russia. The period of 1945-2007' based on the book for teachers by A.V. Filippov, was a reflection of trends in a public school history education in contemporary Russia.

Taking into account all of the aforementioned, the content of the textbook and the accompanying teachers' book should be analyzed in details to characterize the specific effects on historical consciousness formation of the modern generation of pupils.

To begin with, the structure of the textbook and accompanying teachers' book is based on a 'personal and chronological' principle where the chapters describe the periods of rule of J.V. Stalin, N.S. Khrushchev, L.I. Brezhnev, M.S. Gorbachev, B.N. Yeltsin and V.V. Putin. This approach emphasizes not only the role of personality in history, but highlights the unique position of a leader and his influence on Russian history, a significant impact of the leaders change on the historical development course and the direction of this development. The book explicitly states that: 'The research of the historical evolution of the Russian state for the past 500 years has shown a certain similarity of the political characteristics [...] with significant differences in external forms. [...] The head of state in Russia has traditionally had a comprehensive power, covering all the resources and controlling all political forces' (Filippov, 2007: 81-2). To some extent this approach of presenting Russia's recent history may be justified, although assessments of a particular leader depending on the authors' personal preferences may also contribute to the appearance of further disputes.

This issue has already arisen. Some historical facts and assessments described by authors as well as some features of their presentation at a classroom cause debates and force reflection.

For instance, in the description of the post-war political development of the Soviet Union, the personality cult of Joseph Stalin is hardly ever mentioned. The textbook discreetly states only about ‘strengthening the regime of personal power’ of Stalin (Danilov et al., 2008: 39). Further it points only to the fact that ‘the democratization of internal order was beyond the agenda within the beginning of the “cold war” with the West. The projects on softening the regime were left’ [as is they have ever been offered – *A.B.*] (Danilov et al., 2008: 39). Stalin’s personality cult is mentioned by authors only concerning the beginning of his critics, although the formal approval of the last reason is connected with the execution of Lavrentiy Beria in 1953 (Danilov et al., 2008: 70), but not with Nikita Khrushchev’s speech at the XX Congress of the CPSU in February 1956. Such an evaluation of Joseph Stalin’s personality in academic literature of his personality has appeared for the first time after the exposure of his personality cult for many years. The most severe criticism of Stalin in textbooks was after the Soviet collapse, when ideological pressure on authors was significantly weakened and the theme of repression had become popular and widely discussed. The democratization of political life and the opening up of previously secret archives for researchers contributed to that. Textbooks of the early 1990s assessed the personality of ‘the Great Leader’ only from negative positions, not even paying attention to some of the successes which he, objectively speaking, had. But in the relatively impartial textbook of A.A. Danilov and L.G. Kosulina, the section on the post-war period of Soviet history was called ‘Apogee of Stalinism’ (Danilov & Kosulina, 1995). That time Stalin first appeared in the book not as an executioner and dictator, but as a successful manager, effectively redistributing scarce resources of the country for many years.

Another story of the post-war history of Russia which requires our attention is about the creation of atomic weapons. The teachers’ book begins with a message that the physicist Klaus Fuchs, who worked on the so-called ‘Manhattan Project’, gave Soviet intelligence the U.S. atomic secrets (Filippov, 2007: 24-5). Meanwhile, firstly, it is known for a long time that K. Fuchs was not the only physicist transmitting the American top-secret development for the Soviet Union (Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, Theodore Hall were also ‘famous’ for this), secondly, L.P. Beria, who received all this information did not show it to the Soviet physicists till ‘the last

moment', and, finally (but the most importantly), scientific and technical information received by the intelligence by itself was nothing. Only professionals possessing the necessary scientific and production facilities on the basis of these materials could invent weapons of mass destruction. Moreover, the book completely eliminated the information about Klaus Fuchs, but it mentions a resident from New York, Hovakimian, who reported about a meeting of the Western physicists in the spring of 1941 during which 'the vast potential military value of the uranium problem was discussed' (Danilov et al., 2008: 31). In our mind, the book would benefit much more from mentioning Albert Einstein's letter to U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt instead of this insignificant event. Due to this letter dated on August 2, 1939, the president started the Uranium Committee, which was directly engaged in the development of this direction.

In the presentation of subsequent historical material very little attention was paid to short and standing apart period when Yuri Andropov and Konstantin Chernenko were leaders of the Soviet Union. Moreover, the book does not even contain photos of these leaders (Danilov et al., 2008: 142-3).

As for Mikhail Gorbachev's government the book considers it as highly negative and this is clearly due to a number of reasons. He came to power at a very difficult and challenging period and started wide-range of reforms in both economic and political terms. Since there had not been a complete strategy for the reforms, the entire course failed. The authors consider democratization of the country as the main achievement of M.S. Gorbachev (Filippov, 2007: 363). If we evaluate such an important issue of modern Russia as the collapse of the USSR (Danilov et al., 2008: 225-7), it causes bewilderment that in the textbook on the history of Russia it is paid about as much attention as to the question of German reunification (Danilov et al., 2008: 237-8).

The negative authors' assessment of the peer-reviewed editions covers 'The Yeltsin era', which is not characterized as stable either in political or in economic terms (except for relatively short periods). He was accused of hyperinflation, inability to stop the collapse of the country, the establishment of oligarchic rule (Danilov et al., 2008: 277) etc. As a result, the authors simply conclude that 'due to his diseases he was unable to fully perform his duties as the President' (Filippov, 2007: 389). This reevaluation of Yeltsin's era is not typical

for history books of Post Soviet Russia. Before the beginning of 2000s it was unusual to criticize Yeltsin in textbooks. Democratization and building new Russia, which actively developed cooperation with the West, and also the liberal economical reforms were highlighted as the most crucial achievements of the first President's term. It also was the first time when acute criticism appeared, which sometimes bordered on slander. One of the most remarkable episodes of such reevaluation is an example about the collusion of Boris Yeltsin with the largest financial group on the privatization of State property on favorable conditions for the oligarchs on the eve of the presidential election of 1996 (Danilov et al., 2008: 278-9). According to the authors of the textbook, it was done in exchange for the support of Boris Yeltsin from their side, which is actually the purchase of the presidency. None of the books of the previous period admitted even the possibility of such an interpretation of these events, but also any other contemporary textbook. Thus, in the textbook of A.F. Kiselev and V.P. Popov which was published shortly before the scandalous textbook, the victory of a no longer popular B.N. Yeltsin in the 1996 presidential elections was explained in a completely different way: using populist (even populist) measures, such as promises to eliminate the debt on social payments, increase pensions, the development of a program of support for small business, the restoration of order in Chechnya, and others (Kiselev & Popov, 2007: 273). And in the textbook of A. Danilov, L. Kosulina and M. Brandt, which has already withstood so far already 9 editions, it is simply recorded that there was a victory of B.N. Yeltsin in this election without reference to the reasons (Danilov, Kosulina & Brandt, 2012: 337). Perhaps the fact that Boris Yeltsin died at the time of the publishing of this book played a certain role in this reevaluation. In Russia there is an old tradition that during the life of the leader nobody questions his authority, but after his death all at once recall the worst.

History does not tolerate the subjunctive mood, and therefore we are unable to know what would have happened to the country and its population if instead of Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin there was somebody else in the same circumstances. The bottom line is different. In our opinion, the main feature is that the authors of the tutorial paid no attention to some important details. For example, in the description of events of August 1991 for some reason there is no mention about the importance of M. Gorbachev, his position on the

State Committee on the State of Emergency (GKChP) nor in the tutorial (Danilov et al., 2008: 222-3) or in the book for teachers (Filippov, 2007: 317-8). The same drawback may be found in the characteristics of economic crises occurring in the country during the presidency of Boris Yeltsin, there is no word about such important details as the spectacularly low Russian oil prices etc. (Danilov et al., 2008: 274).

Dubious treatment of the facts is noticeable in description of the reign of Vladimir Putin. In the chapter 'the election campaign in 1999,' there is not a single word about the campaign itself, but Vladimir Putin was called the future president twice out of four mentions of him (Danilov et al., 2008: 292). In the characteristic of social policy and economic development of recent years there are indications of only positive achievements almost without mentioning negative sides (Danilov et al., 2008: 328) – e.g., it devoted only two sentences to inflation – no attention to the growing public dissatisfaction, demographic problem was only mentioned as a problem in the context of the directions of solutions of it (Danilov et al., 2008: 326), while it is quite obvious that there are other difficulties in this regard also. Nothing is said about other negative phenomena. Further in the description of routine life in Russia in the 1990s it is noted with an obvious negative attitude a phenomenon of a passion for 'soap operas' – Mexican and Brazilian soap operas (Danilov et al., 2008: 254), but the analysis of more recent television-leisure space of the Russians' shows that numerous poor quality domestic serials and shows were created. The point here is not to carelessly criticize present leaders of the country in the school textbook unaware of quite evident successes and, thereby, inculcating social pessimism in growing generation of Russians. However, a study of modern history should strive for maximum objectivity, although it may be difficult to implement. Students should understand that a State trusts them allowing to analyze the processes of the recent past on their own.

It also seems unreasonable to pay the excessive attention to one leader in the detriment of others. In particular, there are 4 pictures of J.V. Stalin in the textbook (Danilov et al., 2008: 9, 21, 47, 59), N.S. Khrushchev's – 5 pieces (Danilov et al., 2008: 72, 74, 77, 105, 117), L.I. Brezhnev's – 2 pieces (Danilov et al., 2008: 132, 170), M.S. Gorbachev's – 2 pieces (Danilov et al., 2008: 193, 231), B.N. Yeltsin's – 6 pieces (Danilov et al., 2008: 221, 224, 226, 279, 296, 297), V.V. Putin's – 4 pieces (Danilov et al., 2008: 307, 337, 342,

344). At the same time there are no pictures of Y.V. Andropov, and K.U. Chernenko accidentally got in the book on the photos with L.I. Brezhnev (Danilov et al., 2008: 170). It is important to note that, for example, students can see V. Putin on TV as he is an acting politician, there are no other politicians, the location of their portraits in the book is essential for the formation of a holistic view of them.

A problem of building national relations after the collapse of the Soviet Union is another important aspect of Russia's recent history that needs to be mentioned due to the analysis of modern textbooks of history and the formation of historical consciousness of the Russians. Realizing that this issue is very complicated and goes far beyond the school history course, makes it necessary to mention that a more coherent and complete writing this section of the tutorial may be useful in order to understand the essence of the problems and the processes of nation-building and inter-regional relations in Russia by students. In this sense, mentioning the fact that Tatarstan in March 1992 refused to sign the Federal Treaty (Danilov et al., 2008: 263) requires specifying the reason for this, and that is the sovereign status of the republic formalized in the Declaration of State Sovereignty of the Republic of Tatarstan by that time. The Inter delegation and the Power-sharing Agreement signed between governmental authorities of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tatarstan in February 1994 should be presented not as the end of the 'period of uncertainty of the former autonomous status' (Danilov et al., 2008: 275), but as a special option of building relations within the federation, which does not allow (opposite to the Chechen way) any use of force as a solution.

The peer-reviewed study guides contain not only these factual distortions, but also quite inadequate statements, which are often not supported by any facts. Illustrative in this regard is the concept of paragraph 8 of 'sovereign democracy' proposed by authors of the textbook, which states that 'the state has full sovereignty' (Danilov et al., 2008: 328). However, pursuant to paragraph 1 of Article 3 of the Constitution adopted by the referendum on December 12, 1993, 'the bearer of sovereignty and the only source of power in the Russian Federation shall be its multinational people' (*Konstitucija Rossijskoj Federacii*, 2012: 4), while the State is only a political institution, a special form of organization of political power, which is intended to serve the interests of the people. The necessity of a more ambitious foreign policy (Commonwealth of Independent States) with CIS

countries also seems odd (Danilov et al., 2008: 340), which were incorrectly called republics.

We should also focus on the methodological part of the textbook, particularly – on the analysis of the tasks for pupils. A number of the tasks offered for students by the authors of the manuals for profound and reinforcement knowledge on the subject are not suitable for this purpose, some assignments are not formulated correctly, some cannot be done due to the lack of necessary information in the textbook. For instance, it is not clear how the basic provisions which made it possible to divide the world into two camps can be presented in the diagram (Danilov et al., 2008: 24) or present ‘Stalin’s plan for nature transformation’ on the schedule (Danilov et al., 2008: 37). It is also a dubious task to create a crossword puzzle out of words that were not mentioned and explained in the section (Danilov et al., 2008: 38, 51, etc.). Last but not least, the tasks are not aimed at a critical analysis of historical data (which is indispensable to create the conditions for the formation of independent thinking), but to match with the given answer. This is unacceptable. Inappropriate in this regard are the sets of tasks like number 5 on the page 319 (Danilov et al., 2008: 319), where students are asked to prove the effectiveness of government economic policy by using the data in the table on the dynamics of the national debt of Russia in 2000-2007 or task number 1 on page 311 (Danilov et al., 2008: 311) – conduct a sociological survey on support for the government course of Vladimir Putin.

Thereby, the analysis of the modern academic, educational and instructional materials on the history of contemporary Russia addressed to pupils and their teachers allows the visualization of the main features and the most important aspects in the formation of the pupils’ historical consciousness in post-Soviet Russia.

This, above all, is a reassessment of Joseph Stalin’s personality and the whole period of his reign, also a re-evaluation of ‘The Yeltsin era’, which is unlike in the 1990s, today a negative one. The free interpretation of facts promotes the formation of new stereotypes in the historical perception of students. This also contributes to the deliberate imposition of given answers to the questions put before students. One of the most important drawbacks of these publications is a quite certain ideological orientation. The authors declared the rejection of ‘the concept of totalitarianism’ as their principle (Danilov et al., 2008: 5), but do have an obvious bias.

All this is found in modern textbooks and in no way contributes to the formation of an objective historical consciousness of a new generation of Russians, but only creates challenges in this regard. Here we can see obvious conflicts of interests of history and the politics of memory. The famous French historian Antoine Prost fairly wrote about this: ‘memory justifies itself by its moral and political accuracy and draws its strength in those feelings which it awakens. History does require arguments and evidence [...] A meeting with the history – is a progress: it would be better if humanity behaved in accordance with the arguments, not feelings. That is why history should not be at the service of memory, but it should certainly consider the demand for memory, but only in order to transform this demand into the history’ (Prost, 2000: 319).

The analysis of the content of the educational historical literature of contemporary Russia accords with the correctness of a long known truth – ‘history teaches us only that it teaches nothing.’ By going this route, Russia has every chance of stepping on the same rake.

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ABSTRACTS
ZUSAMMENFASSUNGEN
RÉSUMÉS

Aleksey Bushuev

Contemporary history for the modern generation: the specificity of schoolchildren's historical consciousness formation in post-soviet Russia

In this article the main features and the most important points of pupils' historical consciousness formation in Post-Soviet Russia are characterized based on the analysis of textbooks on the contemporary history of Russia. The main reassessment happened in minds of people regarding J. Stalin and the whole period of his reign, re-evaluation 'of the Yeltsin era', free treatment of facts and their interpretation and also imposing ready answers to the questions put before pupils, promoting the formation of new stereotypes in the historical perception of students. These changes found in modern textbooks do not contribute to the formation of historical consciousness of the new generation of Russians, but create real difficulties in this regard. Here we may see a clear conflict between the interests of history and political memory.

Auf Grund der Untersuchung der Schulbücher für die neueste Geschichte Russlands analysiert der Artikel die wichtigsten Schwerpunkte und Methoden, wie sich das historische Bewusstsein bei Schülern im post-sonjetischen Russland gebildet hat. Die bedeutendsten Veränderungen betreffen die Person Josef Stalin und seine ganze Regierungsperiode (buchstäblich Herrschaftsperiode), die „Jelzin-Ära“, eine Freizügigkeit im Umgang mit historischen Fakten und deren Interpretation sowie die Vorbereitung von fertigen Antworten für gestellte Fragen an die Schüler und Zustimmung für die Bildung von neuen Stereotypen im historischen Bewusstsein der Schüler. Diese Änderungen, die in den neuen Schulbüchern zu beobachten sind, sind nicht behilflich bei der richtigen Bildung des historischen Bewusstseins der neuen russischen Generation. Im Gegenteil erschweren sie diesen Prozess. Wir können hier den deutlichen Konflikt zwischen der richtigen Darstellung der Geschichte und dem politischen Gedächtnis erkennen.

Dans le présent article, basé sur des manuels à l'histoire contemporaine de la Russie, on a analysé les principales caractéristiques et les manières de former la conscience historique d'étudiants en Russie post-soviétique. La réévaluation principale concerne: le personnage de Joseph Stalin et une période de son règne, une révision critique de 'l'ère Eltsine', l' traitement libres des faits et son interprétation, par ailleurs imposer les réponses prêtes aux questions posées aux élèves, et l'acceptation pour la création de nouvelles stereotypes dans la perception historique qu'en ont des étudiants. Ces changements constatés dans les manuels scolaires contemporaines ne contribuent pas à la formation solide de la conscience historique de la nouvelle génération des Russes, mais ils forment les difficultés objectives à ce sujet. Ici, on peut observer un conflit évident entre l'histoire et la mémoire politique.

Elisabeth Erdmann

Crusades and peaceful co-existence in the Near East? And what do current history textbooks tell?

For pragmatic reasons the contribution focuses only on the crusades, which aimed at gaining Jerusalem. The main emphasis is be put on the different crusades and the military conflicts but on the question of how these various groups, who came from different countries and had different denominations, lived together and next to each other from the 11th to the 13th century. Archaeological results and written sources of different contexts are consulted and compared. Not only are historiographies and crusaders' notes presented, but also poems and accounts of journeys by Muslim authors are introduced. Besides, current German history textbooks are examined and it is analyzed whether they mainly stress military events or daily life. Finally, there are some recommendations on how to deal with the topic in history education.

Aus pragmatischen Gründen wird in diesem Beitrag lediglich auf die Kreuzzüge eingegangen, deren Ziel Jerusalem war. Im Vordergrund stehen sollen nicht die verschiedenen Kreuzzüge und Kämpfe, sondern die Frage, wie in vom 11. bis ins 13. Jahrhundert die verschiedenen Gruppen, die sich aufgrund ihrer Herkunft und ihrer Religion mehr oder weniger unterschieden, zusammen- oder nebeneinander lebten. Dafür werden archäologische Befunde und schriftliche Quellen aus verschiedenen Kontexten herangezogen und miteinander verglichen. Nicht allein von verschiedenen Kreuzfahrern verfasste Texte, sondern auch von Muslimen verfasste Berichte, Reisebeschreibungen und Gedichte werden vorgestellt. Außerdem werden aktuelle deutsche Geschichtsschulbücher herangezogen, um zu sehen, ob sie den Schwerpunkt auf die Kämpfe oder eher auf den Alltag legen. Am Ende werden Empfehlungen für die Behandlung der Thematik im Geschichtsunterricht ausgesprochen.

Pour des raisons pragmatiques cet article s'occupe seulement avec des croisades dont la destination était Jérusalem. Le centre d'intérêt ne sont pas des croisades diverses et des combats, mais comme des groupes de personnes diverses qui sont venues des pays différents et avaient des confessions diverses, ont vécu ensemble ou côte à côte du 11e jusqu'au 13e siècle. Des résultats des fouilles archéologiques et des sources écrites des contextes diverses sont consultés et comparés. Des textes des croisés, mais aussi des textes, des comptes-rendus du voyages et des poèmes des Musulmanes sont présentés. En plus des livres scolaires d'histoire maintenant utilisé en Allemagne sont analysés si les combats ou la vie quotidienne sont dans le centre d'intérêt. A la fin il a quelques recommandations pour le cours d'histoire.

Katja Gorbahn

Supporting eurocentrism or exploring diversity? Problems and potentials of the presentation of ancient Greece in history textbooks

This article summarizes the results of a textbook analysis that investigates the presentation of Archaic and Classical Greece in recent and current German textbooks. It argues that an interpretation of Ancient Greece as the origin of a supreme Western civilization is still present

in these textbooks. However, it also argues that such an interpretation is biased and does not address challenges such as globalization and migration. This article explores suggestions for alternative approaches to Ancient Greek history, and discusses key notions of contextualization, differentiation, and diversity of antiquity reception. Finally, it puts forward a critical concept of 'culture' that incorporates diversity.

Der Aufsatz fasst die Ergebnisse einer Schulbuchuntersuchung zusammen, in der die Darstellung des archaischen und klassischen Griechenlands in aktuellen und neueren deutschen Schulbüchern untersucht wurde. Gezeigt wird, dass in den Schulbüchern auch heute noch ein Deutungsmuster tief verwurzelt ist, in dem das antike Griechenland als Ursprung einer überlegenen westlichen Kultur verstanden wird. Es wird argumentiert, dass eine solche Interpretation sachlich unangemessen ist und den Herausforderungen durch Globalisierung und Migration nicht gerecht wird. Der Aufsatz präsentiert Vorschläge für alternative Zugänge zur antiken griechischen Geschichte, wobei Kontextualisierung, Differenzierung und Vielfalt der Antikenrezeption zentrale Aspekte sind. Plädiert wird für ein kritisches Konzept von „Kultur“, das Raum für Vielfalt gewährt.

Cet article résume les résultats d'une analyse de manuels scolaires récents qui contiennent une présentation de la Grèce archaïque et antique. Il démontre que l'image de la Grèce ancienne comme le berceau d'une culture européenne supérieure y prédomine toujours, bien qu'une telle interprétation est biaisée et ne peut pas relever les défis de la globalisation et de la migration. En revanche, l'article propose des approches alternatives à l'histoire de la Grèce ancienne, dans lesquelles la contextualisation, la différenciation et la pluralité de la réception de l'Antiquité sont des aspects essentiels. Enfin, l'article soutient un concept critique de la «culture» qui accorde une place au pluralisme.

Wolfgang Hasberg

The religious dimension of social diversity and history education

Following up on recent events and their reflection in journalism in Germany, the article designates a central problem of diverse societies, even the relationship to sub-societies with special, constricted values. With the example of religions it shows how tolerance can turn into intolerance by following a politically initiated pluralism. To demonstrate the relevance of religious attitudes for historical learning, some empirical results are presented at first and the religious dimension of historical consciousness is sketched out theoretically. The third step demonstrates that Understanding (others) is an integral element of the epistemological concept of historical thinking and of the historical method. Insofar it is the hermeneutic task to understand and to initiate a dialogue with people in the past, then historical learning delivers the instruments of understanding, and thereby it communicates the basis for tolerance, which is an indispensable regulative in diverse societies. In the end the jeopardies of inclusion are mentioned, which arise if inclusion is not regarded as a way but as an aim

Anknüpfend an aktuelle Ereignisse und deren publizistische Einschätzung im deutschsprachigen Raum markiert der Artikel ein Grundproblem diverser Gesellschaften,

nämlich das Verhältnis zu Subgesellschaften mit eigenem, eingrenzenden Wertesystemen. Er zeigt wie Toleranz im Namen eines gewollten oder gar politisch verordneten Pluralismus in Intoleranz umschlagen kann, an Beispielen aus der Religionen auf. Um die Relevanz religiöser Voreinstellungen beim historischen Lernen über die Darstellung einiger empirischer Befunde aufzuzeigen, wird zunächst die religiöse Dimension als Teilkomponente des historischen Bewusstseins theoretisch verortet. Im erkenntnistheoretischen Konzept des historischen Denkens und in der historischen Methode – so wird im dritten Abschnitt dargelegt – gehört (Fremd-) Verstehen zum integralen Bestandteil. Insofern auf hermeneutischem Wege versucht wird, einen Dialog die Menschen der Vergangenheit zu verstehen und mit ihnen einen Dialog zu führen, stellt historisches Lernen die Mittel des Verstehens bereit, die Grundlage der Toleranz sind, welche als unverzichtbares Regulativ diverser Gesellschaften zu betrachten ist. Abschließend wird aus aktuellem Anlass auf die mit der Inklusion verbundenen Gefahren hingewiesen, die insbesondere dann entstehen, wenn Inklusion nicht als Weg, sondern als Ziel betrachtet wird.

Entrent en relation avec les événements actuels et ses estimations journalistiques en espace germanophone l'article marque un problème fondamental de la société diverse ce que la relation des sous-sociétés avec une propre système limitée de valeur. L'article montre par l'exemple de la religion comme tolérance au nom du pluralisme voulu ou décrété par l'état peut se tourner en intolérance. Pour mettre en évidence la relevance des attitudes religieuses pour l'étude historique en présenter quelques résultats de recherches empiriques il faut d'abord positionner la dimension religieuse en théorie comme compétence partielle de la conscience historique. Dans la conception épistémologique de la pensée historique et dans la méthodologie historique – décrit à la troisième partie – la compréhension (étranger) est un élément intégral. Si on essaye de comprendre herméneutique avec le moyen du dialogue les hommes du passé et plus par passé le dialogue avec les, l'étude historique propose des moyens de compréhension et une base de la tolérance. Ca est une régulatoire indispensable. Finalement à la raison actuelle il fait référence aux dangers qui sont accompagnés par l'inclusion et qui se forment si on considère l'inclusion non comme chemin, mais comme vise.

Terry Haydn

History magazines in the UK

The paper explores the phenomenon of popular history magazines as a facet of public history. The UK has seen a substantial increase in the number of popular history magazines available to the public, with some magazines reaching high levels of circulation. The paper looks at the range of magazines available – from 'heritage' and 'family' history, to special interest magazines, and more 'serious' and scholarly history magazines. What is it that makes history magazines sell, and what influence do the magazines have on the historical consciousness of those that read them? Do history magazines represent a trivialising and 'dumbed down' version of history, or is the increasing appetite for the commercial consumption of history a positive development?

Der Artikel untersucht das Phänomen der populären historischen Zeitschriften als einen Aspekt der öffentlichen Geschichte. Großbritannien hat einen deutlichen Anstieg in der

Anzahl der populären historischen Zeitschriften, die der Öffentlichkeit zur Verfügung stehen, zu verzeichnen. Dabei erreichen einige Zeitschriften eine große Verbreitung. Der Artikel befasst sich mit verschiedenen Sorten von verfügbaren Zeitschriften - von "Familiengeschichte" und "Erbe" bis spezialisierten Fachzeitschriften und "ernsthaftere" wissenschaftliche Zeitschriften. Wo liegt die Ursache, dass sich historische Zeitschriften so gut verkaufen lassen, und welchen Einfluss haben sie auf das historische Bewusstsein der Leser? Stellen die historischen Zeitschriften eine trivialisierte vereinfachte Version der Geschichte, und ist der zunehmende Appetit auf den kommerziellen Verbrauch von Geschichte eine positive Entwicklung?

Le document explore le phénomène de magazines d'histoire populaire comme une facette de l'histoire publique. Le Royaume-Uni a connu une augmentation substantielle du nombre de magazines d'histoire disponibles au public, et quelques magazines avec hauts niveaux de circulation. Le document examine l'éventail de magazines disponibles - de «patrimoine» et «famille» l'histoire, de magazines spécialisés, et quelques magazines d'histoire plus "sérieux" et savante. Qu'est-ce qui fait vendre des magazines d'histoire, et quelle est l'influence des magazines sur la conscience historique de ceux qui les lisent? Est-ce que les magazines d'histoire représentent une banalisation et «abrutis» version de l'histoire, ou est l'appétit croissant pour la consommation commerciale de l'histoire une évolution positive?

Urte Kocka

Is globalizing history topics in the classroom a way of dealing with increasing global diversity?

The process of globalization and the economic, cultural and religious ties that are made do not only have a homogenizing effect. On the contrary it is possible to see how increasing variety and diversity has the potential to give rise to conflicts. Also young people are faced with problems that arise from globalization. In multicultural classroom settings students are confronted with questions of identity that go beyond regional and national traditions and changing moral value systems. By introducing global history and transnational perspectives to both traditional and new topics in history classes this can contribute to developing an increased understanding and acceptance of ethnic and cultural differences.

Der Globalisierungsprozess mit seinen weltweiten Verflechtungen z. B. in Bezug auf Kommunikation, Wirtschaft, Kultur und Religion bedeutet nicht, dass die Welt nur einheitlicher würde, im Gegenteil: zunehmende Verschiedenartigkeiten bergen auch die Gefahr von Konflikten. Auch Jugendliche sind mit Problemen der Globalisierung konfrontiert, u. a. mit möglichen Konflikten im multikulturellen Klassenzimmer, mit der Wahrnehmung vieler persönlicher Identitäten jenseits von regionalen und nationalen Traditionen, mit sich verändernden moralischen Werten. Geschichtsunterricht könnte zum Verstehen und Akzeptieren von ethnischen und kulturellen Verschiedenartigkeiten beitragen, wenn mit globalgeschichtlichen und transnationalen Perspektiven unterrichtet würde sowohl bei traditionellen wie auch neuen Themen.

Le processus de mondialisation, ses liens économiques, culturels et religieux n'ont pas seulement un effet d'homogénéisation. Bien au contraire, l'augmentation de variété et de diversité peuvent donner lieu à des conflits. Les jeunes sont ainsi confrontés à des problèmes liés à la mondialisation. Dans les salles de classe, multiculturelles, les étudiants sont confrontés à des questions d'identité qui vont au-delà des traditions régionales, nationales, mais qui portent sur l'évolution mœurs. Dans l'enseignement, l'introduction de l'histoire mondiale et des perspectives transnationales contribue au développement d'une meilleure compréhension des différences ethniques et culturelles.

Denisa Labischová

Intercultural dimension of history teaching in today's Czech secondary education curricula

This article analyzes the Czech curriculum for secondary education from the perspective of incorporating the intercultural dimension into history teaching. Since 2005 elementary schools, four-year grammar schools, multi-year grammar schools and other secondary schools in the Czech Republic have been gradually implementing the so-called Framework Education Programmes, in accordance with overall curriculum reform. Multicultural education is conceived as a cross-curricular subject which should become part of education across the entire range of subjects. The author cites selected empirical research findings on the multicultural aspects of history education from 2011, as well as the current concept of multicultural education in the history classroom, and formulates recommendations for more effective incorporation of intercultural topics into the curriculum and teaching practice.

Dieser Artikel analysiert das tschechische Curriculum für Sekundarstufe unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Implementierung der interkulturellen Dimension ins Konzept des Geschichtsunterrichts. Seit 2005 werden allmählich die sog. Rahmenbildungsprogramme in tschechischen neunjährigen Grundschulen, in vier- und mehrjährigen Gymnasien und weiteren Schulen der Sekundarstufe II in der Tschechischen Republik eingeführt. Dieser Prozess verläuft im Einklang mit der komplexen Reform der Curricula. Multikulturelle Erziehung wird hier als Querschnittsthema behandelt, dessen Bildungsinhalt quer durch die Unterrichtsfächer geht. Der Autor beruft sich auf die Teilergebnisse der empirischen Untersuchung der multikulturellen Aspekte des Geschichtsunterrichts aus dem Jahr 2011 und bringt einen gewissen kritischen Blick auf die gegenwärtige Auffassung der multikulturellen Erziehung im Konzept von Geschichtsunterricht in der Schule und formuliert Empfehlungen für eine effektive Einbeziehung der interkulturellen Themen in die schulische Praxis.

L' article analyse le cursus tchèque de l' enseignement secondaire du point de vue de l'implémentation de la dimension interculturelle dans la conception de l' enseignement d' histoire. Les écoles primaires, les collèges, les lycées et d' autres écoles organisent dès l' année 2005 l' enseignement selon les programmes dits généraux qui réforment le cursus. L' éducation multiculturelle dans ce cursus pénètre plusieurs objets d' enseignement. L' auteur d' article analyse les résultats partiels de la recherche empirique des aspects multiculturels de l' enseignement d' histoire de l' année 2011. Son opinion de la conception contemporaine de l'

éducation multiculturelle dans l'histoire scolaire est un peu critique. Elle exprime ses recommandations pour intégrer plus effectivement les thèmes interculturels dans le cursus existant et dans toute la pratique scolaire.

Mare Oja

The image of the other in the history of Estonia on the basis of contemporary textbook analysis

Comparative analysis was carried out on how the image of the other is dealt with in different centuries and periods in history textbooks. In this research the other is a nation or a state that Estonia has had contacts with through centuries, and ethnic groups who have lived in Estonia but had different identities, as well as compatriots who migrated to the West during the Second World War, and who lived in a different environment than in their homeland, Estonia. The criteria for assessing the image of the other are from the perspective of Estonian history in all textbooks – are the acts towards Estonia supportive, neutral or adverse. Russian power (incl. Soviet Union) has influenced Estonia the most and is described in the darkest colours. Swedish rule, as well as close neighbours Finland and Latvia, is represented positively. The main attention of national minorities is towards Baltic-Germans. The cultural influence is assessed positively, conquest of the land, the fact, that the majority of Estonians had to stay away from land management, was assessed negatively. The early period of history is described in a neutral tone. It is possible to sympathize with the tragedy of the Estonian people in the evaluation of the Soviet period.

In diesem Artikel werden Fremdbilder in estnischen Schulbüchern analysiert. Als "fremd" werden dabei Völker und Staaten verstanden, mit denen Estland historische Beziehungen pflegte, in Estland lebende nationale Minderheiten mit ihren je eigenen Identitäten und die im Zuge des Zweiten Weltkriegs in den Westen geflohenen Mitbürger, die dort in von Estland unterschiedlichen Umständen lebten. Bewertet werden die Handlungen der "Fremden" gegenüber Estland, die entweder unterstützend, neutral oder feindlich waren. Auf staatlicher Seite hat Russland (inkl. der Sowjetunion) die Geschichte Estlands am meisten geprägt. Die Politik der Sowjetunion wird in dunkelsten Farben ausgemalt, die Zeit der schwedischen Herrschaft und der nächsten Nachbarn, Lettland und Finnland, werden hingegen in positivem Licht dargestellt. Von den nationalen Minderheiten wird den Deutschbalten die größte Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. Positiv wird ihr kultureller Einfluss bewertet, negativ hingegen der Ausschluss der Esten aus der Landesverwaltung. Bei der Charakterisierung früherer Zeitperioden sind die Autoren von Schulbüchern eher neutral. Die Bewertung der Sowjetzeit zeigt Betroffenheit vom tragischen Schicksal des eigenen Volkes.

L'article examine l'image des Autres dans les manuels de l'histoire de l'Estonie utilisés dans les établissements scolaires. En plus sont étudiés les peuples et les états auxquels l'Estonie a été exposé lors de son histoire, les groupes nationaux avec une identité différente vivant en Estonie, ainsi que les concitoyens s'enfuis à l'Ouest pendant la Deuxième guerre mondiale qui menaient une vie différente des ceux qui étaient restés en Estonie. La base de l'évaluation est l'activité des Autres envers l'Estonie, si le but de l'activité était de supporter ou de rester neutre ou hostile.

L'état qui a influencé le plus l'histoire de l'Estonie c'est la Russie (y compris l'Union Soviétique). Pour décrire la politique de l'Union Soviétique, les couleurs les plus sombres sont utilisées, la domination suédoise, ainsi que les voisins proches la Lettonie et la Finlande sont présentés sous un angle positif. Le moins d'attention des minorités nationales est porté aux germano-baltes. Leur influence culturelle est appréciée mais le fait d'avoir laissé les estoniens à l'écart du gouvernement de leur propre pays est considéré négatif. En caractérisant la période antérieure, les auteurs des manuels sont plutôt neutres. Les appréciations à la période soviétique laissent sentir la compassion à la tragédie de son peuple.

Anu Raudsepp & Karin Hiiemaa

The image of the *other*. The example of the Russians and Germans on the basis of an analysis of Estonian history textbooks

Nowadays a huge challenge for compiling school textbooks is to deal with the history of multicultural society – especially avoiding prejudices and negative stereotypes about other nations. As Estonian history is very strongly related to Germans and Russians, the goal of the present article is to study the development of these nations' image in the overview of textbooks of general history and Estonian history in Estonian, beginning from the first ones published in the second half of the 19th century up to the present. Wars often form attitudes to other nations, therefore the image of German and Russian soldiers through the greatest conflicts in history – world wars – is observed separately.

In der Geschichtsbehandlung in der multikulturellen Gesellschaft wird die Zusammenstellung von Schulbüchern zur ernststen Herausforderung, um insbesondere Vorurteile und negative Stereotypen, auf die anderen Nationen bezogen, zu verhüten und zu vermeiden. Da die estnische Geschichte mit deren der Deutschen und Russen verbunden ist, ist das Ziel des vorliegenden Artikels die Entwicklung des Images dieser Nationen in estnischen Geschichtslehrbüchern zu betrachten, vom ersten Lehrbuch an, das in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts erschienen ist bis zum heutigen Tag. Die Kriege beeinflussen oft die Haltungen gegenüber anderen Nationen, deshalb konzentriert man sich unter anderem auf Images der deutschen und russischen Soldaten durch die größten Konflikte der Geschichte – durch die Weltkriege.

L'un des défis auxquels les auteurs des manuels scolaires doivent faire face aujourd'hui est de représenter de manière adéquate l'histoire d'une société multiculturelle, en évitant notamment les idées reçues et les stéréotypes négatifs concernant les autres peuples. Étant donné que l'histoire de l'Estonie est avant tout liée aux Allemands et aux Russes, le but du présent article est d'analyser les développements de la représentation de ces peuples dans les manuels d'histoire estoniens depuis la deuxième moitié du 19^e siècle. Comme ce sont les guerres qui forment le plus souvent des attitudes à l'égard de l'Autre, nous nous concentrons dans cet article sur les représentations des soldats allemands et russes dans les plus grands conflits de l'histoire – les deux guerres mondiales.

Edda Sant, Antoni Santisteban & Joan Pagès

How can we contribute to intercultural education through the teaching of history?

Interculturality is an educational objective of those who want to promote social justice through education. At GREDICS — a social science didactics research group of which we form a part — we have been examining how the teaching of history contributes to this intercultural/critical multicultural education. Our research is based on a collaborative design in which professors and researchers design didactic units that are later used in classrooms and analysed. Our results show that conflicts in the classroom are essential and that these only appear through the use of controversial questions. This exercise helps bring to light students' previous ideas and enables the teacher to deconstruct stereotypes and turn them into scientific historical knowledge.

Interkulturelle Bildung ist ein pädagogischer Zweck, für die Lehrer und Akademiker, die sich für die soziale Gerechtigkeit bemühen wollen. In GREDICS – wir gehören dieser Forschungsgruppe der Sozialwissenschaftlichen Didaktik an – arbeiten wir, um die interkulturelle Bildung in Klassen, in denen Geschichte beigebracht wird, zu verbessern. Am Beispiel von zwei Unterrichtseinheiten, weisen unsere Erkenntnisse auf die gemeinsame Forschung darauf hin, dass Lehrern Konflikte entstehen müssen mit dem Ziel, die interkulturelle Bildung zu verbessern. Strittige Fragen fördern die Schüler, die Vorkenntnisse von den vorigen Klassen besitzen, um einige Stereotypen dank wissenschaftlichen historischen Wissens abzubauen.

L'éducation interculturelle est une fin pédagogique pour les enseignants et les chercheurs en éducation qui veulent lutter pour la fomentation de la justice sociale. Dans GREDICS – le groupe de recherche en sciences sociales didactique nous appartenons- nous avons travaillé afin d'améliorer l'éducation interculturelle dans les cours d'histoire. À l'aide des exemples de leçons des enseignants, deux unités de nos constatations, fondées sur la recherche collaborative, soulignent que les enseignants doivent faire émerger des conflits dans le but de contribuer à l'éducation interculturelle. Les questions controversées peuvent promouvoir de rendre les élèves connaissance préalable émerge à la classe afin de déconstruire certains stéréotypes à travers la connaissance historique scientifique.

Jutta Schumann

The Illustration of the 'Topic 'Islam' in German popular history magazines

The article is focused on the German magazine market and analyzes history magazines in terms of the images they use in their representation of the subject 'Islam'. After a short overview on the current state of research, some common ways of visual representation regarding the topic 'Islam' will be outlined as for example the use of images that convey feelings of European superiority or the one-sided use of images originating from within Western culture as well as the use of visual codes that emphasize the distinction between the Western and the Islamic world. In

the final part of the article the aim is to put a spotlight on the opportunities for history learning at school using history magazines illustrating 'Islam', where the focus is clearly the stimulation of intercultural and media-critical skills.

Der Aufsatz konzentriert sich auf den deutschen Zeitschriftenmarkt und eine Analyse populärer Geschichtsmagazine. Im Mittelpunkt steht die Frage, wie diese Magazine Themen bebildern, die im Zusammenhang mit dem Thema „Islam“ und dem islamischen Kulturraum stehen. Nach einem kurzen Überblick zum aktuellen Forschungsstand werden in dem Beitrag gängige Darstellungsweisen im Bildbereich sichtbar gemacht wie z. B. 1. die Nutzung von Bildmaterial, das immanent Überlegenheitsgefühle der Europäer transportiert 2. die einseitige Verwendung von Bildern, die aus dem westlichen Kulturraum stammen sowie 3. die Verwendung von Bildcodes, die Abgrenzungen zwischen westlichem und islamischem Kulturraum betonen und verkürzt verdeutlichen. Abschließend werden Rückschlüsse aus den gewonnenen Ergebnissen für das historische Lernen mit Geschichtsmagazinen im Geschichtsunterricht gezogen, die insbesondere die interkulturelle und medienkritische Kompetenz fokussieren.

L'article est focussé sur le marché allemand de magazines et sur une analyse du secteur des périodiques d'histoire très répandus. Comment sont illustrés dans ces magazines des sujets en rapport avec le thème de l'islam et l'espace de culture islamique? C'est la question centrale. Après un bref aperçu sur l'état actuel de la recherche l'article rend visible les formes courantes de présenter des images comme par exemple: 1.: l'utilisation de matériaux d'illustration qui transportent en soi des sentiments de supériorité des Européens 2:l'usage unilatéral d'images originaires de l'espace culturel européen ainsi que 3:l'usage de codes optiques qui renforcent et soulignent de manière raccourcie la délimitation des espaces culturels occidentaux et islamiques. Des résultats obtenus on tire enfin des conclusions pour l'apprentissage historique à l'aide de périodiques d'histoire dans l'enseignement de l'histoire, qui se concentre surtout sur la compétence interculturelle et critique à l'égard des médias

Robert Thorp

The concept of historical consciousness in Swedish history didactical research

This article presents a study of how the concept of historical consciousness is defined, applied and justified in Swedish history didactical research. The study finds that there is a common ground for understanding what a historical consciousness can mean, but that the concept is applied in a variety of ways. It is suggested that this variation is one reason why the concept is generally believed to be difficult to define and apply, since the application of the concept influences how a historical consciousness can be interpreted. It is also suggested that the concept could be rendered more versatile by further theoretical investigation into how the concept's definition and applications are connected.

Der Artikel fasst die Ergebnisse einer Studie zusammen, welche darlegt in welcher Weise das Konzept des historischen Bewusstseins in der schwedischen Geschichtsdidaktik definiert,

angewandt und legitimiert wird. Die Studie stellt fest, dass das Konzept trotz eines allgemeinen Verständnisses über den Gegenstand "historisches Bewusstsein", in der Praxis oftmals sehr unterschiedliche Anwendungen findet. Da sich Anwendung und Definition gegenseitig bedingen, sind diese Differenzen ein zentraler Grund dafür, dass das Konzept allgemein als schwer zu definieren und anzuwenden gilt. Indem genauere Betrachtungen der Reziprozität von Definition und Anwendung, unternommen werden, kann - so das Argument der Studie - die Nutzbarkeit des Konzepts für die Geschichtsdidaktik gestärkt werden.

Cet article présente une étude démontrant comment la notion de la conscience historique est définie, appliquée et justifiée dans la recherche suédoise de la didactique de l'histoire. L'étude conclut qu'il existe un terrain d'entente quant à la définition de la conscience historique, mais que cette notion est appliquée dans une variété de façons. L'étude révèle que cette variation est l'une des raisons pour lesquelles la notion est généralement considérée comme difficile à définir et à appliquer, puisque son application influe sur la façon dont une conscience historique est interprétée. Elle propose en outre que la notion de la conscience historique pourrait être rendue plus utilisable par une recherche théorique plus approfondie sur les liens entre sa définition et son application.

Helen Ting

History teaching and education for patriotic citizenship in Malaysia

This paper discusses the attempt by the Malaysian Education Minister to use history education as a means to promote patriotism, leading to current history textbooks with a strong Malay bias. The paper outlines how ethnic politics progressively influenced the historical perspective as articulated in the textbooks. Inclusive history teaching is important in forging a shared sense of history among citizens, so as to contribute to the emergence of a common national identity. It is argued that writing a Malaysian national history which may be identified by all citizens as 'our history' necessarily begins with the acceptance and acknowledgement of the multicultural and multi-religious reality of the Malaysian nation.

Der Artikel stellt die Versuche der Schulministerien in Malaysia dar, wie man historische Bildung als Mittel nutzen kann um Patriotismus hervorzuheben, was zur Folge hat, dass aktuelle Geschichtsbücher durch die malaiische Anschauungswelt dominiert sind. Der Artikel zeigt, wie eine ethnische Politik stetig die historische Perspektive in den Texten der Schulbücher beeinflusst hat. Das Lehren der Geschichte, die verschiedene Anschauungswelten und Traditionen berücksichtigt, ist wichtig für das gemeinsame Empfinden der Geschichte unter den Bürgern und ebenso für das Entstehen der gemeinsamen Nationalidentität. Der Text überzeugt, dass das Schreiben der malaiischen Nationalgeschichte, die von allen Bürgern für unsere Geschichte anerkannt sein könnte, von der Betonung der multikulturellen und multireligiösen Realität der malaysischen Bevölkerung beginnen muss.

Cet article discute sur la tentative du Ministre de l'enseignement scolaire en Malaisie à instrumentaliser l'enseignement de l'histoire dans l'école en tant que moyen de promouvoir le patriotisme. Cela a conduit aux manuels d'histoire actuels manifestant un fort penchant malais.

L'article décrit la façon dont la politique ethnique a progressivement influencé la perspective historique, telle qu'énoncé dans les manuels scolaires. Enseignement d'une histoire nationale inclusive est important pour forger une perspective historique partagée parmi les citoyens, ainsi contribuant à l'émergence d'une identité nationale commune. On fait valoir que le point de départ dans la rédaction d'une histoire nationale malaisienne qui puisse être identifiés par l'ensemble des citoyens comme «notre histoire» commence nécessairement par l'acceptation et la reconnaissance de la réalité multiculturelle et multi-religieuse de la nation malaisienne.

Arja Virta

Perspectives on 'other cultures' in Finnish history curricula, 1970–2004

The purpose of this article is to investigate the elements of international education in Finnish comprehensive and upper secondary school curricula, as they are expressed in the common goals for the school, and particularly in the subject-specific history curricula. There are differences between the common goals and principles, and those that are subject-specific to history, because the ideas of international education are more emphasized in the general part of the curriculum than in the subject-specific syllabi, with the exception of the early curriculum from 1970. Furthermore, in spite of growing internationalism and increasing mobility in the world, intercultural aspects have not been allotted any greater share in the history curriculum.

Das Ziel des Artikels besteht darin, Materialien zur globalen und interkulturellen Erziehung in finnischen Lehrplänen für die Gesamtschule und die Abschlussklassen vor dem Abitur vom Standpunkt genereller pädagogischer Ziele wie auch im Lehrplan für Geschichte zu analysieren. Aufgrund der Analyse ergeben sich zwei Dinge, die sich miteinander im Konflikt befinden. Der Lehrplan in Geschichte ist wissensorientiert und entspricht nicht den allgemeinen Erziehungszielen in Lehrplänen. Des weiteren, obwohl die kulturelle Vielfalt der Gesellschaft sich weiter ausdifferenziert hat, ist im Geschichtslehrplan diese Veränderung nicht ausdrücklich berücksichtigt worden.

Le but de cet article est une analyse des éléments de l'éducation interculturelle et internationale dans les écoles primaires et secondaires en Finlande. Comme tenu des programmes scolaires, y compris les objectifs généraux de la formation l'article considère surtout ceux que sont au sujet de l'histoire. Finalement, l'on indique deux contradictions. Il y a des différences entre les objectifs généraux et les principes d'enseignement, et celles compétentes pour le sujet de l'histoire, parce que les idées de l'éducation interculturelle sont plus soulignées dans la partie générale du programme scolaire que dans le syllabus du cours d'histoire, à l'exception de celui de 1970. De plus, malgré l'internationalisme progressive et de la mobilité dans le monde, les aspects interculturels n'ont pas une plus grande participation dans les programmes d'histoire.

Joanna Wojdon

When history education outruns historical research

The article presents three models of relations between school history and academic research in this discipline that originate from the political uses of history. Examples from the secondary literature dealing with various countries and different historical periods are used to illustrate the models. Eventually, the results of subordinating academic research to the political demands of school education both for the education and for the research are discussed.

Der Artikel ist eine Stimme in der breiten Diskussion, wie man Geschichte und historische Bildung für politische Zwecke nutzen kann. Mit Unterstützung von Beispielen aus verschiedenen Ländern und von verschiedenen historischen Perioden zeigt der Artikel, was Politiker in der Situation gemacht haben, als die Ergebnisse der historischen Forschung nicht die Ziele, die sie der Schulbildung gestellt haben, unterstützt haben. Zu den unternommenen Schritten gehörten: das Vermeiden von unbequemen Informationen (oder historische Bildung überhaupt), die Selektion der Forschungsergebnisse nach politischen Richtlinien, die Gestaltung der Lehrplänen nach politischen Richtlinien statt nach Forschungsergebnissen, evtl. die Beeinflussung der Wissenschaftler, dass sie von der Politik gewünschte Forschungsergebnisse erzielt haben. Als Schlussfolgerung hat man Meinungen über den negativen Einfluss einer solchen instrumentalisierten Einstellung zur historischen Forschung und zur Schulbildung präsentiert.

Cet article est la voix dans un large débat sur l'abuser de l'histoire et l'éducation historique pour les intérêts politiques. Basé sur des exemples de différents pays et différentes périodes historiques il montre comment les hommes politiques ont tenté de gérer la situation lorsque les résultats disponibles des recherches historiques ne permettaient pas de réaliser leurs cibles dans l'enseignement scolaire. Parmi les activités entreprises il distingue: supprimer le contenu qui dérange (ou abandonner l'enseignement de l'histoire en general); sélectionner des résultats de la recherche scientifique selon les orientations politiques, et baser des contenus de l'enseignement sur les attentes politiques et le résultat de cette sélection ou (éventuellement) exercer une influence sur des savants pour fournir des résultats cohérents avec le besoin politique. Dans les conclusions on présente les opinions sur l'impact ruineux de l'approche instrumentale aux résultats des recherches historiques pour l'enseignement scolaire, ainsi que pour la recherche.

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